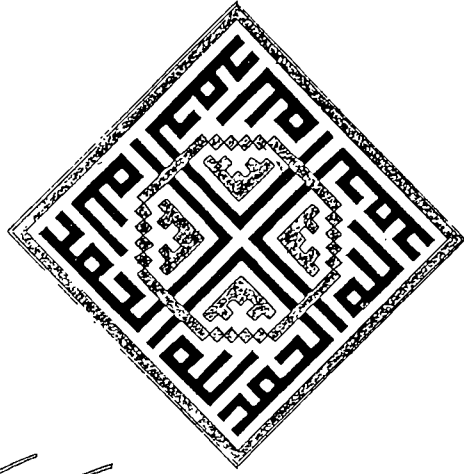


CULTURAL HERITAGE IN IRAN :
policies for an Islamic country

DISSERTATION FOR A DPHIL DEGREE
Mehdi Hodjat

Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies
The King's Manor
University of York

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

ABSTRACT

Compiling a more precise body of knowledge concerning the present situation of cultural affairs in Iran and attempting to search for more appropriate policies for its future application are the goals pursued in this research. The research is carried out in two principal domains: the status of cultural heritage in Islam and the development of cultural heritage in Iran. Firstly, a framework for evaluating the importance and the role of cultural heritage and its relevant activities in the outlook prevailing in Iran is presented; secondly, the thesis tries to make the reader aware of the long history that formed the present conception of cultural heritage in Iran.

In Part I, first the various reasons for paying attention to the past and its relics are reviewed as expressed by Muslim and non-Muslim thinkers. Then, referring to Quranic verses, we study the views of the most important reference of Muslims on cultural heritage. Further, from an Islamic point of view an examination of the definition of cultural heritage is attempted, including a discussion of values and their priorities. Finally, relying on particular precepts of Islamic Laws and in view of methods which existed in Islamic countries, propositions likely to increase the popularity of such activities as the identification, preservation, conservation and presentation of historic relics are presented. Thus, efforts are made to provide, as far as possible, a theoretical framework upon which greater coordination may be achieved between future cultural heritage policies and the value system of Iranian society.

Reviewing the historic events of three periods: Qājār rule; Pahlavi rule; and the years following the Islamic Revolution, Part II examines the effects of socio-political developments on the formation of the people's attitude toward cultural heritage. After a brief reference to the long legacy of paying attention to relics and traditional methods of conservation until Qājār times, the effects of the involvement and the activities of Europeans in Iran during the Qājār period and the changes which consequently occurred in all related matters are examined. Further, the Irano-French agreement of 1900 concerning excavations in Iran is analyzed, as a document which well expresses the situation of cultural heritage in that period. The outlook on historic relics, the laws concerning exploitation methods, the administrative structure, etc. under Pahlavi I and II, which took shape directly as a result of the influence of political and cultural developments at that time, are next studied in this Part. Finally, describing the status of cultural heritage under the Islamic Revolution and reviewing the events that led to the establishment of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, the thesis informs the reader of the latest situation in this sector.

A summary of the research, which includes main principles deduced by studying the Islamic perspective concerning historic relics (ideal situation), combined with principal lessons we have learned from studying the development of cultural heritage in Iran (present situation), shall help us offer propositions for future policies (transition from the present situation to the ideal situation).

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Preamble

INTRODUCTION

The development of mass media, which raised hopes of greater contact and understanding between cultures, has turned into an instrument for imposing the culture of one part of the world upon the other. What could have become the means of cultural unity among societies is calling the world to a sort of cultural uniformity, somehow annihilating identities, and conversely increasing individual and social efforts aimed at reasserting their identities.

If the future Global Village is to be governed without "overlords", and in order that this may happen, the recognition and preservation of the cultural identity of every society are particularly important, because this recognition determines the capabilities and the role of each within a worldwide team. This is why the cultural heritage of every society, as a document of its cultural identity, acquires ever-increasing importance.

The advent of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and the slogan "Neither Eastern, Nor Western" adopted by its people, can be considered as an expression of the fact that, by denying the hegemony of alien cultures, Iranian society is attempting to recognize its Islamic-Iranian identity, so as to determine its future path towards it. In these conditions, Iranian cultural heritage can play a decisive role in recovering identity.

But before it can help the society to recover its identity, the Iranian cultural heritage itself needs to earn its true identity in terms of the values prevailing in our society, because the policies applied to the cultural heritage in the course of the past century not only tended to overlook these values but where they were promoted, imprinted an upside-down image of it in the minds of the Iranian People. Describing existing policies and adopting new ones in this domain requires an understanding of the present-day realities and needs of cultural heritage in Iran.

This study intends to:

Examine the grounds necessary for discerning the status that Iranian society today may give its cultural heritage within the framework of the values prevailing in that society.

DEFINING THE PROBLEM

"In South Asia the Conservation Movement has not yet integrated the ethos of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism as well as Islam, and this is a critical area that needs study by persons steeped in their own culture, yet who understand the ethics and practice of conservation" (Feilden, 1995:2).

Cultural heritage is afflicted with two principal ailments in Iran. Firstly, not only has the interpretation of Western concepts weakened its traditional meaning, the alternative concept put forward has failed to achieve wide popularity. The misuse of historic relics during the past century has given cultural heritage a political, propaganda-oriented, economic and recreational connotations. Secondly, the lack of an appropriate relationship between the values of these relics and the value system prevalent in much of society today has tended to block the way for the assessment of the relevant priorities. It has seldom allowed respect for the cultural heritage to turn from words into deeds. Studying these two hindrances and identifying the means of overcoming them is the most urgent action required to assist us in reviving the true status and role of cultural heritage in Iran. Attempting to correct these two phenomena is the major intention of this study.

The national and international importance of Iran's historic past and the quantity and quality of its tangible and intangible patrimonies are of such magnitude that any type of planning measures would inevitably touches upon it. Therefore, the lack of a clear vision in this regard not only reduces the possibility of devising adequate policies for its exploitation, but also decreases the possibility of other government projects being achieved and gaining popular acceptance. With the advent of the Islamic Revolution and the society's increased attention to its national identity, religious values and social

traditions, a rise in attention to the cultural heritage would have been expected, but the existence of these very hindrances has created difficulties in this direction.

As one of the founders and director of Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO) for a decade, the author has reached the conclusion that, firstly, the absence today of a proper relationship between the society and the cultural heritage in Iran is partially rooted in history, and secondly, the establishment of a direct communication and tangible links between the social value system prevailing in the society (Islam) and the values of the country's cultural heritage is urgent, possible and necessary. It would therefore be true to say that policies adopted, without paying attention to these two fundamental points will not have the desired effectiveness.

Until the Europeans appeared in Iran, as the texts of that period attest, the public conceived historic relics essentially as lessons to be learnt from the past. With the advent of Europeans, and their multi-faceted, long-term control of all cultural heritage activities, on the one hand the society's traditional concept of historic relics was altered. On the other, the close contact between foreigners and historic relics, and the negative image that had emerged as a result of their political activities for long years, diminished the importance and attractiveness of the relics and prevented the society from imagining that it could and should use their scientific-cultural potential. The political and propaganda-oriented misuses carried out in this field under the Pahlavi dynasty further strengthened this impression. As with many other developing countries, Iran ventured to become as similar as possible, be it in appearance, to Western countries. In consequence, the need of referring to the cultural heritage and its values ceased to exist. The relics were merely exploited along with a hollow nationalism glorying in the past for tourists and specialists to behold.

Near the end of the Pahlavi era, because of its oil revenues, the country was an all round consumer of American cultural-artistic and industrial products. And the limited work that was done to revive the relics mostly emulated the Europeans' trend of the 1960s and 70s to preserve their own cultural heritages, which had been imported rather as a fashion. That period's superficial attitude toward historic relics and its failure to provide the necessary indigenous education transformed the cultural heritage into an instrument of propaganda and recreation.

Beside the above mentioned reasons, another factor which contributed to, and even stimulated, the development of an erroneous impression of the status of cultural heritage in the society, was the absence of any justification for its values to be assessed within the prevailing value system. It is noteworthy that, against a mere measure of a historic relic's value, this assessment is meant in comparison with other social values. It is within the system of social values that priorities can be determined and values can be raised to preserve what warrants offering both life and wealth.

The degree of esteem and attention we devote to anything derives from the value we attribute to it. A long time elapsed before it was realized that, without a strong belief in the values of relics in any society, all measures aimed at their preservation would be artificial and temporary. The true security of a relic is achieved when its values are recognized and respected by the society.

Following the developments derived from the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution in European countries, the necessary factors of interest in historic relics and their preservation were gathered. With the rapid growth and development of these societies, the values of historic relics gradually found their place in their value systems, whereas in Third World countries, including Iran, with the sudden appearance of Western views in this domain, not only was the traditional status assigned to relics altered, but the new, dictated values failed to achieve popular acceptance¹ for want of relationship and conformity with the values prevailing in these societies. The main reasons of this situation were that the promoters of these values were unfamiliar with the ethos of Islam, and those who were acquainted with the cultural values within the Islamic worldly-view had not yet found it necessary or opportune to pay attention to the ethics of cultural heritage activities.

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, a special opportunity emerged for the cultural heritage. In the cultural realm, the main goal of the people in the Revolution was the revival of Islamic values. Bearing in mind the reflection of over thirteen centuries of Islamic presence in Iran, its historic monuments and artifacts appeared as the most appropriate sources of inspiration for the Revolution. But, in practice, the society had

¹ Here, religious, rather than scientific, acceptance is meant.

no pre-conceived notion of the possibility of such a use for relics. Thus, the people found it difficult to view what until then had represented an instrument of recreation for tourists and Imperial nationalistic propaganda as a source of inspiration for the revival of their own identity.

Therefore, in view of the overwhelming devotion of the people to Islam and their awareness of Islamic precepts calling to refer to the past and the Holy Quran's repeated emphasis on paying attention to the fate of past peoples and the relics they have left behind, studying historic relics appeared imperative. But the lack of a proper interpretation of these sources, which could establish a correspondence between the objectives of the Holy Quran and other Islamic sources and those of what is known today as cultural heritage, complicated the achievement of this goal.

Something had to be done to overcome the hindrances mentioned. In view of the experiences acquired during the administration of cultural heritage affairs, and imbued with the minimum required acquaintance with Islamic concepts, the author attempted to take steps in this direction. The establishment of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization and the ratification of the Bill of its Charter can perhaps be counted as the most important outcomes of these efforts. Yet, this rather long experience also revealed the necessity of carrying out further research concerning the present-day image of cultural heritage in Iran and relationships between Islamic values and cultural heritage.

Although, in view of the nature of the subject, it was impossible to restrict the scope of the present study, it is hoped that efforts made in this direction will be considered as an onset for further studies in this field.

THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The principal aim of the present study is to pave the way for more appropriate policies concerning cultural heritage in Iran. In principle, policies are adopted with the purpose of achieving a transition from an existing state to a desired one. Therefore, in adopting any policy, a knowledge of the existing situation and orientations is necessary in order to reach the desired state. This is why cultural heritage policies in Iran will only be realistic and feasible when, firstly, they are based on an analytical perception of the

existing situation, and, secondly, the value system of the society's mode of evaluation and expectations of historic relics are recognized.

The main objectives of this study are shaped around responding to these two needs. On the one hand, care will be taken to investigate the principal cultural heritage activities, i.e. identification, protection, conservation and presentation, in terms of Islamic thought. In this concern, the research shall examine such issues as the values of the past, the definition of cultural heritage, its values and their priorities in Islamic thought. On the other, reviewing the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in Iran, the main factors affecting the development of this concept are identified and their effects evaluated. In conclusion, on the basis of this knowledge, the thesis shall present propositions concerning the future orientation of policies.

SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

On the basis of the objectives adopted, this study is divided in two main parts. Each part has its own scope. In Part I, the objective of which is to assess cultural heritage in Islamic thought, the main scope embraces issues of Islamic beliefs related in one way or another with this subject. Therefore, the main references expounding these beliefs, which are the Holy Quran, categories of Islamic canons and the views of Muslim thinkers, will be examined.

In consulting the Holy Quran, beside giving reference to the Arabic text, one Persian and two English translations will be used. Also two extensive interpretations, one ancient and one modern, of the Quranic verses will be taken into consideration. In the examination of Islamic canons, references shall be limited to titles cited in books of Islamic Laws and a few such canons will be given in example so as to present the grounds for research in this domain. Examining the entirety of Islamic regulations and their eventual relationship with cultural heritage constitutes an immense field beyond the scope of this thesis and requires an independent study. In reviewing opinions of Islamic thinkers, reference shall be made to their most important books, whether describing historical events or expounding the importance of history in Islam. In order to allow a comparison between views of Muslim and non-Muslim thinkers, opinions of the latter on the importance of the past, history and relics shall also be examined.

In Part II, the objective of which is to examine the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in Iran, this evolution will be examined in the course of history and within the geographic perimeter of Iran. The most significant political-cultural events which influenced the formation of policies governing the cultural heritage, as well as the quality of this influence, will fall within the scope of Part II. Having an analytical view of what the cultural heritage of Iran has undergone to the present day, propositions for future orientations will be presented in conclusion.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present study relies essentially upon the study of relevant written sources. In addition, the author's participation in and organization of several workshops, his examination of ancient manuscripts and documents, and his carrying out interviews were auxiliary methods utilized.

The vastness of the subject under research in its two main themes, Islam and Iran, made the use of Arabic and Persian sources, as well as English ones, inevitable. What helped in selecting appropriate sources, whether books or thesis and articles, was the clarity of the questions of the research. Having clear questions also simplified selecting adequate quotations from among the many texts under study. From the beginning, the main questions and their sub-sections were defined and recorded as titles on distinct cards. Each selected quotation was put in the box of the relevant question. Although the questions were gradually altered and completed during the progression of the study, their organization not only helped to set up its structure, but prevented the pain of facing innumerable notes while drafting it.

In sections where the study concerned the Holy Quran, the Arabic text was initially browsed through with the aid of a Persian translation and all the verses somehow related to cultural heritage subjects were selected. Then, in order to better grasp the meanings of the selected verses, two interpretations were consulted, one dating back to the 11th century and the other contemporary. As English translations of the verses in question were to be included in the text of the thesis, these too were checked against their corresponding Arabic texts and Persian translations.

In the section on Iran, beside the texts of historic books, a considerable number of travel accounts and memoirs left behind by Iranians and non-Iranians were studied. In surveying parts of the history of cultural heritage where almost no textual reference existed, original administrative documents of the time, which were in the custody of the librarian of Irān-e Bāstān Museum, were consulted by the author. The study of these documents, which are all manuscript governmental records, involved cases where expertise in reading ancient texts was called for, whether to decipher scripts, interpret words or perceive allusions.

In the books published on the subject at the time, the political-cultural events of the Pahlavi era were less reflected from the viewpoint the author had in mind. Therefore, in order to study events of those years, newspapers and periodicals of that era were consulted. Beside this direct use of press items, since the press reports of the most important events of the past one hundred years in Iran had already been collected and published in a book entitled "Chronology of Iranian History", this source was also utilized in referring to some events.

As the author was in charge of the country's cultural heritage for a decade after the Revolution, the report of events related to cultural heritage which occurred during the Revolution and in the years after it are the outcome of his own observations and the data he gathered. In order to also provide information about views of other individuals, influential in cultural heritage matters after the Revolution, five such persons were interviewed. These interviews were arranged in a semi-structured manner and care was taken to mainly raise general questions, so that all views may be freely presented. The aim of organizing these interviews, was not to reflect the interviewees' opinions in this thesis, but for the author to develop a broader perspective of the subject. The persons interviewed, and the subjects discussed, are introduced in Appendix IX.

While carrying out his research, in addition to taking part in several workshops during which he exposed the problem and his method of research and benefitted from the participants' views, the author also organized an independent workshop, the results of which were useful in adjusting the approach of his research.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION

Initially, it must be conceded that carrying out a scholarly research in order to devise or correct policies governing such affairs as cultural heritage activities in Iran constitutes a rare, if not unprecedented, endeavour. What takes place in practice is the application of the views of the individual or group in charge of these affairs, with regard for the conditions existing in the society and, lately, the general policies governing the country's development plans. These policies can be said to be based on the personal conceptions of the responsible authority in charge of cultural heritage affairs and implemented within the framework of the realities currently existing in the society. The present study will attempt, by examining principal factors influencing these policies, to create an analytical background for adopting decisions.

Rarely has any research been done concerning either the main aim of this study or its objectives. The efforts made to compile the viewpoints of Islam on cultural heritage and related activities by referring directly to the Holy Quran and Islamic precepts will at least draw the reader's attention to ways by which Muslims can evaluate their historic relics in terms of their religious values. The necessity of a relationship between cultural heritage values and the accepted values of the society on the one hand, and the difficulties caused in Islamic societies due to their adoption of alien viewpoints on the other, further emphasize the importance and the role of the objectives of this study. In addition, alternative propositions concerning the orientation of the principal cultural heritage activities are presented in Part I, opening the way to a critical review of the current methods.

Unfortunately, all that has been written to the present about the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in Iran consists of brief reports that can be counted on one hand and which mostly relate to activities carried out. Although the author recognizes that surveying the policies governing Iran's cultural heritage in the course of its history represents a formidable task, he is convinced that his attempt at presenting an image, albeit in summary, of the development covered, beside opening the way for future studies, will play a decisive role in subsequent legislation for the cultural heritage of Iran.

This study has also provided an opportunity for formulating a report based on the author's experience in administering the country's cultural heritage for a decade, and the reasons for the measures taken, to be recorded, perhaps serving as a beginning for a complete history to be written about the evolution of the Iranian cultural heritage. In view of the newness and range of some areas explored in this research, a large number of texts given in reference were translated for the first time into English. Besides being voluminous, the ancient language of these texts further complicated translation. It can, therefore, be claimed that the present research has tried to make an original contribution by determining the aim, objectives and areas, and by providing access to ancient texts concerning cultural heritage of Iran.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In order to study, within the framework described in preamble, the areas stated in its main question, this thesis is divided in two parts and a Summary and Conclusion.

Part I, which deals mostly with concepts underlying the research, attempts to find the place of cultural heritage in an Islamic outlook. This part is divided in four chapters. The first Chapter presents the view that, from any outlook, the quantity and quality of past values are the main factors which determine the values of cultural heritage. Views of non-Muslim thinkers on the value of the past are examined and compared with those of Muslim thinkers.

Chapter Two Reviews the Holy Quran to introduce verses related in any way to cultural heritage. It aims at classifying and analyzing their messages, expounding the Holy Quran's exhortations to refer to ancient relics, their values, the aims of visiting them, as well as listing the qualities required for the relics' messages to be perceived.

On the basis of conclusions reached in Chapters One and Two, in Chapter Three first, an attempt is made, while reviewing definitions suggested, to find a comprehensive definition of cultural heritage. The definition thus obtained is compared with several definitions put forward by Unesco. Then, the listed values of cultural heritage are reviewed, and their priorities from an Islamic point of view examined.

Chapter Four, which closes Part I, studies the four main cultural heritage activities and presents new orientations in this domain which can be adapted to Islamic societies such as Iran. A number of Islamic rules in this context are examined, acquainting the reader with traditional methods of cultural heritage protection in Islamic societies. The methods introduced are given as examples of the approach this study envisages for these activities.

Part II examines the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in Iran. This process is reviewed chronologically and is broken down in three periods. Chapter Five deals with a brief review of the development of cultural heritage until the year 1900, including an examination of several views expressed on cultural heritage before the Qājār dynasty, the effects of the Europeans' appearance in Iran on its cultural heritage, an assessment of attitudes of rulers, intellectuals and the people toward historic relics, and finally reasons for which caused the agreement in 1900 between Iran and France, which gave the latter exclusive rights to excavate throughout the country.

Chapter Six, while examining documents prior to the rule of Rezā Shāh, examines the uses of cultural heritage for political purposes and assesses the damages thus inflicted upon the concept of cultural heritage in the society and the people's attitudes toward it. The second part of this chapter presents an analytical examination of the events which affected the formation of cultural heritage policies under Pahlavi II before and after the coup d'état of 1941 up to the victory of the Islamic Revolution (1979).

In Chapter Seven, the situation of cultural heritage during the Revolution and the years immediately afterwards is described and new orientations which led to the establishment of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization are examined, following which the law of ICHO's charter, the circumstances of its establishment and activities of this organization until 1991, and finally its policies and activities in recent years are reviewed, acquainting the reader with the latest situation of cultural heritage in Iran.

A summary of all Chapters and their conclusions, a synthesis of these conclusions and suggestions for the future are presented in Chapter 8.

Part One

Islam and cultural heritage

The past in Islamic and non-Islamic Thought¹

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The way we look at the past determines the meaning and the direction of our cultural heritage activities. This study develops on an Islamic point of view, for looking at cultural heritage policies in countries such as Iran, while avoiding adoption of other's perceptions of the past. The research will investigate various approaches in this regard as well as the Islamic one, to demonstrate their differences and similarities. This will give a better understanding of the Islamic out-look and will assist in making the ground ready for presenting a more appropriate definition and direction for our cultural heritage from this point of view.

1.2. THE NECESSITY OF STUDYING THE PAST

For all those people who are dealing with cultural heritage in any way, it is their destined task to think about the past. Islam recommends three *books* for Muslim enlightenment; the Book of Revelations, the Book of the Past (history), and the Book of Nature. Accordingly, three samples are chosen to express how the Holy Quran refers to these *books*.

- *Those to whom We have given the Book study it as it should be studied: they are the ones that believe therein: those who reject faith therein, the loss is their own. (Al-Baqara 2:121)²*
- *There have been examples that have passed away before you: travel through the earth, and see what was the end of those who rejected Truth. (Al-i-Imrān 3:137)*

¹ An initial version of this section was presented in a seminar on Iranian Culture and Civilisation, organised by the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization in Tehran, on 20 July 1994, under the title of *The Value of the Past*.

² The address of the verses are given in the brackets, first the name of the *Surah* (chapter) then the number of the *Surah* and the number of the verse.

○ Do they not look at the Camels, how they are made? ○ And at the Sky, how it is raised high? ○ And at the mountains, how they are fixed firm? ○ And at the Earth, how it is spread out? ○ Therefore, do thou remind for thou art one to remind. (Al-Gāshiyā 88:17-21)

As narrated by a contemporary Iranian historian:

"Indeed, there is nothing like nature, which has always surrounded humankind, and the past, which chases him everywhere, like a shadow, evoking the curiosity of humankind." (Zarrinkoob 1991:29)³.

Archaeologists who see the remains of the past more scientifically and thus open new avenues, make it easier for people to appreciate the past; those preservers of the remains of the past who try to prolong the life of artefact to enable future generation to confront the past; the museum keepers who try to represent the essence of old lasting experiences of humankind to the viewers in the shortest possible time, even to those who are merely the cause of this world's movement, should all ask themselves the same question regarding the value of the past. What is the dependence of humankind upon the past while he is facing the future?

It seems completely irrational to spend a good part of our life in any way studying past works while neglecting the important question of what we are searching for in the past. If we pay enough attention to the past, we will find out that responding to this question is not only essential for those who are involved in cultural heritage, but for mankind as a whole.

Studying the value of the past is particularly essential for those who are concerned about cultural heritage. They need to justify their belief by clarifying its value. Facing questions such as: **why should we care about our cultural heritage?**, gives the way to the simple and perhaps comprehensive answers like: **it is the most reliable means to communicate with humanity's past,**

"To any generation, an identifiable past offers a line of communication with others: between the living, the dead, and those still to be born." (Shankland 1975:26)

³ All the quotes which are from Iranian references are translated into English by the author.

In remembering that our past existed, we study its quality and it allows us a better understanding of humankind.

"Historical buildings and archaeological sites can be used to establish the history of a nation in people's minds."
(Feilden 1983:13)

Naturally the next indispensable question will be: **what on earth is this past that we should respect its means of communication?** It is the answer to this question that clarifies and justifies the value of cultural heritage.

This point will be more vital when we consider that our call for caring about the cultural heritage is not only throughout a single country but on an international scale, with different cultures. Even in a single society we evaluate the past from different points of view. Therefore, this expectation is valid when its evaluation is grounded on what each society believes is the values of its own past.

This study is based upon the hypothesis that; all ideas, laws, regulations and even executive methods regarding cultural heritage in Europe are the outcome of the way Europeans have looked at the past. The transporting of these European perspective to Islamic countries not only failed to match the dilemmas facing those countries, which is obvious from the results, but did not allow their peoples to think and grow through their ideas and methods according to their own out-look on the past. Therefore, in this Chapter we will attempt to study various attitudes towards the past and history, to illuminate the value of the past as well as its similarities and varieties from European and Islamic points of view.

In such a study, we are faced with the reality that, more or less, in the European case, each out-look on the past has its reflection in cultural heritage concerns; while in Islamic societies this assumption can not be made. For example, under the influence of the industrial revolution's rapid changes a new attention was paid to the past, *"The old represents history and meaning, [while]...the new is shallow"* (Appleyard 1979:20), apparently this had an effect on the evaluation of relics;

"Ruskin has searchingly examined the sources of his love for medieval buildings. At the very centre of them he has discovered, with absolute honesty and absolute conviction,

the consideration that these buildings are old, that they have lasted." (Summerson 1966:26).

In the case of Islamic societies, although there is a common point of view towards the value and the role of the past, there are some few examples to show their ideas about relics. The author believes that, if one rarely comes across expressed theories about preservation of cultural heritage in these societies, it is not because they disregarded its value, as there is enough evidence to prove the opposite⁴. It is more related to a lack of social appeal for cultural heritage policies in that era.

What we should bear in mind is that what Muslims call *Taffaqoh* (referring to details of Quran and *Hadith*, as the main sources of guidance, to find new solutions), takes place when there is an inquiry in the society. As the evolution of physical environment in Islamic societies had not been so rapid as it was in Europe, there was no need for cultural heritage policies. But from the 1930s, Islamic Societies have been facing devastating new development, and now there is an ever increasing appeal for appropriate policies in this regard. Whereas there is enough material in Quran itself and its interpretations to pave the way for making required policies, it is now time to search for these policies respecting their values and situations. This provides more proof for the necessity of this research.

1.3. THE MEANING OF THE PAST

To be able to search into the meaning and the concept of the past, and to see what the past, in essence is about, it is preferable to initially determine **what is not the past**. We appreciate the past in conjunction with the present and the future. Paying attention to the concept of the past, present and future makes it clear that deleting one of these three tenses, i.e. the present, is not very difficult. In practice the present tense is not objectively appreciable. In a more detailed study, the present tense is either in association with the past or in continuation with the future. As Carr (1961:102) writes:

"But, as we all know, the present has no more than a notional existence as an imaginary dividing line between the past and future."

⁴ For example, we may remember the message in the poem from the Arabian poet Bahtary(11th C.), when he visited the ruins of Casra Palace, and compare it with the same ideas narrated by Iranian poet Khagani (14th C.). As Zarrinkoob says; "The connotations of moral thinking in the feelings both two poets has an absorbing continuity of their moral thinking"(1991:20-1).

In examination of the other two, the past and the future, we come to the same conclusion that existing reality is nothing but the past, and the future cannot be understood without fully appreciating the experiences of the past.

The principle of any conception of the future is based upon past experiences of humankind. The realization of any simple concept of the future is not possible without a fundamental understanding of the past. Therefore, it seems that although in assessment of the human lifetime, our attention is drawn towards the present and future, the past has a substantial role to play. In other words **we are nothing but the past**. If the bow of our life has reserved energy for throwing towards the future, and has chosen a direction for this throw, the energy and direction are nothing but the product of an action that we have already performed. Is it not reasonable to say that a human being is nothing but its own past? In response to the somewhat rhetorical question, **Who am I?**, do we not have to answer in kind, **Who have I been?**

"...you do not know where you are unless you know where you have been..." (Hewison 1987:10).

According to Lowenthal(1985:41):

"The past is integral to our sense of identity; 'the sureness of I was is a necessary component of the sureness I am'".

Even all of our plans and decisions for the future are affected by the cumulative factors that has shaped our present being. If we raise the same question on a national scale as: **Who are we, the people of this land?**, we will discover the place of our past and its role in guiding our future path. Under these circumstances, this can be interpreted as:

"We are none of the young, or the middle-aged, or the old, comments a writer; we are all of these things" (Lowenthal 1985:61).

This is why the statement of Lucretius(550 BC), "It is from the ignorance of humankind to the past that his ignorance to the future can be concluded." (Radmanesh 1991:146), is appreciated; from this concept the statement, **the man who lacks past, is a man without memory**, achieves new meaning. For a country, it may cause nationalism, if pride is its goal; and a better understanding of the future, if learning from the past is in its mind.

If we disregard the natural instincts of humanity and only consider what has been acquired from its entire learning, we will come to the conclusion that a human being without memory is nothing but a biological creature, an animal who should gain again, and build up the past in order to be fulfilled, as his moral life is based upon the existence of his past. Under such interpretation of the past, it is not only the engraved lines on the tablet of the past that are desirable, as is commonly thought, but it is its whole integrity that should be considered. Thus the past is more than history. The past has occurred in history, but no history is able to represent the entire past. Every historian interprets the past from his own point of view, and any mind is a witness to certain episodes of the past, for approaching the entire past, like approaching the absolute truth, is something impossible.

"It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give floor, and in what order or context" (Carr 1961:5).

1.4. WAYS OF STUDYING THE PAST

"What matters is not the past, but our relationship with it"
(Hewison 1987:43).

The most important point in the study of the past is the quality of communication with it. It is the condition of our communication with the past which specifies the form of our interpretation, and the value that we give to it. Establishment of communication is possible through three methods. The first method⁵ is simply regarding very near periods of times in the past which we recall as the present or current. The aim of this kind of study is to raise lateral connections across the existing factors (or very near past), in order to provide the grounds and possible sources to find and discover deeper historical connections. The second method⁶ is referring to the objective remains of the past, and to finding the secrets of the language and understanding of the inhabitants of the past. This methodology is subject to the preparation and provision of equipment, requires

⁵ This method is usually used by anthropologists who start their study on contemporary phenomena and then try to find its roots in history.

⁶ This is the method of archaeologists who examine historical remains to find historical facts.

more research. The third method⁷ is to refer to what has been recorded about the past and is regarded as history, which is the most important and common method of addressing to the past. Our discussion is not about the probability of the success or failure of these methods, as every procedure has its own strengths and weaknesses.

Although there is a very wide discussion about the ability, quality and role of history in the correct representation and reflection of the past, contemplation of which reveals other aspects of referring to the past, history is still the most common means of communication with the past, so we will study the quality of this communication. It is worth mentioning that the fourth method for referring to the past is an application to what has been stated in religions about the past of humankind, which we will refer to discuss in the next Section.

In brief the final plan that can be considered for addressing the past is a particular and coordinated combination of all the mentioned scientific methods in which each forms an organ of a well-proportioned body. The aim and philosophy of referring to the past by this method as well as the pure fact of history, can be extracted from Holy Books; referring to written history for expansion, development and examination of these applied realities, and studying the physical works as guarantees for the scientific and historical conclusions which to change doubt to certainty. What is achieved from this method combined with what is happening in the present, is an illumination of the way to the future. This procedure allows for different approaches to the past e.g. theological, historical and archaeological, possibly to merge into one direction. We may call this fusion the method of cultural heritage studies.

1.5. APPROACHES TO THE PAST

In various global approaches, different aspects of the past can be seen, and through each of them a particular understanding of cultural heritage is achievable. The examiners of the past can study and criticize it under various reasons. We will review these various ideas throughout history to demonstrate how different eras, schools of thought, social conditions and ideologies etc. have affected our perception of the past,

⁷ This method is used by historians.

and have produced various meanings for cultural heritage. This will make ready the ground to compare an Islamic type of approach with non-Islamic ones. In this way we will prepare a foundation for a definition of our cultural heritage from an Islamic point of view which is discussed in Chapter three.

It is not the task of this research to analyze the reasons why these separate approaches have emerged. Therefore, we do not concentrate on a group of thinkers, or a special approach to the past, but on a wide range of ideas about it. Though our main objective is to demonstrate differences between Islamic and non-Islamic points of view.

1.5.1 NON-ISLAMIC APPROACHES

From the very beginning there have been some perceptions of history that have lasted until now. As Zarrinkoob(1991:53)⁸ has stated, "It seems that in ancient Egypt, the purpose of history was not for the discovery of the past, but for immortalizing the glories of the past", and as Ranke (1952:446) says "What was important for Egyptians in this studying, was only the transmission of the names and surnames of the rulers of the past to their successors". Later on, this type of understanding of history was also prevalent in Greece, Rome and all over Europe. We may assume that preservation of relics had been thought about since ancient times. As Vitruvius (1985, vol.II, BookVII, p.65) has narrated at 1st B.C., "We must censure those who plunder their [ancestors] works and appropriate them to themselves; they...should not only receive censure but punishment for their impious manner of life.". Even centuries later in the Age of Enlightenment, Voltaire(1694-1778) with bitter regret stated that the history of Europe "is nothing but a long list of aristocratic marriages, ancestors' trees and titles" (Zarrinkoob 1991:53). There is also some evidences to show the use of relics in recorded history. Among ancient historians, Thucydides (460-400 B.C.) to some extent, has been the only one who has used documents belonging to archaeology. In his description of Delos Island, the dwelling place of the Dorians he writes about the condition of their graves (Zarrinkoob 1991:80). This is why George Sartorn (1964:321) named him as the "father of archaeology".

⁸ Abdol-Hosain Zarrinkoob, born in 1922, is one of the most knowledgeable contemporary historians in Iran. He has published several books mainly on history. His very valuable book "Tarikh dar Tarazoo" (History in the scale) is a review of the value of history within different nations, and is used by the author several times. 'Tarikh dar Tarazoo' has not yet been translated into English.

Herodotus (480-425 BC), the father of history, believes that all of the historical events are the will of the Gods. This manner of thought can also be seen in the ancient literary books of the church. St. Augustine (354-430 AD), in his famous dissertation named *City of God*, described the process of history as a concept which was acceptable for more than a thousand years after his death, by European historians and scholars. Roman Historians regarded history as a hybrid of oratory and philosophy. In the era of August Caesar (2nd c.BC), national pride, patriotism and the attentions of the Emperor were also added to the motivations of historians. In particular what encouraged historians to seek the past, was the interests of Rome and its past glories. (Zarrinkoob 1991:199-200)

This is one of the most usual ways of regarding the past. As we will see in the next section, Islam is totally against any kind of genealogy. Although, during the Islamic period (622 AD. onwards) there is a tendency towards this kind of approach, it is obvious that it did not have any Islamic roots. But in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe and in Islamic countries after the First World War this was the dominant out-look towards the past. In evaluating cultural heritage, looking to the past for glory played an important role. Sometimes it was used to legitimize a king or kingdom, sometimes to motivate nationalism, to divide neighbouring countries, and to justify the gap between 'developed' and so called 'developing' countries. In succeeding Chapters we will study this issue from an Islamic point of view, with particular reference to the Iranian case.

Historiography in Europe in the Middle Ages did not usually go beyond the narration of events. The historians of that era had nearly always been clerics, and in the recording national or sectarian events, their point of view was always that of the church. Although the works of these types of historians does not suggest they were brilliant talents of historiography. They acted at least not in contradiction with the policy of the church, which was based on precision and honesty. (Zarrinkoob 1991:90)

The Renaissance Movement (14th-17th C.) initiated changes in historiography as it did in the sciences and the arts. But as a literary activity the interests of Humanists, in this era through research of libraries and retrieval and study of manuscripts of the ancient Greeks and Romans, showed the first signs of a new awareness in the history of Europe. The movement of religious reforms at the out-break of the conflict between the Catholic and Protestant religions necessitated historical investigation. The defense of

both sects also necessitated reference to the history of the church and reference to the history and governments to present enough evidence for both sides and to justify their claims. All these events made historiography more serious than it had been. This strong desire and interest in compiling the manuscripts, documents and records in the Renaissance era, filled the whole of W.Europe with enthusiasm.

The Humanist movement of Italy that was formed in the era of the mighty Medici family, was called the era of *Hunting* for ancient manuscripts; history and literature alike have benefited from this event(Zarrinkoob 1991:150). Indeed while the Humanists of the Renaissance intended to restore Europe to its ancient glories beyond the darkness of the Middle Ages (of Christianity), they took the past into consideration:

"The three main themes introduced by poets of the period can be summarized as follows: human vanity and the fragility of man's works, moral and Christian accusation of fallen humanity, and praise of the greatness of Rome" (Jokilehto 1986:11).

However, by the late nineteenth century, history was seen largely as a recapitulation of crimes and calamities, as in Browning's dying Paracelsus:

*"I saw no use in the past: only a scene
Of degradation, ugliness and tears
The record of disgraces best forgotten
A sullen page in human chronicles
Fit to erase"* (Lowenthal 1985:64).

In Europe, particularly in France and Germany, the Romantic movement created an interest and even excitement towards the past. It was due to this enthusiasm that the nineteenth century paid such attention to history that it is referred to as *the Century of History*.

In this wholesale return to the past, a variety of tendencies can be observed:

"Cultures, like individuals, respond to this dilemma in quite different ways. Some look back with gratitude, others with regret, at the past that has made them what they are" (Lowenthal 1985:74).

"Jacopo Sannazaro(1456/8-1530) was the first to see the melancholic reality of the ruins being returned to nature and wilderness, and to express the majestic sadness of a site and the fragility of human life."(Jokilehto 1986:11). This outlook to the past was not

limited to that period but "Humanist insights and techniques remain vital down to our own time; most subsequent efforts to come to terms with precursors are variations on Renaissance themes." (Lowenthal 1985:75). Each philosopher or historian added a new dimension to it. For Issac Newton(1642-1727) history even in its details is the sign of the beauty of God. (Radmanesh 1991:162). G.Vico(1668-1744) and C.L.Montesquieu (1689-1755) are among those who tried to find a new goal for history beyond divine will (Zarrinkoob 1991:200). Voltaire(1694-1778) looked at history as mankind's travel from the darkness of superstitions to the illumination of knowledge (Zarrinkoob 1991:202). Hegel(1770-1831) like Herder(1744-1803) comes to the conclusion that the ultimate goal of history is the fulfilment of what is designed by God for the World, and in this regard he reaches to the Divine Will (Zarrinkoob 1991:219). The study of history gave Schiller (1759-1805) the ability to foretell that "sooner or later a powerful and clever man will appear and will govern not only France but a large part of Europe (Zarrinkoob 1991:93). J.R. Green (1837-1883) tried to clarify that all the people, not alone heroes, even the most simple player of the theatre, has had influence on the growth and prosperity of England. But on the other hand, history for Carlyle (19th C.) was the incidents and endeavour of great heroes (Zarrinkoob 1991:101-2). These different approaches have caused the emergence of some special perceptions of the past in the twentieth century which have led to different definitions of cultural heritage and various expectations about it.

One of the main long lasting approaches to the past is so called **nostalgia**. "... nostalgia (literally, homesickness, a seventeenth-century medical term coined to describe the melancholia of Swiss mercenaries fighting abroad) is not simply a longing for the past, but a response to conditions in the present."(Davis,F. quoted in Hewison 1987:45). "Both classicism and medievalism contain elements of nostalgia, in that they look back to imagine earlier aesthetics and states of mind. But their use of the past was somewhat different, in that they sought to re-use ancient elements in a creative way. The nostalgic impulse has waxed and waned, but is presently getting stronger, and twentieth-century nostalgia is of a new kind." (Hewison 1987:28). It seems that in the beginning of the Twentieth century, the United Kingdom was the first country which accepted nostalgia. It was in those same years that Ditchfield wrote, "Let us live again in the past, surround ourselves with the treasures of past ages."(Lowenthal 1985:9), and as the writer of the book *The Past is a Strange Land* writes, "Nostalgia is today the universal catchword for

looking back"(Lowenthal 1985:4). The consequence of this tendency is to see something good in whatever remains from the past.

It is believed that the most significant factors that could account for the appearance of this demand to return to the past are the deep and wide changes that have occurred in Western societies. One who is under the domination of the rapid changes in these societies feels like a stranger who needs to return to his original homeland. Appleyard (1979:19) interprets it as follows:

"Change no longer conveys a sense of freedom when it takes place too fast and out of one's control. Change, then, represents a loss more than a gain. Our personal and cultural identities are threatened. The past, after all, is evidence that a society has existed. Wipe it away and a culture begins to feel, like a man without a memory, shallow and superficial.", "We turn, therefore, to the past as a repository for our sentiments and values, to escape the difficulties of the present. Such conservatism is fundamental to our survival".

Thus we notice that the meaning of the *new* has been entirely changed. It is the *old* that represents history and meaning; the thing which was accepted by numerous people and has been used for a long period of time, while the *new* is superficial and only belongs to those who have created it and support it.

Nostalgically looking to the past can give rise to a kind of confidence and tranquillity. The childhood that is remembered has a lack of family quarrels. All memories are filled with delightful scenes. "Nostalgia is a memory with the pain removed" (Lowenthal 1985:8), or "...the past is appreciated because it is over; what happened in it has ended"(Lowenthal 1965:62). A science fiction character notes, "Never before in all my long life have I heard so many people wish that they lived 'in the good old days', For the first time in man's history, man is desperate to escape the present"(Finney 1961:37).

With this aspect, the past offers various opportunities to people, "...free from day-to-day cares in the workaday present. A desire to escape for a time from the tyranny of the modern lock-step world of digital watches and computers, to slacken the pace of life and regain a sense of rootedness" (Lowenthal 1985:49). "A well-loved past enriches the world around us, 'The present when backed by past is a thousand times deeper than the present when it presses so close that you can feel nothing else'." (Woolf,V. quoted in

Lowenthal 1985:47). This is why the past seems safe and secure. Its moments have been assessed before. In the past, we have a sense of our roots, as it is really our home, the past is where we come from. This nostalgic out-look to the past that was created under the process of industrialisation produced a special understanding of cultural heritage. What ever belonged to the past seemed sacred. "...praise of the past today is so conventional that almost anything old may be thought desirable" (Lowenthal 1985:36). Remoteness from the past, purifies its image, moving all its problems from a personalized dimension into public territory, free from personal belonging and open to public commendation.

This perception of cultural heritage was adopted by other countries which had not experienced such rapid changes and led to real ambiguity about the way they should look at their heritage. For example, when the style of *country life* was admired by dwellers of large modern cities in Western countries, and clothes, furniture, and even the colours of nature were fashionable, the same fashion became popular in Third World Countries and they imitated this style, while they were still living in cities that were more like large villages.

Another element that is noticeable in referring to the past is self-glorification, which is somehow related to nostalgia. "...nostalgia is also deeply linked with snobbery" (Hewison 1987:29). This kind of observation can also be seen in ordinary people. People remember that high-lights of their lives have coincided with success and prosperity and refer to them when introducing themselves and even keep some documents to prove the veracity of those moments that pleased them, preparing others to become acquainted with them. Nations also feel and nourish this pride, while considering the past, trying to immortalize it:

"The exposure of a culture to the eyes of those raised in another cultural tradition may increase the prestige and understanding of the culture so exposed. ...for these reasons nationalistic motivations have been behind the promotion of transfers, exhibitions and exchanges of cultural objects abroad" (O'Keefe&Prott 1989:9).

These act as evidence for both positive and negative sides of this introduction. Sometimes the objective is merely to satisfying one's pride, pride that makes one feel

better than others and sometimes, in a positive way, reinforces self confidence and minimizes self-effacement in dealing with others.

"This almost magical power of the past does not lie only in the intrinsic beauty of what is being preserved, survivals of an age when towns were made by artisans, but above all in the identity they confirm" (Shankland 1975:25).

It is obvious that nations in different periods of time, need to motivate such feeling. In recent centuries, the founders of the Renaissance in Europe, proposed the same observation of the past. This movement began when after the dark years of the middle ages, the pressure of Europe's civil wars, epidemics of disease that killed millions, and the power of hypocritical theocracies caused people to feel disappointed and frustrated. Intellectuals decided to search for a lost paradise in the past and again wished for the glory of golden days like those of Greek's and Roman's.

"Francisco Petrarch (1307-74) wrote to his friend 'It will be an honour for you to have saved these ruins, because they testify to what once was the glory of unviolated Rome'" (Jokilehto 1986:8).

This kind of approach can be seen once more today in the expressed effect of the decline of the power of some industrial countries from the middle of the twentieth century, and their song of selfishness *I am the one who ...!*, which once echoed worldwide in different ways. On the other hand some countries which witnessed their younger generation's self-effacement in confronting the alien culture, have tried by reference to their glorious past, to increase national pride and to revive their identity. Thus, the struggle to recognise and revitalise the national identity was another reason for studying the past. As already stated, we can convincingly prove our existence, if we can prove that we have existed in the past. More than ever, before important issues of national and cultural identity are being discussed; for this reason they deserve in depth research.

Another reason for looking to the past is the mere love for the past. The author of *The picture of Dorian Gray* writes "The one charm of the past is that it is the past" (Wilde 1963:434), or as Lowenthal (1985:51-2) has described:

"The benefits the past confers vary with epoch, culture, individual, and stage of life. Different pasts - classical or medieval, national or ethnic - suit different purposes. Once morally instructive, the past has become a source of

sensate pleasure. But most of the benefits discussed above remain viable in some context. More than for any functional use, we treasure the old things in our homes for the pastness inherent in them; they reflect ancestral inheritance, recall former friends and occasions, and link past with future generations."

So many antique buyers pursue objects without having any historical knowledge about them. They just purchase them because of their antiquity. This kind of approach can be seen not only in dealing with antiques, but also in social policies and public affairs. It is in this way that the mere past becomes valuable, "I just love history: it's... it's so old" (Thompson 1979:57), and then, as a response to this extremist point of view there are statements like; "The past is growing around us like ivy." (Hewison 1987:30), or "Hypnotised by images of the past, we risk losing all capacity for creative change" (Hewison 1987:10). Therefore, as "Devotion to the past [is] one of the more disastrous forms of unrequited love." (Sontage 1977:40), the question "How to enjoy the benefits of the past without being overwhelmed or corrupted by it is a dilemma that confronts us all" (Lowenthal 1985:74).

Our present day inclination towards the past is evaluated and values obtained from the past are used to justify our immediate actions. As long as we act in a manner similar to the past, we have legitimised it. To justify an action, it is enough to say that the action has occurred exactly as it has in the past, and therefore, we try to vindicate today's necessary policies by borrowing them from the past.

"I would go so far as to maintain that nowadays it is more useful to imitate something "old" but prove, rather than to turn out something new which risks causing people suffering" (Krier 1988:293).

The author believes that nations, like individuals, have different characteristics. Each nation is engaged in a process of evolution. Socio-psychological characteristics appear according to the dominant conditions of that nation. Although there might be some similarities between nations, each case should be recognised and understood in the context of its individual conditions. It is obvious that there is a considerable distinction between Eastern or specifically Islamic evaluation of history, culture, and social concerns and Western or European. Neglecting these distinctions and transferring policies which result from a particular socio-psychological environment might not be a logical operation.

1.5.2 THE ISLAMIC OUT-LOOK

Another approach to the past that can be employed is to learn from it. Muslims look at the past and history in this way. There are many discussions about the state of history, and one can remember sayings such as: **an action that has taken place once, can never be repeated in the same way again, and one can never swim a river twice**, but still "The past is most characteristically invoked for the lessons it teaches. The idea that the past can teach the present dates back to the dawn of written history and animates much of it." (Lowenthal 1985:46)

The question of learning directly from history has always been asked, but without becoming deeply involved in this issue we can accept that in everybody's belief, studying the past increases the power of facing the present and future:

"What today's generation eagerly and enthusiastically seek from history, is not only knowing the past but also finding the meaning and the purpose of the past and the future" (Zarrinkoob 1991:198).

General history is a source for finding the solution to present day problems. Even for professional historians, whose purpose is not to learn from history. Although history cannot be considered as a pattern, it is a good adviser. If it cannot say what we must do, it can tell us what we might do (Lowenthal 1985:47). Therefore:

"...the past which an historian studies is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present" (Carr 1961:32).

He draws a general conclusion from historical cases and as Carr has stated (1961:57), "The historian is not really interested in the unique, but in what is general in the unique". The same historian in the answer to the question of *what is history?* has claimed, "...an unending dialogue between the present and the past"(1961:24). The historian's duty is not to be in love with the past and not to step away from it, but he has to find a special power to use it as a key for understanding the present. Therefore, history finds a meaning that establishes a balanced relation between the past and the present. The philosophy of history has neither had any relation to past events nor to the historian understanding those events, but to both of them in a mutual relationship. From such an understanding of the meaning and the role of history and the past, and their relation with

the present and future, we can comprehend more to the points of view of the religions' followers.

In the view of all the world's religions, people have been created with a special purpose, have travelled a specified route and will arrive at a clear conclusion. Divine Will decides humankind's destiny and according to Zarrinkoob (1991:198), "The interesting point in this education is the triumph of divine will and what is called *Ebrah* (history's lesson), is in fact drawn from this conception". Among the world's religions, we investigate the Moslems' approach to history and the past. There are two sources that can be referred to. One is what Moslems have said about this subject and the other is what directly may be perceived from the Holy Quran and its interpretation. We will study the latter in the next Chapter separately.

Introduction to the nature, objective and method of history in Islam, goes back to the birth of Islam, which can be found in the Holy Quran and among the prophet's sayings. These indications, naturally, are brief and general and are about the relationship between God and human history, with the emphasis on the temporary lifespan of humans in this transient world. Moslems have been ordered to think about mortal life, victories and downfalls of kings and God's rewards and punishments (Mahdi 1974:170-1). Moslems loved history due to its practical and moral benefits. "Whatever Moslems have introduced in history, regarding dimension and versatility, is even richer than the Greek and Roman's heritage"(Zarrinkoob 1991:66). Some Caliphs researched history and the prophet's sayings to find patterns for every day routines. As Masoody (10th C.) the writer of *Al-Morojo-Zahab*, one of the early Iranian history books, says, "Moavieh, the founder of the Omavid Dynasty(7th C.), according to *Ravayat* (sayings), used to spend some of his time hearing about history, every night...even Chengiz(13th C.)and Tamerlane(14th C.) used to. They deeply respected their ancestor's experiences and historical events" (Zarrinkoob 1991:19). Reading *Shah-Nameh* (The King's Book) was a tradition in the king's courts, and even those ministers who didn't want to be seen as redundant, used to keep historical books away from the kings (Zarrinkoob 1991:67).

Centuries before the Renaissance, gathering manuscripts was a very significant function for both scientists and wealthy rulers. Book auctions in the Caliphs' territories were the place to exchange wealth with enthusiasm. Rosenthal, the writer of the book *History of*

Historiography in Islam, states; "Stories, poems, and historical data formed part of the knowledge which parents would transmit to their children. The historian Ibn Najjar (13th C.) received history lessons from his brother, since his father had died when he was only seven years old"(1968:48). According to Ayneh-Vand (1985:180) "There were two schools in Islamic historiography, one was the School of Medina (more about traditional adages and the other the School of Iraq (more about historical facts)".

Moslem historians have evaluated history in several ways. Tabary (9th C.), as with all the other Islamic historians, believes that the occurrence of all the worlds' events is God's will and the fulfilment of this will is the purpose and the meaning of all history (Zarrinkoob 1991:70). Akhvan-as-Safa(10th C.) included history in the nine branches of mathematical science (1926:202), and they suggested that to investigate and think about it makes you aware of the world's instability (Rosenthal 1968:34). Abol Hassan Beihaghi(11th C.) believes, "...history is the treasure of the secrets of affairs" (Ayneh-Vand 1985:38). Abo Ali Meskuye(11th C.) who strongly believed in the usefulness of history of other nation's experiences, had a book named *Tajarebol omam* which means Nation's Experiences. Ibn Hazem(11th C.) in *Marateb-ol-Oloom* says: "History serves as evidence for the instability of the world and for the fact that tyranny and injustice are always punished in the end, while virtue is always rewarded. It stimulates the imitation of the deeds of virtuous men and is a warning against following the example of evildoers"(Rosenthal 1968:36). "Mahmood al-Amuli(14th C.) started out with a few words about the instructiveness and manifold practical uses of history, in that it teaches the fleeting character of worldly greatness and the instability of material possessions and gives man an opportunity to keep his name alive and to live on as a good memory" (Rosenthal 1968:39).

Ibn Khaldon(14th C.) is seen as an exception in the Islamic history of historiography. The preface of his book *al-Ebar*⁹, is an analytical encyclopedia of all the information about the methods of historiography which a historian needs to know to be able to reach some scientific conclusions. The main point in his thought in this preface is about civilization and its destructive tools. For him the benefit of investigating humanity's past is that it can lead to understanding the lessons (*Ebar*) of history and to learning from

⁹ The chosen name for his book defines the general Muslim's out-look to the past.

them. He says, "The reality of history is to give information about human society, about world society and the qualities that affect the nature of this society"(Ibn Khaldon 1953:64)¹⁰. For him, "History refers to events that are peculiar to a particular age or race" (Rosenthal 1958:63).

According to Ibn Athir (13th C.), historical experiences, not only make ordinary people wiser and more aware, it is as if they see the past with their own eyes; but historical experiences show, especially to kings and rulers, the end results of tyranny or righteousness and generosity. The belief that one could benefit and lead a better life by studying, learning from past experiences was apparently a common thought in those days (Zarrinkoob 1991:73-4).

Kaffijy (14th C.) in his book *al-Mokhtasar Fi Elme Tarikh* (A brief summary in the Science of History) writes "One useful science about the beginning and the end of life and whatever is related to these two, is history whose benefit and wonders are countless. The science of history is a sea of pearls and corals and there is no way to explain or describe it. In this science there are wonders from the kingdom on earth and the heavenly kingdom and it is a route towards the lord"(Ayneh-Vand 1985:33).

In *Reyhanat-ol-Adab* (13th C.) history is defined as; "The revival of our ancestors' works and provision of life for future generations and their children and 't is the best way to gain experience and receive advice"(Ayneh-Vand 1985:40). The benefit of history according to the book *Meftah-hos-Saadah* (16th C.) is to take lessons and advice from the past and to access those experiences that can inform humans of all those past events, of those losses and benefits that our ancestors have experienced (Ayneh-Vand 1985:35). The lessons of history echo in Santayana's (1905:284) words "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it".

Thus, whatever religion or morals and law or economy teaches humankind is theoretical. Only history can teach real actual examples, and "...changing history to a kind of science that does not correspond to the present will cause to occur in history loss

¹⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* trans. Rosenthal 1953 New York.

and ruin. And if that happens it will change human beings into mere collectors of information" (Zarrinkoob 1991:13).

Perhaps what *Ibn Fandogh* (12th c.) explained about the benefits and practical and scientific objectives of history, is a conclusive summary of all Moslems' views. He stated that:

"The relatively short human lifespan does not allow each person to experiment in every individual action and obliges us to reap the benefits of others' experiences, especially the predecessors and this is what can be achieved by studying history. Therefore, thinking about history and trying to learn from past events, is like seeking advice from all the wise people from history for every day actions" (Zarrinkoob 1991:73).

Or as David Hume(1748:8) says:

"Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature".

Finally, "The most abstract and pure enjoyment that can be gained from history is a kind of mystical experience; a consciousness of unity and continuity"(Zarrinkoob 1991:26). In another definition, whatever a person calls himself is in fact his past. Thus the world's past, which is the history of the universe, forms the whole universe-self and in this way the entire history, the history of the past, is alive in human existence and as Zarrinkoob (1991:125) has quoted from Benedetto Croce (1866-1952);

"The entire history consists of the contemporary history, therefore, it cannot be said that the universe has a history, it has to be said that the universe is history."

1.6. CONCLUSION

We saw that, unlike what appears at first glance, the past, far from being a silent, inanimate, wasted part of man's life, is actively present, when compared with the present and future, which have a relative existence. In reality, every being, in order to say what it is, must make clear what it was. The past not only plays a role in shaping the present, but also provides future orientations. This role is determined in practice by our outlook upon the past.

For those somehow in contact with historic relics, interest in the past bears a twofold importance, because the main characteristic of historic relics is that they belong to the past. We also noticed that the importance and value we attribute to a historic relic depends on our evaluation of the past. In conservation, all the questions of why, what and how find adequate answers once the reasons of our reference to the past are clarified. But our main point of interest was that, in the course of history, various schools of thought have conceived the past in different manners, and that, alongside social changes, the reasons of men's interest in the past have also changed. Some of those concepts lasted longer and had greater effect, to the extent of affecting our present-day conceptions. Therefore, in any theoretical discussion concerning cultural heritage values, the viewpoint from which we evaluate the past must be made clear. This is where the necessity of examining the views expressed by Muslim and non-Muslim thinkers, in order to distinguish the particular viewpoint of Muslims, becomes evident.

Studying the views of Muslim thinkers shows that, among the followers of various schools of thought, they conceived the past essentially as a source for learning lessons. But, in the preceding decades, with the introduction of European viewpoints in Islamic countries, including Iran, their outlook upon the past, and therefore their cultural heritage, was altered, upsetting the harmony between cultural heritage values and other social values in the value system of Islamic societies.

In the course of this study, the author came across various reasons for referring to the past as expressed by non-Muslim writers, which naturally also affected Islamic societies by way of transfer. These include:

- Immortalizing the glories of the past;
- Transmitting the names and surnames of the rulers of the past to their successors;
- Studying the past as the will of gods;
- Studying the past as the sign of human inanity and the fragility of man's works;
- Nostalgia;
- Evasion from the rapid changes of industrial societies;
- Aspiration for security and peace;
- Preserving inimitable past glories;
- Self-glorification;
- Acquisition of national and individual identity;

- Pure gratification of love for the past;
- Repeating things experienced instead of risking to design something new.

All Islamic thinkers, obviously inspired by the teachings of the Holy Quran, have considered the purpose of referring to the past to be paying heed to its examples, although they have considered the implementation of various scientific, historic and cultural studies necessary for this admonition to become effective.

We saw that this outlook upon the past had prerequisites as well as outcomes. The most important among these prerequisites were the beliefs that man is created with a particular aim, covering a definite path to reach a pre-determined goal, and that man's fate is ruled by all-encompassing laws (Sonnat-ollāh). Therefore, an action done by a group in the past, from which results have been achieved, can be instructive for contemporary man.

In the minds of its adherents, this type of conception entails the unification of the past, the present and the future. The past is seen as a guide to the future. This viewpoint has been very influential on such cultural heritage matters as the selection, evaluation, conservation and presentation, of relics as discussed in Chapter Three.

Since an Islamic outlook is based upon the Holy Quran, our discussion concerning the value of the past, the relics it carries and the activities related to these relics will be incomplete unless we also examine the matter as reflected in the Holy Quran. As the verses of the Holy Quran have not yet been studied from this perspective, the author believes that such research can yield extremely interesting points, which can prove effective in drawing Muslims' attention toward their cultural heritage and the vulnerable conditions of conservation in which they exist.

The Past in the Quran

2.1. INTRODUCTION

○ *How many population have We destroyed, which were given to wrong-doing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many Wells are lying idle and neglected and castles lofty and well-built? ○ Do they not travel through the land, so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear? Truly it is not the eyes that are blind, but the hearts which are in their breasts. (Quran, Al-Hajj 22:45,46)*

It is necessary to investigate the past, history and cultural heritage in the Quran, in order to identify their importance in Islamic culture, because the Quran has always been the source of reference for values to every Moslem. All the individual and social relations and regulations which dominate them, have originated from the Quran, either directly or indirectly. Therefore, if in an acceptable way, a special meaning is obtained clearly from particular verses, this meaning may not only be acknowledged, but become the basis of policies, legislations and relationships in Islamic societies.

The aim of this Chapter is **to investigate the amount and type of attention the Quran shows to the past and history, in order to show, that not only does the Quran consider the past relevant but has a special point of view and usage for it. This can be understood from a comparative study of its verses¹.**

It has to be mentioned that in this study all cases have been examined from an Islamic perspective and a comparative study with other schools of thought has been avoided. This thesis is based on an extensive interpretation of the Quran by the great Iranian contemporary professor and philosopher, the blessed Allameh Tabataba'ii (1900-1983) which was written in Arabic and then translated into *Farsi*. Reference is also made to the older sources such as the interpretation of Imam Fakhre Razi, a philosopher of the

¹ The comparative study of verses of the Quran is a school of interpretation that allows understanding of new meanings without assuming or inventing them.

eleventh century. To give a closer reading to an English translation of verses, two versions of the Quran have been used; the first one a recent translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali (Al-Madineh, Saudi Arabia, 1982), the other one by M.H.Shakir (Qum, Iran, 1928). The location of each verse is given in brackets, first the name of the *Surah* (chapter) then the number of that *Surah* in the Quran and the number of the verse in that *Surah*.

2.2. WORLD'S PAST, HUMANITY'S PAST

There are two historical concepts visible in the Quran. The first one explains how the world was created and how it will ultimately end, while the second is about the history of mankind's life on earth which is referred to numerous times in the Quran. In the first instance, by creating a panorama from the beginning to the end of creation, man sees his entire life as a moment going through a long passage of time.

The Holy Quran, clearly and in so many verses, by describing the quality of the creation of heaven and earth, and the quality of their destruction, has expanded man's mind to see life in a much greater dimension than his own limited time. Therefore, not only man's history and its remains, but also the history of the creation and destruction of life, is a reminder of the instability of mankind on a immense historical journey. This approach by Islam, which concludes and intensifies with reference to the Prophet's Sunnah², has affected all aspects of the social and individual life of Moslems and has played an essential part in the quality of the interpretation of the relationship between the past, present and future.

The second historical aspect has been created by mentioning the history of mankind and that of the nations that have lived prior to us. This concept has been approached and described in a special way. Since we are more concerned with the physical remains of the past, which have been described by the Quran, we concentrate on those sections of the verses that focus on this issue. Although in the past, Moslems have always looked on history to learn lessons, this attention was generally concerned with what was

² Sunnah or Sunna-tor-Rasool contains all of the recorded and narrated behaviours and the statements of the prophet(PBUH), and is a sacred source and a model for Moslems' behaviour.

mentioned by the Quran. As we will see later, the Quran has clearly mentioned references to physical artefact. But these matters in the Islamic period have generally been understood as a common human approach to those remains and the beneficial aspects of visiting them: the attitude to be shown when facing relics, or preserving them, introducing and discovering them has not been properly valued.

Undoubtedly, considering that this kind of approach to the Quran is not very common, the author steadfastly attempts to invite people to look at the Quran from this point of view. He attempts this by alluding to the verses that might have explained this approach, and to the words and their meanings. If whatever can be accomplished in this way can be analyzed, investigated and hopefully accepted by the Quran's interpreters, then a new door will have been opened to improve and complete the policies of cultural heritage in Islamic societies.

2.3. THE METHOD OF REFERRING

The Holy Quran investigates the history of different nations with the Prophets that have been chosen for them. The life of these nations has not been named **Tarikh**³ in the Quran.

"In Arabic, Tarikh means both, 'date' and 'era'. The word has apparently been used in pre-Islamic literature. It has not been used in the Quran. It does not appear in the Old *Hadith*⁴ either." (Rosenthal 1968:13)

"The words such as Qasas (al-A'raf 7:176), Hadith (an-Naziat 79:15), Nabaa (Ibrahim 14:9) and etc. have been used in the Quran to explain the meaning of history. It has to be mentioned that "...none of the words, Tarikh in Farsi and Arabic, History in English and Histoire in French can correctly interpret the words that have been used in the Quran" (Radmanesh 1991:13). "...the word Tarikh must evoke in the Moslem reader a set of notions which are not identical with those suggested by our History." (Rosenthal 1968: 15). "Tarikh should be understood not only as 'epoch' but also as something like 'fixed habits'" (Rosenthal 1968:13).

³ This word means history in Farsi and Arabic languages.

⁴ What is cited from Prophet(PBUH).

- **Qasas:** means to follow up, to follow something, to be in search of reality, to pursue it and to find it. It also means, to find and to discover, to find the lost, changing the unknown to known. It has also been said that Qasas is to follow the foot prints and to proceed, to follow the news and to understand all.

"They (Qasas) are not viewed under the aspect of historical cause and effect, and are thus essentially timeless." (Rosenthal 1968:21)

- **Hadith:** means a new statement, a new word or act, a new interpretation, to invent something that did not previously exist or existed in a different form or shape. Hadith talks about creation and creativity and where it substitutes the word history it is a symbol of innovation, and there is no difference whether it is accidental or purposeful.

- **Nabaa:** means news, but only a specific kind of news. It should have three characteristics: it should be free from lies, be sequential and its reference should be Divine. To use the word Nabaa instead of the word history also has another reason. Nabaa is news that has a huge benefit, the kind of benefit that creates science. The word history fails to satisfy the above requirements.

To use words which give different meanings to history, proves that the interpretation of history by the Quran is not only to state past events for the sake of increasing our historical information. The Holy Quran describes an idea, which has hidden meanings, as well as an immediately apparent reality. In this way, the revealed history in the Quran is a truth free from deviation (Nabaa), not only in stating events but in their hidden substance; forming a new statement (Hadith) which does not look at subjects because they are new, but its interest is how to face and apply them; and is to be researched and perceived (Qasas), which leads mankind from a physical reality to a spiritual one.

2.4. REPETITION

Discussions about the form and details of historical events mentioned in the Quran have not been referred to in this research. What relates to our interest is the conclusion drawn from these events and the way to refer to our ancestor's remains.

Concerning the limitations of the Quran's verses and regarding its extensive topics, interpreters believe that the repetition of a concept is to indicate its importance, as well as to serve as a reminder. So to become acquainted with the verses, regarding the past and our heritage, specially for those who might be less familiar with the Quran, and to provide firmer ground for studying the topic, which has seldom been paid serious attention to until now, we will first present a list of verses containing relevant information, then systematically categorize and examine them. The selection of these verses which lay the foundation for this study, are the result of several readings of the Quran from a special point of view. The presentation of a selection of the whole verses here, in their complete form, will help the reader to have a fuller understanding of the issue under study, as well as allowing the author to refer to any part of them when needed. The original of all the verses in Arabic and their references in the Holy Quran will be in Appendix I for further reference.

- *So We made it an example, to their own time, and to their posterity, and a lesson, to those who fear Allah. (Al-Baqarah 2:66)*
- *Or (take) the similitude of one who passed by a hamlet, all in ruins to its roots. He said "Oh! how shall Allah bring it (ever) to life. After (this) its death?" But Allah caused him to die for a hundred years, then raised him up (again). He said: "How long didst thou tarry (thus)?" He said: "(perhaps) a day or part of a day." He said: "Nay, thou hast tarried thus a hundred years: but look at thy food and thy drink; they show no signs of age: and look at thy donkey: and that We may make of thee, a sign unto the people. Look further at the bones, how We bring them together and clothe them with flesh. When this was shown clearly to him, he said: "I know that Allah hath power over all things." (Al-Baqarah 2:259)*

- *There have been examples that have passed away before you: travel through the earth, and see what was the end of those who rejected Truth. (Al-i-Imrān 3:137)*
- *How many towns have We destroyed (for their sins)? Our Punishment took them on a sudden by night or while they slept for their afternoon rest. (Al-A'rāf 7:4)*
- *So the earthquake took them unawares, and they lay prostrate in their homes in the morning! (Al-A'rāf 7:78)*
- *"This day shall We save thee in thy body, that thou mayest be a Sign to those who come after thee! But verily, many among mankind are heedless of Our Signs!" (Yūnus 10:92)*
- *Verily in Joseph and his brethren are Signs for seekers (after Truth). (Yūsuf 12:7)*
- *There is, in their stories, Instruction for men endued with understanding. It is not a tale invented, but a confirmation of what went before it, a detailed exposition of all things, and a Guide and a Mercy to any such as believe. (Yūsuf 12:111)*
- *Is it not a guidance to such men (to call to mind) how many generations before them We destroyed, in whose haunts they (now) move? Verily, in this are Signs for men endued with understanding. (Tā-Hā 20:128)*
- *How many population have We destroyed, which were given to wrong-doing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many Wells are lying idle and neglected and castles lofty and well-built? ○ Do they not travel through the land, so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear? Truly it is not the eyes that are blind, but the hearts which are in their breasts. (Al-Hajj 22:45,46)*
- *Say: "Go ye through the earth and see what has been the end of those guilty (of sin). (An-naml 27:69)*

- *And We have left thereof an evident Sign, for any people who (care to) understand.
(Al-Ankabūt 29:35)*
- *Does it not teach them a lesson, how many generations We destroyed before them, in
whose dwellings they (now) go to and fro? Verily in that are Signs: do they not
then listen? (As-Sajda 32:26)*
- *Verily, ye pass by their (sites) by day, ○ And by night: will ye not understand?
(As-Sāffat 37:137,138)*
- *And We made them (a People) of the Past and an Example to later ages.
(Az-Zukhruf 43:56)*
- *Do they not travel through the earth, and see what was the End of those before them
(who did evil)? Allah brought utter destruction on them, and similar (fates await)
those who reject Allah. (Muhammad 47:10)*
- *But how many generations before them did We destroy (for their Sins), stronger in power
than they? Then did they wander through the land: was there any place of escape
(for them)? ○ Verily in this is a Message for any that has a heart and
understanding or who gives ear and is a witness. (Qāf 50:36,37)*
- *And We left there a Sign for such as fear the Grievous Chastisement. (Az-Zāriyāt 51:37)*
- *So that there covered it that which covered. (An-Najm 53:54)*
- *And We have left this as a Sign (for all time): then is there any that will receive
admonition? (Al-Qamar 54:15)*
- *Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the Ād (people), ○ Of the (city of) Iram, with
lofty pillars. (Al-Fajr 89:6,7)*

2.5. LEARNING

In the verses pertaining to the past, some words have been used which make clear the Quran's intention of showing the instructive aspects of referring to history and its remains. These words 'Ayeh', 'Ebrah', 'Mathal', 'Nekal', 'Moezah' and 'Zekr' together with their meanings and an example of the verses are as follows:

■ **Ayeh:** means point, sign, arrow, reason, guide. This word has been used when the Quran refers to its own verses, as well as to natural creations.

- *...and that we may make of thee, a sign⁵ unto... (Al-Baqarah 2:259)*
- *This day shall We save thee in thy body, that thou may be a sign to those who come after thee! But verily, many among mankind are heedless of Our Signs! (Yunus 10:92)*
- *Verily in Joseph and his brethren are signs for seekers (after Truth) (Yusuf 12:7)*
- *Behold! in this are signs for those who understand. (Al-Hijr 15:75)*
- *Is it not a guidance to such men (to call to mind) how many generations before them We destroyed, in whose haunts they (now) move? Verily in this are signs for men endued with understanding. (Ta-Ha 20:128)*
- *And we have left thereof an evident sign, for any people who (care to) understand. (Al-Ankabut 29:35)*
- *Does it not teach them a lesson, how many generations We destroyed before them, in whose dwellings they (now) go to and fro? Verily in that are sign: do they not then listen? (As-Sajda 32:26)*
- *And we left there a sign for such as fear the Grievous Chastisement. (Az-Zariyat 51:37)*

■ **Ebrah:** Ebrah comes from the word 'Ebar', meaning to pass, to travel, to go from one state to another, to reach from nonsensical to sensible knowledge, to obtain a result from observing a phenomenon, to avoid ignorance and derive knowledge or advance to a higher state of awareness. And finally it is advice

⁵ The whole meaning of the word Ayeh should be borne in mind to give the complete meaning of the Verse.

that is gained from studying the words and sayings of others, an instruction.

- *There is, in their stories, instruction for men..... (Yusuf 12:111)*

- **Mathal:** means example, sample, witness, what that can be referred to, testimony.

- *And we made them (a people) of the past and an example to...(Az-Zukhruf 43:56)*

- **Nekal:** means evidence, confirmation, indication, demonstration, testimony and example.

- *So we made them an example⁶ in their own time, (Al-Baqarah 2:66)*

- **Moezah:** Useful saying, advice, guidance to truth, a lesson.

- *So We made it an example, to their own time, and to their posterity, and a lesson, to those who fear Allah. (Al-Baqarah 2:66)*

- **Zekr:** Reminder, message, quotation which leads to the truth, this word has been applied to the whole of the Quran.

- *Verily in this is a message for any that has a heart and understanding or who gives ear and is a witness. (Qaf 50:37)*

The meanings and roots of words, as mentioned above, have counted our ancestors' remains as one of the three main sources of guidance for Moslems and placed them on an equal footing vis a vis the Quran, which for them is the main source of the theological (*Olome-Elahy*) and natural sciences.

"Tarikh(history) in the Quran means God's days (Ayam-o-llah) and according to the Quran is the third source of science and knowledge."(Ayneh-Vand 1986:13)

⁶ In translations of the Quran there are different words which are translated the same way. Two words Mathal and Nekal are translated as 'example'.

Whatever is understood from the collective verses and has been agreed by Moslem interpreters and historians is the aspect of learning lessons from history and our heritage.

"The 'lesson' that mankind has been invited, by the Quran after each legend, to learn, is the main use of history for Moslems. According to the writer of the book Moroj-oz-Zahab, the books of Moses which is the history of the Jews, has been expressed in this way by the Prophet himself (PBUH)" (Zarrinkoob 1991:17).

"Ibn Khaldon named his book 'Al-Ebar' to show the significance of history's experiences" (Mahdi 1957:65-78). "Among Islamic philosophers, Avicenna(10th c.AD) in *al-Esharat* and Ibn Tofale(12th c.AD) in *Hay-yebne-Yaghzan*, like most interpreters in discussion about the *Qasas* (stories) in the Quran, refer to the Quran's similar meaning of *al-Ebrah*" (Zarrinkoob 1986:275).

The writer of *Tafsir al-Mizan*⁷ states, "The desire to travel and visit the remains of our ancestors, the past generations, the king and the rebellious pharaohs, is due to the lessons that we can learn. We witness that they have vanished alongside their grand abodes, or their hidden accumulated treasures, or their luxurious thrones and their people did not receive any benefit from them. God has simply left them there for future generations to glean advice from and by which common people can see and learn" (vol.4 p.37).

Some *Sovār* (chapters) of the Quran generally concentrate on this subject. For example, in Surah *Al-Qamar*, the verse; *And we have left this as a sign (for all time), thus is there any that will receive admonition?";* comes near the end of stories of past nations, with a special meaningful rhythm. Therefore, the past in general, clearly from the Quran's point of view, is not only a sign for guidance which can be realised from the interpretation of the above verses, but is also a sign to remember and remind us (the words *Zekr* and *Matha*) and to make people ignore immediate appearances and pursue the hidden truth (the word *Ebrah*). This is the teaching and advantage for us that can be found in the meaning of the word *Moezah*.

⁷ This is the name of the latest interpretations of Quran in the Shiite World, written by the Late Allameh Tabataba'ii, that includes twenty volumes which were written in Arabic Language and have been translated into Farsi. Its translation into English is in process in New York. Allameh Tabataba'ii's work is highly appreciated by many scholars all over the Islamic World.

2.5.1. The addresses

The Quran's invitation to refer to historical remnants is a general invitation. This subject will be clearer with careful observation of some verses. This does not mean that anybody who refers to relics has the ability to understand what has been offered. To be able to, you must possess various special characteristics, which will be explained later in this section. But, what needs to be considered is that this invitation is not confined to an esoteric group. It is general. The proof of this statement can be found in the following verses:

- *Do they not travel through the earth?, and see... (Muhammad 47:10)*

This statement has been repeated, with the same sentence at the beginning of the verse, more than 12 times in different cases.

- *...that thou may be a sign to those who come after thee. (Yunus 10:92)*
- *See they not how many of those before them We did destroy? (Al-Anaam 6:6)*
- *And We made them (a people) of the past and an Example to later ages.
(Az-Zukhruf 43:56)*

2.5.2. Who are those who learn?

Although the invitation to refer to the past in the Quran has a general aspect, to understand the lessons offered, the possession of various motivations or conditions is essential.

- *... for any people who (care to) understand; (Al-Ankabut 29:35)*
- *... for men endued with understanding. (Taha 20:128)*
- *... to those who fear Allah. (Al-Baqarah 2:66)*
- *... for such as fear the Grievous Chastisement. (Az-Zariyat 51:37)*
- *... do they not then listen? (As-Sajda 32:26)*
- *... for any that has a heart and understanding or who gives ear and is a witness.
(Az-Zariyat 51:37)*

The above verses, and the other similar ones, prove that those who refer to the past will learn from it if they prepare themselves to receive the truth that exists in history. These people are those who listen, who think, who search, who are wise and clever, who have the power of understanding and those who are virtuous and humbly fear God's punishments. In verse 37 of Surah Qaf it has been observed that the existence of *Tazzakor* (mention) in these signs can be felt by any warm-hearted person, truth seeker or impartial witness. Therefore, the viewer has to have two characteristics, individual preparation (wisdom and intelligence) and motivation (questioning).

2.5.3. The rate of influence

The learning aspect of referring to the past has been explained, now the question to be asked is, how much influence can be expected from the Quran in this way? Is the purpose here to provoke responses by transferring historical information?

With help of such verses as, *...is it not a guidance to... (Taha 20:128)*, or *...is it not a guiding lesson that... (Al-A'raf 7:100)*, and other such verses, it becomes clear that this reference can not only be used as a tool to guide mankind generally but also for finding a feeling heart, a hearing ear and a seeing eye: it is necessary to travel the earth to see mankind's legacy. This interpretation is from Surah *Al-Hajj*, verses 45-46.

○ *How many populations have we destroyed, which were given to wrong doing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many wells are lying idle and neglected and castles lofty and well-built? Do they not travel through the land, so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear? Truly it is not the eyes that are blind, but the hearts which are in their breasts.*

Many interpreters believe that ignoring the eye in this verse is, to understand the truth, one should personally use ones own wisdom or hear it from others⁸. This probability can also be seen as, that this lack of suggestion may be due to the reason that in confrontation with the remains, eyes have been regarded as the main means of observation, and for the same reason this sentence, *...truly it is not the eyes that are blind.*,

⁸ There is a comprehensive explanation about this issue in Tafsir Al-mizan in vol. 14, p.577-580.

has been instantly quoted. If this probability is correct, then there will be more emphasis for referring to the physical and material remains.

In Surah *Al-Baqarah*, which is one of the longest Surah of the Quran, three long verses, with a certain rhyme and in a very specific way, raise the three methods of guidance of mankind towards God, by stating the three examples in this regard, as it has been explained in *Al-Mizan* by the deceased Tabataba'i (1974, vol.14, p.577):

"In these verses we are faced with three methods. The first is guidance to God, by proof and reason, the second is guidance to God by representation and displaying of the remains, and finally the third is, guidance to God by expressing the event and showing it's truth and the cause by which this event has occurred, in other words, by showing the cause and the effect together".

What we are concerned with is verse 259, the second verse, in which a glance at the ruins of a village provides a foundation for raising the question about the perception of the truth. It is interesting that in the third verse, the subject of the instant death and resurrection of birds has been mooted up, which in conjunction with the perspective of cultural heritage requires special study and contemplation.

2.6. REFERRING TO HISTORY OR THE REMAINS?

It can be assumed that the invitation of the Quran for paying attention to the past can be confined only to history that has been expressed by the Quran itself. Whereas such achievement is general, and paying attention to the relics and particularly their conservation in the Islamic community has been inspired by Western thoughts, it is essential to insist on the point that numerous examples can be extracted from the Quran that refer to the original remains. The significant part of these examples are distinct in the verses that begin with:

○ *Do they not travel through the earth and see....(AL-Mumin 40:82)*

It seems that this invitation or suggestion draws the attention of mankind to the remains, particularly when in continuation of any of these verses the extent of the power and the scale of the remains of those past civilizations are thoroughly discussed. By referring

to other verses than the ones above and their details, the previously mentioned achievements are made more pronounced. All the significant themes in these verses are shown in bold.

- *So the earthquake took them unawares, and they lay prostrate in their homes in the morning! (Al-A'raf 7:78)*
- *This day shall We save thee in thy body, that thou mayest be a Sign to those who come after thee! But verily many among mankind are heedless of Our Signs!" (Yunus 10:92)*
- *These are some of the stories of communities which We relate unto thee; of them some are standing, and have been mown down (by the sickle of time). (Al-Hud 11:100)*
- *And the (Cities were) right on the high road. (Al-Hijr 15:76)*
- *Out of the mountains did they hew (their) edifices, (feeling themselves) secure. (Al-Hejr 15:82)*
- *Is it not a guidance to such men (to call to mind) how many generations before them We destroyed, in whose haunts they (now move)? Verily, in this are Signs for men endued with understanding. (Ta-Ha 20:128)*
- *How many populations have we destroyed, which were given to wrong doing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many Well are lying idle and neglected and castles lofty and well-built? (Al-Hajj 22:45)*
- *And how many towns We destroyed, which exulted in their life (of ease and plenty)! Now those habitations of theirs, after them, are deserted, all but a (miserable) few! and We are their heirs! (al-Qasas 28:58)*

- *But they rejected him, then the mighty Blast seizes them, and they lay prostrate in their homes by the morning. (Remember also) the Ad and the Thamud (people); clearly will appear to thou from (the traces) of their buildings (their fate)..*
(Al-Ankabut 29:37,38)
- *Does it not teach them a lesson, how many generations We destroyed before them, in whose dwellings they (now) go to and from? Verily in that are Signs: do they not then listen? (As-Sajda 32:26)*
- *Between them and the Cities on which We had poured our blessings, We had placed cities in prominent positions, and between them We had appointed stages of journey in due proportion; "Travel therein, secure, by night and day." (Saba 34:18)*
- *Verily, ye pass by their (sites) by day, - And by night; will ye not understand?*
(As-Saffat 37:137,138)
- *Everything will it destroy by the command of its Lord! then by the morning they nothing was to be seen but (the ruins of) their houses! Thus do We recompense those given to sin! (Al-Ahqaf 46:25)*
- *But how many generation before them did We destroy (for their Sins), stronger in power than they? Then did they wander through the land? was there any place of escape (for them)? (Qaf 50:36)*
- *So that there covered it that which covered. (An-Najm 53:54)*
- *Then seest thou any of them left surviving. (Al-Haqqa 69:8)*
- *Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the Ad (people), ○ Of the (city) Iran, with lofty pillars. (Al-Fajr 89:6,7)*

According to Islam there is not a word in the Quran which has been written without a reason, therefore the question of why such information has been given in these verses is asked. Can they not be regarded as an invitation, which draw the reader attention to the remains of the past? Even in some verses the command to see can explicitly be noticed. Perhaps the information is given as a clue to the archaeologists to recognise the past remains.

In many verses we encounter the extinction of the previous nation. From some verses it is understood that after their extinction their dwellings lasted for a while, and to some extent they were used by others (AL-Qasas 28:58), despite the presence of corpses (due to an earthquake), (Al-A'raf 7:78). In archaeological excavations we have already been faced with these consequences from events. For instance, we can refer to the remains of the *Burnt Town* in *Sistan*, a province of Iran, which existed in the 4thC.BC. In joint excavations made by Iran and Italy, no skeletons of the inhabitants were found⁹. The archaeologists' beliefs were based on the assumption that before the holocaust, they had fled from the city, though their reasoning is still ambiguous.

Referring to these kinds of examples and paying attention to the information provided by the Holy Books, will reveal previously undiscovered links between the science of the archaeologists and religious stories. This can have a very significant effect upon the quality and quantity of the people's reference to their cultural heritage.

2.6.1. Discovery and conservation

What is agreed among all the interpreters of the Quran is the significance of paying attention to the stories and history of our ancestors cited in the Quran. The question is: can it be drawn from the Quran that more than inviting us to refer to the past and its remains as only a resource, the Quran advises us to discover and conserve those remains? In response to this question two points should be regarded. First, we are all aware of the inevitable loss that will occur in our cultural heritage if we do not preserve it. It is surrounded by different causes of decay. The main ones are nature and the action of people. Although methods of preservation and conservation have been

⁹ For more information refer to Shahr-e-Sokhteh the burnt town reports in ICHO.

improving during the last decades, the expansion of industrialisation in one way or another has increased our losses. In the developing countries, unfortunately, damage caused by use and misuse of industry is often greater. Daily problems such as increasing pollution, population and lack of environmental control, present a very dark picture for the future of cultural heritage in these countries. It is certain that without a serious programme for preservation nothing will remain other than a few monuments. We should notice that if in Islamic societies we did not address our cultural heritage policies, it was because of the limitation of the means of their destruction during the last centuries. Even in Europe, the cradle of the conservation movement, it is only in the last few decades that this issue has been generally respected. Limited demands for new developments, as well as the low price of land did not lead societies to pay attention to this issue. Whenever there was a demand there was enough vacant land to build on. There is much evidence at present, at least in Iran, to verify this approach to development in the past. But now that all the Islamic countries are confronted with a rapid growth in their population, this process will lead to a real loss of many authentic remains. On the other hand, it seems needless to say that all Moslems believe that the Holy Quran has been revealed to be understood and obeyed for ever. Therefore, its commands are timeless. There are some verses that are understood to be related to the years of the life of the Prophet (PBUH), but there is a clear distinction between these and general commands. It is conceivable to accept commands such as;

○ *Do they not travel through the earth, and see...(Muhammad 47:10)*

and many other similar ones as general. Firstly, none of the interpreters of the Quran have said this. They all believe that these are timeless orders of the Quran. Secondly the subject of these verses that acknowledges relics as a means for guidance do not logically limit these verses to a specific period of time. Therefore, when on one hand, without an appropriate conservation policy an important part of our cultural heritage vanishes, and on the other hand, there are general timeless commands to refer to and learn from, it is a moral responsibility for each Moslem to care about the preservation of his cultural heritage, and not only for Moslem policy makers to enforce suitable policies for the conservation of their relics.

In addition, when the Quran pays so much attention to remains, should we not strive to determine, study and present as much of our cultural heritage as possible, directing actions in conformity with the Quran's commands and conserving historical remnants by

the most efficient means, and also protect them from harm, in order to guarantee the obedience of these commands by future generations?

The author knows that this type of assumption and conclusion may result in many arguments but believes that the debating of this subject at this time is essential. It is one of the most significant methods which can culminate in the establishment of a firm foundation for the purposes of conservation.

A motivation for discovering ancient artifacts will widen the ground for their reference and study, and greater availability will improve the attitude of the public towards remains. What is grasped from the verses is that, an increased encounter between mankind and past remains is necessary in every day life, idly and effectively. What is grasped from the meaning of the verses is that an increased encounter of mankind with past remains is necessary in everyday life. For instance, if cemeteries, built at the entrance of a town or village for religious reasons serve as reminders of our mentality, how can it be concluded that the prominence of a monument or historical site or museum is less relevant? There are currently in Iran, monuments on outskirts of many Islamic towns and villages. Can we not, in some way, alter the appearance or condition of these places to enhance their appeal to present and future generations, and establish these locations as centres of learning and research as envisioned by the Quran?

2.7. THE AIM OF REFERRING TO THE PAST

There is no doubt that the majority of Islamic philosophers with the inspiration of the Quran have believed that the goal of addressing the past is to *learn* from the past. What is the meaning of learning from the past, and how is it possible for mankind to learn lessons from events which occurred hundreds or thousands of years before? In simple terms, it can be said that learning from an event, whether it belongs to the distant or close past, means taking advantage of knowledge from the result of an event through similar circumstances. From some points of view, acceptance of the possibility of the reoccurrence of what has happened in a certain period of the history, is considerably instructive and worthy of contemplation.

Firstly, as was discussed in the previous section, the living conditions of mankind are essentially being changed throughout time, therefore the precise repetition of any event

cannot logically be assumed. Secondly, in the case of accepting that in practice mankind relies upon experience, then the proportionate similarity of the effective conditions in any event will be raised. Therefore the main condition of using historical or personal experiences, is that the effective factors of those experiences should be constant.

Now with regard to the recommendation of the Quran for considering the remains of past nations, what is the continuous factor which connects us to the extinct? The explicit question is, for example, what are the common factors governing us and Moses (PBUH) in his confrontation with the Pharaoh, from which we may learn a lesson? At first, it is necessary to pay attention to the difference between benefiting from the experiences of the ancients and learning lessons from an event in the past. The means of *benefiting from the experience of the ancients*, is the study of the methods under taken by people of the past when encountering their environment. A significant part of our tradition belongs to the same category.

More details can be revealed, for example, about the use of certain methods of economic consumption in the expending of energy for heating buildings or the use of *Qanat* (a subterranean tunnel) for the transmission of water from the mountains to the deserts in central parts of Iran. Today we can study these procedures and by scrutinizing them develop new methods. But this is significantly different from learning lessons from the past. In addressing the past from the perspective of learning lessons (Ebrah), we are confronted by a type of law or formula governing social relations which states; **The ancients did thus, and saw thus, and if you follow their model, you will come to the same conclusion.** Throughout the Quran, we are faced with numerous verses implying the destruction of past nations was due to their deviation from the truth that had been conveyed to them by their prophets.

Now we turn to the first question of learning from the past, that regardless of the content, what is the essential factor that must remain constant for the sake of validity? Is there a permanent law governing the behaviour of mankind by which learning lessons from the past derives it's own meaning? This is the question that creates dissension between the religious and the non-religious communities. At best among the followers of the main religions, such as Christianity, Islam and Judaism, there is belief in the existence of such

a verdict. This element is generally referred to as Divine Will. In the Quran, this has been expressed as *Sunnat-to-llah* (God's Manner or Method).

In various verses of the Quran certain decrees have been enumerated, that against any deviation of mankind from these laws, specific actions will be taken. A few short examples of these are disclosed as follows:

- *Nor would thy lord be the one to destroy the towns unjustly, while their people are righteous. (Hud 11:117)*
- *...verily never will Allah change the condition of people until they change what is in themselves... (Ar-Ra'd 13:11)*
- *When we decide to destroy town, we command those among them who are given the good things of this life(to be obedient), but they continued to transgress; so that the word is proved true against them: Then we destroy them utterly, (Al-Israa 17:16)*

As is concluded from the above passages, in Islamic thought this is not a story that has a repeated common meaning, but is *the explicit and everlasting law* which governs the fate of mankind. In this regard the Quran states:

- *...but no change wilt thou find in [Sunnat-to-llahi] Allah's way (of dealing) (Fatir 35:43)*

The absolute emphasis on the permanent nature of the Divine Sunnas, which have been repeated throughout the verses, is the assurance in Islamic thinking that shows the possibility of learning from history. This subject repeatedly appears in the Quran such as:

- *We did test those before them, and Allah will certainly know those who are true from those who are false. (Al-Ankabut 29:3)*

Mankind came into this world to participate in a general test and to prove his competence, and these governing laws that have been performed equally and wholly,

without bias for all of the nations under different conditions during the course of history, are Sunnat-to-llah. This concept is similar to the perception of history by many philosophers such as Hume, Hegel, Herder and so on, as was mentioned in the previous section. For Moslem historians, naturally, the concept of Sunnat-to-llah was a fundamental issue, justifying the philosophy of history. In this regard we remember what Yusuf Alhoorany has said:

"[the philosophy of history is] the representation of an acceptable interpretation of the laws governing the events of history in such a way as to cover future events"
(Radmanesh 1991:145).

In principle there are three Sunnas (traditions) in Islam that can be defined as: *Sunnat-to-llah*, which are stable and fixed, and those are the general rules that each nation has been and is tested by. The next is the Prophet's Sunnah (*Sunnat-tor-Rasso*), which contains all of the recorded and narrated behaviour and statements of the prophet (PBUH). This Sunnah is also permanent and is imitable. The last one is the social Sunnah, which has been formed by the passing of time, and the different experiences of societies and is therefore prone to change. Any one of these Sunnas has a particular place in Islamic historical reference, and plays a specific role in the assessment of the past. The applicable social-historical Sunnas are regarded as the source of all experience. The meaning of the prophet's Sunnah indicates a kind of continuous reference to the behaviour and character of the prophet (PBUH) and his impeccable example as the most appropriate behaviour of a Moslem. Finally, there is Allah's Sunnah, that governs over the entire fate of mankind.

Therefore, in Islamic thought, paying attention to the past requires the application of these three sources. For the same reason if we describe the Moslem community as *ponderers of history*, it will not be inappropriate.

The other remarkable point of referring the past, the value of which can be assessed as equivalent to the value of learning from the past, is drawing attention to our future life, or *Maād* (the Resurrection day). In Islamic Thinking the nature of life in this world is regarded as worthless, but in conjunction with the other world is considered a highly determinant factor. This supposition is based on the theory that as we need to spend the first stage of our embryonic life in preparation for this world, this life can also be regarded as another embryonic life, in preparation for the other world, in which the

quality of life is determined by our relative success in this life. The difference between these two lives, is our evolution: by the end of the first stage life grants us the body of a human that is ovulated and matured, though in the second one grants us the soul of a human which prepares us for rebirth in the next world.

Due to the significance of the belief in eternity, which is one of the trinal principles of Islam, many verses in the Quran try to present this truth. One of the ways that is explicitly recommended and chosen for this purpose is the reference to the remains of the ancients. In Verse 259 (*Al-Baqarah* 2) of the Quran that says:

○ *Or (take) the similitude of one who passed by a hamlet, all in ruins to its roots. He said: "Oh! how shall Allah bring it(ever) to life, after (this) its death?"*

The glance of the passer-by towards the ruins of the village, recalls Resurrection and revival of past deeds. Observing remains, therefore, draws attention to and understanding of one of the main principles of Islam; that the significance and place of the remains, in this universal approach, can be assessed. Thus it can be seen that these motivations for viewing the past and its remains, are wholly different from those of the present day. These are the factors which are highly instrumental in the success or failure of actions taken towards with cultural heritage in Islamic communities.

When this attitude of learning from the past is achieved, the particular conditions governing the quality of the confrontation between the passer-by and the monument is enhanced. Perhaps it can be assumed that such action can alter the present form of tourism, which at present tend to lack acceptable results being mostly for entertainment.

Therefore, in conclusion, it can be said that in the Quran two important goals are represented for referring to the past: The first goal is the possibility for the guidance of mankind through learning from the past the fate of our ancestors and the understanding of the certainty of *Sunnat-to-Ilah* (the Divine Will). The second is the strengthening of belief in the existence of *Maād* (future life).

2.8. CONCLUSIONS

Undoubtedly, the questing attitude of the author in his study of the Quran bears serious deficiencies. He hopes through the continuation of this research by others, not only can

these deficiencies be remedied, but new dimensions may also be discovered. In summary of the conclusions that have been reached.

As was discussed in the preface, there is a concrete connection between cultural heritage policies and social values in every society. The role and significance of the Holy Quran in the determination and arrangement of social disciplines in Islamic communities is undeniable. Therefore, the search for how the Quran enumerates the relevance of the past and cultural heritage is crucial for establishing related policies in Islamic communities. Unfortunately, despite the existence of many signs of attention to the past and to its remains in the Quran, we have rarely seen any direct recognition or evidence of the fact.

In previous pages, we witnessed that the Quran has paid serious attention to the antecedents, but the extent of this attention, its quality and quantity are wide ranging. The Quran recalls the remains of the ancients as signs, intimating that if enough attention is paid to them, they will become the means for the guidance of mankind. What is regarded as the past in the Quran are not only the events narrated by the Quran itself, but repeated invitations to travel the world and witness the great relics of the ancients first-hand, and to study and learn from material remains.

In order to discover the concealed truth of the remains, certain characteristics such as wisdom, intelligence, and a sense of curiosity are absolutely essential. What mankind is expected to grasp from these, are not only experiences of the material life of distant generations, but the perception of the Divine Sunnas that are the unchanging factors and the correct and accurate criteria for the actions of every nation. Such consideration will lead mankind to learn important lessons from the past and this experience will result in greater guidance.

An additional point is the necessity of an awareness of the other world which is one of the three principles in Islam. Every achievement made in this light is perceived from the Quran not merely referring to remains but their discovery and conservation and maximum contribution.

From the Quran's point of view the past, indeed, is not dead. It is a living factor that plays a significant role in the well-being of the individual and the betterment of social relations for any society helping to form their future. Through this approach, the past, present and future are united to create a timeless atmosphere, in which our lives are but momentary.

Definition and Values of Cultural Heritage

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One, in evaluating the past, regarding the study and interpretation of history as the main means by which human beings could communicate with other eras, we referred to theories examining various attitudes. Similarities and differences between a Muslim point of view and other prevalent views were discussed, leading to the conclusion that these were ‘...lessons that could be gained from the past’ that were meaningful for us.

In Chapter Two, the past in the Quran, we saw the emphasis laid on taking lessons from the past, as well as referring to past remains. The Holy Quran by presenting particular examples and suggesting certain interpretations, invites us to travel the earth and investigate the deeds of past nations. Although mankind still looks at the past through the window of history, cultural heritage has now opened a new door to the future as well as the past. In the last few decades, with the extension of cultural heritage through scholarship, conservation, archaeology, ethnology, tourism, etc., and the knowledge that can be gained from artefact, each historical remains has potentially become a more authentic and valid book of history.

In this way through relics, many historical descriptions have been unearthed and supported or proved by the findings of archaeology. The validity of remains in providing the most authentic historical data can not be denied. There is much information that is not attainable through historical narrations, such as some details about the quality of human life, and much new information about the ecological environment of past generations that has been derived from archaeological studies. Historical remains are not just the agents of reports. They are also mediums with which human beings are able to make an emotional contact with their ancestors, a role that perhaps nothing else can play. This role provides a unique place for cultural heritage in the psyche of human beings.

The constructive aspect of historical remains is so obvious that in almost every country the large budgets of numerous museums are allocated to the presentation of relics, and millions of people visit them enthusiastically. It shows that the role of cultural heritage in our societies is regarded as important. But when we attempt to suggest a definition for this in academic terms, it does not seem very easy to come to a generally acceptable conclusion. The very nature of cultural concepts usually causes ambiguities. For cultural heritage as for culture itself regarding its vital and ever increasing role in our social life, there should be a new approach to encourage this, especially for the countries of the developing world. This Chapter attempts to address this issue and see how much it is possible to present a comprehensive definition of cultural heritage.

The two main questions of this Chapter are then; **what is cultural heritage?** and **what are its values?** The answers to these albeit hackneyed questions are vital, particularly when faced with contrary perspectives. On the one hand, some people only regard national monuments for tourists as cultural heritage and neglect the rest, on the other, some cultural heritage enthusiasts want everything *old* to be celebrated. For example, according to the Iranian Cultural Heritage Legislation, the courts will summon only those who have damaged a listed building¹. As a result, though it is hard to believe, sometimes ICHO had reservations about delivering the complete list to applicants or publishing it widely, for fear that it might encourage demolition of the non-listed².

In 1984 the author asked the Iranian Supreme Judge to show more urgent attention to the cultural heritage cases in the courts. One of his points in response was, "Archaeologists tend to refer to almost anything as cultural heritage, and this causes difficulties for the courts". Interestingly, we will see that a British MP, with a long background in cultural heritage affairs, has used the very word 'everything' to define cultural heritage.

Lack of definition is not the only cause of the problems in this respect. Any kind of definition, should be inclusive and applicable, and this will again necessitate the expert

¹ For more information refer to Iranian Cultural heritage Laws and Regulations, in Farsi, ICHO. Press, 1991, Tehran.

² It is worth mentioning that of the thousands of monuments only eight hundred have been recorded, and only about one thousand are listed. Of the four hundred thousand sites only about seven thousand are under official control.

intervention. But whereas any policy should rely on a definition, and to encounter the problems created by those two extremists approaches mentioned before, taking a step towards adopting a definition for cultural heritage seems particularly necessary in the Islamic Culture.

3.2. DEFINITION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

At first glance it might seem that the definition of cultural heritage is clear enough and does not need more examination. But for those who are actually involved in different aspects of the issue, especially for those who deal with legal cases, this is not exactly true. As Hewison (1987:31) explains:

"Two things are clear about this word: it is of relatively recent usage- an important date was the designation of 1975 as European Architectural Heritage Year - and it is a word without definition, even in two Acts of Parliament".

Lowenthal (1985:37) too has mentioned that:

"Those who drafted the National Heritage Act confess they 'could no more define the national heritage than we could define, say, beauty or art ... So we decided to let the national heritage define itself".

Therefore, this does not mean that the concept is left without definition, but the numerous definitions from different points of view have made it difficult to reach a common conclusion.

3.2.1. Points of view

"Karl Popper, the eminent philosopher of science, recounts a story in which he once instructed his Vienna students to: 'Take pencil and paper; closely observe, and write down what you have observed.' His students asked, of course, what it was that Popper wanted them to observe. Without instructions, without concepts, without theory, meaningful observation is, as they quickly realized impossible. 'Observation is always selective. It needs a chosen object, a definite task, an interest, a point of view, a problem," (Uzzel 1989:139)

Different points of view propose different definitions for cultural heritage. There are some criteria behind each point of view, and as Chan (1988:84) has said:

"The criteria vary from country to country depending on the individual country's interpretation of cultural heritage".

Furthermore, in each country this meaning changes according to different approaches:

"Britain had undeniably become a great power; and like an old industrialist reflecting from an armchair on his success began to take an intelligent interest in its own beginnings" (Ross 1991:12).

In addition to the existing restrictions, sometimes it seems that there is a sort of hesitation or reluctance for proposing a definition. Hewison (1987:32) has put it in two lively examples:

"Patrick Cormack the Conservative MP who founded the All-Parliamentary Committee for the Heritage, and is now chairman of the Heritage Co-Ordination Group, has written: When I am asked to define our heritage I do not think in dictionary terms, but instead reflect on certain sights and sounds. I think of a morning mist on the Tweed at Dryburgh where the magic of Turner and the romance of Scott both come fleetingly to life; of a celebration of Eucharist in a quiet Norfolk church, with the medieval glass filtering the colours, and the early noise of standing at any time before the Wilton Diptych. Each scene recalls aspects of an indivisible heritage and is part of the fabric and expression of our civilization".

"As Lord Charteris, the Chairman of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and former private secretary to the Queen, has said, the heritage means 'anything you want'".

If in a single era and in a united cultural ground there are not very similar perceptions of cultural heritage, naturally, in the course of time we are faced with more serious changes, therefore, as Kennet (1974:11) says:

"We see the Colosseum both as architecture and as history. The Colonna and Frangipani families did not. They saw it as a mountain".

It was only during the sixteenth century that ruins became a fashionable subject for artists (Jokilehto 1986:12).

Although, the definitions of cultural heritage are determined by the way we look at our past, the interaction between cultures regarding their various out-looks to the past in the course of history, has prepared enough common ground to present a definition. In the cases of intrinsic distinctions, of course, we have to accept some exceptions.

3.2.2 Philological meaning

As selection and use of words play a significant role in expressing the concepts behind them, first we will look at the philological meaning of the terms concerning cultural heritage which are used in English, French, Arabic and Farsi.

In English, terms such as; *heritage*, *cultural heritage*, *relics*, *remains*, *patrimony* and *property* are used. According to the Dictionary on historical principles (Oxford, 1888), *Heritage* has been used during previous centuries in different forms such as: *eritage*, *erytage*, *heiritagie*, etc., all come from the Latin root *hereditagium* which means; "...has been or may be inherited; any property, and especially land, which devolves by right of inheritance." What is apparent in this term is that the object is inherited from the past.

The word *relic* which comes from *reliquias* in Latin, means: "In religious use, especially in the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches : some object, such as a part of the body or clothing, an article of personal use, or the like, which remains as a memorial of a departed saint, martyr, or other holy person, and as such is carefully preserved and held in esteem or veneration", also "A precious or valuable thing", and "Something kept as a remembrance or souvenir of a person, thing, or place; a memento".

Remains means: "Those left, surviving, or remaining out of a number of persons; the remainder or rest", and "A material relic (of antiquity, etc.), an ancient monument, building, or other structure; and object which has come down from past times".

Patrimony means: Property, or an estate, inherited from one's father or ancestors; heritage, inheritance".

Property means: "The condition of being owned by or belonging to some person", and "The fact of owning a thing; the holding of something as one's own; the right (especially the exclusive right) to the possession, use, or disposal of anything (usually of a tangible material thing); ownership, proprietorship".

In French there are similar words with the same roots as English, the exception is *Bien* (culturel), its translation in English could be property or goods.

In Arabic the word *Torāth* is used which comes from *Erth* and means inheritance. In Farsi (the Persian Language) there are two words; *Āthār* and *Mirāth*, which both have Arabic roots. *Āthār* is the plural of *Athar* means remaining works, physical and non-physical. In this word the image of the past is very slight, and it mostly demonstrate the importance of what is created, and therefore, it is usually used together with adjectives such as *historical*, or *cultural* in Farsi.

The other word, *Mirath*, means what is inherited, it is very similar to *heritage* in English. Although, without any adjective it is understandable, such as *heritage*, is in English, it is used usually together with *cultural*.

The word *property* in English and *bien* in French do not have any association with the past, while all the other words are referring to something which is inherited from the past. In Unesco Documents these two words (*property* and *bien*) are usually used. Although, it may be assumed that it will connect the present with the past and will cover a wider range of cultural phenomena, the author believes that selection of these words is very crucial, and it can be a determinant factor in identification, appreciation and conservation of historical remains. When we select a word for a concept, we should not drop the other vital quality of our concept, just for the sake of finding a literal designation. From the Islamic point of view, as was mentioned in Chapter Two, the most important factor is what relics communicate to us about our ancestors. If we omit the parameter of time from these objects the whole meaning will change. This needs extensive international discussion but here we just look at the reflection of such decisions in Iran as an Islamic country.

In 1979, Falamaki, an Iranian conservationist produced an article titled 'From heritage to national and cultural property'³. In this article the writer insists on the need to change the term 'heritage' to 'property'. He wrote, "Now-a-days the term 'cultural heritage' is being gradually abolished and has been replaced by a new term with more strength to present its subject. 'Cultural heritage' usually reminds us of a long or short period of time, during that period something movable or immovable is inherited from its owner and

³ Baz-zende Sazyeh Banaha wa Shahr-haye Tarikhy (Revitalization of historical monuments and cities), Tehran University Press, 1979, Tehran.

passed onto others". He also claims that "This term matched the ideas of cultural heritage enthusiasts, during the past centuries...".

The meaning we draw from the word 'property' differs remarkably from the word 'heritage'. The vital factor lost in 'property' is the notion of a source from which we have inherited. This is especially relevant to the Islamic culture where the main goal of referring to the past is to learn from it. When we forfeit the source of inheritance, we lose its provenance. What the Iranian conservationist attempted to suggest was not in contradiction with the Islamic values, if it was approved, it could affect the whole meaning and direction of cultural heritage concerns in Iran.

Thus we may conclude that there are significant factors in any subject and the title we chose to express it must accommodate these aspects. In the case of cultural heritage, the condition of time is one of them, and this is why the author believes that those words should be chosen that present such a⁴ awareness. In Farsi the term *Mirāth* seems capable of meeting this requirement.

In our pursuit of a definition for cultural heritage, certain criteria should be used. The author would suggest three: **objectness**, **pastness** and **human message**. These may lead us to the following identification: any 'object' (including movable and immovable, so called tangible and intangible heritage) that has 'aged' (the length of this age is relative), and has a human message (or something from past generations to communicate) is eligible to be designated as cultural heritage. Consequently, ignoring any of these three factors causes critical shifts in how the meaning of cultural heritage is applied. To explain this, we will review each condition separately, and attempt to clarify these as primary criteria for cultural heritage identification.

3.2.3. Objectness

Objectness is emphasised not because cultural heritage may be understood as something subjective. It is clear enough, that we refer to something as cultural heritage when it has been manifested⁴. This is because of the peculiar attribute that this factor gives to cultural heritage. As Pallottino (1968:11) has put it;

⁴ This includes both tangible and intangible heritage.

"Those stones, those objects, give forth mysterious emanations which seem to cause the intervening centuries to melt away".

In other words, it is not one of the characteristics of cultural heritage but a criterion to help identify it.

"... there are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture; and the latter in some sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality : it is well to have, not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life" (Ruskin 1894:324).

It seems that our direct confrontation with historical remains allows us to have a sort of intuition, or to perceive a special consequence, that can not be drawn from reading history or from oral expressions. As Pallottino (1968:11) has stated:

"Everyone is familiar with the evocative power of objects which once belonged to great men. No description or biography is capable of bringing us as close to their real image as a portrait, or the room in which they lived, the books, the instruments, the furniture which they handled...they provide a direct contact with figures from the past".

As we saw in Chapter Two, this point is considered in the Holy Quran as well. Besides reasoning methods for seeking the truth, the Quran invites mankind to travel and look at relics. It may not be wrong to claim that this quality of confrontation resembles our encounter with works of art. Reviewing personal experiences, will show us how peculiar our response was when we were face to face with an original painting or listening to a piece of music being performed live. The visit to the physical presence of an object, in a museum or at an historical site, can increase the strength and give immediacy to the encounter. We should bear in mind that most of the relics were not created as works of art. Instead, the distinctive effect they have on the viewer is caused by the passing of many years, the consequence of time itself.

"Tangible evidence stirs the imagination more deeply than memories and tradition, which require an effort of the mind; an antique object, or even one which is merely old, has an immediate, almost an intuitive fascination of its own" (Pallottino 1968:11).

Therefore, one of the factors that gives a peculiar eligibility to cultural heritage, among other means of communication with the past is its objectness, which offers the possibility

of a unique experience i.e. intuition of the past, and helps us to have a spiritual dialogue with those who have lived, made and left what is now our cultural heritage.

3.2.4. Pastness

The second suggested criterion for identification is pastness. The age or duration of a relic may be explored in two different ways. One is through usual scientific observations. By various methods we can estimate or measure the length of the historical object's life. Knowing the age is important for studying the past; it will locate the object's place in history and presents valuable information. The second approach is what we call pastness. It is a special sense that can be prompted by the oldness of historical objects.

"Distance purges the past of personal attachments and makes it an object of universal veneration, lending the remote a majesty and dignity absent from the homely, intimate good old days just gone" (Lowenthal 1985:53).

In Chapter one we saw that there were various reasons for referring to the past, and that past plays an important role in our psychic lives. Most of the emotional approaches to the past are generated by the pastness inherited in historical objects. Personal and family photograph albums, and furniture that belonged to past generations and historical remains, surround and serve us by their unique potential they contain which is the pastness.

"...we treasure the old things in our homes for the pastness inherent in them; they reflect ancestral inheritance, recall former friends and occasions, and link past with future generations" (Lowenthal, 1985:52).

The length of the distance from the past, that creates the sense of pastness, is relative and it is apparent that there should be a minimum age for what is to be named heritage, and as Feilden (1995:10) says, "Generally the older the object, the more valuable". The acceleration of change in the 20th century has made such descriptions more problematic. Recent discussions among conservationists about the qualifying age being reduced before an object gains legal protection, has not taken place because an object's age considered unimportant. Instead, the debate has been initiated by concern that valuable artefact may be lost in era when the passing of a decade can be compared with a century from previous times. It is not our task here to discuss the extent of the duration of relics, and as Feilden (1982:1) states, "...if it has survived the hazards of 100

years of usefulness, it has a good claim to being called historic.", but it is worth mentioning that the Quran offers the same length of time as a measurement for what can qualify as aged or from the past.

- *...but Allah caused him to die for a hundred years, then raised him up (again)⁵...*
(*Al-Baqarah* 2:269)

Of the three suggested criteria, it is pastness that tempts us to have dialogue with those who have made and left us relics, inviting us to perceive their message. Pastness is not an inherent characteristic of an object but a criterion by which to specify what is cultural heritage. If we neglect pastness nothing will remain as heritage. It is in a sense, combined wonder, regret, admiration and satisfaction. We wonder at the art in and intelligent behind an object and its survival over so many years. We regret these various lost or abandoned places and people who once encountered it. We admire and feel satisfaction for all the provenance gathered up within an object, in its long time-journey down to us. Therefore, in this way the pastness of relics is a factor that turns historical objects into bridges by which we can cross and reach a "foreign country"⁶. It prompts our attention to the past and we will be served by it.

"For , indeed , the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor is its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness" (Ruskin 1894:339).

3.2.5. Human message

"The transfer of ideas from one culture to another and from one age to another is vital to the intellectual and spiritual development of humanity. ...the influence of cultures, subcultures and their regional variations on each other goes with the bodily movement of objects which physically represent them. Very often these material products of cultures communicate better to members of a foreign cultural tradition than speech or writing can do..." (O'keefe & Prott 1989:8)

More than objectness and pastness, it is essential for what is called cultural heritage to carry a message. In other words any historical object that does not have a message may not be counted as cultural heritage. Whether we receive the whole message or not,

⁵ Referring to the whole verse will give a better idea about what is expressed.

⁶ Referring to the name of the book, 'The Past is a Foreign Country', written by Lowenthal, 1985, London.

we need to perceive that there is some message to place the object in this category. What Feilden (1995:4) has narrated, seems understandable for us that;

"...indeed legally one stone on top of another may be deemed a monument if it is significant".

but there are, of course, thousands of stones on top of others that we do not regard as our cultural heritage. In fact much of our ancient architectural remains consist of some stones on top of each other. What makes them 'significant' is those explanations that they have about 'why' and 'how' they were created and survived. Therefore, our task in cultural heritage studies is to understand 'those' who made them and let them survive. This draws a clear line between our cultural and natural heritage. We easily may claim that all the stones on top of another or even each and any element in this world has something to say. What they say is the subject of the natural sciences. And what has a single touch of human beings, is like a mirror; small or large, dark or clear, and accordingly of more or less significance. Thus, it is the **human beings footprints** on each piece of our cultural heritage that makes it identifiable among other remains of the past, and allows it to be called cultural. Then, what we call the message is that cultural factor or human touch existing in remnants that is worth studying and leads us to observe and understand our ancestors.

We can not deny that there have been and still are some extreme points of view towards relics that might cause ambiguity. On the one hand:

"... praise of the past today is so conventional that almost anything old may be thought desirable" (Lowenthal 1985:36).

and on the other:

"The past is growing around us like ivy" (Hewison 1987:30).

The author believes one of the reasons for the existing ambiguity is the lack of a precise definition. What does Louis Khan (1971:107) really mean when he says, "the term historical monuments will kill you", if we know what we are dealing with?

"A safety pin is historic, because you can not add or omit something from it. But the term historical monument will kill you,

*because you think those are so, because those are great and magnificent and are made of marble, while it is not so"*⁷.

Historical remains after all are a part of our environment, we should admit that we do not know much about the direct relationship between man and his environment:

"There is plenty of room for research here; we know very little about our conscious or subconscious reaction to the quality of our visual surroundings" (Worskett 1969:12).

This lack of knowledge will double when the parameter of time is included.

"There have been very few analyses of the nature of man's appreciation of buildings from different periods of history" (Morris 1981:259).

By accepting that "Every detail of life - and all other events - remain recorded in the matrix of space-time." (Kirsch 1975:37), which is also entirely supported by Islam⁸, and if it is accepted that what is recorded in this matrix, if not completely, may be perceivable in one or another way, then we will encounter the domain of values where a historical remain might stand. Such values are not discovered by scientific means, but are very familiar to the human senses. Values that the human mind unable to analyze, but the senses are capable of perceiving in an intuitive process.

Although, scientific knowledge about historical objects is highly appreciated, neglecting the hidden message in them, which is not from a nature that can be measured by an analytical approach, will cause the loss of the main factor or criterion that can clarify our cultural heritage:

*"What is an historic building? Briefly, an historic building is one that gives us a sense of wonder and makes us want to know more about the people and culture that produced it. It has architectural, aesthetic, historic, documentary, archaeological, economic, social and even political and spiritual or symbolic values; **but the first impact is always emotional**, for it is a*

⁷ This statement is translated by the author, and is quoted from proceedings of an International Conference on Examining the possibility of the Union between Traditional Architecture and the New Construction Methods, held in Isfahan, Sep. 1971, published in Farsi by the Ministry of Housing, Tehran.

⁸ There are many verses in the Holy Quran certifying that all the activities of human beings are recorded, and every element of this world is a witness and will testify on the day of judgement.

*symbol of our cultural identity and continuity - a part of our heritage*⁹ (Feilden 1982:1).

Suppose you read a precise report about a historical site and its excavation, and learn many things about that site, but it is still agreed among those who are involved that what we learn from visiting the site; our confrontation with relics is not comparable with reading reports. What is achievable by this direct contact is that the message that has been left consciously or unconsciously by our ancestors, become one of the criteria for anything described as cultural heritage:

"... An historic building has artistic and human 'message' which will be revealed by a study of its history" (Feilden 1982:1).

3.2.6. The definition

Examining the three suggested criteria; objectness, pastness and human message, we will join them to present a definition that might be derived from it. Therefore, cultural heritage is a term used for: **objects**

the footprints of human beings, including movable and immovable, tangible and intangible¹⁰, and physically presented, and perceivable by senses, carrying scientific values.

which have **aged**

that is relative, represents human evolution, covers the whole course of history, and offers a sense of continuity, and presents historical values.

and have a **human message**

that can not be delivered by written history, but demonstrates the most reliable historical facts, perceivable in direct contact, offering a sense of identity, and presents emotional values.

Thus, cultural heritage can be defined as: **the footprints of mankind in the course of history carrying some insights**. When we combine these three factors again we easily

⁹ Emphasis is added by the author.

¹⁰ It may seem odd to put intangible cultural heritage under the term object, but we all notice that culture and cultural heritage are two different things. If we put our traditions under the term culture, a piece of our traditional music is part of our cultural heritage. Therefore, cultural heritage should be manifested in the physical world.

see something such as a 'gestalt', integrates the separate elements in our definition. The vital parameter, that supports the main aim for cultural heritage activities, is the presence of the 'human being'. In objectness, his footprints; in pastness, the history of his evolution; and in the human message, his ideas and abilities are what we must study.

3.2.7. Definitions by Unesco

In this Section we refer to other definitions of cultural heritage to help determine similarities and differences between them. Existing definitions in the literature related to cultural heritage are usually affected by the taste of the writers. To rely on a general international view we survey those used by Unesco¹¹.

- a) *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954), Article I in, Definition of Cultural Property reads:*

"...the term 'cultural property' shall cover, ...movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments, of architecture, art or history..."

- b) *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Heritage (1970), reads:*

"...cultural property means property which, on religious or secular grounds, is specifically designated by each State as being of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science and which belongs to the following categories;..."

- c) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) reads:*

"...the following shall be considered as cultural heritage; monuments...from the point of view of history, art or science; groups of buildings...[which]are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; sites...which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view".

¹¹ Unesco, *Conventions and Recommendations of Unesco concerning the Protection of the Cultural Heritage*, 1985, Unesco Press, Switzerland.

- d) *Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works (1968)* reads:

"...the term cultural property applies to; immovables, such as archaeological and historic or scientific sites, structures or other features of historic, scientific, artistic or architectural values,..."

- e) *Recommendation Concerning the International Exchange of Cultural Property (1976)* reads:

"...cultural property shall be taken to mean items which are the expression and testimony of human creation and of the evolution of nature which, in the opinion of the competent bodies in individual States, are, or may be, of historic, artistic, scientific or technical value and interest, including items in the following categories;..."

- f) *Recommendation for the Protection of Movable Cultural Property (1978)* reads:

"...movable cultural property shall be taken to mean all movable objects which are the expression and testimony of human creation or of the evolution of nature and which are of archaeological, historic, scientific or technical value and interest, including items in the following categories;..."

Reviewing above mentioned definitions, and ignoring the usage of the term 'property' instead of 'heritage', which we discussed before, we may assume that there are reasons for Unesco to use it. However, there are questions worth raising here. Is it an acceptable method to introduce general applications of a definition, as a definition? When the above mentioned definitions read, cultural property shall cover such and such, is there not an idea behind the proposal of implementations? There should be a clear understanding of what is cultural heritage to lead to such proposal. If there is why is it not presented?

The admirable hesitation about linking cultural heritage with some limited intentions such as, the religious, artistic, historical and political references, has correctly led Unesco not to give any priority to, an historical period, an artistic school or epoch, or one kind of material or technique, as a means to evaluate cultural heritage. This is all good, but does it mislead us, not to know what we are dealing with? It is, of course clear that we are talking about cultural heritage; then the question is: what exactly is in our minds that after rejecting all those factors still remains? Is it not 'human footprints' alone

disregarding geographical, historical or national priorities? And is this not the factor that allows us to choose our World Heritage sites?

One may claim that in the Unesco's definitions some values are also presented such as; historical, artistic and scientific that may give clues to identifying cultural heritage. But we examined, and we will return to it again, that values are not criteria, because by omitting each of them we still have something called cultural heritage, though without that particular value. The criterion in a definition is that if our condition is omitted the whole subject will be changed. Presented values are useful but they are no substitute for the definition.

The other point is that a definition which is only expressed by its applications is not comprehensive. In such a signification two factors are missing: first, those practices that are not yet specified, of which there are many examples in cultural heritage¹²; second missing factor is the possible *relationship* between existing characteristics within the definition. In Unesco's declarations historic, artistic, and scientific became characteristics of the cultural heritage while there is nothing that synthesize them. In the other words, what is absent is the 'gestalt' that can give a particular *meaning* to cultural heritage.

Returning to the three suggested criteria; objectness, pastness and human message and comparing these with Unesco's points of view for evaluating cultural heritage which can be summarised as; history, art, and science, we may see certain similarities. In considering similarities, the author believes what we seek for, as science in cultural heritage is derived from objectness, as history from pastness, and art from human messages.

When we want to look for scientific values we should rely on pure scientific evidences. These facts are not the nature of history or art. Historical descriptions and artistic perceptions are relative. Therefore, as much as standards of science allow we refer to the physical object to measure and understand, what we can determine as facts. As was mentioned earlier there is an integration between the three factors and their affect on each other, but the ground of scientific studies in cultural heritage is the actual

¹² Such as accepting a traditional food as our cultural heritage.

physical remains. Thus it is the quality of objectness in remains, that can be drawn from empirical studies.

The main goal in historical inquiries is to gain a better understanding of how mankind has lived and what was the process of his evolution. Therefore, we do not study the past as isolated events, but as a continuous stream of causes and effects. Pastness, as was explained, is the shadow of these causes and effects. The very patina of age on the face of relics; firstly charms us to its history, and secondly to study those continuous signs of distant years. Pastness offers motivation, ground and direction to our historical studies.

For the third factor i.e. values from an artistic perspective, it would be sufficient to note that all works of art are created to present something. No artist has ever claimed at the time he created that he had nothing to express. Even in the most abstract manifestation of art the artist puts forth a concept, a feeling or a perception no matter how personal. Though, what is presented may be understood only by himself or a select few. From committed art, which is assessed within the context of its social applications, to art for the sake of art, in which the artist is allowed to create merely to please his own emotions, the important point lies in what the artistic work attempts to portray. Therefore, what we are looking for in cultural heritage from an artistic point of view, is the message which we can perceive from them. Although, many of our historical remains were not produced as works of art, whatever was created by a human beings, retains his fingerprints. It is our task to re-discover it. We should not forget, for the moment we have put aside the scientific and historical values, as we attempt to look at the remains from an artistic point of view. This way what we expect from our encounter is to comprehend what is behind the object, and receive what has been left consciously or unconsciously.

3.3. VALUES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

The necessity for the study of cultural heritage values is not because we need to prove that they have worth. Almost every book on this subject has expressed this worth, even

with similar sentences. What is needed is a careful study of the existing ambiguities in **evaluating and prioritising those values.**

We are usually concerned about those relics which are 'significant'. To determine what is significant we should refer to values:

"...these values have to be analyzed and then synthesized in order to define the 'significance' of the historical artifacts"
(Feilden 1995:6).

The questions that may help us to analyze the values and discuss their priorities would be:

- a) What factors determine the values?
- b) Is this value determination affected by particular conditions?
- c) Which values are intrinsic?
- d) Which values contradict the others?
- e) Which mechanisms determine priorities between values?
- f) What are the priorities of the values from the Islamic point of view?

The discussion about cultural heritage values, particularly in different societies with their own social norms, is a vast area and is the object of another study. What we attempt in this Section is a general review of the above questions to prepare the ground for the rest of the research.

3.3.1. Determination of the Values

Not all cultural heritage activities, such as identification, protection, conservation and presentation of relics, are alone justified by the value of remains, but they may not be fulfilled without having to determine the priority of those values:

"For both moveable and immovable cultural property, the choice of specific objects for treatment and the degree of intervention are directly related to the values passed by society on different cultural property" (Feilden 1995:5).

To make clear what we mean by cultural heritage values, we will first present a list of values arranged by Feilden (1982:6) which seems to be the most comprehensive one:

"The 'values' assigned to cultural property come under three major headings:

- 1) *Emotional values: a) wonder; b) identity; c) continuity; d) spiritual and symbolic.*
- 2) *Cultural values: a) documentary; b) historic; c) archaeological, age and scarcity; d) aesthetic and symbolic e) architectural; f) townscape, landscape and ecological; g) scientific.*
- 3) *Use values: a) functional; b) economic; c) social; d) political.*

We refer to the first question now to see what factors determine the values?

The immediate task we are faced with is how to define the concept of 'value' itself. Usually we call something 'valuable' when it is 'good' or 'useful'. Without discussing how much these two may alter in relation to each other, we see that both are strongly influenced by circumstances that bring about fulfilment. For instance, the condition that makes water valuable is thirst. What we believe is the value or worth of cultural heritage is also effected by circumstances. These designated values change according to the situation or condition in varying societies.

For one society to the next change occurs not only in the rate of the values, but about values themselves. It means that what is seen as a value for cultural heritage in one society, might be seen as an anti-value to another. In one society palaces and religious buildings are the symbols of authority and belief, but in another symbols of the bourgeoisie and fanaticism. The problem is that if the cultural heritage values are not adjusted to the social value system, we can not expect real intellectual and financial support from the society.

One of the possible solutions is to ascribe values to the relics themselves. This means that, we may refer to the 'capabilities' or qualities that are inherent in relics, instead of 'values' that are determined by the users. This way evaluation of the relics will not be affiliated to the social conditions but to their actual capabilities. Water is very valuable for the one who is dying of thirst, valuable for a thirsty person and valueless for one who is not thirsty; but in any case it is capable of removing thirst. The one who is thirsty needs to know two things; first, that he is thirsty and second, that it is water which can remove thirst.

Most of the dilemmas in cultural heritage affairs results from a lack of realization of two similar factors i.e. an unawareness of why they need cultural heritage, and what it can

gain them. There are many groups in societies that do not realize their needs, for instance, to have an identity, to give value to what expresses identity. And many others do know but do not know what may offer the remedy. However, in these societies if cultural heritage values are not appropriately recognised, can we deny the capability of historical remains to offer them a sense of identity?

Therefore, answering the first question we may conclude, understanding needs and what can remedy these needs are two main factors that determine values: Thus, in order not to rely on different social conditions to determine cultural heritage values we suggest **the use of the term 'capabilities' instead of values**. As the writer of *The Burra Charter: Its Implications for Theory and Practice* (1993:2,3) has mentioned;

"...values are not merely subjective... but they are amenable to rational discussion...values are not like facts; they are not assessed by testing them in a laboratory".

Therefore, it is preferable to refer to the capabilities of the relics that we may assess them more easily than with values. Studying various cases of our heritage we find enough evidence to prove their capability whether they are applicable to a society or not. Therefore, the answer to the second question: *Is value determination affected by particular conditions?* would be, these are the social conditions that define cultural heritage capabilities as 'values'. Understanding a capability as a value depends on the social needs and the ability of the society to remove those needs throughout the cultural heritage.

3.3.2. The Intrinsic Values

Our next question, that emerges from our study so far, is: *Which values are intrinsic?* Some described values do not result from the capabilities of the remains, but are the consequences of conditions in certain societies, such as the Europeans. Thus we can not call them intrinsic values. To make it clear which values are intrinsic and which are not, we examine one of them. Take for instance 'economic value'. Our cultural heritage can play a role in the market-place because it has an economic value, but this value is depend on other qualities associated with the historical remains. Why do we pay money to visit an historical building? Why are very high prices paid for antiques? Is it not because of their historic and/or aesthetic value? Therefore, the economic value is the consequence of other values, and therefore can not be assigned as intrinsic.

A careful review of the values shows us that there are three intrinsic values (or capabilities)¹³ for cultural heritage; **scientific, historical and emotional** (artistic) **values**. Generally our consciousness is generated through three major areas of observation, which could be named, exact sciences, humanities and artistic perceptions. Each of which has its own procedure and characteristics to study. Inevitably the recognition of the value of cultural heritage is founded of the same three methods. Thus, it seems possible to classify them accordingly. We may designate values which result from empirical inquiries as 'scientific values'. The name of a particular scientific branch is omitted because spheres of science are involved in cultural heritage studies in one way or another. Those which result from humanity studies may be called 'historical values', because the main aim of the learning in this way is to discover the past quality of mankind's life and its evolution in the course of time. Values which are the out come of direct encounters with historical objects and inspire a kind of recognition, not achievable by scientific and humanistic methods, may be termed artistic or 'emotional values'.

Each of these main groups of values contains some values that are related to different branches of knowledge. We first present a list of them and then discuss each in turn.

<i>Scientific values</i>	<i>a) ecological values, documentary values</i>
	<i>b) archaeological values</i>
<i>Historical values</i>	<i>c) continuity, identity, age and scarcity</i>
	<i>d) architectural values, landscape, townscape</i>
<i>Emotional values</i>	<i>e) aesthetic and symbolic values, spiritual, wonder</i>

It is the way each of these classifications is studied that determines its relation with the three main group of values. Thus, for instance, ecological values as the consequences of scientific studies are related to scientific values, whereas archaeological values which result from historical studies as well as scientific stand in between and are related to both; and landscape values as a combination of both historical and emotional values stand between them.

¹³ From now on the word value is used to refer to intrinsic values or capabilities.

It is notable that one of the specialities of the above mentioned list of values is the considerable affinity between them and the three criteria that were used for defining cultural heritage above (see p. 88). Scientific values are coupled with objectness, historical values with pastness and emotional values with a human message. In scientific studies we are faced with the measurable phenomena, and this is the factor of objectness in relics that allows such studies about them. Historical values are related to the study of history, and in historical studies we are conscious of the effects of accumulated years reflected in the relics, and this is the pastness of the relics that allows us to engage in such methods of study. In terms of emotional values what draws our attention and affects us emotionally is the human message which consciously or unconsciously, has remained in the historical objects.

Another point worth mentioning is that in most of the written material regarding cultural heritage, including Unesco Documents, we are usually faced with three points of view for cultural heritage evaluation; scientific, historical and artistic¹⁴. In this way it seems we can achieve a degree of unity between definition, values and evaluation criteria.

We also notice that 'use values' are not commented on in the suggested list of values. It does not mean that our heritage lacks such values. But it is because these values result from other values and are not intrinsic. For instance, political values proceed from historical and aesthetic values. A political regime uses historical facts to justify itself and constructs magnificent palaces to show off its glory. For other values under this specification 'use values', we are faced with analogous cases.

One may claim that we can take the 'functional value' as an intrinsic value for relics, because most of our relics have been made for particular functions. But it is necessary to note that when something is assigned as being part of our 'cultural heritage', our main goal is to preserve it for the future. We are not allowed to use it if this may cause damage. If we recommend an appropriate use for our heritage it is because this could establish a better condition for its revitalization. In fact we ignore the effects of pollution, vibration, erosion, etc. for the sake of the better protection by putting it in use. Therefore, we see that there is a reverse relationship between this value and others.

¹⁴ See previous section, Unesco's Definitions for Cultural Heritage.

The more valuable the object the less are the possibilities of use. Suppose, it was necessary and we were able to look after each part of our heritage like the most important ones, then there would be no functional use for any of them. Thus, as this value is related to the social limitations that effect conservation, it can not be counted as an intrinsic value.

3.3.3. Priorities between Values

What has been mentioned so far, leads us to the next question; *which values contradict the others?* This contradiction does not only belong to functional values, there are sometimes different kinds of conflicts between other values as well. For instance, aesthetic values of the surface of a historical building may be highly appreciated, but other layers beneath the surface may reveal very valuable archaeological data. Should we remove the layer for the sake of what is hidden beneath? Although this kind of conflict does not derive from the nature of the values, nevertheless we need a mechanism to determine priorities. By now we approach the question of priorities in the values. We may divide the question in two. *Is there a priority between values themselves? How may we determine the priority of values of an object?* Although these questions may seem similar, there exist a critical difference between them.

Answering the first question, as Cormack (1978:16) has stated; *"...and here we come to the hub: the question of priorities"*. First, to discover what factors are effective, we may claim that priorities are 'determined' according to 'needs', then 'modified' by 'beliefs', and finally 'applied' through 'abilities'. Our social needs regarding historical remains contain three aspects; emotional, historical and scientific, based on the capabilities or values of the relics. Then, these needs are usually modified by social beliefs, which in combination and in final analyses form the philosophy of cultural heritage activities. This combination answers the question of; *why do we refer to relics at all?* On the other hand we are limited by the abilities of each society to fulfil what is theoretically achieved.

There are two extremist point of views regarding the establishment of priorities in cultural heritage values. In one camp there are those who believe that it is not possible to establish any kind of priority of values, because of the serious differences between needs, beliefs and abilities of each and every society. This point of view reduces the level of decision making to personal styles and tastes. In the other camp, there are

those who have established a priority system of values to reinforce their own needs, beliefs and abilities and have thought that it might work internationally. We have seen the results of this approach in Developing Countries by adopted laws and regulations produced from European priorities, and have seen the general failure of such adoptions. It is notable that producers of some of the international Charters and Recommendations have paid attention to this issue. For instance, the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS 1966) reads;

*"It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis. **With each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions**".* (emphasis added by the author)

Final assessments of cultural heritage values in Unesco's Recommendations are usually committed to 'each State'. For instance, the Recommendation concerning the International Exchange of Cultural Property (Nairobi 1976) reads;

*"'Cultural property' shall be taken to mean items which are the expression and testimony of human creation and of the evolution of nature which, **in the opinion of the competent bodies in individual States, are, or may be, of historic, artistic, scientific or technical values and interest**".* (emphasis added by the author)

What seems possible and necessary is that, each country attempts to establish its own Charter or set of principles, inspired by the existing International Charters.

The second question, *how may we determine the priority of values of an object?* is familiar to all the conservationists. We can rarely find any historical remains that does not involve this uncertainty. At the first stage, we may assume that the best way to determine priorities is to refer to the artefact themselves. This method is appropriate for those remains that include one or two obvious values. For instance a ruined caravansery in the depth of the desert may attract us for its historical or archaeological values. Perhaps it is in these cases that what Kerr says is more acceptable;

"...values of significance which would be recognised by any reasonable person"(quoted in S. Wilsmore, 1993).

However, the problem emerges when a remains has several values. In these situations experts from different branches of knowledge e.g. art historians, archaeologists,

architects, ecologists, planners, etc., depending on the case, confer firstly to recognise the values and secondly to express and defend each value in turn in preparation for taking a common decision. The problem is that each of these experts knows his own field and defends its relevant values, while what is required is a over-view to understand all and compare different values with each other and at last determine priorities. These are not opposing values, if we determine a hierarchy of our needs -- bearing in mind the capability of the relic to meet them -- then we are one step further on. But we still need the team of experts to agree.

What in practice occurs is that priorities are established in favour of the investor. This is why a mature conservation programme, inspired by relatively acceptable priorities is vital in each society. In a society whose needs, beliefs and abilities are all facing one direction, enjoyment of cultural heritage with all its values is achievable. In contrast, those societies which have not managed to achieve a coherent relationship between these factors are losing the advantages cultural heritage can offer them. They are paying more and more in the pretence that they are aboard the 'modernisation' train.

3.4. Values from an Islamic Point of View

We proposed the question, *what are the priorities of cultural heritage values from an Islamic perspective?* As the purpose presented in the Quran is the transmission of the message within relics, we need to discuss what is the means by which this message can be most easily and quickly received. We quote Feilden (1982:1) who explained, "*...but the first impact is always emotional*". Emotional values in relics firstly, attract us to them and secondly, ask us to consider the messages they communicate, and inviting us to understand them as much as possible. The Kaaba, which is named *Al-Baytol-Atique* (the antique house) by the Holy Quran, has a deep emotional impact on its visitors, because they may see the whole course of history in it: from Adam who made it, to Abraham who reconstructed it and left his footprints there, to Mohammad (PBUH) who removed idols from it, up to the present time. It is an historical building, but a simple cube shaped detached from any artistic style or epoch (similar to the pilgrims' clothes),

with a message that unifies the past and present of mankind in the eyes of its pilgrims¹⁵.

However, the process of understanding the message of the relics does not end just by emotional confrontations with them;

*"...an historical building has an artistic and human 'message' which will be revealed by a **study of its history**"¹⁶ (Feilden 1982:1).*

The study of the history of any relic has a dramatic effect on our understanding of it. The first question raised by the emotional impacts can be answered by the study of the object's history. As we saw in Chapter Two the Quran admits to the necessity of historical studies of relics by explaining details of historical events and describing that there are seekers and researchers who may understand the message of the relics. The term *Nazar* (to see, to look, to watch, to observe) which is used by the Quran in these cases means more than just to look or observe. Rather it is a kind of perception of the hidden meanings through observation. It means that there should be a deeper study about what we just observed. Therefore after the initial emotional impact we seek to understand the historical values.

Finally, scientific studies are able to increase accuracy and expand our historical studies, they have an essential role in the process of understanding cultural heritage. Therefore, scientific studies are in support of historical ones. This way a degree of hierarchy may be seen in values; emotional values, historical values and scientific values. We should not forget that this hierarchy is established to tell us which values can be achieved easiest and soonest by observers of historical remains. This is not an absolute hierarchy of values, because, for instance a scientist sees scientific values as the most important.

Now we refer back to the main question of the priority of values from the Islamic point of view. In doing this we remember that the ultimate goal for referring to cultural heritage, expressed by the Quran, is to take lessons from the past. We must also recall

¹⁵ There are many things to discuss about the Kaaba from the cultural heritage point of view, but they are beyond the scope of this research.

¹⁶ Emphasis is added by the author.

that the command of the Quran for taking these lessons did not cover a particular group of people, but was common to all. We may also conclude that from the Islamic point of view, the general priorities are; emotional, historical and scientific.

We should bear in mind that giving priority to a group of values from a particular stance does not mean that others are valueless. On the one hand, there are capabilities within the relics, and on the other, social needs, beliefs and abilities have to be taken into consideration when determining the final priority. Without denying the importance of each value in its place, and regarding the ultimate goal for referring to relics, established by the Quran, as well as the existing hierarchy in capabilities of relics to fulfil our needs, we suggest the above priority for Islamic Societies. The suggested priorities are general and open in detail to any necessary re-arrangement towards given social conditions.

These priorities may also be significant from the financial point of view. It is clear that if we can bridge social perceptions and cultural heritage values, we can receive more financial and intellectual support from society. Particular scientific programmes related to our cultural heritage are not usually appreciated by common people, but are supported by specific groups in society. This tendency is more obvious in the Developing Countries which have many basic and pressing needs to meet. There are some aspects of cultural heritage studies that are more attractive to the majority of the people; if they enjoy them more they might be more ready to pay. This is another situation where priorities are involved. In this way we may arrange programmes for cultural heritage affairs of a whole country to a single project so that some parts may be paid directly by the people, and some costs borne by interested institutes, and the remainder by the State.

This is to abstain from the existing extremist solutions in societies such as Iran. Some believe that if the experts agree, for instance, that an historical part of a city should be conserved, this is enough, whether the citizens of that city agree or not. Others believe that if citizens (the so called tax payers) of an historical city like to drive through narrow streets in their cars, it should be possible no matter how much damage it may cause. The example of the first approach is *Tabas*, a garden-city beside the *lut* desert in Iran, which has suffered from disregarding the ideas of its citizens; and the second is

illustrated by many historical cities such as *Sabze-Var* or *Yazd*, that have lost their integrity through motorways passing across their fragile old fabric.

The dilemma is that there are many concepts in cultural heritage activities that all the people are not necessarily aware of, and require experts evaluation. Cultural heritage affairs are so involved with daily life in any society that without common support little can be achieved. This immediately leads us to the necessity of social education; in some societies the relics may not be much appreciated, and are competing for attention with the products of the new technology, thus some short term solutions are desperately needed, or a large portion of heritage may be lost.

Most of the so called Third World Countries are within this range. Despite strong traditional relationship between people and their cultural heritage in these countries, this relationship has been disrupted by the shock of the imported new ideas and technology. Therefore, we can not expect a high degree of social understanding, nor can we totally ignore the aspirations of the people in these societies. This is not just from a cultural perspective, but from a financial one as well, because governments have usually enough to do and they are not able to finance heritage projects without the people's direct support.

Therefore, to increase social participation we have to arrange our programmes to recognize and expand the common enthusiasm towards our cultural heritage. Undoubtedly, a considerable amount of historical remains are attractive to the ordinary people. Even in each project there are some aspects that are more familiar to them, or appealing to some institutes, if the project is presented appropriately. The suggested priorities in values may also be valid from this point of view.

According to the Budget Law (1982 and after) in Iran, tax payers were free to determine how a part of their directly paid tax could be spent. Members of ICHO in each Province visited many of the tax payers and presented some projects that might attract their support. The results showed that many projects that served emotional values were warmly received and, pure scientific projects were left to be financed by the ICHO. In some States a budget three the size of the annual budget for conservation was gathered

in this way.¹⁷ Archaeological projects which have in the past not enjoyed popular support have benefited from financial aid coming from research institutes. For instance, the Institute for Earthquake Studies, an important institute in Iran had sufficient funds to study the 'earthquake cycle' in historical sites, and were ready to pay part of the costs of excavations. Similarly, the Polymer Chemistry Institute, The Handicrafts Organization, The Institute for Speleology, all had some interest in one or another of the relics.

Before finishing this Section we should note that, although we discussed the 'use values' earlier, the priority of values are related to the needs and abilities of the societies. Thus it is worth making a point regarding this here. This is contrary to the Developed Countries who are now paying more attention to the 'use values'¹⁸. In the Developing countries such a trend may cause more damage than benefit. In those countries with a relatively low level of cultural heritage understanding on the one hand, and governments in urgent financial need (particularly for hard currency) ready to use historical remains for all kind of functional, economic and even political use, we can not consider 'use capabilities' of the relics as a worth while 'value'. This is one of the cases that shows how values may differ from one society to another while capabilities are fixed. Where there is no reliable social and even governmental or legal control over relics, there is a high risk of starting with good intentions but too often ending in a mess. The results of these abuses of values are evident when we increasingly witness sites and historical buildings being turned into so called Disney Lands. Therefore, according to the previous theoretical discussion and above mentioned limitations, the list of general priorities in cultural heritage values for the Islamic societies should be:

emotional values; historical values and scientific values.

3.5. CONCLUSION

Although man still looks upon his past through the window of history, he is becoming ever more aware of the capabilities of cultural heritage to provide a particular understanding of the past. It is not only its capability of providing greater precision to the history that adds to the importance of historic relics. The other equally important

¹⁷ See ICHO's yearly financial reports, ICHO, Tehran.

¹⁸ For instance see the last amendment for heritage legislation in Britain, PPG.

dimention is establishing some kind of emotional relationship with our ancestors which can only be achieved through them.

Notwithstanding the universal recognition of cultural heritage values today, it appears that a comprehensive definition for it is still lacking. Adopting such a definition is important because it can, firstly, provide a common understanding of the concept in question and, secondly, serve as a basis for the discussion of cultural heritage values and activities.

In this Chapter, before entering into the discussion of definitions, and in view of the particular role of words in conveying meanings, we have first examined the words used nowadays to express this concept. Although all the words used somehow involve the factor of time and imply the inheritance of remains from past generations, attention has been paid to the risk of such terms as 'cultural property' being misunderstood. To the author's belief, looking upon cultural heritage as a property is particularly inadequate in the case of developing countries such as Iran.

Examining the factors contributing to the adoption of a definition of cultural heritage, we have introduced three standards of recognition: objectness, pastness and human message. These three factors are considered not only as characteristics of historic relics, but also as criteria by which they are identified. Surveying and studying these factors led us to a definition of cultural heritage:

Cultural heritage is a term for: objects which have aged and have a human message; in other words, the footprints of mankind in the course of history carrying insights.

A comparison of this definition has also been made with those stated in suggestions and conventions of Unesco. An interesting point in this comparison is that the presented definition combines the historic, scientific and artistic values pointed out by Unesco; a factor that involves the gestalt of the values and somehow expresses what man can expect from his cultural heritage. On the basis of observations made in this chapter and the previous one, this definition appears to conform with the perception of cultural heritage put forth by the Holy Quran.

Having explored definitions, we began, in the second Section of this Chapter, an examination of cultural heritage values and their priorities, noting that these values must be analyzed and then combined before the significance of the relics' historic attributes can be asserted. In answering the question; *what are the values of historic relics?*, considering that these are relative values which vary with changes in social conditions, we suggested capabilities within the relics themselves should be addressed.

The changes of values in different societies have also been taken into consideration in relevant international Charters, where the necessity of reviewing the values within the cultural framework of each society is emphasized. Acknowledging the capabilities of historic remains, thus we tried to initially focus on the perception of these relics' intrinsic values, regardless of the conditions prevailing on users. In this way, three categories of capabilities -- scientific, historic and emotional (artistic) -- were identified. Two conditions were considered necessary for these capabilities to be recognized as values: firstly, a social awareness of the relics' capabilities, and secondly, the existence of the means needed for their utilization.

In the discussion of establishing priorities among the values of historic relics, we were faced with the question of determining whether it is necessary, or indeed possible, to adopt such priorities. The conclusion reached was that determining these priorities is necessary because today, particularly in Third World countries, we are faced with extremist points of view. On one side, there are those who, regardless of social realities, expect historic relics to be seen as historic laboratories, and on the other, those who, having more mercantilistic inclinations, are only interested in the revenues that relics can produce.

Without denying the necessity of the cultural advancement of the society to solve these problems, three factors can be considered in determining the priorities between the relics' values; needs, beliefs and possibilities. First, the value priorities can be 'determined' taking 'needs' into account. Then these can be 'moderated' in view of existing 'beliefs', and ultimately 'applied' within 'possibilities' of the society. This proposition is presented as a preliminary framework for the adoption of cultural heritage policies within the realities of the society (in addition to its cultural framework).

Taking into consideration what was said in Chapters One and Two about the status of cultural heritage in Islamic outlook and its aims and expectations, we have attempted to examine the priority of values from this point of view. It seems justified to suggest that, in view of the aims envisaged by Islam for referring to historic remains, emotional values stand foremost. Then, historic values come next considering the methods that can be deduced from the verses of the Holy Quran. Finally, scientific values are given priority because they reinforce the previous ones. Naturally, these priorities are idealistic. To devise effective policies requires paying attention to the social realities, which are reflected by needs beliefs and possibilities. Therefore, it is possible to determine ultimate priorities in cultural heritage policy-making.

On the whole, this Chapter attempts to dispel, as far as possible, eventual ambiguities related to cultural heritage. The selection of appropriate words to convey its precise meaning; the suggestion of a comprehensive definition tentatively embodying each dimension; presentation of values and their classification; examination of value-priorities from an Islamic point of view, were undertaken to present a more precise understanding of the status of cultural heritage.

In the next Chapter, we will attempt, on the basis of what has been already said, to examine the four principal cultural heritage activities; namely identification, protection, conservation and preservation. We will eventually suggest ways of better adapting them to Islamic values.

Cultural Heritage Activities

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous Chapters, we endeavoured to become acquainted with the past values and the reasons for the Islamic interest in cultural heritage, as well as its meaning, values and priorities. In this Chapter, we shall try to survey and evaluate the activities pursued in any society, so as to determine how their indispensability can be justified.

Cultural heritage activity can be summarized into four main groups: **identification, protection, conservation** and **presentation**. The necessity for carrying out these activities can be firstly attributed to the values which they bear in the opinion of the society under consideration. Yet, as was pointed out in Chapter Three, the level of priority a society assigns to such activities, as opposed to those serving other necessities, is relative. In societies where, on the one hand, there are limited financial resources available and, on the other, the basic social necessities of education, housing, and health are pressing, activities related to the cultural heritage usually do not enjoy a high level of priority.

What happens too often is that historic sites and monuments, particularly within cities, survive as long as no reason for their destruction exists and they do not constitute obstacles to development plans. But, as soon projects with their own socio-economic justifications are set forth, cultural and historic values are brushed aside and the site or monument in question is destroyed. Therefore, the mere value of the artefact is unable to assure them an adequate status among the social activities and it is therefore imperative for these activities to become integrated into the system of every society's social values with sufficient spiritual, moral, social, political and cultural justification, so that they attract the utmost cooperation from within society.

Thus, in the present Chapter, we shall focus on examining ideas which may provide further justifications for each of these activities in Islamic societies.

4.2. IDENTIFICATION AND LISTING

Almost all the countries of the world, including the Islamic countries, are confronted with innumerable historic sites, monuments and artefact as their tangible cultural heritage, and as many customs, traditions, arts, rites, ways of life, local dialects, etc. as their intangible cultural heritage.

In view of their usually limited financial and human resources, identifying and recording these immense collections often constitutes a serious problem for those countries. Clearly, as huge resources would be required to identify and record all the items, a level of priority has to be assigned to their preservation, in accordance with defined criteria. The question is to determine which criteria can be most effective in determining such priority levels so that, while both minimizing damages and creating new potential sources of income, the resources needed for the preservation of all the works can eventually be secured. The array of factors threatening the cultural heritage in developing countries like wise is often so vast that, at first glance, every item appears to be equally in an emergency situation and in need of identification and conservation.

The institutions in charge of cultural heritage in countries such as Iran are faced on one side with thousands of historic sites, which are not only threatened by the development of cities, roads, dams, power line pylons, etc. but also, for want of identification and control, looted by smugglers of artefact, and on the other, with the monuments and fabric of hundreds of historic cities which lie in a similar situation. The responsible authorities' negligence towards historic values, the economic dearth, the necessity of new developments, the inadequacy of ancient buildings with regard to modern standards, all contribute to the ancient texture of historic cities first falling into ruins and soon after disappearing altogether. The sheer volume of items, for example in Iran, where all the expert manpower can be made available without any financial restriction, the mere task of identifying and making an inventory of them would take many years. And the situation is not any better concerning the identification and recording of historic objects or the body of the intangible cultural heritage in general. The problem is that every action dealing with artefact is based on the assumption that they have been identified, or, in other words, the identification and registration constitutes the initial point of all subsequent measures eventually taken upon them. In these conditions, any action

capable of providing clues concerning the standards, assuring the least damage due to items remaining unrecorded, as well as providing new initiatives for the identification of a larger number of works is desperately needed.

Naturally, the priorities are determined in accordance with the values each society assigns to its cultural heritage. The values express the authenticity of the works, and the works identified for any reason as authentic are recorded. In our survey of the values of the cultural heritage, we saw that they fall into emotional, historic and scientific categories. Obviously, works bearing a particular value from these viewpoints must be recorded. Therefore, the criterion for a work to be recorded is that it must have any one of these values. Although these criteria are rather specialized, the experience of their application in many countries shows that this method has led to the identification and conservation of numerous valuable artefact.

Yet, considering the situation of the cultural heritage in Islamic societies, it appears that other criteria more imbued with social aspects are needed.

Recalling once again the reasons given in the Quran for man to explore the past and its vestiges, and referring to the priorities expounded above concerning the value of artefact from the Islamic viewpoint, several such criteria for the identification and recording of items can be examined. Initially, it should be borne in mind that theoreticians who advocate the identification and recording of items solely on scientific grounds and are weary of the interference of social values in such decisions are unfamiliar with the realities existing in developing countries. They fail to grasp the fact, that overlooking the existing social conditions prevailing in these societies and insisting on the values of the experts and the elite of the society, brings forth an even greater danger of losing yet more artefact.

a) The Holy Quran's mode of attention to the past of ancient peoples and its emphasis on the necessity of taking heed of their histories, conducts us to consider the relics of all those peoples as an equally valuable means of guidance. It is imperative to bear in mind that, for Muslims, Islamic cultural heritage can be a dual source of inspiration in which they are able to witness, as it were, practical experience of their beliefs. They can use this source as a model in formulating new ideas of their own.

This should not be interpreted as disregarding the heritage left behind by previous peoples. The notion that an Islamic society has the duty to preserve only the Islamic cultural heritage is totally false and contrary to Islamic teaching.

b) As mentioned in the Section concerning the determination of priorities (Chapter Three), since, from the Islamic point of view, the aim, of exploring historic artefact is to perceive the messages they bear, the works more likely to be taken into consideration are those capable of better delivering their message and more tangibly participating in the social life of the society. The ease with which the message is transmitted depends on several factors, each susceptible to being adopted as a **criterion of priority in terms of identification and recording**.

1. The artefact's **inherent value and capability**, and the specific impact that these can attribute to it.
2. **The location of the artefact**, that can determine the probability of (its audience) gaining access to it.
3. The **attitude of society towards the artefact's message**, that can play an essential role in eliciting public interest in it.
4. The **capability of attracting a greater audience** of various age groups and different professional categories.
5. The **relevance** of the artefact's message to the daily needs and concerns of the society.

The '**communication value**' of an artefact, here defined as a measure of its power of delivering its message, can be estimated by preparing tables assigning points to each criterion, and using the resulting chart to determine which works should be recorded.

c) Another factor capable of affecting an item's identification and recording priority is the extent to which it is in danger. In developing societies, cultural heritage is greatly threatened unfortunately, for various reasons and in different ways, with destruction and

annihilation. Wide-ranging calamities such as natural disasters, pollution, population growth, war, etc., as well as greed, ignorance and misuse, all threaten these countries' cultural heritages with extinction. Of course, in different physical and social conditions, these factors can vary greatly from society to society and from time to time, precluding the possibility of adopting any conservation measures. What appears feasible and minimally necessary is for each society to prepare their own chart, taking into consideration their particular conditions, and their existing hazards in order of their frequency. A numerical exercise along these lines can express the extent to which each type of danger threatens each group of items. In this way, a schema reflecting the dangers threatening all groups of artefact and sites can be made available relatively quickly, the results of which could be useful in their identification and registration.

d) In societies where interest in the cultural heritage is not yet generalized and greater investments are needed to stimulate public interest, giving priority to the type of items likely to elicit this interest could play a major role in the subsequent success of cultural heritage projects.

A factor which, in developing countries, causes people to perceive the cultural heritage as alien and to display insufficient sensitivity toward it is that, in general, artefact have been identified, recorded and preserved for reasons beyond the understanding, interest, or even the knowledge of the people, invariably by or under the supervision of experts from developed countries. As a result, the majority of these populations have little sense of 'ownership' of such items and consider them, if at all, as only belonging to outsiders and foreigners. In order to revive a popular sense of ownership, our consideration must be given to those items that will attract or stimulate the greatest popular revival of interest in an understanding of the local community, thus paving the way for the eventual development of the peoples' interest towards appreciating all types of artefact. Of course, this method of enjoining with the people is, in varying degrees, already present and practised in some way or another by enlightened professionals and researchers working in the field.

Since all or most of the activities concerning cultural heritage in Islamic countries were initiated by foreigners following their own scientific interests, the preparation of qualitative and quantitative reports with the interests of the national populations of these countries

in mind, these local programmes could form the basis whereby the identification and registration of items can be so directed that sufficient attention is paid to popular local interests, thus enhancing the peoples participation in cultural heritage activities. The greater the task, the more important it is to enrol public participation in the process.

e) Another point worth consideration in identifying, recording, and ultimately conserving artefact is their capability of creating local economic benefit. In order to reduce the restrictions affecting investments related to cultural heritage, which constitute one of the most serious obstacles, and bearing in mind that governments today generally expect all branches of social enterprise to achieve economic self-sufficiency, it is necessary to consider, which types of artefact can somehow contribute to the funds allocated to cultural heritage activity. This does not mean absolute market orientation or the relegation of scientific values. By investing small sums an income can be created which can be spent on projects seemingly less attractive to the public at a particular time. This kind of economic return should not be limited to touristic type revenues. With due attention and care, considerable sums can be secured.

Many of the so called Third World countries, and particularly the Islamic ones, including Iran, are used to selling their raw products, such as oil, minerals, etc., and buying manufactured goods. Just as petrochemical and electronic industries for instance are capable of yielding added value to relatively small quantities of certain raw materials so it can be with artefact. 'Selling' them can be avoided through: displaying them with the further establishment of local conservation associations and museums; at regional, national and international exhibitions; the production of books and other printed material; commissioning through national competition the necessary scientific work. The role of the media can be engaged to generate the emotional values towards our cultural heritage by producing documentaries, educational material drama series. Universities can encourage students and staff from a number of departments to make appropriate contributions. The process of deregulation taking place all over the world will unleash an even greater role to our cultural heritage. In Iran we still have time to formulate the principles upon which alternative strategies to protect and enhance our vast wealth of cultural property can be based.

This subject will be developed in subsequent chapters. The point to be noted here is that the economic potential of artefact can be taken into consideration as a criterion for identifying and recording artefact.

4.3. PROTECTION

After works of art are identified and recorded, their protection can begin. In order to avoid entering the philological discussion of the differences between protection or preservation and conservation, it should be noted that we view the relationship between protection and conservation as similar to the one existing between prevention and healing. The extent to which protection is successful depends on two factors: the existence of laws forming the grounds upon which these notions are prevalent in society, and the degree to which they can gain acceptance and elicit a willingness among the people to abide by them.

It is often imagined that the enforcement of laws becomes mandatory by the mere fact of their adoption, and that no investigation is needed about their degree of popularity. But this is precisely the subject of our discussion, for, as we will see, in many social matters, the mere existence of the law is certainly not enough, they have to be justifiable and enforceable. In this Section, while outlining the reasons for the importance of a legal apparatus concerning cultural heritage, we shall also review the means of enhancing the acceptance of particular laws concerning the protection of cultural heritage in Islamic countries.

Some laws pre-require their implementation. For instance, the government's need for tax revenues guarantees its efforts toward implementing such laws. But in the case of laws that express social ideals or pursue cultural aims, there may be little or no motivation or beneficiary to help enforce them, the defenders of their implementation has to be, in fact, the conscience of the society and its representations:

"The first organised attempts to conserve Britain's historical buildings came from a number of voluntary bodies from the latter part of the 19th century onwards. This was entirely the Victorian way of doing things: self-help and voluntary enterprise, with no recognition that their aims were or could be the responsibility of government" (Cherry 1974:4).

This is not readily achievable in most societies, only where more sophisticated social institutions exist, can these institutions, according to their respective interests, push through the relevant laws and thus constitute a pressure group in this direction. In most developing economies laws concerning cultural affairs have become alienated and, where they exist at all, they are often ignored where political interests are engaged to benefit from the alternative new development. "All too often 'culture' is considered the football of politicians, to be switched arbitrarily from ministry to ministry." (Ucko 1989:XIII). When dealing with cultural property the economic benefits are not understood and are therefore considered a secondary duty of governments. The constituency for conservation is often non existent and where it does exist, is no match for the lobbying power of the developers:

"Broadly speaking, there are only two sections of society to whom environmental quality is significant and urgent. First, there are those housed in surroundings of such abject squalor and degradation that the poverty of their immediate environment may be said to have fallen to standards of absolute condemnation according to criteria which society can accept. Secondly, there is the sensitive elite who, by reason of education, training, outlook, social milieu and intellectual persuasion, regard quality of environment not only as important in itself, but also as a benevolent influence on others" (Cherry 1974:3).

Therefore, the degree of public understanding of and interest in these laws plays a significant role in their success:

"Conservationists have urged the restoration of countless old buildings without realizing that their appeals to the public would probably be more effective were they to attempt to explain why an old building is valuable, and why its loss from the built environment would be a retrograde step. ... They have failed to do this, however, and as a result their arguments have had less impact on society as a whole than they might have otherwise had" (Colin Moris, quoted in Kain 1981:260).

This situation becomes even more important in societies where the private sector has a more discrete but never the less growing presence in cultural affairs, due to their regulated economic power, so that governments are responsible or irresponsible towards investment in projects such as the protection of cultural heritage. But this will not always be the case.

Now, for a moment, focusing on Islamic countries and the question of protecting their cultural heritage, we see that, as a result of particular conditions which we shall expose, neither has the public motivation to create such laws played an important role, nor have any such laws elicited serious popular eagerness:

"... legislation is often haphazardly imposed in the wake of colonialism or is revised under the influence of other forces by central governments" (Ucko, P. J. 1989:XII).

The reasons for this situation become clear by a brief review of the history of cultural legislation, or even just that of the mere interest in cultural heritage, in these societies.

In these countries, appropriate legislation generally began in the 1930s. These laws were brought forth either directly by Europeans or by individuals somehow in touch with European circles. The Europeans' first connection with Islamic countries dates back several centuries before the adoption of any laws. Notwithstanding all contacts prior to the Middle Ages and whatever happened in the wake of the Crusades, the onset of Europe's acquaintance with Islamic countries, which was accompanied by the publication of various works about these lands, was marked by the expeditions of various individuals and groups. Jews investigating the situation of other Jews in Islamic countries, Christian preachers travelling as missionaries, merchants attempting – in view of developments taking place in Europe – to expand their commercial domains, particularly in countries owning the commodities most needed in Europe. Ultimately politicians travelling in pursuit of their own particular interests, whether so as to get rid of the danger of the powerful Ottoman Empire and befriend its eastern neighbours. Whether, later on, in a competition for gaining access to the lands of the Middle East and Central Asia, and particularly India, or whether in order to expand their dominion upon Islamic countries, which, following World War I and the division of the Ottoman Empire, could easily be transformed into zones of European and American influence.¹

With their attractive explanations and illustrations, these individuals' travel accounts incited their readers to travel and investigate the historical remains of the Islamic Orient. Numerous societies in European countries set up elaborate excavation projects dedicated to the discovery of oriental historical buildings. It should be borne in mind that

¹ The antecedents of the relations between the Europeans and Iran, as an Islamic country, can be consulted in *The Illustrated Documents of Europeans in Iran*, Dr. Gholam-Ali Homayoun, Tehran University Press 1970.

almost all the initial excavations in Islamic countries were carried out by Europeans. The results of those studies, the drawings, the objects retrieved and published in Europe, all attracted yet more people, motivated by cultural or material incentives, toward these countries. Up to then, the problem of protection as we conceive it today was not posed in these lands. The eagerness of Europeans to collect artifacts resulted in the pillage of movable items and the destruction of many historical buildings in view of looting their fragments. As we shall see in the following Chapter, protection as a duty of government was also a notion imported from the West into Islamic countries.

4.3.1. PROTECTION LAWS

The conservationist movement which emerged in Europe by the mid-19th century was replicated in Islamic countries, leading to the adoption of laws which mostly remained in place to the present day. Those laws presented, for the first time, vestiges of the past as the cultural heritage in its modern sense and considered them worthy of preservation and safeguarding, thus giving the government special authority for their conservation. This was an unprecedented phenomenon. Not only was the subject novel in itself, but it also deserves reflection from the viewpoint of its adaptation to today's social conditions. In those days, however, these societies were not faced with their present impetuous industrial and urban development, the destruction of their works of art had not reached the stage of requiring legislation as was beginning in European countries, their financial means did not allow them to invest in such programs, and public awareness was not so developed as to allow their necessity to be appreciated. Most important, no rational justification or relationship between these laws and the values and beliefs prevailing in Islamic societies had been given consideration, bringing forth the necessity of social acceptance of such legislation. In other words, instead of relying on social values and being expressed in familiar terms, the newly introduced notions of protection were only a word by word translation of Europe's laws.

Thus, regulations pertaining to cultural property, which badly needed public understanding and support to be successful, were written without relying on any kind of popular involvement. But this was not their only flaw. Their implementation tended to be surrounded in an elitist conspiracy that resulted in their exploration at best and at worst their removal altogether. Only latterly, in the period prior to Independence, in order

to introduce a kind of ordained nationalism did governments begin to make political advantage of their cultural legacies. However, from the European point of view reference to Islamic cultural heritage, which might have recalled the unity of these societies, went against the divisive policies of creating smaller countries. So, disregarding a historical past of over a thousand years, reference was made to vestiges of the pre-Islamic period. In Egypt, monuments from the Pharaonic era, in Turkey, the ancient Hellenistic sites such as Ephesus, and in Iran, works dating back to the Achaemenian period such as Perse-Polic, were chosen to arouse and satisfy national pride.

The implementation of cultural heritage laws also coincided with the violation of many religious precepts, such as the breach of private ownership, the revocation of endowments, interference with the integrity of religious monuments, etc., which people found unacceptable for want of religious justification. In this way, cultural heritage and laws intended to preserve it not only fell beyond the interest of the population, who indeed largely needed it, but also represented an antagonism with the principles acceptable to the society.

Undoubtedly, what is urgently needed to solicit popular acceptance of and support for laws concerning the protection of cultural heritage is a bridge between their beliefs and the values to them of their cultural heritage:

*"The countries of South Asia with their rich culture should find **their own philosophical approach**² which could have greater impact from their living heritage of craftsmen"*
(Feilden 1995:3).

Now the question is: *How is the necessity of protecting the cultural heritage justified in Islamic thought?*

4.3.2. THE ISLAMIC LAWS

Determining the relationship between Islamic laws and the topics of cultural heritage protection is not only important from the viewpoint of popular acceptance and support but also consequential on the adoption of new laws in Islamic countries, for, although

² Emphasis added by the Author.

Islamic regulations embrace a multitude of social activities, nowadays the laws of Islamic countries are set by their parliaments. None of these parliaments will affirm having adopted laws contrary to Islamic principles. In Iran, following the Islamic Revolution, an assembly entitled the "Guardian Council" was formed of lawyers and religious jurists, whose duty is to examine motions passed by the parliament in terms of their conformity with the Constitution and Islamic laws, and to send them back for amendment in case of discrepancy. Among religious laws, numerous rules exist which are also applicable to topics related to cultural heritage. Yet, this conformity has to be established by individuals acquainted with both subjects. Here, we cite a few examples of such cases, leaving a comprehensive survey of this matter to a separate study.

4.3.2.I. LĀ ZARAR

The most fundamental rule which can be taken into consideration in the protection of the cultural heritage is one expressed by the Prophet (PBUH) in these terms: "Lā Zarara Wa Lā Zerāra fi-l-Islam", meaning that, in Islam, both imposing and sustaining loss are prohibited³. Imposing loss upon others is a social matter and may be analyzed in a very wide context.

Since, in Islam, expounding "decrees" is the duty of religious leaders and determining "subjects" that of experts, it is up to the latter group to clarify, by their explanations, what can cause social loss. The scope of this decree ranges from environmental destructions, such as pollution to the ethical loss of control such as showing obscene films. The difficulty lies in determining precisely what is perceived as social loss. Thus, we see that, in Islamic societies, thanks to the prohibition of inflicting loss, the way to their protection is unobstructed. The difficulty lies in demonstrating that the lack of cultural heritage would be a social disaster and expounding this fact to the people. The main criterion for this recognition is "Orf" the common law, in the sense that an item publicly renowned as harmful falls under this decree. In fact, this matter does not rely entirely upon public verdict, experts play an equally important role. For example, just as a conspicuously polluting factory may be closed down by virtue of this decree, a factory

³ The term prohibited is used instead of the word harām which in its religious sense bears a wider meaning than legal prohibition.

responsible for a particular kind of pollution that is only discernible by experts will also receive the same treatment.

Therefore, we are faced here with two factors: the level of public awareness about what can be harmful to society, and the experts' capability of discerning social damages and providing the relevant proofs. It is obvious that these factors vary in different societies. For instance, today in Great Britain the destruction of a historical monument would arouse a vast reaction, just as a historic site being considered important by experts could largely pave the way for its conservation. Whereas in Iran, a similar act would not provoke an equally strong reaction, just as the conservation of a historic site would require the fulfilment of factors beyond the mere judgment of experts. Thus, the importance of the relationship between the values of cultural heritage and the system of values prevailing in the society becomes clear. The more these values are intelligible to the population, the more the possibility of protection is enhanced. Until the advent of these conditions (which will be a long-term process), and even in order to create such conditions only little progress can be made. At least an agreed program can be devised to establish the values and submitted to the authorities involved in cultural heritage, such as legislators, judges, social planners and managers.

In the following Chapters, while examining the case of Iran, we shall see that the main damage derives from a lack of awareness rather than from the kinds of difficulties facing Western societies. Although in dire need of values which the cultural heritage can provide, such as national identity, stronger cultural continuity, more social security, a cleaner environment, a greater natural beauty, preservation of national resources, learning from historic experiences, etc., these societies are not yet greatly involved with the modern destructive pressures existing in Western societies and still have a golden opportunity to save their cultural heritage. By installing and developing unequivocal Islamic laws such as "lā zarar", it becomes desirable to legislate and encourage a general conservation movement.

At this point, it appears necessary to mention that violating civil laws, particularly when the reasons for their adoption are still obscure to the people, becomes more necessary in the absence of effective enforcement. Considering the dispersal of movable and immovable artefact and their intrinsic and economic value, the likelihood of such

transgressions is further increased. Whereas, by presenting doctrinal justifications to a population still strongly attached to its religious creeds, a kind of inner control toward their application can be created. Nothing will prevent a peasant living in a far-off village from appropriating and selling an antique object he discovers while digging a well, unless he believes that, by religious standards, it does not belong to him and its use for gain is forbidden. When it is possible to prevent pillage by a religious mechanism still present, why should it not be used?

4.3.2.II. AL-BĀQIĀT-OS-SĀLEHĀT

Another rule, which has indeed been effective in the creation and protection of cultural heritage in Islamic societies, is that of "al-Bāqiāt-os-Sālehāt". In the Holy Quran, this term is thus expressed in *Al-Kahf* (18:46) and *Maryam* (19:76):

- *Wealth and children are an adornment of the life of this world and the ever-abiding, the good works, are better with your Lord in reward and better in expectation.*
- *And Allah increases in guidance those who go aright; and ever-abiding good works are with your Lord best in recompense and best in yielding fruit.*

"Al-bāqiāt-os-sālehāt" applies to the good deeds of a Muslim which remain forever or for a long time. Although, in references to such deeds, their spiritual aspect is implied⁴, yet, just as it is believed in the case of "sonnat-e hassaneh" that the initiator of a good tradition partakes of its reward for as long as it remains in practice, not only does the reward of a good deed remain, but a lasting good deed itself brings continual reward to one who does it. Thus, achieving deeds of public utility has long been customary in Islamic countries. Many edifices of public utility, such as schools, hospitals, bath-houses, water reservoirs, mosques, tekies, drinking-water tanks, etc., have been created in this frame of mind. And as works are conceived to last, mechanisms have been devised to assist their durability. Before entering the discussion of mechanisms

⁴ Tafsir-al-Mizān, vol. 13, pp. 540-41, Translation of Seyyed Mohammad-Bāqer Mussavi Hamadāni, Bonyād-e 'Elmi va Fekri-e 'Allāme-ye Tabātabā'i, Summer of 1974, Tehran

contributing to their preservation, it is necessary to mention a few points about the possible results of implementing this idea:

- a) People are encouraged to create buildings and appliances bearing general usefulness;
- b) The works created enjoy superior quality, which enables them to last longer. By employing the best architects and using the most appropriate designs, materials and locations, valuable works of the highest level are produced;
- c) The danger of such works being demolished for any reason by future generations is less likely, since they are built as "bāqiāt", that which may not be destroyed;
- d) Particular financial and administrative mechanisms are adopted for their maintenance and repair, as well as their alteration for new uses, so that no pretext remains for their demolition.

The most important mechanism employed for this purpose is called "Waqf", the particularities of which will be explained further on. One may confidently assert that the majority of works created within the Islamic civilization, which presently constitute a major part of the universal cultural heritage, were created, preserved and handed over to our generation through such methods. The present laws concerning the protection of cultural heritage in Islamic countries, which were translated from Western sources, have not only failed to strengthen these methods, but tried in various ways to weaken, eliminate and even fight them. Studying and reviving these methods can cause the renewed prosperity of traditional systems. Rather than attempting to introduce and explain every such case, the present study aims at indicating instances to which independent studies can possibly be devoted.

4.3.2.III. WAQF

In Islamic Laws, "Waqf" is described as stabilizing an object and perpetuating its benefits⁵. Several factors are involved in this matter: The "Wāqf", the "mowqufeh", the

⁵ For more explanations about the definition of Waqf refer to "Waqf regulations" published by the Iranian Waqf Organization, 1989, Tehran.

"Waqf-nāmeḥ" and the "Motavalli-e Waqf". The "Wāqf" is a person who, under certain conditions, revokes his own and others' hold upon a property (whether capital or land), conferring the benefits of its use to the public⁶.

The "mowqufeh" is the latter's property, which usually consists of a building, a monumental ensemble or a collection of objects consigned to a specific use.

The "Waqf-nāmeḥ", or "sanad-e Waqf", applies to the written instructions by which the limits of the "mowqufeh", as well as its specifications, mode of management, related expenses, etc., are determined.

The "Motavalli-e Waqf" is one or more persons designated in accordance with the "Waqf-nāmeḥ" to administer the "mowqufeh" in the course of time.

By definition, perpetuating the benefits accruing from a "Waqf" is only possible if the "mowqufeh" can be utilized in its entirety, and this is precisely what has introduced this practice as a powerful mechanism for the conservation of works of art in Islamic countries for over a thousand years.

In its application, a philanthropist undertakes to supply the funds for the creation of an object, a building or a complex of buildings. By virtue of the "Waqf", its use belongs to the public from the moment it is completed. Of course, a "Waqf" may go beyond the creation of an artifact or construction, applying, in particular cases, for example to the endowment of a revenue for clearing bothersome stones from the streets of a town⁷. In this way valuable works are created, but these need maintenance and care. The crucial point in "Waqf" is that, instead of having the expenses of such tasks rely on its direct revenues, merely benefit-making annexes are anticipated. For example, in the case of a bequeathed hospital or school, in addition to its direct revenue, the income of shops, orchards, pastures and the like is utilized. This method can be highly effective as regards the protection of historic monuments, owing to its difference with the two

⁶ Here, a general endowment (Waqf-nāme-ye 'āmm) is meant, as opposed to a particular one (vaqf-nāme-ye khāss), whereby the benefits accruing from the bequeathed property are attributed to a specified individual, group or guild.

⁷ Studying "Waqf-nāmeḥ(s)" reveals highly varied examples of this practice.

methods currently used: the anti-scrape method, which opposes any modification intended to make such buildings profitable⁸, and present-day conservation methods, which focus on their functionality and allow alterations which are intended to guarantee them an appropriate utilization⁹.

The interesting point in "Waqf" is that it dissociates the "historic work" from the "interdiction of revenue yield" in order to assure its conservation. Here, due attention has been paid to the fact that historic works are generally unable to assure their economic needs, and separate profit-making facilities have therefore been taken into consideration for the exclusive purpose of maintaining and administering the "mowqufeh". In most "Waqf-nāmehs", the first duty assigned to the "Motavalli-e Waqf" is that of assuring the repair and maintenance of the work itself, and their rulings state that if the revenue of the "Waqf" is dedicated, for example, to making donations to the imām of the congregation and carrying out repairs in the mosque, in case the earnings are insufficient to satisfy both, precedence goes to paying for the repair work¹⁰. The duties listed in "Waqf-nāmehs" are so wide-ranging and varied that it is impossible to survey them in the present limited space. To those wishing to become acquainted with details of "Waqf" procedures, the author suggests reading the "Waqf-nāme-ye Rab'-e Rashidi", one of the most comprehensive documents of its kind. Just as in many other "Waqf-nāme(s)", the minutiae stated in this example deal with the objectives of the "Waqf", the intentions and expectations of the "Wāqf", the disposition of the ensemble, the relationships governing it, the ways of administering and keeping it functioning, the management of its operators, etc., all precisely laid out in a fully explained programme.

Thanks to the separation of the "Waqf" system from governmental and political activities, profound political fluctuations such as dynastic changes, foreign invasions or internal tribal confrontations have little effect on conservation activities and this process is able to continue as a devotional matter. This is why new ruling dynasties, rather than destroying the works of past generations, have often added yet more valuable works to existing ensembles, in an effort to display their own superiority.

⁸ See William Morris.

⁹ For the details of this subject, see the explanation of PPG in Planner, July 1993.

¹⁰ Towzih-ol-Massā'el, Jāvidān Publications, Tehran, p. 562.

The question of "Waqf", including its methods and effects, its revival in Islamic societies, etc., is so vast that each of these components calls for an independent study, although an interest in this regard has lately emerged, particularly in Islamic countries¹¹. Nevertheless, studying it as a specific method applicable to movable and immovable historic works of art is so important that it is perhaps justified to assert that legislating on the protection of cultural heritage in Islamic countries without, taking the subject of "Waqf" into consideration, appears quite incomplete.

It is not only the compulsory aspect of "Waqf" in Islamic countries that is involved. The existence of innumerable "mowqufeh" items in every town and village also seriously affects any type of urban planning. On the one hand, disregarding the instructions of a "Waqf" constitutes a violation of religious tenets, and, on the other, abiding by them causes serious limitations to altering urban textures. In Islamic countries, organizing the built environment, particularly within the historic texture of cities, which abounds with such works, seems useless without a knowledge of "Waqf".

In almost all Islamic countries, endowment organizations are parallel structures operating alongside offices in charge of cultural heritage. Some (mostly religious) historic monuments are administered by the former, and others are entrusted to the latter. Since "Waqf" encompasses monuments from the Islamic period, naturally enough, the organization in charge of cultural heritage is in fact responsible for all pre-Islamic vestiges; which gives it a particular image. If in some Islamic countries the Waqf organization is not active enough, it is because unfortunately there is a lack of belief within the policy makers of these societies about the role of Waqf.

The fact that "Waqf" also applies to movable historical works of art can cause conflicts of duties between the authority in charge of endowments and other organizations responsible for historic works of art, such as museums and collectors. A thorough study of the question of "Waqf", in view of solving its problems and reviving this method, is undoubtedly of the utmost importance in establishing adequate cultural heritage policies in Islamic countries.

¹¹ The number of published books and academic dissertations in this context well illustrates the point.

4.3.2.IV. ANFĀL

Another Islamic law which can be propitious in the protection of cultural heritage is that of "Anfāl". The word is applied to properties for whom no known owner exists; such as mountain-tops, river-beds, abandoned ruins and dwellings whose populations have died, legacies for which there are no inheritors, etc. (Taba Tabaii, 1974, vol.9:6). The Holy Quran attributes the ownership of "Anfāl" to God and his Messenger:

- *They ask you about the windfalls, Say: the windfalls are for Allah and the Apostle...(Al-Anfāl 8:1)*

In Islamic Laws, whether Shi'ite or Sunni, the next custodian of "Anfāl" after God and the Prophet is the Imam¹². Our objective in the discussion of "Anfāl" is that, by virtue of this law, it can be established that part of the cultural heritage in Islamic societies may be excluded from private property, and that its belonging to the Imam of the society can protect it from transgressions. The first instance of historic vestiges considered as "Anfāl" are historic sites, which can be assessed in the following two categories:

a) Historic sites located outside towns and villages, and for which no claim of property exists¹³. By decree of the Imam (or his substitute), sites in this category cannot be appropriated, and may be utilized in any way he determines¹⁴.

Since, in the opinion of religious laws, all artifacts retrieved from within historic sites are regarded as "Anfāl", on the one hand, every effort to obtain them is reprehensible, and, on the other, buying, selling or appropriating such objects is prohibited. It is true that this interdiction can also be achieved by legislation, but, as was already mentioned, in Islamic societies religious laws can be more binding than their civil counterparts.

b) Historic sites underlying plots or buildings whose owners are known and which are not considered as falling within the definition of "Anfāl". According to an Islamic

¹² For an assessment of this ruling in Sunni societies, see Mālek's *Movatta'*, *Jahād* section, Chapter 20, printed by Dār-ol-Ehya'-e Kotob-al-'Arabiyyah, Egypt, 1951, and for the Shi'ite view, see Imam Khomeini's *Tahrir-ol-Vassileh*, printed in Najaf, 1964.

¹³ In Iran, one is faced with innumerable sites of this kind.

¹⁴ According to the Islamic system of government, the existence of an Imam is mandatory. The current view of Islamic countries' theologians that the ruling government may replace the Imam is questionable.

ruling entitled "Dafineh", when someone reclaims one or more objects from the land or building he owns, if the price of the find reaches a definite sum, he only has to dole out one fifth of it to become its owner. It is generally assumed that whatever is retrieved from historic sites owned by individuals falls within this ruling, whereas a meticulous analysis of the discussions concerning "Dafineh" shows that, beside the fact that this term often implies to a find of gold or silver coins, items thus reclaimed must have been "buried" in the ground or somewhere inside the building in question.

In the first place, items considered by archaeologists as remains of past era lying in historic sites that were not "buried" underground or within buildings, but rather left behind in historic places along the course of time, due to natural catastrophes or demolitions. Secondly, the historic layers they are concerned with are generally unrelated with what was acquired under the terms of the sale of the estate. In other words, it may be argued that a historic site lying beneath an acquired estate is an anonymous property not covered by the terms of the transaction. Usually, a plot of urban land is bought for the purpose of erecting a building, and a rural acreage is acquired for agricultural purposes. Likewise, when a building is bought, the object of the transaction is the edifice itself, to the exclusion of relics left behind within its perimeter by past generations. Thus, in religious terms, such items will not belong to the owner. This is a matter which requires further research and discussion by Islamic jurisprudent. And if it is confirmed that the ownership excludes that of historic strata and remains not included in the transaction, new legal relationships can be established for historic sites existing within towns and villages.

In addition to the above mentioned examples of laws derived from Islamic Canons and related to cultural heritage, other points, such as the type of land ownership depending on how it was appropriated by Muslims at the onset of Islam – assuming the title of "Maftooh-ol-anvah" land –, can also be studied, and are best left to another research due to their complexities.

On the whole, bearing in mind the points set forth, and considering the following:

- Cultural laws need popular acceptance and support to be successful;

- Laws dealing with the protection of cultural heritage concern every social stratum in the remotest areas of a country;
- In Islamic societies, the bulk of the population has wider, deeper faith in religious laws than in civil ones;
- Numerous items directly related to the protection of cultural heritage can be found among the laws of Islamic principles;
- The necessity that every society's legislation on cultural heritage be based upon its own beliefs and values has been confirmed by relevant international experts.

It seems possible to establish policies of cultural heritage protection inspired from Islamic laws, which will replace the imported policies of the past, be more in harmony with the needs and conditions of these societies, and hopefully gather strength from their superior efficiency.

4.4. CONSERVATION

The idea of preserving whatever is valuable to man has long challenged him to invent adequate methods of conservation. His fight against deterioration, or, in fact, his prolongation of the lifespan of objects, is an activity which appeared at the very dawn of man's existence, developing in the course of history within various cultures. Transforming milk into yoghurt or cheese, fruit into jams or marmalades, or salting meat and drying fish are some of man's many time-honoured methods of preserving foodstuffs. These methods were later extended to his other necessities, shaping his efforts to minimize deterioration. By designing a shirt with a removable collar piece, or sewing a patch of cloth on the knees and elbows of our garments, we try to make them last longer. We manufacture spare parts for our home appliances, introducing conservation into every aspect of our lives.

This is not limited to our material lives. Our mental concepts also need to be preserved against erosion along the passage of time. One of the most current functions of poetry or rhythmic prose is to assure a longer life for concepts which would otherwise easily fall

into oblivion. All the ancient national epics, sayings, proverbs and social recommendations become rhythmic in order to acquire longevity. If we pay attention to the fact that the artefact of every nation are the expressions of its ideals and preferences in the course of history, and combine it with the desire of every nation to preserve its ideals, we understand why, for example, poetry becomes the principal art among the nomad Arabs living amid mobile sand dunes, without any notion of architecture. Thus bosoms become repositories of previous generations, transmitting their contents to the future ones. In such societies, conservation undoubtedly bears a particular meaning.

Thus, paying attention to all the domains of conservation activity, a variety of conservation methods and traditions based on a set of psychological, social and historical particularities can be found in any culture. In order to understand and propose adequate methods for the conservation of historic artefact in any society, the attitudes prevailing in that society toward them and their historic antecedents in various contexts, cannot be overlooked. Needless to say that, alongside this attention, the necessity of bearing in mind new capabilities made possible by scientific and technological progress are also undeniable.

If past methods of preserving milk or fruit over long periods of time consisted of transforming them into yoghurt or jam, today, by creating cold storage facilities, we are able to considerably increase the longevity of these products without having to alter them. Technological discoveries, therefore, modify our conservation methods. But the applications of these new methods are likely to upset the social traditions of conservation. Just as yoghurt and jam have acquired a particular position upon our tablecloth, to the extent that we are unwilling to write them off the list of our fare although fresh milk and fruits are readily available, a society habituated to utilizing historic monuments conserved in the traditional manner, may not be easily prepared to accept scientifically 'deep-frozen' historic edifices. Therefore, rather than being just a scientific matter, the change of conservation methods alters the social quality and meaning of artefact as well. So, in order to find out about each society's interpretation of conservation, a particular study about it appears necessary.

Addressing the problem of conserving historic artefact, which was seriously initiated in Europe at the close of the 19th century, derived mainly from the vast changes that had

emerged in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and were swiftly altering the shape of life. This movement grew upon its own reasons, becoming a universal phenomenon throughout European societies by the mid-20th century.

As Warren (1976:20) has noted, developing countries have adopted the sense of conservation as they have many other aspects:

"Sheer imitation of established Western procedures will sometimes lead an emergent regime to copy - lock, stock and barrel - conservation ideas (and even legislation) based on western models without serious analysis of their relevance".

While conservation provided the answer to a European question that had not yet been raised in most developing countries, and which, even if raised, would not have corresponded to the conditions existing in those countries, the experience acquired in Europe in this field, on one hand, held particular value for Islamic countries, since, as Warren (1976:20) has noted, *"In the process, the Islamic world has had the benefit of seeing Western mistakes and the opportunity to avoid them"*. And, on the other, by providing ready-made, easily accessible solutions to countries in need, precluded any reflection about the comparability of the problems involved.

A great number of such solutions were implemented only because of an apparent similarity between the problems. An awareness of the dangers involved here is emerging, as Kristiansen (1989:27) writes, *"We Europeans should take care not to moralize on this subject on behalf of the rest of the world"*. At present, in relevant European societies as well as in the developing countries, the necessity for defining the concepts, questions and solutions to conservation, in terms of individual societies, is gaining interest, but, as Feilden (1995:2) points out:

"In South Asia the Conservation Movement has not yet integrated the ethos of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism as well as Islam, and this is a critical area that needs study by persons steeped in their own culture, yet who understand the ethics and practice of conservation".

Therefore, it seems necessary that an effort, albeit primitive, be undertaken in order to define the meaning and principal procedures of conservation in Islamic culture.

Allow the Author to begin the discussion on the meaning of conservation with these words of Thakur (1986:16):

"Conservation in the West was a response to a particular social, economic and cultural situation at a certain time. It forms the frame of reference for conservation in the European context. This definition of conservation will be incomprehensible to an average Indian".

We can generalize what she has said about India to other developing lands, such as Iran. The question is to define what we mean by the word 'conservation', although, as Ross (1991:7) has pointed out, *"Perhaps the key to the pro- and anti-conservation argument is the word conservation itself".*

Within a linguistic discussion, various concepts can be sought in this context, but we are rather interested in each culture's philosophy and aims concerning this subject:

"Conservation is being used to further the aims of very different groups, from aesthetes to revolutionaries, capitalists to communists, from city governments to neighbourhood groups, middle classes, and working classes"(Appleyard 1979:42).

So far we agree that conservation can assist us in achieving our economic, political and social goals, and in examining the particularities of cultural heritage, its scientific, artistic and historic capabilities have been argued and acknowledged. But in the face of the reality of Appleyard's assertion mentioned above, further reflection on aims, intentions and methods of conservation seems necessary especially in the context of Islamic societies. A fact often neglected is that, whatever aim we pursue by conserving, we are obliged to also adopt a particular method of conservation. The difficulty that arises in adopting conservation methods is that, while different societies, and even various groups, seek dissimilar aims in conserving, they implement different methods designed for other purposes.

Whoever asserts that the methods utilized in conservation are scientific, in fact disregards the fine relationship that exists between the aim of conservation and its method. The 'How to conserve?' springs forth from within the 'Why conserve?', and the 'Why conserve?' is the outcome of our aims in conserving.

Let us briefly recapitulate the definitions of conservation given to the present and the aims determined for them. In order to avoid eventual divergent views, we shall examine only the views expressed by Feilden. In the most concise definition, the aim of conservation is given as fighting the causes of decay:

"Modern long term conservation policy concentrates on fighting the causes of decay" (Feilden 1995:4).

But why prevent decay?

"Conservation, therefore, is primarily a process of leading to the prolongation of the life of cultural property for the civilization now and for the future" (Feilden 1995:4).

Therefore, the aim of fighting decay has been considered the prolongation of the life of cultural property *for the present and the future*. In this definition, we are faced with two terms: the 'life of cultural heritage', and the users for whom conservation takes place, that is 'the civilization now and for the future'.

The next definition describes the type of audience as well:

"What is conservation? Conservation is the action taken to prevent decay. It embraces all acts that prolong the life of our cultural and natural heritage, the object being to present to those who use and look at historic buildings with wonder the artistic and human messages that such buildings possess" (Feilden 1982:3).

A noteworthy point is that, along with the addition of each specification, a particular orientation is given to the prevention of decay. It is obvious that when, for example, the aesthetic values of an artifact are envisaged, it cannot be submitted to methods which hides the artifact from the visitor view and prevents and appreciation of its aesthetic value. The next definition better illustrates the point:

"The object of conservation is to prolong the life of cultural heritage and, if possible, to clarify the artistic and historical messages therein without the loss of authenticity. Conservation is a cultural, artistic and craft activity supported by humanistic and scientific studies. Conservation results must be in keeping with their cultural context" (Feilden 1995:16).

We see that, step by step, further responsibilities are allocated to conservation. Admittedly, no contradiction exists between the aim of the brief first definition, which is

the prevention of decay, and that of the last quotation, which is the clarification of artistic and historic values, but it should be noted that if the meaning of conservation is constantly expanded, particularly to the point of including our expectations of it in every culture, we shall see this simple and apparently scientific fight with decay acquire immense cultural and social dimensions. Since, as Feilden (1982:3) says:

"Conservation must preserve and possibly enhance the message and values of cultural property".

The duty of conservation is to preserve and present the message and values of the cultural heritage, one cannot remain indifferent, in implementing conservation methods, to the message itself, the social conditions required for its transmission, the qualifications of its audience... When one's aim is to present the values of cultural heritage, one cannot oversee the different priorities of values in various cultures, imagining conservation merely as a mechanical operation of decay prevention. This is why the expectations of conservation differ even among the conservationists, as Appleyard (1979:10) points out:

"We shall find that conservationists differ among themselves about what conservation means: that policies and acts of conservation can unexpectedly defeat their original intentions; that physical conservation provides no assurance of social conservation".

The conclusion to draw from what was said above is that, alongside the 'ablative' aspect of conservation, which constitutes the fight against decay, a 'compelling' aspect is also involved, which concerns the provision of the conditions necessary for the artefact's survival in the society now and in the future. Although these two pursuits appear quite similar at a first glance, a major difference separates them. By fighting against the factors of decay, we assure the longevity of artefact, but historic relics have more than a physical life. In fact, by attributing values and messages to them, we are recognizing that they have a 'social life'. One can even say that the necessity of prolonging the physical life of artefact is justified in terms of the necessity of this 'social life'. Conservation should therefore seek to prolong the artefact's social life as well.

What is the meaning of this social life? Obviously, by current definitions of life, nobody can claim that historic remains are alive, but life is not always limited to biological definitions. When speaking of the social life of a phenomenon, we are in reality assigning attributes to it which pertain to a process beyond physical aspects. We usually

consider having a social life, as whatever can establish a dialogue with the members of the society, impress them, and be affected by their lives. Although social life, just as any other kind of life, is based upon and manifest in matter, it is a complex process which can occasionally be called 'spirit'. Similarly, the historic artefact, which provide us with the reflections of innumerable scientific, historic, artistic, and ultimately human messages left behind through the course of history, are not only able to establish a communication with every one of us, but also affect the formation of our present and future identities. This particular ability confers on the artefact a quality one can perhaps call 'spirit'.

In Islamic culture, the most important indication of being alive is to have a social life¹⁵. Rejecting monasticism, Islam invites its followers to have a social life. As an example congregational prayers are of greater value than those rendered individually. In this outlook, whatever contributes to the reinforcement of social life is highly valued. The Quran says:

- *And say not of those who are slain in the way of Allah: "They are dead." nay, they are living, though ye perceive (it) not. (Al-Baqarah 2:154)*

Thus the death of these individuals has been considered as living itself, which bears a vivifying social effect. It is interesting that, in Islam, the word for martyr is 'shahid'. 'Shahid' also means witness, that is a person who gives testimony for all future generations. It is the social function of the martyr that has bestowed him the highest value in Islam, and it is because of this very social function that the Quran considers him alive, since that is truly alive which can play a role in others' lives and orientations.

With this conception of the importance of social life, the historic artefact, as the "truthful witnesses of history", can be attributed a particular kind of social life, a 'spirit' embodying the process or gestalt of a complex of highly diverse factors; such as the conditions of their creation, the specifications of their creators, the conditions of their survival to the present, the influences to which they have been exposed in the course of time, the relationship they can establish today with their environment, their ability of impressing and being impressed..., which, through an elaborate process, creates an attribute that

¹⁵ It is possible to prove this issue by referring to the Quran and other Islamic sources, but it is taken for granted to help us to continue our discussion.

is no more limited to the physical aspect of the work (although it is embodied in matter), but rather constitutes its spirit; a spirit with which anyone can establish a communication commensurate with his own capacity.

Now, the question is: *Can the conservation of these so-called living phenomena be limited to its physical preservation? Or: How is it possible to conserve the social life, or spirit, of historic artefact?* Imagining that the spirit of the artefact can be preserved by mere physical conservation would be to forget the wording of the problem. Those long acquainted with authentic artefact know that these relics possess something which transcends their physical reality, and is not well understood today because we have seldom taken this dimension into consideration.

Our museums are mostly exhibition spaces of artefact. The best museums are those where the conditions of the artefact's physical preservation are better assured. The artefact look rather like prisoners enchained, who are unable to express the entirety of their contents. In introducing the works, usually such information as the physical characteristics, the conditions of manufacture, the date of discovery and the like are provided for the visitor. Why can't the conditions be provided whereby, in facing the historic artefact, the visitors would burst in tears, overwhelmed with pride or sorrow; and such intimacy would arise between them and the works as to make them ever look forward to meeting anew, just as old friends do? Those who have a deep understanding of the artefact do feel such emotions, but those in charge of their presentation have seldom attempted an approach conducive to such reactions and the perception of what was here referred to as 'spirit'.

Thus, just like the orchestra conductor, who must deeply feel the piece he performs, or the theatrical director, who must know and feel all the internal relationships of the play he directs, the conservationist must have a deep inner understanding of the historic artefact in his custody, and to consider his work not only as a scientific action but also as a creative one. The author never forgets a sentence he once heard from an old master restorer in Yazd: "Knowing an artefact is not enough to conserve it. One must befriend it".

Therefore, as we saw in our survey of definitions, whether we consider conservation as fighting with the causes of decay or believe that *"...conservation must prevent and possibly enhance the message and values of cultural heritage..."* (Feilden 1982:3), we need to perceive the spirit of the artefact and to pave the way for its expression.

This approach becomes even more important within the Islamic outlook, whereby the aim of surveying artefact is for beholders to take heed of them. The artefact which lead to the knowledge of divine traditions (see Chapter Two) and awareness of resurrection bear such importance in individual and social life that the Quran, by repeatedly stressing upon the fate of past peoples, makes due consideration of these events the precondition of man's guidance. Therefore, the type of conservation more palatable to Islamic societies is one that pays attention to the quality of the items' presence in the society and makes possible the transmission of their messages, as well as the admonitions they bear. In other terms, conservation by Islamic standards involves the preservation of matter for the sake of the 'spirit' of the cultural heritage.

4.5. PRESENTATION

In the ensemble of cultural heritage activities, presentation embodies the actions through which the relationship between the works of art and the people or their administrators takes shape. Presenting the cultural heritage to the society can be significant in various ways. Firstly, most of the values put forth by the cultural heritage have an aspect of social utility. Identity, cultural continuity, national pride and the like, which are provided by the cultural heritage, all need popular understanding. This is why precise archaeological data, even when combined with other information and transformed into a historic perception, cannot lay the ground for social values unless they are presented to the population at large. Secondly, as we saw in Chapter One, so deep is man's spiritual relation with his past, and so widely are ancient artifacts interspersed in his daily life, that one cannot imagine cultural heritage and society as separate, unrelated issues; an eventuality which would only mean leaving the values of cultural heritage barren. Thirdly, cultural heritage activities are comprised of expensive scientific operations, for which the society's support, itself only achievable through presentation, is indispensable. Fourthly, particularly in Third World countries, the majority of historic art works, whether movable or immovable, are under private ownership, and therefore any operation in this

field seems doomed to fail unless the population is familiarized with their values and encouraged to participate in conserving them.

The cultural heritage of our societies was brought into being by thinkers and artists of various periods and revered by them all along history before reaching the present day. And it is by the same type of individuals that it is being identified, studied and presented to the public. In other words, the circle of cultural heritage activities remains incomplete without a proper presentation of the items. The presentation of historic works of art involves establishing a communication, and as any other communication, is affected by principles ruling the science of communication. By definition, communication rests upon three bases: the source, the media and the audience. The more knowledge becomes available on these elements, the better we will be able to foresee and enhance communication. Naturally, by altering each of these elements, presentation can be made to assume different forms.

Presenting a cultural heritage probably faces us with one of the most wide-ranging, diversified cases of communication. On one side lies, long as history and wide as geography, the immensity of items to present (the source), on another we have all the communication capabilities available today (the media), ranging from the very life within the artifacts to the means of collecting and preserving them, to those of exhibiting them in museums and on the television, or using e-mail to transmit their images, and finally, thanks to the development of transportation, historic works of art are now accessible to all the people of the world (the audience). Moreover, men's future living conditions will give them more leisure time to spend on their cultural and natural heritage. This makes dealing with this concern a necessity and increases the importance of the role played by cultural heritage in man's social life¹⁶.

On these premises, legislating for the presentation of such an immense cultural heritage may seem impossible, or even unnecessary, and it may be preferred to have each of the institutions active in this field adopting its own regulations. But it should be noted that, even so, firstly in order to create a harmony between these institutions, and secondly in order to avoid drifting from cultural aims to a purely market-oriented consumption,

¹⁶ See Kenzo Tange's 25 Year Development Plan of Japan.

general guidelines are necessary for the presentation of cultural heritage. Adopting policies in this domain acquires even greater importance in societies where the governments are generally responsible for affairs concerning cultural heritage.

In the present section, our main question is to determine what specifications the "presentation" of historic remains should have in order to make their values accessible. Thus, we are faced with three questions: *What to present, in what manner, and to whom, so as to assure the goals expected from the presentation?* What can be said in general terms, and in conformity with laws governing communication, is that, in order to establish a correct communication, firstly, what is presented must be somehow related to the concerns of the society, secondly, these must be expounded in terms comprehensible by the population at large, and thirdly, the subjects must be based, as far as possible, on the social values existing in the society. As we saw in other cases in the past, these questions, which are quite related to social values, are answered differently in various societies. Our quest here is to find the answers in the case of Islamic societies.

4.4.1. WHAT TO PRESENT?

This question is mostly raised in the case of societies with limited funds to spend on presenting their numerous, varied works of art. It is notable that, although works are usually presented once studies on them are completed, the works themselves often encourage investments to be made for their study. In countries where a strong interest in doing research in this field is lacking, presenting a work of art can pave the way, albeit modestly, toward securing the interest and funds it needs for its conservation. It is possible, therefore, to consider presentation as both the beginning point and the ending point of the study of an art work.

Islamic countries are generally faced with a wealth of historic remains alongside scarce means for their conservation. This situation justifies the necessity of setting priorities in the selection of works intended for presentation. Note should also be made that some historic works of art are identified and preserved for various scientific, social, economic and even political reasons. Such projects are carried out and presented in the same direction as that of their selection, but usually constitute a minor portion of the cultural heritage to be considered and presented to the public.

In studying the subject of cultural heritage presentation, various examples of different selection tendencies can be assessed. Most common is the economic tendency, whereby relics taken into consideration are the ones most likely to earn the greatest revenue. The hegemony of the market and its values upon cultural heritage and the growing interest in enhancing the recreational, attractive and popular aspects of historic works of art not only divert them from their original missions, but also damage and destroy them. Even the information dispensed to the public in this type of presentation is often superficial, unrealistic and market-oriented. We are all familiar with the panoply of postcards, slides and reproductions produced with business in mind and currently offered to the visitors of historic sites and monuments.

Obviously, this attitude is far removed from what Islam expects a review of man's past achievements to be. The aim of Islam's advice to behold ancient works of art, which is to reap admonition and guidance from them, can never be achieved in this way. Clearly, rather than a downright denial of the works' economic aspect, what is meant here is to raise the question of the priorities and the basic tendency to be adopted.

Another tendency concentrates on an entirely scientific presentation of historical remains. Belonging mostly to industrially developed countries, this tendency has displayed itself in most interesting ways in Islamic countries. As the majority of scientific missions active in the field of cultural heritage in these countries were foreign, they surveyed their discoveries in search of answers to their own scientific questions, later publishing their studies in scholarly treatises, even in their own languages. Several decades after their publication in Europe, a large number of scientific books and articles written on the arts of Islamic countries still awaited translation into their languages of origin. And the local scientific teams active in Islamic countries, having been trained abroad and wishing to display their capabilities to foreign rivals, presented their studies in the same manner, occasionally in a foreign language, for the attention of concerned international assemblies. Indeed the works were presented, but not to the entire society.

In their towns and villages, people merely noticed historic sites being excavated for years on end, without any attempt at informing them about these. Consequently, they began losing their sense of property upon such remains and soon grew less eager to participate in the tasks of conserving them. What happened in Islamic countries in general was the

parallel emergence of the two tendencies mentioned above: the economic and the scientific. That is, some works have been presented with a touristic outlook conforming with market trends and using a readily ingestible common language, while others have been introduced at such a lofty level as to remain restricted to professionals and specialists, precluding the use of historic monuments and artefact as a public open university, where they can be presented to a wider audience while retaining their scientific attributes.

Beside these conditions, a third factor to consider is the political use of presentation. Spotlighting historical remains from a specific period, belonging to a particular individual or social group, or conforming with styles or methods promoted by a ruling regime, etc., causes a portion of works to acquire predominance and an imbalance to appear in the allocation of available resources. This method is harmful in two ways: firstly, by ill-using cultural heritage, it blemishes the latter's image among the people and arises their suspicion toward all cultural heritage activities; and, secondly, it deprives the population from gaining access to the knowledge and benefits of a major part of their own cultural heritage.

At least this point is clear by now that policies governing the selection of relics must be adopted in a way so as to avoid the dangers involved in all the methods reviewed, while assuring the public's access to a majority of works. But, having dealt with the prohibitive aspects of our subject, we must now indicate its compulsive ones. The criteria by which historical remains are selected for presentation are naturally determined in relation to the society's needs. The needs of a society can be divided in two general groups: the permanent and the immediate ones. In Islam, the needs of the first category have been determined by the Holy Quran. As mentioned in Chapter Two, three main purposes can be deduced from the Quran's exhortation of visiting the remains of past civilizations: to get admonishment, to bear in mind the resurrection, and to acquire knowledge of and faith in the *sonnat-ol-lah*.

Naturally, works better conducive to the achievement of these aims deserve a greater priority of presentation. But, beside this general need, the social conditions in all the Islamic countries speak of a particular need which can be satisfied through cultural heritage. A most common example of such instances is that of "identity", which Islamic

countries, and perhaps most Third World countries, feel they must find anew. Expounding the dimensions and importance of this need falls beyond the scope of the present research, but ample evidence in this regard is available¹⁷. Islamic societies which perceive the question of identity as a need can therefore turn to presenting historical remains more apt to display their national identities.

Another serious need clearly perceptible today in Islamic societies is that of fighting against factors threatening built environments. A chaotic, rapid development, careless of the quality of urban surroundings, is threatening the historic cities of the Third World countries in particular. Showing interest in the aesthetic values of historic monuments, defending their landscape and townscape values, and presenting them to the public can play a significant part in conserving and reviving the liveable surroundings of these cities. Therefore, selecting items best capable of expressing these values at the widest level among the people bears utmost importance. Foregoing an enumeration of every such need in this brief study, we pursue the argument suggesting that, once the types of social needs apt to be satisfied through cultural heritage are determined, priorities can be established as to the presentation of works likeliest to make this satisfaction of social needs easier to come by and prevent the works from remaining idle or being misused. In this way, while averting an economic or scientific polarization, we will be able to present values embodying the real needs of the society.

4.4.2. HOW TO PRESENT?

Today, a large industry of tourism is widely active presenting cultural heritage throughout the world. The colossal revenues of this industry have assured it of constant development, and various countries have provided travel, lodging and recreational facilities in an effort to reap the cultural benefits of this economic mobility. The crucial point is the stimulus of tourist mobility. What causes people to travel and visit historic sites is their attraction for variety, for new, exotic sights, and their desire to participate in the universal race of seeing as much as possible. The harvest of this mobility is not much more than several photographs attesting to the visitors' presence in various places, plus a few scattered sheets of information supplied by tourist guides at historic sites.

¹⁷ A scrutiny of the reasons for which the Aga Khan Award was created can express a minute amount of this eagerness.

Comparing the amount of cultural energy spent by an individual on reading a book, watching a televised programme or a motion picture, attending a concert or taking an educational course with that of taking part in a tour, it appears that the methods of presenting cultural and historic remains still needs more study and planning. It is true that the coincidence of a recreational component with this cultural mobility prevents a precise evaluation of its cultural yield, but this is no justification for not adopting policies aimed at enhancing the cultural yield of tourism.

Some might consider the cultural exchange brought about by tourism as a considerable benefit, which therefore justifies the expenses it entails. Can economic considerations allow true cultural exchange to take place? As long as travel agencies are busy ferrying economic plane-loads of tourists who are then boarded on buses and shown around, via fixed itineraries generally affected and transfigured by this very flow, to visit ancient sites themselves swarming with tourists, there is the least possibility of cultural exchange taking place.

Of course, transforming the existing process of tourism into one bearing more cultural values cannot be achieved through short-term programs. But, at the onset, the people's existing attitude toward visiting historic monuments has to be changed into a cultural, educational one. Such a change can offset many negative aspects of presentation, and thus reduce the dual pressure of physical damage and lack of identity the historical remains endure.

Taking this point into consideration, and adopting policies aimed at its realization in Islamic countries with regard to their aims in visiting works of the past, is particularly important. Now that the Holy Quran explicitly considers visiting such works as beneficial only to inquisitive minds bent on research (see Chapter Two 2.5.2), it is imperative to create conditions in which visitors are able to visit historic sites with receptive minds, as well as to supply them with a type of information more conducive to the messages therein.

If instead of listing the works' physical specifications, the efforts of presentation planners are directed at expounding and describing their 'spirit' in the sense already mentioned in this Chapter in the Section on Conservation, a kind of presentation more aptly

described as 'befriending' remains, rather than 'becoming acquainted' with them can be achieved. In this way, the goals set by Islam for visiting the works of past generations will also be fulfilled.

4.4.3. THE AUDIENCE

The growth of a society's awareness of the values of cultural heritage may be considered the key to the solution of its cultural heritage difficulties. The deeper this acquaintance is, the higher the levels of financial assistance, spiritual support, vandalism regression, etc. The main difficulty confronting Third World countries' cultural heritage is probably their insufficient grasp of its inherent values. This alienation from and lack of interest in their indigenous cultures is the outcome of various causes: cultural rupture due to the hegemony of alien cultures, participation in a 'development' race meaning nothing but abandoning indigenous values and identifying with developed countries, adoption of 'novelty' as a value and rejection of old things as retrograde, economic pressure from developed countries to transform these countries into consumption markets for their manufactured goods, emulation of the lifestyle of educated, well-off classes, whose long schooling years in the west had made them messengers advocating those countries' lifestyles, etc.

In such an atmosphere, creating the conditions capable of reviving the values of cultural heritage among the people is a wide ranging task which requires the adoption of more general policies in these societies concerning popular attitudes toward history, tradition, identity, culture, etc. And, in any case, a large part of this cultural movement depends on how the values of cultural heritage are presented to the public, as well as on the participation of the entire population in cultural heritage activities. At present, the visitors of historical remains fall in two categories: the elderly men and women who travel to historic sites more often in search of amusement than knowledge (Cotta, 1982), and the specialists whose interest in such remains is strictly professional. Were presentation ceases being confined to any one of these aspects, and recreational attractions combine with scientific-cultural values, a qualitative change could take place in the visitors, and the efficiency of cultural heritage activities increased.

Another point to consider is that, although foreign tourists do contribute to the currency income of Third World countries, visits by internal travellers assure the society's cultural continuity, revival of national identity, strengthened national unity, etc. In Islamic thinking, such values are held in high esteem. Therefore, in Islamic societies, concentrating on works attractive to foreign tourists hardly seems appropriate. In Iran, the author has time and again heard sentences such as, "It's a superb monument. We'd better prepare it for foreigners to visit". This attitude reduces the people's attachment to their heritage; in particular the valuable yet modest ones lying in towns and villages throughout the country, overshadowed by the might of internationally famous works.

A collection of works apt to act as a cultural network and administered by offices in various towns and villages can be envisaged for presentation. Managing an organization of such magnitude may at first seem difficult, but, remembering the willingness of local populations to participate in the preservation of the mosques, schools, bath-houses and caravansaries still in use and built by their own ancestors, the problem acquires a different dimension. National-scale projects require national-scale managements, and in Third World countries, such organs can only be the governments, notwithstanding their often limited means. Once the participation of local populations in projects they feel to be necessary is acquired, they will be all the better prepared to take part in regional- and national-scale projects. And, in this way, a new audience of the cultural heritage will emerge in the society. Also worthy of attention are the ways of involving the people and giving them responsibility in relation with cultural heritage. Although the project of the creation in Iran of "conservation councils" from village to province level will be examined in future chapters, here we merely mention it as an example of popular participation.

In this project, for each village, a group, comprised of local elders and the rural mayor and mandated by the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO), was envisaged to carry out the duties of observing and reporting the condition of historic monuments and sites in the vicinity. In practice, this project led to the creation of a network of over 3,000 such groups, who handle the tasks of notifying and preventing the destruction of historic monuments and the illegal excavation of archaeological sites throughout Iran. These groups are administered in clusters, by group heads in rural areas and teams chaired by local governors in the provinces, who are ultimately linked to the national

conservation network. This project transformed the audience of the cultural heritage into active members doing a most efficient job at the least possible expense.

Another way of attracting a greater audience is to involve governmental institutions. An example of such a programme has also been initiated in Iran, and the relevant preliminaries are now complete. Governmental departments are in the habit of erecting new buildings to cope with their physical growth¹⁸. In this project, an extensive, illustrated and annotated list of all the provinces' monuments likely to be utilized (in view of their functions and specifications) was prepared and submitted to various (generally cultural) governmental departments, who were invited to use such buildings for their own needs, if they were willing to undertake the conservation and repair costs involved; a minor sum when compared with that needed to raise a new building. After the successful completion of several initial examples, the project is steadily making its way. The attitude of government departments toward historic monuments also underwent a beneficial change as a result of this project. By implementing such methods, instead of remaining confined to tourists or scholars, the audience of cultural heritage comes to involve varied social groups. On the whole, establishing policies of cultural heritage presentation likely to emancipate it from its confinement to either tourists or scholars, by selecting items satisfying the needs of the society, adopting presentation methods best capable of enhancing an interest in the remains' 'spirit', and involving various social groups with the problems of cultural heritage, appears most necessary.

4.5. CONCLUSION

In societies such as in Iran, which have limited financial resources and are concerned primarily with social necessities, the role and importance of cultural heritage activities attracts less attention. This Chapter attempts to suggest and justify points which can be envisaged in the four principal cultural heritage activities while taking Islamic values into consideration. Here, these points are summarized so that they can be utilized in the revision of policies presented in the final Chapter. The points that can be taken into consideration in relation to the identification of historic relics are:

¹⁸ In view of the social conditions prevailing in Third World countries, moving to a new building, particularly a so-called modern one, denotes a department's progressiveness.

● Paying attention to relics from all past epochs rather than a particular era.

This outlook prevents political, stylistic or other preferences attached to a particular period from becoming predominant and, in particular, dispels the misconception that an Islamic society must only be interested in the remains of its Islamic period.

● Paying attention to relics which have greater consequences on the social life.

The magnitude of these effects can be assessed in terms of the ease and speed with which the values of relics are transmitted to society. Examples of contributing factors in this regard include:

- The intrinsic capabilities of the relics;
- Their accessibility (location);
- Their antecedents in the mind of the society;
- Their attractiveness to various groups of visitors;
- The relationship between their values and immediate needs of the society.

In order to evaluate what we have called the *communication value* of relics, it is suggested that a table be prepared comprising the points mentioned for each of them.

● Paying attention to relics in greater danger.

It is suggested to prepare a table of the probable risks threatening each relic in terms of the factors mentioned in the text, to simplify the task of promptly taking care of the relic.

● Paying attention to relics which, for some reason, are more popular.

In this case, it becomes possible to take advantage of this interest in economic and cultural dimensions for the benefit of what is presently neglected.

● Paying attention to relics having economic potentialities.

What is going on at present in most Third World countries can be interpreted as an economic 'milking' of historic relics. Here, we are concerned with the economic added value which can be accrued by making initial investments to extract the potential values of the relics.

Concerning the protection of historic remains, it is pointed out that its fulfilment depends on two factors: the existence of necessary laws in this domain and the commitment of

the society to these laws. Examining the antecedents these types of law in Islamic countries, the fact that they have not emerged from within the society and thus appear irrelevant to its value system are recognized as having contributed to their lack of popularity and the public's general unwillingness to obey them. In order to describe possibilities of establishing a relationship between cultural heritage and Islamic precepts, a number of these, which can also play a role in the protection of historic relics, are examined. The points developed in this examination are:

- Popular interest and support are the conditions of the success of cultural laws;
- Protection laws concern all social strata;
- Adherence to religious laws in Islamic countries makes their implementation easier;
- Islamic laws are applicable to the protection of historic relics;
- Noting that relevant international bodies sanction the adoption of cultural heritage policies within the framework of the values of each society, and giving several examples of Islamic laws, the necessity of legislation in this context is asserted.

As for conservation, we have first noted that, far from being limited to historic remains, it has covered a wide range in the course of history, that each culture has adopted methods of its own, and that modern technology must not be applied without paying attention to past conservation experiences. Then, alluding to the relationship between the 'hows' and 'whys' in conservation, we have examined definitions and expectations in this field. In addition to the negative aspects of conservation, which constitute its fight against the decay of historic relics, we have also noted its positive aspects, which comprise the transmission of the relics' values to the society. We have considered that the main goal of conservation is to create conditions in which the social life of the relics can be perpetuated. In this way, we have claimed that the relics can be considered as having a kind of "spirit", the safeguard of which constitutes the main responsibility of conservation. Finally, we have stressed that, in Islam, which seeks to learn lessons from historic remains, preserving relics' spirit and paying attention to their social life can carry the highest importance.

We have characterized presentation as a bridge between the people and cultural heritage. As any other communication phenomenon, we have introduced three elements

for it: the source, the media and the audience. In our examination of the source, i.e. what is to be presented, we have pointed out the immediate, exclusively economic, scientific or political tendencies existing in Third World countries. The urgent needs of these countries, such as the conservation of the built environment, cultural continuity and the presentation of values which provide social awareness in these directions, have been considered as having priority. As concerns the media, or the means of presenting the relics, while criticizing the existing methods in tourism-oriented activities, we have noted the necessity of paying attention to programmes capable of enhancing the cultural yield of this industry. Suggestions have also been made concerning the implementation of programmes which, firstly, prepare the visitor to confront each relic and, secondly, rather than supplying him or her with unnecessary information, draw the audience's attention to the messages of the relics, thus enhancing their "insight". Examining the audience, we have considered its acquaintance with the values of cultural heritage as the key to alleviating a great number of difficulties in this domain. We have stressed the necessity of designing methods capable of bringing about new reasons and incentives in the audience to refer to historic relics and modifying its age composition toward including the youth and those interested in a proper cultural exploration of the relics. Giving predominance to internal tourism, creating popular networks for the management of the relevant affairs, as well as inviting governmental and private institutions to contribute to these efforts, were among the suggestions made in this Section.

The efforts made to this point were aimed at briefly describing the status an Islamic society such as Iran can give to its cultural heritage and activities related to it. In order to achieve the ultimate goal of the study, which is to provide the possibility of presenting, and making suggestions likely to alter the present situation towards the ideally defined one, it is necessary to depict the present situation. We shall, therefore, become acquainted with its antecedents and historic roots in the next Part.

PART TWO

Cultural Heritage Policies in Iran

Cultural Heritage in Iran before 1900

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, we will survey the history and evolution of cultural heritage activities in Iran before 1900 (when the agreement concerning the monopoly of excavation in Iran was granted to the French). The aim of this study is to examine the attitude of the Iranian society toward cultural heritage, so as to achieve a clearer analysis of the existing situation, in view of the recommendations put forward concerning cultural heritage policies.

Although space does not allow retracing, let alone studying, the history of the evolution of the notion of cultural heritage in an ancient country such as Iran, endeavour shall be made to present a cursive glance upon the matter.

What appears undeniable in studying cultural heritage in Iran is the fusion of the people's daily lives with art works left behind from the past. The spread of inhabitation throughout the Persian Plateau ever since the 6th and 5th centuries BC, and the resulting innumerable works of art scattered across this land, all bear testimony to the fact that the Iranians could but have lived in contact and coexistence with historic artifacts and monuments¹. Therefore, it appears that studying the relationship between the people and cultural heritage in Iran, and indeed acknowledging the existence of a coherent, mature notion of cultural heritage in this society, is not a far-fetched proposition.

A point easily perceptible is that the Iranians have always been aware of the communication capability of historic remains and have knowingly used them in transmitting their messages to subsequent generations. From times immemorial, by depicting the significant events of their times in rock-face relief panels and leaving behind innumerable epigraphs clearly addressed to future generations, they have made

¹ For further information on the subject, see Ghirshman's "Iran from the origins until the advent of Islam", translated by Dr. Mohammad Mo'in, Scientific and Cultural Publications Co., 1985, Tehran.

it clear that, firstly, they were keen to establish a relationship with history and expected more than a mere utilitarian function from their monuments and artifacts, and secondly, they believed such art works as being capable of fulfilling this mission.

The gold and silver slabs (dating back to 520-518 BC) discovered in 1933 in the Apadana of Takht-e Jamshid (Persepolis)², which are considered the foundation plaques of the building, particularly in view of the information they supply in three languages, and their repetition in another palace in Hamadān³, constitute a good example of an effort to establish a communication with generations to come, and clearly attest to the cultural function of historic works of art some 2,500 years ago.

The multitude of such vestiges and inscriptions on movable and immovable works of art, as well as the repairs carried out on them ever since⁴, indicate that, alongside composing historic books in order to communicate information, and even kings writing books of advice⁵ to guide their successors in their rule, the works created, were conceived as a means by which future generations could be informed of their stories.

The author believes that, were Iranian cultural heritage to be studied from the viewpoint of the role it has played in the cultural life of the society, ample evidence would emerge to prove that the early Iranian ruling dynasties were sufficiently aware of the role of historic works of art in transmitting cultural values into the future, and that this very awareness prevented them from destroying works left behind by their own predecessors⁶.

² For further information refer to Masomi, 1976, p.48-9.

³ For further information, cf. two reports printed in the Iranian National Artifacts' Collection of Ancient Publications, Tehran 1972.

⁴ The spirit governing the action of conserving elements from the past and transmitting them to posterity is illustrated in the preservation of the holy fire in the Zoroastrian creed.

⁵ See, for example, Ardeshir Bābakān's Book of Advice, in Farsi, Published in Tehran, 1991.

⁶ This is not unique to Iran. In the same period Vitruvius in Greece blamed those who demolished their historical remains (1985, vol.II, BookVII, p:65).

Here, a few such cases are mentioned as examples. First, the Bistoon inscription of Darius I (530 BC), which, instead of denouncing eventual profanatory (then a common practice, as Herzfeld has pointed out in an article of 1304⁷), expresses the vow, and perhaps the first universal edict, that all works of art should be preserved:

*"O, you who sees this mausoleum in the future, do not ruin it. If you preserve it to the best of your ability, may God be your friend and grant you long life"*⁸.

Second, the collection of Strabo's remarks about Alexander's confrontation with the mausoleum of Cyrus (Ghirshman, 1985:173) which, while attesting to the perfect preservation of the mausoleum and its ancillary artifacts until then, continues with a quotation of Aristobulus, in which he likewise pleads for the conservation of monuments:

"O, passer-by... I am Cyrus... I gave an Empire to the Persians and ruled upon Asia... So, do not covet my grave".

It is interesting that, in order to preserve this very mausoleum during the onrush of Islamic armies into Iran, the Iranian people claimed it to be a holy place that of "Solomon's Mother" (Ghirshman, 1985:125).

By delving into extant historic remains and studying the factors contributing to their destruction, perhaps a general rule can be established as to the attitude to adopt toward historic monuments and artifacts; an attitude probably still vivid in various societies notwithstanding all the developments the idea of conservation has undergone. Besides the ever-present challenge of erosion by natural factors, which has been met in various times as far as financial and technical resources allowed, the human factor is the major cause of harm to works of art in the course of social upheavals.

From this viewpoint, relics can be divided into three groups. The first group includes works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, dams, water reservoirs, hospitals and the like. In times of social strife, these have generally been preserved by the dominant side, and sufficient evidence exists that often additions or repairs have also been made to

⁷ Ernst Herzfeld, *Āthār-e Mi-lī-e Irān*, Iranian National Artifacts' collection of ancient publications, Tehran 1351.

⁸ Behnam, E. (1984), in a collection of articles compiled by Javadi, A., published by Mojarad Press in Memari-ye Iran (Iranian architecture), Tehran.

them. The second group embodies monuments somehow unrelated with the ideals and beliefs of the dominant side. These are usually religious or political edifices such as mosques, churches, temples, administrative or political buildings, which are generally preserved and adapted to a different function after minor modifications. The third group embraces monuments which essentially symbolize the previous ruler's authority or convictions. Mainly palaces, gates, garrisons and memorials used by the ruling group, these monuments are threatened by looting and destruction.

In the course of the historic developments in Iran, even the third category has rarely faced the desire of total annihilation. After a while, the palaces of past kings have been utilized anew. But, beside these, other causes for the destruction of historic monuments include the re-utilization of their building materials, illicit excavation and destruction by treasure hunters.

Most Muslim authors have noted examples of such actions in historic sites and monuments. Mass'udi, the 9th century Iranian historian, refers to several cases of excavations aimed at retrieving historic artifacts, particularly from Egyptian historic monuments. Perhaps the first excavation license granted in Iran was that proclaimed by Ma'mun (a Moslem Khalif in 830s). As Abu-Dolaf writes in AD 1013 (Shahmirzādi, 1991:25):

"It is said that, while Ma'mun was in Marv, an emissary from the king of Rum [Greece] joined him, with a letter to deliver. Having read it, Ma'mun had him escorted by several soldiers and wrote a letter to the governor of Nahāvand, instructing him to allow the emissary to freely pursue his quest. When in presence of the governor, the latter said to him, 'Do as you please.' The emissary went to the eastern gate of Nahāvand and measured its span. Then, at the mid-point, he dug to a depth of twenty zarā', reaching a large stone. Thereupon, he ordered the stone to be removed. Beneath the stone appeared a fine room in which was a closed golden chest. The emissary had it carried before Ma'mun. Ma'mun had him accompanied with an escort until they reached his master [the king of Rum]. None came to know about the contents of the chest" (translated by the author).

As concerns the destruction of monuments as a result of their materials' re-utilization, Ibn Khaldon, the 14th century historian cites an interesting case in his *Al-Ebar*⁹:

"When Rashid resolved to demolish it [Chosroes' Palace] and sent a messenger to ask for the counsel of Yahya-bn-e Khāled-e Barmakki, who was in prison, the latter said, 'O,

⁹ Ibn Khaldon's *Moqaddameh*, Scientific & Cultural Publications Co., 1983, Tehran, vol. 2, p. 682.

Amir-al-Mo'menin, do not set upon such action; rather leave it as an example, to bear witness to the glory of your ancestors, who overcame the proprietors of such a majestic monument and seized their country.' But, Rashid accused him of being untruthful in his counsel and benevolence, owing to his Iranian ethnic pride. 'I swear to God I shall overturn it!' said he, and had the demolition work begun. A large man-power was gathered for the purpose. Use was made of iron axes heated in the forge and tempered with vinegar, but still he was unable to have it torn down. Worrying for his renown, he once again sent a messenger to ask Yahyā to advise him on halting the demolition. But Yahyā replied, 'O, Amir-al-Mo'menin, do not waver from your decision. Continue the destruction, lest it be said that the Amir-al-Mo'menin and king of Arabs failed to destroy an Iranian memorial monument.' But, Rashid realized his mistake and abandoned the destruction".

This story, which has been related by almost every Muslim historian, clarifies several points. First, that the interest historians have attributed to this event, and the fact that they have recorded it alongside the highly important political events of the early Islamic centuries, denotes that it was considered a matter of consequence. Second, that Yahyā's admonition implies respecting art works of past eras, even if they belong to opponents. And third, that Rashid's reaction to Yahyā's first warning indicates his assumption in the latter's mind of a sense of national pride concerning historic monuments. Moreover, Ibn Khaldon himself has expressed his opposition to the destruction of monuments, showing that, during the Islamic Middle Ages, the wickedness of destroying historic art works was clear, at least among scholars.

Another example, also from Ibn Khaldon¹⁰, concerns the condemnation of treasure-hunting. He lists this pursuit among the ways of earning a living, and, as we will see, vividly anticipates, five centuries in advance, what is happening today in Iran concerning illicit excavation and treasure-hunting:

"It should be known that many ignorant individuals in the cities are busy greedily digging up buried riches to earn a living, believing that all the treasures of the antiquity lie hidden under the ground, sealed with magic ciphers which non-initiates are unable to remove, while they have the power to do so, by means of inhalations, incantations and sacrifices... and many searchers among the Berbers of the Maghreb, being incapable of earning a living in a natural way, approach the wealthy, showing them pages with worn-out edges (as a sign of old age) and covered with alien inscriptions they pretend to be translations of indications left behind by the owners as to the treasures' locations. They thus seek their livelihood, inciting their clients to set upon treasure-hunting excavations... In result of such mystifications, a host of coarse characters hire large numbers of workers to dig the ground, in the darkness of night so as to remain unseen. And what, beside their ignorance, incites such individuals to carry on with this occupation

¹⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 761.

is their incapacity to earn a livelihood by natural professions such as commerce, agriculture or industry... Thus, pretending a huge treasure to be hidden within a certain house, they convince the naive customer to rent and occupy it. They also ask for some money to buy the drugs and inhalations needed to decipher the plan, making fabulous promises as to the discovery of specimens crafted by themselves".

Such examples show that the thinkers of the Islamic world in general have characterized the destruction of cultural works as a despicable action. This is fully confirmed in the travel accounts of such famous explorers as Nasser Khosrow (11th c.), Khajeh Rashid-ed-Din Vatvāt (12th c.), Ibn Batuteh (early 14th c.), and others. Keenly delving in, for example, Nasser Khosrow's extensive accounts of his travels and the historic monuments he has visited, we find the latter's dimensions, materials, specifications, construction dates and other salient features recorded with utmost precision¹¹; which shows how important this kind of art works and the transmission of information about them was considered.

In addition to what was said, inspecting the monuments themselves, observing the repairs carried out on them in the course of history and appreciating the meticulous harmony between later additions and the original constructions, reveals the esteem in which Iranians of past centuries held ancient works of art. One of the best examples in this regard is the Jāme' Mosque of Esfahān, which alone speaks of over a thousand years devoted to preserving a historic monument¹².

In almost all the Waqf-nāmeḥs concerning movable and immovable works of art, one of the first duties set is that of their conservation. Of course, the approach to conservation in the Islamic period did not correspond entirely with the philosophy governing it today. Yet, one may at least conclude that Shahmirzādi's assertion (1987:134) that "... *Initially, the Iranians' interest in ancient monuments went no further than a fleeting fad, often accompanied with the works' destruction*"¹³ seems unacceptable in view of the existing evidence, and is rather affected by the attitude which came to prevail among the ruling

¹¹ For further information refer to *Safar-Nameh* (travel account) by Naser-Khosrow, 1990, Tehran.

¹² A comprehensive book on this monument was published by Oleg Grabar. It includes ample information on the evolution of this mosque along the course of time.

¹³ Shahmirzādi, Sādeq, *Collection of articles of the seminar on surveying Iranological problems*, printed by the Institute of Political and International Studies (IPIS) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1369, Tehran.

class in the latter half of the Qājār period (late 19th c.) toward historic works of art. Undoubtedly, what befell the cultural patrimony of Iran under Qājār rule was so destructive that its effects upon our cultural heritage cannot be overlooked. Nevertheless, as attested by documents of which several examples were presented above, an interest in historic works of art and a concern for their conservation did exist in pre-Islamic times and all along the Islamic period until the onset of the Qājār period.

5.2. CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE QĀJĀR PERIOD

Mohit Tabātabā'i (1906-1990)¹⁴, one of the eminent contemporary Iranian scholars, in his remarks in the article "A brief note on the development of archaeology in Iran", gives the following reminder:

"During the reign of Fath-'Ali Shāh Qājār (1796-1834), Arghun Cave was discovered near Zanjān. As it contained valuable objects, the prince governing Qazvin and Zanjān was very pleased. In search of a similar discovery, Hassan-'Ali Mirzā, the governor of Fars, had the tombstones of Achaemenian kings in Persepolis removed, but found the graves to be empty. Thereafter prospective excavation in Iran's historic sites by elements serving as intermediaries with foreigners was encouraged... Therefore history must move the onset of excavation for the sake of benefit from the rule of Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh to that of Fath-'Ali Shāh, the champion of Golestān and Torkamanchai victories¹⁵".

As one of the leading Iranian contemporary historians, the author of the text quoted above is undoubtedly familiar with the multitude of historic texts referring to cases of treasure-hunting prior to the Qājār period. Then why is he apparently overlooking such overwhelming historic evidence and situating the onset of this practice in Qājār times?

The author believes that this is a question, which plays a significant role in the conservation of Iranian cultural heritage.

¹⁴ His comments on Shah-Mirzadi's article published with it in 1987.

¹⁵ An allusion to two shameful pacts signed between Fath-'Ali Shāh and Russia, in virtue of which large areas of northern Iran were handed over to the Russian side.

Surveying the history of pre-Qājār excavations, we notice that, in every case, unearthing a "treasure" is being sought. One of the earliest examples is thus cited by Mass'udi (9th c.) in his *Moruj-oz-Zahab*¹⁶ (1991, pp:356-7):

"Among strange narrations concerning buried items, there is a story thus reported by Yahya-bn-e Bakir: 'Abd-ol-'Aziz ibn Marvān, whose brother 'Abd-ol-Malek ibn Marvān had appointed as governor of Egypt, received the visit of a man who claimed to have benevolent advice to voice. When asked to do so, the man said: 'Under such and such a dome, lies a large treasure.' 'Abd-ol-'Aziz asked, 'By what sign can the truth of this claim be ascertained?' The man replied, 'If we dig to a small depth, a paving of marble and white stone will appear. Then, digging on, we shall reach a place where we shall have to detach a copper door, behind which there is a column of gold atop which stands a golden rooster with eyes of ruby worth the booty of the world, with wings bejewelled with ruby and emerald gems, its claws resting on gold tablets set upon the column.' 'Abd-ol-'Aziz ordered one thousand dinars to be given to the man, for his expenses and the wages of the diggers and workers. At the spot indicated, there stood a tall hill. A large hole was dug in the ground, until the paving of marble and white stone described above came into view, adding to the eagerness of 'Abd-ol-'Aziz, who had the wages increased and more men recruited. The excavation work was pursued until the rooster's head appeared, its ruby eyes shining as a bright lightning. Then the wings emerged, followed by the claws, and around the column were constructions of granite and white stone, with corridors and vaults beneath which stood closed doors, and inside which statues and portraits were visible, alongside all sorts of golden artifacts and bust effigies affixed to columns of gold.

'Abd-ol-'Aziz ibn Marvān went to visit the site and see what had been uncovered. Someone unwarily set foot on the copper mesh stair leading down. When he reached the fourth stair, two large regular swords sprang out from his either side, scissoring him in two before he could realize the danger. As his halved corpse fell upon the stairs, the column began trembling and the rooster crowed a strange cry which was heard afar, and while it began beating its wings, strange sounds arose from under it. By means of cogged wheels and levers, a device had been designed so that, as soon as something fell upon or came in contact with one of the stairs, all the men present were thrown to the bottom of the ditch. Those busy digging, carrying earth or supervising the work and giving orders numbered some two thousand, who all died. 'Abd-ol-'Aziz moaned, saying, 'This is a strange, inaccessible mound of earth, from the evil of which We seek shelter with God.' He had men pour the excavated earth on the remains of that dead number, and the place became a graveyard" (translated by the author).

As it appears, the aim in such quests is that of finding a "treasure". By examining the innumerable historic examples available, a treasure can be defined along certain criteria. On such a basis, a treasure usually means a large amount of gold and jewels concealed in a special manner by some past ruler or emperor. This eventuality was quite imaginary, yet the discovery of one or two rare examples here and there led to the perpetuation of a long-lasting myth and great activity.

¹⁶ Containing information of interest from the viewpoint of cultural heritage, Mass'udi's text is here cited in full.

An example of such discoveries in the past is the case of excavations carried out in the vicinity of the Egyptian Pyramids, which Mass'udi (1991, pp:357-8) has related in the following terms:

"A group of treasure-hunters concerned with effecting excavations in search of treasures and goods left behind by past kings and nations in the bosom of the Egyptian soil had uncovered a book written in an ancient script, wherein, in the description of a place in Egypt several zarā' away from the Pyramids, it was said that a strange cache existed there. The matter was taken to Akhshid ibn Mohammad ibn Taghaj, who authorized the party to excavate the place, using whatever device they wished. They dug a large pit, reaching passages, vaults and slabs cut into the rock. There stood wooden statues [i.e. sarcophagi] coated with preserving substances. The figures were varied, representing old and young people, as well as women and children, whose eyes were [set with] all kinds of gems such as ruby, topaz and turquoise, and others had gold and silver [plated] faces. They broke up one of the statues, inside which were earthenware and other perishable idols. Beside each statue, a vessel in the shape of a telesm-khāneh (talisman house) and other objects of white and marble stone were laid. Inside the vessel was some of the liquid used in daubing the corpse inside the statue. The remaining liquid inside the vessel contained an odorless ordinary powdered medicine. One of the vessels was heated on a fire, whereupon a pleasant fragrance unlike any familiar perfume arose. Each wooden statue had been made in accordance with the age and stature of its occupant, and, facing it, an idol of marble or greenish stone stood in the posture usually assumed by statues and effigies represented in prayer. The stone statues bore inscriptions which none of the followers of various religions were able to read. Some knowledgeable men claimed four thousand years had elapsed since that script had been abandoned in Egypt, meaning that they belonged neither to Jews nor to Christians. During the excavations, nothing more than these statues was found, and this was in the year three hundred and twenty-eight [AD 950]. All the rulers of Egypt, before and after, until Ahmad ibn Tulun et al., to the present year three hundred and thirty-two [AD 954], have recorded interesting narrations related to treasures and riches and jewels excavated in the course of their rules" (translated by the author).

In the face of such historic evidence, one can but admit that treasure-hunting for the sake of benefit dates a long way back in Islamic countries. But the important point is that the historic artifacts which experts currently dig out from historic sites, and to which we refer as cultural heritage, are different from what has been considered a treasure all along history. Today, all the objects manufactured by man, even his own skeleton, as well as the natural elements constituting his environment, are considered archaeologically valuable. This value is attributed to these artifacts because they pave the way to understanding the quality of man's life in past times.

There is a great difference between searching for these types of objects and seeking, what is termed, treasure. An amazing evolution has occurred in man's attitude toward the past and its remnants, and spectacular progress has been achieved in various

scientific fields, redirecting man's interest from mere "treasure" to the "cultural heritage of mankind", from a passion for gold and jewels to a love for ancient stone blades and ceramic bowls. This evolution, which took place essentially in Europe, had both positive and negative results outside Europe. In Iran, in a very special way which we shall examine in the following pages, this evolution resulted in the country's historic sites being grossly looted in the Qājār period, since, beside the usual treasure-hunters, everyone was trying to find a historic object and, unaware of its intrinsic value, sell it to amateurs willing to pay any price to acquire them.

So it is that the onset of the dilapidation of Iranian cultural heritage may be situated in the Qājār period. As the evidence we shall present will show, and for particular reasons which emerged in those days, the meaning of 'treasure' as it was in the past changed to now encompass all the works existing within the historic sites and monuments of Iran. In order to analyze and understand the conditions governing the country's cultural heritage in the Qājār period, the factors contributing to the appearance of these conditions must be taken into consideration. All that befell Iran's cultural heritage in that era can perhaps be first summarized as follows, before describing and discussing the details:

- The social developments which took place in Europe during the 19th century attracted the attention of European politicians, traders, military men, orientalists and eventually scientists and archaeologists of the ancient, time-honoured oriental, as well as Islamic, countries.
- In Iran, the echo of this interest generated a particular material and spiritual attitude toward historic relics.
- Whether inside Iran or abroad, contacts with Europeans, which occurred for political, economic, scientific, cultural and military reasons, were the dominion of the upper classes of the society, namely the rulers (the king, the royal family, provincial governors, high-ranking officials...), the intellectuals (those educated abroad), the businessmen, the military, etc.
- According to their occupations' natures, the rulers, intellectuals and businessmen reacted in different manners to the attitude of Europeans toward historic relics.

- The overall form of these reactions was such that 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, which culminated in the Agreement of 1900, by the terms of which the exclusivity of excavations in Iran was sold to the French.

- The intellectuals, who, having lived in European societies or read their scholarly works, had deep affinities of thought with foreigners, while disapproving the plunder of the country's cultural wealth, praised the foreigners for their appreciation of our relics and the efforts they made to better understand them. This very attitude later laid the ground for the argument that, if foreigners take the cultural relics of Iran to their own countries, at least they preserve them in the best museums.

- Gradually, concurrently with the downfall of Qājār rule (late 19th c.), the changing internal and external political conditions, the altered form of international relations and the growth of public awareness of the value of historic relics, as well as the increased number of countries desiring to acquire Iranian art works, the opportunity arose, in 1930, that is some thirty years after the 1900 agreement, for the intellectuals to draft a new law for the organization and conservation of the country's cultural patrimony (translated in Appendix II). That event turned a new page in the affairs pertaining to Iran's cultural heritage, as we shall study in the following Chapter.

Here, various documents related with the process summarily described above are presented, and we shall try to supply evidence for each of the cases mentioned. It is notable that this Chapter of Iranian history from the viewpoint of cultural heritage, which formed the bedrock of all the subsequent concepts of cultural heritage in this country, leaving effects still perceptible after the Islamic Revolution, embraces a wealth of varied events and data which require precise studies of their own. The task of compiling and studying the innumerable relevant sources, which include travel accounts by foreign explorers, local politicians' memoirs, newspapers and other publications of the period, documents of relevant ministries, reports concerning excavations (mostly in European languages), and more, appears proportionate with that of a research institution, and falling beyond the scope of the present study, which can only serve as a model for its accomplishment.

5.2.1. THE MODERN CONCEPT OF RELICS

The most important, and perhaps the sole, factor of change in the Iranians' attitude toward cultural heritage was due to the effects the Europeans left behind in this domain in Iran. The past of interactions between Europe and Iran stretches back to the times of the Greek Antiquity. In the ancient world, the peaks of these communications can be considered the presence of Iranians in Athens (480 BC) and that of Alexander in Iran (330 BC)¹⁷. The existence of the Silk Road, which stretched from China to Europe and passed through Iran, undeniably contributed to the exchange of cultural values between Europe and Iran. Also during the Middle Ages, which coincided with the Islamic period in Iran, communications, although scarce, did exist, but a new category of communications, which laid the ground for the long-lasting ulterior contacts perpetuated to the present, began in the early 16th century, under Safavid rule (1576-1722).

At that time, what motivated the contacts between European nations and Iran was mainly the menace of the Islamic and mighty Ottoman Empire, Europe's eastern and Iran's western neighbour, for Christian Europe. The powerful Safavid dynasty ruling in Iran was also Muslim, but, unlike the Ottomans, belonged to the Shi'ite faith, and therefore, if convinced and prepared for the purpose, constituted the best element capable of diverting the Ottomans' westward attention by bringing pressure upon them on their eastern flank. As Will Durant (1935, vol. 7:621) points out:

"The Christian western nations were lucky in that, from 1577 to 1638, when first France, and later Germany, became engaged in religious wars, the Ottoman Turks, who had been able to extend their frontiers to Vienna, had to turn their attention to their war with Iran".

Europeans devoted great efforts to bringing about the Iran-Ottoman conflict. Concerning the initial contacts, the same author adds (vol.7:622):

"At about this time [1598], two adventurous Englishmen, Sir Antony Sherly and his younger brother Robert entered Iran on a commercial [!] mission. They brought precious presents, military experience and an accomplished cannon-founder. With their assistance, Shāh 'Abbās refurbished his army with guns and swords, and had 500

¹⁷ For an extensive record of the cultural exchange in this period, see the chapters "Orient against Occident" and "Occident against Orient" in Ghirshman's "Iran from the Origins until the advent of Islam", and Pir-Nia's "Ancient Iran", vol. 2, p. 445 on.

hundred cannons readied in a short time. He used this new power against the Ottoman Turks".

Iran's particular geo-political situation in that period, especially in view of the importance the European rivals, that is England, France, Holland and Portugal, attached to establishing their the dominion upon the Indian sub-continent, and the activities of the Company of Merchants of London Trading with the East Indies' agents in Iran, caused the Europeans to undertake certain actions which speak of their initial cultural attitudes. As Sa'id Nafissi (1957, vol 1:82) writes:

"First the French in 1503, and after them the English in 1600, had begun invading India, and thereafter become quite bold. The headway made by the British in India, and their eviction of the French, not only aroused the jealousy of all the great powers of the world, but also, for a long while, concentrated the politics of Russia and France toward India; and as India's natural overland access passed through Iran, European countries, particularly those coveting the conquest of India, became especially interested in Iran since the early 19th century; and this very interest brought about painful miseries and difficulties for Iran".

These "miseries and difficulties" had various dimensions: political, economic, military, etc. But, we are concerned here with the cultural dimension, which is the deepest and has the most long-lasting effects. The historian quoted above relates these facts in relation to the shameful agreement signed between Iran and Czarist Russia, which led to the estrangement of a huge portion of Iranian soil, and became known as Torkamānchāi¹⁸ (1957, vol.1:83).

"... The Torkamānchāi agreement inflicted a very large loss upon Iran, with which we are still entangled, and of which we shall probably not be rid soon; and that was the fact that the Iranians were totally overwhelmed by the might of Europe, to the extent that, to the present, no one has dared take a step against Europe's probable interests or assumed thoughts, and all the Iranians have, all along this period, considered it a dangerous folly and risk to resist Europe and stand against its whims, its cupidity, its greed; and if this conception faded away for a few years, unfortunately, the events of Shahrivar (Aug.-Sept.) 1942 once again revived that terror in our hearts".

¹⁸ See footnote no. 13 in this Chapter.

It is with the knowledge of such antecedents that one can understand the reasons of the country's cultural assets being looted by Iranians and foreigners, and ultimately the signature of the agreement of 1900 with the French. At the end of this Chapter, we will review this agreement, which constitutes a turning point in the history of Iranian cultural heritage. For now, we shall look upon the socio-cultural background which ultimately led to the signature of this agreement.

5.2.2. EUROPEAN EXPLORERS IN IRAN

As already mentioned, since the Safavid period, that is the early 17th century, the number of Europeans travelling to Iran greatly increased for various reasons, and, the voyage being arduous, their stays in the country were usually long ones. The Europeans themselves called this period the "age of explorations" (Homāyun, 1970:33). Regardless of how justified it is to use the term "exploration" in the case of countries who possess multi-millionaire civilizations and have had complete maps of their geographical situation for a thousand years before the Europeans, doubts exist as to whether these travels were truly undertaken with the aim of exploration. As Chew points out in (Homāyun, 1970:35):

"No organized topographical exploration for purely scientific purposes was undertaken by Englishmen till well after our period. The Elizabethans went into the East to discover new (vents) for English trade".

Not only were mercantile objectives pursued in the guise of scientific exploration, but political objectives also accompanied them. Albuquerque, who travelled to the Persian Gulf with the aim of enlarging Portugal's trade, writing in 1507 to his king about Hormoz Island, qualified the Persian Gulf as the key to the Indian Ocean and the conquest of India, and Hormoz Island the key to the Persian Gulf, concluding that, without controlling Hormoz Island, keeping India is impossible (Homāyun, 1970:44).

As it appears, various reasons can be listed for the presence of Europeans in Iran. If the Ottoman danger, the conquest of India, etc. provided the political incentives and the increased economic capabilities of European countries and their need for new markets created the economic motivation for their eastward travels, their progress in various scientific domains, as well as their attraction to ancient civilizations, initiated as a result

of the Renaissance and perpetuated in the wake of subsequent scientific developments¹⁹, solicited their attention toward the ancient civilizations of the Orient. This not only caused a strong interest to appear in Europe, but also incited many individuals to face the hardships of the way in order to become closely acquainted with the artistic relics of these civilizations. Of course, these political, economic and cultural missions are often hard to distinguish from one another. A salient example in case is Doctor Toulousain, who had travelled to Iran as Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh's private physician, yet intervened in all the affairs of the country, including that of securing the monopoly of excavations in Iran for French citizens. In this concern, Jane Dieulafoy, an explorer of the Qājār period who travelled to Iran with her husband in 1880 and has written a extensive book about Iran, writes²⁰:

"Marcel [her husband] was on friendly terms with Dr. Toulousain, Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh's friend and private physician. On our first voyage to Persia, his recommendations opened us the doors of mosques hitherto closed, and we often owed our security to his vigilance. This time too, we appealed on him. When our ambassador again entered into talks with the Iranian government, Dr. Toulousain appealed directly to the Shāh, arousing his interest for archaeological excavations, which would reveal the resplendent history of his ancient predecessors" (Shahmirzādi, 1991:27).

In view of the essential role the contact of foreigners with Iranian historic relics played in laying the ground for subsequent operations in this concern, it is imperative that a comprehensive study of the very details of their actions, which reveal the methods they have employed in obtaining and appropriating artifacts, be made in all the documents of this period. Space does not allow a detailed report here, yet, in order to paint a general picture, and as a reference for further reading, a chronological list of Europeans who travelled to Iran in the course of past centuries and had effects concerning the country's cultural heritage is presented in Appendix III. Also, proceeding with the study, a selection of several examples of 19th century documents, which relate to the fortunes of Iranian cultural heritage, is presented, so as to acquaint the reader with the atmosphere reigning over the cultural patrimony of this period.

¹⁹ The first specifically archaeological journal was published in England in 1770, and was followed, in 1882, by that of the Ecole du Louvre, the famous French school of archaeological studies.

²⁰ Mme. Jane Dieulafoy (1887): *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, translated by Farahvashi, printed by Tehran University, 1986, Tehran.

The first point noticeable in the stories of these travellers, particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, is that they mostly made the voyage to accomplish political, military or economic missions, and only later became interested in historic monuments, preparing reports or publishing relevant information in their travel accounts. For example, as it was mentioned before in 1626, the Sherly brothers travelled to Iran in view of political activities, military assistance and commercial agreements, but also prepared reports on the country's historic monuments. Later on in 1811, the Ousely brothers constituted a similar example, Sherly writes:

"Certain events occurred which compelled us to remain in Shiraz during the months of May and June [1811]. Lodgings were prepared for us in Takht-e Qājār, a summer residence in Shirāz. We then had ample leisure to explore the regions around Fārs. Sir William Ousely, the brother of the British ambassador, Sir Gore Ousely, was given the mission of surveying the region of Fassā, perhaps to find the tomb of Cyrus, and then to go to Dārābgerd and gather the necessary information about those regions. Mr. Gordon was dispatched to survey ancient Shush. Colonel d'Arcy was commissioned to Firooz-Ābād. Major Steven set out on a different itinerary leading to the ruins of Shāpur, hoping to find the cave known as the Cave of Shāpur, which he did with full success, finding Shāpur's statue and noticing that it had been dropped down from atop the pedestal on which it formerly rested. Morier, the writer of travel accounts, was also commissioned to survey Persepolis and its environments²¹" (Mahmood, 1975:131-2).

Paying attention to the grievous results of these individuals' actions upon the country's economy and politics, one realizes how their relationship with cultural heritage negatively affected the popular attitude toward historic relics.

In late 19th century travellers became more interested in relics. In order to gain access to them, they needed governmental support. Extant documents attest that this contact and support existed at all levels. Beside the cases in which the Shāh or the royal princes have personally ordered such actions, as will be exemplified concerning the role of the court in the agreement of 1900, the memoirs of E'temād-os-Saltaneh, Culture Minister in the Qājār period, also include cases of such contacts²²:

"Wednesday, 26 Rajab [1880] - This evening, I am invited at Dr. Toulousain's mansion. By sunset, I got on my way. There were a crowd, including Monsieur Dieulafoy, an individual commissioned by the French government to do scientific research and

²¹ Morier was accompanied by several stone-carvers, and, having broken several statues, he sent them to England (p. 75) Footnote of p. 132 [Morier's book, *Travel in Iran, Armenia and Asia Minor to Istanbul*, 2. vols.] History of Irano-British political relations in the 19th century. Mahmood, vol. 1, 4th print, Eqbāl, Tehran, 1353.

²² Diary of Etemad-os-Saltanah, Introduction and tables of contents: Iraj Afshar, Amir Kabir, Tehran, 3rd print, 1978, p.80.

determine in what ways ancient Iranian monuments built under the Sassanians and the Arabs' buildings erected in Andalusia and the Maghreb, and also those of the 'Abbasid caliphs, are similar. Appearing thirty-five years of age, his wife, clad in masculine garments, is accompanying her husband. She is a knowledgeable, voluble woman..."

In 1889 He writes²³:

"Sunday, 23 Rabi-ol-Avval This evening, I am invited to dinner at the French Embassy. A Frenchman, Monsieur de Morgan, and his wife, both very learned people who have come to Iran to explore the country, were present at the dinner table. Much talk was made".

And in 1892:

" 27 Zel-Qadeh, Today, the stopover is at Morgh-Sar [in the valley of Lār, past Polur and before Afjeh]. In the morning, I set off with Feuvrier. We strolled a while among the ruins of a construction discovered a few years earlier and from which many tiles had been unearthed".

In Feuvrier's memoirs²⁴ (1947:288), one reads:

" 2nd August, in an emānzādeh in Āhangarān [a dependency of Sāruq-e Farāhān, near Arāk], E'temād-os-Saltaneh obtained handsome tiles which, although lacking the lustre of golden tiles, were quite valuable. He picked three and offered them to me as a gift."

In Farid's²⁵(1975:424), we see that, beyond a mere contact, the question of securing an official authorization of excavation is involved:

"Friday, 24 Jamādi-ol-Avval 1331 AH [AD 1883]. In the evening, the Frenchman, professor Du Foussat, director of excavations, and Mr. Dr. Esmā'il-Khān, who have come from Tehran, paid a visit. They sat for an hour. We talked a bit about the agreement on excavations, which Dr. Esmā'il-Khān showed me. It stipulated that whatever was discovered in the course of excavations was to be divided in six parts, three of which were to be the share of Professor Du Foussat, and of the three remaining, two were to belong to the owner of the land and one to the government, with the expenses being on the account of Monsieur Du Foussat".

"Sunday, 26 Jamādi-ol-Avval 1331 AH [AD 1883]. In the evening, accompanied by a son of Hāshem-Khān, we went to Hildebrandt's [director of the Carpet Company] house, to repay the visit of Monsieur Du Foussat. Dr. Esmā'il-Khān also came together with Mirzā Taqi-Khān (director of culture in Kāshān). For a while, we spoke in English with Professor Du Foussat about the situation in Iran. By a separate agreement, I vicariously entrusted the excavations of the sites of Qarkhār (Ulu-tappeh) and 'Arablu (propriety of my father and relatives) to Monsieur Du Foussat, the director of excavations [French, Hamadān excavations], so that, with the knowledge of Dr. Esmā'il-Khān, as the envoy

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Dr. Feuvrier, *Three Years at the Persian Court from 1889 to 1892*, translation of Abbas Eqbal, Elmi, Tehran, 1947.

²⁵ Mirza-Mohammad-Ali-Khan Farid-ol-Molk-Hamadani, *Memoirs of Farid from 1874-1917*, compiled by Massud Farid (Qaragozlu), Zavvar, Tehran, 1975.

of the government and the glorious reign, he may begin working therein, perhaps uncovering something".

"Thursday, 29 Rajab, 1345 AH [AD 1897]... After sunset, I was sitting in the tent when I saw its flap lifted. A man wearing riding boots and trousers appeared, who said he had come from Tehran and was the bearer of orders. In a few minutes, he was found to be His Excellency Navvāb-e Vālā Dr. Heidar-Mirzā, an old acquaintance whom I had met in Paris seven years earlier. I was overjoyed at the arrival of the prince, which was a great favour upon me. Having made enquiries, he said to have come on a mission from the Sublime Government to accompany the respected Monsieur de Morgan, the director of the French Mission, in his explorations and excavations of ancient relics throughout the kingdom of Iran, and that, this Mission having obtained the monopoly from the Iranian government, was to begin exploring the ruins of Shush. I took in the contents of the hallowed farmān proclaimed in this concern, so that the Excellency Ayālat's signature may be secured ..."(1975:163).

Meanwhile, the Germans also strived to secure excavation rights. On page 79 of the "Collection of reports by British secret reporters in the southern provinces of Iran"²⁶, one reads:

"Moreover, the honourable Dr. Henderias, a German traveller, has requested the authorization of excavating at Takht-e Jamshid [Persepolis] from the honourable Navvāb [Mo'tamed-od-Dowleh, Farhād-Mirzā], noting that, if meager results are obtained from their digging, they shall be their own property, and if these are considerable, such as gold or precious stones, they shall have the options of remitting either the same or its equitable current equivalent metal price to the Iranian government. The honourable Navvāb did not authorize, but neither forbade, them from carrying out excavations, on the condition that, were something found, they would not appropriate it".

Evidence is also extant to show that these excavations were primarily aimed at unearthing valuable artifacts, rather than archaeological purposes:

"Friday, 9 Zi-Qa'deh. Dr. Esmā'il-Khan, who had come to supervise the excavations of Hamadān, came to bid farewell before leaving for Tehran (accompanied by Monsieur Du Foussat, the director of excavations). As Dr. Esmā'il-Khan has stated, in the past months spent on the costly work in Hamadān, nothing worthy has come to light and no antiquity has emerged, while he has sustained a heavy loss" (E'temād-os-Saltaneh 1966:430).

Dr. Feuvrier (1947:195) on his memoirs, "Three Years at the Persian Court from 1889 to 1892", writes about the year 1891:

"The slightest digging in these ruins [in Rey, near Toghrol Tower] results in the discovery of a usable ancient relic. I possess several enamelled ceramic vessels and a number of intact octagonal glazed tiles which were obtained from such excavations. But, as anyone can freely set upon exploring those ruins, this is done arbitrarily, without any regard for scientific methods".

²⁶ Saidi Sirjani, ed (1982): Vagaye-e Ettafaqiyeh, collection of reports by British secret reporters in the southern provinces of Iran from 1874 to 1905, compiled by Saidi Sirjani, Nashr-e Now, Tehran.

Among the memoirs of E'temād-os-Saltaneh (1966:437) one reads:

"Friday, 1st of Ramazān 1303 AH [25 June 1886]. ... the French have done excavations in the ancient city of Shush, in Khuzestān, and amassed numerous unearthed precious items, such as gold statues and cups, in the ruins of the monument of Bahman-e Derāz-Dast the Kiāni".

Such demeanour was not restricted to foreigners. Local individuals instructed by them as well resorted to destroying historic sites. An interesting example in this context is the instructions which A. H. Schindler (1968:206) -- commissioned by Iran to set up the telegraph line between Tehran and Mashhad -- gives in 1875 to individuals busy looting a site:

"At a distance of one meidān, southward of Dāmghān, stands a hill famous as Tappeh-Hessār. A few months ago, some ancient utensils were found on it, and the work is continuing ever since, with strange things being found. On the first time I was in Dāmghān, I went to see that hill, and saw that the work was not being done methodically. I told the men on the job to work in this way and that, and to carry water to the hill-top, so that the task can be better and sooner achieved. On the second time I was there, I saw that they were working better, and Hāj-'Alī-Akbar, the administrator of the mine, was also present. They had made a water channel across the hill, which washed out the antiquities without them being broken"²⁷.

The outcome of these excavations were generally put at the disposition of foreigners and left the country. As Herrmann (1989:32) notes:

"At first the newly discovered artifacts were removed to the great museums of London, Paris and Berlin. The Pergamo Museum in Berlin was, in fact, originally built specifically for such a purpose."

Evidence shows that, unfortunately, the destruction of historic sites and monuments in this period was compounded by haphazard discoveries and natural disasters:

"Saturday, 23 Zelhajeh, [AD 1885] today, I heard that in the Hezār-Jarib villages of Māzandarān, which fall within the domain of Amin-os-Saltaneh, a flood has washed a hill away, revealing a hoard of coins, jewels and un-minted gold and silver. As to what comes forth ..." (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:343)

5.2.3. SPREAD OF SPECULATION IN ANTIQUITIES

Thus speculation in antiquities turned into a popular pastime to which everyone, whether king or beggar, became attracted. As already mentioned, at this time, instead of

²⁷ Three Travel Accounts: Harāt, Marv, Mashhad, compiled by Qodratollah Rowshani (Za'faranlu), Tehran University 1200, Treasury of Iranian Travel Accounts, 4, Tehran, 1968, p.206.

treasures in the old sense of the word, all historic artifacts and tools become attractive marketable goods. In 1882 Hāj-'Abd-ol-Ghaffār Najm-ol-Molk wrote in his dairy:

*"After two hours, we reached Emāmzādeh Shāh Abolqāssem (Shāh-Ābād-e Dezfūl). The land there is known as that of Daqiānus (Jondishāpur), and, whenever the ground is dug, vestiges of ancient buildings and objects are obtained"*²⁸.

There are some more examples in E'temād-os-Saltaneh's dairy as well: In 1886 he wrote:

*"[AD 1886] ... after lunch, I came home. Until evening, I busied myself with reading ancient coins. I have lately come to this resolution. I shall collect ancient coins"*²⁹.

*"[AD 1887] ... Amin-os-Soltān, having uttered one of those silly prolonged laughter peculiar to himself, had sold to Mirzā Mahmood, the auditor of Khorāssān, an ancient gold coin weighing twenty mesqāls which belonged to prince Morteżā-Qoli Mirzā, son of the late 'Emād-od-Dowleh, and which I had often seen. And he, in turn, had entrusted it with Amin-os-Soltān to be sent for the Shāh. It is a coin of Alexander. But it is not genuine, because it was minted in Hamadān and is a fake. For my part, I described it with such grandiloquence as never a liar poet has ever lied ..."*³⁰.

*"... In the evening [AD 1888], I read some coins discovered in Sāveh which the Shāh had sent for reading. Among them were coins of the Safavid Shāh Mohammad, minted in the year 988 in Tehran"*³¹

*"[AD 1892] ... a coin of Āqā-Mohammad Khājah having been found in the ruins now known as Ganj-Ābād, I was ordered by the Shāh to read it. This is the first coin minted under Islam ... It was minted during the rule of 'Abd-ol-Malek Marvān in Damas. After reading the coin, in the evening I went to Dushān-Tappeh ..."*³².

Existing documents show that excavations, usually initiated by individuals from the ruling class and pursued by ignorant people, greatly increased in this period. On the whole, as can be deduced from extant documents, excavations were carried out unimpeded in this era. Here, several such examples are pointed out:

"[AD 1860]... reaching the end of 'Abbas-Ābād valley, we approached the house of Mo'ayyer-ol-Molk. The gold washers had prepared a ground. There we unmounted. I looked at the objects unearthed. There were all sorts of things. Scraps of gold, broken

²⁸ Hāj-'Abd-ol-Ghaffār Najm-ol-Molk, *Safar-Nameh Khozestan* (The Khozestan travel account), compiled by Dabir-Siaghi, M., Elmy Press, 1962, Tehran, p.24.

²⁹ E'temād-os-Saltaneh, *Rooz-Nameh Khaterat* (dairy), Amir-kabir Publications, 1966, Tehran, p.407.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.511.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.532.

³² *Ibid.*, p.841.

silverware, various ancient gold and silver coins, items made of lead and copper, blackened coins, numerous nails, large pointed arrow-heads. We were long delayed there, but Hāji Mirzā-'Ali strongly denies being in search of gold" (Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh, 1993:35).

"[AD 1876] ... it has been heard that, upon digging the surface of the ruins of Persepolis, some stone statues have appeared. Also the location of a large building has become visible, and a horse rein and an iron plaque have also been found. But the engravings on the plaque are not visible, and excavation works still continue" (Reports by British secret reporters, Saidi Sirjani, 1982:70).

"[AD 1882] ... between Borujerd and Chālān-Chulān, on the mountain slope lies a village by the name of Afrāvandeh, which is the property of Seyyed Ahmad and within 'Arāq. They do gold-washing. Coins etc. are found there. They say it used to be the abode of Afrāsiāb" (Hāj-'Abd-ol-Ghaffar Najm-ol-Molk, 1962:15).

"[AD 1889] ... although E'temād-os-Saltaneh carried out cursory excavations in these ruins, he found a number of gilt tiles and two copper candlesticks there, and myself, without searching a great deal, unearthed several broken tiles of the same type" (Feuvrier, 1947:172).

"[AD 1886] ...we are on a halt. The weather is heavenly. In the morning, I went to the Darb-khāneh. After the Shāh's lunch, I returned home. Daryālu is a hill [near Noor, in Māzandarān] where mongol tombs existed. I had it excavated. Broken jugs, skulls and some daily utensils were dug up. But it is not so sure that they belong to mongols. Perhaps they are from one of the Gabr [Zoroastrian] tribes" (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:447).

"[AD 1891] ...in the morning, I paid a visit to Moshir-od-Dowleh. Then I came home. I had dinner. In the evening, I went to Cheshmeh-'Ali for a stroll. Near Ibn Bābeveih, where gold-washing is being done. I saw a miscellany of small items being unearthed, then returned home" (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:731).

"[AD 1891] ... The Shāh rode to Dushān-Tappeh. I stayed at home. In the evening, I went to watch gold-washing in the area of Shāh-'Abd-ol-'Azim ..." (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:732).

"[AD 1891] ...the Shāh mounted in the saddle, and I started towards Āvar River, headed for the artificial hill where I have sent 'Āref-Khān to excavate. From there, I returned to the township of Tuyserkān, to visit the Emām Jom'eh. He was not home. In the afternoon, I rejoined the camp" (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:824).

"[AD 1892] ... I was a guest at the mansion of the princes of Tuyserkān, who are old acquaintances. Leaving town, I headed toward Āvar River. Angry at Afandī, who has meanwhile got my money and done nothing but being inebriated all the time, I paid no attention to him and rode toward Serkān. I visited the mausoleum of Abu-Mohjan³³ Saqafi, famous here as Pir-e Kamar-Basteh, which is a circle of dervishes and a pleasant place ..." (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:824).

³³ Original: Ab-ol-Mohjan

As it appears, the participation of the powerful elite in speculative excavations can be inferred from these documents. Had the matter been limited to their sponsorship, it would have been more alike the cases of rulers of past centuries using their power to discover treasures.

At such times, the factor which incites the rulers to sponsor excavations is mostly their ignorance of the artifacts' cultural value. We will study such cases that occurred in post-Qājār periods, particularly after the Islamic Revolution. But the point the author wishes to make is that, beside the widespread ignorance of the value of historic relics, the greed of this period's rulers for fortuitous riches must be taken into consideration. A salient example, which we shall examine later, is the sale of the exclusive rights of excavation in Iran to the French for 10,000 tomāns; at a time when Hāj-'Abd-ol-Ghaffar Najm-ol-Molk (1962:7) evaluates several tiles as worth 2,000 tomāns:

"I saw good moulded and tessellated tiles on the mehrāb of a mosque [in Kāshān]. They are most admirable and precious, and farangis [Europeans] would buy just the lot for at least two-thousand tomāns, but alas, in the end, by some device or another, take them away they will."

Although this period can be viewed as one of large-scale sale of exclusivity rights, including those of the navigation on Kārun River, the establishment of banks, mines, railways, tobacco industries and many more, which were granted to foreigners within one year i.e. 1890 (Nafisi 1956:341), yet, in order to prove the direct involvement of the Qājār court in profit-making excavations, and emphasize the point that no scientific purpose or national concern occupied the minds of its members when they were signing the agreements of 1895 and 1900, we turn our attention to indications to be found in the documents of this period.

Describing his trip to Karbalā in 1860, Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh writes (1993:36):

"Gold-washing was being done on that day as well. I did not attend. It was windy and dusty. I sent Amin-Hozur Mirzā-'Ali-Khān instead. They unearthed many objects of gold and silver. A thick golden ring was found whose gem seat, in the form of a horned bull, is pierced in two places. It is a good ring. I took it as a good omen".

E'temād-os-Saltaneh (1966:72), then Minister of Culture, mentions several such interventions:

"[AD 1890] ...today, the Shāh went to Amin-Ābād. As was found out, the cause of his going there was that, ever since this treasure was found in Mahmood-Ābād, all thoughts are bent on finding treasures, and since Amin-Ābād is a land of Rey, he went there and

determined a place which the Nāyeb Akbar-Khān was to excavate. He did excavate, but nothing was found. I was at home all day long."

"[AD 1881] ... some ruins are visible in several places of Lār. By royal edict, several sites were excavated. Some good tiles were dug out. As to what might follow ..." (p.92).

Also Feuvrier (1947:284) notes in his memoirs:

"[AD 1892] A hill near the grave of Habquq [near present-day Tuyserkān], which is larger than the hill of Nahāvand, was excavated upon the orders of the Shāh [Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh], but nothing came out. From the pit they dug to its center, they brought out nothing but a fistful of earth. No traces of a grave were found, but its regular shape indicates that this is not a natural hill, and that it was built by man".

As is conspicuous, the Shāh was not the sole beneficiary of the pillage of relics. The court princes were also involved. In a report written by British agents in 1876 and printed under the title of "Vaḡāye'-e Ettefāqiyeh"³⁴, one witnesses the expansion of excavations from unknown sites to quite renowned ones such as Persepolis.

This involvement is not limited to the courtesans, but also includes foreigners who had the permission of the Shāh. A. H. Schindler (1968:206) writes in his memoirs:

"[AD 1875] The Shāhanshāh has granted permission upon several farangis [Europeans] to excavate that hill [the brick hill near Reyshahr, the bricks of which bear cuneiform inscriptions] and other ones. It is a pity that all these ancient relics are taken away from this land. It would be best if everything, including seals and beads and the like, were put in the Shāhanshāh's museum-house ...".

This is when, apparently, the king cannot be considered unfamiliar with the cultural values of historic relics, having personally attributed a space within the Golestān Palace to the preservation of historic artifacts, and named it "museum" in the European manner. This is the first place in Iran to be called as such. In 1875, Schindler thus refers to this point (1968:207), and it dates back the foundation of museum in Iran at least to 1875; *"Three seals, now in the Shāhanshāh's museum-house, have been found [from Tappeh-Hessār, Dāmghān], and the script they bear is the ancient mongol script".*

Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh writes in 1889 about the reparations of the Jāme' Mosque of Qazvin:

"I went to contemplate the Jāme' Mosque [of Qazvin], which is being repaired. They have done a strange repair. They have removed the qualities that were those of tessellated tiles and marbles and the like, and left the defects due to erosion, etc. Botched-up work is the rule nowadays"³⁵.

³⁴ See Saidi Sirjani, 1982, p.68

³⁵ Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh, *Safar-Nameh be Karbala wa Najaf* (Travel account on Karbala and Najaf), Sanai Press, Tehran, p.667.

In addition, Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh had made several travels to Europe and visited the museums there. In 1885 he wrote in his travel account to Europe:

*"... we entered the Louvre. It was a magnificent building, unique for its sculptures and paintings. There was an elongated, very well-proportioned hall entitled Galerie d'Apollon, after the god of beauty, poetry and song. Numerous objects, including gem-ornamented vases of jade, obsidian, etc., gold and silver artifacts by ancient goldsmiths, as well as precious objects of gold and other metals unearthed from all over the world, were all set in boxes and showcases. An arm-bone of Charlemagne, king of the Frank Gauls, was preserved in a case ..."*³⁶.

Let us keep in mind that, by these very displays of stupendous hospitality³⁷, the French were able, within a few years, to obtain the exclusivity of excavations in Iran. One year after signing the agreement 1885, the Shāh was assassinated and it was Mozaffar-ed-Din Shah who went to Paris. In his travel account³⁸ he writes:

"... Then, we went to the Louvre Museum. The gallery of the Louvre is two hundred and fifty zar's long. There was a vase, three zar's in diameter. It was not apparent how someone had entered it to reply whenever one spoke into it. Then we went to see the paintings of the Louvre. We also saw the museum of Shush. There was a huge column capital there ..." (1900:149).

Studying the documents of this period, one notices that not a few people indeed looked upon historic relics without profit in mind and with due appreciation. But the point to bear in mind is the struggle which gradually takes shape between profiteering from relics and appreciating their scientific, cultural values; a struggle in which the culmination of profiteering is the conclusion of the agreement of 1900, and the beginning of its defeat, the adoption of the Law of Antiquities in 1930 (despite all the difficulties involved, as we will see in the next Chapter).

To prove that, we now turn our attention to several examples of documents which convey the cultural attitudes toward historic relics in this period. These can be divided into two groups: reports written about historic relics, whether monuments or sites, and speaking of the interest and awareness which existed in this concern; and direct opinions expressed about the significance of historic relics. Naturally enough, both categories are

³⁶ N, Safar-Nameh 1885-6 (Travel account 1885-6), Mashal Press, Esfahan, without date of publication, p.153.

³⁷ For further information in this regard, see the Memories of Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh's Travels, written by himself, printed in 3 volumes by the National Documentation Organization.

³⁸ Mozaffar-ed-Din Shah's Travel Account, compiled by Ali Dehbashi, Farzan Books, Tehran 1982, offset from 1st print.

to be found among the views of the period's intellectuals whose opinions were recorded and have reached us. An example of that era's reports concerning historic relics is *Matla'-osh-Shams*³⁹, compiled by E'temād-os-Saltaneh in 1885, which includes detailed descriptions of historic monuments and sites. By itself, this compilation bears testimony to an attention toward historic relics in this period. Moreover, on pages 806-7 of this book, describing a historic site, he says:

"This site appears as one of the wonders, since all of it consists of animal and human bones, broken jars, coal and cinders, and in most places of the hill, particularly southeastward, traces of stone-laying are visible... Similar hills exist in foreign cities and countries as well, and scientists excavate them and do research in this regard... We too are busy studying the hill of Toroq, and as soon as we are fully assured of our deductions, we shall publish them for our readers further knowledge".

On page 544 of his memoirs, written in 1888, the same author thus speaks of his strict precision in compiling the information on historic relics:

"Having lunched, I came home. Several gold and silver coins had been brought in from Qazvin. I set upon reading them. I leafed through two hundred volumes, until, with great difficulty, they were found. It is from the Arab kings of Hormoz Island, who ruled in the Safavid period, before Shāh 'Abbās the Great...",

and then bemoans the lack of appreciation for these initiatives:

"After the Shāh's lunch, I returned home. I ate dinner and went to bed. In the evening, I read the coins His Majesty's attendants had given me to read, making a notebook which I sent for His attention. These coins and seals had been brought in from Dinvar. They included Sassanian coins in Pahlavi script and Arsacid ones in Greek script, and the seals were in Kufic script. As for the meanings, the three scripts and the dead and lost language were quite readily read, and the notebook sent, yet no signs appeared as to whether He is aware of my ability for such feats. Thus, having had supper with Mohaqqaq-Khān, I went to bed" (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:879).

This attention included the reparations of historic monuments as well:

"[AD 1885] ...then the mausoleum of the Seljuq Toghrol, laying half in ruins, which He ordered to be fully repaired, and a garden was also projected there ..." (E'temād-os-Saltaneh, 1966:354).

Several pages later (p.360) in the same memoirs, one reads:

"... this month's Sharaf gazette, which features four illustrations, one of Hassan-'Ali-Khān Amir-Nezām, one of Mirzā-Mahmood-Khān, another of Toghrol Tower in a state of disrepair, and a fourth again of Toqrol Tower after restoration and repair. When at home, I put both pages together. Upon reaching 'Eshrat-Ābād, I offered them to the Shāh's attention. I informed His Majesty that the details concerning Toqrol Tower are also included in the gazette ...",

which shows a total awareness concerning repairs of historic monuments.

³⁹ E'temād-os-Saltaneh, *Matla'-osh-Shams* (Travel account), Farhangh-Sara Press, Tehran, 1984.

The restoration of historic monuments can be examined from two points of view: firstly, buildings which have to be repaired being currently in use; and secondly, repairs carried out in order to preserve the historic values of the edifices concerned. As Mostafavi (1955:5) points out: "Mohammad-Hassan Khān E'temād-os Saltaneh, in Chapter Seven of his *Ma'āser w-al Āsār* (Tehran, 1927), concerning the construction activities conducted under Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh, includes a list of alterations made in the existing monuments, but all these activities fall within the first category, being intended for prolongation purposes. An interesting narration of the repair works accomplished on the Dome of Soltāniyeh, which seem to have been rather effected to prevent it from collapsing, is to be found in the biography of Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh's brother, 'Abbās-Mirzā Molk-Ārā (1946:66-9):

"... To sum things up, the day the Shāh entered Soltāniyeh [1916], ... he gave orders to have the dome repaired, saying it would be regretful it were to collapse and disappear... I enquired about the sources from which the repair expenses would come. Pausing a while, he had an order for a sum of 4,000 tomāns written out by the Army Commander in Chief, telling him, 'Give the money you were to spend on your army to have the reparation done!' The Commander in Chief duly delivered the payment order, and, escorting the Shāh, we went to the camp." "... Mirzā Yusof Mostowfi-ol-Mamālek cabled me not to touch upon the military budget, no money being available to pay the troops, let alone repair monuments. In his opinion, the matter would better be left to the next year, and that, were I to spend a dinār, no money would be forthcoming. So, I did not begin the work." "... News of His Majesty the Shāh's return by way of Rasht were received. Immediately upon reaching Anzali, instead of a present in condolence of my mother's recent departure, he sent me a telegram asking: 'What have you done about the reparation of the Dome of Soltāniyeh?' I replied that Mostowfi-ol-Mamālek had told me that no a dinār spent would be reimbursed and that the matter would be better left to the next year. Angered at this reply, he had a violently degrading telegram sent and, in the end, ordered me to go to Soltāniyeh and get busy with the reparations. I was most terrified at these alterations..."

Although this prince later sought refuge in Russia, the repair of the Dome of Soltāniyeh remaining unfinished, the above mentioned event illustrates the Shāh's interest in the monument of Soltāniyeh in terms of its historic value.

In studying the opinions of authorities on what went on in that period in terms of cultural heritage, perhaps the words of Agha Najafi (Hāj-Sayyāh) in his memoirs (1984:41), can be sufficiently enlightening:

"[AD 1838]... Nowhere have I seen a country so miserable as Iran, or a people so wretched as its population. In other countries, they not only carefully preserve meagre, non-famous relics, but, painstakingly and at great expense, have the ancient relics of all the countries of the world dug out from several zar' under the ground and transported

to their countries, where they discover and record, with astonishing detail, the histories of the objects and their owners, and are proud of such activities".

Momtāhen-od-Dowleh, probably the first Iranian architect to graduate in France, writes in these terms about the pillage and destruction of relics (1974:121-2):

"[AD 1857] If only His Highness Soltān-Mass'ud-Mirzā Zell-os-Soltān's violation of Safavid historic buildings would end, and he would refrain from spitefully destroying that glorious dynasty's relics, and their beauty was still vivid. Whatever happened to the majestic entrance arch of Hezār-Jarib Garden? Yes, they said he had donated it to Ebrāhim-Khān, his own Farrāsh-bāshi, who was to demolish it and use the materials to build himself a house and complete the construction of Hazrat-e Vālā's building in Abrisham Garden. What a great pity! Whatever happened to the twin Namakdān buildings? One had two tile-covered domes which, between sunrise and sunset, displayed a whole range of colours, but that unjust prince gave it as a gift to the photographer Mirzā-Rezā, famous as Hakim and son of Minā-Sāz, who spent the price of those tiles with metallic reflects on frolicking and revelry.

Whatever happened to the Tālār-e Tavileh, famous as Tārikh-e Jahān? It was presented to Mirzā-'Abd-ol-Vahhāb Shāter-bāshi.

Whatever befell Chahār-Bāgh Avenue and those flower-beds, those calls of 'Don't pick! Don't pick!' by which the gardeners' children, seated in balconies overlooking the avenue, used to discourage people from picking flowers?"

Hāj-'Abd-ol-Ghaffar Najm-ol-Molk likewise expresses his distress of the destruction and looting of relics due to an offer of immense sums in an impoverished country as Iran (1962:5):

"[AD 1881]... as well as the mausoleum of 'Ali ibn Ab-ol-Ma'ālī in the year 761, which are valuable ancient monuments [in Qom], but alas, they have no watchman, and on the one hand European explorers take their artifacts away, and on the other they are harmed by disasters".

Elsewhere in the same author's memoirs (1962:7), one reads:

"[AD 1881] I saw good molded and tessellated tiles on the mehrāb of a mosque [in Kāshān]. They are most admirable and precious, and farangis [Europeans] would buy just the lot for at least two-thousand tomāns, but alas, in the end, by some device or another, take them away they will".

In order to convey a palpable impression of the sum involved (2,000 tomāns), reference is given to the prices of several items as listed at the time by Momtāhen-od-Dowleh (1974:147):

"[AD 1858]... I was making do with ten shāhis [1 shāhi = 1/200 tomān] a day, and, at that time, ten shāhis was a great sum for an individual, for bread cost five shāhis a 'man' [3 kg], meat was sold for one 'abbāsi [1/20 toman] a chārak [3/4 kg], superior Marseilles sugar cost four qerāns [1/10 tomān], four 'man's [12 Kg] of cooking oil cost twelve qerāns [1/2 toman], rice cost two riāls a 'rey' [4 'man's], and goods were plenty ... yoghurt was at three 'pul's a chārak and forty eggs cost one qerān".

This means that the sum foreigners were willing to pay for a few tiles equalled the daily livelihood expenses of 40,000 people⁴⁰. Clearly, in the face of such offers being made to a people and a government both living in dire poverty as a result of the Qājār court's mis-management and extravagances, no resistance can exist. And it was on the same grounds that the French, in exchange for a gift of only 10,000 tomāns, were able to secure their exclusivity of excavations throughout Iran in 1900.

5.3. THE AGREEMENT OF 1900

Unfortunately, Iran experienced the worst economic conditions at the dawn of the 20th century. The solution adopted by the Court to create income is that of concluding agreements with foreign governments and selling them the monopolies of the country's treasures; so as to cover the expenses of the Shāh's pleasure tours of Europe. Space does not allow relating all that Iran sustained, and the unspeakable cruelty the powerful European countries, particularly Russia, Great Britain and France, inflicted upon it. Yet, the author believes that, by reflecting upon just one of these agreements, namely that of 1900, which is relevant to his research, one can nevertheless realize the depth of the tragedy.

As already explained, the multitude of explorers who travelled to Iran, and their reports on its historic sites and ancient monuments, incited a number of their compatriots to undertake the same voyage for various purposes. Undeniably, a number of those explorers had scientific and cultural motives, but let us hear, in his own words, about those of the French Loftus, who in 1850 began excavations, which lasted four years, in the highly important site of Shush:

"An intense eagerness to obtain important and attractive artifacts befitting museums in the shortest time and with the least expense..." (Shahmirzādi, 1991:20).

Motives of this kind, the readiness of the ruling class to offer anything for a sum of cash money, the economic and political expansionism of European powers, and ultimately the enticement of the Shāh and his entourage, using the abhorrent weapon of bribery and exerting influence in every circle, all led to the monopoly of excavations in Iran being

⁴⁰ Sa'id Nafissi rates the average annual expenses of each European in this period at the equivalent of 100 tomāns (1966:20).

granted to the French, once by Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh in 1895, and again by Mozaffar-ed-Din Shāh in 1900.

Not only was the French government busy corrupting the relevant authorities through its ambassador, but, as Jane Dieulafoy (1985:3) has recorded:

"When our ambassador again entered into talks with the Iranian government, Dr. Toulousain, the Shāh's private physician, appealed directly to the Shāh, arousing his interest for archaeological excavations, which would reveal the resplendent history of his ancient predecessors[!]".

About Dr. Toulousain, E'temād-os-Saltaneh writes (1985:1006):

"[AD 1895]... Note that this decrepit, stupid, odious Toulousain, although he has four hundred thousand tomāns of cash money in his bank account in France, is over eighty years old, and earns a yearly salary of six thousand tomāns in Iran, his cupidity and greed are such that, in order to get a single tomān, he has been, and is, giving away his religion and government. The creation of the British Bank in Iran was done through the intermediary of this odious individual. The Tobacco Régie company came to Iran through him. Now he intends to lure our king and benefactor to borrow again two korur tomans [1 korur = 500,000] from the British, and, for three or four months now, he has been busy with this plot, colluding with the Chancellor to both eliminate the Chancellor and benefit from this borrowing".

Moreover, as attested in the travel accounts of Hāj-Zein-ol-'Ābedin Marāghe'i (1908:153), bribes were also handed out to the Shāh's entourage to secure this monopoly:

"[AD 1885] In exchange for this treasure, the Chancellor Mirzā-'Ali-Asghar Khān took 15,000 tomāns for himself and thereupon granted its monopoly".

Now that we are a little more familiar with the situation prevailing in the period in question, we shall look into the agreements. First, we shall introduce that agreement of 1895, and then compare it with the one concluded in 1900. The author believes that the contents of both agreements so clearly describe the matter as to dispense him with the need of adding any explanations (previous quotations and these two agreements are translated into English by the Author for the first time).

Concerning the Monopoly of Discovering Antiquities in the Protected Kingdoms of Iran (12 May 1895)

First Chapter. In view of the time-honoured union and unblemished friendship which, fortunately since long ago, exist between the two mighty governments of Iran and France, His Most Sacred Omnipotent Imperial Majesty, the Shāhanshāh of all the Protected Kingdoms of Iran, may his rule prosper, grants the monopoly of excavating antiquities throughout the Iranian soil.

Second Chapter. Are excluded from this monopoly, all venerable sacred localities such as mosques and mausoleums, and the French scientists who will supervise the excavation works shall respect and abide by all the customs, traditions and mores of the country.

Third Chapter. All the expenses of excavation works will be paid by the French government, and the Sublime Government of Iran shall in no way participate in expenditures.

Fourth Chapter. At any time the government of the French Republic notifies the authorities of the Sublime Government of Iran of its intentions to set upon exploring and excavating in a definite place, the Sublime Government shall appoint a knowledgeable, capable official to assist in providing the relevant necessities and, paying due respects to the French scientists, carefully observe that the conditions stipulated in the monopoly are respected and fulfilled by both parties; and also, as the French Embassy wishes to assume entire responsibility toward the Sublime Government of Iran, during the excavations of scientists, a member of the French Embassy shall be dispatched to be present wherever excavations are effected and exert total watch upon everything.

Fifth Chapter. The French government promises to forbid its envoys from printing and publishing any description of the excavations without their impression and publication being authorized and justified.

Sixth Chapter. Precious artifacts such as gold- and silver-ware, if found, shall be the strict property of the Sublime Government of Iran, but, as French citizens will have toiled to discover them, if they are willing to acquire these, the Iranian government shall sell one half of same, at an equitable price, and the other half, were the Sublime Government of Iran willing to sell it, shall be sold in priority to the French government.

Seventh Chapter. From whatever relief sculptures, statues and inscriptions are discovered, they can make copies or molds, and one half of what is found shall belong to the French government.

Eighth Chapter. In exchange for this special consideration given by the mighty government of Iran and His Most Sacred Omnipotent Imperial Majesty, may his rule perdure, to the request of the French government, the French government shall remit the sum of ten thousand tomāns to His Most Sacred Omnipotent Imperial Majesty.

Two copies were written and exchanged in Tehran. Date: 12 May 1895⁴¹.

⁴¹ The texts of both agreements were copied from those introduced by Mr. Ma'ssumi (1972:5).

According to the terms of this agreement, Monsieur de Morgan, a mining engineer working in the Office of Egyptian Antiquities prior to his travel to Iran, made the journey and spent 15 years carrying out excavations in one of the most important historic sites in the world, namely Shush (Shahmirzādi, 1991:30). These activities were continued along several decades by de Morgan's French successors, and, as we will see in the next Chapter, even after the terms of the agreement in question were revoked by the Parliament, Iran was to pay indemnities in this concern; which it did, most heavily indeed, as we will see.

The conclusion of this agreement elicited a negative reaction among the intellectuals who became aware of it. E'temād-os-Saltaneh, who is recorded to have taken part in some excavations, thus writes on this matter in his memoirs (1966:1047):

"[AD 1895] In the evening, I paid a visit to Dr. Schindler, who is in a better health now. There, I heard that the Iranian Government has accepted a gift of ten thousand tomāns and authorized a French company to excavate and discover valuables lying underground since ancient times. If the government itself would methodically and diligently carry out this task, it could reap over one hundred korur in cash and one hundred thousand korur and more in scientific benefit. Yet, appeal having been made to a civilized nation, in the least perhaps our descendants will enjoy a scientific profit from this discovery of antiquities..."

Elsewhere in the same memoirs (1966:1008), one reads:

"[AD 1895] ...as I hear, Toulousain has obtained the monopoly of excavations and gold-washing throughout Iran. Up to now he was concerned with Iran's face and honour; at present he is interested in our beneath and nether parts".

Another example of such protestations is to be found in the memoirs of Hāj-Zein-ol-'Ābedin Marāghe'i (1908:133):

"[AD 1895] Notable events have not occurred to cause this inconvenience, excepted that, a few days ago, through the intermediary of the French plenipotentiary ambassador, the monopoly of the discovery of antiquities in Shushtar, Hamadān, etc. was given to a French company. Although the Iranian people are unaware of such concerns, those who know the evil outcome of such actions are adrift in a sea of sorrow and pain [at seeing] that all those boundless treasures of our ancestors, which our motherland had long preserved in her bosom for the Iranians and were worth millions, have been given away in exchange for a European benediction. In exchange for this treasure, the Chancellor Mirzā-'Ali-Asghar Khān took 15,000 tomāns for himself and thereupon granted its monopoly. Despite the share that has been promised to the government, it is certain that the supervisor to be appointed by the government shall be swiftly silenced, and that will be all. But the nation's men of honour are as forbidden from digging Iranian soil for ancient relics as are people from stabbing a man's heart and tearing out his liver in lawful countries. As compared with this monopoly, a hundred blessings be upon that of the Tobacco Régie. From that deal, every old woman acquired the right to smoke, yet cries rose sky high, but in this case no one thought to have any right, and the

government, refrained by its ignorance, had no say in the matter. If only they would give the former and leave the latter. All learned people know how much of Iran's wealth and authority has been lost by this monopoly".

It is interesting that the French de Morgan (1956:12) expects greater flexibility on the part of Iran in signing such an agreement, saying⁴²:

"In 1894, the French Plenipotentiary and Ambassador Extraordinary, the sire René de Balloy, who also entertained a close friendship with the Persian Court, was able to obtain the consent of His Majesty Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh to the conclusion of an agreement attributing exclusive rights of archaeological research throughout the Empire of Iran to the French Government. The two governments' negotiations were put into application pending the signature of the agreement. These took around three years to complete, because drafting the terms of this agreement was truly complicated. The Iranian Government wished the agreement to be drafted in very courteous terms accompanied with full political ostentation, while our representative was attentive to have the persons to whom the implementation of the agreement would be entrusted to be aloof from complications which will undoubtedly arise from our racial differences with the Iranian peoples".

One year after the conclusion of this agreement, the Shāh was assassinated. In order to revive the agreement and obtain the new Shāh's obligation, on 11 August 1900 another agreement was concluded, which many considered to be similar to the former (Ma'sumi 1972), (Shahmirzādi 1991), but must rather be judged as being grossly shameful. The following are the contents of the agreement of 1900.

First Chapter. The respected French envoys are authorized to prospect throughout Iran, excepted in emānzādehs, mosques and Muslim graveyards and sanctuaries, and must deal respectfully and gently with the population of the country, refraining from actions contravening ethics and the law.

Second Chapter. The French government pledges to remit the equivalent in gold and silver money of any gold or silver items eventually discovered to the treasury of the Iranian government, and all the remaining items shall be divided in two equal parts between these two countries; excepted for those found in the vicinity of Shush, which without compensation belong to the French government.

Third Chapter. Gold and silver items discovered must be weighed by a French official, with the knowledge of the local governor, and once their weight is determined, its price must be remitted by the French embassy to the Iranian government.

⁴² de Morgan, J., Travel Account of de Morgan 1908, translation of Qā'em-Maqāmi, Tahoori Press, Tehran, 1956.

Fourth Chapter. French envoys are authorized to take photographs, draw maps and make molds of all sculptures, whether built or inscribed, belonging to non-Muslim buildings.

Fifth Chapter. The Sublime Government of Iran is committed to assuring the respectful treatment of the French scientists, safeguarding their lives and properties, securing their housing, providing for the transportation of their equipment, and facilitating their works and travels between its cities.

Sixth Chapter. Whenever the French government intends to set upon a discovery, it must notify the Iranian government, who will dispatch a knowledgeable, competent official to the site, to assure the security of the respectable envoys' lives and properties, cater for their working necessities, and watch that the government's terms are abided by.

Seventh Chapter. The respectable French scientists are authorized to build whatever kind of warehouse or building they may need for their work, whether as their own and their guards' lodgings, or as storage locales for their own antiquities.

Eighth Chapter. Whatever parcel reaches them or is sent by them, no one in the country is entitled to inspect or perceive duties upon them. These may be inspected only in the Customs Office at the border of the country.

Ninth Chapter. The French government assumes the entire expenses of its envoys, excepting those required to assure the security of its respected envoys, which will be paid by the Sublime Government.

Tenth Chapter. All previous agreements cited in the present new agreement are totally annulled, as both countries deem appropriate.

Eleventh Chapter. The Sublime Government of Iran pledges to proclaim to the governors of all its countries that whatever is written in this new agreement must be acknowledged and put into effect.

Comparing and analyzing the two above mentioned agreements, the following points can be deduced:

- In the text of the first agreement, it is the Shāh of Iran who, with extensive and pompous titles, is granting an authorization of excavation to the French, whereas in the second, we are faced with the sentence "The respected French envoys are authorized to prospect throughout Iran, ...", which speaks of the sad political situation of Iran.

- The first agreement's independent statement concerning the respect of religious localities and popular beliefs has, in the second agreement, been incorporated into the second article, and the sentence "... shall respect and abide by all the customs, traditions and mores of the country." has become "refraining from actions contravening ethics and the law."

- The second and third articles of the second agreement deal with gold and silver artifacts. Their very inclusion indicates the aim of the agreement. It is most interesting that, while other objects are to be equally divided among the two parties, in the case of gold or silver artifacts, the French are only to pay their raw metal equivalent, and allowed to appropriate the whole lot. In the third article, following the dispositions for weighing these items, one reads "and once their weight is determined, its price must be remitted by the French embassy to the Iranian government.", which means that no way exists for Iran to appropriate these items; and this was the aim which dealers of cultural properties pursued under the disguise of scientific exploration. Comparing these two articles with the first six of the older agreement, which state that "Precious artifacts such as gold- and silver-ware, if found, shall be the strict property of the Sublime Government of Iran, ...", well illustrate the difference between the two agreements. And in corollary, French property over everything to be unearthed from the immense complex of Shush is officially recognized in the second agreement, while such a clause does not exist in the first⁴³.

- In the first agreement, no mention is made of provisions for housing, etc., whereas the fifth article of the second stipulates that the Iranian government is responsible for "securing their housing, providing for the transportation of their equipment, and facilitating their works and travels between its cities."

- In the fourth article of the first agreement, the French are committed, in order to fulfil their responsibilities, to dispatch a member of their embassy on site, while this condition has been dropped from the second agreement.

⁴³ Let us bear in mind that whatever was found elsewhere in the country could be listed as having been unearthed in Shush.

- In the fifth article of the first agreement, the rights of printing and publishing the results of excavations (scientific excavation reports) are made conditional upon the assent and permission of both parties, whereas, in the second, the matter has been dropped altogether, so that, even to the present day, all scientific information and reports of excavations have been published in French, inflicting an irreparable scientific loss to the progress of Iranians' knowledge about the relics of their own motherland which were appropriated by foreigners.

- The seventh article of the second agreement authorizes the French to "build whatever kind of warehouse or building they may need for their work, whether as their own and their guards' lodgings, or as storage locales for their own antiquities." It should be noted that, according to international laws of diplomacy, a country can only have an embassy and a residence for its ambassador, who enjoys political and judicial immunity, on another country's soil. Yet, by virtue of this article, the French were allowed to build such immune edifices wherever they wished in Iran. In the following chapters, we shall see that this occupation of some places in Iran lasted well over a hundred year, until after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, and culminating in an interesting anecdote.

- The eighth article is totally new. Those familiar with the details of excavation operations know that only the excavators are aware of what is discovered, and that, if they are allowed to pack and send items to the border, the only hindrance to their exit, even if the border post does have a customs office, is a functionary whose silence can be readily secured, at a time when the king sells the rights of excavating throughout the country for 10,000 tomāns.

It was in the face of such ruthless domination of the Iranian cultural patrimony, which later continued in various forms, that, not only intellectuals and scholarly minds, but all those who thereafter studied the history of that period, have already been suspicious of any kind of foreign involvement in the country's cultural heritage.

In the following chapter, we shall study how and why this agreement was revoked, and the developments which took place in the process.

5.4. CONCLUSION

This Chapter attempts to depict the situation of cultural heritage in Iran up to the year 1900. Evidence is presented to show that historic relics' capability of transmitting messages and the necessity of preserving them have long been recognized in Iran. Beside natural causes, which have been the main factors of erosion of historic remains, the annihilation of testimonies to preceding rules by new ones and the re-utilization of historic monuments' construction materials have been the major human factors contributing to the ruin of historic relics. An examination of opinions expressed by Islamic thinkers clearly expresses their abhorrence of historic relics being harmed. Repairs carried out on monuments of the Islamic period can be cited as examples of the attention paid in this period to the conservation of remains from the past.

Serious harm to relics, particularly historic sites, begins under Qājār rule. What was done in the past on a minor scale and with the aim of hunting "treasures" now embraces all categories of relics, leading to the loss of many sites and monuments. The reasons for this course of events are the people's unawareness of the values of the relics and the rulers' ignorance and cupidity, compounded by the appearance of Europeans interested in identifying and appropriating historic artistic remains, for which they were willing to pay any price.

Europeans first became interested in Iran for political and military reasons, gradually developing an interest in its historic relics as well. Their attitude in this period, which was more profit-oriented than culture-minded, left adverse effects on Iranian society, which was not yet sufficiently aware of the importance of its cultural patrimony. The conclusion of the agreement of 1895 between Iran and France and its amendment and reinforcement in 1900, as well as the standpoint of the society concerning it, best express the situation of cultural heritage in Iran during this period.

What can, therefore, be learnt for the future is that:

- The historic depth of the Iranian people's relationship with their cultural heritage must not be disregarded, even if, at times, the prevailing social conditions have prevented their aspirations from being fully expressed socially;
- The traditional attitude toward historic relics must not be allowed to yield in the face of events leading to the emergence of imported perspectives;

- Preventing relics from being harmed and, even more important, developing related activities, cannot come about solely through the awareness of intellectuals within the society, but also requires popular awareness and presence at crucial moments.
- Social unawareness of the value of historic remains encourages all kinds of misuse. Therefore, the most urgent measure to be taken is to the adoption of laws capable of enhancing the public's awareness in every way.
- What befell Iran's cultural heritage at the hands of Qājār kings was not exclusive to that period; it was the outcome of the ignorance, the cupidity and the prevalence of social conditions which can always recur. Therefore, in order to avoid their repetition in the future, all contributing factors must be confronted.
- Distinction must be made between true values of historic relics and impressions created on the society as a result of misuse of these relics. Efforts must be made to expose each misuse to the contemporary Iranian society, so that the sombre image left behind can be rectified.
- The profit-oriented destruction of sites and monuments, with its long past, is not a phenomenon belonging to the past, and confronting it requires precise identification and pertinent legislation.
- A relationship between foreigners and the cultural heritage of Iran appears inevitable. But in view of its antecedents, the relationship should also be examined and analyzed in terms of social psychology, paving the way for the adoption of balanced policies.

The developments which occurred in the early 20th century and under the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979) add new dimensions to the problem. The dynastic transition, the outbreak of two World Wars, the omnipresence of the USA in Iran, the spread of western values in the society, the increase of oil revenues, etc. deeply affect Iranian social relationships, of which cultural heritage affairs are a part. An examination of these developments are the subject of the next Chapter.

Cultural Heritage in Iran 1900-1979

6.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous Chapter, we saw how, by the end of the Qājār period, i.e. the closing decade of the 19th century, the cultural heritage of Iran was threatened with destruction and annihilation, owing to the cupidity and ignorance of the rulers and the plundering pursued by foreigners. Gradually, with the changes which occurred in the world and Iran in the early 20th century, new policies were imposed upon the country, and consequently upon its cultural current. The victory of the "Constitutional Revolution" (1906), the change of monarchy from the Qājār to the Pahlavi dynasty (1925), the outbreak of World Wars I and II, the considerable changes in Arab countries due to the downfall of the Ottoman Empire (1920), the appearance and involvement of the new American power on the international scene, the alteration of the power scheme of alien forces influential in Iran, the removal of Rezā Shāh and his replacement with Mohammad-Rezā Shāh (1941), all lay the ground for major changes in Iranian social and cultural life.

In this Chapter, after a brief glance upon the conditions prevailing in this period and an examination of the principal factors affecting the adoption of social and cultural policies in its course, we first examine the fate of our cultural heritage from the time of signing of the agreement of 1900 until the downfall of the Qājār dynasty and the appearance of Rezā Shāh. This is of immense importance because this chapter of the history of Iranian cultural heritage has seldom, or perhaps never, been surveyed before, while it holds items which are interesting from our point of view. So much so that even Mostafavi (1955:13), who, in the opinion of most writers dealing with cultural heritage, was long active monitoring and reviving historic vestiges (Shahmirzādi 1991:41) (Ma'sumi: 1971:158) and published the first report on the contemporary history of cultural heritage activities in Iran, thus speaks about this period:

"... Under the Constitution, until the advent of the Pahlavi era, no knowledge or trace exists of historic relics being repaired, and it is from 1330 AS [1921] onward that interest and action gradually appear toward the preservation and restoration of vestiges of the past..."

The author, having examined various documents related to these years, which are in the custody of the librarian of the Irān-e Bāstān Museum Library and were put at his disposition for the first time, will try to depict a picture, albeit sketchy, of this decisive period. Then, focusing on the turning points of the evolution of policy-making about the cultural heritage, such as the inclinations of Rezā Shāh, the creation of the Society for the Conservation of National Monuments and its aims, the Law of Antiquities of 1930, the effects upon Iran of the European developments of the 1960s and 70s, the creation of the Organization for the Conservation of Ancient Iranian Monuments and other factors affecting this course of events, he will attempt to examine the situation of Iranian cultural heritage policies and depict the general attitude of the population and the government toward these policies until the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

At the close of the 19th century, the 50-year-old reign of Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh (1849-1896) came to an end. Early in the 20th century, the factors affecting the fate of Iran became more clearly discernible. In fact, struggle and victory were among these factors, which took the shape of the Islamic Revolution near the end of this century. Under Qājār rule, particularly after the accession of Fath-'Ali Shāh, the fate of Iran was determined directly by Russian and British interests. Beside their immediate benefits in Iran, Russia, as Iran's powerful northern neighbour, was eager to reach the warm waters of the Persian Gulf and the Gate of India through Iran, and Great Britain, as its eastern neighbour since its dominion of India, and as the rival of Russia and France, strived at preserving its interests in the region of the Middle East and Central Asia (Welāyati, 1994:5). And the French, all along this period, particularly under Napoleon and his policies of expansion in the Middle East, were affecting Iranian political affairs. French influence can be attributed to the numerous travels of Iranian monarchs to France and the relatively higher number of this country's citizens graduating in France. Of course, by mid-Pahlavi era, with the growth of American influence (1953), this considerable cultural influence was diverted to the United States.

As historic evidence shows, in this period, on the one hand the Iranian ruling class, which in a sense was crystallized in the Shāh's person, was not concerned with the fate of the country, and on the other, the countries seeking their own interests in Iran were busy imposing their will, by virtue of the capabilities they had acquired through the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The partition of large parts of Iran, the determination of

its prime ministers, the acquisition of various monopolies, such as those concerning railways, fisheries and, as we saw in the previous Chapter, the French purchase of exclusive rights of excavation in Iran in exchange for ten thousand tomāns, all derived from such relations. This is when (1901) the Iranian government sold the license for prospecting for oil on its soil for a period of sixty years, for a sum of 20,000 Pounds Sterling, to a certain William Knox D'Arcy ('Āqeli, 1991b, vol.1, p.18).

The people perceived the ominous effects of such actions. In the face of this course of events, a Constitutional movement aimed at creating a parliament and giving control of the country to the people's representatives was created. Facing the court and the foreigners stood a faction comprising of three groups: the intellectuals, the clergymen and the population at large¹. The intellectuals' model of struggle against despotism was the democracy of Western countries. Their means of action were newspapers, which were relatively quite varied but only published with a limited circulation². The clergymen, relying on the teachings of Islam, which forbid the hegemony of non-Muslims upon Muslims, the deprivation of people from being the masters of their fates and the dispersion of public funds (*Beit-ol-Māl*), pursued their fight against the Court. The people, who endured the greatest difficulties arising from the disarray of the country, constituted the only determining, and practically the sole existing, factor facing despotism. Because of their strong religious beliefs, and in view of their direct contact with the clergy, through the network of clergymen and mosques, which were the only places of assembly and expression, carried on the fight against despotism under their leadership³.

The movement known by the Iranians as the Constitutional Revolution, which in fact took as much effort as any other revolution before achieving victory in 1906, notwithstanding its culmination in the adoption of a parliamentary system in Iran, failed to fulfil the real aspirations of the people, owing to the continuation of monarchy and foreign influence. But it seems that the emergence of this movement bore two clear results for the

¹For further information in this regard, see Eugène Aubin's *Iran Today*, translated by Sa'id Nafissi, Zavvār Book store, Tehran, 1983.

²For further information in this regard, see Sadr-e Hashemi, *The history of the Iranian press*, Kamal Press, 4vol., 1984, Tehran.

³ For further information in this regard, see 'Ali Davāni's collection of books on the Movement of the Clergy in Iran, Tehran, 1981.

observers of Iranian political events, whether local or foreign, which were highly significant in terms of the country's future policies: Firstly, in view of all the prevailing conditions, the continuation of the past despotism and the plunder of Iranian interests as practised in the 18th and 19th centuries is no more so possible; and secondly, the only power capable of some day arousing the people to defend the country's interests is the clergy. The ulterior policies adopted in the country clearly speak of the correctness of this view.

More than others, Great Britain, discerning the situation and realizing that the despotic system was no more viable and that the moribund carcass of the Qājār dynasty could be kept alive no longer, proclaimed itself on the side of the Constitutionalists and put its embassy at their disposal. Thus Russia was practically left in confrontation with the people, who came to abhor it yet more than in the past. In a telegram sent to London on September 4th 1906 by the British plenipotentiary in Tehran, one reads:

*"As information has come in, the Russian embassy is attempting to convince the Shāh to revoke the Constitution recently given to the people. Their reasons for such action are that the prestige of Great Britain in Iran has greatly risen with the people seeking refuge in the Imperial British Embassy and that they are fearful of complications in the Caucasus if a parliament comes into being here"*⁴ (Āqeli, 1991b, vol.1, p.27).

This conflict of interests resulted, in 1907, in the signature of an agreement between Russia and Great Britain, whereby Iran was divided into two zones, the northern under Russian influence and the southern one dominated by the British; which elicits further popular protest. With the advent of World War I, although Iran repeatedly asserted its neutrality, the country was invaded by the two above mentioned countries. In 1919, paying 130,000 Pounds Sterling to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the British signed an agreement with Iran which paved the ground for the total dominion by Great Britain over Iran. Terenzio (1985:216), in his *Russo-British Rivalries in Iran and Afghanistan*, writes:

"Had the agreement of 1919 been applied, the British government would have invaded the whole of Iran as a base against Bolshevism, but it eventually gained no important results. And those anxieties were not entirely

⁴The original text of the telegram being inaccessible, a translation of the Persian text is presented.

unfounded, because the wave of propaganda that was being broadcast from the north was, to a degree, preparing the ground for the development of nationalism in Iran and Afghanistan, and moving in a direction definitely opposite to that of British interests".

The events which came to pass in Iran during this period were so bitter and astounding that their effects are felt even to the present day (Welāyati, 1994:11). It is with a knowledge of these effects that one can perceive the reason why, after the Islamic Revolution, not one foreigner has been present in any of Iranian cultural heritage affairs; a view which undoubtedly remains a prime factor in future policy-making for the cultural heritage of Iran.

The simultaneous appearance of Rezā-Khān in Iran (1920), Atatürk in Turkey (1919) and Amānollah-Khān in Afghanistan (1920), and their pursuit of broadly similar policies, probably indicates a concerted plan for the countries of this region, which, if proven true, can be investigated in order to reach the principal reasons and roots of their cultural actions. But such an investigation falls beyond the limits of the present study.

What accrues from this introduction, and concerns this study, is the body of principles guiding the cultural and social policies, which, as mentioned before, are the outcome of the long-acquired experience of the role played by the factions active in the country, namely the court, the intellectuals, the clergy and the people. These principles are: nationalism, de-Islamization and Westernization. At least three factors made an interest in nationalism inevitable: the people's weariness, to the very limit of explosion, of the despotic rule and the bad conditions prevailing in the country; growing popular awareness of progress in Europe and the probability of the society becoming inclined toward promising ideals put forth by our northern neighbour (Russia), following the October Revolution of 1917. It is notable that any wrong move in Iran could have major effects in the region, particularly in view of the fragile situation in India. The solution, therefore, was to resort to a kind of nationalism emerging in the region in the form of an apparently national government which deploys efforts at the country's revival, and not only sets right the past harms, but also reduces the development gap between the country and the European nations, thus eliminating the danger of its turning toward communism.

Meanwhile, past experience showed that an increase in nationalistic feelings entailed the danger of losing control of the society, in view of the religious tendencies existing in it. So, in order to keep in control, the existing potential force, that is the religious beliefs, which could arouse the vast majority of the population against foreign interests, were to be forgotten. Therefore the second principle, i.e. de-Islamization, became indispensable. Measures had to be taken to weaken Islamic creeds and reduce the influence of clergymen. Not only in Iran, but in Afghanistan and Turkey as well, this programme came first and foremost. In *The First Turkish Republic*, R. Robinson writes (1963:76):

"The first thing that had to be done in creating a modern secular Turkey, but which most reform leaders of the past had desisted from saying (or succeeded in doing), was the unseating of religious authority".

At the same time, Amānollāh-Khan likewise initiated a multitude of programmes aimed at undermining Islam in Afghanistan (Wāhed, 1982:35). It should be borne in mind that although religious power, unlike the bitter memories it evokes in Europeans, bears a particular significance among Muslims (Khomeini, 1964), yet the programmes put into effect in this direction reveal that the efforts made were aimed at weakening Islamic beliefs rather than religious despotism⁵.

As we will see in this Chapter, until the outbreak of World War II, these principles were openly and intensively applied in all cultural domains, including policies governing cultural heritage. After WW II, with the succession of Rezā Shāh's son to his father, and the ensuing greater American control over Iran (Mansoori, 1984), on the assumption that de-Islamization policies had been successful and that the country now resided in the hands of pro-American technocrats, changes are made in the application of the three principles and their effects on cultural policies.

Finally, the appearance of new trends concerning cultural heritage, mostly under the aegis of Mohammad-Rezā Shah's third consort and her entourage, will acquaint us with the general atmosphere governing the cultural heritage on the eve of the Islamic Revolution. The developments of cultural heritage affairs after the victory of the Islamic Revolution will be studied in the following Chapter.

⁵For further information in this regard, see 'Ali Davāni's collection of books on the Movement of the Clergy in Iran, Tehran, 1983.

6.2. THE SITUATION BEFORE THE REIGN OF REZĀ SHĀH (1920)

The study of documents remaining from this period can yield innumerable points each able to throw light on a facet of the country's cultural heritage problems. But admittedly, the documents are widely scattered and hardly accessible, even those existing in governmental archives and directly relevant to cultural heritage in this period have scarcely been studied⁶. Here, firstly in order to correct mistakes in the manner in which certain important events of this period have been reported, and secondly in order to present several points which can perhaps deliver a clearer picture of these years, we examine several documents of which photographic reproductions were put at the disposal of the author. These documents are examined chronologically and reproduced in their original form and consecutively numbered in Appendix III. As required, complete or partial translations of these documents are included in the text⁷.

Document No. 1 was issued in 1910 by the Central Office of Antiquities, affiliated to the Ministry of Sciences, Bequeaths and Public Utilities. It bears the governmental seal (Lion and Sun) and is addressed to a Mirzā-Rezā Khān Mostowfi. It reads:

"As has been reported to the Office of Antiquities, it appears that you have sold an amount of antique objects to the Gramophone shop. Please do come two hours before noon tomorrow, a Thursday, to the Ministry of Sciences, to explain whence you have acquired the above mentioned antiquities, and how it is that you have sold them without the knowledge of the Office of Antiquities; and why, now that you have sold them, their official duties have not reached the Ministry".

This document, reproduced alongside two similar ones numbered 1.1 and 1.2, contains several significant points. Up to the present, the creation date of the Office of Antiquities, which took on the responsibility of the government toward ancient relics, was believed to be 1919. In 1955, Mostafavi, in his footnote on page 23, writes:

"I was unaware of the establishment date of the Department of Antiquities. Messrs. Rezā-Qoli Rafi'-ol-Molk and Soleimān Sepahbodi, who had been the eldest employees of the erstwhile Department of Antiquities, related that the idea of creating an Office of Antiquities had been proposed at the onset of the Constitution by the regretted Momtāz-ol-Molk, but was not realized, and that later, under the latter's ministry, and subsequently under that of His Excellency Mr. Ebrāhim Hakimi (Hakim-ol-Molk), the Office of

⁶ Altogether, no more than four brief reports on the situation of the Iranian cultural heritage have been published to the present. In 1955, Mostafavi presented a concise report covering the period from Rezā Shāh's accession to 1955. In 1976, Ma'sumi published a report dealing essentially with the excavations carried out. And in 1991, Shahmirzādi puts forth an article in which the evolution of cultural heritage in Iran is cursorily reviewed. In Negahbān's (yet unpublished) book, a report on his two-year term at the head of the Archaeological Center (1960-61) is included.

⁷ All the documents have been translated, for the first time, by the author.

Antiquities was created in 1337 AH [1919], in the old building of the Ministry of Sciences, on the premises of Dār-ol-Fonun".

This view was echoed by Ma'sumi in 1971 (p. 84), and, being repeated by Shahmirzādi in 1991 (p. 38), became generally accepted as such. But, contrary to these opinions, the document presented shows that, not only a Department of Antiquities, but the Central Office of Antiquities as well, were already in existence and controlled the transactions of antiquities. In order to clarify the matter, it must be remembered that, as ratified by the first National Consultative Assembly in 1907, which determined the structure of ministries, two offices were created under the names of Office of Museological Excavations and Office of Ancient Monuments, and that, according to the Municipal Law ratified in the same year, the creation of museums and the preservation and restoration of mosques, schools and ancient monuments are cited among the latter's duties. The importance of this point lies in that it considerably antedates the emergence of an interest toward the cultural heritage and its preservation, which was believed to have occurred with the onset of the Pahlavi dynasty, to an earlier date.

It is interesting that, in the above mentioned sources, no mention is made of the Statute of Excavations, dated 1909 and written by the late Sani'-od-Dowleh, then Minister of Sciences, which remained in use for 15 years, until a comprehensive statute concerning all antiquities, including books, underground relics and monuments was prepared in three chapters and 29 items by Mills-Poe, the General Director of Finances⁸.

Other points discernible in the document presented are the requirements for buyers of antiquities to inform the government of the origins of their acquisitions, as the passage *"... explain whence you have acquired the above mentioned antiquities..."* indicates, and to notify the Central Office of Antiquities of their sale, as the passage *"... how it is that you have sold them without the knowledge of the Office of Antiquities..."* attests, as well as the existence of duties concerning the sale of antiquities, as can be deduced from the passage *"... why, now that you have sold them, their official duties have not reached the Ministry."*

The above mentioned points acquire particular historic significance when we notice that, between 1910, when this document is concluded, and 1929, when the Society for the

⁸The Statute of 1909 was printed in the Ministry of Culture's Yearbook of 1315-7 [1936-1938].

Conservation of National Monuments is created, or later in 1930, when the Law of Antiquities is ratified and lauded in the above mentioned circles as the onset of attention toward national relics, the rule of Iran passes on from the Qājār dynasty to the Pahlavi dynasty. Thus, by refusing to acknowledge the existence of laws and offices concerning antiquities prior to 1910, and by attributing these activities to post-1922 years, an attempt at presenting the attention toward cultural relics as an outcome of the accession of the Pahlavi dynasty has been made. At the end of our examination of documents, we shall dwell upon the importance of this point.

Document No. 2, also issued in 1910, is a letter written by the Interior Minister to the Ministry of Public Utilities. It reads:

"Your respected letter No. 719/249 was received, and the news that your honourable ministry has established an Office of Antiquities and created a temporary museum for the registration and protection of antique objects caused the greatest elation. The respected members of that honourable ministry are indeed worthy of every kind of praise and recognition, and I am ever acquiescent of your respectable ministry's views and opinions. Please, do give orders to have four bowls from Gilān, of which one is broken and the three others are perfectly intact, be also taken into the museum's custody in exchange for a receipt. I hope that, God willing, under the auspices of the government and the people, Iran will one day possess a sophisticated, valuable museum".

This document confirms the establishment of the Office of Antiquities within the Ministry of Public Utilities in 1910 or earlier. Its interesting points are, firstly the allusion to the existence of a temporary museum for the registration and protection of antique objects, whereas the first Iranian museum was believed to have been created in 1916 (Ma'sumi, 1976:85 *et. al.*), secondly the restitution of antique objects by the Court Ministry to the museum, as a sign of central authority (in another document, reproduced alongside the present under No. 2.1, which is dated 15 days before this letter, the Interior Minister orders these objects to be delivered to the Court, commenting that the antecedents of the affair thus dictate), and thirdly the hope expressed for the country to one day possess a sophisticated, valuable museum, which speaks of the necessity for such actions at the time.

Document No. 3 (untranslated) is a letter written by the Minister of War to the Prime Minister in 1910, requesting the inventory of antique objects of past kings' mausoleums to be effected, and proposing the replacement of ancient items with new ones and the

removal of ancient objects to Tehran (The list of the above mentioned items and the instructions for their preservation is annexed to this document).

Document No. 4 (untranslated) is a set of letters written in 1910 concerning a golden bowl and plate set engraved with the name of Fath-'Ali-Shāh, which apparently one of the princes has sneaked from the royal museum and sold to Mirzā-'Ali-Akbar and his associate, the Jewish named Dāvood. The interesting point is the Office of Antiquities' earnest perseverance in pursuing the matter, and the intervention of the General Attorney, who announces his preparedness to question the prince. Other letters related to this matter are annexed to this document.

Document No. 5 is a report from the Office of Antiquities to its relevant minister, written in 1914 and beginning with these words:

"When the Office of Antiquities was first established a few years ago, several Jews applied collectively to the Ministry of Sciences for an authorization to effect excavations in the village of Nāssār, situated in Varāmin..."

The interesting points in the complete text of this document are: the reference it makes as to the date when the Office of Antiquities was created; the involvement of Jews in excavation activities from the very beginning, which persists to the present; the existence of excavation supervisors; and the intervention of Churchill, the political representative of the British embassy in matters related to antiquities.

Document No. 6 is a letter written in 1914 by the Director of Bequeaths of Esfahān to the Minister of Sciences, which speaks of the writer's awareness of the necessity of conserving historic relics. This document refutes Mostafavi's assertion (1955:13) that, under the Constitution, until the advent of the Pahlavi era, no knowledge or trace exists of historic relics being repaired. The text of the document reads:

"To the respected Minister of Bequeaths and Sciences, may his glory endure. Although Europeans have, for many years, with various motives and by numerous devices, cheaply acquired Iranian antiquities, which, as all historians will attest, each magnificently represents the glory, antiquity and independence of the Iranian country and nation, selling them for large sums in places where such items are traded, and although no considerable loss has yet been inflicted upon Iranian wealth, if the everlasting government does not take appropriate measures and persists in its negligence, before long all the tiles of mausoleums, shrines, mosques and other holy monuments, as well as other objects, will be plundered at the hands of Europeans and be lost. I am therefore informing you in advance, requesting the honourable Interior Ministry's offices to issue strict orders to the governorate and gendarmerie of Esfahān to sternly obstruct

such actions, dispatch emissaries and auxiliaries to safeguard the mosques, schools, etc. as concerns their tiles, books and other items that have not been lost, and prevent any misappropriation of these. The problem is that, at present, people nightly steal these objects from mosques, schools and shrines, and sell them to Europeans. If the respectable Interior Ministry is instructed to issue orders advising the police to have district commissars assume the responsibility of the mosques and schools within their watch, eventual thieves and future custodians will probably retract their sticky-fingered hands into their sleeves of decency, for fear of responsibility and punishment. Furthermore, it will not be fruitless to have this proposition put into effect throughout the realm. This is not all I have to say".

In the margin of this letter, the Ministry of Sciences has written: *"This matter is very important. Of course there must..."*

Referring to the two documents annexed to this collection (6.1 & 6.2), which are governmental authorizations of excavation, one notices that, not only had an interest toward historic relics appeared under the Constitution before the advent of Rezā Khān, but such details as the satisfaction of the land owner, the modalities of the apportionment of goods, the wages of the governmental official involved, the duration of excavations, etc. had also been laid down.

Another document which bears interesting points (No. 7) was issued in 1914 by the Ministry of Sciences and Bequeaths to the Ministry of Finance. Briefly, it expresses:

- The assertion that the Office of Antiquities came into being in compliance with a bill passed by the Parliament;
- An allusion to the fact that this Office has been inoperative for a while;
- A notice to the effect that "the first action this Office must do is to forbid excavations being undertaken without governmental authorization";
- A reference to the fact that the Jewish named Āqā-Rahim had been carrying out excavations on behalf of Churchill (the political representative of the British embassy);
- A reference to the fact that the officials of the Ministry of Finance interfere with the Ministry of Sciences' control over excavations.

Document No. 8 is a letter written in 1916 by the General Director of Customs, a foreigner, to the Ministry of Sciences and Bequeaths, in which the author concedes that

antique objects have been smuggled out of Iranian borders, but adds in conclusion that the objects in question did not include unearthed items.

The object of our examination of these documents is not to merely throw light upon a forgotten period of cultural heritage activities in Iran, but rather to delve into the conclusions that authors of cultural heritage references have, unwittingly or intentionally, reached, raising the claim that trends and policies pursued in the Pahlavi period caused an attention toward the country's cultural heritage to emerge. We are not seeking to evaluate the political advantages derived from this interpretation, yet it leads to two important consequences which have considerable effects on public attitude toward cultural heritage and the policies adopted for its identification, conservation and presentation.

The first point is the misconception of cultural heritage due to the implementation of the principles guiding this period's policies, namely nationalism, de-Islamization and Westernization. As we shall see further in this Chapter, these three factors had undeniable effects upon legislation, the preference of a part of the cultural heritage to others, the methods of presentation, etc. The second point is that, by admitting the coincidence of the appearance of an interest in cultural heritage with the advent of Rezā Shāh, care for cultural heritage is presented as the latter's inclination, and not an intrinsically valuable matter. The political and propaganda pressure of the Pahlavi period compelled several authors, who compiled reports on the evolution of Iranian cultural heritage, to comply with the prevalent policy of railing at the Qājār and praising the Pahlavi⁹. This led to the belief that attention toward cultural heritage originated in Rezā Shāh's personal genius and perspicacity. Of course, it is undeniable that Rezā Shāh, in order to exacerbate the nationalism he had in mind, benefitted from the pre-Islamic Iranian cultural heritage. But the assertion that such attention was essentially an

⁹Mostafavi (1955:13) writes: "... Under the Constitution, until the advent of the Pahlavi era, no knowledge or trace exists of historic relics being repaired, and it is from 1930 AS [1921] onward that interest and action gradually appear toward the preservation and restoration of vestiges of the past...His late Imperial Majesty, who had most pure, heartfelt feelings in terms of national pride, and had on multiple occasions uttered statements about the historic relics of Iran, the pure feelings of which on the memory of past and contemporary Emperors could but have originated in his enlightened heart and unblemished Iranian blood, ...". In this concern, Ma'sumi (1971:1) writes: "Unfortunately, during the two-three past centuries, owing to unjustifiable quarrels and the negligence of the rulers or their lack of interest in historic and artistic works, these historic and historic glories of ours were drifting into oblivion, until the Almighty fortunately entrusted the helm of the storm-stricken ship of the country to a powerful and capable man by whom the dust of destruction was swept away from the face of these relics".

attribute of his rule and the upshot of his genius severely harmed popular interest and willingness to participate in affairs relevant to the cultural heritage.

The author well remembers a conversation he had in 1989, as the head of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO), with a governor, concerning the necessity of preserving the historic monuments in the latter's province. Astonished, the governor said: *"But these are the same words we used to hear from the Shāh and Farah (his consort)."* (meaning that a revolutionary responsible authority is not expected to repeat their arguments). Before the Islamic Revolution too, attention to and glorification of the cultural heritage, particularly of the category endorsed by the regime, were perceived as behaviours favouring the Shāh's regime. We will examine this matter in greater detail in the following pages.

Another document of particular importance (No. 9) which helps confirming what has been said is a set of two letters written by Zokā'-ol-Molk, the learned and very powerful politician who held several ministries and served as prime minister in the Pahlavi period. He was the one who, securing British assent, arranged for the exile of Rezā Shāh from Iran and his replacement on the throne by his son¹⁰. These letters were written on the same day, in 1923, one addressed to the French Chargé d'Affaires and the other to the Minister of Sciences and Bequeaths.

Before presenting these letters, the reason of their importance must be explained. To the present, in all cases where reference has been made to the abolition of the shameful agreement of 1900 between Mozaffar-ed-Din Shāh and the French, which gave them exclusive rights of excavation in Iran, the matter has been related in the terms that Rezā Shāh, while passing through Shush, was faced with the citadel the French had built for their dwelling and archaeological activities, and, finding it like a military fortress, enquired about it and, upon learning about the agreement, immediately revoked it. The telegrams of Colonel Āq-Evli, the military commander of the region, have also been recorded as influential in the matter (Mostafavi, 1955:13), (Ma'sumi, 1971:8), (Negahbān, 1995:138), (Shahmirzādi, 1991:33).

¹⁰ For further information in this regard, see 'Āqeli, B., *Zokā'-ol-Molk Forughī*, Elmi Press, 1991, Tehran.

As can be seen, in this way Rezā Shāh is characterised as the heroic saviour of the country's cultural heritage from foreigners and the obliterator of the shame of Qājār times. This is while the two documents to be presented show that, at least four years before the abolition of the agreement in question, it was Zokā'-ol-Molk, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and theoretician of those days' main policies, who paid attention to the matter and commented on it to the relevant authorities. As yet, no reference to such a document has been made in the existing reports.

The first letter, dated 1923 and bearing Zokā'-ol-Molk's signature and seal, is addressed by the 3rd Political Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the French Chargé d'Affaires:

"Mr. Chargé d'Affaires,

As you are aware, the agreement of 1900 concerning excavations was concluded in contravention of national laws and is totally against the country's interests, and its implementation has therefore not been possible for the government. The difficulties involved have repeatedly been brought to the attention of that respected embassy, which has in turn acknowledged the difficulties and the conflict of the agreement in question with the country's interests. Moreover, according to letter No. 358 of Mr. Lecomte, the late French plenipotentiary, the French Ministry of Sciences, to which the excavation operations in Iran are related, has announced its consent to the modification of the above mentioned agreement. Therefore the Sublime Government deems the time appropriate for the matter to be resolved at once and the differences and difficulties resolved by amending the agreement in a manner satisfying the interests of both sides, and having prior instructions and authority given by the relevant authorities to Mr. Bemeson to conclude the matter in Tehran. Please inform the authorities of the Glorious Government of the above points and let your friend know about the results obtained. Here, I reiterate the expression of my distinguished respects".

Considering the sentence, "...according to letter No. 358 ..." it appears that the matter had undoubtedly been previously negotiated. The story does not end here. Rather, the second letter, addressed the same day to the Ministry of Sciences, further clarifies the seriousness of the matter:

"The honourable Ministry of Sciences and Bequeaths,

Respectfully informing the authorities of that honourable Ministry, considering that the agreement of 1900 concerning excavations was concluded in contravention of national laws and impedes the country's interests, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has, in view of the antecedents of the matter, requested the French Embassy to inform the authorities of the French government about the Iranian government's intention to modify the agreement in question, and to ask them to give instructions and authorization to Mr. Bemeson, who will be travelling shortly, to amend the agreement in Tehran, thus ending

this situation, which has long caused difficulties for the Sublime Iranian Government. Now, enclosing for your further information a copy of the letter written in this concern, I specially request you to express your opinion on the modifications of the agreement in question and a to propose to this ministry a new arrangement safeguarding the country's interests and correcting the defects of the agreement of 1900, so that this ministry's frame of mind is determined by Mr. Bemeson's arrival".

In order to illustrate the resistances opposing the control of excavations, we conclude this section with an introduction of two more documents.

Document No. 10 is a letter written in 1923 by the country's Director of Finances, a foreigner, to the Minister of Sciences. It expresses the latter's resistance to the governmental ruling authorizing an individual to carry out excavations (The original text is in English.)

The next document (No. 11), which is not translated in full for want of space, speaks of obstructions made by the above mentioned Ministry of Finances against the Ministry of Sciences' newly established museum by taking advantage of its right of supervising governmental properties. One of the most important reasons which may be considered to have caused the abolition of the agreement giving the French exclusive rights of excavation was the annulment of the exclusivity clause, which provided the possibility for other countries to carry out excavations. The decrease of French political power in Iran and the increase of British influence paved the ground for the realization of this fact. Samadi (1954:40) writes in this concern:

"With the abolition of the above mentioned exclusive agreement, grounds were laid for other missions to be able to effect excavations ... throughout Iran."

Browsing though the names of individuals and missions who carried out excavations in Iran after the abolition of the agreement of 1900¹¹, one notices that archaeologists from various countries hastily took advantage of the conditions created. For example, one may cite the German Professor Ernest Herzfeld, who initiated excavations in Pāsārgād in 1928, i.e. one year after the abolition of the agreement, the Americans R. Wulsin in 1931 in Turang-Tappeh and Erich F. Schmidt in 1933 in Tappeh-Hessār, the Swede T.

¹¹A complete list of all the individuals and missions who excavated in Iran until 1979 is given at the end of Negahbān's book, Publications of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, Tehran, 1995.

J. Arne in 1933 in Shāh-Tappeh, Gorgān... Concurrently with the French excavations in Shush, the French scholar Ghirshman also carried out excavations in other points of Iran (from 1931 onward). It was only after WWII that an Iranian archaeological mission first began excavations in Tappeh Hassanlu, soon taken up by the American R. Dison (Shahmirzādi, 1991:34-5). The number of excavations accomplished by Iranians until the victory of the Islamic Revolution can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Having plundered Iran by virtue of the agreement of 1900¹², the French also impose conditions upon its abolition. In this concern, Ma'sumi (1977: 8-9) writes:

"It was then agreed that the French mission would carry explorations only in Shush [probably the most important historic site in Iran], and the Iranian government undertook to build a museum and a library in Tehran, which were to be directed for a 5-year period by a Frenchman, whose contract would be renewed for at least three more 5-year periods, or to enrol another Frenchman for the purpose. Thus, in 1927, the Iranian government invited Mr. André Godard to come to Iran, and he officially began his function in Iran in 1929."

In this way, France perpetuated its rule upon the country's cultural heritage for 30 more years, and the costly presence of this Frenchman did not bring forth desirable results for our cultural heritage¹³.

With the abolition of the Agreement of 1900 in 1927, the ground was prepared for a new development in harmony with the new political situation of the society. All that can be mentioned about this period's administration and laws governing the cultural heritage, which express the Iranian government's policies in this regard, includes:

- The Central Office of Antiquities, mentioned above, created by the First Consultative Assembly in 1907, on the basis of the law of governmental structure.

¹²Ample evidence exists as to the damages Iran suffered from the theft of its cultural relics at the hands of the French. Here, we shall point to a mere single case. In 1901, Mme. Lampre, the secretary of the French mission, who initially enjoyed the favours of De Morgan, eventually turned against him for particular reasons, and immediately upon returning to France accused him of misappropriating the funds of the mission. The matter was so important that the French parliament asked explanations from the government. At that time, Clemenceau, the so-called French Tiger, was Minister of Culture in the cabinet. He immediately goes to the Louvre and makes enquiries about De Morgan's actions. The authorities of the Louvre thereupon show him around the museum, exhibiting De Morgan's discoveries, which count among the most superb riches of its collections. Returning to the parliament, Clemenceau harshly repels the claimants, who immediately retract their question (Samadi, 1954:39).

¹³For further information in this regard, see footnote 31, belonging to Mohit Tabātabā'i, in Shahmirzādi's article, 1991.

- The Municipal Law ratified in 1907, which entrusts this institution with the responsibility of establishing museums and preserving and restoring mosques, schools and ancient monuments.
- The National Museum of Iran, established in 1917.
- The Regulations of Antiquities, ratified by the Ministerial Cabinet in 1924, which may be considered the first Iranian written law concerning antiquities (full text in Farsi, in Appendix V). In these regulations, the following points are worthy of attention :
 - Exporting cultural and artistic objects belonging to pre-Qājār eras without governmental authorization is forbidden.
 - If the objects in question date back to over 50 years, 20% of their price is perceived as taxes.
 - Excavating without governmental authorization is forbidden.
 - 25% of tiles, ceramic, stone, glass and bronze objects and 75% of gold and silver items retrieved in excavations, or the equivalent price if this is not possible, is perceived as taxes.
 - Excavating in historic monuments is forbidden and punished with imprisonment.
 - When exporting objects, their owner must pay 10% for tiles and the like, and 20% for gold and silver.
 - A plaster replica of statues and stone inscriptions shall be made upon their departure and kept in the country.
 - One half of treasures belong to the government.
 - Anyone reporting unauthorized discoveries of artifacts will receive 20% of the objects' price in reward.
 - If the excavation is found to be of great importance, it will be continued by the government.
 - Important objects whose owners are resolved to export will be purchased by the government.
 - All objects collected in virtue of these regulations will be put at the disposition of the museum.
 - Excavating in important historic sites requires the authorization of the Ministerial Cabinet.

The contents of these regulations show that the government was attempting to expand its control over the country's cultural properties, and that, although understanding the cultural value of relics, had not yet lost its economic view of them. While allowing commercial excavation and exportation of cultural items, it was after earning tax money from them. The efforts of cultural authorities to abolish the Agreement of 1900 must also be added to the events that came to pass concerning the cultural heritage of Iran, eventually to be officially ratified by the Parliament under Rezā Shāh, in 1927.

6.3. CULTURAL HERITAGE UNDER REZĀ SHĀH (1920-1941)

The reign of Rezā Shāh constitutes one of the most complicated periods of Iran's political life. The country's disruption in every domain, resulting from the incapable and protracted Qājār rule, the undisputed hegemony of foreign powers, the wide-ranging changes caused by World War I and the downfall of Ottoman rule in the Middle East, the influential power of religion in the society, and the monopoly of the country's principal posts by pro-western educated men, all affect the policies adopted in this period. By examining the policies ruling Iran in this period, one can conclude that these policies are all aimed at pleasing foreign powers, under a nationalistic appearance initially in no conflict with religious canons. The consolidation of Rezā Shāh's rule in the early years of his reign, the involvement of Russia in internal problems in the wake of the Revolution of 1917 and its adoption of new policies in relation with Iran, as well as the transformations occurred in Europe World Wars I and II, which resulted in the emergence of alternative powers alongside the hegemony of Great Britain over the country, provided Rezā Shāh with the opportunity of realizing his idea of a "progressive" country.

Without entering the discussion of which factors contributed to the emergence of this particular way of thinking, we only note that the policy-makers of those days considered the achievement of an apparent similitude with Europe as the way of saving the country from underdevelopment¹⁴. The problem with such policy-making was that it appeared to favour national interests whereas, being borrowed, it not only failed to diminish problems, but also fell in conflict with social mores. Cultural heritage policies were no exception to this rule.

¹⁴—Taqi-Zādeh's writings can be consulted in this concern.

As mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter, these policies were based on three main elements: nationalism, de-Islamization of the society and tendency to the West. These elements were related to each other and, in practice, acted closely together. What was achieved through these three factors was a new meaning and direction for our cultural heritage, each having its own special impact. Firstly, in order to arouse national feelings, the government paid special attention to pre-Islamic monuments, presenting the powerful reputation of the King of Kings to justify the new monarchy. This was specially for those who were exhausted, on the one hand by the incapability of the Qājār dynasty and, on the other, had become familiar with the new Republican form of government. Secondly, the new regime did not want to do anything related to Islamic issues, the effect of which on the cultural heritage was neglect of fourteen centuries of impressive Islamic cultural heritage. And thirdly, in a very traditional society like Iran, inviting people to adopt western values, and thus having a new model for life, there was little or no need to look for support to improvement of cultural heritage through the conservation of ancient properties.

One of the first actions taken after the accession of Rezā Shāh was the establishment of the Society for the Conservation of National Monuments, which was created in 1922, upon the proposition of Zokā'-ol-Molk Forughī, the scholar, politician and Rezā Shāh's Minister of Foreign Affairs when he was Prime Minister. This Society counted among its members a host of the day's most prominent statesmen, who were mostly pro-western intellectuals. In 1925, Rezā Shāh, now King of Iran became the head of the Society.

In document No. 12, the Prime Minister informs the Minister of Sciences of the importance of the establishment of this Society, adding, in margin of the paragraph concerning this matter, that historic relics enjoy the particular interest of the Prime Minister. In a speech he delivers in 1925¹⁵, Zokā'-ol-Molk Forughī himself cites Europeans as models apt to be emulated in the conservation of relics. The Society for the Conservation of National Monuments can be considered the first and sole semi-governmental institution active in the field of cultural heritage which, through its

¹⁵The text of this speech is preserved at the Society.

protracted activities, played a special role in shaping the attitude of Iranians toward their cultural heritage.

The foundation statute of the Society characterizes its aim as being "to develop public interest toward ancient Iranian scientific and industrial relics and strive at preserving fine artifacts and handicrafts maintaining their original styles and manners." The initial actions to be taken in order to achieve this aim are listed in these terms:

- Establishing a museum in Tehran
- Establishing a library in Tehran
- Registering and classifying works to be preserved as National Art Works
- Cataloguing valuable library or museum ensembles in possession of the government or governmental institutions throughout Iran.

The Society continued its activities until 1934, remaining closed for a period of ten years which ended with the advent of Mohammad-Rezā Shāh, who ordered the resumption of its activities. But what the Society in fact succeeded to achieve, in its first period, was building the Mausoleum of Ferdowsi and holding several lectures which are worthy of being examined from the viewpoint of policies governing cultural heritage in this era.

The first, and perhaps the most important, activity of the Society after its establishment was to build a mausoleum for Ferdowsi, the renowned Iranian poet (9th c.) The act of selecting this poet, the mode of gathering funds for the construction of the mausoleum, the architecture of the monument and the ceremonial set up for its inauguration were such that no doubt could subsist as to the direction of the Society's path. The Society's direction is important for us because it is ordained by the country's highest political authorities and, in fact, constitutes the future attitude toward cultural heritage.

Ferdowsi is one the five important literary figures of Iran who, as the author of the *Shāhnāme*, enjoys world-wide respect and fame. His book relates the history of Iranian kings before Islam. By composing the verses of his book in pure Persian language, he strived at preventing it from being submerged under Arabic. Although Ferdowsi is respected by every Iranian, his selection from among the multitude of illustrious Iranian literary figures and the extraordinary attention focused on him at this time speak of a

particular trend in paying tribute to past figures. To raise the funds for the construction of the mausoleum, in addition to contributions collected from individuals, money was made through the sale of lottery tickets, considered by Islam as gambling and therefore forbidden. More funds were also supplied by Zoroastrians.

The architectural form adopted for Ferdowsi's mausoleum copied that of Cyrus, the Achaemenian emperor. Setting aside the history of Islamic architecture and adopting a pre-Islamic model for the grave of a Muslim further accentuated the above mentioned trend. The design of the monument was proposed by the German Herzfeld and the French André Godard and it was built at an exorbitant cost¹⁶. The inauguration ceremonies, accompanied with nationalistic speeches by the country's authorities¹⁷, were attended by over 40 foreign guests from 17 countries. This shows the rulers' desire of affirming their existence on the international scene. As can be seen, the first steps taken in attending to past works of art embody the three factors previously mentioned: the nationalistic trend, with the selection of the mausoleum of Cyrus as a symbol of national salvation; the de-Islamization trend, with the selection of Ferdowsi as a symbol of struggle against the Arabs and the Arabic language, which is the religious language of Muslims; and the westernizing trend, with the opening of all doors and resorting to all available means¹⁸ so as to attract the greatest foreign attendance of this national show. The sum of actions described, alongside the delivery of lectures on cultural heritage by such figures as the German Herzfeld (1925), the American Pope (1925), Forughī (1927) and Hannibal (1927), give further impetus to this attitude toward cultural heritage.

It is noteworthy that, in respect of their studies, European scholars were interested in the very ancient heritage of Iran and, naturally, rather inclined to praising that part of its cultural heritage. But those lectures were raised in an environment in search of its own cultural heritage, and those praises in fact affected the quality of this definition. The coincidence of an official Iranian attention toward historic works of art and a focus on

¹⁶For further information in this regard, see Sadiq A'lam (1974) and Ma'sumi (1975).

¹⁷The texts of the speeches presented are recorded in *Hezāre-ye Ferdowsi*, 1943, Tehran.

¹⁸For want of adequate hotel facilities in those days, foreign guests were housed in the private residences of the country's political figures (Sadiq alam, 1975, vol2:211).

pre-Islamic relics set forth a new definition of the country's cultural heritage. It was for the first time that such a definition of Iranian historic works of art was raised. We shall observe the culmination of these trends, which ran parallel with and were affected by political motives, under Mohammad-Rezā Shāh, during the festivities in commemoration of 25 centuries of Iranian monarchy.

This trend was immediately put to political advantage, expressing itself in a type of architecture commonly known as Rezā Shāhi (Rajabi, 1976:41). Thereafter new governmental buildings followed this architectural style. The buildings of the Post (1928), the Bānk-e Melli [National Bank] (1930), Firooz-Bahrām High School (1932), Tehran Railway Station (1933), Tehran University (1933), Irān-e Bāstān Museum and the National Library (1935) were all built following this style. Whether for their functions, names or styles, these buildings are worthy to be studied. They represent new functions, adopted from Europe. Iran & Russia Bank and Iran & British Bank were established in Iran before the National Bank. Using the term "national" as an adjective for the name of a bank demonstrated the government's attention to fostering nationalistic feelings. H. Henrich, a German engineer, was the designer of the building and the style was a combination of pre-Islamic and European architecture.

*"... [This building] for the first time embodied at once ancient Iranian architecture and European architecture. In it, the Fravahr motif [an ancient Iranian deity] is once again **used in full knowledge by the government**¹⁹ after 2,500 years" (Rajabi, 1976:42).*

It is apparent that the fight against religious beliefs by depicting a pre-Islamic deity on the frontispiece of a newly established bank is pursued *"in full knowledge"* of its effects. Firooz-Bahrām High School was a rare example of high schools run under a Western system. It was named after a pre-Islamic hero and had a similar style. It is interesting to note that it was built for Zoroastrians [the followers of a pre-Islamic religion]. Tehran Railway Station, built by Germans, bore no signs of Iranian architecture. The foundation of Tehran University, charged of teaching modern sciences by teachers graduated in Europe, while many traditional schools existed in the country, was perceived as an assault to the old system, which was naturally connected to the religious communities. The design had not borrowed anything from the Islamic period. Neglecting one thousand years of Islamic architecture and insisting on not using even a single element of it, using

¹⁹ The emphasis is added by the author.

instead Sassanian and Achaemenian architecture, which are found solely in the ruins of Persepolis and Pāsārgād, had a special meaning for the people²⁰. Rajabi (1976: 57) writes in this regard:

"Undoubtedly, in no period of the history of Iranian architecture has a style been created with such speed, and in no era has Iranian architecture thrown a bridge of such great span! An immense bridge which, in two large arcs, links ancient Iran with its time and with west".

The question is to find out from falling into what chasm necessitated the design of such bridges? Simultaneously, Tehran's historic walls were demolished (1932), giving way to new wide roads for the recently imported cars. It was in this period that most of the important historical cities were vandalized by the building of two wide and long roads crossing each other, in their most valuable historical centres. In justification of these actions, Rajabi (1976: 70) writes:

"Straight, wide, long roads had to replace the narrow, tortuous, short alleys in the large and larger cities, and extrovert governmental buildings were to rise instead of the crooked, unadorned walls of the streets".

The same author writes (1976: 68):

"... and very soon, transformed the introvert Iranian architecture into an extrovert one".

Irān-e Bāstān Museum (1935) is a distinguished example of the process of the new Iranian attitude toward their cultural heritage. It was designed by André Godard, a French architect, who also later founded the Fine Arts Faculty of Tehran University. First, we look at the name of the Museum. Although it was designed and constructed together with the National Library, and although all its objects were previously preserved in a museum by the name of National Museum, surprisingly, unlike the National Bank, it was not called National Museum. There are many words in the Persian language which mean 'past', among which the word *bāstān* means very old or ancient, particularly meaning prior to Islam. Therefore, the first Iranian museum, being the centre of Iranian cultural heritage activity for the next fifty years, was a constant reminder of our pre-Islamic heritage. The design of the Museum was not only Sassanian, but also copied the arch of the Palace of Chosroes, the Sassanian seat of government, which strongly recalled the memory of what had been overthrown by the Muslims. Rajabi writes in this

²⁰Parts of the book *Iranian Architecture during the Pahlavi Period* (Melli Univ. Press, 1977, Tehran) might present some ideas in this regard.

concern (1976:48): "***With incomparable bravery***²¹, Godard erected this arch atop the Museum." This "bravery" clearly speaks of the designer's awareness of the aim mentioned. The objects of the Museum were also amazing for the audiences. Although the word museum was first used by Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh for a grand hall located in his official residence, the Golestān Palace, but now it was the first time that ordinary people could see and study the objects in the glass cases. This is why Irān-e Bāstān Museum was not just a museum, but a kind of new definition for cultural heritage. It was founded and designed by foreigners' hands and ideas, evoking pre-Islamic memories.

All these were coincident with other events that altogether made the understanding of our heritage even more complicated. Such things took place not only in architecture, but also in other aspects of cultural heritage such as language, clothes, manners, etc. Although these numerous changes occurred at this time, there is a need for an independent study. Here, we will only glance at some of these changes.

A significant point of the Persian language is that one can fully read and understand what was written a thousand years ago. Many Persian words have Arabic roots, to the extent that dividing them from each other seems utterly impossible. Rezā Shāh ordered the establishment of an academy with the sole responsibility of replacing Arabic words with pre-Islamic ones and, at the same time, changing the Persian alphabet to the Latin one (as was the case in Turkey), which fortunately was not realized.

Iranian men and women used to wear special traditional costumes which covered the whole body in such a way that the figure was not seen, until Rezā Shāh's order of change. According to this order, from a certain day (7th January 1933), women were obliged to leave aside their *Chadors* and wear clothes in the European style. Men were likewise required to wear European suits and hats. Official parties were held to check the order. Many women opposing the order preferred not to leave their houses for years.

Religious ceremonies, seen as an important part of the intangible heritage attended in some cases by all the people, including the Shāh himself in the early years of his reign,

²¹The emphasis is added by the author.

were forbidden. The people were practically driven out of using their language, clothes, architecture, urban environment, customs, etc., and were instead given something from the pre-Islamic period or from western culture.

Despite all the problems facing the country at the time, archaeological excavations in a vast area of Persepolis began just five years after the new Shāh came to power. At the same time, the first law concerning the conservation of cultural heritage, which was a translation of some parts of the Austrian law, was introduced. According to this law, and for the first time, the government became responsible for the conservation and preservation of the relics belonging to historical periods up to the end of the Zand dynasty (1785). The other important points of the law were: listing the historical monuments and objects, permitting not only the French but any foreigners to work in Iran, allowing commercial excavations and the trade of antiquities, punishment for the demolition of listed buildings, putting limitation on the owners of historical buildings not to interfere with their construction, forbidding the excavation of historical sites, and allowing government-related authorities to excavate historical sites belonging to the people, etc. The main problem of the law was its lack of any proper social foundations agreed to by the people. Those who had observed the same regulations in European countries were the ones who had proposed them for Iran. Thus, naturally, the written law did not have any social support. Needless to say, the enthusiasm of the people for the conservation of their cultural heritage played an important role in its overall protection, and this was unfortunately lost in response to the conservation and restoration of a few buildings using this law. In view of the importance of this law, which is still in use in Iran, its translation is given in Appendix II.

In order to evaluate the results of the adoption of this law, we examine a report presented in 1955 by Mostafavi on its activities in past years:

"The first list of Iranian historic monuments was compiled in 1925, by the German Herzfeld, following his inclination and information of Iranian works of art, and included 80 monuments. After him, in 1929, the French André Godard, then in charge of the country's cultural heritage by virtue of the conditions of the abolition of the agreement with the French, compiled another list including 385 monuments" (Mostafavi, 1955:39).

It is interesting that seven items were later dropped from this list, including such important ones as Tappeh Sialk (Kāshān), the ruins of the city of Jorjān and the Safavid palaces in Behshahr, the omission of which calls for an independent study, considering their importance²². Mostafavi (1955:43), the Archaeology Director, thus describes the situation of the repair of historic monuments:

"The ratification of the Law of Antiquities and the transformation of the Section of Antiquities into the Department of Antiquities, and even into the General Office of Archaeology, in fact brought no remedy to these buildings. To repair historic monuments ... firstly funds and secondly capable masters and good materials were needed. Mere expression of anguish and care did not protect these buildings against wind, rain and sunlight. In the budget of the Ministry of Culture, no provision at all had been made for the restoration of historic monuments, and among the various articles, none could be spent at making the slightest repair in historic monuments."

In 1925, the Law of Bequeaths was ratified by the parliament. According to its Note 2 of Article 9, one twentieth of the revenue of bequeath supervision rights is allocated to repairing historic monuments and restoring ancient schools and national holy monuments. According to Mostafavi (1955: 48):

"... Were it not for this meagre sum, the little work done on the monuments of Esfahān would not have been".

Here, one realizes the importance of the traditional method of *Waqf* (bequeath) for the repair of monuments.

It is interesting that, following the religious precepts of *Waqf*, money collected in any way for a *Mowqufeh* (building managed under the laws of *Waqf*) cannot be spent for any other purpose. Instead, according to the above mentioned rule, the government, heedless of this point, spent incomes earned by way of *Waqf* on repairing Persepolis, which fell totally beyond the rules of *Waqf*. Further on, we will see later that, after the downfall of Rezā Shāh, the first action of the first Minister of Culture was to revoke that sort of laws in order to appease popular protest.

²²Negahbān (1995:239-40) makes reference to this point. According to him, the archaeological authorities of the time, who had been lured by the owners, present the minister with a list of monuments to be recorded alongside [another of] the cases they wish to have dropped, and he, knowingly or unknowingly, signs it.

The first funds allocated in the budget of the government (Ministry of Culture) to restoring historic monuments are those concerning the repair of Persepolis, as ratified in 1941, in article 46 of the governmental budget. This means that, during the reign of Rezā Shāh, repairs of historic monuments were hampered with financial difficulties, and that no funds beside the meagre sums collected from bequeaths were spent on the repairs stipulated in the law of 1930.

The archaeological activities of this period can be divided in two categories: excavations on more important sites, carried out by foreigners; and commercial excavations, pursued by local volunteers acting with foreign participation. Ever since the ratification of the above mentioned law, the restoration of Persepolis was entrusted to Prof. James Henry Breasted, Dean of the Eastern Institute of the University of Chicago, USA. This is the first authorization, delivered to an American, after the abolition of the French monopoly. The operations of this team continue until 1934, when they are taken up by the General Office of Archaeology (Mostafavi, 1955: 41).

Thereafter, such archaeologist as the French Ghirshman (1932), the American E. F. Schmidt, the French George Konto (1932), the American Herzfeld (1931), the Englishman Sir Aurel Stien (1936), the American Wilson (1931) and others begin busily excavating all around Iran. The first application of commercial excavation is submitted by Mahbubiān²³ in 1925 (Iran-e Bastan Museum Documents).

Another interesting event was the inception, upon the initiative of the American Prof. Pope, of the International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology in 1926, which was held every other four year in various points of the world. The first congress was held in Philadelphia, USA, and then consecutively in London (1931), Leningrad (1935), New York - Philadelphia (1961), Tehran (1968), Oxford (1972) and Munich (1976). The first two congresses were held in the absence of Iranian scientific representatives, with the reports of foreign archaeologists active in Iran. From 1935 onward, when a clearer tendency emerged in Iran concerning the cultural heritage, a wide-ranging group of

²³The Mahbubiān family have been active to the present in excavations in Iran and particularly in the exportation and sale of artifacts.

Iranians took part in the sessions and tried to best introduce Iran on the international scene²⁴.

Now, bearing in mind what has been said, if we turn back to the factors we initially introduced as the characteristics of policy-making in this period, we observe that each of them in turn affected popular attitude toward their cultural heritage. The pro-western trend caused such problems as: the opening of all doors to the activity of foreigners and their absolute control over the country's cultural heritage; the translation of their laws concerning cultural properties in the absence of real grounds for their implementation; attempts at attracting foreign attention and praise and forgetting the principal audience, namely the people; the imitation of their cultural attributes and attempts at imposing them upon the society, eradicating traditional Iranian symbols, such as its architecture, clothing, calendar, etc.

Considering that Islam is a type of religion whose precepts are reflected in every aspect of individual and public life, anti-Islamic policies in fact represented an anti-social trend. Not only did they fail to attract popular attention toward the cultural heritage, but further distanced the people from it. Their combination with an artificial nationalism which had to be implemented for political reasons, was transformed into an antagonism with the people, reflected in the representation of a pre-Islamic deity on the frontispiece of the National Bank or the re-erection of the Arch of Chosroes, which had been destroyed by Muslims, atop the first Iranian museum. Up to then, whatever remained from the past was considered as Iran's cultural heritage, with no distinction being made between Islamic and Iranian items. By opposing Islamic heritage to Iranian heritage, the policies implemented in this period attempted to present the Iranian heritage as a glorious symbol of national power and international pride, and the heritage of Islam, whether tangible or intangible, as an obstruction to progress and accession to the modern, progressive world. If the heritage of ancient Iran was able to temporarily provide architectural models, it naturally failed to offer models for other cultural manifestations, such as clothing, food, social relationships, etc. In these cases, models of western culture were presented or imposed. In this manner, the way was being prepared for the

²⁴ Apparently, one of the aims of the congress was to create the possibility of negotiations concerning the sale and acquisition of Iranian historic relics. Negahbān, who attended the fourth congress, writes (1995:132): "The discussion over this matter [a historic book acquired in Iran by Americans and later proved to be a fake] so affected the atmosphere of the congress as to cause anguish concerning the order of the sessions."

consumption of goods manufactured in western countries. This goal was pursued by taking advantage of all social mechanisms, including cultural heritage. But this "change of skin" of the culture had a special meaning to Iranians, because it was strongly adhered to the "flesh and bones". In reality, this change meant the alteration of many of our social values. Although the resistance of the Iranian society was subjugated at that time, it emerged, some years later, in the shape of an all-encompassing religious revolution.

6.4. CULTURAL HERITAGE UNDER MOHAMMAD-REZĀ PAHLAVI (1941-1979)

Mohammad-Rezā Pahlavi in fact twice ascended the throne: the first time with the assent of Great Britain and the Allies of WW II, and the second at the instigation of the United States (1953). The strategic situation of Iran in WW II as a route for supplying the Russia from the south, and Rezā Shāh's probable pro-German inclinations, laid the ground for his eventual forced exile and his son's accession to the throne (Āqeli, 1991b, vol1:326). From then on, for 12 years, conditions were realized for some sort of constitutional rule, albeit incomplete, to be experienced for the first time in Iranian history (Nafissi, 1956, vol2:273). In 1953, the new Shāh, who was seeking to acquire greater authority in governing the country, fled abroad facing the actions of Dr. Mohammad Mossaddeq, the popular Prime Minister and hero of the nationalization of Iranian oil industries, and was reinstalled by an American coup d'état (Āqeli, 1991b, vol2:10). The period between then and the Islamic Revolution (1979) deserves to be called the second period of Pahlavi dictatorship. After the downfall of Rezā Shāh, wide-ranging changes brought to the previously imposed policies (Sadiq A'lam, 1974, vol3:49) reflect the intensity of popular aversion to these policies. The country's preoccupations during the 12-year occupation by Russian and British forces, which lasted until five years after the downfall of Rezā Shāh, were such that cultural heritage activities were curtailed, yet evidence of evolution is still perspicuous in it.

For a description of the rapid changes which took place in the country's cultural policies, we turn to the memoirs of Sadiq A'lam (1974, vol2:49), the first Minister of Culture after the downfall of Rezā Shāh:

"Sunday, Shahrivar 30th, 1320 [1941]. After my introduction to the National Consultative Assembly, I went

to the Ministry of Culture and, as soon as seated at my desk, gave a phone call to Mr. Seyyed Kāzem 'Assār, the Teachers' College professor of general philosophy, asking him whether he would be willing to continue teaching, in which eventuality the assignment would be issued immediately. His answer was positive, and the assignment issued... That action, taken in my first minute in function, had such good effects that many people expressed their gratitude by letter, telephone or poems".

It should be mentioned that Mr. 'Assār, then aged about 60, was a first-rate scholar and a very pious and popular man who, braving Rezā Shāh's orders, had refused to give up wearing religious clothing while teaching philosophy at the University and been dismissed. The Minister of Culture's action well shows how obvious those policies were to the responsible authorities. Other actions undertaken to "obviate complaints and elicit popular satisfaction", according to the above mentioned minister (p. 50), were:

- Unfamiliar words and expressions recently coined under pressure from the Farhangestān-e Irān [Iranian Academy] were put aside with a memo;
- The hours and days spent on preparing school-girls to participate in festivals, which were considered against social ethics by people of culture, were cancelled;
- The sale of bequeathed arable lands and *qanāts*, which had aroused the anger of the people and religious men, was halted;
- The mausoleum of Emānzādeh Yahyā [a descendant of the Holy Prophet], which had been demolished and transformed into a gymnasium, and its ancient coffer transferred to a museum, was reconstructed following a design of the French [!] André Godard;
- Teachers' wages, which had remained unchanged for twenty years regardless of the rapid inflation growth, were amended.

The rapid annulment of the policies current under Rezā Shāh was not limited to these domains. As an example, one can cite the decline of the artificial architectural style of that period. Rajabi (1976:82) writes in this concern:

"Rezā Shāhi architecture joined the time-honoured history of Iranian art and architecture as swiftly as it was born."

As we shall see, under Mohammad-Rezā Shāh's second period, the same former policies were implemented, in a different guise, at country level.

Three years after the downfall of Rezā Shāh (1944), the parliament ratified a bill by which the preservation and restoration of historic monuments from the Qājār period having public functions are subjected to the Law of Antiquities (1930). In this way, the abhorrence of a part of the cultural heritage is alleviated, and the particular attention toward pre-Islamic monuments counter-balanced. From then on, one witnesses an effort toward repairing and maintaining ancient monuments. Repair budgets, previously mentioned, still come from two sources: bequeaths and the funds of the Ministry of Culture. As an indication of the scale of sums spent on repairs, we only need to notice that these funds for all repair works throughout the country amount to half a million Tomāns in 1951 (Mostafavi, 1955:53), whereas in the same year, in Tehran, the price of a 4,000 sq. m. ordinary land plot for construction purposes figures around one million Tomāns (‘Āqeli, 1991:43). Nevertheless, thanks to the dedication of those interested in the cultural heritage, urgent repairs are carried out in some of the country's most important monuments, which belong to every period of Iranian history, as listed in Mostafavi's report (1955: 54-8).

In this period, foreign archaeologists continued their activities in Iran, presenting their reports in their own countries or to the International Congress of Iranian Art and Architecture, which was held every other fourth year. The influence of this Congress upon Iranian policies was considerable, as attested by Sadiq A'lam's (1974, vol3) footnote below page 362 of his memoirs, in which he acknowledges that this period's interest toward Qājār monuments originated in the recommendations made by the fourth Congress.

Here, it is not irrelevant to point out that the Europeans' studies about Iran began on the basis of information they possessed concerning antique Iran and its relations with Greece and Rome. In other words, it was the antique aspect of such civilizations as those of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran that Westerners initially found interesting. But after they came to this country and saw the later historic works, the values existing in these buildings were gradually considered and evaluated as well, to the extent that a new movement was also created for the conservation and care of these constructions.

An interesting fact from our viewpoint is that, unfortunately, Iranians have always considered and rated their cultural heritage following Westerners' interest in it.

Therefore, if, along the history of the development of Iranian heritage, one also notices an increased attention toward the cultural heritage of Islamic periods at this time, it is because, in the author's opinion, Western scholars, particularly Americans, mostly paid attention to the visual values of movable and immovable historic relics rather than the absolute archaeological ones²⁵. (The opus in sixteen volumes left behind by Prof. Pope constitutes a noteworthy example in this context)

Near the end of this 12-year period, the Iranian society was extremely agitated, due to pressures exerted by Russia and Great Britain. Russia, which practically controlled Āzarbāijān province through the Democrat Party, wanted the monopoly of the oil of northern Iran, its supporters causing havoc throughout the country within the framework of the Tudeh Party, and Great Britain was embattled with the government of Dr. Mossaddeq over the perpetuation of the monopoly of oil extraction in the south. These confrontations had brought forth such conditions that, during those twelve years, 26 cabinet changes were made, and, naturally enough, the consecutive governments never found the opportunity of adopting long-term policies.

In 1953, within a single day, the government of Dr. Mossaddeq was overthrown and the Shāh returned to power through the Zāhedi coup d'état. The American origins of the coup d'état were so evident that the United States openly paid Zāhedi a reward of 5,000,000 dollars²⁶. The Shāh told Roosevelt, the American President, "*I owe my throne to God, to my nation, and my army and to you*" (Āqeli, 1991b, vol2, p.12). From then on, the country was governed along American policies and relied on foreign aid delivered in the form of loans and unremunerated donations. In 1954, American aid amounted to 130 million dollars and that of France to 25 billion Francs.

In 1954, with the reopening of the Society for the Conservation of National Monuments, closed 10 years earlier because of Rezā Shah's wrath against Forughi, a new factor was

²⁵ In this concern, the author is in possession of evidence the details of which require an independent study.

²⁶ An interesting point in that event was that this money had been transferred to Iran together with the American aid of 40,000,000 dollars, and the day's Minister of Finances had remitted the lump to the treasury. Once the matter was cleared up, as money remitted to the treasury could not be refunded, the United States sent another 2,000,000 dollars for Zāhedi. That event caused a long-running feud between Zāhedi and Amini, the Minister of Finances (Āqeli, 1991, vol. 2:17).

added to the ensemble of factors affecting cultural heritage activities. These factors can be summarized as follows:

- The law ratified in 1936, by which the government was assigned the duties of registering and repairing historic monuments, commercial excavation was permitted, the exportation of objects was allowed with a license, and foreigners were free to undertake cultural activities;
- The Archaeological Centre operated under governmental supervision, alongside Irān-e Bāstān Museum, and was responsible for the implementation of the law of 1930;
- Various foreign missions were active in various points, but the outcome of their studies was not published in Iran;
- Local excavators, acting under the label of commercial excavation, dug away in search of treasures;
- The Society for the Conservation of National Monuments, comprised of prominent political figures, was inclined, according to its new statute, toward building mausoleums for celebrities and printing their books;
- The archaeological department of Tehran University was busy training archaeologists.

Fortunately, a report was submitted in 1955 by Mostafavi the director of the Archaeological Centre, which constituted a rare specimen of extant documents concerning the situation of the country's cultural heritage in those days. In this report, to the first part of which we have already made reference, a section, entitled "Future Hopes", described actions to be taken in the future. As this is the sole instance where the policies of the time were expounded, we briefly examine it.

The report begins with the fact that *"The practical, effective interest toward ancient Iranian relics is far removed from the country's need for this delicate sector of cultural service."* (Mostafavi, 1955: 92-3). He concludes, *"Continuous and regular excavations in many points of Iran will be among the most urgent practical tasks of Iranian culture in the future"*. In this context, referring to the activities of foreigners in Iran, it exhorts the Iranians to step forward: *"Must the children of Iran still linger for scientific, wide-ranging excavations to be carried out in their country?"*.

This request was made at a time when, on the one hand the Frenchman André Godard, who was to yearly train five persons in archaeological activities, had not only failed to do so, but also provided no facilities for dispatching students to his country. And, on the other, according to the report of the authority in charge of the Department of Archaeology in 1960, not only were the students totally unfamiliar with excavation operations, but mostly included older people and government employees who had come to this subject to more easily acquire a masters degree (Negahbān, 1995:183). Of course, several well-trained individuals did emerge from among the number, but the problem was that, facing the overwhelming presence of foreigners even up to the victory of the Islamic Revolution, they had no opportunity of becoming active.

Further along in this report, we notice that the author bitterly complains about the careless actions of foreigners in archaeological activities, stating that, "Were it not for the dedicated Iranians who painstakingly consolidated the columns of Persepolis which had become unstable due to excavations, no trace of Persepolis would have existed today." (p. 102). Then the author lists every pre-Islamic monument, proposing technical solutions for their conservation. These statements illustrate the technical knowledge of those days in the conservation of monuments. Although many years have passed since the heyday of Rezā Shāhi attitude toward historic relics, a shadow of it still pervades this report. Descriptions and evaluations of relics belonging to ancient Iranian civilizations, which are sought by foreigners, fill the entire report, and the only allusion that is made to the art works of the past 1,000 years is a recommendation concerning their lighting. This attitude characterizes the entire era of Pahlavi I and II.

The necessity of popular participation in conserving the cultural heritage is another recommendation put forth by the author (pp. 104-5), who, unfortunately, has dealt with influential local figures, capital holders and politicians, neglecting the role of the people and the effects their awareness of the values of cultural heritage can have on the preservation of relics. Another point is the financial aspect of the conservation of monuments, which he has divided into several sections: direct governmental budget; bequeaths budget; municipal contributions; and taxes on construction materials. What appears clearly is that, save for the meagre budget of the Ministry of Culture and Bequeaths, actually no other funds could be raised for the purpose. The contributions of municipalities were very limited and occurred only in a few buildings in Esfahān, and

the taxes on construction materials seems to be a proposition born in the mind of those days' policy-makers, yielding results, as we will see, five years later and only in the case of cement.

Another point to which the author has paid attention is tourism. Clear statistics concerning the number of tourists visiting Iran at the time are not available, but, as the reports of the Plan and Budget Organization²⁷ indicate a maximum of 600,000 tourists in 1977, not many tourists must have resided in Iran during the 1950s. Of course, once the Shāh's rule was firmly established, Iran was visited by a considerable number of foreign heads of state. Moreover, the author's writing style shows that tourism was a new phenomenon in Iran in those days.

The establishment of numerous museums was another suggestion made in the report (p. 110). We know that Irān-e Bāstān Museum, the Ethnological Museum and Ferdowsi Museum are active at this time. The author of the report recommends the establishment of museums in all province and township centres, between which the objects found in excavations will be divided. The policy of museum development is pursued in the following years, with the establishment of public museums in some cities and several specialized museums in Tehran. As we will see, this policy is taken into consideration after the Revolution.

The acquisition, conservation, trade and exportation of antique objects have always constituted a major problem in Iran. The suggestions of the writer of the report in this domain include buying important Iranian relics from abroad and having them returned to Iran (p. 113), selling redundant historic artifacts to museums in the world (p. 116) and buying valuable pieces from local collectors (p. 130).

Activities pursued in this period concerning historic artifacts include the acquisition of a collection of objects from abroad, to which we will return. And for local collectors, in case they are willing to sell, rich and ready customers abound abroad. Therefore, as evidence shows, eagerness to sell to museums in the country seldom exists. The only documented case is that of a gold plaque discovered in Hamadān, which was sold to

²⁷ See the *Preliminary Report of the First Quinquennial Plan* (after the Islamic Revolution), published by the Plan and Budget Organization.

Iran according to the evaluation of the German Herzfeld and on the basis of the price foreigners would be willing to pay for it²⁸. It is also notable that the amount of objects exported legally or illicitly at the time was such that sellers had no reasons to deal with museums. And conversely, having total access to these objects, foreign museums naturally saw no reason to turn to the Iranian government to buy them.

Negahbān, E.²⁹ who was the deputy of the Archaeological Centre and Professor of Archaeology at Tehran University from 1960 to 1962, has recently compiled a report on the situation in those days, which is under press and was put at the author's disposal in manuscript form. Although his book is essentially comprised of his memories of the first scientific excavation carried out in Mārlik, it nevertheless includes points which illustrate the situation of cultural heritage at that time. These are small points, but they bear importance from the viewpoint of policies implemented in that period.

One of these points is that, although he had the required qualifications to become the director of the Archaeological Centre, how is it that he was its deputy? The reason is that one of the conditions of the French for the abolition of the agreement of 1930 was the assignment of a Frenchman to supervise cultural heritage activities. André Godard had held this post for thirty years, i.e. until 1959, and not only supervised cultural heritage activities but also controlled the design of Tehran University, the establishment of the Fine Arts Faculty and the determination of its architecture and dean, as well as the design of many significant monuments in Iran. Upon his leaving Iran in 1959, the Ministry of Culture decided to replace him with another foreigner [!] in the post. In 1961, Mr. Sadiq A'lam (1974, vol3:378-9) was given the mission of selecting a person for the purpose, during his participation in the Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology in New York. In his memories, Sadiq A'lam writes of this concern:

"Following deliberations with a number of scholars in New York, Washington and London, six persons were considered appropriate:

- Dr. Erdman, director of the Islamic section of Berlin Museum;
- Dr. Ettinghausen, director of the Islamic section of Freer Gallery, Washington;
- Oleg Grabar, director of the Islamic section of Michigan University;
- Hamilton, research director at Oxford University;

²⁸For further information in this concern, see Herzfeld's article in the Society for the Protection of National Monuments' collection of ancient publications, Tehran 1972.

²⁹Negahbān is one of the first Iranian archaeologists who completed superior studies in this field.

- Megaw, director of archaeology in Cyprus;
- Louis Vandenberghe, professor at Brussels University.

Studying their curricula and services, Hamilton was judged the most suitable choice".

Although, according to Sadiq A'lam (1974, vol3:380), the funds to pay one year of salary to Hamilton were prepared in advance, he did not come to Iran, and the directorship was given to a friend of the colleagues of the Minister of Culture (Negahbān, 1995:350). In 1960, news of large-scale embezzlements in the Archaeological Centre were published in the press. In an article, Fereydoun Tavallali, an Iranian archaeologist, popularly known for his poems, reveals some of the misappropriation related with covert deals on excavations and the exportation of objects (Negahbān, 1995:217). Inspectors are dispatched to investigate the matter, and:

"The trustworthy employees of the Archaeological Centre... taking the opportunity, give further information to the public concerning the connivance of authorities with excavators, antique dealers, etc., to the extent that the responsible authorities of the Ministry of Culture are obliged to implement superficial, fictitious actions intended to display activities being undertaken in order to correct the situation and clean up the system" (Negahbān, 1995:226).

According to the same report (p. 244), up to then some 100,000 excavation licenses had been issued and over 90% of these had reported as having found nothing. The fact was acknowledged by the authorities. It may seem that, according to the law, the government supervised these excavations. As concerns governmental supervision, since the Archaeological Centre lacked sufficient employees it could dispatch to all excavation sites, schools directors throughout the country had been requested to supervise excavations being done in their regions. Excavations were naturally done in daytime, when the school directors were busy with their own tasks. Thus, having obtained results and completed their excavations, excavators submitted their reports to the authorities, accompanied with bribes in exchange for their favourable attestation. Over 50 cases of fraud, beside those lost (Negahban, 1995: 246), were investigated by inspectors, among which one example is cited here.

In 1955, at an exhibition in Paris, Mohammad-Reza Shāh came across a collection of 70 important historic Iranian artifacts and orderd it to be bought. The owner, Marcelle Vidal, proposed the price of 150,000 dollars for the entire collection. The intermediaries

of the acquisition kept the proposition papers and, through an Iranian middleman, proposed a sum of 468,000 dollars for only 23 items, which was unfortunately paid and the deal concluded (pp. 232-5). When the author of this report, visiting the Minister of Culture, notified him of these infractions, the latter invited him to understand the pressures applied by higher authorities in this regard (p. 231). Negahbān writes, on page 366 of his report:

"To me, it was stunning and saddening that some antique dealers... openly spoke of their connections and friendship with influential figures and members of the royal family, such as the Shāh's brothers and sisters, and particularly his nephew, Shahrām Pahlavi".

It is interesting that Shahrām Pahlavi, aged 23, demanded a share of valuable historic gold and silver artifacts discovered in excavations carried out by officials of the government, and, failing to win his case, initiated a campaign of harassment against activities of this type, backed by the power of the court (Negahban, 1995: 619).

As Negahbān attests (1995:247), in such conditions: *"...clandestine excavations and smuggling had spread to an unprecedented degree throughout the country..."*. Actions are indeed taken upon propositions made by well-wishers to solve the above mentioned problems, but remain sterile. Inspections were made of antique shops dealing in objects retrieved in excavations, but the representative of the General Attorney, who was required to be present at such procedures, refused to cooperate after the first contact (Negahban, 1995: 252).

The second project was that of popular participation in excavations, meaning that excavations would be carried out scientifically by archaeologists and the expenses paid by amateurs, who would thus be participating. This project was also born still through the detraction of smugglers. In 1961, the new Minister of Culture, which is less under the influence of the court, having acquired his portfolio because of teachers' strikes and under their pressure (Āqeli, 1991b, vol.2, p.127), and as a result of the important discoveries made in Tappeh Mārlik, excavated by Iranian archaeologists, came to the conclusion that the majority of excavations effected by foreigners in Iran must have yielded similar results, which were smuggled out of the country without the government's knowledge. He, therefore, submitted the proposition of forbidding foreigners to excavate

in Iran. But reservations proposed by Negahban and the Minister's short-lived term in office did not allow the idea to be followed up (Negahban, 1995: 515).

Another item, raised in 1968 during the 5th Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, was the proposition of forbidding deals of cultural properties, submitted to the Unesco and later, in 1972, ratified by it as the law requiring the restitution of illicitly acquired cultural properties. The only favourable point one notices in this period was the new attitude which appeared in the teaching methods of the Archaeological Department of Tehran University. Necessary severity, which gradually weeded out individuals choosing this subject for the mere sake of certificates, and the addition of practical training and a mandatory scholar term on a historic site (1970), altered the situation of this department, so that, after 1979, these very archaeologists assumed the entire archaeological responsibility of the country without the presence of foreigners, who left Iran in the wake of the Islamic Revolution.

During the 1960s, steps were taken towards the conservation of historic monuments. The renewed presence of the Society for the Conservation of National Monuments and its influence upon governmental circles provided the means for conservation policies to be implemented. In 1963, this Society held a session in Esfahān, and, after visiting the most important monument in the city, decreed orders, under resolution No. 1, as to the methods of preserving them (Recommendations on National Monuments, 1963). Two years later, these recommendations, added with new ones, were printed and published. The recommendations published can be considered as the first technical conservation methods in Iran. Comparing the contents of the Venice Charter, issued one year later with those of the above mentioned recommendations, writers find them quite alike³⁰. This shows the close relationship between this Society and the Unesco and the international developments in the field of cultural heritage. The text of the resolution is long and contains details mostly concerning the monuments of Esfahān. It is reproduced in Farsi in Appendix VI, and here we only present a translation of its general recommendations concerning the country as a whole:

"Adopting sufficient free perimeters and spaces around historic monuments; refraining from erecting inharmonious new buildings in the vicinity of historic monuments; using indirect spot-lighting to illuminate domes, arches, gardens, tile-works, columns, parks and

³⁰These *Recommendations* were printed in 1963 by the Society for the Protection of National Monuments.

all kinds of majestic ancient monuments, naturally avoiding the use of tall lamp-posts and such elements unbefitting the majesty of the above mentioned time-honoured monuments; spending large sums and efforts on enlarging open spaces around archaeological sites; adapting urban plans with regard for the situation of historic buildings in cities; developing attractive light and sound programs to display at night in these monuments; and many other scientific and technical actions expressing appreciation of the cultural, artistic and historic memorials of mankind."

It can be seen how removed were the policies adopted concerning the attitude toward relics from the conditions prevailing in the country, and how impracticable they were in view of the possibilities existing in the society.

The main problem, besides the adoption of inappropriate policies and the corruption existing among cultural heritage authorities, was that of the funds required to implement the conservation of monuments. For this reason, a proposition of perceiving taxes on every locally produced or imported sack of cement was presented to Parliament and ratified. This action resulted in preliminary steps being taken in taking care of historic monuments. The law in question is noteworthy in that it caused a balance to appear between the growth of new buildings and the restoration of historic monuments. Sadiq A'lam (1974, vol3:110) writes in this concern: *"... From this source, the fixed income of the Society's activities were perceptibly increased."*

In the same year, the Fourth International Congress of Iranian Art and Architecture made the following recommendations to the Iranian government:

"Iran has ever been the creator of architectural styles and methods, achieving great masterpieces praised by the world at large. Therefore, in modern buildings, the same pleasant initiative, artistic taste and traditions are to be preserved and developed, and the imitation of western style construction forbidden" (Sadiq A'lam, 1974, vol3:363).

Contrary to these recommendations, excepting a few mausoleums built by this Society following the styles of historic monuments, and for some governmental buildings, Iranian architecture declined severely in this period. It lacked any artistic or cultural value. Ever since the late 1960s and into the 70s, when Iranian income from the sale of oil suddenly increased and construction work underwent a boom, the sole factor controlling the built environment was the taste of the *besāz-o-befrūshs* [those who "build to sell"] (Rajabi, 1976:156).

An important action carried out in 1965 concerning the conservation of historic monuments was the establishment of the Organization for the Conservation of Ancient Iranian Monuments (OCAIM). The factors which contributed to the establishment of this Organization can be listed as follows: The rights created in Europe during the 1960s concerning the conservation of cultural heritage, which reached Iran both by ordinary means and through university professors who had graduated in Europe; the increased presence in Iran of foreigners, particularly Americans (in these years some 60,000 Americans, with their families, lived in Iran as advisors), and their interest in the country's historic monuments (in preference to archaeological sites) in cities as Esfahān, Shirāz, Tabriz, Kermān; and the interest of Farah Diba, the Shāh's consort, in historic monuments which she had acquired while a student of architecture in France, prior to marrying the Shāh. The newly established Organization, benefitting from Iranian architects interest in Iranian historic architecture, rapidly spread throughout the country and, taking advantage of the economic boom of those years, rendered valuable services to the historic monuments. For several years after the Islamic Revolution, its provincial offices remained the main factors in the conservation of historic relics all over the country.

Considering the importance of the policies of this Organization, listed in 11 articles, the original is translated by the author into English and reproduced in Appendix VII. Here, a summary of the 11 articles therein, which illustrate the policies of the day is presented:

- 1. The Organization must assure that the entire Iranian population become aware of the importance of their country's historic relics, and is, therefore, to prepare an exhaustive inventory of historic monuments and sites and to put it at the disposal of the public;*
- 2. Appropriating and altering historic monuments must be totally forbidden. Building restorations must be carried out following the historic styles and ancient methods of the edifices, so that each monument can represent the architectural style and the arts and crafts of the artisans of its own period;*
- 3. The Organization must train the necessary experts for its activities;*
- 4. For each historic monument, two types of perimeters must be adopted: In the specific perimeter, any operation liable to harm the monument is to be forbidden; and in the general perimeter, construction work is to be subjected to defined standards;*
- 5. Each monument must have an identity card including its plans and construction sketches;*

6. *The Organization must train the necessary guides for the monuments;*
7. *Moulds and photographs of all historic relics must be made;*
8. *The country's historic sites must be appropriately safeguarded and their perimeters demarcated;*
9. *The Organization must utilize the personnel of the Science, Hygiene and Development Corps in its activities;*
10. *The Organization must cooperate with the Society for the Conservation of National Monuments and the Bequeaths Organization;*
11. *The Organization must secure its funds by collecting contributions from people, capital-holders and industries, and by expending governmental funds and using bequeath funds.*

As can be seen, although the Organization's duties include items similar to those of the law of 1930³¹, many of its resolutions are novel and determining. In the final Chapter, we will examine the weak and strong points of these policies and present recommendations as the means of alleviating the factors which led to their failure.

The best that happened to historic monuments in the 1960s and '70s was the political propaganda which they obtained. This caused a particular attitude, or definition, to emerge in the society in response to such relics.

With the Shāh's rule firmly established, the military power of Iran increased thanks to lavish American financial and military aid, the subjugation of both the Senate and the House to the Shāh through rigged elections (Āqeli, 1991b, vol.2, p.150-70), and the crushing of the popular uprising of 1964 initiated under the leadership of Imam Khomeini, which culminated in the martyrdom, imprisonment and banishment of thousands of people, created the impression that the path to the Shāh's absolute reign and the dissemination of American culture in Iran laid wide open. The rise of oil prices in the '70s transformed Iran into an importer of foreign goods, ranging from wheat to music.

The Shāh considered himself as having the mission of fighting against two types of reactionaries: "Black Reactionaries", meaning religious; and "Red Reactionaries", in the

³¹The similarity between some of the OCAIM and those of the Ministry of Culture, and the ensuing reciprocal interferences, are related with political matters which require a separate study.

sense of communists³². Two organisms had been set up to carry out the mission at hand: the Savak, which identified dissidents and fought them; and the Ministry of Arts and Culture, which propagated a culture neither black nor white. This ministry was constituted one year after the popular uprising of 1963. Its duties included disseminating modern culture through cinema, theatre and music, controlling books and newspapers, and, unfortunately, managing and guiding operations concerning historic relics and museums.

The separation of the department of activities concerning cultural heritage from its responsible Ministry of Education and its annexation to the largest propaganda organ of the Shāh's regime dealt a terrible blow upon cultural heritage and attitudes toward it in Iran³³. Thereafter, historic buildings became instruments destined to demonstrate the indispensability of the monarchic system. Monuments such as those of Persepolis or Safavid palaces, which represent the authority of Iranian kings, received particular attention and presentation.

On the international scene, Iran, while unable to produce even a needle, could however boast on two accounts: its oil wealth and its glorious past. The conjunction of these two factors is displayed during the festivities held in 1971 in commemoration of 2,500 years of Iranian monarchy. Before we examine these festivities and their damages upon the country's cultural heritage, perhaps we should first allude to a more restricted example of the same kind, which was held across the country in preceding years.

On the initiative of the Ministry of Arts and Culture, every year, the days between the Shāh's anniversary (October 26th) and that of his son (October 31st) were called the Week of Arts and Culture, and its Offices throughout the country held festivities.

The best locales for holding such ceremonies were historic monuments, which were generally architecturally attractive and provided suitable spaces for such functions. Thus historic monuments were turned into settings for the regime's propaganda. The

³²See the Shāh's speech in Qom in 1963, reproduced in the Iranian press.

³³An inclination toward adjoining cultural heritage to the institution in charge of the country's tourism activities again emerged after the Islamic Revolution, to which we shall return.

continuation of this situation altered the definition of these relics in people's minds, particularly that a great portion of the events of the representations clashed with popular religious inclinations. This impression was further reinforced when the people were faced with foreign tourists amid historic monuments mostly of religious nature. In view of Islam's particular teachings concerning men and women's clothing and behaviour, historic sites in fact witnessed the breach of these precepts, and popular sense of attachment to these relics declined.

Shirāz Art Festival, held yearly since 1970 in this religious city with a view to its connection with Persepolis and its use as the site for theatre, music, dance, etc., was judged highly avant-garde, even in Western countries. It transformed such localities to "forbidden cities" closed to the public. A number of avant-garde artists from across the world were invited, at exorbitant fees, to experiment their latest modern artistic creations in the historic gardens and monuments of Shirāz. In one of these shows, a totally nude couple copulates in the window of a shop in the city. Obviously, such actions arouse the indignation of the people, the students and the clergy, but are physically repressed. 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 people³⁴.

These actions, alongside the long-standing past of political, propaganda and commercial misuse of historic relics, sufficed to cut a deep chasm between the people and these relics. Its effects are perceptible to the present. But what aroused international outrage and even the protest of Iranian students residing abroad (Āqeli, 1991b, vol.2, p.256), were the extravagant, costly festivities commemorating the 2,500th anniversary of the Iranian Empire. Almost all the heads of state from throughout the world and/or their relatives attended these festivities. We do not seek, here, to evaluate the damages incurred by the employment of thousands of university students for over a year to rehearse the representations, the preparation of thousands of costumes, models, historic weapons, chariots, vessels and the like, the lavish entertainments provided for the guests, etc. Even the irreparable damages inflicted upon Persepolis by flattening and paving the historic area surrounding it in order to provide dwelling quarters for the

³⁴ *Keyhān* (Iranian newspaper), Feb. 19th 1979.

guests, fall beyond our point, although they did leave negative impact on popular attitude toward historic relics.

What mostly caused the glorification and preservation of cultural heritage, particularly pre-Islamic heritage, to be perceived by Iranians as an "Imperial" idea were the misuse the Shāh was making of Iranian history and artistic relics in order to consolidate his rule. When, facing the tomb of Cyrus, the Shāh proclaims: "Cyrus, O king of kings, O free man among free men, sleep in peace for we are awake, and shall ever remain awake!" ('Āqeli, 1991b, vol.2, p.256), he seeks to evoke a relationship between himself and past achievements in popular minds, to the extent that, after his downfall, the idea arose that these relics should be destroyed, and that whoever tries to conserve them is pro-Shāh and has "Imperial" tendencies. Five years later, historic relics from the sites of other festivities were again gathered here under the title of Glorification of 50 Years of Pahlavi Rule.

Thus, historic monuments consisted of edifices maintained by the government, visited by tourists and utilized for the purpose of governmental festivities. They had lost the power of transmitting social traditions and their intrinsic values to the present generation and were assigned an altered function. For example, one can cite the period's architecture, which, with such a brilliant past, lacks a trace of artistic and human values. Rajabi (1976:156) writes in this concern:

"In the early years of the fifth decade of the Pahlavi era, building houses and apartments by a number of unprofessional capital-holders becomes a daily occupation and, in the first years, works devoid of any art are created".

The author, who entered the Architecture Faculty of Tehran University in 1969, personally witnessed the absolute lack of reference to Iranian historic architecture all along his six years of study therein. If, in previous years, the students were at least invited to draw sketches of historic monuments, from 1968 onward this subject was also dropped from the course. This was because the personnel in charge of teaching in this faculty had travelled abroad while still young, immediately after graduating from high school, and returned holding a doctorate, but naturally lacking any insight into Iranian architectural history. Perhaps, in order to better apprehend the dimensions of the American cultural onslaught, we should pay attention to the fact that, since Dec. 1959, they had an independent TV channel in Iran. At a time when television was still an

imported novelty, the American channel's programmes were imported directly from the US, and their undermining of Iranian society was inevitable.

In opposition to this general trend, which was aimed at elevating Iran to the "Gates of the Great Civilization", and which had all the country's political, cultural and economic resources programmed for its realization and enjoyed the full backing of American might, there were interested, cultivated individuals among the country's teachers, archaeologists, museum curators, architects, artists, etc. making efforts at reminding the real value of historic relics. Here, we point out two examples in this case. In 1963, Tajvidi publishes in *Honar wa Mardom* magazine an article entitled "Let us preserve the handsome historic monuments of our country", of which it is perhaps enough to quote this one sentence: "Love for no other subject in Iran is as tiresome and dream-shattering as that for ancient works of art." (p. 1)

Those who have lived for long years in the current of Iranian events and the fate of its cultural heritage, probably understand the difficulty of the struggle for "returning to our own values" in the face of American imposed modern culture.

Master Karim Pir-Niā, who was one of the first students of the Architecture Faculty in Iran (1930), and who, as the author has learned, was deprived from graduating because of his interest in traditional Iranian architecture, writes an article entitled "Boulevard Sickness", in *Honar wa Mardom* (1968, No. 69), in which he describes the damages of tearing wide thoroughfares through the historic fabric of cities. Other examples of such warnings are also available, but the general flow of events is so impetuous that such attempts fail to bring about the slightest change in its course. The role of Farah Diba, the Shāh's consort, who created an office entitled Private Secretariat of Her Imperial Majesty Shahbānu Farah and grouped a number of her intellectual protagonists, who were active in cultural and historic affairs, must not be forgotten either. The Ministry of Arts and Culture, which, since its establishment (1964) until its dissolution (1979), was headed by the Shāh's brother-in-law and officially in charge of affairs concerning arts and cultural heritage, saw itself confronted with the open competition of the Private Secretariat to impose new trends in cultural, and particularly artistic, matters. The Secretariat mainly introduced recent artistic developments of Europe into Iran. The creation of such museums as the Glassware and Ceramics Museum of Iran, the Carpet

Museum of Iran, Rezā 'Abbāsi Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Arts are some of its offsprings³⁵.

Foreigners' particular interest in the values of Iranian cultural heritage during the 60s and 70s caused a wave of attention toward the historic monuments of Iran, the effects of which are conspicuous in the designs of the Carpet Museum or the Modern Art Museum, which somehow try to relate with the historic Iranian architecture.

Other actions arising from this tendency were the holding of two international Architecture Congresses in 1970 in Esfahān and in 1974 in Shirāz. Their aims were to devise methods by which tradition and industry could be linked in architecture. In her inaugural speech of the first Congress, Diba, F. (1971:13) thus addresses the most famous architects of the world:

"... But, in this context, what bears utmost importance for us and all the nations who have ancient patrimonies is to find solutions to reconcile traditions and progress".

The only results which remained from those Congresses must be the Persian translations of the lectures which were printed and presented in the course. The contents of the Congresses, the second of which the author attended in full, revolved around abstract generalities about Iranian problems, transforming them into a platform for displays of interest for Iran and its cultural heritage.

Therefore, in a general view of the situation of the Iranian cultural heritage in the years preceding the Islamic Revolution, we see that, save for rare exceptions, historic sites were excavated by foreign missions. The reports of their activities were invariably written and published in foreign languages. The illicit trade of historic items was carried out in the presence and with the assent of the ruling figures. Several specialized museums were added to the existing ones. Attention to cultural heritage was tainted with political and propaganda motives. A number of historic monuments more in view were repaired through the activities of the newly created Organization for the Conservation of Ancient Iranian Monuments. No relationship exists between contemporary constructions and historic edifices. And, most important, as a result of the political misuse of historic

³⁵Discussions are raised concerning the objects acquired from abroad for these museums and the artistic quality of items forming the collections of the Modern Arts Museum, which help understanding these events but into which we shall not delve here.

monuments, eagerness toward the country's cultural heritage, was assimilated to the ideals pursued by the Shāh and foreigners, and naturally abhorred.

6.5. CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, while studying the political and social developments of the Iranian society between 1900 and 1979, we have attempted to examine their effects on affairs related with cultural heritage. As, firstly, the results of each part of this Chapter are presented in their own sections and, secondly, the ultimate aim of this examination is to reach conclusions capable of helping us in looking toward the future of cultural heritage in Iran, we have refrained from presenting a chronological summary of events and their outcomes, listing the general results instead.

Until half-way through Qājār rule, as Iran was not seriously involved in European developments, no reason existed for traditional conditions prevailing in matters related to historic remains to change. In consequence of the developments which occurred in international affairs and in Iran by the end of this period, on the eve of the 20th century (previous Chapter), the society paid greater attention to its historic relics and, in practice, attempted to define its "status".

In this Chapter, while examining the evolution of this status in the course of the first eight decades of the present century, we became acquainted with its general features. These can be summarized as follows:

a) The Europeans' presence in Iran can be considered the essential cause of the emergence of the modern outlook upon historic relics. Naturally enough, this long-drawn, multi-faceted presence and domination led the Iranians to believe that historic relics and related matters are subjects which foreigners know and love better than themselves. The evidence presented in this Chapter attest to the fact that the foreigners in question carried out research on Iranian relics, delivered lectures and published books about them, came to visit them and excavated historic sites. They had their own conservation laws translated and implemented. Foreign embassies were also involved in these affairs and, for thirty years directly and during the next fifty years indirectly, controlled all such matters. Foreigners were in charge of restoring the most important

historic monuments, held congresses glorifying Iranian art and archaeology and remotely devised policies governing these affairs. They even had pieces of historic monuments acquired by all means necessary and taken out of the country.

The outcome of this course of events was that:

Firstly, the Iranians' sense of ownership of the relics was diminished and the necessary motivation to study and discover their values was not created. And in time, sensitivity concerning their loss decreased until finally, every manner of exploitation was allowed. Secondly, the amount and quality of Iranians' interest in their historic relics was no longer determined in terms of Iranian social values. Foreigners determined which relics they should pay attention to, and in what way. This is why we see that, regardless of recent periods, which have the greatest significance in and relationship with Iran's life, the society is invited to focus on the antique periods preferred by foreign archaeologists. Thirdly, the negative attitude brought about in the society by the political misconduct of foreigners affected everything in which they were interested, including historic relics. In the next Chapter, we will see that, after the Islamic Revolution, in a general rejection of all symbols of Western culture, the people bracketed historic relics in this category and were seldom eager to refer to them.

b) Another effective factor in the formation of the status of cultural heritage was the type of exploitation it suffered from in this period. Unlike in the past, when reference to relics was made for the purpose of learning lessons from them and understanding the value of man's life, the profit-oriented outlook transformed this idea, as we saw in the past Chapter, into a source of revenues. But, in this period, beside the perpetuation of the previous attitude, political exploitation turned cultural heritage into a means of exhorting nationalistic feelings and international pride, justifying the imperial system and fighting against Islam. The extreme attention paid in this period to pre-Islamic works of art can be attributed to the fact that, firstly, when Iran ruled half of the civilized world in the Achaemenian and Sassanian periods, relics from those ages not only recalled memories of Iranian grandeur and stirred up every Iranian's pride, but also created international prestige. Secondly, its glorification was meant to exalt an era which came to an end with the advent of Islam, when, allegedly, the majesty of Iran was lost. In the next Chapter, we shall see how, during the Islamic Revolution, when the Iranian population expressed its abhorrence of the imperial regime and its devotion to Islam, all historic relics which

had served as tools of imperial and anti-Islamic propaganda received similar condemnation.

c) The approximate coincidence of an initial attention to cultural heritage and the onset of Pahlavi rule, particularly with efforts focused on establishing a link between the two events, created the impression that consideration toward historic relics was more an inclination of the Pahlavi dynasty than an independent reality. In this way, if it was naturally possible for the society to gradually acquire an appropriate and timely appreciation of the value of its relics, this attitude prevented such an evolution from occurring. Therefore, the people's simplest instinct after the downfall of Pahlavi rule was to suppress this tendency.

d) The lack of a relationship between values prevailing in the society and policies and laws related to historic relics excluded from the circle of the people's social duties the tasks of paying attention to and taking care of those objects. Just as, in this period, the foreigners set the guidelines of affairs while the local rulers implemented them, respecting historic relics and preserving them was perceived as an alien policy or taste (and not a religious or social duty). At present the Iranian society's deep commitment to Islamic beliefs doubly declares the importance of this point particularly concerning the situation of post-revolutionary policies.

e) As a result of imposed western culture and diminishing social traditions, there was a need of referring to relics in order to attain such values as social identity disappeared. Therefore, the belief that such issues as identity, continuity and spiritual values could be enhanced by referring to relics became extremely difficult. This is how the factors capable of inviting the people to visit historic relics came to be only their recreational aspects. The continuation of this tendency could eclipse the very thought of any scientific or cultural value existing in relics, eventually transforming them into objects appropriate only for economic and recreational exploitation.

f) The status of cultural heritage in the society was also faced with economic difficulties. Investments in related research or conservation activities were neither sufficiently justified by the government nor by the people. As long as the government lacked the opportunity of politically exploiting the relics, no budget was allocated in this concern.

When this possibility appeared, investments were made only for monuments which could be used in an exploitative manner. Equally, other buildings and sites were conserved for foreign tourists if they wanted to see them. The majority of scientific activities, whether excavations or conservations of important monuments, were carried out by foreign missions, with their capital. And the indigenous people found neither religious reasons to contribute to the conservation of relics (excepting mosques and religious monuments) nor sufficient justification to consider it a social duty. While objects were stolen from holy shrines and the country's highest officials involved in smuggling cultural properties, the people, instead of contributing, only thought of benefitting from them. Meanwhile, traditional mechanisms such as *Waqf* and *Bāqiāt-os-Sālehāt* (Chapter Four) had also been weakened in practice, without any effective modern method replacing them.

g) The absence of a necessary relationship between society and historic relics placed the responsibility of all related affairs upon the shoulders of the government in fact, assigning it the duty of intervening in every cultural heritage matter. The administration of the only semi-governmental organization by the country's highest political authorities also added to the magnitude of the problem, strengthening the belief that the people had no responsibility in the matter.

h) The negative tone of legislations and absence of rewards also affected the general impression of the status of cultural heritage in the public's mind. The government's reliance on financial and penal measures and its incapacity to properly invest in or to help repair monuments in need of attention further reduced the people's appreciation of historical remains. At the same time, in virtue of these laws, commercial excavation was allowed to Iranian and non-Iranians, which meant nothing but the destruction of historic sites for looting their valuable objects, whose exportation was also authorized. Disregarding even these laws, members of the court and their relatives were busy plundering historic properties. The preventive laws concerning alterations were only enforced upon the ordinary people, who owned ancient houses.

i) The affiliation of the department of cultural heritage with the regime's most important tool of propaganda, namely the Ministry of Arts and Culture, was another factor which hindered the emergence of a correct understanding of cultural heritage in the society.

In the next Chapter, we shall see that it was the first ministry to be dissolved after the Revolution. The proximity of the department of cultural heritage to those of governmental cinema, theatre, music and dance, which all promoted American-Imperial cultural ideals, reduced cultural heritage to the level of an instrument of publicity. Misappropriation of artifacts committed under the management of this ministry, particularly all that happened during the festivities commemorating the 2,500 anniversary of the Iranian Empire, seriously advanced the society's rejection of historic relics.

Although, notwithstanding the policies implemented during this period, the people's relationship with their cultural heritage was so deep that their attachment to relics persisted as sparks glowing beneath the ash, as was seen in occasional efforts to prevent the plunder of relics, or efforts to restore monuments or train expert man-power. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the following Chapter, the effects of factors mentioned were so intense as to cause Iranian society, to remain unsuccessful in finding a moral policy for the use of cultural heritage, when Iran had adopted the return to its own values as its first revolutionary objective. The development of the concept of cultural heritage and its related affairs in the wake of the Islamic Revolution, as well as the measures taken to alleviate the unfavourable conditions which surrounded it, are subjects we shall study in the following Chapter.

Cultural Heritage in Iran after the Islamic Revolution

7.1. INTRODUCTION

As we saw in the last two chapters, Iran was submitted for over 200 years to various pressures from different directions. The Islamic Revolution can be considered a movement toward ridding the country from such pressures. The principal ideals guiding the Revolution may be viewed as the outcrop of factors that had aroused public disapproval along the previous decades. In the author's opinion, these ideals have not yet been properly identified or examined. A blatant example of ignorance about the qualities governing the Iranian society can be found in the words of the American President a few months before the Shāh's flight from Iran and the victory of the Revolution. Addressing the Shāh, he says:

"Owing to the Shāh's great leadership, Iran has become an island of stability in one of the most turbulent regions of the world. Your Majesty, this is due to an extreme reverence for yourself, your leadership and the praise and love of your nation for you" (Āqeli, 1991b, vol2:335).

Numerous examples of a similar unawareness can be cited at the present time. If, in the course of years, all the country's aspects were shaped by foreigners and their local agents, naturally enough, we would expect the Revolution to end foreign interference in its affairs. If, through the intermediary of local rulers, the country's interests and resources were swindled into foreigners' pockets, the Revolution came after the abolition of this unbalanced "equation". If only a particular group benefitted from the country's wealth, leaving the destitute classes of the society to live in the worst conditions, the Revolution was intent upon reasserting the rights of the deprived. If Iran had acquired military power in order to become a threat to its neighbours and a gendarme for the oil-rich countries around the Persian Gulf, the Revolution wished to correct these relationships. If, through foreign interference and a parliament of yes-men, the people were denied their say as to their fate, the Revolution desired to have this right returned to them. If the people's Islamic beliefs had become a toy in the hands of individuals who perceived the eradication of Islam as the key to their survival and aspired to reaching

for the American "Great Civilization", the Revolution aimed at reviving the Islamic values existing within the society. If the country had long been deprived of the presence of personalities the society considered as being most knowledgeable and most pious but who lived in prison or exile, the Revolution wished to entrust the country's affairs to such men. If all the country's cultural matters served the dissemination of Western culture, the Revolution wanted to open a new chapter in which the country reverted to values of its own. Each of these ideals somehow influenced the formation of cultural policies after the Revolution.

In this Chapter, we shall review how the events that occurred after the Revolution have affected the continuation, abolition or amendment of policies left behind from the past or the adoption of new cultural heritage policies, so that a picture of the existing situation of the policies and the reasons for their formation can be visualized. In order to simplify the study, we shall divide it into several parts.

First we shall examine the status and meaning of cultural heritage under the Islamic Revolution, then the decisions and actions taken during the first three years (1979-1981) will be described. In the following Section, which partly coincides with the period during which the author served as the director of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO), we will describe the policies and actions which led to the creation of ICHO. An analysis of the orientations and operations of this Organization, until the end of the author's tenure (1991), will be given. Lastly, we shall examine the latest events in this domain.

Thus the reader will become acquainted with the theoretical principles governing cultural heritage in Islamic worldly outlook in Part I, and observe the history of the evolution of cultural heritage policies implemented in Iran to the present in Part II. We will reach the final Chapter, which comprises suggestions for improving these policies in years to come.

7.2. THE REVOLUTION VIS-À-VIS CULTURAL HERITAGE

The Islamic Revolution is deeply rooted in Iranian history¹. The most important factor in the formation of this historical movement can be found in its Islamic Shi'ite creeds and the governmental system it aims at². According to Shi'ite belief, the government belongs to the Prophet (PBUH) and his appointed Imams. In the absence of *Olo-l-Amr* [Endowed with the right of governing] Imams, their successors, selected under particular conditions, are responsible for the government of an Islamic country. Whenever the rule is usurped by other individuals, the *Marāje'* [Plural of *Marja'*: Shi'ite leaders] have the duty of restraining them as far as possible from committing actions against Islam. One witnesses such examples in the confrontation of Āyatollāh Shirāzi with Nāsser-ed-Din Shāh, Āyatollāh Modarress with Rezā Shāh, Āyatollāh Kāshāni with Mohammad-Rezā Shāh early in his first reign, and Āyatollāh Khomeini again with Mohammad-Rezā Shāh during his second reign. Turning back to the history of Imām Khomeini's open opposition to the Shāh, one notices that his protests concern the disagreement between the laws adopted by the government and Islamic precepts.

Therefore, contrary to the belief of those who have characterized the Islamic Revolution as an opposition on the part of the country's reactionaries against its rapid developments derived from oil revenues, this Revolution rather intended to preserve Islamic values and had no reason to stand against progress, which initially agrees with Islamic values. This is an important point in our discussion, because it clears the way to perceiving the dimensions of the Iranian society's attachment to its Islamic identity and expounds the role of cultural heritage in reaching this identity. What can be observed in the Revolution's principal slogan, "Neither Eastern, Nor Western, Islamic Republic", is that it rejects the congruity of Western and Eastern models with the management of a Muslim society and revives the national Islamic identity of Iranians. It strongly advises a return to Islamic identity and, naturally, situates the country's cultural heritage at the heart of the Revolution.

¹ For further information in this regard, see 'Ali Davāni's collection of books on the Movement of the Clergy in Iran, Tehran, 1983.

² For further information concerning the governmental system towards which Shi'ites strive, see Khomeini (1964): *Velāyat-e Faqih*.

The best source for reviving the identity of the society and reverting to national and Islamic values from Western and Eastern ones is the preservation of cultural patrimonies, whether tangible or intangible. Such an attitude toward cultural heritage becomes conspicuous, several months before the victory of the Revolution, in a reversion to social traditions. The simplest manifestations of this attitude can be seen in the adoption by men and women of Islamic clothing (which had been forbidden under Rezā Shāh), their abstinence of ostentation or involvement in a consumption contest initiated on account of oil sales, or the cessation of Western-style cultural productions such as music, cinema, etc. Realizing the direction of popular desires, the Shāh's Government too, in one of its first retreats in the face of the Revolution, and obviously with the aim of appeasing it, took steps toward respecting the society's traditional values. The general announcement of that shift was the removal of a Prime Minister in service for 13 years (since 1977), who was famed for his enthusiasm toward the dissemination of Western culture in the society, and his replacement with a man apparently respectful of social traditions. Other examples of such actions were the; reversion of the National Calendar, in the final years, from the Imperial origin, adopted during the festivities of the 2500th anniversary of the Iranian Empire, back to its Hejrah origin; and the termination of the Shirāz Art Festival, etc.

Unlike the spontaneous trends which manifested themselves toward intangible cultural values during the Revolution, attention to the tangible cultural heritage was not remarkable, firstly because the employment and use of its values could not be readily achieved, and secondly by reason of the improper image these relics had acquired in past years in the mind of the society. Rare cases of attention toward historic relics at this time, which do not occur in view of their historic values, are as follows:

In every district, in order to coordinate their activities against the Shāh, the people, and the youth in particular, gathered in mosques, which are mostly historic monuments. Larger mosques operated at the urban level. All the gatherings were held to listen to speeches or exchange revolutionary tapes, books and tracts were made in mosques. The mosques, where previously only elderly people were busy praying, had been transformed into an ebullient revolutionary foci.

The appearance the mosques assumed in that period, and the communion that was created between these historic locales, persisted well after the Revolution, all along the Iran-Iraq war, whether for gathering and dispatching voluntary forces to the front, collecting people's donations to the poor, or providing primary military equipment. As a result, popular attention was drawn to these monuments and better conditions were created for their conservation.

Another case of attention being drawn toward cultural heritage concerned the valuable collection of artifacts known as the Crown Jewels³, which, it was feared, were in danger of being taken out of the country. It must be mentioned here, in preamble, that people who had amassed immense riches before the Revolution indeed transferred their wealth abroad. According to the official report of the Central Bank, one billion dollars were transferred out of Iran within three weeks (Āqeli, 1991 vol2:363) and, as attested by the French News Agency, a minimum of 5,000 dollars were daily moved abroad by such individuals for several months (Āqeli, 1991 vol2:371). In such conditions, the danger of the Crown Jewels being removed by the Shāh or his henchmen was a real one, which, as it appears, was fortunately not realized because of the latter's hasty departure or his hope of returning. This caused popular attention to be attracted to the necessity of preserving other valuable cultural relics within the country.

As concerns the transfer of other superb historic relics abroad, although no clear statistics can be stated, because of the conditions prevailing in the country's customs offices and the rulers' option of exporting goods through VIP enclaves, several reasons exist for believing that this was done. One such reason is the transfer of huge sums of currency, as mentioned above, which denotes a tendency of the wealthy to transfer their riches abroad. But, since the sale of costly cultural objects within a short time and at reasonable prices was not possible inside the country, it ensued that they had to be sold outside. Meanwhile, buildings, which could not be transferred abroad, underwent a sharp depreciation in those days (Āqeli, 1991, vol. 2:382). Another reason is the existence and ongoing activity of large dealers of Iranian antiquities abroad and the

³ This collection of jewels and bejewelled objects was amassed along the rulers of past dynasties, such as the Safavids, the Afshārs and the Qājārs, and was preserved in the Central Bank as the backing of its currency.

wholesale supply of Iranian objects at auctions⁴ in the years following the Revolution, which suggests that they were taken out in those days. Delving into this matter falls beyond the limits of the present study, but is indispensable for the preparation of an extensive inventory of Iranian historic relics.

One of the first actions, taken within the first hours following the victory of the Revolution in relation with the cultural heritage, was the publication of the late Tāleqāni's (a religious leader) Proclamation, which announced that the contents of palaces belonged to the people and exhorted the population to refrain from causing any destruction therein. Although several of the Shāh's palaces in Tehran and the provinces were assaulted by the people and angry crowds entered their premises, save for rare exceptions, no theft or degradation was committed there. Palaces such as the Golestān, which had been the seat of Qājār and Pahlavi rule for over 150 years and abounded in artifacts, presents sent by kings and objects such as the Peacock Throne, bejewelled with thousands of sizable gems, lay unguarded at the mercy of the crowds, yet sustained no harm. This was the first sign of a popular eagerness for the preservation of historic, cultural relics, which was later realized when these edifices were transformed into public museums.

Although, in the proclamations issued by Imām Khomeini after the victory of the Revolution, exhortations for the preservation of historic relics were included among general advice of holding social law and order⁵, apparently the impression left behind in the people's minds of Persepolis under the Shāh, was such that they excluded it from the category of respectable relics. Thus, two days after the victory of the Revolution, a crowd set out toward it from Shirāz (45 km. away), with the intention of destroying it (Interior reports of Shirāz Cultural Heritage Office, 15 Feb. 1979). It appears that, although a renewed reference to the country's tangible and intangible Islamic-Iranian cultural heritage is taken into consideration early after the victory of the Revolution, an understanding between its historic relics and the Revolution takes longer to come by.

⁴ For further information in this concern, see the catalogues published by Christies and Sothebys from 1980 to 1985.

⁵ See the proclamations of Feb. 11th & 12th 1979, in the collection *Sahife-ye Noor*, vol. 5, p. 76, published by the Documentation Centre of the Islamic Revolution, Tehran, 1989.

7.3. FIRST THREE YEARS IN THE WAKE OF THE REVOLUTION

During the first days of the Revolution, the Revolutionary Council decided on the dissolution of the Ministry of Arts and Culture and its integration into the Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education. In this way, a Ministry of Culture and Higher Education came into being. Although that measure was taken rather owing to the past artistic and book censorship activities of that ministry, all of which ran against revolutionary values, yet, since the cultural heritage sector had been among its departments, the department in question was included in this integration. In this way, the cultural heritage was entrusted to a ministry, not only faced with an enlarged volume of duties equivalent to those of two ministries, but was also obliged to devote most of its attention to the affairs of universities, which enjoyed a special status in the victory of the Revolution.

On the one hand, the concept of cultural heritage had become so distorted in the past that any popular support for this department's activities could hardly be expected, and, on the other, the extreme absorption of individuals aware of the true value of cultural heritage in handling the affairs of the Revolution and the general conditions of the society, made their cooperation in this domain unavailable. In these conditions, the network of offices concerned with cultural heritage had to survive in a period of uncertainty.

The only noteworthy measures taken in that period concerning the cultural heritage were several sanctions, mostly issued without any involvement on the part of the Cultural Heritage Department, along propositions made by culturally-minded members of the Revolutionary Council or in support of the duties of other institutions. Exactly three months after the victory of the Revolution, in a first official statement on the country's cultural heritage, an Act entitled "Prevention of illegal excavations and investigations aimed at retrieving ancient artifacts and historic relics, the creation or construction of which according to international standards, date back to 100 or more years" was ratified⁶. In order to clarify the viewpoint of its protagonists, we present a translation of the introductory section and a brief description of the Articles of this Law (C. L. P:29).

⁶ *The Collection of Laws and Regulations Concerning the Cultural Heritage in Iran* was printed by ICHO in 1989. All references to Iranian cultural heritage laws in this research are based on this source, that we will call it C.L.

Single Article⁷: *Considering the necessity of preserving the resources belonging to the Islamic and cultural patrimonies and safeguarding these relics from the viewpoints of sociological and scientific, cultural and historical research, and considering the necessity of preventing the plunder and exportation of these valuable resources, which is prohibited by national and international laws, the following Single Article is ratified:*

- *All excavations and investigations aimed at retrieving ancient objects are strictly prohibited and violators will be liable to prison terms of up to three years.*
- *Wherever objects are discovered accidentally, if the land belong to the discoverer, the owner shall be remitted twice the current price of their raw materials value in the case of precious metals and jewels, or otherwise one half of their assessed value.*
- *If the land does not belong to the discoverer, one half of the above sums shall be remitted.*
- *Selling and buying discovered objects are also considered criminal deeds.*

Thus, legally, all commercial excavations were abolished in Iran. The second legal step was the sanction concerning the importation and exportation of original antiquities and cultural and artistic relics (C. L. P:157). Superseding the law of 1975, by which such items were exempted from customs duties, it restricted their import and export to existing customs regulations. Moreover, the exportation of all sorts of ancient cultural and historic objects and relics was made conditional upon securing the authorization of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. A third sanction, issued in the course of January 1980 (C. L. P:203) and forbidding the exportation of all types of ancient and artistic objects, later completed these.

These sanctions, all issued within a few months after the victory of the Revolution, in a period of social turmoil, show the responsible authorities' anxiety about the danger of historic sites being looted and the country's cultural and artistic relics transferred abroad. In addition, in the new Constitution, one reads under Article No. 83 (C. L. P:28):

"Governmental buildings and properties falling into the category of national masterpieces cannot be transferred, excepted upon the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, and on the condition that they are not unique national items".

The following law concerned the fate of Sa'd-Ābād and Niāvarān palaces (formerly inhabited by the Shāh and his family) and the properties therein (C. L. P: 59). Its

⁷ All the laws and regulations referred to in this Chapter are translated by the author.

application entailed, firstly, the transfer of all the palaces to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education then in charge of cultural affairs for the purpose of transforming them into museums, and secondly, the assessment of all the properties within the palaces by a mission comprising representatives of cultural, economic and judicial authorities and the subsequent transfer of all items found to be of museological interest to this Ministry and of those without cultural significance but bearing great economic value to the Central Bank, and the preservation of items devoid of cultural value and worth less than 100,000 Tomāns (about the price of an ordinary car at the time) for uses to be later determined by the law. A complementary law was also ratified concerning the latter items (C. L. P:298). Ultimately, all the items in question were entrusted to the Cultural Heritage Department.

The foreigners who had been conducting archaeological activities or restoring historic buildings in Iran had mostly left the country before the victory of the Revolution. Thus, all activities concerning these sites were also halted. In the last years before the Revolution, Iranian archaeologists had begun excavations at a number of these sites. More or less out of necessity, those excavations were continued after the Revolution. It is interesting to note that, after the Revolution, experts from cultural heritage departments attempted to show that they were capable of running all such affairs and prove that they had no need of the presence and supervision of foreigners.

Although the social and financial conditions did not allow for a very extensive operation, the movement begun in those years, led to the Iranian experts takeover of affairs and the continuation of their control to the present day. The repairs of monuments, and emergency work was likewise carried out, as far as possible, by Iranian experts available in the provinces. In the initial years after the Revolution, the greatest difficulty was to stop activities that caused damage to historic sites and monuments. Several reasons existed for this situation.

Firstly, the revolutionary authorities appointed to key positions, such as governors, provincial administrators, office directors, judges, police commanders, etc., were mostly unfamiliar with past laws concerning the conservation of cultural heritage. From among them, therefore, only those personally acquainted with the values of such relics were willing to cooperate with the authorities for their conservation. Secondly, a large variety

of new needs had appeared in the provinces. They derived, on the one hand, from the conditions prevailing in the post-revolutionary era and, on the other, from the large-scale Iraqi invasion of western and southern Iran, which affected the entire country by its requirements (Iraq's invasion of Iranian soil took place only 7 months after the victory of the Revolution and lasted 8 years). Examples of such cases can help to clarify the complexity of the situation we are trying to convey.

After the victory of the Revolution, Friday Prayers, which had been abandoned under the Shāh, were re-established. In every large city, sometimes close to a million people took part in these congregational prayers. The prayers were usually performed in the largest (Jāme') mosque of the town, which invariably was rated as a historic monument. Since, come winter or summer, the worshippers were to spend at least one hour in these locations, the construction of temporary shade roofs, public ablution facilities, etc. was required. Of course, these tasks had to be completed in the shortest possible time and at the lowest cost, which precluded respecting all the monuments' conservation standards (as in the case of Vakil Mosque, at Shirāz, in Fars).

Many historic sites were located in nearby cities and towns (particularly small ones), so that those willing to benefit from the opportunity provided by the Revolution to build dwellings of their own tended to encroach upon the sites (as in the case of the historic site of Eslām-Ābād-e Gharb, at Kordestan). Individuals whose habitations or business premises (bazaars) were registered, forbidding their alteration or relocation, were on the lookout to achieve their aims by taking advantage of the temporary lack of supervision (as in the case of the bazaar of Ardebil, at Azarbayjan).

The local authorities in the provinces occasionally allocated historic buildings to be used by some newly created institution or for some other purpose (as in the case of Arg-e Karim-Khāni at Shirāz, in Fars).

And police forces, considering the physical location and architectural features of caravanserais on the outskirts of towns and cities, wished to have some of these historic relics restored and used as curing centres for drug addicts.

As for the war-imposed requirements, the following examples were outstanding:

- Location of anti-aircraft systems atop historic monuments, due to their relative elevation in the surrounding plains (as the case of Choghā Zanbil, at Khozestan);
- Demolition and reconstruction of parts of urban fabrics hit by missiles (as the case of Jāme' Mosque at Kermānshāh);
- Utilization of abandoned historic buildings as ammunition stores or reparation and preparation of ancient caravansaries for holding war captives (as the case of Shush Museum, at Khozestan; and the case of Semnān caravansary at Semnān).

Naturally, the authorities responsible for the cultural heritage had to improve their control over the situation. And this turned the cultural heritage authority into a restructuring agency, in that momentous period following the Revolution, when the country was involved in a war. Individual cases presented in this regard to judicial authorities, besides involving mostly complaints against governmental officials, added to the affairs of the Revolution, while appearing of lesser importance and unworthy of being pursued, particularly in that the courts were faced with a kind of legal vacuum. On the one hand, as the majority of conservation laws dated back to pre-revolutionary days, their power had become undermined after the Revolution and, on the other, many courts were unclear about the necessity of the conservation of historic relics. In short there was considerable confusion that had to be painstakingly sorted out by frequent visits from staff at the Cultural Heritage Department.

The multitude of monuments scattered throughout the country, the dissolution of the ministry in charge of the cultural heritage, the abandonment of sites where foreigners had been active, popular dislike of the department of cultural heritage, the ever-increasing demands of the Revolution and the war, the direct pressures of the war upon four provinces housing parts of Iran's most valuable cultural patrimony, and finally the prevailing legal vacuum and the inconsistency of instructions to be applied to violators, had transformed the conservation of the country's cultural heritage into a near insoluble problem. At the time, on 30 Nov., 1981, the author was appointed by the Minister of Culture and Higher Education to take charge of the management of cultural heritage affairs.

7.4. NEW DIRECTIONS FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE

To achieve a precise understanding of the legislation that is made hereafter to animate the Cultural Heritage Department, it would require an examination of every measure taken, attitude adopted or experience gathered during these years, thus clearing the way for more articulate policies. Such an enumeration is neither necessary nor feasible in this study. Here, omitting the examination of many of the methods implemented concerning the conservation of cultural heritage, we shall only describe the movement which, within the framework of the policies of the time, led to the establishment of ICHO.

It is perhaps useful, in order to clarify our purpose, to indicate one such method. Many individuals who had been active, before the Revolution, in commercial, random excavations aimed at discovering hidden treasure, had turned to other occupations following the legal ban on such activities. Yet, paying visits to officials at all levels, they kept offering to cooperate in finding these treasures⁸. Thus, rather than individuals, the cultural heritage authority was faced with a situation where the matter was rapidly turning from a cultural one into a subject of dissent between two governmental bodies. Although the conditions of the Cultural Heritage Department advised a passive attitude to be adopted in dealing with the problem, instead of perpetuating these kinds of squabbles, the matter and the dangers of its persistence were described in a visit paid to the Prime Minister, who thereupon issued a directive forbidding all governmental offices from entering into any cooperation in this domain. In this directive, one reads:

"As, according to the Constitution, the policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran are aimed at their regaining their original forms, contents and ways through the preservation and safeguard of the cultural heritage and the sublimation of Islamic-Iranian culture, ..." (C. L. P:225).

This was the first time, after the Revolution, that, beyond welcoming the idea of paying attention to our cultural heritage, one of the highest officials of government clearly stated the necessity of reviving the original Islamic-Iranian culture. The directive mentioned was successful in its own right in averting many more mishaps.

In 1982, as decided by the Ministerial Cabinet, the sections of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education (created from the merger of two ministries) involved in educational and

⁸ This is the same phenomenon of which a few examples concerning the 1st century AH were presented, in Mass'udi's words, in Chapter Five.

research activities were to be determined and amalgamated into an independent ministry, and the remainder, mostly belonging to the erstwhile Ministry of Arts and Culture, integrated into the newly created Ministry of Islamic Guidance. The latter ministry itself included the remaining sections from the Ministry of Tourism and Information, operating as one of the pillars of propaganda under the Shāh. The author, representing the Minister of Culture and Higher Education, and the deputy of the Minister of Islamic Guidance⁹, were appointed to carry out this task. As already mentioned, such institutions as universities, scientific and cultural research centres, academies and the like were to be transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, and such sections as the cinema, the theatre, the press, etc. to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

In view of the author's responsibility for the Cultural Heritage Department during the execution of the above mentioned mission, two principal goals were pursued in relation with this Department: **1)** the adjunction of the Cultural Heritage Department to the Ministry in charge of Research and Higher Education; and **2)** the agglomeration of units active in the field of cultural heritage into a unique organization. To understand the first policy, mention must first be made of the status of cultural heritage in the society. In most general terms, two main viewpoints are to be distinguished. First, the one we shall call cultural-scientific, which attempts to expound the values of relics to the society by adopting a research-oriented attitude toward them. And second, the one we shall characterize as oriented toward tourism and publicity, and which tends to demonstrate the values of relics by displaying them and creating the conditions for the public to visit them.

Naturally, the first orientation requires greater investments and seldom yields direct, rapid benefits, whereas the second allows swifter economic profits to be made from cultural resources. Although their coexistence also appears possible (as is customary in many European countries), one must bear in mind that, in Developing Countries, the particular economic pressures they suffer often cause a shift to be made toward the second orientation, leaving much of the cultural heritage to be exploited entirely for economic purposes.

⁹ Mr. Bizhan Zanganeh, presently Minister of Energy in Iran.

As we saw in Part I, according to the teachings of the Holy Quran, Islamic societies must strive to access the immense value existing in relics and paving the ground for their discovery and eventual public exhibition. The current "touristic" exploitation of historic relics may well fill the leisure time of the population and produce good revenues for the country, but it must not be allowed to overwhelm the study and presentation of works of art, transforming them only into a "business". The coexistence and communication of cultural heritage units with research centres, higher education institutions and universities established this special status of cultural heritage activities in the society and, with exchanges taking place between experts on their research works, provided the opportunity for cultural heritage to turn, from a recreational instrument, into a scientific-cultural activity.

On the other hand, the history of the misuses made of the cultural heritage in the Pahlavi era, which we briefly examined in Chapter Six, was so vast that, at least for a while, historic relics had to be removed from the scene of daily exploitation, giving them time to regain their place in society, and in the consciousness of government itself. Therefore, from this viewpoint as well, it was important to avoid transferring this activity to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

The second goal, i.e. the agglomeration of units concerned in one way or another with historic relics into a unique organization, was deemed important and adopted because, during his first year in charge, the author had come to the conclusion that, whether from the viewpoint of the volume of activities, which amounted to those of a full ministry, or in terms of their quality, which required the organization's direct contact as an independent institution with other offices and social institutions, grouping the units in an independent organization was indispensable. Therefore, while continuing with the day to day affairs of the work, the transfer of units was done in a way as to make the achievement of this goal possible. On the whole, it was decided that all the units of this Department should be initially transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education and a legal Act concerning the establishment of the relevant organization was prepared and submitted to the Parliament at a later stage. Obviously, for units which, for any reason, could not be immediately be transferred, there remained the option of being decided upon when the Bill was even finally submitted. Efforts were therefore made to

quickly go through the transfer negotiations, allowing the new organisation for cultural heritage to emerge as soon as possible.

In the case of such units as the Archaeological Centre, the Ethnological Centre, the General Office for the Historic Monuments, the Council for the Preservation of Historic Artifacts, etc., whose scientific and research-oriented type of activities were proven, the task was advancing smoothly. It was even accepted that Irān-e Bāstān Museum be transferred, as the mother-museum, to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education and adapted to house research activities on historic relics. Disagreement concerned the museums and palaces (recently transformed into museums or intended to be), which the representative of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance considered of lesser scientific or educational value and believed should be transferred to his ministry.

Another organizational problem was that the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education lacked offices in provincial and township centres¹⁰, whereas the dissolved Ministry of Arts and Culture had possessed a general office with chapters in all the provincial centres, which were to be transferred, as agreed, to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. That general office was comprised of various offices, including those dealing with cultural heritage. Therefore, since, from both the organizational and physical viewpoints, an office could not be severed from its general office, the cultural heritage offices throughout the country were transferred to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, while their principal units in Tehran were part of another ministry.

Eventually, with the transfer of headquarters units in the Capital to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, a department was created in this ministry under the title of "Conservation and Revival of Cultural Heritage", which was headed by the author as the deputy minister. In addition to managing this Department, the author was also the minister's representative in the National Organization for the Conservation of Ancient Iranian Monuments, which had been transferred in name to this ministry but was still run independently. That Organization had provincial units and could somehow act as our cultural heritage representatives in the provinces. Running the affairs of the provinces with offices affiliated to another authority was very difficult. The subsidiaries of the

¹⁰ Universities and research institutes existing in the provinces were independent units which only received their general policies from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education.

General Office of Islamic Guidance in the townships did not consider it their legal duty to support the cultural heritage units, and even appointed some of the personnel, such as watchmen and museum workers, to carry out lowly administrative jobs. In this way, not only was this Department deprived of sufficient support, but, having lost its personnel, it gradually drifted toward annihilation.

Having completed the transfer operations, the most important duties to be tackled were: **a)** bringing about better conditions for the conservation of relics; **b)** further preparing the responsible authorities' opinion toward taking better care of cultural heritage; and **c)** preparing the ground for the creation of a new organization.

As explained above, in the first few years after the Revolution, and with the outbreak of war, on the one hand the conditions were favourable to the breach of conservation laws, and on the other the prevention of those breaches was difficult for various reasons. Firstly, rather than for personal profit, the majority of these infringements were committed to create social utilities. For example, the mayor of Hamadān intended to transform part of the historic hill of Hegmatāneh, located within the city and constituting one of the most important archaeological sites in Iran, into a station of inter-city mini-buses, with the aim of providing easier public access to this service. Secondly, educational activities aimed at acquainting the public with the cultural heritage had been so inept in the past, that not only the official ordering such an action had not been familiarized with the values of ancient relics, but popular opinion also lacked the necessary sensitivity toward such remains. Thirdly, in view of the image they had been acquired in the past, the necessity of preserving ancient relics did not appear very appealing to our post-revolutionary society. Fourthly, although the majority of the population was willing to accept whatever was considered valuable from the Islamic viewpoint, even then no strong argument existed to assert the values of the cultural heritage in Islamic terms. Fifthly, the existing cultural heritage laws, all left over from before the Revolution, were not duly appreciated in the Revolutionary Tribunals. Sixthly, the remaining personnel of this sector in the provinces (through the transfer of its director general to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance) were not in any position to prevent such irregularities. Seventhly, the provincial general offices were not willing to become involved in administrative and judicial entanglements for the sake of protecting the cultural heritage from local exploitation.

In these conditions, in order to at least accomplish their legal duty of making an effort towards reducing infringements, the units of this department had no recourse but that of filing complaints with appropriate justice courts. Thus, a large number of complaints were submitted by individuals and various institutions, sullyng the relations of this Department with many other sectors. The author remembers when, at a meeting of the Minister and his deputies, a deputy proposed detaching the Cultural Heritage Department from the ministry, on the grounds of the complications this Department entailed and the negative image it was giving to the Ministry.

The course adopted to solve the problem was to transform the policy of "confrontation" into one of "elucidation", in the sense that, in most cases where a decision or project jeopardized the security of relics, the author, accompanied with one or two colleagues, would immediately travel to the site and, while examining the situation, attempt to explain its importance and the necessity of its preservation to the responsible authorities. The presence on site of the mission bore several benefits. Firstly, the importance of the matter was measured at close range, and, if a solution existed to preserve the relic while implementing the project, it was put forth. Secondly, the displacement of a mission, which moreover involved the country's highest cultural heritage authority, was effective in damping exigencies and transforming them into more acceptable requests. Thirdly, the explanations the mission gave concerning the importance of the relic were often unheard of by its interlocutors and in many cases transformed harming the relics into helping to preserve them. Such explanations were fully effective when the importance of the relics and their role in asserting Iran's national and Islamic identity were expounded in terms of Islamic values. Files concerning those years abound with delightful examples of such local about-faces.

Persevering with this policy, the pressure exerted upon this Department in political terms, which disrupted its administrative duties, gradually decreased, demonstrating the significant point that educating the society, while paying attention to its spiritual values is the main way to upraise the values of cultural heritage in the Iranian society.

The second task at hand was eventually to attract the interest of all the responsible authorities of the country, whether in the legislative, executive or judiciary, toward the importance of historic relics. This was important because, firstly, regardless of the

familiarity individuals could have acquired by personal studies, great knowledge about the value of historic relics did not exist in the society, secondly, the multitude of problems involved in handling the affairs of the post-revolutionary society did not leave any opportunity of paying attention to such matters, and thirdly, the country's involvement in a large-scale and multi-faceted (military, political & economic) war reduced interest in anything else to a minimum. It was in such conditions that the Cultural Heritage Department was to develop such an understanding of the values of relics among the responsible authorities and the population as to bring them to, firstly, assist in their own revival in the new Islamic society, and secondly, relieve the pressures it had to endure because of: **a)** the image the relics had acquired prior to the revolution, **b)** its adaptation to the new social conditions, **c)** its duty to respond to the demands created in the wake of the Revolution, and **d)** the task of facing war-inflicted damages.

Bearing in mind the Cultural Heritage Department's quite limited resources at the time, a solution had to be devised which could ensure the rapid accomplishment of such momentous tasks. For two reasons, attracting the attention of the responsible authorities was given priority over eliciting that of the people. Firstly, rousing public interest required the use of mass media, but, while these were all busy with matters concerning the war, what with reporting the daily bombardments of cities and the dispatch of forces, keeping up public morale, or helping to solve the country's economic problems by describing the new concepts that had emerged owing to the Revolution, they could not be expected to devote any of their attention to cultural heritage. Secondly, the Cultural Heritage Department's immediate needs were for administrative, organizational and financial support of the executive on the one hand, and for the preparedness of the legislative (the people's representatives in the Parliament) to ratify new laws leading to a more serious attitude on the part of the judiciary in dealing with cultural heritage offenses.

The experience gathered from face to face meetings and exchanges of views with various responsible authorities in the provinces concerning the introduction of cultural heritage values, had convinced the author that an oral description of relics could never replace coming into their presence and becoming closely familiar with them. He often expressed this view to his colleagues by a parable which says that, in cultural heritage matters, "The distance between the ear and the eye is far greater than the breadth of four fingers".

On this basis, a programme was adopted to invite the responsible authorities to visit an archaeological site or ancient monument during their holidays and leisure times. Our objective in those visits was to concisely expound, on site, as much information as was possible on the importance of the relics and the difficulties facing cultural heritage in the country. Within a period of two years, a large number of the highest ranking officials of the country paid visits, ranging in duration from several hours to one or two days, to carefully selected works of art. The effects of the programme were quite considerable. Not only did the created awareness of the importance of the relics, the necessity of their preservation and the difficulties of the Cultural Heritage Department prove effective in solving many problems, but a close relationship appeared between cultural heritage officials and the key personalities of the country, which proved useful in the provision of the Organization's ulterior requests. In this way, this Department came out of its isolation and became prepared to more boldly submit its projects for ratification.

The third task to accomplish at the time was to create a new organization for the cultural heritage. The reasons for the necessity of this action (regardless of their priorities, since each can be attributed priority levels from different viewpoints) were:

● Securing the acknowledgement of the Islamic Parliament

In order to establish the new organization, the relevant legal Act had to be ratified by the Parliament. In the course of his numerous meetings with the M.P.s, the author had noticed among them the appearance of a much more positive attitude toward cultural heritage. The Parliament's acknowledgement of the creation of the organization was not merely an authorization to set up a new administration. Rather, by virtue of it, from the viewpoint of the Islamic Revolution, the purpose was to give cultural heritage activities religious and revolutionary legitimacy. The current procedure for creating a new organization was to prepare a Bill saying that "... this organization is created from the merger of units from this or that institution". Thereafter, the new Organization could only be governed by law. But what was included in the Organization's Constitution in order to also subject its activities to the law was an additional description of the aims of its creation. The text of the Bill was, therefore, prepared in these terms:

Single article; The Ministry of Culture and Higher Education is given the permission to constitute an organization entitled "Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization" (ICHO) from the merger of the units listed below, with the aims of:

a. Studying and effecting research on ancient relics in view of introducing the values they hold;

b. Carrying out research in archaeology, ethnology and traditional arts;

c. Surveying, identifying, registering and conserving the country's movable and immovable cultural-historic relics;

d. Preparing and implementing projects necessary for the repair and revival of the country's valuable artifacts, monuments and ensembles.

1. The Iranian Archaeological Centre

2. The General Office for Traditional Arts

3. The Centre for Ethnology (social and cultural anthropology)

4. The Office for Historical Monuments

5. Iran Bastan Museum

6. The Office for Conservation of Cultural Heritage

7. The General Office for Museums

8. The General Office for Historical Buildings

9. The General Office for Palaces

10. Iranian National Organization for Conservation of Historical Relics

11. The General Office for Court Palaces (Golestan Palace)

● Achieving relative independence

Prior to the creation of the ICHO, all its constituent units were affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education and observed its financial and administrative regulations. In Iranian administrative jargon, the term "organization" implies that, although its director may be a Deputy of the President or a Minister, it enjoys financial and administrative independence. Its budget is directly ratified by the Parliament and its administrative relations with other institutions are established through its Director. This independence was vital to the activities of the Organization. Financially, when cultural heritage budgets were embedded in those of a ministry, other priorities reduced the share of this Department, and whenever Parliament was to directly allocate a budget to this Department, it naturally ascribed it a share in proportion with those of other ministries and similar bodies. Similarly, from the administrative point of view, when this Department was one of the units of a ministry, its director lacked access to the Cabinet, Parliament and the other ministries and institutions, since the cultural heritage views were to be voiced by the minister to whom it was subordinated, and who, being busy

attending to the affairs of universities and other research-oriented departments, was scarcely left the time to do so. Thus, while establishing relations with other organisms and expounding the importance of cultural heritage were particularly necessary, this Department was deprived of such direct contacts. The establishment of ICHO meant the official presence of cultural heritage within all official circles.

● Establishing the research orientation of cultural heritage activities

Reviving the scientific and cultural values of historic relics while avoiding their recreational and publicity features (which then constituted the prevailing attitude toward cultural heritage) made it imperative to give pre-eminence to research aspects. In fact, by emphasizing this aspect, a new definition of cultural heritage was being presented to Iranian society; a definition which prevented it from falling into the abyss of economic, political and propaganda-oriented abuses.

● Giving comprehensiveness to the responsibilities and prerogatives of the Organization

All this Department's laws, job descriptions and authority limits remaining from before the Revolution formed a scattered, inconsistent collection of items each adopted at a different time and for a particular purpose. Without harmonizing these in a unique direction, resolving the difficulties was impossible. In many domains, this Department had, or should have had, responsibilities for which it had no commensurate prerogatives. The proposition of creating the new Organization provided the opportunity to unify all the past experiences and fill all the legal voids in its charter. Otherwise, in order to alleviate shortcomings, individual legal Acts had to be presented to Parliament, stretching the entire process over years in view of the density of activities facing it.

● Reconsidering the organizational form

The existing structure was marred by numerous flaws which prevented the normal flow of activities. No clear boundary existed between planning and implementation, making it impossible to control the quality of the execution of projects. The Provincial Units lacked authority and all the capable executive personnel were gathered in Tehran. In order to implement a project in any province, executive force had to be dispatched from Tehran. No rational relationship existed between the units active in archaeology, ethnology, traditional arts and the preservation of monuments. The horizontal and vertical organizational relationships between the units did not correspond with the aims

of the activities. The creation of the new Organization provided the opportunity of designing an entirely new structure adapted to its aims.

● Boosting the morale of the personnel

The image cultural heritage had acquired in the past, the dissolution of the ministry in charge of its affairs soon after the victory of the Revolution, as well as the conditions in which this Department existed in the early post-revolutionary years, had caused the morale among the cultural heritage personnel to become very fragile. The establishment of the new Organization could infuse new blood into the veins of this Department and boost their morale in the face of responsibilities to come.

The panorama of these factors attested to the fact that every effort had to be made toward creating the new Organization, even if a major part of the scarce personnel available was to be devoted to this purpose. Therefore, necessary steps were taken to prepare the relevant parliamentary bill.

The most important problem confronting the ratification of the Bill within the Government (prior to its submission to the Parliament) was to secure the agreements of **a)** the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education to relinquish its cultural heritage department, **b)** the Ministry of Islamic Guidance to relinquish its provincial units and all the museums and palaces throughout the country, and **c)** the Ministry of Economy and Finance to relinquish the General Office of Royal Estates, comprising the ensemble of the most important palaces of the Qājār period. Of course, for various reasons, the process of securing those agreements was fraught with complications. Nevertheless, thanks, firstly to the friendly relationship established in recent years, which had given rise to a greater mutual trust, secondly, to the discernment of all three ministers as to the necessity of the creation of the new Organization, and thirdly, to the eagerness of the personnel of the Cultural Heritage Department to see the organization created, the Bill proposed was unanimously ratified by the Government and submitted to Parliament. Attending various ministerial and parliamentary commissions to defend the bill again provided rare opportunities to further stress the importance of cultural heritage and organize more visits of historic sites. The outcome of the vote was most encouraging. Almost without

any objection, the law authorizing the establishment of the Organization was ratified on 30 Jan., 1986¹¹.

The next step was to prepare the legal bill concerning the charter of the new Organization, which had to be presented to the Parliament within three months. However, the preparation and ratification of the charter took two years to complete. The main reason for the delay was that everything had to be defined anew and that all the ideals in the field of cultural heritage, as well as its job definitions and responsibilities, had to be included in the charter, so as to preclude any future misunderstanding. But, we were also faced with the difficulties of running the Organization without a charter during those years, in conditions of war and revolution¹². Considering that this Law expounds Iran's main cultural heritage orientation today and includes the headlines of the legislation made in this domain, and as an acquaintance with its contents can help to clarify the following items of the present study, a complete translation of its text, carried out by the author, is presented:

LAW OF THE IRANIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE ORGANIZATION CHARTER

No. 3487 - Qāf

Date: 19, July, 1988

Article 1. Definition: *Cultural heritage is comprised of relics from the past which indicate man's motion in the course of history and the knowledge of which forms the ground for learning about his identity and cultural line of development, thus providing for man's admonition. The Iranian National Heritage Organization, established by virtue of the law ratified on 10-11-1364 and hereafter referred to as the Organization, shall be administered in accordance with this charter.*

Article 2. Aim: *to learn from man's cultural movements and perpetuation and elevation of the identity and characteristics of the society.*

Article 3. Duties of the Organization: *The duties of the Organization concerning the cultural heritage, which include research, supervision, conservation and revival, and presentation, are as follow:*

- 1. Preparing, organizing and implementing research programs on relics from the past.*

¹¹ The explanations and arguments presented in favour of the ratification of this law are on record in the journals of the Government and the Parliament.

¹² Being less related to the study of cultural heritage policies, the problems of this period are not presented here.

2. Investigating and identifying historic sites, mounds, monuments and ensembles and preparing their comprehensive inventory and the archaeological map of the country.

3. Effecting archaeological researches and scientific excavations.

4. Carrying out ethnographic surveys, ethnological, anthropological and biological researches and studying local cultures in the country's various regions.

5. Carrying out research in the field of traditional arts and bringing about the means necessary for their conservation and development.

6. Recording the country's valuable movable and immovable cultural-historic relics in the Inventory of National Artifacts and relevant lists.

7. Exclusively carrying out all judicial affairs concerning the cultural heritage and entering penal lawsuits against trespassers of laws governing the country's cultural heritage as claimant or, depending on the case, as private plaintiff.

8. Taking necessary measures for the restitution of Iranian cultural properties at national and international levels through relevant authorities.

9. Identifying and appropriating all properties having cultural-historic values and counting as cultural heritage which have been confiscated by responsible institutions.

Note. All courts, customs offices, police forces and governmental departments such as those somehow involved in the confiscation of goods have the duty of submitting items having cultural-historic value to the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization.

10. Preparing and implementing projects necessary for the surveillance, conservation, repair, restoration and revival of valuable cultural-historic artifacts, monuments and ensembles.

11. Giving opinions on all master- and detailed developments plans in relation with cultural and historic regions, giving the final approval concerning valuable cultural-historic sites, townscape and locales in the cases mentioned and preventing any destruction in them.

12. Determining the perimeter of recorded historic monuments, ensembles, sites and tumuli and the particular architectural and design standards within the perimeters.

13. Introducing valuable cultural-historic artifacts through museums, exhibitions and the like.

14. Creating, developing and administering museums throughout the country.

15. Creating the Documentation Centre of the country's cultural heritage (including scientific reports, monuments' plans, photographs, etc.) in view of offering scientific and research-oriented services in this field.

16. Presenting and expounding the values of cultural heritage at the national and international level by printing and publishing collections of studies and researches accomplished and using audio-visual means and mass media.

17. *Compiling, drafting and publishing the Encyclopedia of Iranian Historic Artifacts and Monuments.*

18. *Developing research activities in various cultural heritage fields and encouraging researchers, artists and master-craftsmen.*

19. *Developing and implementing educational courses in order to prepare expert personnel in various fields related with cultural heritage in coordination with the relevant bodies.*

20. *Encouraging the people to participate in activities concerning the identification, conservation and revival of the cultural heritage and its supervision.*

21. *Creating and developing cultural heritage associations throughout the country.*
Note. The modalities of these associations' creation and scope of duties will be determined by the Council of the Organization.

22. *Establishing scientific and cultural contacts and exchanges with relevant organizations and institutions at the national and international level, particularly Islamic and neighbouring countries, and holding necessary congresses and seminar cycles.*

23. *Cooperating with the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance in internal and external tourism affairs.*

24. *Offering counsel, research, technical and educational services. Selling cultural products. Collecting entrance fees in monuments, sites, museums and exhibitions and accepting donations, contributions and the like.*

Article 4. *Pillars of the Organization: The Organization rests on two pillars; 1) The Council of the Organization; 2) The Director of the Organization.*

Article 5. *The Council of the Organization: In view of a greater coordination between the cultural heritage affairs across the country, the Council of the Organization is constituted as follows:*

1. *The Minister of Culture and Higher Education (Director of the Council);*
2. *The Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance;*
3. *The Minister of Interior;*
4. *The Minister of Justice;*
5. *The Minister of Foreign Affairs;*
6. *The Minister of Housing and Urban Planning;*
7. *The Executive Manager of the Radio-Television;*
8. *The Director of the Organization (secretary of the Council).*

Note 1. In case of equal votes, the view accepted will be that of the group comprising the Director of the Council.

Note 2. The sessions of the Council will ordinarily be convened at least twice yearly upon the proposition of the Director of the Organization and with the invitation and under the direction of the Minister of Culture and Higher Education.

Note 3. The Council may invite individuals whose presence is indispensable to take part in the sessions. These individuals shall have no right of vote.

Note 4. A session will be official with a quorum of five members and the decisions of the Council shall be binding with the votes of at least four members present at the session.

Article 6. Duties of the Council: *The duties of the Council of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization are the following:*

1. *Determining general policies, on the basis of the law of the establishment of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization and the Charter of the Organization.*
2. *Examining reports of other organizations and expressing opinions on them.*

Note. All the ratification of the Council will be promulgated bearing the signature of the Minister of Culture and Higher Education.

Article 7. The Director of the Organization: *The Director of the Organization will be appointed by the Minister of Culture and Higher Education's mandate.*

Article 8. The Organization's units across the country: *The Organization can, with the assent of the Minister of Culture and Higher Education, establish its units wherever necessary throughout the country, in accordance with their location and with the assent of the Organization of Administrative and Employment Affairs. These units shall be responsible, under the supervision of the director of the Organization and in accordance with the ratification of the Organization, for cultural heritage affairs within their perimeters of activity.*

Article 9. *As from the date of this law's ratification, all contradicting laws and regulations are annulled.*

The following points are notable in this law:

- In Articles 1 and 2, which for the first time in Iran give a definition of cultural heritage and determine the aims of the new Organization, the theoretical basis necessary to describe the limits of this organization's duties and prerogatives are expressed from the Islamic viewpoint;

- In Article 3, before the duties of the organization, the domains of these duties are listed. Later on, we shall see that the administrative structure and division of responsibilities with the Organization take shape entirely in terms of these domains. As can be seen, research-oriented duties have been considered its first and foremost activities. Until then, such activities in Iran revolved around the "presentation" of relics.

- In Paragraph 1 of the duties of the organization, omitting such adjectives as "historic", "cultural", "valuable", etc., from the "works remaining from the past", all limitations concerning the relics have been removed and the way to conducting research on whatever remains from the past opened.

- In Paragraph 2, in addition to the identification and investigation of historic sites, tumuli and monuments, legal protection is, for the first time, extended to historic ensembles (townscape). This Paragraph also recommends the preparation of a comprehensive

archaeological map of the country, considered important in view of any future action concerning the cultural heritage.

■ In Paragraph 5, research, conservation and revival of traditional arts are emphasized. In countries like Iran, these arts represent a great deal of the cultural heritage and, as stressed by ICCROM, their preservation facilitates that of other relics¹³.

■ In view of Iran's membership in Unesco's Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970), Paragraph 8 raises and stresses, for the first time, the idea of a legal effort being undertaken to have the country's cultural properties abroad claimed back.

■ Paragraph 9 empowers the Organization to readily take custody of all objects retrieved under whatever title by various authorities and to deposit them in its museums. In this way, not only were the objects confiscated in different manners preserved, but the museums were also enriched without spending any money.

■ Paragraph 11, an important achievement of the Charter, requires preliminary explanations. A council entitled "Higher Council of Housing and Urban Planning", headed by the Minister of Housing and Urban Planning (HUP) and including 12 other ministers was created to approve the comprehensive and detailed plans of cities. For the ratification of these plans, each ministry was to examine it in terms of its own duties and prerogatives, following which voting could take place. In the cases of historic townscape, sites and monuments, this Paragraph allowed the ratified comprehensive or detailed plans to be vetoed by the Organization. These plans, therefore, had to comply in full with conservation requirements and be drafted in accordance with all the necessary bidding. This guaranteed the conservation of the historic fabric of Iranian cities, which had been heavily damaged in the past¹⁴.

¹³ "Often, developing countries are rich in the craft resources that are a 'living cultural heritage' and vital for the conservation of sites." (B. Feilden, J. Jokilehto, 1993:X)

¹⁴ The author remembers when, during the debate on this Paragraph in the parliament, the Minister of Housing and Urban Planning's representative strongly opposed it, insistently wondering how the vote of the other ministries could be vetoed by this Organization. An M.P.'s reply was that no reason existed for any of those ministries to have at heart to give precedence to the conservation of relics over their own projects, and that if we seriously wanted those townscape preserved we ought to give its director full authority. (Full debates of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Charter of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization)

- Paragraph 15 assigns the Organization the duty of creating, for the first time, the cultural documentation centre of the country's historic relics.

- Paragraph 19 envisages the creation of a special educational centre in view of training the personnel needed by the Organization. Until then, specialists in several of these disciplines, namely archaeologists, architects, ethnologists, traditional artists, etc., were trained in universities. But no courses were available in universities to train museum curators or guides, restorers of monuments or artifacts, experts in architectural auxiliary arts, etc. By virtue of this Paragraph, the Organization was eventually able to establish the "Cultural Heritage Higher Education Centre".

- Paragraph 20 deals with the necessity of popular participation in the conservation of relics, the benefits of which had clearly manifested themselves in the wake of the Revolution and during the war. It discourages the Organization from relying entirely on governmental funds and, in conjunction with Paragraph 21, which describes the organizational modalities of this participation through the creation and development of "Cultural Heritage Councils", opens a new chapter in the emergence of a wide network of popular protection of historic relics in the country.

- Paragraphs 16 and 22, while recommending the establishment of scientific relations with relevant local and foreign institutions, gives priority to Islamic and neighbouring countries, in view of the similarity of their problems concerning historic relics with our own.

- In preparing the text of Paragraph 23, care has been taken, while paying attention to the problem of foreign and local tourism, to raise the matter in a way as to prevent cultural heritage activities from becoming restricted to providing conditions likely to attract tourists. Therefore, all the responsibilities of the latter activity are assigned to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, and the Organization is only to cooperate in preparing the historic sites for tourism-related uses.

- Paragraph 24 provides the Organization with a source of direct income. In Iran, governmental bodies must remit their revenues to the Treasury and obtain their credits through the annual budget. By virtue of this Paragraph, the Organization is authorized

to secure direct incomes. This authorization encourages its Units to enhance their activities. It is interesting that the list of modes suggested for creating revenues begins with offering consultancy, research and educational services and only later refers to collecting entry fees in monuments and museums, emphasizing the priority of research over mere presentation.

- In Articles 4 and 5, the structure of the Organization is described. Although running the Organization under a unique Director was possible, a Council comprised of six ministers and the Director of the Radio and Television Organization was also appointed. Its members were the highest authorities of governmental bodies whose contact and cooperation the Organization most needed in practice. Naturally, the participation of these authorities in the highest council of the Organization also resulted in its requests being duly echoed in their relevant ministries.

- As stated in Paragraph 1 of Article 6, the council of the Organization has the responsibility of determining the general orientation and policies. This is to say that the Organization is legally prepared to receive eventual recommendations and amendments concerning cultural heritage policies. This Council is probably the first body to which the author intends to present the results of his studies.

- Article 8 indicates the Parliament's realization of the importance of the Organization's activities, since, at that time, the Government had orders to reduce the number of its units and the size of its personnel. Nevertheless, not only does the Parliament authorize the Organization to establish units wherever it deems fit, but also subjects their approval to the sole agreement of the Minister of Culture and Higher Education and the director of the Organization of Administrative and Employment Affairs, which constitutes a rather simple and rapid path to follow for this purpose. The ratification of this Charter in fact revived cultural heritage activities in Iran. The active period between the establishment of the Organization and 1991 (when the author left it) can be called a period of "maturation".

7.5. THE YEARS OF MATURATION

Up to this point, although they took more than six years to achieve, two main goals, namely those of gathering all cultural heritage activities under a unique umbrella and

creating an independent organization for this purpose, had been realized. From then on, efforts were to be concentrated on establishing **a)** the values of cultural heritage in the society, **b)** the newly created Organization itself, and **c)** the laws relevant to these matters. These factors were interrelated. For example, the establishment of cultural heritage simplified the implantation of the Organization and made the creation and implementation of relevant laws easier. A well established organization could better put forth these values in the society and defend the implementation of its laws. Creating and implementing laws in turn meant the establishment of the values of the relics and the organization. Here, we examine the maturation of each of these factors:

7.5.a. THE STABILISING OF ICHO

The stabilising of the Organization can be examined in physical, organizational, financial and man-power terms:

● Physical dimension

Not only were new spaces necessary for the new functions of the Organization, but its units were also located in buildings scattered across Tehran and belonging to other ministries. Another, more important, point was the morale of the personnel would increase by moving to independent premises belonging to their organization and adapted to their activities. It appeared necessary for the Organization to demonstrate its physical establishment as well, so that its existence would not remain limited to a legal declaration.

Although any one of the large buildings existing in Tehran could be selected and appropriated to house the headquarters of the Organization¹⁵, such an action did not correspond with the aims mentioned above. Two ways lay ahead: either to use a large existing historic monument, or to build a new edifice. In fact, no large historic monument conveniently located and likely to be appropriated by the Organization existed. But, the organization was lucky in finding an unfinished construction. Firstly, its large land plot and partly-erected structure were the property of a unit that had been transferred to the

¹⁵ This eventuality was available, on the one hand, because of the repeated locale changes of governmental offices after the Revolution, and hence the existence of unused buildings, and on the other, owing to the author's knowledge of the situation of such buildings, acquired by virtue of queries made upon him, as architectural expert, by the Government.

Organization. Secondly, it was located along Tehran's largest east-west thoroughfare and enjoyed a very good social attendance. Thirdly, the original design and the built sections of the building were, to a degree, inspired from Iranian traditional architecture; which was vital for the Organization in charge of the cultural heritage. Fourthly, in completing the building, the Organization was at liberty to implement its wishes as to the disposition of spaces. The elongated facade bordering a main avenue further enhanced the visual introduction of the Organization. Lastly, since, during the war, the construction of new buildings was prohibited in governmental projects and Parliament had directed the Government to first complete unfinished constructions, a possibility of securing the (not negligible) funds needed to complete the building existed. In view of these points, the author resolved to make sure the building was completed and prepared to house the organization.

The main difficulty was that, in Iran, the Ministry of HUP is the sole executor of governmental buildings, so that the progression of construction works in any building depends on the efforts this Ministry deploys. For two years, the Government put a yearly sum of 50 million Tomāns at its disposal to complete the building, yet, at the end of both years, the funds were returned intact to the Treasury, because difficulties concerning the change of contractor, etc. existed. Paying a visit to the Prime Minister, and securing his agreement, the author personally became the executor of the project. Making all the needed modifications, the building was completed within three years. Meanwhile, the recently designed emblem of the Organization was crafted as a 4 x 4 m. panel of relief ceramic and installed on the facade of the building. This emblem, and the traditional general appearance of the building, offered an impressive view to passers-by. The establishment of the central units in this building added credence to the feeling that a change in cultural heritage matters was imminent.

The same policy was pursued in the provinces, but there, a different method was used. A directive was forwarded to the Provincial Units, announcing a policy requiring that "the utilization of historic monuments for new purposes while respecting conservation standards" be primarily put into effect by the Organization's own Units. Thus, they were invited to find the most appropriate historic buildings where their offices and museums could be established. The results of that directive were much greater than expected. Within a short period, a considerable proportion of the units moved into such buildings,

prepared by themselves. Not only were the Units delivered from their previous locales, which were mostly rented houses without any value, but at the same token, the Organization was saved from having to spend its meagre resources on renting offices, while its units were able to enjoy locales of much higher quality and beauty than those of other governmental bodies.

● The maturing of the Organization

The main policies envisaged concerning the structure of the Organization were: Delegating executive authority to the provinces and assigning planning and supervision activities to the headquarters in Tehran¹⁶; Adapting the Organization's structure with the divisions envisaged in its Charter as the main branches of cultural heritage activities, i.e. research; conservation and revival; and presentation and education; Implementing a relative categorization and establishing longitudinal communication between the departments active in the fields of archaeology, ethnology, traditional arts and the conservation and revival of historic sites and monuments. Appointing, in addition to the financial and administrative deputy, an executive deputy also acting as the Director's substitute and coordinator of provincial activities; Running judicial and international affairs under the direct supervision of the Director of the Organization.

Another policy adopted to prevent the provinces from relying on the centre for their executive needs was that of establishing a cluster system among those units. The units existing in the provinces and townships had unequal capabilities in terms of experts, master craftsmen, technical means, etc., and some provinces housing a greater number of relics were in need of larger units. Three grades of units were therefore envisaged. In each province, at least one 1st-grade unit and several 2nd-grade units existed, the remainder being of 3rd-grade. No important historic site remained without the protection of one such unit (at the time, the Organization had a total of 52 Provincial Units). As per instructions dispatched, each unit first requested assistance from its superior unit in the province, which only referred it to the headquarters in cases that fell beyond its means. At the headquarters, the General Office of Coordination was empowered to take advantage of other provinces' capabilities in solving the problems which arose.

¹⁶ Thus, Tehran province also had its own executive unit, separate from the central headquarters.

Alongside the organizational charter, the jobs of the personnel of the Organization in the headquarters and the provinces had to be sorted out. In this case too, the three main branches of activity and their four fields of operation were adopted as guidelines¹⁷. In this way, it became possible to determine the organization's types and numbers of staff members (by subtracting the number of jobs determined from that of the existing personnel).

● Provision of man-power

The Organization suffered a shortage of man-power in various professions and at various levels. On the one hand, the restoration of historic monuments and the revival of traditional arts necessitated artists educated in the traditional manner (from master to pupil). In many arts related with architecture, which are the major elements in the restoration of monuments, only a small number of the last generation of artists were living. In many fields of traditional arts, masters were either nonexistent or too old to transmit their experiences. Dealing with this problem appeared urgent. Various solutions were devised for the problem:

- a) The General Office for the Revival of Traditional Arts initiated a campaign of interviews and data collection missions to gather the documents of the major masters in each field. They were given ample opportunity, during extensive interviews, to fully describe the skills of their trades, so that, at least, the latest information in those fields was prevented from falling into oblivion (along the author's term at the Organization, at least 50 master artisans were interviewed.)
- b) By tabling a Bill proposing the employment of 200 pre-secondary level schoolchildren at the Parliament, an effort was made to provide for such persons being employed and trained in the traditional manner by masters still in activity. Fortunately (and with unexpected speed), the Parliament not only gave its assent to this proposition, but in turn proposed that such individuals be also exempted from military service and enrolled by the Organization.

¹⁷ The three main branches are research, conservation and revival, and presentation and education. The four main fields are archaeology, ethnology, traditional arts, and the conservation and revival of historic monuments.

- c) A course of traditional arts was created at the university, in which traditional masters were also invited to teach¹⁸. Its aim was to train experts in the traditional arts.

On the other hand, there was a need for architects and archaeologists familiar with Iranian historic monuments and the standards for their conservation, as well as to be prepared to leave their cities and live nearby the historic relics. According to the new Organizational structure, the Organization was authorized to enrol some 100 new experts. Eventually, a number among them were selected. The tortuous administrative path of their enrolment, which also touched other bodies, took a long time to implement.

From this experience, the Organization learned that it must train its own man-power. As a first step, a curricular programme at Expert Assistant level (post-high school graduation) in the seven fields¹⁹ needed by the Organization was prepared and ratified by higher education authorities. As for the locale of this centre, two large constructions nearby the Shāh's palaces in Tehran (one a large warehouse and the other an unfinished edifice) were used. The guarantee of employment by the Organization after their graduation attracted a large number of high-school graduates to take part in entrance examinations. From among them, 210 persons were selected for the first term, and this rate was to be maintained in subsequent years. During two summers, the students received field training in the Cultural Heritage Units of their provinces of origin, so as to become acquainted with the locale, the job and the personnel before graduating²⁰. Notwithstanding the long time it took to have these individuals officially enrolled, the project was entirely successful.

● Financial dimension

In order to solve our financial problems, we had to overcome two difficulties: Firstly to secure the Organization's Budget, and secondly to rationally apportion it between its

¹⁸ At the time, the author and one of his deputies were members of the Arts Section of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters and contributed to the creation of this course.

¹⁹ Archaeology, ethnology, traditional arts, museology, museum guide, conservation of historic artifacts, conservation of historic monuments.

²⁰ Even during holidays of more than two days, the students went to the provinces to assist the local guides of historic monuments in their work.

activities. The bulk of the Organization's Budget was supplied through the Government, by parliamentary ratification, and a small amount of it came from private donations. Several ways were used to attract popular participation. If a monument was bequeathed, the main funds for its repairs were provided through endowments. In the case of other monuments somehow related with the people's lives (such as bazaars, mosques, bath-houses...), the Organization initiated the works and then, speaking with the local inhabitants, they were invited to make contributions in order to accelerate the work. This method was most successful in the repairs of the bazaars of Tabriz, Khoy and Esfahān. Another method was to take advantage of Addendum 16 of the Budget Law, which allowed people to determine where the taxes they paid should be spent. Being visited by representatives from the Organization, many physicians and businessmen agreed with their tax money being spent on the maintenance of the historic monuments of their provinces.

The Organization's governmental budget was obtained by explaining the programmes to the Plan and Budget Organization and securing additional funds entailed long-drawn deliberations, which were most tiresome in view of the war condition and the lack of awareness of our interlocutors about the necessities of cultural heritage. Experience had shown that, the more they became acquainted with the relics, the better they reacted to the Organization's requests for funds. Although budget increases were limited in all sectors during the war and along the First 5-Year Plan, the cultural heritage sector was able to increase its budget from around 200 million Tomāns in 1982 to about 1.5 billion Tomāns in 1991, which still appeared insufficient in the face of its responsibilities.

In order to better apportion the budget within the Organization, it was decided to use a "budget for programme" method. Initially, all the funds (except those of personnel wages and support) were to be divided between the four Vice-Directorates of; Research, Conservation and Revival, Presentation and Education, and Executive Affairs. The criteria guiding this division were their performances in the previous year and the priority each department acquired in the policies of the Organization in the next. Then the representatives of all the executive units throughout the country were invited to take part in a meeting lasting two or three days, during which the programmes were coordinated, and to pay visits to each Vice-Directorate in order to present their projects for the year to come. The conclusions reached during those meetings made it necessary to partially

revise the funds allocated to each Vice-Directorate. Thus, the budget of each Vice-Directorate, as well as that of Executive Units, was determined.

On this basis, a large table was prepared in which the rows comprised all the executive units and the columns corresponded to the four vice-directorates of the Organization. In every cell of the table, the programme of each unit together with the relevant funds were recorded. Another use of this table, beside controlling the execution of programs, was that it made it possible to harmonize the executive programmes of each unit in the four departments' fields of action. For example, if excavations were performed by the Research Department in a province, the Conservation Department was to have a programme readied for the conservation of that site, the Presentation Department was to prepare to publish the results obtained, and the Executive Department was to have provided all the relevant means to accomplish these tasks.

Another difficulty about the apportionment of funds concerned the timing of the allocations. In Iran, the government divides the yearly allocations of each body by four and puts them at their disposal quarterly. But, in practice, the Organization was unable to utilize its funds in winter, when excavations and restoration works came to a halt in many provinces. Thus, were the allocations to be delivered to the provinces in equal amounts at the turn of each season, great sums would be returned owing to the inclement weather. Therefore, the entire yearly funds of the units were transferred to the provinces in their most appropriate seasons of activity (This decision was taken in view of the great climate differences between the provinces of Iran). Thus, the northern Provinces implemented their main programmes in summer, and the Southern Provinces in winter. All these measures were taken to prevent the unspent funds being returned to the Treasury, as it was not uncommon in Iran (Mostafavi, 1955:48). What was said above summarized the efforts made toward establishing ICHO. A parallel effort was also made toward maturation of the values of cultural heritage in the society.

7.5.b. MATURATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES

As already mentioned, the social situation in Iran at the time (1980s), in the wake of the Revolution and owing to war conditions, greatly limited the possibility of using the mass

media to raise cultural heritage issues²¹. Therefore, the problem had to be tackled in another way.

The year in which the charter of the Organization was ratified (1989) coincided with the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Revolution. It was announced that, during it, the Organization would inaugurate ten museums throughout the country. The preliminaries of this undertaking had been prepared in the preceding years. The general method consisted of selecting appropriate historic buildings in the provinces and preparing them to be transformed into museums. Meanwhile, all the items in Irān-e Bāstān Museum's treasury of historic relics, which belonged to each province were surveyed and those best representative of its cultural heritage selected and sent home. The author, accompanied by a mission, attended the opening ceremonies of all the museums, so as to induce the governor and local authorities of each province to also take part in the event. Naturally, the speeches delivered on those occasions by the Director of the Organization and the Governor on the importance of cultural heritage were echoed by the mass media. Those meetings provided opportunities of becoming acquainted in each province with people interested in cultural heritage. No great budgets being needed to create these museums, the Organization successfully pursued this endeavour in following years.

The use of historic monuments to house provincial units and museums gradually reinforced the belief that, respecting conservation standards, such buildings could be utilized for public purposes. If the Organization could incite other bodies to do likewise, it would be making considerable headway in preserving and consolidating the values of historic relics. Therefore, in cooperation with the Ministry of HUP, the Organization submitted a proposition to the Government in 1988, suggesting the creation of a commission in each province, whose task would be to decide about substituting the implementation of new building projects with the utilization of historic monuments. If a body agreed to use a historic monument instead of erecting a new building, all the funds of the project would be allocated to restoring and adapting the monument. Initially everyone preferred to have a "new" building, but after several cultural institutions took

²¹ For example, the International Day of Cultural Heritage coincided with the Army Day in Iran, and, in the first year, not one newspaper published an item on cultural heritage. The Organization had to change the date of its Cultural Heritage Day.

the first step and a number of books were published to encourage this move, some beneficial results were achieved.

Another orientation of the Organization was to establish the value and importance of historic relics. Although the private sector was legally prohibited from carrying out excavations and obtaining, buying, selling or exporting unearthed historic relics, there were individuals who, whether openly or secretly (and on a larger scale), were involved in such activities. This situation had a long past history in Iran (Chapter Five) and was governed by a large network of smugglers. In that post-revolutionary period, when the country was also facing a war, the government's lack of total control over its territory cleared the way for relics to be smuggled through Iran's unguarded western, southern and eastern borders. The strong discrepancy between the Rīāl and foreign currencies created an incentive to acquire such currencies, and the handiest way to do so was to export historic artifacts, which were small, expensive and highly in demand.

The display of excavated objects in shop windows, on the one hand clearly demonstrated the Organization's inability to enforce its laws and, on the other, depreciated the relics to the level of smuggled commercial goods. In cases where the Organization was able to have excavators arrested, it was invariably faced with individuals who had become the tools of big game smugglers by sheer poverty. After the Revolution, this group had created a guild of "Antiquities and Handicrafts", "antiquities" apparently meaning unexcavated historic artifacts. But in fact, and generally in secret, they were busy trading items obtained from illicit excavations. In 1985, during several meetings with the directors of that Guild, the author explained the hazards of their activity from both cultural and legal points of view and asked them to restrict their activities, within a few months, to trading handicrafts. That proposition was not heeded. Therefore, with the cooperation of police forces, a list of such individuals, including the addresses of their shops and storehouses, was prepared in view of a surprise operation aimed at confiscating the objects and arresting the law-breakers. A few days before the plan was to be put into effect, a newspaper published an article by an archaeologist among the personnel of the Organization, in which, along with an enumeration of the importance of historic relics, allusion was made to the eventuality of such an operation. In consequence, the dealers were able to hide the objects, which constituted the proofs of their felony, and the plan became useless. That event clearly showed to what extent

the fight against the group in question would be complicated. Unfortunately, the judiciary did not display great eagerness to pursue such matters either. This was because the value of historic relics had not been made clear, particularly in terms of social values acceptable in the society.

An event occurred in 1990 which greatly helped solving the problem. A stone slab bearing inscriptions on both faces was stolen from Persepolis. The operation showed the smugglers' increased damages due to a reluctance in past years to confront them. Therefore, the author requested the First Vice-President to give orders to have the thieves arrested by all means. Upon the latter's orders, not only the police forces, but also the Ministry of Information (intelligent services), were given permission to pursue the matter. Within a few days, the thief, his accomplices and the cache of the objects were discovered. In view of the quantity and importance of the objects retrieved, the Attorney General ordered the mission to be pursued until the entire network of smugglers was uncovered. The investigations took several months and resulted in the arrest of a considerable number of smugglers of cultural properties. As attested by reports, 25 embassies cooperated with that group in exporting the objects. The details of that event need not be related here, save that the haul was sufficiently ample and rich to animate scores of museums. Not only were the recaptured objects visited by the country's highest officials, but all the media for a long time produced reports on the event, so that a particular interest appeared in the society, and its authorities in particular, toward the cultural heritage and the necessity of its protection.

Another measure taken by the Organization with the aim of attracting the attention of other bodies toward the cultural heritage was the dispatch of expert groups to prepare complete identity documents of such objects. In Golestān Palace alone (still under the control of the Ministry of Economy and Finance since 1981), over 60 albums were compiled, in which each page introduced a relic in full technical and artistic detail.

At least four large institutions benefitted from these services and, guided by the Organization, were able to provide adequate space and technical facilities for the conservation of their objects and even set up restoration laboratories. During the 8-year Iran-Iraq war, the Organization had noted the need for acquainting the military forces with the value of historic relics and the relevant necessary instructions had been given

(other measures taken, and the situation of the cultural heritage during the War, are reflected in a report presented by the author at the International Conference on Aggression and Defence in August 1988, which was published in Persian by the secretariat of the conference in 1989 and in English by University Press of Florida, in 1993. The English version is presented in the Appendix VIII). Beginning in 1989, in coordination with the army, the Organization initiated courses for military officers. The courses were well appreciated by the military, and it was agreed that the Organization would prepare booklets to be distributed among the military personnel. These operations are still being pursued and have had beneficial effects on the recognition of the value of historic relics.

Another measure which proved effective in introducing the value of historic relics and the necessity of their preservation in the towns and villages throughout the country was the creation of Cultural Heritage Conservation Councils. Although a law concerning the creation of such councils existed before the Revolution, the general situation of the country at that time and in the first years following the Revolution had not allowed such councils to have a significant activity. The creation and consolidation of these councils was included in the Organization's agenda in 1985. In villages and small towns, they were comprised of locally trusted people, elderly citizens and schoolteachers, and in large cities and provincial centres, included culturally responsible authorities and education directors and were headed by local governors. The Councils' duties were to watch their regions' historic relics and propose solutions to combat illicit excavations and the destruction of relics in their regions. Another goal of the Councils was to attract the material and spiritual support of the local populations for cultural heritage activities. With the ratification of the Charter of the Organization, the existence of these Councils was legally acknowledged, and their own charter was also ratified in 1991. Up to the present time, some three thousand councils have been constituted throughout the country, forming a vast popular network which imposes no expenses upon the Organization. The serious performance of this network must now begin.

Another measure taken in view of publicizing the values of cultural heritage was the publication of a monthly review entitled *Mirās-e Farhangi* ["Cultural Heritage"] by the Organization. At the time, the Organization also published two specialized quarterly reviews: *Asar* ["Relic"], which was a scientific magazine concerned with the conservation

of historic relics, and Muze-hā ["Museums"], which published articles concerning the importance of museums and their role in the society. The new magazine was a cultural publication aimed at covering the activities of the Organization in every field and enhancing popular awareness about historic relics. The body of reports on research activities carried out in preceding years by the Organization constituted its scientific resources.

Another action taken by the Organization was to propose its cooperation in printing cultural heritage postage stamps. The stamps depicted historic monuments, historic objects, traditional artifacts and ethnological items and were published on such occasions as the International Museum Day, the International Handicrafts Day, etc. By commemorating these days, the Organization strived at keeping the subject of cultural heritage in the fore front of the people minds.

Although expounding the true status of historic relics in Iranian society fell beyond the means of all these actions, the Organization was successful in transforming the name and meaning of "cultural heritage", long ignored in the society in those years, into a familiar appellation.

7.5.c. ESTABLISHING OF CULTURAL HERITAGE LAWS

The establishment of the new approach to cultural heritage in the Iranian society was founded on its laws, which, as already explained, at once affected and were affected by its organizational and social settlement. The laws ratified by Parliament and Government after the Islamic Revolution, and the directives issued in this concern by the ministers, are important from several points of view. Firstly, they express the level of the government's attention to the matter. Secondly, they clarify the government's orientation in this regard. Thirdly, they acquaint us with the latest adopted policies and existing laws. All this helps to formulate recommendations concerning cultural heritage policies with a knowledge of the existing situation and the prevailing realities and conditions.

As explained at the beginning of this Chapter, during the first year after the Revolution, in addition to Article 83 of the Constitution, other laws were passed by the Parliament regarding the prohibition of the private sector from excavating, buying, selling and exporting historic relics. Those laws were proposed by members of the Revolutionary

Council, without any involvement on the part of the Cultural Heritage Department. When illicit excavations took alarming proportions and were reported to the Prime Minister, he had a directive issued (May 1982) which proclaimed the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education (Cultural Heritage Department) as the sole legal authoritative body concerning all affairs pertaining to historic relics, including illicit excavations, and asked all governmental agencies to fully abide by this sanction (C.L. p:225). During the same year, a number of land-owners intending to demolish historic buildings, submitted a letter to the Guardian Council²², questioning the legitimacy of cultural heritage laws. In October 1982, the Guardian Council declared "private estates" exempted from the laws in question²³ (C.L. p:57). Thus, not only were the majority of historic buildings to fall beyond governmental control by virtue of this legal sanction, but the pronouncement itself was perceived as the onset of the curtailment of other laws. The matter was debated during numerous meetings with the members of the Guardian Council. It was clearly apparent that the settlement of cultural heritage laws in the Islamic society of Iran required them to be based on religious foundations as well. The Guardian Council had issued its verdict on the basis of the Islamic precept which states that, "The people are masters upon their properties", whereas the author attempted to discuss the matter in terms of the priority of social benefits over individual interests. The Guardian Council eventually ruled that this social priority should be ratified by the Parliament. Although the generalities of the matter were approved by the Parliament's ratification of the Charter of ICHO, its various aspects still need further studies and solutions. Fortunately, a large number of owners presented themselves to solve the matter, and all but one agreed to postpone their demolition projects until their estates could be bought by the Government.

Beside the private sector, some governmental projects also endangered historic relics. The first such case involved the passage of a large-diameter gas-pipe through an important historic site in Gorgān in 1983. As the executors of the project had no prior knowledge of the importance of the site, they had prepared all its practical details, and changing these faced the contractor with immense difficulties. Eventually, after long

²² In Iran, The Guardian Council of the Constitution is the authority which renders verdicts on the conformity of laws ratified by the Parliament with Islamic precepts.

²³ It is noteworthy that, in this legal verdict, "private estates" are cited, rather than "private properties", and that it, therefore, does not include the movable cultural heritage.

efforts on the part of the Organization, and with the assistance of the M.P. of the State, the path of the pipe was altered and the Gas Company instructed all its units that all projects must be carried out in conformity with standards governing the preservation of historic sites (C.L. p:230).

This incident led to the idea of presenting a request to all the ministers whose fields of activity touched historic relics. A letter was written to the ministers of Interior, Power, Construction Jihād and Agriculture, as well as the director of the Bequeaths Organization, asking them to issue a directive to the effect that attention to historic relics should be considered a preliminary to their units' development projects. The Minister of Agriculture issued a directive in 1984, requiring that, in allocating lands for agriculture or distributing lands among farmers, prior inquiry be made with ICHO in terms of their historic importance (C.L. p:232).

In June, the Ministry of Power instructed its affiliated units to take cultural heritage matters into consideration in all contracts concerning the construction of dams, transmission of power via pylons and installation of irrigation networks (C.L. p:233). In this concern, we were able to dismantle and rebuild at a higher location the small but very attractive ancient Zor-Zor Church in Orumiyeh, which was due to be submerged behind a dam²⁴.

In July, also in 1984, the Minister of Construction Jihād²⁵ instructed the units under its authority to take into consideration the conservation of historic sites, monuments and traditional arts in their development programs for rural areas (C.L. p:231). A noteworthy point about the cooperation of the latter ministry was as follows:

The involvement of Kordestān in the Iran-Iraq War had caused unemployment to appear in the villages of this province. This led to an exodus of rural populations and the Jihād tried to provide peasants with occupations. A traditional occupation for women was carpet-weaving. Therefore, at great expense, large quantities of carpet looms, wool,

²⁴ The author remembers the inauguration ceremonies of the reconstructed monument, which were held in a festive atmosphere in presence of the Armenian Patriarch of Iran, the Minister of Power and the author, proving effective in establishing a positive relationship in view of the restoration of the monuments of northwestern Iran with the help of Armenians.

²⁵ This ministry is in charge of the development of the country's rural areas in every domain and all development operations in villages are carried out under its authority.

dyes and patterns were put at the villagers' disposal, enabling them to become occupied in this craft. Yet, the Jihād's reports showed that the project did not advance as it should. The Cultural Heritage Department was asked to study the reasons of its failure. A research project was implemented, which showed that the looms, dyes and patterns delivered to the region were incompatible with the area's ancient carpet-weaving traditions and should be changed. Putting the suggestions offered into practice rapidly improved the situation. The results of that study were published in a book printed by the Organization with the funds of the Jihād²⁶.

During the same month, the Minister of Interior also requested all governors, mayors and district administrators to abide by cultural heritage laws in all development projects envisaged in the provinces, which were naturally carried out with the knowledge of the governors (C.L. p:235). In many cases, owing to urban requirements, mayors were obliged to disregard the monuments' conservation standards. Many mayors in small towns were altogether unaware of conservation standards. This directive would bring the matter to their attention. In addition, many illicit excavations were effected by corrupt local governmental officials, who in turn ignored the existence of laws for the protection of historic sites. Therefore, thanks to this directive, at least those breaking the law unknowingly would hopefully become more aware.

In August of the same year, the Bequeaths Organization issued a directive to all its units, notifying them that the repair and restoration of bequeathed historic monuments must be carried out under ICHO supervision. This was important for several reasons. Firstly, a large number of historic monuments were religious and bequeathed. Secondly, as the Bequeaths Organization was run according to religious laws, its acceptance of ICHO's supervision over its operations constituted a big step toward establishing ICHO's duties. Thirdly, in view of the financial power of the Bequeaths Organization after the Islamic Revolution, it envisaged numerous projects for the modification and enlargement of historic monuments in which it was vital that ICHO be involved. Nine months after this directive, the Ministerial Cabinet ratified the necessity of repairing bequeathed monuments under the Organization's supervision.

²⁶ "Indigenous Arts of Bākhtarān", published by the Ethnological Centre, 1985, Tehran.

The next step toward the establishment of the Organization's laws, the acknowledgement of its existence and the definition of its domain of activities was the ratification in February 1986 of the law concerning its creation, as previously described.

In September 1987, a law stressing the protection of the cultural heritage was ratified. It summoned the owners (whether governmental or private) of urban utilized or non-utilized lands to put their estates, wherever they were needed for either of the three purposes of providing public housing, creating urban utilities or conserving the cultural heritage, at the disposal of the Ministry of HUP. On this basis, the Organization prepared a list of the sites it required and submitted it to the Ministry of HUP to buy and put them at the Organization's disposal. This project is still ongoing.

On 19 July 1988, the Charter of the Organization was also ratified, fulfilling its legal establishment. In March 1989, the Prime Minister visited the Organization and agreed that it should be included in the limited number of bodies authorized to directly sell its cultural and artistic products abroad and use the benefits thus made to buy its necessities. Yet, although the Organization had a considerable production, it was unable to benefit from this sanction for want of expertise in marketing its goods in foreign countries.

In November 1989, the Ministry of Interior instructed all municipalities to inquire with the Organization, before issuing licenses of trade within historic sites, about the compatibility of the trades envisaged with conservation standards (C.L. p:349).

In December 1989, the Ministry of HUP obtained a sanction from the Ministerial Cabinet, which authorized it to perceive taxes on work licenses delivered to architects and to spend this income on reviving the ancient townscape of cities. An article of this sanction reads: "The referential body in determining the limits of historic urban fabrics is an assembly consisting of representatives from the Ministry of HUP, the Ministry of Interior and the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization." In order to clarify the importance of this sanction, it is necessary to bear in mind the relationship between ICHO and the Ministry of HUP. As already mentioned, the Minister of Culture and Higher Education was a member of the Higher Council of Architecture and Urban Planning, and the author attended its meetings in his stead. All the comprehensive and detailed plans of cities

were ratified in the course of these meetings. The most important item about which the author raised questions, as his duty demanded, was the degree of attention the designers paid to historic fabric of the cities. The author attended the meetings of this Council for almost ten years (1981-1991). In the early years, the designers faced the old texture of the cities in terms of the same standards they applied to recently built urban areas (which invariably were several times larger than the historic ones). The creation of new thoroughfares, the increased density, the adoption of functions incompatible with the urban fabric, etc. were conspicuous in those plans. The reason was that the majority of consultant engineers were altogether unfamiliar with the norms of townscape conservation. The author believed that these problems could not be solved through master and detailed plans and that such districts required particular studies. But the Ministry of HUP had no budget to allocate to this purpose.

Gradually, with the ICHO's warnings about these defects and its objections to the ratification of plans presented by consultants, a new solution was found, whereby the limits of historic fabrics were determined and declared as requiring particular studies to be made in the future. Beside perpetuating the unfavourable conditions in these areas, this course of action severed all reciprocal relationships between the old and modern parts of the cities.

As, according to Paragraph 11 of Article 3 of the Organization's Charter, the dissatisfaction of the Organization with plans concerning historic areas entailed complications as to the finalization of their ratification, the Ministry of HUP, in order to exit this dead-end, prepared and presented the above mentioned sanction. In this way, while raising a budget from licenses issued, it implicitly transferred the Organization's total control over historic parts of the cities to an assembly of its own representative and those of the Interior Ministry and ICHO.

Although the Government's sanction did not abolish the law ratified by Parliament, with the creation of a bureau for "Historic Urban Design" in the Ministry of HUP, this ministry in fact accepted the responsibility of preparing the plans in question. The Organization was not essentially opposed to the creation of this bureau, since it was to eventually approve the results of its work. The important point was that of coordinating the views of this Bureau and ICHO, which had to be borne in mind all along the studies and

designing of each project. To the present, efforts made in order to create this coordination have remained unsuccessful.

The bills ratified in the course of 1990 concerning cultural heritage show that the efforts undertaken in previous years have proven relatively fruitful and that the Organization has found its place among the other bodies and is gradually enjoying the legal support of other institutions.

In March 1990, a law was ratified which stressed the necessity of evacuating the buildings belonging to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education (C.L. p:296). Although this law had been prepared to essentially benefit universities, it included the Organization as well. After the Islamic Revolution and during the war, a number of historic monuments had been occupied for various pretexts. Some caravanserais on the outskirts of towns had been adapted for military purposes or the detention of war prisoners, a number of historic buildings had been appropriated by governmental offices, and various historic houses were occupied by war immigrants. For innumerable reasons, evacuating these locales was an arduous task. By virtue of this law, the Organization succeeded in securing the evacuation of those monuments whose occupation was harming.

In the same month, the Government decreed that all historic properties confiscated by various bodies should be immediately delivered to the Organization.

In June 1990, the Deputy Minister of Transportation addressed a directive to his colleagues, requesting them to respect the standards regarding the preservation of historic sites and monuments in their road designs (C.L. p:351).

In the same month, the Organization was exempted from all judiciary fees in lawsuits concerning the cultural heritage (C.L. p:348).

In August 1990, the Minister of Education instructed the responsible authorities of all the schools in the country to take sufficient care of the historic monuments in their custody (C.L. p:352).

Also in August 1990, the charter of the Organization's Education Centre was ratified. Thus, the nucleus of a university specifically oriented toward cultural heritage was formed. This centre is capable of training specialists in various fields and on a large scale within the country. Moreover, in view of the cultural agreements concluded between Iran and the newly independent republics of Central Asia and the common features of these countries' cultural heritages, this Centre is also capable of training their needed man-power.

In December 1990, the Organization's research orientation was acknowledged by the judicial deputy of the President of the Republic (C.L. p:353). Beside the social-cultural aspect of this appraisal of the Organization, the first quinquennial development plan of Iran had envisaged particular priorities for research institutions. Thus, the Organization benefitted from these priorities.

In January 1991, Parliament ratified a law which prescribed extremely heavy penalties for "economic agitators". Smugglers of historic relics were considered as falling into this category, because, during the same year, incredible results of discoveries made from such gangs had been put on display for the M.P.s and the people.

Beside the cultural damages resulting from these activities of smugglers, the economic loss they imposed upon the country was of such magnitude as to justify their falling under this law. An irrefutable historic reality in Iran was that the benefits of smuggling cultural goods reached such a level that bringing the matter under control was only possible by the most severe legal penalties. Nevertheless, solutions can be devised for individuals wishing to legally buy or sell cultural goods, as we will see in the final Chapter.

Two other legal propositions were also tabled in the same year, and ratified after the author left ICHO (June 1991). One concerned the allocation of 20 Riāls from every sack of cement produced in the country to the Organization (C.L. p:333). This was an old law, but the sums in question had not been remitted to the Organization since the Revolution, and were thus revived. The other concerned the exemption of all cultural-historic sites from municipal taxes (C.L. p:359).

After 1991, we are faced with an important sanction, which may seriously affect the fate of the cultural heritage in Iran. By virtue of this sanction (by the Higher Council of Administrative and Employment Affairs), the Organization is transferred from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education (responsible for higher level research and education in the country) to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance (responsible for public cultural affairs, including tourism) (14 April 1993). This proposition is signed by the Minister of Islamic Guidance and the Director of the Plan and Budget Organization and submitted to be ratified by the Higher Council of Administrative and Employment Affairs²⁷. The aims of this transfer are thus described in the sanction: "... In order to coordinate and increase the efficiency and effectiveness of ICHO, and also in order to consolidate, uniform and streamline the management and organizational structure of the country's cultural heritage affairs..."

In both; the above mentioned letter, which justifies the proposition in five pages, and the text of the sanction, the emphasis lies entirely on the lucrative aspect of cultural heritage. From the viewpoint of its authors, historic relics acquire relevance only when they are seen by visitors. In the aforesaid letter, this matter has been pointed out as follows: "The **ultimate goal** in expending financial and human resources on repairing, restoring, protecting and conserving the cultural heritage, which constitute 90% of the activities of ICHO, is to display and present these relics to be visited by the people at large, including local and foreign tourists, in view of gaining cultural benefit from them...". As we see, an inclination toward replacing "study, research and cognition of values" with "presentation" once again emerges after the Revolution. Further along the letter, this orientation is given yet more emphasis: "The requirement of **presenting and introducing** the cultural heritage of the country to local and foreign visitors is to have an orderly, streamlined organizational structure in communication with the bodies of the cultural sector, and through them with the sector of local and national tourism". Therefore, the continuation of the operation of ICHO as a research-oriented institution affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, beside failing to effectively utilize cultural heritage, bears undesirable effects. The most important one is that this Organization is deprived from **revenues** which can be of great assistance in reviving the extant monuments.

²⁷ Document No. 2635/Dāl Shin, dated 25/1/1373, reproduced in Farsi in Appendix IX.

This proposition is founded on the assumption that "coordinating and increasing the efficiency and effectiveness" of historic relics is only achieved if they are presented to the public. But the point which, to the author's belief, has been neglected is that truly presenting a historic relic, particularly to ordinary citizens, can only be considered a cultural action once it is carefully studied and the necessary cultural, historic and scientific information it holds are discovered and displayed. Otherwise, the least cultural benefit is obtained by tourism, although the "revenues" to which the authors of the proposition have alluded will probably be earned. In the long run, even these revenues are not certain to continue, because 21st century tourists will not content themselves with the mere sight of historic relics, soon foregoing such visits in the absence of necessary scientific explanations.

In the author's opinion, economic reasons were also involved in tabling this proposition. Following the drop in oil prices in the second half of the 1980s and the ensuing reduction of Iran's main source of currency just when it was beginning its reconstruction at the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, there was a shift toward seeking other sources of currency. Naturally, one such source was the promotion of tourism. This view is discernible in the explanations given in the 5-page letter concerning the currency revenues of other countries from tourism (page 4): "On this basis, during the First Quinquennial Development Plan, in the course of the economic re-structuring and in view of curtailing reliance on oil revenues, the tourism industry has been considered... as a highly advantageous industry."

It may be imagined that the juxtaposition of cultural heritage activities with tourism is not necessarily troublesome, and that achieving cultural-scientific aims is also possible under the new conditions. The question is whether, in realistic terms, the cultural-scientific policies will be shaping the touristic-economic policies or vice-versa, and whether, due to economic difficulties, the historic relics will not gradually be transformed into goods exclusively destined to be visited by tourists. Let us bear in mind that we are discussing a country which, although it has cultural ideals, exists in a very particular economic situation as well.

The problem is that, even from the economic viewpoint, this action deserves reflection. Firstly, in view of the particular ethic-Islamic norms prevailing in the Iranian society, Iran

can only accept "cultural tourists"²⁸. How can relics on which sufficient studies have not been done be presented to such tourists? Secondly, tourism industry, just like any other industry, needs initial investments. Inviting tourists to visit relics mostly lacking a minimum of conservation conditions able to prevent their deterioration due to such visits will bear no positive results and instead with harm the relics. If the meagre resources of the Organization are allocated to alleviating this deficiency, scientific studies of relics will be curtailed. Thus, relics are presented in the absence of necessary information, failing to satisfy cultural tourists. Of course, as in many other historic sites, superficial information devoid of exact foundations can be supplied, but doing so will set us afar from the main goal in visiting relics, which is to study and discover the messages they hold. In the opinion of the author, considering the scientific and technical capabilities existing in the Organization, had it been given a period of at least ten years to provide better conditions for receiving visitors, it would have had greater possibilities of reaping cultural and economic benefits from the relics. But it seems that, once again, cultural programs are shaped by the economic situation.

7.6. THE SITUATION TODAY

The description given of the situation of cultural heritage in post-revolutionary Iran until June 1991 was the outcome of the author's personal involvements. The data presented hereafter result from studying cultural heritage programmes and conversing with its policy-makers. As the Minister of Culture and Higher Education charged the author with selecting and proposing his replacement, it was hoped that there would not be a great shift from the previous directions. Thus, Dr. Zargar²⁹ was introduced, remaining in office until November 1993. At the same time, the Government was busy preparing the country's Second Quinquennial Development Plan. Among the general policies governing this plan, a proposition of transferring ICHO to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, explained before, was also occurring (Paragraph 5 of the Essential Guidelines of Iranian and International Tourism, Plan and Budget Organization, 1992). The Organization, while preparing and submitting the essential guidelines of cultural heritage within the framework of the Second Quinquennial Development Plan, and emphasizing

²⁸ Here "cultural tourists" refer to those travellers whose principal incentives are the cultural values of relics, rather than leisure.

²⁹ M.A. in architecture from Shahid Beheshti University, Ph. D. from York University.

its research aspects, deployed every effort to prevent this transfer from taking place. As already explained, the economic justifications of the transfer prevailed, reducing those efforts to nil.

Six months after the Organization was transferred to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, its director was also changed, being replaced by Mr. Kāzerooni³⁰, who had been Minister of HUP for almost a decade. Naturally, the transfer of ICHO and the appointment of a new figure at its head clearly expressed the government's belief in the necessity of implementing new policies with respect to cultural heritage.

As Mr. Pāsavār, the Director of the Culture and Arts Planning Bureau of the Plan and Budget Organization, observed on 15 Shahrivar 1373 (in an interview with the author), the most essential policy in this period, which is also reflected in the Second Quinquennial Development Plan, is to enhance the "exploitation" of cultural heritage. In his interview, Pāsavār explains that both cultural and economic aims are envisaged in this "exploitation". Nevertheless, whether in the explanations given to justify ICHO's transfer, which we indicated above, in the alterations made to its programs (e.g. the reassignment of funds allocated to the repairs of a multitude of historic monuments to the restoration of several selected ones), or in its performance during the past year, the prevalence of an economic orientation is discernible. Of course, the years to come will show the effects of this predicament more clearly.

Regardless of the reassignments and program changes effected in the Organization during the past couple of years, the principal decisions taken at present were:

- Inviting the units to devise programs leading to their financial self-sufficiency. For example, the unit in charge of publications and each of the museums have been asked to alter their activities in view of creating revenues, failing which the Organization declines the responsibility of providing their funds. This is when the entrance fees of Irān-e Bāstān Museum amount to less than the sum of its electricity bill.
- Revising the structure of the Organization, merging the "financial and administrative" and "executive" vice-directorates, and preparing for imminent changes in museums. In

³⁰ M.A. in architecture from Tehran University.

a meeting the author had with the new head of the Organization, the latter expressed his dissatisfaction with the existing structure in view of his aims, and his intention to seriously revise it. It must be said that ICHO's organizational structure does not have a long past and that enough studies as to their strengths and weaknesses have not been made to warrant these alterations.

- Receiving sums amounting to several times the funds of the Organization in past years (e.g. 91 and 92) from sources able to put loans at the Organization's disposal (4 billion Tomāns in the current year). With the injection of these funds within the Organization, and the reorientation of its programs toward the utmost presentation of relics to tourists, the programs were seriously altered, with effects to be evaluated in the future. The governmental funds for the current year (excluding loans) have also grown threefold as compared with 1992. In his interview, Mr. Pāsavār announces that, if it follows the aims defined in the plan, financial assistance to it will increase at the same rate. Thus, in 1994, the Organization has at its disposal a total sum of some 10 billion Tomāns, whereas these funds totalled 1.5 billion Tomāns in 1991.

On the whole, it appears that the government's economic expectations of the cultural heritage and the Organization's willingness to fulfil them have caused larger investments to be made in this sector and that these investments have caused a new orientation to appear in the activities of the Organization.

7.7. CONCLUSION

As we saw in Chapters Five and Six, the events which occurred in Iran under Qājār and Pahlavi rules diverted the course of the normal relationship that could have developed between society and its cultural heritage. Unawareness of the value of relics and the inability to preserve them in the Qājār period, followed by the political, non-cultural misuse of relics in the Pahlavi era, weakened and distorted the public's perception of the worth and capabilities of relics and the role they could play in perpetuating and enhancing the cultural identity of the society. The penetration of alien cultures, the rulers' efforts at disseminating them and the repression of so-called "retrograde" inclinations toward traditions, along with the glorification of imported cultures in the name

of "progress", all obstructed the development towards any kind of popular understanding of cultural heritage.

The people's main ideal in the Islamic Revolution was to reject a culture imposed from abroad and find a way forward into the future relying on values acceptable to the society. Undeniably, one of the principal sources of inspiration for this reversion was the cultural heritage of the society. Interestingly, the efforts made by the Revolution to revive intangible cultural heritage values was equalled by its disregard for the tangible cultural heritage. The reason for this situation lay in the distortion of the values of historic relics. Perhaps, instead of distorting cultural heritage values, past regimes had set them aside, dismissed or confronted them, as many sections of cultural heritage were, then these values would not have been so neglected. The author believes that the greatest harm done to Iran's historic relics during the present century was the introduction of a negative, upside-down image of cultural heritage values. This is why, as much as today's revolutionary society needs the benefit of its historic-cultural values, it remains deprived of it.

In this Chapter, we saw that, in early post-revolutionary years, after the ministry in charge of cultural heritage was dissolved, only a few laws preventing the plunder of historic sites and the exportation of relics in the name of commercial excavation were ratified. The other aspects of concerns involved in this sector were ignored and no sign was seen of respect being paid to the relics' intrinsic values. In those first years, no effort was made to rectify the situation, and at the same time even the existing conservation laws were frequently ignored. The soul demands of the Revolution and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War further complicated the situation. In such conditions, it was vitally necessary to undertake actions to bring about a total change in this sector and equip it with a new Organization whose definition, aims, guidelines and duties would conform with the framework of social values and realities. It is notable that this effort was initiated upon the assumption of a positive attitude toward the subject within Parliament.

As the process of the ratification and establishment of the new Organization would be a long-drawn out business, interim measures had to be employed to control the existing situation and reduce damages and to start the initiative. Fortunately, having been

affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, which also supervised research, the publicity-oriented demands of this Sector were reduced. Thus, an opportunity emerged for the new Organization to take shape in a harmonious atmosphere, free from political arguments.

The most important policies put into practice in that period were: altering the tactics of the protection of relics from "confrontation" to "elucidation". Authorities whose interests were somehow related to the concerns of this Sector were invited to visit historic sites and become acquainted with their needs. These visits could be termed "condensed courses". Further, time and energy was devoted to explain the importance of cultural heritage to ministers whose departments' concerns touched on those of historic sites, with the result they issued directives instructing their subordinates to respect cultural heritage conservation standards in their own activities.

The new Organization was created with two aims in mind: the centralization of all related activities under one roof; and proximity with the research sector, instead of that concerned with tourism. As the evidence presented in this Chapter shows, the legal establishment of the Organization satisfied both. The ratification of the law of its charter, included the principal necessary orientations and policies. Drafted with understanding for the religious and social situation of Iran, it gradually created the conditions necessary to its social, administrative, structural and financial settlement.

The body of governmental laws and letters of ratification and the directives issued by ministers attest to the fact that, day after day, a better understanding and cooperation was established with other institutions and the people. The success of projects such as the creation of popular cultural heritage societies in towns and villages, the participation of the people in related financial affairs, the creation of museums in the provinces and the training expertise renew the hope that more adequate conditions will be realized for the society to confront its cultural heritage.

In recent years, because of the conditions resulting from the post-war reconstruction, changes have become conspicuous in the large-scale policies of the country. These policies, which are reflected in the second Quinquennial Development Plan, envisage a kind of "exploitation" of the cultural heritage. The first action in this direction has been

the transfer of the Organization from the research and higher education sector to that in charge of tourism. In addition, lately implemented policies also show a greater interest in the economic aspects of historic relics. Reviewing all the policies implemented after the Revolution, particularly in recent years, it appears that they can be effective in determining the future orientations of cultural heritage in Iran. We shall examine this subject in the next Chapter. On the basis of the conclusions reached in Part I, particularly Chapter Four, (which introduced propositions of orientations based on the Islamic outlook) and also using what we learned in Part II (which reviewed the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in Iran), and by combining both, we shall raise points which may assist us in determining the orientations to be adopted in the future.

Conclusion

8.1. INTRODUCTION

In order to comprehend and respect the capabilities of societies, their continuance and the potential for development, and to prevent the imposition of cultural uniformity, the revival of the cultural identity of every society becomes even more necessary. An all-encompassing, deep understanding of cultural heritage plays an essential role in the recognition of this identity. But an important factor hindering the emergence of mutual understanding between Islamic societies such as Iran and their cultural heritage is the inconsistency between concepts or values given to cultural heritage and the value systems already existing in these societies. This is inspite of the fact that the necessity of paying attention to the cultural values of each society has been recognized by international institutions in adopting cultural heritage policies. The failures caused by the neglect of this point have resulted in damage being inflicted upon the cultural heritage of most Third World countries. The present research attempts to provide the means for addressing this problem in Iran, preparing the ground for the review and adoption of more appropriate cultural heritage policies.

The main objective of the research consists in preparing the necessary grounds for determining a status for cultural heritage which contemporary Iranian society will find acceptable within the framework of prevailing Islamic values. To achieve this, the first aim was to establish the viewpoint of Islam on cultural heritage, to which Part I was devoted. This subject was subdivided into such areas as past values, the Quran and cultural heritage, the definition and values of cultural heritage, and relevant activities from the viewpoint of Islam. The results of each chapter were summarized at its end.

In this Chapter, bearing in mind the sum total of examinations undertaken and results obtained, an attempt will be made at offering an overall conclusion, thus creating a theoretical framework for sketching guidelines. Although these guidelines are not the

direct results of a single section or chapter, their presentation here follows the same order of the subjects discussed in the thesis.

Although these guidelines acquaint us with orientations considered befitting by Islam, drafting policies requires a knowledge of the existing situation of cultural heritage within the Iranian society. Policies are adopted to enhance an evolution from the existing situation to an ideal state; their degree of success, even when guidelines are appropriate, depends on a realistic understanding of the existing situation.

Therefore, the second objective was to examine the existing situation of cultural heritage in Iran. As the present situation is the outcome of a protracted series of events we have allocated Part II to a study of this historic evolution from the Qājār period to the Pahlavi and the years leading up to and immediately after the Islamic Revolution. The outcome of this study raised a number of points which, if heeded to, would help us avoid repeating past mistakes and aid us in adopting more realistic policies. Therefore, in this Chapter, rather than presenting a chronological summary of events, we have taken a general glance at these events and depicted their main effects.

Finally, having acquired a general knowledge of the existing situation, taking into consideration policies adopted, and relying on the relative acquaintance of the author with Iranian cultural heritage affairs, recommendations concerning its present policies are made. He hopes perhaps, that some of these may assure the greater success of related activities in Iran.

8.2. ISLAM AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Paying attention to historic relics, if not exactly in the way we mean today, has been current among Muslims since the earliest centuries. This attention can be attributed to the repeated exhortations of the Holy Quran to refer to historic remains. The most important motives for these exhortations are: the discovery of divine traditions, the acknowledging of resurrection, and learning lessons from the fate of past generations. The Holy Quran proposes two principal ways of referring to historic remains: studying history, of which the Quran cites numerous examples, and visiting relics left from the past, which is repeatedly stressed.

Although this attention was expressed as a form of reverence for history in the early Islamic centuries, the meaning of this observance was rapidly extended to include historic artifacts. In addition to the allusions of historians as Beihaqi, Tabari and Mass'udi to works of past generations, all that can be found in travel accounts of such Muslims as Ibn Batutah, Rashid-od-Din Vatvāt and Nāsser-Khosrow are descriptions, occasionally quite precise, of the state of monuments. References made to historic works of art in the literary texts of this period particularly to poetry, are always accompanied with moral admonishments about man's ephemeral existence, his duty to appreciate life, or there being a remuneration for good and bad deeds. But, beside moral values, the beneficence realised through the know-how and achievements of past generations are also praised. Further numerous examples exist where the destruction of past works of art is condemned.

Along with these benefits, methods also existed for the conservation of the relics. Muslims are forbidden to destroy something that is still usable (Law of *Esrāf*). Therefore repairing and employing was the accustomed rule in that period. Generally speaking, it appears that, rather than "Why conserve?", the question was "Why destroy?" Beside the factors of natural erosion and destruction due to political motives, which still inflict the greatest damage on relics, there were not many reasons for their destruction. The slow pace of development and the limited resources for building further encouraged the society toward "development through conservation". Heeding religious precepts such as *Bāqiāat-os-Sālehāt* gave rise to methods such as *Waqf*, which not only proved to be a suitable method for conservation in Islamic countries for over a thousand years, but also has potentials which make it still worth considering and utilizing, in the present.

Parallel to this cultural evolution, deep and wide-ranging developments occurred in European societies which spectacularly altered the conventional outlook on the past and the way attention was paid toward historic remains. Perhaps three consecutive waves are responsible for the formation of the outlook or perspective created in the early 20th century. Firstly, interest in the past was generated, owing to the Renaissance, which elicited greater respect toward relics. Secondly, more credence was given to using relics as important sources of information, which occurred as a result of the widening scope of various sciences. Thirdly, in the wake of Industrial Revolution, increased attention was paid to historic remains because of fear of losing documents of identity and pieces

of evidence attesting to earlier manners and customs in danger of annihilation. Thus, in Europe particular reasons for referring to relics emerged which were naturally expressed in every domain concerning the cultural heritage, including expectations, laws and methods.

The difference between these achievements and what existed in this context in Islamic countries is easy to understand. The presence of Europeans in Islamic countries, and their occasional total hegemony over these lands' cultural heritages, as happened in Iran, cleared the way for them to introduce and develop their own views, regarding historic relics in these societies. The eagerness of so-called under-developed countries to win overnight the race of "development" exacerbated this trend of copying European methods. In Iran, until about the end of the Qājār period, the activities of Europeans were limited to excavating, acquiring objects and studying monuments. But, when their contact with and influence upon the country's policy-makers had expanded, they became directly involved in this process and began to run cultural heritage affairs and set laws to their advantage. The discrepancy, between traditional attitudes, and adopted methods existing in the society and what they were offering, acquired social dimensions.

At present several factors make it increasingly important to find a solution to this problem. Firstly, an awareness has appeared at the level of international institutions that cultural heritage affairs within a society cannot come to fruition unless they are related to that society's cultural values. Secondly, growing population, accelerated pace of construction and use of non-indigenous methods have all caused the destruction or decay of ancient townscape. Justifying the necessity of conserving these relics needs to express values understandable and acceptable to the society if popular participation is to be encouraged. Thirdly, an inclination has arisen in these societies toward achieving national identity and self-seeking perhaps because of the development of mass media provoking a desire in indigenous people to revert to their own values. Further, in Iran the advent of the Islamic Revolution, which has set itself the goal of freeing the country from alien cultural hegemony, actually prepared the ground for a reassessment of cultural heritage values within the framework of the cultural values of that society. Experience shows that the desired results are not easily achieved; because, firstly, the traditional concepts and methods have been undermined and have fallen into disuse through the century-long dominance of 'modern' thinking. Secondly,

no effort has been made to evaluate and establish a link between the new philosophy and methods and the society's already established value system. Thirdly, the changes taking place in every domain make it unrealistic to solely rely on traditional methods.

Therefore, it has become necessary that entire concepts, definitions, reasons, policies and methods of the cultural heritage be re-evaluated taking advantage of the latest achievements in this field while also paying close attention to the cultural values of the society. Such feats of reassessment have a long history in Islamic culture. The word *Ejtehād* has been often used in this context and means giving answers to problems ailing the society at any time on the basis of Islamic canons.

The present research attempts a similar procedure. Naturally, a close examination has had to be carried out on basic issues. Such questions as: *"Why should we pay attention to historic relics at all?"*; *"What definition do we have for it?"*; *"What values do we think they hold?"* had to be asked in order to reach eventual conclusions. By answering these questions an initial framework or system of guidelines can be formed for the assessment of cultural heritage; which is derived from Islamic concepts, or at least related to them.

8.2.1. ISLAMIC GUIDELINES FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE MATTERS

An important issue to take into consideration in cultural heritage affairs is the sense and value of the past in each society (Chapter One). The most salient reason for our interest in historic relics is that they belong to the past. Unless we define why we are interested in the past, evaluating historic relics is impossible. In other words, the role and expectations each society attributes to its cultural heritage are determined by its reasons for paying attention to the past. Therefore:

Paying attention to the meaning and value of the past in each society is a pre-requisite for understanding the sense of cultural heritage in that society.

An examination of views expressed concerning the past reveals that it contains different meanings and values in various societies. In this research, the reasons raised by Islam for referring to the past, were established by consulting the Holy Quran and referring to the opinions of Islamic thinkers. We came to the conclusion that the main objective is man's guidance, which is achieved in three ways (Chapter Two). Firstly, this was done by perceiving the immutable laws governing the functioning of all societies (referred to

as "*Sonnat-ol-Lāh*" in the Holy Quran). In this outlook, man's life is perceived as a test with fixed laws. Thus, looking upon what our predecessors have achieved and the results they have obtained can reveal these laws. Knowledge of these laws helps humanity in choosing his future path. Secondly, by paying attention to the ephemeral nature of this world, he is reminded to make the best of the rest of his lifetime and that resurrection awaits him. Visual contemplation of the works of ancestors reminds him that sooner or later his life will also come to an end, and his actions will be weighed on Judgement Day. So, he should make the best of his remaining days. Thirdly, by learning lessons which, beside the two points mentioned, cover all the causes and effects of past actions; the knowledge of which can in various ways assist man in choosing a better path. Thus, in brief:

In Islam, the most important reason for referring to the past is for the guidance of man, through his understanding the Divine Tradition, paying attention to the resurrection and learning lessons from the deeds of past generations.

As the past can also be referred to through history, we are faced with the question of knowing whether Islam also advises reference to historic relics. This is a subject on which, unfortunately, the evidence is scarce. The simplest reason may be that traditional Islamic societies never felt the need to answer this question. For this it was, therefore, necessary to consult the main Islamic source, i.e. the Holy Quran. An examination of Quranic verses not only reveals attention to historic relics, but shows that it repeatedly advises such visits (Chapter Two). Different degrees of enlightenment can be achieved through this contact with relics: i) Individuals interested in relics, beside preparing themselves, must be curious, intelligent and able to deduce hidden facts from apparent ones; ii) In this way, facts beyond those achievable through documented history can be deduced; iii) The message of a relic is public and everyone must strive to understand it; iv) The overall result obtained is beyond an increase of knowledge and creates a heightened awareness in the observer. In addition to the issues mentioned, the necessity for preserving historic remains can also be asserted as a duty to perpetuate for future generations the possibility of benefiting from relics. Therefore, answering the question posed, it may be stated that:

Islam has advised everyone to refer to historic remains, and considered it possible for every man to deduce from them facts which broaden his vision, whilst also requiring everyone to preserve them.

The next question is to know what we mean by historic relics; what they include. This question leads us toward putting forth a definition of historic relics. Presenting a definition (even if it is not acceptable to all), and by raising various viewpoints, it makes it possible to discern differences and similarities. To reach a comprehensive definition, we need to examine the criteria by which a historic relic can be distinguished. Three criteria can be considered. Firstly, whatever is called cultural heritage must be in some way presented. This includes intangible cultural heritage, otherwise it cannot be transmitted to others. Therefore, 'objectness' is one criterion for distinguishing historic relics. This criterion also plays a significant role in the quality of man's sensorial relationship with his past. Secondly, since every historic relic belongs to the past, 'pastness' is a criterion by which it can be distinguished. Without it a historic relic loses its essence. The length of time needed for a work to be called a historic relic is relative and reasons can be found in Islamic thought that endorse the minimum of 100 years proposed by international institutions. Thirdly, for an inherited object to be called cultural, it must bear a 'human message'. What makes a relic worth referring to is essentially this human message it contains. Whether scientific, historic or spiritual, this message separates cultural heritage from natural heritage, showing man's past footprints to contemporary man. This criterion carries great importance from an Islamic viewpoint and addresses this expectations about relics. Thus, the following definition may be proposed for cultural heritage:

Cultural heritage is the footprints of mankind in the course of history carrying insights.

Another question which bears great importance in cultural heritage matters is '*what values can be envisaged for it?*' While values change with the cultural conditions of societies, the capabilities of relics may be employed to express the authenticity of cultural heritage. On examination, some values can be considered intrinsic and others 'relative', depending on social conditions. Three main groups of values introduced with reference to man's methods for acquiring knowledge are scientific, historic and spiritual. Other values can be considered subdivisions of these three. In this way, a relationship is discernible between the concepts presented in the definition and principal values.

Another point concerning values is their justification within the value system of each society. In order to achieve this, it is necessary that the values be adopted in relation to each society's needs, modified by prevailing beliefs and applied in terms of existing

possibilities. Considering the viewpoints of Islam regarding historic relics, the priorities of values in Islamic societies are spiritual, historical and scientific. These priorities will be applicable after taking into consideration conditions prevailing in each relevant society. It appears that this hierarchy can also prove useful in attracting popular participation in cultural heritage affairs in Islamic countries. Therefore:

Considering intrinsic values of historic relics and their relative values in each society's cultural conditions, the values of historic relics from the viewpoint of Islam can be expressed as: spiritual, historical and scientific values.

Another important point in studying the perspective of Islam on cultural heritage is to examine the implementation of the principal cultural heritage activities, namely identification, protection, conservation and presentation. Identification can be considered the starting point of these activities. The multitude of relics and the limited resources for identifying and recording them may justify giving priority to any that may be more important or in greater danger. In this context, attention should be paid to several points which can be useful:

On the basis of Islamic precepts, Muslims are not to pay attention only to relics from the Islamic period. Rather, the works of all periods are deemed valuable in their own right.

In view of Islam's attention to the lessons that can be learned from the past, those works that are more apt to deliver their messages and share in the social life can be taken into greater consideration.

This ability to deliver message may be called communication-capability. To determine the degree of this capability, such factors as impressiveness, location, antecedents in the mind of the society, ability to attract varied audiences and degree of relatedness to the society's needs can all be considered. In this manner, each work can have a table by which its communication capability is determined:

Assessing eventual dangers which threaten the relics and giving priority to those in greater danger.

Paying attention to more popular relics and using them to develop public awareness of other historic remains.

Paying attention to the relics' economic potential for alleviating the current financial restrictions hampering cultural heritage activities.

Once identified and recorded, the relics must be protected:

The most important factor in the protection of historic relics is the enhancement of the people's awareness of their values.

The necessary conditions of assuring an acceptable degree of protection are the existence of laws and, yet more important, their acceptance by the society.

A method by which the protection of cultural properties can be assured is through creating groups and circles of interested individuals capable of defending them if necessary.

Reviewing the protection laws imported from Europe and harmonizing them with the values of the society, plays a great role in their degree of success.

In Islamic countries, paying attention to Islamic laws which can be effective in this context almost transforms the necessity of protecting historic relics from a legal duty into a moral and religious one, which carries greater social influence.

Islamic concepts such as *lā-Zarar*, *Bāqiāt-os-Sālehāt*, *Waqf*, *Anfāl*, etc. are worthwhile considering from the viewpoint of cultural heritage.

In view of the capabilities and the role of the method of *Waqf* in the protection of relics belonging to the Islamic period, not only future use can be made of it, but, if ignored, solving the problems ailing most historic monuments in the Islamic World will face difficulties.

As concerns conservation, it is necessary that this concept be recognised in an universal sense. It not only concerns historic relics, but has come to include prolonging the life-span of man's numerous other material and spiritual products such as food, clothes and even thoughts and opinions, which have all acquired conservation methods of. In reality,

it is the culture of conservation that must be taken into consideration in every society. Therefore:

Understanding the wider, historic sense of conservation in each culture and learning about their dimensions and methods can help us to develop more appropriate methods for the conservation of historic relics in each society.

With the varying conservation methods owing to differences of social conditions and the development of technological capabilities, it is important to bear in mind the need for congruity between conservation methods and traditional concepts of each society. Therefore:

It is necessary that Islamic countries, after learning about the traditional methods of conservation in their societies, attempt to implement the new methods.

It is important to note that the method we choose to conserve anything is entirely subordinate to the aim of its conservation. Selecting a method of conservation before determining the intention for conserving an object, does not seem right. Examining the aims cited for the conservation of historic relics, one is faced with a range of issues, from fighting against physical decay to facilitating the delivery of the works' messages and values, all of which fall among the objectives of conservation.

What can be added to this subject from the Islamic point of view is the stress placed upon the role of conservation in prolonging the life-span of relics. Generally speaking, conservationists have tended to be primarily concerned about the physical preservation of relics. Perhaps conserving and perpetuating the 'soul' of relics can be included among the responsibilities of this discipline. One can infer from Islamic teachings that it is the soul of a relic which gives it social relevance or life.

Given the importance of the relics' social life from the viewpoint of Islam, it is necessary that conservation methods be adopted which preserve this life, this 'soul'.

In this context, it is also notable that:

In conservation, scientific knowledge is not enough, a greater knowledge is required which could be described as having gained an affinity with the object.

Among all cultural heritage activities, presentation shapes the relationship between the people and the objects. This relationship is important in many ways. On the one hand the people are in need of the values contained in the relics and, on the other, the relics need the people's attention to survive. Current presentation methods, which have occasionally been accompanied with political, economic or purely scientific tendencies, have restricted the mutual understanding between the society and its relics. This is at a time when Islamic societies are struggling against such problems as identity crisis, loss of townscape, destruction and dilapidation of sites. Thus, it may be said that:

In the presentation of historic relics, while avoiding economic or political misuse, an environment must be created where such values as identity, continuity, landscape and townscape can be expressed; values which are closely related to present-day difficulties of Islamic societies.

A close examination of what is occurring in the world and particularly in Third World countries, under the label of tourism, reveals that current presentation methods are not culturally oriented. Beside economic factors, in which these orientations are rooted, the authorities' neglect of educational and cultural aspects of relics have greatly contributed to this situation. If personnel in charge of historic sites, monuments and museums make efforts to present a cultural-scientific image of relics instead of a recreational one, a major step forward would be taken in modifying the existing relationship. The Holy Quran considers referring to historic works as most effective when the visitor desires to ask questions and views the work with a searching mind. Thus, it is necessary to organize programmes which, before and during visits, will deepen the visitor's attention and perception of the relics' spiritual values. It may, therefore, be said that:

It is necessary to adopt presentation methods which enhance the cultural worth of relics and their possibility to deliver scientific and cultural values.

In addition to points mentioned, the achievements of the widest age distribution of the audience is also an important factor in realising the cultural aims of presentation. If presentation methods are altered to make historic relics more attractive to younger citizens, the cultural investment made will bear long-term positive results. Therefore:

The presentation of historic relics must be oriented to include visitors of younger generations.

Unfortunately, in most Third World countries, the outlook governing tourism-related programmes has shifted towards presentation which shows greater attention to foreign tourists. This is while these countries more than ever need to find their identities. Paying attention to internal tourism can have highly positive long-term results: the consolidation of national unity through creating more contacts between different groups; the greater acquaintance with different potentials of the country, which could lead to a more appropriate distribution of the population; the strengthening of cultural foundations. Then it may be asserted that:

Giving priority to internal tourism can have long-term positive social effects.

To enhance the relationship between the people and their relics, thought can also be given to methods which secure their actual participation. The acquaintance and eagerness expressed by individuals, towards their environment in every locality suggests that a structure could be set up which would be capable of organizing popular groups from rural to urban levels into a network responsible for the historic remains within their vicinity. This would lessen the burden of responsibility on relevant bodies, but strengthen the incentives for material and spiritual popular participation which would result in an improvement in cultural heritage affairs. Therefore:

It is necessary that conditions be created which facilitate popular participation in cultural heritage affairs.

8.3. LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE PAST

Our aim in studying the development of affairs related with cultural heritage in Iran was to find factors that have contributed to the emergence of its present situation. This study gives us an analytical-historical acquaintance which may serve as a basis to evaluate existing policies and submit propositions for the future. Here, we present a summary of the most important points reached.

As one of mankind's cradles, Iran abounds in valuable historic works of art today well-known and revered throughout the world. The existence of these innumerable relics has caused Iranians to be in constant contact with them. Most of the literature that writers, historians and poets have left behind from earlier periods attest to the fact that attention

has always been shown and a spiritual relationship has always existed between the society and its cultural heritage.

Although the traditional relationships have disappeared through the presence and activities of foreigners, from the beginning of the century we have witnessed an effort aimed at the preservation of cultural heritage, if only on the part of intellectuals. But the political, propaganda-oriented exploitation of relics implemented in the Pahlavi era created a confusing image of historic remains in the mind of the society. The long hegemony of foreigners over all the country's cultural heritage affairs has weakened the sense of ownership of the relics among the population. With the victory of the Revolution, although the society proposed a revival of its identity and occasionally showed this belief by protecting historic works, overall it failed to establish an appropriate relationship particularly with its tangible cultural heritage. A great amount of evidence shows that:

The deep relationship between the Iranian nation and its cultural heritage should not be overlooked, although the events of the past century may have damaged this relationship.

Ways must be found to revive the sense of the cultural heritage of Iran belonging to Iranian society.

The most important factor that increased the harm done to relics and prevents their full application is popular unawareness of their values. This matter deserves attention from several viewpoints. Firstly, evidence shows that: historic relics have the capability of being misused in various ways by those in power. Depending on intellectuals' awareness cannot assure the defence of relics, and the interferences of rulers, ranging from the Shāh to the capital holders in the country's cultural heritage affairs leaves no alternative but relying on popular awareness. Secondly, the long influence of western culture, which has turned into a "cultural assault" with the development of mass media technologies, has not only left no application for cultural heritage values, but also distorted the necessity of paying attention to them. This is at a time when the Iranian society has accepted the necessity of a revolution in order to restore its own identity. Thus, making efforts for the revival of a strong relationship between the people and the cultural heritage becomes a national duty. Therefore:

Efforts which enhance the people's awareness of the values of their cultural heritage must be considered a national duty and all possible means must be employed at various levels towards this.

The methods adopted to promote the values of historic relics must not be those which would benefit only intellectuals. In Iran, relying on books, museums, etc. is not sufficient. New methods must be devised to deliver the relics' messages to the masses.

One of the most important means of confronting the "cultural assault" is to return to our own values. The role of cultural heritage in this context must be explained particularly to planners.

The major obstacle to the acceptance of cultural heritage in Iran is the negative image it has acquired in the past. Attention must be paid to this particular situation, and programmes must be devised to counteract it and explain the true values of relics in assuring cultural continuity, national identity and reversion to indigenous values.

Attention must be paid to the fact that the condition able to guarantee the preservation of relics, particularly against interferences of power holders and treasure seekers in the long run, is the people's awareness of their values. Creating popular awareness is more effective than adopting dissuasive laws.

In view of the Iranian people's strong faith in Islamic values, the existing relationships between these values and those of cultural heritage must be examined, focusing on the dilemma that methods currently used in lay societies to expound the values of relics lack the necessary appeal and effectiveness in Islamic societies.

Another major problem that comes to light, when examining the history of the development of cultural heritage in Iran, is the relationship established in the course of the past century between the country's historic relics and foreigners. This is the fact which, if not fully and realistically understood, can result in many policies adopted being unsuccessful. There are various aspects to this problem. Firstly, it is undeniable that the bulk of studies about the cultural heritage of Iran, its tangible part in particular, was carried out by foreigners. Secondly, the progress made in international scientific centres

in various disciplines related to historic relics is not a matter from which Iran can afford or wish to remain aloof. Thirdly, Iran's need to introduce itself internationally and the reciprocal need of the world to know more about Iran as one of the cradles of humanity is another consideration. Fourthly, the existence of a large amount of highly important Iranian relics and their relevant information in foreign countries, and the interest of amateurs in those relics existing in the country are issues about which action can not be delayed.

On another side, firstly, the onset of foreigners' activities in Iran was followed by so much destruction and aggression that the idea of its repetition in any way is extremely worrying. The agreement of 1900 between Iran and France, while displaying the ignorance at that time of the rulers of Iran, reveals the total absence of scientific or ethical consideration on the opposite side. Iranian society can be rightfully cautious about the repetition of such actions under new masks. Secondly, the direct administration of almost all cultural activities in Iran over a period of 30 years and its indirect control during the previous half century, have made historic relics and foreigners appear as antagonistic elements. The negative image of foreigners, resulting from their deeds against Iran's national interests, utterly reduces the likelihood of their future cooperation in the country's cultural heritage affairs. Thirdly, the long-lasting participation of their embassies in the contraband of cultural properties, the lack of compliance on the part of their restoration teams or archaeological missions with agreements concerning the publication of the results of their researches, and the encouragement of local illicit excavators by large foreign collectors, etc. have further accentuated their already negative image. It is necessary to adopt laws, which reflect the existing psycho-social situation. Only this can clear the way for the increased participation of foreigners and a positive cooperation between Iranian and interested groups or individuals from other countries. The points to take into consideration in this regard are:

A clear understanding of foreigners' relationship with the cultural heritage of Iran is particularly important.

This understanding must cover at least three domains: the historic antecedents of the dilemma; the impression prevailing in the country about it at a given time; and the impressions of foreign representatives. Without such understanding, any legislation will be partial:

Numerous reasons enforce the necessity of Iran having a relationship with other countries and international institutions. In achieving this, attention must be paid to cultural values, independence of action and to the resulting benefits for Iran.

Acknowledging facts such as the existence of innumerable Iranian artifacts abroad, the limitations of Unesco's agreement for the restitution of cultural properties and the pressures of the international market of antiquities, thought must be given to the creation of an appropriate process in relation to contraband; or the sale, restitution, exchange or loan of historic objects.

Another undeniable fact inferred from the study of the history of the development of cultural heritage in Iran is Iranians' lack of preparation in assuming responsibility and making sufficient effort to adequately manage this sector's activities. The reasons for this situation in the first decades of the present century are understandable because of conditions then prevailing in Iran. But, perhaps, if more serious movements such as those carried out in other scientific areas of research had been undertaken in the field of cultural heritage, we would be facing a better situation today.

Firstly, the country's educational system did not attempt to seriously raise discussions about cultural heritage or create relevant disciplines in universities, or train necessary experts in proportion with the vast array of relics. Secondly, by allowing the country's cultural heritage affairs to be in the hands of foreigners restricted the emergence of scientific and organizational capabilities of the few existing specialists. While most European countries possessed numerous institutions active in cultural heritage affairs, Iran had only one semi-governmental society, of which politicians were in charge. Although the activities of the few existing experts since the Islamic Revolution have been stretched to the point of taking deadly risks for the sake of preserving historic relics, yet sufficient evidence shows the failure of such enterprises due to lack of personnel. On the other side, the rift created between the people and their cultural heritage, as well as biased, punitive laws, had obstructed the way to popular participation. Just as foreign experts looked upon Iranian specialists as auxiliary man-power, local law-makers had the same view of the population. Although a distribution of responsibilities and authorities was initiated after the Revolution, much remains to be done before ideal results can be achieved. To revive the sense of responsibility and participation in

cultural heritage affairs among the experts and the population, it seems necessary to concentrate on the following points:

Extending issues concerning cultural heritage to all educational levels and creating and developing disciplines related to this field in secondary schools and universities.

Orienting cultural heritage activities toward decentralization, from the Capital to the provinces and from the Government to the people, to revive the sense of popular ownership of relics and attract public material and spiritual support.

Another major difficulty of cultural heritage in Iran is the problem of the funds needed for its relevant activities. While the Government is neither able nor willing to make large investments in relevant projects, the people similarly lack the slightest motivation to help what had turned into a political, propaganda-oriented tool in the hands of successive governments. The total reliance of cultural heritage affairs on governmental funds carries two major risks: firstly, depriving these affairs from their necessary priority, along with other responsibilities of the government, results in the reduction of its allocations. Secondly, even when funds are available, investments are usually made with particular orientations. We see that, while funds equivalent to the price of a house is allocated to the repair of all the country's historic monuments, 10 million dollars are spent on the festivities commemorating the 2,500th anniversary of the Iranian Empire in Persepolis (Chapter 6). Another danger concerns investments made in relics from a purely tourism-oriented view point. It seems that, in recent years those who emphasised "exploitation" of historic relics have viewed their worth from this context alone. This is while the people make large contributions to the protection of monuments in which they have faith (such as religious edifices and mausoleums of poets). It appears that the search for a solution to the financial problems in the field of cultural heritage must be carried out while paying close attention to the social background of the matter. More thought should be given to the obstacles which are restricting popular participation in this domain. In recent years the relative success of the project (inviting people to allocate their due taxes to the repair of historic monuments) shows that if a proper relationship is established between the people and relics, one can expect their financial participation. Therefore:

The failure of attracting sufficient funds for cultural heritage affairs has social dimensions in Iran. Implementing mechanisms that are not based upon an analytical recognition of these dimensions will be pointless.

The people's willingness to financially involve themselves in affairs related to relics they consider valuable is a good starting point for finding a solution to attract their participation for other historic remains.

The people's acquaintance with and faith in traditional systems of popular participation, such as *Waqf*, *Bāqiāt-os-Sālehāt* and *Nazr*, make these systems the best fields of study for finding adequate solutions.

The absence of rewarding aspects constitutes a weakness in the country's cultural heritage affairs, which has seriously contributed to the lack of popular participation.

While acknowledging the positive effects of cultural tourism, it is necessary that the dangers of an exclusively economic view of historic relics be kept in mind.

Other difficulties are those related to treasure-hunters, who beside heavily damaging historic remains, monopolize most of the time and energy of the authorities in charge of the relics. Many factors have contributed to the presence of this phenomenon in Iran: the existence of numerous historic tales of hidden royal treasures; the growth of soothsayers and cipher writers; the existence of innumerable historic sites; unemployment; harsh economic conditions; cupidity; the low costs of excavation activities; ignorance and the connivance of officials; the existence of a prosperous market for discovered objects; the immensity of the country's boundaries which make sufficient border supervision impossible; the great difference between the value of local and foreign currencies; the impossibility of controlling hundreds of thousands of historic sites and the small chances of arresting the offenders; the slight penalties inflicted on law-breakers, all have contributed to the emergence of a serious problem threatening historic sites.

Owing to the Iran-Iraq War, almost all the above mentioned factors were intensified, showing that a serious solution should have been devised. Although large-scale confrontations with gangs of smugglers have borne positive results in recent years, a long-term solution must still be searched for to remove the causes of this cultural-trafficking. In view of the importance of the matter, the following measures seem necessary:

Implementing large-scale programmes revealing the destructiveness of this pursuit through the mass media and the educational system.

Increasing the control of historic sites by relying on local popular man-power through cultural heritage associations.

Amending Laws concerning illicit excavations in relation to creating a balance between the damages and the penalties.

How structures and laws adapted for the assistance of cultural heritage are formed in Iran is another point to take into consideration. As we saw in previous chapters, although cultural heritage centres were created around the turn of the century, and laws adopted, no significant results were achieved. Several factors contributed to this failure. Firstly, the laws and structures in question only had a dissuasive character and seldom invited the people to take part and assume responsibilities. Invitations to participate in festivities or propaganda campaigns which somehow touched historic monuments were the only cases where attention was paid to this participation. Secondly, the centralization of structures did not match the nature of cultural heritage activities, which were scattered throughout the country. Thirdly, the fragmented organizational structure in charge of such affairs as archaeology, monument restoration, revival of traditional arts and ethnology made reaching a comprehensive viewpoint impossible. Fourthly, rapid cabinet changes made the continuation of cultural heritage programmes difficult, which generally require long-term stability to be effective. Fifthly, while the affairs of this sector have cultural, economic, legal, educational, technical and other dimensions, its affiliation to a single ministry prevented its proper maturation in the organizational structure of the Government. Sixthly, the fact that this Department remained separate from other research-oriented institutions and universities caused too great an emphasis to be placed on its tourism- and advertisement-oriented aspects.

Bearing in mind such issues, after the Revolution in the structure of ICHO, efforts were made to alleviate various shortcomings. The ICHO was administered under the supervision of a council composed of seven ministers and had wide-ranging organizational branches throughout the country. Its centres only acted as headquarters and all related activities were brought together under a single umbrella. Its relationship

with universities and research centres were assured through its affiliation to the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education.

Following the Government's attention to the economic potentials of tourism in recent years, the structural situation of ICHO has been moved from the research sector to that of tourism. In view of the entirety of conditions governing Iranian cultural heritage, the ICHO is in danger of becoming an official body based on market values instead of an organisation guided by scientific and cultural principles. Notable points in this concern are:

To emphasize the scientific and cultural values of relics and provide practical grounds for their exploitation, it is necessary that its activities be affiliated to the research sector and that it be kept apart from propaganda-oriented activities.

It is essential that conditions for the creation of groups of individuals interested in historic relics be provided and that the duties of the governmental sector be gradually transferred to them.

Another point to take into consideration is the necessity of paying attention to a number of factors which have gradually emerged in recent decades and in practice have affected the future orientation of affairs in this sector. Firstly, the laws ratified in the course of the past century do not have a consistent orientation. Beside the main Law of Antiquities (1930), which emulates European laws, the other existing laws have also been prepared in agreement with the particular conditions of their times and occasionally contradict each other. This law, with all that had been added, plus the new perspective it has gained from the Revolution, now contains many inconsistencies. Therefore:

Reviewing the body of existing laws in view of harmonizing and adopting a unique direction for them is necessary.

Secondly, early inventories of Iranian historic sites were also compiled by foreigners and it is necessary that their relevance be studied in relation to Iranian expectations of relics as explained in Chapter Four. Carrying out a similar review in the case of movable objects can also be useful, because it appears that too much emphasis has been placed on a single or some historic periods in particular which has resulted in a greater number of relics from one or another period being recorded. Therefore

It is necessary that the list of documented movable and immovable relics be reviewed and amended with regard for their scientific and cultural values.

Thirdly, the establishment of museums, the objects exhibited in them, and the methods used in this presentation, have shown a tendency to being theatrical with little interest in scientific values or cultural needs of the society considered. The concentration of museums in Tehran, the lack of the information concerning the objects displayed, and the unrelatedness between subjects presented and perspectives of visitors, has turned museums into soulless graveyards of objects. The difficulties concerning the preservation of precious historic remnants have transformed museum personnel from presenters into guardians. Instead of being immediately displayed in on-site exhibitions; after meandering through a long process objects discovered in excavations end up on the shelves of museum-repositories. Efforts have been made in recent years to promote the history of civilization in each province by creating provincial museums; but much remains to be covered before an ideal situation can be reached. Therefore:

It is necessary that the state of existing museums be thoroughly re-examined and that, within an overall plan, new methods be devised for the presentation of relics, while paying attention to the number and location of museums.

Above are examples of general conclusions the author has reached in the course of his investigation of the history of the Iranian cultural heritage. Undoubtedly numerous other points exist which can be explored through deeper study.

8.4. RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE POLICIES

In order to collect prerequisites for carrying out our review and presenting suggestions for cultural heritage policies in Iran, we have first examined its present situation and assessed it in terms of Islamic values. But what, besides these, affects the practical implementation of policies is a particular sensitivity to the presupposition already existing in the society when policies are made. It is notable that this sensitivity goes beyond physical, managerial, financial or other similar kinds of opinions or attitudes. Perceiving the mood of the society and learning to interact with it constitutes an art all policy-makers should possess. Owing to their nature, cultural heritage affairs rely heavily on social emotions. Therefore, founding policies relies on an awareness of public feeling and

expectation. This capability cannot be achieved by casual methods. Rather, as happens at the onset of an artistic movement, the designer of these policies must be able to sensitively perceive the emotional waves within society, riding them while guiding their direction. In practice, this capability is possible for individuals deeply involved with the aspirations of the society and not overly concerned with the immediate conditions prevailing at the time policies are adopted. This is why copying the policies of other societies not only serves no purpose, but the ignorance or lack of attention to fine points involved leads, in the best cases, to their remaining sterile efforts.

In view of what has been said, it is only on account of his long experience and relative understanding of the conditions governing cultural heritage in Iran that the author dares to offer suggestions. At least the way will be open for criticism, investigation and a wider dialogue about what has been suggested. These recommendations are arranged in a hierarchy of seven categories based on relative importance. The author considers Public awareness is the key requirement if cultural heritage is to have a future in any society.

8.4.1. PUBLIC AWARENESS AND EDUCATION

- i) Creating a department for the study and compilation of data concerning the history of cultural heritage in Iran (emphasizing the events of the past two centuries) and publishing its results.
- ii) Expounding from the viewpoint of Islam the particular value of historic remains to society, by holding conferences, publishing articles, organizing regular lectures and utilizing the mass media.
- iii) Trying to overcome the negative image of historic relics by preparing special educational courses describing the role of relics in the preservation of national identity, cultural continuation and in recovery of our indigenous values.
- iv) Drafting programmes for the establishment of regular contacts with individuals involved in making policies, ratifying laws, assigning funds, etc. and initiating for their benefit courses that concentrate on the importance of historic remains

- v) Drafting programmes for the establishment of regular contacts with writers, newsmen, radio and television producers, Imams of congregational prayers, film-makers, photographers, etc. and inviting them to pay greater attention to the values of cultural heritage and use them in appropriate productions.
- vi) Inviting researchers from within and without ICHO to study, extract and present archetypes in such fields as architecture, clothing, food and music, which have applications in the society's daily life and can encourage a return to indigenous values.
- vii) Creating a special audio-visual production centre within ICHO (or in the private sector), to supervise and cooperate in the production of images of excavations and restorations; to provide assistance in photogrammetric work and prepare documentary material with respect to archives or television screening.
- viii) Designing a special educational course expressing the nature of treasures and treasure-finding to rural audiences.
- ix) Raising cultural heritage issues on educational premises by preparing different articles for textbooks at various levels, and by organizing special educational courses in schools.
- x) Establishing courses relating to specific branches of traditional arts and restoration of historic relics in the second phase of secondary education to train the man-power needed in these fields.

8.4.2. IDENTIFICATION AND REGISTRATION

- i) Reconsidering the list of registered movable and immovable artefact and evaluating these in terms of the society's cultural values.
- ii) Identifying and recording works capable of playing an effective role in the social life of the society.

- iii) It is necessary that standards determining the registration of relics be adopted with regard for the society's cultural values and have sufficient flexibility to cover all various cultural relics of Iran.
- iv) Preparing tables to determine the communication value of each relic, as explained in Chapter Four.
- v) Paying attention to works more at risk for any reason and preparing tables to evaluate these hazards.
- vi) Paying attention to the fact that, in order to better attract the people toward historic relics, those relics already attractive to them should be first taken into consideration, preparing the ground for wider interest in other historic remains.
- vii) Considering the vastness of the country, the identification of historic remains must not rely on solely the diligence of expert teams. Utilizing satellite images and securing the cooperation of other interested bodies, for their own purposes, in surveying the entire Iranian territory, such as the Environment Preservation Organization, the Cartographic Organization, various centres of geographic studies, police forces, as well as the widespread network of Cultural Heritage Councils, can be helpful in achieving a thorough and accurate identification of historic remains.
- viii) The registration of historic remains may have consequences to which interested parties may feel opposed. It is necessary that a prior evaluation of the eventual consequences of the registration be undertaken and preparation for responding to opposition carried out.

8.4.3. PROTECTION

- i) Surveying all laws already made in Iran in relation to cultural heritage, with the intention of harmonizing them and carrying out a comparative study between these and the laws of other countries who have long experience in the legal protection of cultural heritage or whose conditions are similar to those in Iran

- ii) Paying attention in Iran to the greater influence of religious laws and devoting efforts to revive Islamic regulations formerly effective in cultural heritage affairs and still at present capable of covering the concerns of this sector.
- iii) Focusing on the positive effects of the encouraging aspects of laws which promote popular participation in the cultural heritage affairs; moderating merely punitive laws.
- iv) Experience has shown that, in protecting Iran's cultural relics, elucidation is more effective than confrontation. It is necessary that this policy be continued in the future.
- v) Paying attention to the special role of *Waqf* (bequeath) regulations in the creation and preservation of cultural objects in Islamic societies; adopting laws aimed at harmonizing these with existing legislations, thus making the regulations more effective.
- vi) Adopting laws whose relevant penalties are proportionate to the damages incurred by the destruction of a historic relic.
- vii) Paying attention to the fact that the present method of fighting illicit excavation does not fully guarantee the preservation of historic artefact and sites, and that a comprehensive plan must be devised, taking all the elements involved in illicit excavation into consideration, in order to bring the investigation of any historic site under control.
- viii) It is necessary that Iran retain its active participation in international assemblies dealing with cultural heritage. In particular, the movement begun concerning the restitution of Iranian cultural properties must continue.
- ix) Numerous collections of Iranian cultural artefact exist abroad. Encouraging their collectors to return these possessions to their home requires new laws. Laws which, recognize the property of owners and authorize them to use their

possessions, can guarantee that cultural artefact will no longer be removed from the country.

8.4.4. CONSERVATION

- i) It is necessary that the concept and methods of conservation in Iran in various domains, such as objects, foods and ideas, be studied and the current procedures reconsidered.
- ii) The mere physical conservation of relics does not satisfy the aims of Islam concerning historic remains. Methods must be devised to preserve the "soul" of historic relics, which will guarantee their social life.
- iii) It is necessary that Islamic societies' traditional methods of conservation of historic relics that rely on Islamic regulations be studied and applied.
- iv) Attempting to conserve relics, before gaining a multi-faceted cognitive understanding of them, is not without danger. This cognition goes beyond ordinary scientific knowledge and can be conceived as a kind of "friendship" with relics.
- v) Taking advantage of semi-experts in the preparation of conservation projects and following technical procedures concerning the initiation and completion of conservation projects is necessary for all relics.
- vi) Delegating conservation of historic monuments to such official bodies as municipalities, the Organization of Bequests or Housing and Urban Planning offices before they are equipped with the requisite scientific and executive capabilities will inflict irreparable damage on these relics.
- vii) Selecting and implementing conservation pilot projects, particularly in the case of ancient townscape; introducing them appropriately so that the people encounter the potentialities of historic monuments.

- viii) Identifying and inviting individuals, groups or institutions to make spiritual and material contributions who may benefit from studies being carried out on one or more historic relics.

8.4.5. PRESENTATION

- i) Using presentation methods which facilitate the transmission of the relics' messages and the moral examples they carry, will enhance the artifact's cultural relevance to the visitor.
- ii) Ensuring that the messages expressed are accessible to the entire public; avoiding the use of methods which only satisfy the needs of particular groups.
- iii) Acknowledging the negative effects from political misuses of historic relics in the past; planning in view of counteracting such effects.
- iv) Illustrating lessons that can be learned from historic relics, in which no difference exists between the values of pre- and post-Islamic works of art.
- v) Putting greater emphasis on presenting the relics' intrinsic values; not supplying an assortment of arid information as is currently done.
- vi) Presenting relics from recent historical periods with regard for the role and responsibility of cultural heritage in reinforcing the cultural continuation of the society; avoiding the assignment of all museums to present exclusively relics from ancient civilizations.
- vii) Making an effort to promote internal cultural tourism; concentrating on its long-term effects instead of merely the financial benefits of foreign tourism.
- viii) Studying and implementing methods which encourage members of younger age groups to visit historic monuments.

- ix) Giving greater consideration for the provision of activities within museums and at historic sites, the establishment of lively communication between visitors, avoiding restrictions on such contact for mere security reasons.
- x) Utilizing historic monuments existing in various towns to house a multitude of small local museums, rather than creating large, costly central ones; instead using such monuments to present the culture of each region, providing simply worded information.
- xi) Focusing on the outstanding capabilities of mobile museums, particularly in relation to poorer, more populated areas within large cities as well as remotely situated villages.
- xii) Using schoolchildren enrolling in the Kād Scheme¹ to do presentation work in museums and at historic sites instead of solely relying on providing catalogues, brochures or books.

8.4.6. MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

- i) Providing the conditions required for the creation of organized groups interested in historic relics and gradually transferring relevant affairs to their responsibility. Further, initially it is necessary that activities and structures of similar non-governmental organizations in other countries be examined.
- ii) Devoting energy to strengthen the communication between ICHO and the country's higher education and research centres; paying attention to the dangers involved in the growth of publicity and tourism-oriented tendencies in relation to historic relics.

¹ In the Kād Scheme, secondary schoolchildren must spend a weekly fixed number of hours becoming acquainted with practices they are free to choose. These hours count and are assessed as class hours.

- iii) Pursuing projects which extend the influence of ICHO's Provincial Units, delegating central authority to these, while transforming the Central Headquarters into a guidance and control centre.
- iv) Developing and strengthening Cultural Heritage Councils throughout the country, as a popular network constituting ICHO's executive arm.
- v) Revising the standards governing the selection of directors for ICHO's Provincial Units, shifting toward choosing individuals acquainted with the inter-disciplinary nature of cultural heritage management, instead of enrolling either archaeologists or architects.
- vi) Inviting other bodies whose activities are related to cultural heritage, such as municipalities, the Environment Preservation Organization, the Organization of Bequeaths or the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, to coordinate their efforts with those of this sector and participate in its affairs.
- vii) ICHO's affiliation to a ministry is a hindrance to the accomplishment of its duties. It is necessary to pursue the project for its transformation into an organization under the supervision of the President of the Republic.
- viii) Studying and examining the pros and cons of the project for the merging of ICHO and the Environment Preservation Organization into a Ministry of Cultural and Natural Heritage.
- ix) Establishing and sustaining healthy, active relationships with other countries is particularly important in the domain of cultural heritage affairs. To achieve this, it is necessary that prior studies be undertaken in three fields: the historic antecedents of these contacts, the cultural and political grounds existing in the country concerned, and the reasons for cooperation interests within each country.
- x) It is a prerequisite that all reports of foreign missions active so far in Iran, which, in contravention of ratified agreements, were printed in their original languages,

be translated into Persian. This endeavour may constitute one condition for the resumption of their activities in Iran.

- xi) It is imperative, unlike in the past, all such foreign activities in Iran take place within the frame of joint missions, whose initial reports will be prepared in Persian and whose findings will remain in Iran.
- xii) Paying greater attention to achieve common agreements with countries of the region, particularly Iran's newly independent northern neighbours, and devoting time and energy to exchange information, to train experts and carry out joint projects.

8.4.7. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

- i) The considerable financial contributions of the people to the expenses of the conservation of historic-religious edifices speaks of their willingness to assume the costs of affairs they respect. In order to benefit from this participation, it is essential that cultural heritage affairs be justified sufficiently within the value-framework of the society.
- ii) In view of the people's acquaintance with, and trust in, such traditional methods of financial participation as *Waqf*, *Nazr* and *Bāqiāt-os-Sālehāt*, it is necessary that sufficient attention be devoted to utilizing and strengthening these methods.
- iii) To expect the people to participate financially in, let us say, an archaeological excavation, is unrealistic at the present time. It is important initially that their financial contributions be concentrated on projects such as mosques, bath-houses, water reservoirs and other historic public utilitarian structures, so that their tangible results may stimulate further participation.
- iv) The tourist industry, like any other industry, needs initial investments. Until such investments are made, increasing the number of visitors will have no result but the destruction of relics.

- v) The claim of administering the affairs of historic sites and museums in Iran solely on account of their revenues is unrealistic at this time. Managing these affairs must inevitably rely on popular and governmental assistance. Therefore, the increase of revenues derived from tourism, which are mainly earned by hotels, restaurants and transport agencies, must not cause the importance of governmental and popular financial assistance to be optimistically overlooked.
- vi) Instead of relying on revenues earned through current methods of presentation, thought must be given to new methods which might evolve from extracting and applying the immense treasure of scientific, and historical information relics hold.
- vii) ICHO must strive to receive a yearly overall budget; to retain the prerogative to apportion it among various projects on the basis of cultural priorities.

8.5. A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE

Doubtless, these years can be considered an exceptional period for the cultural heritage in Iran, during which time particular factors for paying attention and referring to the country's cultural heritage have been created. If these factors are properly recognized and applied, a bright future can be expected. The social pressure accumulated during long years of foreign hegemony and subordinate rulers in the country, has manifested itself in the form of a revolution whose principal aim is to negate both eastern and western cultural dominance and revive Iranians' national and Islamic identity. Undoubtedly, the most appropriate way to recover this identity is by referring to the valuable cultural heritage of Iran and Islam. The downfall of the eastern bloc and the creation of countries, who are striving, each in its own way, to revive their national identities, with centuries of cultural heritage in common with Iran, constitutes a new factor in the development of Iranian cultural heritage. The accentuation, in recent years, of the imposition of Western culture within the framework of a new world order incites Iranians to insist still more strongly on reverting to their own culture. The hazards of the eight year war and a number of rash decisions taken concerning repairs carried out in its wake have imperiled and caused damage to some historic relics. At the same time, reduction of oil revenues, when the heavy cost of reconstructing the country must be faced, has

drawn the government's attention to the potentialities of cultural heritage as a new source of income.

Although all these factors consequently arouse interest in cultural heritage, it appears that a thorough assessment of their effects in determining future is still lacking. This deficiency encourages doubts about the future, and shows the necessity of undertaking studies capable of providing the necessary knowledge to help Government and other organizations make meaningful and forward-looking decisions.

This study attempted to throw light on two basic domains significant in describing the status of cultural heritage in present-day Iran. Clearly, the vast range of material examined; the viewpoint of Islam in relation with cultural heritage and the history of its developments in Iran, are not subjects that can begin and end with one research project. If the author by raising relevant questions and describing the results obtained, has only been successful in giving assurance to others that the questions put forth deserve further studies, he will have attained his goal. But many questions still remain whose answers are vital in guaranteeing a better future for cultural heritage in Iran.

The author does not belittle the movement that led to the creation of ICHO; the ratification of the relevant law or its legal and structural maturing, the widespread dissemination of the notion of cultural heritage or the sincere efforts made in recent years. Nevertheless, he feels compelled to express his apprehension about the eventual prevalence of a kind of "mercantilistic" perspective toward historic relics. This, if left to grow, will result in cultural heritage activities being seriously diverted from the movement's existing purposes and objectives. Although the scale and significance of factors which call Iranians to become committed to the values of their cultural heritage are great enough to provide the capability of overcoming eventual difficulties, the responsibility that lies ahead is awesome for all those who care for cultural heritage in Iran. Undoubtedly, the younger generation of Iranians, whose unending love for their country's cultural heritage the author has closely witnessed for many years, will successfully accept the burden of this responsibility. But "hope in the future"² is only realistic if the present generation devotes all its effort toward acquiring knowledge and acting in the most appropriate ways.

² "Hope in the Future" is the title of the last part of a documentary report written 40 years ago by the late Mostafavi about cultural heritage affairs in Iran.

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APPENDIX I
Verses of the Quran
Concerning Cultural Heritage

Al-Baqarah 2:66

66. So We made it an example
To their own time
And to their posterity,
And a lesson
To those who fear Allah.

فَجَعَلْنَاهَا نَكَالًا لِّمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهَا وَمَا خَلْفَهَا
وَمَوْعِظَةً لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴿٦٦﴾

Al-Baqarah 2:134

134. That was a People that hath
Passed away. They shall reap
The fruit of what they did,
And ye of what ye do!
Ye shall not be asked
About what they did.¹³³

تِلْكَ أُمَّةٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَلَكُمْ
مَّا كَسَبْتُمْ وَلَا تُسْأَلُونَ عَمَّا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ ﴿١٣٤﴾

Al-Baqarah 2:259

259. Or (take) the similitude
Of one who passed
By a hamlet, all in ruins³⁰⁴
To its roots. He said:
"Oh! how shall Allah
Bring it (ever) to life,
After (this) its death?"
But Allah caused him
To die for a hundred years,
Then raised him up (again).
He said: "How long
Didst thou tarry (thus)?"
He said: "(Perhaps) a day
Or part of a day." He said:
"Nay, thou hast tarried
Thus a hundred years:
But look at thy food
And thy drink; they show
No signs of age: and look
At thy donkey: and that
We may make of thee
A Sign unto the people.
Look further at the bones,
How We bring them together
And clothe them with flesh."³⁰⁵
When this was shown clearly
To him, he said: "I know
That Allah hath power
Over all things."

أَوْ كَالَّذِي مَرَّ عَلَى قَرْيَةٍ وَهِيَ خَاوِيَةٌ عَلَى عُرُوشِهَا
قَالَ أَنِّي يُحْيِي هَذِهِ اللَّهُ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهَا فَأَمَاتَهُ اللَّهُ
مِائَةً عَامٍ ثُمَّ بَعَثَهُ قَالَ كَمْ لَيْتُ قَالَ لَيْتُ
يَوْمًا أَوْ بَعْضَ يَوْمٍ قَالَ بَلْ لَيْتُ مِائَةً عَامٍ
فَأَنْظُرْ إِلَى طَعَامِكَ وَشَرَابِكَ لَمْ يَتَسَنَّهْ
وَأَنْظُرْ إِلَى حِمَارِكَ وَلِنَجْعَلَكَ آيَةً
لِّلنَّاسِ وَأَنْظُرْ إِلَى الْعِظَامِ كَيْفَ
نُنْشِزُهَا ثُمَّ نَكْسُوهَا لَحْمًا فَلَمَّا تَبَيَّنَ
لَهُ قَالَ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ﴿٢٥٩﴾

Al-i-Imran 3:137

137. There have been examples⁴⁵⁶
That have passed away

Before you: travel through
The earth, and see what was
The end of those
Who rejected Truth.

قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ سُنَنٌ فَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ
فَانظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ عَاقِبَةُ الْمُكَذِّبِينَ ﴿١٣٧﴾

Al-Anaam 6:6

6. See they not how many
Of those before them
We did destroy?—⁸³⁹
Generations We had established
On the earth, in strength
Such as We have not given
To you—for whom
We poured out rain
From the skies in abundance,
And gave streams
Flowing beneath their (feet):
Yet for their sins
We destroyed them,
And raised in their wake
Fresh generations
(To succeed them).

أَلَمْ يَرَوْا كَمْ أَهْلَكْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ مِنْ قَرْنٍ مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي
الْأَرْضِ مَا لَهُمْ نُمُوكٌ أَلَمْ نَكُفِّرْ وَارْسِلْنَا السَّمَاءَ عَلَيْهِمْ
مِدْرَارًا وَجَعَلْنَا الْأَنْهَارَ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهِمْ
فَآهَلَكْنَاهُمْ يَدُنَا نَوْمِهِمْ وَأُنْشَأْنَا مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ قَرْنًا
آخَرِينَ ﴿٦﴾

Al-A'raf 7:4

4. How many towns have We
Destroyed (for their sins)?
Our punishment took them
On a sudden by night
Or while they slept
For their afternoon rest.

وَكَمْ مِنْ قَرْيَةٍ أَهْلَكْنَاهَا فَجَاءَ هَابًا مُتَابِعَةً
أَوْ هُمْ قَائِلُونَ ﴿٤﴾

Al-A'raf 7:78

78. So the earthquake took them ¹⁰⁴⁷ Unawares, and they lay Prostrate in their homes In the morning!	فَأَخَذَتْهُمُ الرَّجْفَةُ فَأَصْبَحُوا فِي دَارِهِمْ جَاسِمِينَ ﴿٧٨﴾
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Al-A'raf 7:101

101. Such were the towns Whose story We (thus) Relate unto thee: There came indeed to them Their Messengers with clear (Signs); But they would not believe What they had rejected before. ¹⁰⁷⁰ Thus doth Allah seal up The hearts of those Who reject Faith.	تِلْكَ الْقُرَى نَقُصُّ عَلَيْكَ مِنْ أَنْبَاءِهَا وَلَقَدْ جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُهُمْ بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ فَمَا كَانُوا لِيُؤْمِنُوا بِمَا كَذَّبُوا مِنْ قَبْلُ كَذَلِكَ يَطْبَعُ اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِ الْكَافِرِينَ ﴿١٠١﴾
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Yunus 10:92

92. "This day shall We save thee In thy body, that thou Mayest be a Sign to those Who come after thee! But verily, many among mankind Are heedless of Our Signs!"	فَالْيَوْمَ نُنَجِّيكَ بِبَدْنِكَ لَتَكُونَ لِمَنْ خَلَقَكَ آيَةً وَإِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنَ النَّاسِ عَنْ آيَاتِنَا لَغَافِلُونَ ﴿٩٢﴾
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Hud 11:100

100. These are some of the stories Of communities which We Relate unto thee: of them Some are standing, ¹⁶⁰¹ and some Have been mown down (By the sickle of time). ¹⁶⁰²	ذَٰلِكَ مِنْ أَنْبَاءِ الْقُرَى نَقُصُّ عَلَيْكَ مِنْهَا قَائِمٌ وَحَصِيدٌ ﴿١٠٠﴾
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Yusuf 12:7

7. Verily in Joseph and his brethren Are Signs For Seekers (after Truth) ¹⁶³⁸	لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي يُوسُفَ وَإِخْوَتِهِ آيَاتٍ لِلْسَّائِلِينَ ﴿٧﴾
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Yusuf 12:111

<p>111. There is, in their stories,¹⁷⁹⁶ Instruction for men endued With understanding. It is not A tale invented, but a confirmation Of what went before it,-¹⁷⁹⁷ A detailed exposition Of all things, and a Guide And a Mercy to any such As believe.</p>	<p>لَقَدْ كُنَّا فِي فَصَصِهِمْ عَذْرَةً لِأُولَى الْأَلْبَابِ مَا كَانَ حَدِيثًا يُفْتَرَى وَلَكِنْ تَصْدِيقَ الَّذِي بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَتَفْصِيلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِّقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿١١١﴾</p>
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Al-Hijr 15:75,76

<p>76. And the (Cities were) Right on the high-road.¹⁹⁹⁸ 75. Behold! in this are Signs For those who by tokens Do understand.</p>	<p>وَأَنَّهَا لَلسَّبِيلِ مُقِيمٌ ﴿٧٦﴾ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّلْمُتَوَسِّمِينَ ﴿٧٥﴾</p>
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Al-Hijr 15:82,83,84

<p>82. Out of the mountains²⁰⁰³ Did they hew (their) edifices, (Feeling themselves) secure. 83. But the (mighty) Blast²⁰⁰⁴ Seized them of a morning, 84. And of no avail to them Was all that they did</p>	<p>وَكَانُوا يَنْحِتُونَ مِنَ الْجِبَالِ بُيُوتًا آمِنِينَ ﴿٨٢﴾ فَأَخَذَتْهُمُ الصَّيْحَةُ مُصْبِحِينَ ﴿٨٣﴾ فَمَا أَغْنَىٰ عَنْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ ﴿٨٤﴾</p>
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Ta-HA 20:128

<p>128. Is it not a guidance to such Men (to call to mind) How many generations before them We destroyed, in whose haunts They (now) move? Verily, In this are Signs for men Endued with understanding.²⁶⁵²</p>	<p>أَفَلَمْ يَهْدِ لَهُمْ كَمْ أَهْلَكْنَا قَبْلَهُمْ مِنَ الْقُرُونِ يَمْشُونَ فِي مَسْكِنِهِمْ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّأُولَى الْأَلْبَابِ ﴿١٢٨﴾</p>
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Al-Hajj 22:45

<p>45. How many populations have We Destroyed, which were given To wrong-doing? They tumbled down²⁸²³ On their roofs. And how many Wells are lying idle and neglected,²⁸²⁴ And castles lofty and well-built?</p>	<p>فَكَانَ مِنْ قَرْيَةٍ أَهْلَكْنَاهَا وَهِيَ ظَالِمَةٌ فِيهَا خَاوِيَةٌ عَلَى عُرُوشِهَا وَبُيُوتٌ مُعْتَطَلَةٌ وَقَصَاصٌ مَشِيدٌ ﴿٤٥﴾</p>
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Al-Hajj 22:46

<p>46. Do they not travel Through the land, so that Their hearts (and minds)²⁸²⁵ May thus learn wisdom And their ears may Thus learn to hear? Truly it is not the eyes That are blind, but the Hearts which are In their breasts.</p>	<p>أَفَلَمْ يَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَتَكُونَ لَهُمْ قُلُوبٌ يَعْقِلُونَ بِهَا أَوْ آذَانٌ يَسْمَعُونَ بِهَا فَإِنَّهَا لَا تَعْمَى الْأَبْصَارُ وَلَكِن تَعْمَى الْقُلُوبُ الَّتِي فِي الصُّدُورِ ﴿٤٦﴾</p>
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Al-Mumimun 23:44

<p>44. Then sent We Our messengers In succession: every time There came to a people Their messenger, they accused him Of falsehood: so We made Them follow each other (In punishment): We made them As a tale (that is told):²⁹⁰² So away with a people That will not believe!</p>	<p>ثُمَّ أَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا تَتْرًا كُلًّا مَجَاءَ أُمَّةٍ رَسُولُهَُا كَذَّبُوهُ فَاتَّبَعْنَا بَعْضَهُمْ بَعْضًا وَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ أَحَادِيثَ فَبِعَدَا الْقَوْمِ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿٤٤﴾</p>
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An-naml 27:69

<p>69. Say: "Go ye through the earth And see what has been The end of those guilty (Of sin)."³³⁰⁵</p>	<p>قُلْ سِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَانظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ عَاقِبَةُ الْمُجْرِمِينَ ﴿٦٩﴾</p>
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Al-qasas 28:58

<p>58. And how many towns We destroyed, which exulted In their life (of ease and plenty)! Now those habitations of theirs, After them, are deserted,- All but a (miserable) few! And We are their heirs!³³⁹⁰</p>	<p>وَكَمْ أَهْلَكْنَا مِنْ قَرْيَةٍ بَطِرَتْ مَعِيشَتَهَا فَإِنَّكَ مَسْكَنُهُمْ لَا تَسْكُنُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا وَكَتَّانُ الْوَرِثَةِ ﴿٥٨﴾</p>
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Al-Ankabut 29:35

<p>35. And We have left thereof An evident Sign,³⁴⁵⁷ For any people who (Care to) understand.</p>	<p>وَلَقَدْ تَرَكْنَا مِنْهَا آيَةً بَيِّنَةً لِقَوْمٍ يَعْقِلُونَ ﴿٣٥﴾</p>
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Al-Ankabut 29:37,38

<p>37. But they rejected him: Then the mighty Blast³⁴⁵⁸ Seized them, and they lay Prostrate in their homes By the morning.</p> <p>38. (Remember also) the 'Ād And the <u>Thamūd</u> (people):³⁴⁵⁹ Clearly will appear to you From (the traces) of their buildings (Their fate): Satan Made their deeds alluring³⁴⁶⁰ To them, and kept them back From the Path, though they Were keen-sighted.</p>	<p>فَكَذَّبُوهُ فَأَخَذَتْهُمُ الرَّجْفَةُ فَأَصْبَحُوا فِي دَارِهِمْ جَنِينًا ﴿٣٧﴾</p> <p>وَعَادًا وَثَمُودًا وَقَدْ تَبَيَّنَ لَكُمْ مِنْ مَسْكَنِهِمْ وَرَزَقَ لَهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَعْمَالَهُمْ فَصَدَّهُمْ عَنِ السَّبِيلِ وَكَانُوا مُسْتَبْصِرِينَ ﴿٣٨﴾</p>
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As-Sajda 32:26

<p>26. Does it not teach them A lesson, how many generations We destroyed before them, In whose dwellings they (Now) go to and fro?³⁶⁶⁰ Verily in that are Signs: Do they not then listen?³⁶⁶¹</p>	<p>أَوَلَمْ يَهْدِ لَهُمْ كَمْ أَهْلَكْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ مِنَ الْقُرُونِ يَمْشُونَ فِي مَسْكَنِهِمْ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ أَفَلَا يَسْمَعُونَ ﴿٢٦﴾</p>
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Saba 34:18

18. Between them and the Cities ³⁸¹⁶ On which We had poured Our blessings, We had placed Cities in prominent positions, And between them We had Appointed stages of journey In due proportion: "Travel therein, Secure, by night and by day."	وَجَعَلْنَا بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ الْقُرَى الَّتِي بَرَكْنَا فِيهَا قُرًى ظَاهِرَةً وَفَدَّرْنَا فِيهَا السَّيْرَ سِيرُوا فِيهَا لَيَالِيَ وَأَيَّامًا آمِنِينَ ﴿١٨﴾
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Fatir 35:44

44. Do they not travel Through the earth, and see ³⁹³⁹ What was the End Of those before them,— Though they were superior To them in strength? Nor is Allah to be frustrated By anything whatever In the heavens Or on earth: for He Is All-Knowing, All-Powerful.	أَوَلَمْ يَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَيَنْظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ عَاقِبَةُ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَكَانُوا أَشَدَّ مِنْهُمْ قُوَّةً وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُعْجِزَهُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَلَا فِي الْأَرْضِ إِنَّهُ كَانَ عَلِيمًا قَدِيرًا ﴿٤٤﴾
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As-Saffat 37:137,138

137. Verily, ye pass ⁴¹¹⁸ By their (sites), By day— 138. And by night: Will ye not understand?	وَإِنْ كَرِهْتُمُوهُمْ فَاتَّبِعُوا عَنْقُهُمْ مِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ وَبِالْأَيْلِ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ ﴿١٣٧﴾
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Az-Zukhruf 43:65

56. And We made them (A People) of the Past ⁴⁶⁵⁸ And an Example To later ages.	فَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ سَلَفًا وَمَثَلًا لِلْآخِرِينَ ﴿٥٦﴾
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Al-Ahqaf 46:25

25. "Everything will it destroy By the command of its Lord!" Then by the morning they- ⁴⁸⁰³ Nothing was to be seen But (the ruins of) their houses! Thus do We recompense Those given to sin!	تُدْمِرُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ بِأَمْرِ رَبِّهَا فَاصْبِرْ لَا يَرَى إِلَّا أَمْسَنَهُمُ كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي الْقَوْمَ الْمُجْرِمِينَ ﴿٢٥﴾
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Muhammad 47:10

10. Do they not travel ⁴⁸²⁹ Through the earth, and see What was the End Of those before them (Who did evil)? Allah brought utter destruction On them, and similar (Fates await) those who Reject Allah.	أَفَلَمْ يَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَيَنْظُرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ عَاقِبَةُ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ دَمَّرَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلِلْكَافِرِينَ أَمثالُهُمْ ﴿١٠﴾
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Qaf 50:36,37

36. But how many Generations before them Did We destroy (for their Sins),-stronger in power ⁴⁹⁷³ Than they? Then did they Wander through the land: Was there any place Of escape (for them)?	وَكَمْ أَهْلَكْنَا قَبْلَهُمْ مِنْ قَرْنٍ هُمْ أَشَدُّ مِنْهُمْ بَطْشًا فَنَقَّبُوا فِي الْبِلَادِ هَلْ مِنْ مَخِصٍ ﴿٣٦﴾
37. Verily in this ⁴⁹⁷⁴ Is a Message For any that has A heart and understanding Or who gives ear and Is a witness.	إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَذِكْرًا لِمَنْ كَانَ لَهُ قَلْبٌ أَوْ أَلْقَى السَّمْعَ وَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ ﴿٣٧﴾

Al-Zariyat 51:37

37. And We left there A Sign for such as Fear the Grievous Chastisement. ⁵⁰¹⁵	وَرَكَّافِيهَا آيَةً لِلَّذِينَ يَخَافُونَ الْعَذَابَ الْأَلِيمَ ﴿٣٧﴾
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An-Najm 53:54

54. So that there covered it That which covered.	فَغَشَّاهَا مَعَشِي ٥٤
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Al-Qamar 54:15

15. And We have left This as a Sign ⁵¹⁴⁰ (For all time): then	وَلَقَدْ تَرَكْنَاهَا آيَةً فَهَلْ مِنْ مُدَكِّرٍ ١٥
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Al-Fajr 89:6,7

6. Seest thou not How thy Lord dealt With the 'Ād (people), ⁶¹¹³	أَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ فَعَلَ رَبُّكَ بِعَادٍ ٦
7. Of the (city of) Iram, ⁶¹¹⁴ With lofty pillars,	إِرم ذاتِ الْعِمَادِ ٧

APPENDIX II
Antiquity Law (1930)

Ministry of the National Economy

Law concerning the preservation of national antiquities,
approved on 12 aban 1309 (3 November 1930)^{1/}

Article 1ⁱ - All works of art and movable and immovable creations which have been produced in Iran, as well as all historical sites, dating from before the end of the Zend dynasty, are, by virtue of Article 2 of the present law, considered as national antiquities and are placed under the protection and control of the State.

Article 2 - The State will make an Inventory of all Iranian antiquities currently known and identified, which are of specific historical, scientific or artistic interest. Any further antiquities of the same kind discovered in the future will be added to this Inventory. The Inventory will be printed and published.

Article 3 - The listing of property in the Inventory of National Antiquities will be announced by means of an order from the Ministry of Education. However, the listing of property belonging to a private person will be notified in advance to the owner and will become effective only when any protest which the owner might make has been considered. The owner does not have to assume the obligations set forth in this law until the listing of the property has become effective.

Article 4 - The owner of immovable property which, under the provisions of the present law, may be considered as a national antiquity, as well as any person coming to know of the existence of property of this kind must notify the nearest appropriate government office so that the relevant authorities, as defined in the rules for the application of the present law, can decide whether the property in question should be considered as a national antiquity and classified as such.

Article 5 - Private individuals who are owners or who have the usufruct of property listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities retain their right of ownership or usufruct but may not oppose measures which the State considers that it has to take for the preservation of those antiquities. If work undertaken by the State entails expenditure, no reimbursement of that expenditure may be claimed from the owner nor shall the work in question in any way affect his right of ownership.

Article 6 - The acts listed below are forbidden. Any person who performs such acts will be tried and fined from 50 to 1,000 tomans. In addition, he could also be held liable for the cost of the damage caused by him to national antiquities:

- (a) destroying or damaging national antiquities, covering them with plaster or paint, or carving designs or inscriptions on them;

^{1/} Unofficial translation prepared by Unesco.

- (b) undertaking works near national antiquities which could damage their structure or modify their appearance;
- (c) taking, buying or selling, without the authorization of the State, items or materials belonging to listed buildings. The repair and restoration of buildings classified as national antiquities and belonging to private owners may only be undertaken with the authorization of the State and under its supervision. Any infringement is punishable as described above.

Article 7 - Privately owned movable property considered as a national antiquity must be listed in a separate inventory, in accordance with Article 2 of the present law.

Article 8 - For each item of movable property listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities, a descriptive certificate must be drawn up in duplicate, indicating its place of origin and how it was discovered. One or more photographs should be attached.

One copy of the certificate will be kept in the national antiquities archives and the other will be delivered free of charge to the owner. This copy must accompany the property in all its changes of ownership. A change of ownership in no way affects the status of the property as a listed national antiquity.

Article 9 - If the owner of listed property wishes to sell it to a third party, he must notify the appropriate public authorities in writing. If the State wishes this property to be included in a national collection, it has a right of pre-emption but must give notice to the owner of its intention to exercise that right within ten days of receiving the owner's notification. If the State gives no such notice, the owner is free to sell the property to another purchaser. In all cases, and whatever the means by which the property has been disposed of, the previous owner must notify the State, within ten days of the disposal, of the name and address of the new owner. Anyone who sells a listed property without notifying the Ministry of Education or its representatives will be fined a sum equal to the sale price of the property in question. In addition, the State may seize the property which has been sold, reimbursing the purchaser the sum paid by him. Furthermore, if the purchaser knew that the property in question was listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities but still proceeded with the purchase, he shall be liable to the same fine as the seller, unless he himself notified the State.

Article 10 - Any person happening to discover any movable property which, according to the provisions of the present law, could be considered as a national antiquity, even if that property is on his own land, must notify the Ministry of Education or one of its representatives as soon as possible. Should the relevant public authorities decide that the movable property in question ought to be listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities, half of the property discovered, or of its value as determined by appraisal, shall be due to the finder. The State may, at its own discretion, decide whether to retain the other half or donate it to the finder.

Article 11 - The State is entitled to dig and excavate for antiquities. The State may use this right directly, or delegate it, by special authorization, to scientific institutions, societies or individuals. Such authorization must indicate the site of the excavations, their extent and estimated duration. In

addition, the State is entitled to make probes in any place where remains have been found, or where evidence suggests the existence of remains, or which seems likely to conceal remains, for the purpose of discovering antiquities and determining their nature and quality.

Article 12 - Excavations whose sole purpose is to discover antiquities or to conduct scientific research are termed 'scientific excavations'. Excavations whose purpose is the sale of antiquities are termed 'commercial excavations'. Authorization to undertake scientific excavations is granted exclusively to scientific institutions. Commercial excavations in listed buildings or on listed property are prohibited.

Article 13 - Excavations on land belonging to private individuals may be undertaken only with the authorization of the State and the consent of the owner. However, the owner of a site listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities or which the State, as a result of probes, has listed or is in the process of listing in the Inventory, cannot withhold his consent. He is entitled only to request an indemnity which shall be equivalent to half the revenue from the land which is no longer available to him on account of the excavations and half the prejudice caused and the expenses incurred in restoring the land to its original state after the excavations.

Article 14 - Items discovered during scientific or commercial excavations, at one and the same site during one and the same period of excavations, belong exclusively to the State if the State has itself undertaken the excavations. If the excavations have been undertaken by a third party, the State may select and appropriate up to ten items of historical or artistic value and donate half of the remainder to the finder, keeping the other half itself. If there are not more than ten items in all and if the State keeps them all, the expenses incurred by the excavations are reimbursed to the person who provided the funds. Buildings and parts of buildings are not covered by the above provisions regarding sharing and the State is entitled to appropriate them in toto.

Note - A period of excavations is defined as one which lasts no longer than a year.

Article 15 - Items discovered during scientific excavations and to which the State is entitled must be kept in national collections and museums. They are inalienable. Items donated to the finder become his sole property. Of the items discovered during commercial excavations which revert to the State, the State keeps all those of interest to museums and disposes of the others as it so chooses. The sale of such items shall be by auction.

Article 16 - Any person infringing the provisions of Article 10, or undertaking excavations, even on his own property, without State authorization or without the knowledge of the State, or exporting antiquities fraudulently, will be fined from 20 to 2,000 toman. In addition, the items discovered will be confiscated by the State. Earth removal and other works of the same type not undertaken for the purpose of finding antiquities are not subject to the above-mentioned fines.

Article 17 - Persons wishing to trade in antiquities must obtain a State licence. A State licence is also required to export antiquities. Any item listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities will be confiscated by the State if any attempt is made to export it without State authorization. The

State will not refuse export licences for items which, under the provisions of Articles 10 and 14 of the present law, are the property of the finder, provided that they are not listed in the Inventory of National Antiquities. If they are listed items, the conditions under which they may be exported are set out in Article 18 below.

Article 18 - The State is entitled to refuse an export licence for items considered as national antiquities, and to purchase them at the price declared by the person concerned in his request for an export licence. If the owner refuses to sell them at the stated price, the export licence will not be granted. If the licence is granted, an export tax will be levied equal to 5 per cent of the value determined by the State-appointed valuer. In the event of disagreement between the owner and the valuer, the matter will be settled by a special commission, the composition of which will be determined by the rules for the application of the present law. The export tax provided for by the present Article is independent of the customs levies laid down for such items by the customs tariffs in force. The export of items discovered during scientific excavations undertaken with the agreement of the State and constituting the finder's share is authorized in all cases and is exempt from any levies and taxes.

Article 19 - The Council of Ministers will draw up and approve rules for the implementation of this law, stating the conditions for trading in antiquities and the conditions for the implementation of all the provisions of the present law.

Article 20 - Authorizations for excavations already granted which do not comply with the present law are hereby revoked.

Text of the law adopted by both houses (Senate and National Assembly).

Rules for the Application of the Law enacted on 12 Aban-Mah 1309
(3 November 1930) on the Preservation of the Antiquities of Persia
(Approved by the Council of Ministers on 28 Aban-Mah 1311
- 19 November 1932)^{1/}

DEFINITIONS

Article 1 - All the products of the arts of all the peoples who lived on Persian soil until the close of the Zend period are considered as 'antiquities'.

Antiquities are movable or immovable, immovable when they are fixed to the ground or not easily transportable, movable when they are not immovable.

Natural sites such as underground caves, rock shelters and rocks preserving vestiges of ancient civilizations are classified as immovable antiquities.

Easily transportable construction components or decorative elements, which formed part of buildings or of natural sites considered as immovable antiquities and which were found detached from these antiquities, are considered as movable antiquities.

^{1/} Unofficial translation prepared by Unesco.

CHAPTER I

Immovable antiquities

Article 2 - An inventory of all the currently known immovable antiquities relating to the national history of Persia shall be drawn up by the Archaeological Department of Persia.

As and when new immovable antiquities having the same historic and national character are discovered, they shall be listed in the inventory.

The antiquities thus listed, and only these, shall be considered as 'Immovable National Monuments'.

The inventory shall be called the 'Inventory of Immovable National Monuments'.

Article 3 - Any site may at any time be listed in the inventory once it has been established beyond doubt that under the ground at this place is an antiquity relating to the history of Persia.

Article 4 - Whoever possesses an immovable antiquity liable to be classified as a 'National Monument', and whoever learns of the existence of such an antiquity must, without delay, notify the Archaeological Department through the nearest representative of the Administration of National Education or, failing this, through officials of the Administration of Finances.

The Archaeological Department, after examining the antiquity in question, shall, where appropriate, propose its listing in the Inventory of National Monuments.

Article 5 - The listing in the inventory of an immovable antiquity or of a site on which is located an immovable antiquity shall be proposed by the Director of the Archaeological Department to the Minister of Education who shall decide on the advisability of listing and, if need be, shall order it by means of a decree.

However, the listing shall only become effective and its effects shall only have full legal force after the owner has been officially notified of the antiquities or sites in question and after consideration of the justification of whatever protest he may make. A period of one month shall be accorded to the owner within which to make his protest.

Article 6 - The officials of the Archaeological Department responsible for drawing up the Inventory of National Monuments must compile a comprehensive record of locally obtained information on each immovable antiquity being considered for listing.

This record must include all the information necessary for preparing the proposal for listing, i.e. as far as possible:

- the name by which the immovable antiquity is known in the locality,
- its real name,
- its exact geographical location,

- the name of its founder,
- the date of its construction,
- a concise plan of it,
- photographs,
- a statement of its legal situation,
- all relevant details which can justify listing and which are not included in this enumeration.

This record may also usefully include:

surveys making it possible subsequently to prepare plans, sections, situation diagrams and details of the construction and decoration of the monument(s);

a list of photographs and, if possible, of stamped inscriptions;

legends relating to the immobile antiquity current in the region;

where restoration was carried out prior to the date of the work, the name of the restorer(s) and indications as to the parts restored, accompanied by relevant drawings and photographs.

In short, the record should include all the documentation that can possibly be gathered, bearing in mind that no detail, however trivial in appearance, and no information, even if manifestly legendary, is to be disregarded.

When an immovable antiquity has been finally listed as a National Monument, the record used in preparing the proposal for listing, to which shall be added the ministerial decree ordering that listing, shall be deposited in the Archives of National Monuments.

After listing, detailed notes on transfers of ownership of the antiquity, conservation measures concerning it taken by the Antiquities Department and repairs carried out, shall be included in the record.

Article 7 - Private individuals who are owners or who have the usufruct of a classified immovable antiquity shall retain their right of ownership or usufruct but may not oppose measures which the State considers obliged to take for the preservation of the antiquity.

If these measures entail expenditure, no reimbursement of that expenditure may be claimed from the owners nor shall it in any way affect their right of ownership.

Article 8 - The Archaeological Department shall be responsible for carrying out the work ordered by the State as necessary for the preservation of the national monuments. When a private individual who owns or has the usufruct of a building classified as a national monument wishes to restore or repair this building at his own expense or change it in any way whatsoever, he shall first submit a detailed plan of the work he wishes to undertake to the Minister of Education and obtain authorization to carry it out.

The Minister of Education may refuse the authorization requested if in his opinion the planned work endangers the structure or poses a threat to the appearance of the building. He may require this work to be executed in the way he considers appropriate and, in particular, require the re-use of old materials or the employment of techniques or materials similar to those used by the original builders.

This work, the details of which will be laid down in the ministerial authorization, shall be executed under the supervision of the Archaeological Department.

If work being carried out is abandoned, the Archaeological Department shall be responsible for continuing it at the expense of the defaulting owner.

If the work is not carried out in accordance with the plan laid down in the ministerial authorization, demolition and proper reconstruction may be required, without prejudice to the penalties established by law for damage to national monuments. Or, should the Minister of Education consider it suitable, the State may itself carry out demolition and construction work at the expense of the owner.

Article 9 - Protective zones, in which it shall be forbidden to put up buildings, plant trees, carry out excavation work and establish cemeteries, may be established in order to protect the National Monuments and sites which are of particular value for the history of Persia.

The Minister of Education shall, in each case, decide on the conditions for the establishment of these protective zones and shall determine the compensation that may be accorded to the parties involved.

It is forbidden

Article 10 - (1) to destroy or damage National Monuments, to cover them with plaster or paint, or to carve designs or inscriptions on them;

(2) to undertake any work near listed buildings which may endanger their structure or alter their appearance;

(3) to appropriate, buy or sell, without the authorization of the Minister of Education, materials belonging, or which formerly belonged, to the buildings listed in the inventory.

Anyone guilty of any of these infringements shall be tried and sentenced to a fine of from 50 to 1,000 tomans. In addition, he may also be held liable for the cost of repairing the damage caused by him to the National Monuments.

Article 11 - The safeguarding of immovable National Monuments located far from any town shall be the responsibility of special caretaker's posts responsible for keeping a constant watch over them.

Where immovable National Monuments are located in or near a town and are unable to see to their own protection, it will generally be sufficient for the ministerial decree ordering the listing to impose on the town council of the

area the obligation to guard them by whatever means it considers appropriate, but under the full responsibility of the head of that council. The Minister of Education shall determine in each case the guard system to be adopted, e.g. a special caretaker's post, surveillance by the regular personnel of the monument or surveillance by the town council.

The Archaeological Department shall satisfy itself as to the effectiveness of the measures taken.

CHAPTER II

Movable Antiquities

Article 12 - Movable antiquities relating to national history and located in Persia in the possession of private individuals shall be listed in a special inventory, subject to the provisions of Article 3 of the Law. This inventory shall be called the 'Inventory of Movable National Monuments'. A movable antiquity may be listed in the inventory at any time.

The effects of having been listed shall apply to the antiquity whoever its owner might be.

Article 13 - When a movable antiquity has been finally listed as a 'National Monument', the records used in preparing the proposal for listing, to which shall be added the ministerial decree ordering the listing, shall be deposited in the Archives of National Monuments. Any subsequent change of ownership and, in general, any event relating to a listed movable antiquity shall be the subject of detailed notes to be included as and when necessary in those records.

Article 14 - For each item listed in the inventory, a descriptive certificate shall be drawn up, in duplicate, by the Archaeological Department, indicating, as far as possible, its place of origin and the circumstances of its discovery. One or more photographs should be attached.

One copy of the certificate shall be kept in the Archives of National Monuments and the other delivered free of charge to the owner of the item. This copy will accompany the property in all its changes of ownership.

Article 15 - The movable antiquities listed in the inventory may be modified, restored or repaired only with the authorization of the Minister of Education and under the supervision of the Archaeological Department.

The destruction of a movable National Monument and any infringement of the provisions of this article shall be punishable by a fine proportional to the damage caused.

Article 16 - If the owner of a listed movable antiquity wishes to sell it, he must notify the Minister of Education by registered letter. The sale may not take place until ten days after reception of this letter.

If the government notifies the owner, within this ten-day period, of its intention to purchase the property for inclusion in the national collections, it shall have priority over other purchasers, other things being equal. If it does not give notice within the prescribed period of its intention to purchase the property, it shall be considered as having waived its right of pre-emption.

In all cases, except where the State is the purchaser, and whatever the means by which the property changes ownership, the previous owner must notify the Minister of Education, within ten days of the change of ownership, of the name and address of the new owner.

Anyone who sells a movable National Monument without notifying the Minister of National Education shall be fined a sum equal to the sale price of the property in question. In addition, the government may seize the property, reimbursing the purchaser the sum paid by him. Furthermore, if it is proved that the purchaser knew that the property in question was listed in the Inventory of National Monuments, he shall be considered as an accomplice of the seller and liable to the same fine as him, unless he himself notified the government.

Article 17 - Any person happening to discover movable antiquities, even if such antiquities are on his own land, must notify the Minister of Education without delay through his nearest official representative or, failing this, through officials of the Administration of Finances.

After examination of the items by the Archaeological Department, half of the items, or of their commercial value as determined by appraisal, shall be returned to the finder. The State may, at its own discretion, retain the other half or donate it to the finder.

CHAPTER III

Excavations

Article 18 - The State enjoys the exclusive right to dig and excavate in search of antiquities.

Article 19 - The State may use this right directly and have excavations carried out by its Archaeological Department or delegate it temporarily, by special licence, to individuals or scientific institutions.

Article 20 - The State is entitled to have probes made by its Archaeological Department wherever it believes it worthwhile to seek evidence of the existence, nature or age of an ancient site.

Article 21 - Excavations are termed 'scientific' when their purpose is to discover material permitting the study of the ancient civilizations of Persia and of their relations with other civilizations.

They are termed 'commercial' when their purpose is to discover antiquities for commercial transactions.

Article 22 - Licences to carry out excavations on sites listed in the Inventory of National Monuments shall be granted by the Council of Ministers, and only to scientific institutions. Licences to carry out excavations on sites which are not listed in the Inventory of National Monuments shall be granted by the Minister of Education.

No commercial excavation may be carried out on sites or in monuments listed in the Inventory of National Monuments.

Article 23 - Requests for licences to excavate should be addressed to the Minister of Education.

They must contain the under-mentioned details:

1. The name, first names, occupation, address and nationality of the applicant, or if the applicant is a scientific institution, the names, first names, occupations, addresses and nationalities of its official representative to the Persian Government and of the scientist(s) in charge of the excavations.
2. Exact information, with an accompanying plan or drawing, as to the name, location and boundaries of the site(s) to be excavated.
3. A summary of the purpose of the excavation and of the work plan.

Article 24 - Licences will be granted for one or more sites and for one or more years.

They will state the period of time for which they are valid, the areas in which the excavations may be carried out and the boundaries of the concessions. They will lay down the technical conditions that the Minister of Education may think fit to impose on the excavators.

Article 25 - Excavations on land belonging to private individuals may be carried out only if the person excavating has the authorization of the owner of the land as well as a government licence.

However, the owner of land listed in the Inventory of National Monuments or of a site which, as a result of initial probes, is shown as having to be listed in the inventory, cannot withhold his authorization. He is entitled only to request an indemnity, calculated on the basis of the prejudice caused to his property, which shall be twice the revenue lost as a result of the excavations and the expenses incurred in restoring the land to its original state after the excavations.

Article 26 - Excavations may be inspected at any time by the Director of the Archaeological Department or any person appointed by him. Items discovered should always be available for inspection by him.

In addition, the person excavating must agree to the presence of a representative of the Archaeological Department at each of his sites.

Article 27 - Persons excavating shall themselves be responsible for protecting their sites.

Article 28 - Any licence carries the obligation to work on each of the sites conceded for not less than 60 days a year, except in cases where excavations are completed in a shorter period of time.

Article 29 - Persons excavating are forbidden to treat the antiquities discovered in such a way that they might be damaged.

Article 30 - A person licensed to carry out excavations must leave in position the immovable antiquities whose displacement and temporary removal may have been authorized by the government, and must restore them to the state in which he found them.

At the end of each period of excavations, he shall fill in isolated borings and bury bones or similar debris the sight of which might offend passers-by.

Article 31 - Antiquities discovered during regular scientific or commercial excavations, at one and the same site during one and the same period of excavations, shall be shared between the State and the excavator as follows: the State may initially select up to ten items which will thus become its property and then share the remainder equally between the excavator and itself. Immovable antiquities may not be shared in this way. They may be appropriated by the State.

If the items found were not to exceed ten in number and if the State appropriated them all as it would be entitled to do, it would reimburse to the excavator the expenses incurred by him.

The excavator shall be authorized to take away his share of the antiquities which he discovers only after payment of the indemnity due to the owner.

Note: a period of excavations is defined as one which lasts no longer than a year.

Article 32 - As the antiquities discovered during scientific excavations are by definition purely documentary in character, items of this kind which revert to the State shall, as of right, form part of the national collections and may not be sold.

After selecting the items to be included in national collections from those antiquities reverting to it from commercial excavations, the State shall dispose of the remainder as it sees fit.

Article 33 - At the end of each period of scientific excavations, the excavator shall give the Management of the Archeological Department:

1. a plan of the excavation site(s) with a legend indicating the positions of the buildings and of the main items discovered;
2. a list of all the buildings and objects found, including those falling to him as his share;
3. a concise report on the background to the excavations, indicating the principal findings, with reference to the plan and the list of items.

Article 34 - The persons excavating and the scientific institutions that they represent shall send to the Archaeological Department two copies of each of the books, contributions to journals and sets of photographs or drawings published by them on the facts noted and items found during their excavations.

Article 35 - In the event of any infringement of the provisions of any of the foregoing articles, the excavations may be suspended by decision of the Minister of Education until the infringement has ceased.

The licence to excavate may even be withdrawn in the event of a serious infringement.

Article 36 - Any person infringing the provisions of Article 10 of the Law or Article 17 of the present rules, or carrying out excavations without due authorization, or exporting antiquities fraudulently, shall be fined from 20 to 2,000 tomans.

The items discovered shall be seized and confiscated by the State.

Article 37 - Probes, excavations and earth removals shall not be considered as having had the search for antiquities as their purpose if the person carrying them out had no reason to believe that the site could contain antiquities. The person in question shall not be liable to the penalties provided for in the previous Article.

CHAPTER IV

Trading in antiquities

Article 38 - Any person wishing to trade in antiquities as a business must obtain a licence, which it is up to the Ministry of Education to grant or refuse.

Licences to trade in antiquities shall be strictly personal.

Article 39 - Applications for licences must be addressed to the Minister of Education. They should contain:

- 1 The name, first names, address and nationality of the applicant.
2. Information concerning the place where the applicant wishes to trade.

Article 40 - Licences to trade in antiquities shall conform to the model appended to the present regulations. The Minister of Education shall, however, continue to reserve the right to modify the text of the licence whenever he thinks this fit, in order to exercise better supervision of the antiquities trade.

Article 41 - The following may be traded in:

1. items which are or have been a part of immovable National Monuments when trade in them has been authorized by the Minister of Education;
2. antiquities of licit origin which are on the market when the law concerning the preservation of antiquities is promulgated;
3. antiquities discovered by chance, which shall be the property of their finders in accordance with Article 10 of the Law and Article 17 of the present rules;

4. those antiquities discovered during excavations carried out by the State which shall be judged to be of no value for the development of the national collections and which shall be put on to the market by the State;
5. the share of the antiquities, discovered during commercial explorations, to which the excavators are entitled;
6. those antiquities from commercial excavations to which this State is entitled and which it shall put on the market;
7. those antiquities seized and confiscated by the State, by virtue of Articles 16 of the Law and 36, 48 and 50 of the rules which it shall put on sale.

Article 42 - Any person trading in antiquities must possess a register, of the kind approved by the Archaeological Department, in which he shall note, on a day-to-day basis and with serial numbers, the entry and departure of antiquities bought and sold by him and whose sale price is more than 20 toman.

All details of size, substance and colour, enabling the antiquities in question to be identified, shall be noted in this register as well as information making it possible to establish that they can be traded in legally.

Before the register is used, each page must be initialled by an inspector from the Archaeological Department.

Article 43 - Where a person trading in antiquities exercises his trade in several places, the transport of antiquities from one place to another must be mentioned in the registers of the two establishments as if it were a sale and purchase.

Article 44 - Inspectors of the Archaeological Department, accompanied or unaccompanied by policemen, may at any time have entrance to all the parts of a building used for trading in antiquities to inspect the register of purchases and sales, to check that it is being properly kept and to check the trader's stock.

The trader must facilitate this inspection and provide any explanations requested concerning his trade.

After each inspection, the official of the Archaeological Department shall initial the register of the business.

Article 45 - Trading in antiquities without the necessary licence, and any infringement of the provisions of the present Chapter, shall be punished by the appropriate court.

The judge may order the withdrawal of the licence to trade in antiquities

Article 46 - Any broker or trader who acts as an intermediary in any capacity whatsoever in the sale of antiquities found during illegal excavations shall be considered as an accomplice of the excavator and liable to the same penalties as him.

Article 47 - Any person wishing to export antiquities must apply for a licence to do so from the Minister of Education.

This application, accompanied by a list indicating the number of items, their nature, origin and commercial value, shall be submitted to the Archaeological Department for examination together with the cases or packages containing the antiquities about to be exported.

Provided that on examination, no item of fraudulent or suspect origin is found, and once the declared commercial value has been confirmed by the government appraiser, the cases and packages shall be sealed and the export licence granted, on payment of an export duty amounting to 5 per cent of the value of the items.

This export duty shall be independent of customs duties.

Article 48 - If the examination by the Archaeological Department reveals the presence of items of fraudulent origin, these items shall be seized and confiscated by the State. Their owners or exporters may have charges brought against them in pursuance of the law concerning the preservation of antiquities.

Objects of suspect origin may be kept until satisfactory explanations have been obtained concerning them.

Article 49 - In cases of disagreement between the exporter and the government appraiser concerning the value of an item about to be exported, the dispute shall be brought before an arbitrator chosen by both the exporter and the Director of the Archaeological Department.

Article 50 - The government may, when it considers it relevant to the development of the national collections, buy at the price declared by its owner any antiquity listed in the inventory of National Monuments for which an export licence has been requested.

In the event of an owner refusing to sell it to the State, the export licence would not be granted.

Article 51 - Any antiquity which it is attempted to remove from Persia without the proper licence may be seized and confiscated by the State.

Article 52 - Persian antiquities being returned to Persia must be shown to the Archaeological Department. Their owners will be given an import certificate. This certificate must be shown in the event of re-exportation.

APPENDIX III

Choronology of European Travellers to Iran

Concerning Cultural Heritage

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage

Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1164-1173	Benjamin ben Janah	-	Rabbi	Susa (Shush), Mausoleum of Daniel the Prophet	Believes Susa to be the Shushan mentioned in the Torah.
1271	Marco Polo	Venitian	Ambassador of Venice at the Chinese court	Tabriz, Kermān, Daqiānus	Refers to the ruins of a city named Camadi, i.e. Daqiānus.
1318	Odorish von Pordenone	German	Priest	Kāshān, Yazd, Fārs coastline, Persepolis	Writes the first brief report on Persepolis.
1403	Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo	Spanish	Ambassador of Spain in Timur's court	Rey	Writes a travel account, noting the abandoned town of Rey.
1474	Josafat Barbaro	Italian	Ambassador of the Venetian Republic	Khoy, Soltāniyeh, Esfahān, Persepolis, Pāsārgād	Describes the monuments of Persepolis, attributing them Jewish origins.
1569	Geoffrey Duchet	-	-	Kāshān, Shirāz	Publishes a brief report on Persepolis.
1600	John Cartwright	British	Preacher	Esfahān, Shirāz, Shush	Is the first explorer to mention the existence of oil in Khuzestān.
1614	Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa	Spanish	Trader	Bandar-'Abbās, Jahrom, Shirāz, Persepolis	Writes that the relief panels of Persepolis appear quite intact.
1617	Pietro della Valle	French	Scholar, orientalist	Hamadān, Esfahān, Shirāz, Persepolis, Pāsārgād	Strives to secure exclusive rights of excavation for the French. Copies the inscriptions of Persepolis.
1621	Heinrich von Poser	German	Traveler	Esfahān, Bandar-'Abbās, Shirāz, Persepolis	-
1626	Anthony & Robert Sherly	British	Trader, ambassador, military	Hamadān, Qazvin, Persepolis	Compiles an extensive report of relics, particularly Persepolis.

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage					
Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1628	Thomas Herbert	British	Trader	Lār, Shirāz, Esfahān, Ashraf, Shirāz	Extensively describes Persepolis
1638	John Albrecht von Mandelslo	German	Traveler	Bandar-'Abbās, Esfahan, Pāsārgād, Persepolis	Gives a precise description of Persepolis.
1650	Nils Matson Kioping	Swedish	Seafarer	Bandar-'Abbās, Lār, Shirāz, Persepolis, Esfahan	Describes Persepolis
1651	Johan Cunaeus & Cornelis Speelman	Dutch	Trader	Bandar-'Abbās, Persepolis, Esfahan	Publishes a precise report on Persepolis
1662	Jean Baptiste Tavernier	-	Trader	Bandar-e Rig, Shirāz, Esfahān, Persepolis	Travels 6 times to Iran between 1631 and 1668. Writes an extensive travel account.
1663	Jean Thevenat	French	Orientalist	Hamadān, Esfahān, Shirāz, Persepolis	-
1668	Jean Chardin	French	Trader	Esfahān, Persepolis	Writes an extensive travel account. Learns to speak Persian. Makes drawings of Persepolis. Returns several times to Iran.
1675	Ambrogio Bembo	Venitian	Explorer	Persepolis, Bistun	With Grelot, drafts numerous plans of Persepolis.
1677	John Frazer	British	Physician	Bandar-'Abbās, Lār, Esfahan	Mentions an unidentified large, incomplete figure near Jahrom.
1678	Petro Bediek	Armenian (Asia Minor)	Traveler	Persepolis	Describes the palaces of Persepolis.

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage					
Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1683	Engelbert Kämpfer	German	Physician at the Dutch Embassy	Sāveh, Qom, Kāshān, Esfahān, Persepolis, Bandar-'Abbās	Prints an extensive travel account. Botanist.
1693	Herbert de Jager	Dutch	Explorer, botanist	Persepolis	Maps and describes Persepolis.
1701	Cornelis de Bruin	Dutch	Painter	Persepolis	Detaches and sends stones from Persepolis to Holland. Copies the inscriptions in Persepolis.
1738	J. Otter	French	-	Nahāvand, Esfahān, Tāq-e Bostān	Compiles information about Tāq-e Bostān.
1743	Pater Emanuel de St. Albert	French	Vice-prelate of Baghdad	Tāq-e Bostān	First reports the existence of Tāq-e Bostān,
1758	Abbé Bouchamps	French	-	Tāq-e Bostān	First copies the inscriptions in Tāq-e Bostān.
1765	Carsten Niebuhr	German	Orientalist	Persepolis, southern & central Iran	His records of the inscriptions of Persepolis prove of great importance. Publishes an extensive illustrated travel account. Finds 42 letters for the cuneiform script of ancient Fārs.
1800	J. Malcolm	British	Representative of the British government	Northern, western, central & southern Iran	Writes a book, Sketches of Persia
1807	Gardan	French	Military	-	-

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage					
Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1808	J. Morier	British	Explorer	Kāzerun, Persepolis, Āzarbāijān, Gorgān, Pāsārgād, Rey, Hamadān	Writes the famous book, Hāji-Bābā-ye Esfahāni. Discovers important vestiges in Hamadān. Carries out practical excavations in several places.
1810	G. M. Kineir, W. Monteith	-	Orientalists	Bushehr, Basreh, Ahvāz, Shushtar, Shush	Compiled the first report on ancient bridges and dams, and a report on Shush.
1811	Sir Gore Ouseley	British	Ambassador	Shāpur, Persepolis,	
	Sir William Ouseley	British	Orientalist	Dārāb, Hamadān	Works with Morier. Discovers relics in Shāpur & Persepolis. Photographs the inscriptions in Hamadān. Writes his memoirs in three volumes.
1814	Ker Porter	British	Orientalist	Kangāvar, Bistun, Tāq-e Bostān, Āzarbāijān, Rey, Persepolis	Compiles precise information on the monuments he visits. Is first to tentatively identify Cyrus I's mausoleum.
1821	J. B. Frazer	-	-	Gonbad-e Kāvus, Bushehr	Carries out archaeologically-oriented excavations in Jorjān.
1831	H. C. Rawlinson	British	Orientalist	Khuzestān, Bakhtiāri, Gilān, Āzarbāijān	Copies the 1000-line inscription of Darius I in Bistun & discovers several other inscriptions.

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage					
Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1838	C. Texier	-	Explorer, painter	Tabriz, Salmās, Persepolis, Kāzerun	Compiles a complete album of photographs from Naqsh-e Rostam, the statue of Shāpur, and Salmās.
1840	E. Flandin	French	Painter	Western Iran & southward	Carry out excavations in Persepolis & Estakhr. Created handsome life-like engravings of Persepolis.
	P. Coste	French	Painter		
1840	T. A. de Bado	French	Secret agent	Western Iran & Khuzestān	Prepare reports on the Bakhtiāris, pre-historic, historic & Islamic towns, & Shush.
	E. H. Lagard	French	Secret agent		
1841	F. Forbes	-	-	Sistān	Compiles a report on Kuh-e Khājah.
1850	Keith-Abod	British	Consul	Central & southern Iran	Publishes a description of Daqiānus.
1850	W. K. Loftus	British	Geologist	Western & southern Iran, Shush	Effects excavations in Shush, discovering a hall.
1857	O. Blau	-	-	Āzarbāijān	Copies ancient inscriptions.
1859	N. W. Khanikov	Russian	Diplomat	Lut Desert	Observes ancient copper, lead & manganese mines.
1870	F. J. Goldsmid	British	In charge of determining the boundaries of Sistān	Sistān & Baluchestān	Visits Kuh-e Khājah
1872	W. T. B. Blanford	British	Geologist	Bampur, Kermān, etc.	Prepares an almost exhaustive geological map of Iran.

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage					
Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1875	F. C. Andreas	German	Orientalist	Persepolis, Fāssā, Dārāb, Fīrooz-Ābād, Shāpur	Photographs relics in Shāpur, carries out excavations in Persepolis & Pāsārgād.
1875	A. Houtum-Schindler	-	Telegraph official	Central & north-eastern Iran	Writes a travel account & reports on the condition of relics.
1881	J. Dieulafoy & husband	French	Archaeologist	Shush & almost all Iran	Carries out excavations in Shush, by her time's scientific methods.
1888	Dr. Feuvrier	French	Physician	-	Writes his memoirs, Three Years at the Persian Court, and reports on relics.
1889	J. de Morgan	French	Archaeologist	Western Iran, Āzarbāijān, Gorgān	Studies the civilization relics of western Iran, effects excavations in Shush.
1893-1913	P. M. Sykes	British	Commander of the Southern Persian Rifles	Fārs, eastern & southeastern Iran	Discovers previously unreported relics.
1897-1934	Hertzfeld	German	Orientalist	Western, central & southern Iran	Officially carries out excavations in Persepolis & elsewhere.
1903	M. R. de Maequenem	French	Archaeologist	Southern Iran, Shush	Continues excavating for the French.
1933	T. J. Arne	Swedish	Archaeologist	Gorgān	Reports on 300 archaeological sites in Gorgān & effects excavations in Shāh-Tappeh.

Chronology of Europeans' travels to Iran in relation with the country's cultural heritage					
Date	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Places visited	Specific action
1934-1937	F. Schmidt	German	Orientalist	Persepolis	Carries out extensive excavations in Persepolis, in continuation of Hertzfeld's work.

After 1930 and during the Pahlavi Dynasty (started 1925) the number of travellers to Iran increased. For the list of the archaeologists who came to Iran after 1930, see Negahban 1995, Appendix.

APPENDIX IV
Historic Documents



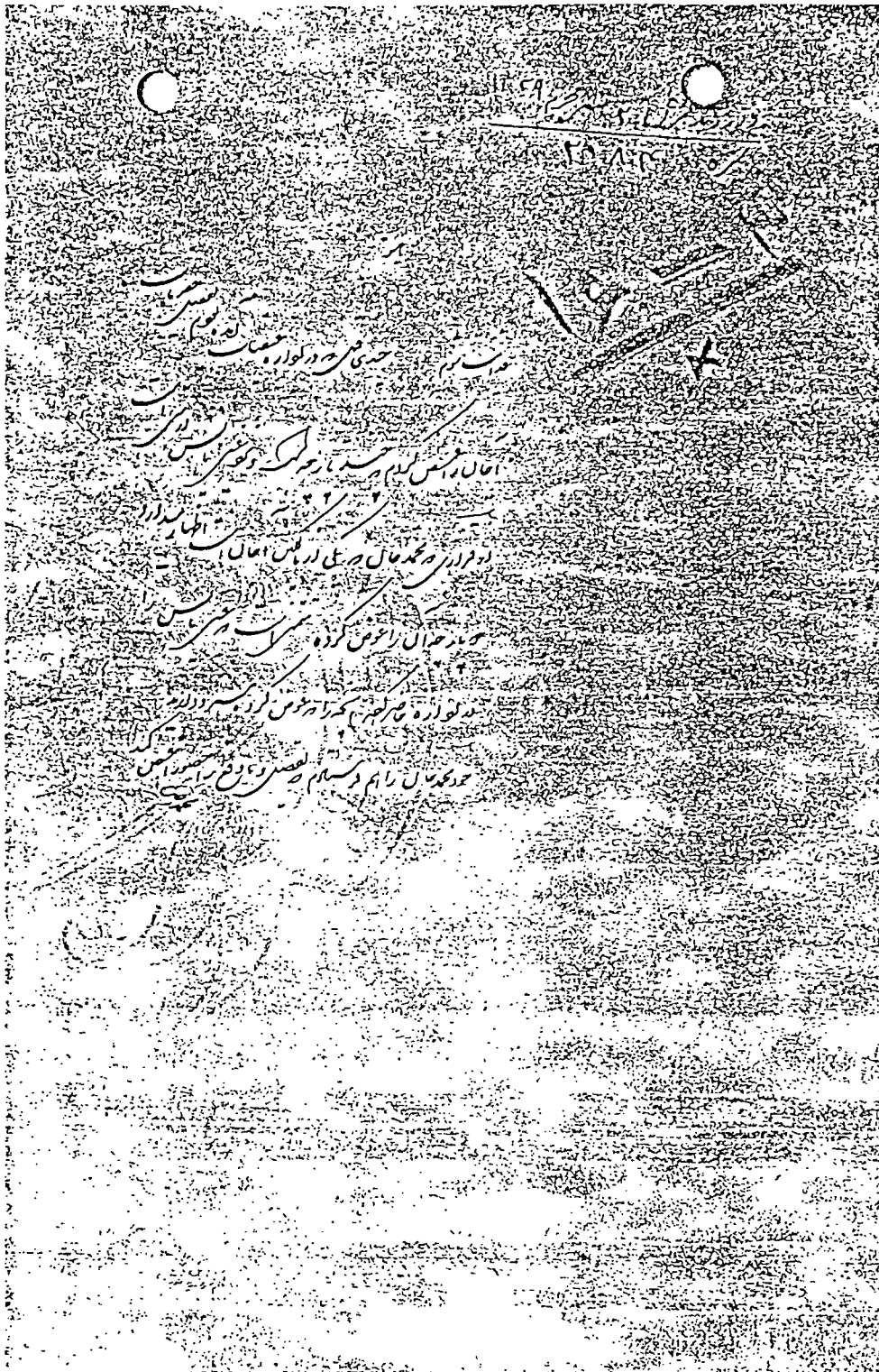
اداره مرکزی عتیقات

آقای سرافراز خان مستوفی

نمبر کتاب ثبت ۵۴۶ / ۱۸۰۳
جزوه کشمیر جزوه ۲۵
نمبر های قبل
ضمیمه

تاریخ خروج ۲۷ فروردین ۱۳۲۸

از قلم کیه بدارن عتیقات را بدست دلمه اند معلوم شود جای مقدار شش عمیق در آن
در احوال موجود است بخانه کراما فون فروخته اند خواهشمندم خواهی بخشید است
نصف تشریف بهم توضیحات بر سر این و مد کوه را از کجا کسر کرده اند و بطور شمس است
طبع لوازم عتیقات فروخته اند و در فروخته اند و در فروخته اند حقوق دین آن را جابجا





وزارت داخله

دایره تل

مورخه ۲۲ شهریور ۱۳۲۸

ضمیمه

وزارت فرهنگ و معارف
شماره ۵۵

شماره ۹۵۵

وزارت معارف و اوقاف

شماره ۲۵۶۳۲/۱۳۳۳/۴

مقرر شد (۷۱۹/۲۳۹) شرف وصول داد و اندک اندک وزارت معارف اقدام به ترتیب

کرده و در وقت برای ضبط و ربط و حفظ و حرکت پیاپی قلمی و در نهایت مرتب و

صحت گردید مقامات و نمایان معارف و وزارت معارف به ترتیب و به ترتیب

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ایران در ای یک روز و نیم شعبی بود از آن پس از آن پس

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مورخه ۷ شهر محرم ۱۳۲۸

ضمیمه
روزنامه ۹ شهریور ۱۳۲۸



عمره ۷۱۹

وزارت داخله

وزارت معینه و لایحه

دایره مال

نمره ۲۳۶۲۳/۷۹۱۳

در باب مرآتیه تحریر شده است که در وزارت معینه و لایحه که چون این شیفته ترجمه شده است
سابقه وزارت داخله بررسان علم تحریر شده است بنده نیز پس مدخله کشیدم چهارم کاسه داد صید کرد
ضمیمه آنجا نموده وزارت دربارتیم باشد و هم در یکجا موجود باشد اگر مدخله برایشان بفرستیم
آن وزارت در این شیفته همان را در بار تحریر شده است و در حد میسر



۱۸

سواد مشرق بحر و بحر

نمبر

پرده سیاه در جاع نه
 پرده ای ماهی نه در زنی نه
 بیخود بصورت خان کاجی ای
 نفعان چهارم !
 نه در خردی فرما که نه ای بل
 کنول سکه در در
 هر جاع وسط بالکله است
 و نه بالکله و نه خردی
 ما شانه
 عدل پرده بابا که نه

۱۲ محبت
سرور سلطان محمد

طهران ۲۷ شهریور ۱۳۲۸



وزارت معارف و اوقاف و فواید عامه

اداره ۱۰۳۸

شعبه ۵

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
 در خصوص درخواست ویزای خروج از کشور
 جناب آقای ...
 در خصوص درخواست ویزای خروج از کشور
 جناب آقای ...
 در خصوص درخواست ویزای خروج از کشور
 جناب آقای ...

اما نظرات خود را بنویسید

۱) ...
 ۲) ...
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 ۷) ...

با احترام

۸) ...
 ۹) ...
 ۱۰) ...



وزارت معارف و اوقاف و فواید عامه

۴۴۱ / ۲۳۲ نمره کتاب ثبت
 جزوه کنس / جزوه
 نمره های قبل / ~~نمره های قبل~~
 ضمیمه

وزارت معارف و اوقاف و فوائد عامه

نمرة کتاب ثبت ۶۴۱ / ۲۳۲

جزوه کنش ۱ جزوه ۷

نمرة های قبل ~~۱۰۰~~ ~~۱۰۱~~ ~~۱۰۲~~ ~~۱۰۳~~ ~~۱۰۴~~ ~~۱۰۵~~ ~~۱۰۶~~ ~~۱۰۷~~ ~~۱۰۸~~ ~~۱۰۹~~ ~~۱۱۰~~ ~~۱۱۱~~ ~~۱۱۲~~ ~~۱۱۳~~ ~~۱۱۴~~ ~~۱۱۵~~ ~~۱۱۶~~ ~~۱۱۷~~ ~~۱۱۸~~ ~~۱۱۹~~ ~~۱۲۰~~ ~~۱۲۱~~ ~~۱۲۲~~ ~~۱۲۳~~ ~~۱۲۴~~ ~~۱۲۵~~ ~~۱۲۶~~ ~~۱۲۷~~ ~~۱۲۸~~ ~~۱۲۹~~ ~~۱۳۰~~ ~~۱۳۱~~ ~~۱۳۲~~ ~~۱۳۳~~ ~~۱۳۴~~ ~~۱۳۵~~ ~~۱۳۶~~ ~~۱۳۷~~ ~~۱۳۸~~ ~~۱۳۹~~ ~~۱۴۰~~ ~~۱۴۱~~ ~~۱۴۲~~ ~~۱۴۳~~ ~~۱۴۴~~ ~~۱۴۵~~ ~~۱۴۶~~ ~~۱۴۷~~ ~~۱۴۸~~ ~~۱۴۹~~ ~~۱۵۰~~ ~~۱۵۱~~ ~~۱۵۲~~ ~~۱۵۳~~ ~~۱۵۴~~ ~~۱۵۵~~ ~~۱۵۶~~ ~~۱۵۷~~ ~~۱۵۸~~ ~~۱۵۹~~ ~~۱۶۰~~ ~~۱۶۱~~ ~~۱۶۲~~ ~~۱۶۳~~ ~~۱۶۴~~ ~~۱۶۵~~ ~~۱۶۶~~ ~~۱۶۷~~ ~~۱۶۸~~ ~~۱۶۹~~ ~~۱۷۰~~ ~~۱۷۱~~ ~~۱۷۲~~ ~~۱۷۳~~ ~~۱۷۴~~ ~~۱۷۵~~ ~~۱۷۶~~ ~~۱۷۷~~ ~~۱۷۸~~ ~~۱۷۹~~ ~~۱۸۰~~ ~~۱۸۱~~ ~~۱۸۲~~ ~~۱۸۳~~ ~~۱۸۴~~ ~~۱۸۵~~ ~~۱۸۶~~ ~~۱۸۷~~ ~~۱۸۸~~ ~~۱۸۹~~ ~~۱۹۰~~ ~~۱۹۱~~ ~~۱۹۲~~ ~~۱۹۳~~ ~~۱۹۴~~ ~~۱۹۵~~ ~~۱۹۶~~ ~~۱۹۷~~ ~~۱۹۸~~ ~~۱۹۹~~ ~~۲۰۰~~ ~~۲۰۱~~ ~~۲۰۲~~ ~~۲۰۳~~ ~~۲۰۴~~ ~~۲۰۵~~ ~~۲۰۶~~ ~~۲۰۷~~ ~~۲۰۸~~ ~~۲۰۹~~ ~~۲۱۰~~ ~~۲۱۱~~ ~~۲۱۲~~ ~~۲۱۳~~ ~~۲۱۴~~ ~~۲۱۵~~ ~~۲۱۶~~ ~~۲۱۷~~ ~~۲۱۸~~ ~~۲۱۹~~ ~~۲۲۰~~ ~~۲۲۱~~ ~~۲۲۲~~ ~~۲۲۳~~ ~~۲۲۴~~ ~~۲۲۵~~ ~~۲۲۶~~ ~~۲۲۷~~ ~~۲۲۸~~ ~~۲۲۹~~ ~~۲۳۰~~ ~~۲۳۱~~ ~~۲۳۲~~ ~~۲۳۳~~ ~~۲۳۴~~ ~~۲۳۵~~ ~~۲۳۶~~ ~~۲۳۷~~ ~~۲۳۸~~ ~~۲۳۹~~ ~~۲۴۰~~ ~~۲۴۱~~ ~~۲۴۲~~ ~~۲۴۳~~ ~~۲۴۴~~ ~~۲۴۵~~ ~~۲۴۶~~ ~~۲۴۷~~ ~~۲۴۸~~ ~~۲۴۹~~ ~~۲۵۰~~ ~~۲۵۱~~ ~~۲۵۲~~ ~~۲۵۳~~ ~~۲۵۴~~ ~~۲۵۵~~ ~~۲۵۶~~ ~~۲۵۷~~ ~~۲۵۸~~ ~~۲۵۹~~ ~~۲۶۰~~ ~~۲۶۱~~ ~~۲۶۲~~ ~~۲۶۳~~ ~~۲۶۴~~ ~~۲۶۵~~ ~~۲۶۶~~ ~~۲۶۷~~ ~~۲۶۸~~ ~~۲۶۹~~ ~~۲۷۰~~ ~~۲۷۱~~ ~~۲۷۲~~ ~~۲۷۳~~ ~~۲۷۴~~ ~~۲۷۵~~ ~~۲۷۶~~ ~~۲۷۷~~ ~~۲۷۸~~ ~~۲۷۹~~ ~~۲۸۰~~ ~~۲۸۱~~ ~~۲۸۲~~ ~~۲۸۳~~ ~~۲۸۴~~ ~~۲۸۵~~ ~~۲۸۶~~ ~~۲۸۷~~ ~~۲۸۸~~ ~~۲۸۹~~ ~~۲۹۰~~ ~~۲۹۱~~ ~~۲۹۲~~ ~~۲۹۳~~ ~~۲۹۴~~ ~~۲۹۵~~ ~~۲۹۶~~ ~~۲۹۷~~ ~~۲۹۸~~ ~~۲۹۹~~ ~~۳۰۰~~ ~~۳۰۱~~ ~~۳۰۲~~ ~~۳۰۳~~ ~~۳۰۴~~ ~~۳۰۵~~ ~~۳۰۶~~ ~~۳۰۷~~ ~~۳۰۸~~ ~~۳۰۹~~ ~~۳۱۰~~ ~~۳۱۱~~ ~~۳۱۲~~ ~~۳۱۳~~ ~~۳۱۴~~ ~~۳۱۵~~ ~~۳۱۶~~ ~~۳۱۷~~ ~~۳۱۸~~ ~~۳۱۹~~ ~~۳۲۰~~ ~~۳۲۱~~ ~~۳۲۲~~ ~~۳۲۳~~ ~~۳۲۴~~ ~~۳۲۵~~ ~~۳۲۶~~ ~~۳۲۷~~ ~~۳۲۸~~ ~~۳۲۹~~ ~~۳۳۰~~ ~~۳۳۱~~ ~~۳۳۲~~ ~~۳۳۳~~ ~~۳۳۴~~ ~~۳۳۵~~ ~~۳۳۶~~ ~~۳۳۷~~ ~~۳۳۸~~ ~~۳۳۹~~ ~~۳۴۰~~ ~~۳۴۱~~ ~~۳۴۲~~ ~~۳۴۳~~ ~~۳۴۴~~ ~~۳۴۵~~ ~~۳۴۶~~ ~~۳۴۷~~ ~~۳۴۸~~ ~~۳۴۹~~ ~~۳۵۰~~ ~~۳۵۱~~ ~~۳۵۲~~ ~~۳۵۳~~ ~~۳۵۴~~ ~~۳۵۵~~ ~~۳۵۶~~ ~~۳۵۷~~ ~~۳۵۸~~ ~~۳۵۹~~ ~~۳۶۰~~ ~~۳۶۱~~ ~~۳۶۲~~ ~~۳۶۳~~ ~~۳۶۴~~ ~~۳۶۵~~ ~~۳۶۶~~ ~~۳۶۷~~ ~~۳۶۸~~ ~~۳۶۹~~ ~~۳۷۰~~ ~~۳۷۱~~ ~~۳۷۲~~ ~~۳۷۳~~ ~~۳۷۴~~ ~~۳۷۵~~ ~~۳۷۶~~ ~~۳۷۷~~ ~~۳۷۸~~ ~~۳۷۹~~ ~~۳۸۰~~ ~~۳۸۱~~ ~~۳۸۲~~ ~~۳۸۳~~ ~~۳۸۴~~ ~~۳۸۵~~ ~~۳۸۶~~ ~~۳۸۷~~ ~~۳۸۸~~ ~~۳۸۹~~ ~~۳۹۰~~ ~~۳۹۱~~ ~~۳۹۲~~ ~~۳۹۳~~ ~~۳۹۴~~ ~~۳۹۵~~ ~~۳۹۶~~ ~~۳۹۷~~ ~~۳۹۸~~ ~~۳۹۹~~ ~~۴۰۰~~ ~~۴۰۱~~ ~~۴۰۲~~ ~~۴۰۳~~ ~~۴۰۴~~ ~~۴۰۵~~ ~~۴۰۶~~ ~~۴۰۷~~ ~~۴۰۸~~ ~~۴۰۹~~ ~~۴۱۰~~ ~~۴۱۱~~ ~~۴۱۲~~ ~~۴۱۳~~ ~~۴۱۴~~ ~~۴۱۵~~ ~~۴۱۶~~ ~~۴۱۷~~ ~~۴۱۸~~ ~~۴۱۹~~ ~~۴۲۰~~ ~~۴۲۱~~ ~~۴۲۲~~ ~~۴۲۳~~ ~~۴۲۴~~ ~~۴۲۵~~ ~~۴۲۶~~ ~~۴۲۷~~ ~~۴۲۸~~ ~~۴۲۹~~ ~~۴۳۰~~ ~~۴۳۱~~ ~~۴۳۲~~ ~~۴~~

برابر در اوقات معارف و غیره، ثانیاً تکلیف و تسلیم نمودن



اداره مرکزی عتیقات

نمبر کتاب ثبت ۵۳۴/۱۰۲۴
جزوه کش ۴ جزوه ۲
نمبر های قبل
ضمیمه رار

تاریخ خروج ۵۷۲۹ ۱۳۵۱

لهم

اداره محترم میراث

مرکزیت بزرگ همه دفتر جندب میراث در تهران
 لطفاً در این باره کتاب هدیه به این محله شده است که در آن کتاب در این باره
 در دفتر میراث ثبت شده است و این کتاب در این دفتر ثبت شده است
 حال این که این کتاب در این دفتر ثبت شده است و این کتاب در این دفتر ثبت شده است
 بهر خط میراث در این دفتر ثبت شده است و این کتاب در این دفتر ثبت شده است
 در کتاب میراث در این دفتر ثبت شده است و این کتاب در این دفتر ثبت شده است
 در دفتر میراث در این دفتر ثبت شده است و این کتاب در این دفتر ثبت شده است



اداره مرکزی عتیقیات

نمبر کتاب ثبت ۱۱۲۵/۳۹۲
جزوه کش ۳ جزوه ۲
نمبر های قبل ۱۰۲۴/۳۵۳
ضمیمه

تاریخ خروج ۹ رخصه ۱۳۲۸

طهر

دولت محترم مدبر انعم

در تاریخ ۱۰۲۴/۳۵۳ در حین نظارت

امیر دول در باب لایحه طلبه که از آنجانب به آنجا فرستاده شد
 مکتم محترم عرض شد و فراموش نکردیم که این خطا را که در کتاب
 از آنجانب ذکر شده و فراموش نکردیم که این خطا را که در کتاب
 و به آنجا در دسترس اموات آن دولت محترم که از آنجا
 که محترم است و به آنجا در دسترس اموات آن دولت محترم که از آنجا

ورود به دفتر ۱۵ شهر رمضان ۱۳۲۵

موزه ۱۱۲۵

تاریخ ۴ شهر رمضان ۱۳۲۵

ضمیمه



وزارت عدلیه

اداره مدعی عمومی دایره

نمره ۱۱۲۵

وزارت عدلیه رف اداله محرم کرامت

در جواب برگه شریفه نمره (۹۲/۱۱۲۵) از محترم اعلیٰ حضرت

آشفته فروش دایه که بطلب طلعه نقوش با هم فسخ شده است

از پنجه ادوات اعلیٰ حضرت پس از تحقیق امر و تحقیق داد و ستد

که که بطلب بر سر طلب طلعه نقوش با هم فوق در ازاله آورده

گدازم که در شش لفظه دایه شش لفظه است که بطلب توقف

تا در روز حبش را الهام حق تعالی تعالی آن سر

از ابره مدعی العین

۱۱۲۵

نمره کتاب ثبت ۴۱۸۵/۱۳۳۷
جزوه کش ۴ جزوه ۳
نمره های قبل ۳۹۲/۱۱۲۵
ضمیمه

تاریخ خروج ۱۳۲۸

[illegible]

Handwritten signature: *Dr. J. H. ...*

وزارت عدلیہ
 ضمیمہ
 بتاریخ ۱۵ شہر ربیع الاول ۱۳۲۱
 ۱۳۳۱

اداره معرخی دایره
نمبر ۱۹۱۵

وزارت صنایع و معادن
دائرة معرخی

نوعی در خصوص ثقب طلع روم که نوعی و خاص
 که ثقب در خوش طلع و در روم و در مالک نجی است
 که در داره ثقبات و در روم و در روم که در
 از آن در روم و در روم که در روم و در روم

مهر آرد که در کوزه کوه کوه

أَلَا يَأْتِيهِمْ نَذِيرٌ

4



ادارہ مرکزی عتیقات

۱۲۰

ذکر در دست و پادشاه عالم

نمره کتاب ثبت ۵۱۹ / ۱۵۱۳
جزوه کش ۴ جزوه ۲
نمره های قبل ۱۴۳۸ / ۴۱۵
ضمیمه

تاریخ خروج ۲۱ مه ۱۳۲۸

در ضمن خبر دار معنای را از باب دوم در این کتاب

در اسم حاتان لغز در آن لغز دوزخ روزی غش در دوزخ
در اسم حاتان لغز در آن لغز دوزخ روزی غش در دوزخ

دوران مرض کھانے پر دوا دیا جائے

دوران مصروف کھیلے گئے۔ دامعزایہ تمنا ہے کہ
سارے مہمانوں کو خوش نصیبی نصیب ہو۔

ایہ ہے مفاد کے لئے

دودار مع الحوم وادب مطهر به بوجو لاسه

والمرحومہ المولمہ اس دادوں سے مال میں اس

فانکم رفاقت ساری دے مرگے امانت کندہ اس قلم صاحب مرگے

[illegible]

تاریخ: ۱۳۳۲ هجری قمری
محل: کابل



وزارت معارف و اوقاف

اداره عیادت

دوریت به مخ دوریت

دایره

نموده: ۲۵۵

به نام دوریت چرخ قیامت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت

دوریت به نام دوریت

چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت

دوریت به نام دوریت

چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت
چرخ قیامت در میان دوریت

سید محمد

اداره عیادت

سید محمد
سید محمد

۹۰۰۹

مورخہ ۱۱ شہر سنہ ۱۲۳۲ مطابق ۱۲۳۲



ادارہ ارفاف اضعمہا

دائره

تمس. ۱۱۰

ضمه

مقام فیض و دولت عبدہ باقر صاحب مدظلہ العالی

[illegible]

مجلس اول



وزارت معارف دولت علیه ایران

اداره عتیقات

آقای ... از طرف اداره عتیقات اجازه دارد که در تپه ها و زمینهای ... به ...
 عمله گذاشته استخراج اشیاء عتیقه نماید مشروط بشروط مفصلة ذیل

(۱) آقای ... قبل از شروع بخرای رضای خاطر صاحب ملك را تحصیل خواهد کرد
 (۲) آقای ... وعمله او دست باراضی و تپه های مذکوره نخواهند زد مگر
 وقتیکه مامور عتیقات حاضر و ناظر باشد

(۳) مخارج حفر از هر جهة بمسئله صاحب اجازه است و جزء مالیات دیوان محسوب نمیشود
 (۴) اشیائیکه از قبیل سنك و سفال و شیشه و کاشی استخراج شود صد یست آن از عین یا
 قیمت یا اختیار اداره عتیقات بموجب توضیحی که در نظامنامه عتیقات شده مالیات دولت است و مابقی حق
 صاحب اجازه و صاحب ملك (موانق قرارى که با هم داده باشند)

(۵) مستخرجاتی که جزء ائانه سلطنتی بشمار آید مطابق تفصیل در ماده ۷ نظامنامه عتیقات تعلق
 بدولت دارد و جزء مالیات مذکوره در شرط ۳ محسوب میشود فقط دولت دهيك قیمت جنسی
 (نه تاریخی) را بصاحب اجازه و صاحب ملك حق الزحمه خواهد داد و هرگاه چیزی استخراج بشود که
 در نظامنامه تصریح به آن نشده باشد و از این جهة مخصوص بودن آن بدولت محل قابل واقع شود
 بموجب تصدیق خیره تکلیف آن معین خواهد شد

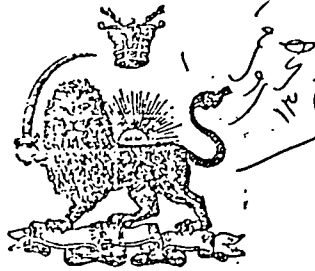
(۶) از طلا آلات و قره آلات و سوك و غیر سوك همچنین از ...
 شود ... است و ... (موافق قرارى
 که با هم داشته باشند)

(۷) شهریه مامور عتیقات بمسئله دولت است لیکن در این موع شهریه دو ماهه و مخارج
 ایاب و ذهاب مامور را صاحب اجازه مساعدتاً بدارد میسر دازد تا بعد از اتمام حفر اگر چیزی استخراج شده
 بود از بابت مالیات دولت حساب بشود و الا صاحب اجازه حق استرداد نخواهد داشت

(۸) مدت این اجازه نامه از تاریخ ... است الی مدت دو ماه تمام اكر تا آن مدت
 آقای ... کار نکند دیگر مجاز در کار کردن نیست و اكر بکند و شرط نظم و امانت
 را بدرستی رعایت نماید اداره عتیقات دو ماه به دو ماه تا هر مدت که معزى الیه مایل باشد این اجازه نامه
 را با خود او تجدید کرده و بدیگری واگذار نخواهد نمود

(۹) هرگاه اداره عتیقات معلوم کند که در این کاوش از طرف صاحب اجازه یا باشاره او از
 طرف مباحثین او خلاف صحت و امانت سر میزند ممکن است این اجازه نامه قبل از انقضاء مدت از
 طرف اداره باطل و عمل حفر ممنوع شود

(۱۰) آقای ... حق ندارد که این اجازه را بدیگری از اتباع خارجه واگذار
 نماید یا از تجمعه خارجه بنحوی ... در این امتیاز شرکت و مداخلت بدهد و در صورت انتقال باتباع
 داخله نیز باید قبلاً از اداره عتیقات تحصیل اجازه کتبی نموده باشد انتهی
 محل امضا و مهر صاحب اجازه



۹۴۶۷

راجح بملك

طهران مورخه ششم رمضان

وزارت معارف دولت علیه ایران

اداره عتیقات

آقای سرپرست از طرف اداره عتیقات اجازه دارد که در تپه ها و زمینهای کوهستان در قریه بدین
عمده گذاشته استخراج اشیاء عتیقه نماید مشروط بشروط مفصله ذیل

(۱) آقای سرپرست قبل از شروع بحفر رضای خاطر صاحب ملك را تحصیل خواهد کرد
(۲) آقای سرپرست و عمله او دست باراضی و تپه های مذکوره نخواهند زد مگر
و تپه های مامور عتیقات محاط و ناظر باشد

(۳) مخارج حفر از هر جبهه بمهده صاحب اجازه است و جزء مالیات دیوان محسوب نمیشود
(۴) اشیائیکه از قبیل سنگ و سفال و شیشه و کاشی استخراج شود صد بیست آن از عین یا
بیست ناخیار اداره عتیقات بموجب توضیحی که در نظامنامه عتیقات شده مالیات دولت است و مابقی حق
صاحب اجازه و صاحب ملك (موافق فراری که با هم داده باشند)

(۵) استخراجاتی که جزء انانته سلطنتی بشمار آید مطابق تفصیل در ماده ۷ نظامنامه عتیقات تعلق
بدولت دارد و جزء مالیات مذکوره در شرط ۴ محسوب نمیشود فقط دولت دهیک قیمت جنسی
(نه تاریخی) را بدیاحب اجازه و صاحب ملك حق الرحمه خواهد داد و هرگاه چیزی استخراج شود که
در نظامنامه تصریح به آن شده باشد و از این جبهه مخصوص بودن آن بدولت محل تامل واقع شود
بموجب تصدیق خیر و تکلیف آن معین خواهد شد

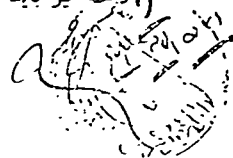
(۶) از طلا آلات و نقره آلات میکوک و غیر میکوک همچنین اجزاء آلات هرجه استخراج
شود مستقیم مالیات دولت است و بجز بقیست حق صاحب اجازه و صاحب ملك (موافق فراری
که با هم داشته باشند)

(۷) شهریه مامور عتیقات مهده دولت است لیکن در این موقع شهریه دو ماهه و مخارج
ایاب و ذهاب مامور را صاحب اجازه مساعدتاً بدارد معین دازه تا بعد از اتمام حفر اگر چیزی استخراج شده
بود از بابت مالیات دولت حساب بشود و الا صاحب اجازه حق استرداد نخواهد داشت

(۸) مدت این اجازه نامه از تاریخ ... است الی مدت دومه تمام اصر تا آن مدت
آقای سرپرست کار نکند دیگر مجاز در کار کردن نیست و اصر بکند و شرط نظم و امانت
را بدرستی رعایت نماید اداره عتیقات دومه به دومه تا از مدت که معزی الیه مایل باشد این اجازه نامه
را با خود او تجدید کرده و بدیگری واگذار نخواهد نمود

(۹) هرگاه اداره عتیقات معلوم کند که در این کلاش از طرف صاحب اجازه یا باشاره او از
طرف باشترین او خلاف صحه و امانت سر میزند ممکن است این اجازه نامه قبل از انقضاء مدت از
طرف اداره باطل و عمل حفر ممنوع شود

(۱۰) آقای سرپرست بحد حق ندارد که این اجازه را بدیگری از اتباع خارجه واگذار
نماید یا از تمه خارجه بخوی از انحاء در این امتیاز شرکت و مداخلت بدهد و در صورت انتقال باتباع
داخله غیر باید قبلاً از اداره عتیقات تحصیل اجازه کتبی نموده باشد انتهی
محل امضا و مهر صاحب اجازه



درود به پیشانی ۱۱ شهر رگ ۱۳
موزه ۳۶۰۵



آراء کفرکات

۲۴ اردیبهشت ۱۳۳۳ = ۱۴ خرداد ۱۳۳۳

وزارت معارف و اوقاف

کا ۸۲۵۷

شماره ۱

در جواب مژده محترمه مورخه دهم حوت جاری نموده (۲۶۰۵)
فاطمه باک را شکرید در دو کلمه در کلمه و فاکر که در این اشیاء مستحق
و کلکسید بنامه در یک کلمه
اینک صورت از روزنامه آتشی با همین قیمت است و حقیقه که در این اشیاء
صادر است که از این اشیاء یک کلمه زنده
بر طبق اقلیدات و هم از طرف موزین که ایستاد است
مربوطه شایسته و زنده که نموده است

میرزا گلکات
[Handwritten signature]

PAPERS OF NIAH MUSEUM

صورت اشیاء صنعتی و کالسیوں کے درجہ بار میں
۱۵-۱۹۱۴ صادر شدہ است

املائیات	قیمت
آرزو بھون	۱,۱۲۰
آستارا	—
گیدان	۲۸۶۰۰
مانڈرین	۳,۹۵۰
استراباد	—
نقد آسان	۲,۰۰۰
جنوب (برشر)	۱۰,۰۰۰
عربستان	۷,۶۵۰
بند رجاس	—
کروٹ	۲۷۹۶
طهران	۵۷۳,۲۵۱

(۵) قولہ

در سند مکتوبه تاریخ ۱۳۰۲

نمبر ۱۹۵۳-۱۹۵۴

وزارت امور خارجہ

اداره: شماره

دایره:

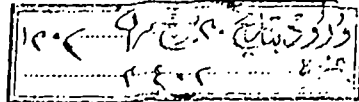
صحرا چار لای از دربارت محله شخص خود نظر آنکه قمار در ۱۹۰۰
 به مقررات برضد قمار مقرر شد و اصلاح مجلس را تصویب نمود
 دربارت در روزی که نظر آنکه از این مقررات فواید نصیب نمیداد
 که قصد داشت بهایم را از غیر قمار و دزدان بردارد و در این عهد فواید
 نمیداد و نشانید که بکسر دین (بزرگوار) در این عهد فواید که قمار
 در طرف نصایب مربوط به دست میزد و بهیچ وجه قمار را
 بر بردارد و در این عهد و بهیچ وجه که بهیچ وجه نصایب
 و عارضات نمیداد و بهیچ وجه که بهیچ وجه نصایب
 نوشته شد و قمار بر غیر قمار مجاز محرم در این عهد نصایب
 خدای را از غیر قمار و دزدان بردارد و بهیچ وجه نصایب
 در این نصایب قمار و دزد ۱۹۰۰ را که شد بهایم و دزدان
 نمود و بهیچ وجه که بهیچ وجه دین (بزرگوار) در این عهد

عشق کی طاقتوں سے غلبہ نہ کرے
وہ دیر دیر سے اس کی طرف نہ

بنارنج ۲-۱-۴۔ راج نر۱۔ سنہ ۱۳۰۰ میل م ۱۳۰

نمبر..... K-1925 - ضمیمہ.....
۸۷۰۳

۱۳۰۲ (۱۹۲۵)
۲۷



27 Mizan 1352.

His Excellency,
Hakim ed Dowleh,
Minister of Public Instruction.

Your Excellency :

I have the honor to inform you that my attention has been called to an agreement approved by the Council of Ministers on 13 Rood 1301, No. 14154, with regard to digging for antiques, and in your letter to the Ministry of Finance, No. 2755, dated Sonboleh 16, you state that you have granted the privilege of digging for antiques on the Public Domains in the vicinity of Teheran to Hadji Mohammed Agha Shalfroosh and Kasserol Vezareh, and at present they have been given an authorization to begin digging around Hazrat Abdul Azim.

I beg to inform you that the action of the Council of Ministers in approving the agreement referred to was apparently illegal. According to my contract, I am to be consulted in advance on all such questions, and the second article, which says that after deducting expenses one-half of the things extracted from Domain territories should be given to the Ministry of Education, is clearly illegal and impossible of execution. No money or property can be given to the Ministry of Education in addition to its credits, and no government property can be disposed of except in accordance with the legal procedure provided for in the Constitution, the Accounting Law, the Treasury General Law, and my own contract.

I suggest that you notify the individuals concerned that the matter will have to be reconsidered, and that no permission will be given them to dig on the public Domains until there has been such reconsideration of the question.

نمبره (۱)



وزارت مالیه

اداره
ریاست
وزارت
مالیه

سواد (نمبره) مورخه ۱۱/۱۲/۱۳۰۴ وزارت که اصل آن به نمبره (۱) ثبت شده اداره

تتجه من است که در کسر - نموده معین است که در شش ماه اول سال ۱۳۰۴ در وزارت مالیه در دست خود
چون حاکم است این امر را می بیند که بودجه را بر این مبنای کلیه معین نماید و می گوید
در وجه من حضور می باشد و می بیند که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
از دیوان عالی است که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
وزیران و حاکمان است که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
(عوضه) بود که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود

حکومت معین است که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
بر این صورت است که در این وزارت مالیه در دست خود
و این وزارت مالیه در دست خود

نمونه (۱)



درجہ ۲

ادارہ

وزارت مالیه

سواد نمبر مورخہ وزارت کہ اصل آئن بہ نمبر ثبت شدہ
ادارہ

- ۱۔ بہدورت صورت نمبر ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
درخت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۲۔ نظر آنکہ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۳۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۴۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
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- ۵۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۶۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۷۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۸۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
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نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۱۰۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔
- ۱۱۔ دروزن تر نمبر درجہ ۱۲ بجے برصغیر است بخوبی روشن ہوئے در صبح درازہ تم میں، باغ برصغیر فیہ
نہایت بہت تعمیر باہر کی حصہ دفتر ثبت کیا، نمبر درازہ ۰۔

۹۔ نمبر (۱)

۳۴

أدارم



وزارت مالیہ

سواد نمبره مورخه وزارت $\frac{\text{اداره}}$ که اصل آن به نمبره ثبت شده

و صورت یکسر تیر است فوق آنرا که منبر بنام آریان حصه عین التفصیل سه از فز محله خوله که است . —
در نیمه راه است چهاره فیه منبر از جبهه از باز کردن درب نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است تحت قدم مهر و ششول است
محله عدم است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است
سر است مبتدیان می شود و بعد از آنکه نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است
بعضی جمع می شود که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است
وجود ششول در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است در آنجا که نوزده و شصت و شصت پنجمه است . —

بمختصر قدرت فوق فکر میرا تعجب کون فضا یلکلم خولید ایسا یون برام عقید دارا خوب کے تصور ایسا عبارتہ منوشت علی

[illegible]

نورانی آج جمہور عدوت کشمیر کے لئے درازانِ امانت کی کتاب لکھوا


۷۲۱۹۹
صورت دهنی و تیس و پنجاه و دو نفر در دارت صلیبی می باشد

تاریخ	شرح	روز	مقدار	بازار	توضیحات
۱	لشکر	۱۰۵	۵۰۰		
۲	"	۸۹	"		
۳	"	۹۹	"		
۴	سینغ	۹۱	"		
۵	سینغ	۱۲	"		
۶	لشکر	۳۰	۵۰۰		
۷	"				
۸	لشکر		۵۰۰		
۹	طله				
۱۰	لشکر				

در روز پنجشنبه ۲۸ خرداد ۱۳۰۵ در آن کجا است

در روز شنبه ۲۹ خرداد ۱۳۰۵ در آن کجا است

در روز یکشنبه ۳۰ خرداد ۱۳۰۵ در آن کجا است

نوع مسوده موضوع مسوده ضمیمه ردیف یا کتبیس	 وزارت معارف و اوقاف و صنایع مستظرفه اداره معصر شماره	شماره نامه (۸) شماره عمومی شماره خصوصی کارتن دوپیکره
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رواج بالانویس ۱۲ برج — ستاراج بن ۷۷ برج — ستاراج بن ۱۱۳ برج — ستاراج بن ۱۲۰

وزارت عدلیه
شماره ۵۷۱۸۴/۱۲۷۸۲
جواب درود
موضوع: نمونه این در آستانه اسفند اردر که چون عجله نمونه مستند شخصی نهان شده و غیر آن
شتر باید تغییر نماید که این حضور نماید که آن از وزارت عدلیه در دست و پنجه مالک هر سه است
که پس از تعیین مستند بعد از مطابقت به دستور اطلاع آن وزارت عدلیه است و در هر یک از این
پرونده که در مراجع است و مستند در مستند فی برای تحقیق رسیدگی تعیین خواهد شد
وزارت عدلیه که مستند دارد و غیره را مستند نماید که در مستند تعیین و معرفی نماید
کمال الملک

تاریخ ۱۳۰۰



ریاست وزراء

۴۰۶۱

نمبر ۵۹۸۷

وزارت معارف و اوقاف

۱۸۴۶

لاهور

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

بخط انوار آفرین کتب پرستان

کتابخانه عظمیٰ حیات

تجربہ شدہ



۱۵۱۶

۱۵۱۶

درجہ اولیٰ
درجہ دوم
درجہ سوم
درجہ چہارم
درجہ پنجم
درجہ ششم
درجہ ہفتم
درجہ ہشتم
درجہ نہم
درجہ دہم

درجہ اولیٰ
درجہ دوم
درجہ سوم
درجہ چہارم
درجہ پنجم
درجہ ششم
درجہ ہفتم
درجہ ہشتم
درجہ نہم
درجہ دہم

APPENDIX V
Antiquities Regulations (1924)

الف - آئین نامه عتیقات تصویب شده هیئت وزیران در سال ۱۳۰۳
فصل اول - عتیقات روی خاکی

ماده ۱ - حمل کتب خطی و نقاشی قلمی (روغنی و غیره) و جلد سوخته و کلیه اشیاء تذهیب شده و قطعات خطوط و کاشی و ظروف و ادوات سفالی و ظروف کاشی و فلز (محكوك و غیر محكوك) و زری و قلمکار کهنه و نقش و سوزن دوزی و قلاب دوزی و فروش کهنه و خانم و چوبهای منبت یا مصور و مخطوط و قطعات گچ یا سنگهای مصور یا محكوك و مجسمه و آلات استخوانی و سکه های قبل از سلطنت قاجاریه بخارج ایران بدون اجازه رسمی وزارت معارف ممنوع است .

ماده ۲ - اشخاصی که بدون اجازه وزارت معارف اقدام در حمل اجناس مذکوره در ماده (۱) بخارج ایران نمایند مسئول و عین اجناس ضبط موزه معارف می شود .

ماده ۳ - در کلیه اجناس مذکوره در ماده (۱) در صورتیکه متعلق بدولت نبوده و جزو آثار مهم تاریخی بشمار نرود و قدمت آن بیش از پنجاه سال باشد از میزان تقویم مقوم وزارتخانه صدی بیست مالیات اخذ و آنچه بموجب تشخیص مقوم کمتر از پنجاه سال داشته باشد بدون مالیات جواز خروج داده می شود .

ماده ۴ - کلیه اشیاء موقوفه بقاع متبرکه و مدارس قدیمه از کاشی و غیره نزد هر کس کشف شود ضبط و بمکان اصلی آن عودت داده میشود و در صورت معین نبودن مکان اولیه در موزه معارف ضبط خواهد شد .

ماده ۵ - از کتب و قطعات نقاشی و خطوط و غیره آنچه برای سلاطین ایران تهیه شده یا بامضاء یا بمهر یکی از سلاطین ایران رسیده باشد جواز صدور داده

نمیشود و ممکن است بقیه عاقله خریداری و در موزه معارف نگهداری شود *

ماده ۶ - کتب خطی و نقاشی قلمی و جلدی سوخته و کلیه اشیاء تذهیب شده و قطعات خطوط قدیمی باید قبلاً بداره بیوتات ارائه داده شده و از آنجا تحصیل اجازه نموده باشد تا باین وسیله اشیاء مسروقه موزه و کتابخانه دولتی کشف شود ،

ماده ۷ - اداره گمرکات هیچ عتیقه روی خاکیرا که در ماده (۱) مصرح است بدون قبض مالیاتی و باندردل دائره عتیقات اجازه حمل نخواهد داد .

فصل دوم - عتیقات زیر خاکی

ماده ۸ - حفر اراضی ایران برای استخراج عتیقه بدون اجازه رسمی وزارت معارف ممنوع و مستخرجات مختلف ضبط و در موزه معارف نگهداری میشود و مرتکب یکماه حبس خواهد شد .

ماده ۹ - اشخاصی که مایل بحفريات باشند باید قبلاً پیشنهاد خود را بوزارت معارف داده و تقاضای صدور اجازه نامه حفاری نمایند .

ماده ۱۰ - داوطلبان حفر در صورتیکه مالک محلی که پیشنهاد نموده اند نباشد باید بدو اجازه نامه از مالک تحصیل و ضمیمه پیشنهاد خود نمایند و در صورت وقفیت اراضی قبلاً بداره اوقاف محل مراجعه کرده چنانچه موقوفه متولی داشته باشد باید اجازه کتبی از متولی و در صورت نداشتن متولی از اداره اوقاف تحصیل نمایند .

ماده ۱۱ - در اراضی خالصه داوطلبان بحفر باید قبلاً تحصیل اجازه از وزارت مالیه نمایند و ضمیمه پیشنهاد خود بوزارت معارف تسلیم کنند (در ولایات این اجازه نامه باید بتوسط امین مالیه محل از وزارت مالیه اخذ شود) *

داوطلبان مذکور باید رعایت نکات ذیل را بنمایند :

الف - درامکنه که ممکن است خسارت بآبیاری و املاک زراعتی و قنوات

وارد شود پیشنهاد حفر پذیرفته نیست مگر در صورتیکه تصور کشف عتیقه جات تاریخی مهم بشود در اینحال داوطلب باید خساراتی که بخالصه میرسد از عهده برآید.

ب - در انتخاب عملیات اولویت بارعایای خالصه است .

ج - از کاشی و سفال و سنک و شیشه و مفرغ صدی ۲۵ از عین جنس سهم دولت است در صورت امکان والا مطابق تقویم وجه نقد .

د - از طلا و تفره اعم از اینکه مسکوک یا غیر مسکوک و یا بشکل ظروف و زینت آلات باشد صدی ۷۵ از عین جنس سهم دولت است در صورت امکان والا مطابق تقویم وجه نقد .

تصره (۱) از کلیه اشیاء مستخرجه باحضور نمایندگان معارف و مالیه صورت برداشته شده و بمهر و موم آنها و صاحب اجازه وزارت معارف فرستاده میشود وزارت معارف باید فوراً باحضور نماینده وزارت مالیه بسته یا صندوق را باز و اقدام بتقویم اشیاء نموده طوریکه در فقره (ج) و (د) مذکور است از عین جنس سهم دولت راپردازد .

تبصره (۲) - اشخاصیکه داوطلب اجازه حفر در خالصه هستند باید ضامن معتبر بدهند که این ماده ا کاملاً رعایت نمایند والا در صورت کشف خلاف عین اشیاء مستخرجه ضبط و معادل قیمت آن حریمه اخذ خواهد شد علاوه اجازه حفر ملغی و مرتکب از گرفتن اجازه حفر الی الابد محروم خواهد بود . تبصره (۳) - برای صدور اجناسیکه از املاک خالصه استخراج میشود بخارجیه مالیات مقرر در ماده (۱۶) این نظامنامه اخذ میشود .

ماده ۱۲ - برای تحصیل اجازه حفر باید درخواست کننده برای هر صد ذرع مضروب ۵ قران بعنوان حق الارض بموجب قبض رسمی پردازد این قبض باید بمیزان وجهی که دریافت میشود تبعاً آن الصاق شده باشد در تهران کمتر از صد ذرع مضروب و در ولایات کمتر از ۵۰۰ ذرع مضروب اجازه

داده نمی شود .

تبصره - مدد ذرع مضروب ده ذرع در ده ذرع میباشد .

ماده ۱۳ - مدت اجازه نامه یکسال و پس از آن از درجه اعتبار ساقط است و در صورت لزوم باید تجدید اجازه بشود و در صورتیکه از تاریخ اجازه نامه چهار ماه بگذرد و شروع بحفر نشود آن اجازه باطل است .

ماده ۱۴ - اجازه نامه حفاری کایه از مرکز صادر میشود بنابراین داوطلبان حفر در مرکز مستقیماً از وزارت معارف و در ولایات توسط نمایندگان معارف از مرکز تحصیل اجازه خواهند نمود ولی قبلاً باید شرعاً ماتزم شوند که مواد این نظامنامه را کاملاً رعایت کنند

ماده ۱۵ - حفاری در زیر پی و ابنیه تاریخی که هنوز آثار بنا باقیست ممنوع است و متخلف باید کاملاً جبران خسارت وارده را نماید و بعلاوه جریمه که وزارت معارف معین خواهد کرد و اهل مبلغ آن هزار تومان است از او گرفته شده و از یک هفته تا یکسال حبس میشود .

ماده ۱۶ - در موقعیکه صاحب جنس میخواهد جنس خود را بخارجه بفرستد از کایه عتیقات مستخرجه از قبیل کاشی و ظروف کاشی و سفال و سنک و شیشه و مفرغ صدی ده و از ظروف طلا و نقره و جواهر آلات و سکه های نقره و طلا و زینت آلات صدی بیست وزارت معارف بموجب قبض چایی که بمیزان مبالغ مالیات پس از وضع حق النقویه تمیز بآن الصافی شده باشد دریافت خواهد نمود .

تبصره - مالکین مجسمه آلات ناقص و درست و سنکهاییکه صور یا خطوط در آن حجاری شده و ظروفی که از حیت شکل غرات داشته باشد باید در موقع درخواست حواز صدور یکمدد شبیه آنرا از گنج ریخته بوزارت معارف نسایم نماید تا حواز صدور داده شود .

ماده ۱۷ - دفاتر هر کجا که استخراج شود نصف آن متعلق بدولت و نصف دیگر

بموجب قرار داد حق صاحب ملك وصاحب اجازه است .

ماده ۱۸ - چنانچه درضمن عملیات زراعتی وحفرقنوات وغيره عنیقات بامسكوكاتى

كشكف شود صاحب ملك یا عامل یا مستأجر یا مباشر اودر صورتیکه دسترس بنماینده معارف و مالیه داشته باشد بوسیله آنها ودر صورتی که نماینده معارف در قرب آن محل نباشد بوسیله دو نفر از مأمورین دولت که بکى از آنها مأمور مالیه باشد باید بوزارت معارف اطلاع دهد در این صورت نصف مستخرجات ضبط ونصف دیگر بمالك داده خواهد شد ودر صورتی که دیگری راپرت دهد تمام اجناس مستخرجه ضبط ونسبت باهمیت موضوع صاحب ملك یا عامل یا مستأجر یا مباشر هر کدام تعرد نموده باشند از یکهفته الی ششماه توقیف میشوند .

تبصره - برابورت دهنده در صورتیکه غیر از صاحب ملك یا مستأجر یا عامل یا مباشر

او باشد صدی بیست از قیمت اشیاء ضبط شده جائزه داده میشود

ماده ۱۹ - اشیاء سلطنتی و آثار تاریخی که تعلق آنها بدولت معلوم باشد و اشیاء

موقوفه ضبط خواهد شد و دولت نسبت باهمیت آن حق الزحمه بکاشف میدهد وباسم او در موزة معارف ضبط میکند .

تبصره - اشیاء سلطنتی عبارت است از تاج ، تخت ، شمشیر ، کمر بند مرصع ، ادوات

مهمه جنگی ، کتیبه های تاریخی . ظروف منقور باسم سلاطین و اشیاء دیگر که بساطت تعلق داشته باشد .

ماده ۲۰ - هرگاه در حین حفر عتیقات مهمه تاریخی که از نقطه نظر ملی و علمى

اهمیت فوق العاده دارد كشف شود دولت مجاز خواهد بود اجازه رافسخ نموده ومستقیماً عمل حفر را بعهده بگیرد و در مقابل خسارات وارده بصاحب اجازه را مطابق تخمین یکنفر متخصص که از جانب طرفین

انتخاب شده باشد جبران وتأديه نماید .

ماده ۲۱ - هرگاه بدوات معلوم شود که حفاری بدون رعایت اصول علمى ودقتى

که لازمه حفر است بعمل آمده یا میآید اجازه داده شده مدعی خواهد شد.

ماده ۴۲ - اداره گمرکات هیچ عتیقه زیرخا کبرابدون قبض مالیاتی و باندردل دائره عتیقات جواز صدور نخواهد داد.

فصل سوم - وظایف اداری

ماده ۴۳ - کلیه اشیاء روی خاکی و زیر خاکی را که دائره عتیقات بموجب این نظامنامه تحصیل و ضبط مینماید در موزه معارف ضبط و نگاه داری می شود.

ماده ۴۴ - اشیاء متعلقه بدولت بهیچوجه در معرض خرید و فروش در نمیآید مگر به پیشنهاد دولت و تصویب دارالشورای ملی.

تبصره - اشیائیکه از خالصجات بدست آمده پس از صدور اجازه فروش آنها قیمت آن باید بعنوان عایدات خالصه بخرانه داری کل پرداخته شود.

ماده ۴۵ - اشیائیکه محکوم ضبط شده و دولت فروش آنها صلاح بداند و طرف احتیاج موزه معارف نباشد در موقع باحضور مقوم و مفتش عتیقات و نماینده وزارت مالیه بطریق مزائده فروخته شده عایدات خالص آن بخرانه داری کل بعنوان عایدات وزارت معارف فرستاده میشود.

ماده ۴۶ - کلیه عتیقات روی خاکی و زیر خاکی را برای صدور جواز لازم است بوزارت معارف آورده و مالک آخرین قیمت آنها کتباً اظهار کنند و بعد مقوم اداره کتباً معین نماید در صورتی که قیمت مقوم بیش از قیمت اظهاریه مالک باشد مالک جنس مکلف است یا بر طبق قیمت مقوم مالیات پردازد یا مطابق قیمت اظهاریه پس از وضع حق التقویم وجه دریافت نموده و جنس را بوزارت معارف واگذار نماید.

تبصره - پس از ورود جنس بدفتر تقویم بدون دریافت مالیات بمالک مسترد نمیشود.

ماده ۴۷ - وزارت معارف باید از کلیه اشیاء عتیقه که بموجب این نظامنامه سهم

او میشود صورت کامل و جامعی که در حضور نماینده وزارت مالیه تهیه میشود بوزارت مالیه بدهد .

ماده ۲۸ - اشخاصی که اجازه حفر میخوانند باید التزام شرعی بدهند بر طبق مدلول این نظامنامه رفتار نمایند و الا محکوم یکسال حبس غیر قابل اتباع خواهند بود .

ماده ۲۹ - حفر در امکنه مهمه از قبیل تخت جمشید و مشهد مادر سلیمان و غیره باید قبلا از طرف دولت تصویب و در تحت مراقبت وزارتین معارف و مالیه بعمل آید .

APPENDIX VI

Conservation Regulations

By Society for Conservation of National Monuments

(قطعنامه شماره يك انجمن آثار ملی)

تصمیمات منتخبه از طرف هیئت مؤسسان انجمن آثار ملی
در اصفهان

(۲۳ تا ۲۵ اردیبهشت ماه ۱۳۴۲)

نظر با و امر مطاع اعلیحضرت همایون شاهنشاهی در تشریف فرمائی
اخیر با اصفهان مبنی بر توجه بیشتر به تعمیر و نگهداری بناهای تاریخی اصفهان
و با دعوتی که از طرف جناب آقای مهندس پارسا استاندار و ریاست محترم
انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان از هیئت مؤسسان انجمن آثار ملی بعمل آمده بود
هیئت مزبور با اتفاق جنابان آقایان دکتر شهابی مدیر کل اوقاف و مشحون
سرپرست اداره کل باستانشناسی روز ۲۳ اردیبهشت ماه ۱۳۴۲ به اصفهان آمده
مدت سه روز ابنیه تاریخی مختلف آن شهر را بازدید و بررسی نمودند، و هر چند
که درسی سال اخیر نسبت به تعمیرات و احیاء این آثار اقدامات بالنسبه وسیع
از طرف وزارت فرهنگ و اداره کل باستانشناسی بعمل آمده و مقایسه وضع
بسیاری از ابنیه تاریخی درجه اول اصفهان در گذشته و حال تفاوت آشکار و بهبودی
بسیار محسوس را نشان میدهد که درخور تقدیر است، معذک با توجه با اهمیت
فوق العاده آثار مزبور و لزوم رفع نگرانیهای مختلف از لحاظ استحکام و موقع
و منظور داشتن رعایت مصالح کلی آنها و همچنین جنبه روزافزون شهر اصفهان از
لحاظ جهانگردی و حفظ مقام معنوی ایران در آن شهر مهم تاریخی اقدامات وسیع
و دامنه داری درباره آثار معظم ملی تاریخی مورد ضرورت است لذا هیئت مؤسسان
با در نظر گرفتن پیشنهاد های انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان پس از مشورت و تبادل نظر

تصمیماتی بشرح زیر اتخاذ نمودند که هر يك از سازمانهای ذینفع و ذیصلاحیت
بسهام خود آنچه مربوط بآنها است تعقیب و اقدام نمایند :

۱ - در باره تعمیرات خطیر و اساسی کاخهای عالی قاپو و چهلستون
خوشبختانه بعضی کارهای ضروری آن صورت گرفته و اداره کل باستان شناسی
مشغول تهیه طرحی برای استحکام دائم ستونها و خرپاها و سبك ساختن سقفها
و رفع نگرانیهای موجود در این ابنیه است ، بنا براین تکمیل مطالعات فنی و
آماده شدن طرح اساسی و ادامه اقدامات مفید مورد نظر موجبات تأمین نظریات
مربوط باین قسمت را فراهم مینماید و البته اداره کل باستان شناسی کار مهمی را
که در این باره آغاز کرده است ادامه داده بانجام میرساند .

در این قسمت لازم میدانند بوجه اداره کل باستان شناسی رابنقوش قدیمی
در بناهای مزبور و همچنین نقوش سردر قیصریه و امثال آن جلب و توصیه نماید
از هر کوبه تعمیر و دخل و تصرف در این نقوش بجز آنچه برای نظافت و کرد گیری
آنها بوضع آرام و ساده ضرورت دارد خودداری شود و کوشش بعمل آید که در
درجه اول آنچه از این نقوش در دسترس بازدید کمیته گان پادشاه معرض بادوباران
و اینگونه عوامل است بوسیله پوشش شیشه بوضعی مناسب محفوظ و نگاهداری
کردد .

۲ - برای انجام کارهای اساسی بناهای معظم و رفیع نگرانیهای موجود
در اینگونه ابنیه ، بخصوص مسجد شاه و مسجد شیخ لطف الله و مسجد جامع و
پلهای سی و سه پل و خواجه و مسجد حکیم و ابنیه تاریخی دیگر نظیر آنها ، هیئت
فنی از طرف انجمن آثار ملی باصفهان اعزام میگردد تا با همکاری مقامات
مربوط اصفهان نسبت به سه موضوع زیر مطالعه کامل نموده نظریه و گزارش
جامعی با برآورد میزان هزینه هر قسمت تهیه و بانجمن آثار ملی
تسلیم کنند :

الف - تعیین حریم کافی و اطمینان بخش برای هر يك از ابنیه مزبور و
تشخیص اراضی و ابنیه ای که فعلاً در حریم هر بنا قرار دارد و همچنین

اضهار نظر در باره مستحدثات غیر مناسب مجاور با آثار تاریخی از قبیل کاراژی‌ها، کارگاه‌های فلزکاری، سنگین و امثال آن که مضر با آثار تاریخی است .
 ب - هر گونه اقدام برای تعمیرات اساسی و استحکام هر قسمت از ابنیه مزبور ضرورت دارد مشخص و معلوم گردد (تعمیرات تزیینی ابنیه مزبور و کاخ‌های عالی‌قام و چهلستون که مرتباً از طرف اداره باستانشناسی انجام گرفته و میگیرد در این قسمت منظور نمیگردد زیرا انجام این کار بر نامه مستمری است که از طرف اداره کل باستانشناسی بآن عمل شده و خواهد شد)

ج - نحوه روشنائی آثار تاریخی مورد ذکر در پرتو نورافکنها و ترتیب روشنائی غیر مستقیم آنها .

انجمن آثار ملی با جلب نظر وزارت فرهنگ بر مبنای گزارشهای هیئت فنی فوق‌الذکر بر نامه چندساله‌ای تنظیم و میزان اعتبار مورد لزوم و طرز تأمین آنرا معلوم مینماید و وظائف و کمکهای مالی لازم هر يك از دستگاههای ذیصلاحیت و ذینفع را برای اجرای برنامه مزبور اعلام خواهد داشت
 برای احتراز از تأخیر کارهای ضروری مربوط با استحکام و رفع رطوبت و جلوگیری از زیانهای ناشی از بلا تکلیفی حریم اینگونه ابنیه ، انجمن آثار ملی لازم میداند که شهرداری اصفهان نسبت به اسفالت اساسی کوچه‌های متصل و مجاور ابنیه مزبور باشیب بندی مناسب بفوریت اقدام نماید . (۱)

۳ - در مورد کاخ هشت بهشت با اقداماتی که بعمل آمده است باید فوراً تعمیرات ضروری آن انجام گردد، زیرا با مختصر بی‌توجهی این بنای سلطنتی و تاریخی منهدم خواهد شد، و برآستی وضع کاخ سلطنتی مزبور باعث نهایت تأثر و تأسف هر بیننده علاقه‌مند بیادگارهای هنری و تاریخی ایرانست .

برای تبدیل وضع فعلی کاخ هشت بهشت بصورتی مناسب که جهت بازدید علاقه‌مندان آزاد بوده استفاده در خور چنین اثر تاریخی از آن بعمل آید جناب

(۱) اقدامات سابق الذکر نسبت باعزام کمیسیون فنی و تعیین جرائم و کوششهای همه‌جانبه برای تأمین اعتبار لازم انجام گرفته و عملی گشته است .

آقای استاندار با اتفاق جناب آقای مشحون سرپرست اداره کل باستان شناسی و نمایندگان انجمن آثار ملی با سرکار سرهنک ابوالفتح قهرمان (سردار اعظم) متصرف بنای تاریخی فوق تماس گرفته مذاکرات لازم معمول خواهند داشت ، ضمناً وزارت فرهنگ با استفاده از ماده ۹ آئین نامه قانونی عتیقات و راههای مناسب دیگر آنچه لازم باشد برای حفظ مصالح و صیانت اثر تاریخی مزبور اقدام مناسب بعمل خواهد آورد (۱)

۴ - پلهای خواجه و سی و سه چشمه بر طبق برنامه مناسبی از طرف شهرداری اصفهان تعمیر گردد و مسدود کردن دهانه های پل خواجه بوسیله تخته های محکم و بزرگ که اقدام تقنینی بمنظور احداث بر که مصنوعی بوده کاهگاه مبادرت بآن مینمایند مطلقاً موقوف شود و بدین وسیله از نفوذ آب و رطوبت بیشتر با فشار زیاد تر از حد طبیعی بداخل سنگهای پایه پل و زیانهای فراوان ناشی از آن جلوگیری گردد .

۵ - بازارچه بلند که اثر تاریخی بسیار جالب توجهی است و مدت اجاره آن جهت اداره پخانیات نیز منقضی گردیده است باموقعیت فعلی آن و ازدیاد روز افزون جهانگردان و بازدید کنندگان شهر تاریخی اصفهان بهیچوجه مصلحت نیست که بیش از این بصورت ائبار و وضع نامطلوب کنونی باقی بماند بلکه مصلحت این اثر تاریخی ایجاب مینماید که وزارت دارائی ترتیب تخلیه فوری محل مزبور را بدهند و آقای متصدی مدرسه چهار باغ برای بهره برداری بهتر و افزایش درآمد و کمک به تعمیرات مدرسه مزبور بانظر ادارات کل

(۱) در دنباله کوششهای مداوم و توجه مخصوص جناب آقای دکتر جهانشاهی وزیر محترم فرهنگ سابق و حسن ایت سرکار سرهنک ابوالفتح قهرمان با کاردانی جناب آقای نصرت الله مشکونی قائم مقام جناب آقای وزیر فرهنگ در شورای عالی باستان شناسی کاخ سلطنتی و تاریخی هشت بهشت و محوطه آن به مساحت قریب ۶۰۰ متر مربع در تاریخ ۱۳۴۳/۶/۱۵ بوزارت فرهنگ انتقال یافت و انجمن آثار ملی طبق نظر کارشناس مربوط فوراً پانصد هزار ریال برای تعمیرات ضروری آن اختصاص داد که بانظارت و سرپرستی فنی جناب آقای مهندس محسن فروغی (بطور افتخاری) بوسیله اداره باستان شناسی اصفهان به مرحله اجرا و عمل درآمد است .

اوقاف و باستان شناسی نسبت به مهیا نمودن بازار نامبرده با حفظ صورت اصلی و قدیمی آن جهت ایجاد دکان‌ها و فروشگاههای مناسب صنایع دستی و محلی اقدام کنند.

ضمناً هیئت فنی اعزامی از طرف انجمن آثار ملی بازارهای فیصلیه و سایر بازارهای اصفهان را بازدید و بررسی نموده و آنچه را شایسته حفظ و نگهداری بصورت اصلی و قدیمی میدانند در گزارش خود ذکر مینمایند و درباره نحوه نگهداری و تعمیر و استفاده مناسب از آن اظهار نظر خواهند نمود.

۶- سنگ فرش مسجد شاه و مسجد جامع که بوسیله انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان از محل ااعانات مردم آغاز و قسمتی از آن تجدید گردیده است باید بهمین طریق ادامه یابد و همچنین متصدی مدرسه چهارباغ بنوبه خود از محل درآمد مدرسه و عنداللزوم استفاده از ااعانات علاقمندان سنگ فرش مدرسه مزبور را تکمیل نمایند (۱).

۷- باینکه برائتر کوششها و اقدامات چندین ساله مقامات مختلف و از جمله استانداری و انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان پل جدید الاحداث از طرف وزارت راه بمنظور جلوگیری از عبور و مرور و سائط نقلیه سنگین از روی پلهای تاریخی ساخته شده است متأسفانه رفت و آمد کامیونها و سائط نقلیه سنگین مختلف دیگر گاه و بیگاه از روی پلهای تاریخی ادامه دارد. اتخاذ تدابیر عملی و اهتمام لازم در جلوگیری از ادامه این عمل زیان بخش در تمام ساعات شبانه روز بوسیله مقامات محلی و نظارت مخصوص جناب آقای استاندار محترم یا نماینده ایشان را

(۱) فرمان مبارک ملوکانه از طرف دولت اعتبار مخصوص و کافی جداگانه جهت تعمیرات مختلف مدرسه چهارباغ با اختیار استانداری اصفهان و متصدی جدی و علاقه مند بنای تاریخی مزبور گذارده شد و بوسیله هیئتی از نمایندگان انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان و شخصیت های محترم دیگر از معتمدین آنجا بمصرف سنگ فرش مدرسه و تعمیرات درب، نقره و سایر کارهای مناسب بنای تاریخی زیبا و معظم نامبرده رسیده و میرسد و این خدمت بنحو شایسته ای انجام گرفته و میگیرد.

در این باره ضروری می‌شناسد و عنداللزوم علاوه بر آنچه بر عهده مقامات انتظاماتی است فرماندهی مرکز توپخانه هم برای اجرای این خدمت ملی اهتمام و همکاری نمایند.

۸- نظر انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان مبنی بر تخلیه تالار اشرف و اختصاص آن بموزه (۱) و همچنین ثبت تاریخی پل شهرستان ببقعه میرزا رفیعا و مسجد جامع ازیران و تپه اشرف و بقیه آقا حسین خوانساری و نظائر چنین آثار تاریخی که به ثبت آثار ملی نرسیده است مورد تأیید بوده وزارت فرهنگ و اداره کل باستان شناسی در باره این موضوع اقدام می‌فرمایند.

۹- روشنائی میدان نقش جهان بهیچوجه نباید بوسیله چراغهای پایه بلند تأمین گردد و چراغهای پایه بلند فعلی بایستی مطلقاً برداشته شود، وجود درختهای بلندتر از هشتاد سانتیمتر در قسمت باغچه بندبهای وسط میدان صحیح نیست و اینگونه درختها از باغچه مزبور باید خارج گردد. دگانه‌های اطراف میدان از لحاظ ذرب و پنجره بایستی طبق نمونه‌ای که از طرف اداره باستان شناسی ساخته شده است باشد و هر کدام برخلاف نمونه است اصلاح گردد، شهرداری اصفهان نسبت بمسائل فوق و همچنین تخلیه سارازهای اطراف میدان نقش جهان و سارازهای نزدیک بقیه هارون ولایت و سارازهای مجاور کلیسای بیت لحم جلقاً با همکاری شهر بانی اصفهان اقدام لازم معمول می‌فرمایند.

منع عبور اتوبوس و کامیون بطور کلی از میدان نقش جهان مورد قدردانی بوده وجود ایستگاه اتوبوس در داخل میدان صورت ناپسندی دارد و باید موقوف گردد.

توسعه قسمت چمن کاری میدان نقش جهان و باریک کردن خیابانهای چهار طرف آن و حذف نرده آهنی از طرف هیئت فنی سابق الذکر مورد بررسی قرار

۲- برائت علاقه جناب آقای دکتر جهان‌شاهی وزیر محترم فرهنگ سابق و کونش جناب آقای دکتر انقه مدیر کل فرهنگ اصفهان بنای تاریخی تالار اشرف که از سالیان دراز مورد استفاده و اشغال قسمتهای مختلف اداره کل فرهنگ اصفهان بود تخلیه گردید و برای تبدیل آن به موزه دست بکار هستند.

منیکیر دو نظریه متخذه بانقشه لازم برای اجرا و اقدام با اطلاع شهرداری اصفهان رسانیده خواهد شد .

۱۰- برای احیای بازارهای متروک اطراف میدان نقش جهان و تعمیر بازارهای طرّین مسجد شیخ لطف الله که مورد توجه مخصوص اعلیحضرت همایونی واقع گردیده است از طرف شهرداری اصفهان بوسیله مالکین و متصرفین بازارهای مزبور ترتیب نظافت محوطه مقابل سردر قیصریه باید اقدام فوری بعمل آید .

۱۱- در اجرای اوامر مطاع اعلیحضرت همایون شاهنشاهی که در موقع تشریف فرمائی اخیر باصفهان نسبت به تعمیر کاشیهای صفه غربی مسجد شاه و اصلاح کلدسته (مأذنه) بالای آن و تکمیل کاشی کاری مدرسه ناصری تا پایان تابستان امسال (۱۳۴۲ شمسی) صادر فرموده اند اداره کل باستانشناسی ضمن برنامه جاری خود باید مراتب فوق را منظور و اقدام فرمایند و نسبت با اجرای اوامر مطاع ملوکانه درباره تکمیل اصلاحات و تعمیرات مدرسه چهارباغ که طی نامه شماره ۳۵ مورخ ۲۲/۲/۴۲ متصدی مدرسه مزبور ذکر گردیده است نیز هر میزان اعتبار میسر باشد از طرف اداره کل باستانشناسی بنحوشایسته برای کمک با اعتبارات و درآمدهای اختصاصی مدرسه چهارباغ تخصیص داده و در راه عملی شدن منظور اقدام گردد (۱)

۱۲- تعمیر و صیانت آثار موجود آتشگاه اصفهان ضمن برنامه سال جاری انجمن آثار ملی منظور شده است احداث منبع آب در آنجا و سنگبری از کوه آتشگاه و همچنین ساختمان هر گونه بنا در دامنه و پائین کوه مزبور مخالف قانون عتیقات بوده انجمن آثار ملی در این باره قبلاً هم اقدام کرده

۱ - همانطور که در ذیل مربوط به بند ۶ قلمنامه توضیح داده شد اصلاحات و تعمیرات مدرسه چهارباغ با اعتبار مخصوصی که دولت منظور نموده اند انجام پذیرفته است

است^(۱) - هیئت فنی سابق الذکر حریم مناسب محل تاریخی مزبور را معلوم خواهد نمود و وزارت فرهنگ برای انتقال حریم مورد ذکر از اداره خالصه با اداره باستان شناسی اصفهان اقدام خواهند فرمود .^(۲)

۱۳- برای حفظ منظر زیبای شهر اصفهان ، وبخصوص رعایت مصالح عالیة ابنیه تاریخی معظم آن ، اجازه ساختمانهای بلندتر از حد اکثر دوازده متر در تمام شهر اصفهان (تاشعاع سه کیلومتری از میدان نقش جهان) داده نشود و در مجاورت ابنیه تاریخی تامسافتی که کمتر از ارتفاع ابنیه مزبور نباشد ارتفاع ابنیه جدید از هشت متر تجاوز ننماید . نقشه نمای ابنیه تازه ساز واقع در حد اقل تا صد متری ابنیه تاریخی درجه اول با تصویب اداره کل باستان شناسی ایران تعیین گردد .

موارد خارج از ترتیب فوق با اجازه کتبی وزارت فرهنگ که مسئول مستقیم ابنیه تاریخی است عمل خواهند شد .

۱۴- برنامه شهرداری اصفهان برای احیای وضع قدیم خیابان چهارباغ در خور ستایش است و هیئت فنی سابق الذکر در تعیین طرح آن همکاری لازم خواهد داشت .

۱۵- برای آرامگاه صائب طرح ایوانی بپسبك عهد صفویه ، که معاصر دوران زندگانی شاعر شهیر است ، وبا نظر جنابان آقایان مهندس فروغی و مهندس سیحون بوسیله آقای معارفی معمار تهیه گردیده ، ومشمول بر دیواری بانماسازی مناسب عهد صفویه و يك ردیف ستون بتونی بارو کش سنگی در جلو وبوشش مسطح است ، مورد تصویب واقع وفرارشد نقشه قطعی آن بانظر جناب آقای مهندس فروغی تهیه وبوسیله اداره باستان شناسی اصفهان انجام گردد و از لحاظ موقوفه بودن باغ آرامگاه مقرر گردید طبق مقررات اوقافی ترتیب

۱- طبق تشخیص وتصمیم دولت وقت احوادث منبع آب در مجاورت آثار تاریخی آتشگاه اصفهان بمرحله اجرا درآمد ونظر انجمن آثار ملی در این باره بلااثر ماند - انجمن آثار ملی تمییرات مناسب در ابنیه ودیوارهای موجود آتشگاه را انجام داده واین امر را ادامه می دهد .
۲- برای انتقال حریم آتشگاه بوزارت فرهنگ از طرف مقامات مربوط وزارت مزبور و اداره کل خالصه اقدامات نمربخش وقطعی صورت گرفته است .

اجاره آن بامیزان مال الاجاره سالیانه برابر معدل مال الاجاره سه سال اخیر از محل وجوهی که از این بابت در اختیار انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان است داده شود و اداره باستان شناسی اصفهان باغ را بشرح فوق اجاره نماید. (۱)

۱۶- آرامگاه کمال الدین اسمعیل ، چون در کنار خیابانی که قرار است از طرف شهرداری احداث شود واقع میگردد، پس از احداث خیابان با توجه بموقع و وضع محل مورد بررسی واقع ونقشه و طرح مناسب آن تهیه گشته در این باره اقدام شایسته بعمل خواهد آمد .

۱۷- عمارت تیموری که از مهمترین آثار تاریخی اصفهانست ، و از سالیان دراز محل باشگاه افسران گردیده در نگهداری و تعمیر آن از طرف مقامات آرشی اصفهان با رعایت نظریات فنی باستان شناسی لازمه مراقبت و توجه بعمل آمده است ، بر اثر احداث حمامها و دستشوییها بمیزانی بیش از حد متعارف و مناسب با چنین ساختمان خشتی قدیمی آبریزی دارد و در نتیجه این قسمت تعمیرات اساسی در يك قسمت مجاور مستحذات مزبور ضرورت پیدا کرده است که باید از طرف مقامات آرشی اصفهان با مساعدتی که درخور امکانات انجمن آثار ملی باشد و با همکاری اداره باستان شناسی اصفهان بنحو صحیح انجام گردد ، ضمناً برای رفع زیانهای ناشی از حمامها و دستشوییها چاره جوئی اساسی شود. (۲)

۱۸- ابنیه تاریخی متعدد خارج شهر اصفهان که از انظار بازدید کنندگان بیرون است نباید بدست فراموشی سپرده شود ، تعمیرات سفت کاری آنها ضمن برنامه جاری اداره باستان شناسی منظور و بتدریج عملی گردد و انجمن آثار

(۱) نقشه قطعی آرامگاه سائب بوسیله جناب آقای مهندس فروغی و به هزینه خودشان تهیه و به اختیار انجمن آثار ملی گذارده شد و اکنون مدتی است سفت کاری آن با تمام رسیده و کاری ظرف و عالی آن از سنگ مرمر بوسیله استادان هنرمند اصفهانی در دست اجرا و عمل است - ترتیب اجاره و تشریفات قانونی این کار هم طبق آنچه در قلمنامه پیش بینی گردیده بود انجام پذیرفته است .
(۲) در انجام این منظور از طرف انجمن آثار ملی اعتبار مورد نیاز با اختیار اداره باستان شناسی اصفهان گذارده شد و تعمیرات لازم عمارت تیموری صورت گرفته است .

ملکی بنوبه خود درموارد ضروری بفراتر توانائی سالی خویش کمک نماید. (۱)

۱۹- با انجام تدریجی برنامه اصلاحات و تعمیرات آثار تاریخی، در آینده نظریات تکمیلی و تصمیمات بعدی ضرورت خواهد داشت، که با توجه به احتیاجات و پیشنهاد مقامات مربوط و ذیصلاحیت اصفهان از طرف وزارت فرهنگ و اداره کل باستانشناسی و انجمن آثار ملی درباره آنها بررسی و اقدام میگردد.

۲۰- با توجه به مکاتبات و پیشنهاد و پیشینه مربوط به بنای تاریخی تکیه و مناره های امیرچقماق در شهر یزد چون جناب آقای مشحون سرپرست اداره کل باستانشناسی برای ترتیب کار بنای تاریخی مزبور به یزد عزیمت مینمایند آقای مصطفوی نیز به نمایندگی انجمن آثار ملی همراه جناب آقای مشحون به یزد رفته برای تعمیرات اساسی و مناسب اثر تاریخی مورد ذکر نظریات انجمن را با اطلاع جناب آقای فرماندار و شهرداری یزد میسرساند و آنچه در این باره مناسبت دارد از طرف انجمن آثار ملی انجام گیرد به هیئت مؤسسان گزارش خواهند داد (۲)

تصمیمات متخذة فوق بوسیله دفتر مخصوص شاهنشاهی بعرض پیشگاه مبارک ملوکانه رسیده است دعای تأیید و صدور اجرای آن بمقامات مربوط

(۱) منظور بالا بانخصیص اعتبارات کافی از طرف انجمن آثار ملی در سال ۱۳۴۲ و بیشتر در سال ۱۳۴۳ انجام گرفت و در نتیجه تعمیرات اساسی و ضروری فراوان و تعیین حرائم بسیاری انبیه تاریخی مهم خارج شهر اصفهان مانند مسجد جامع اشترجان - مسجد ابرار - مسجد سروش آذران - آرامگاه بابا عبدالله - مسجد جامع خوزان همدان - کتبد دشتی - مسجد جامع هفت شوبه - مسجد جامع اردستان و مسجد بازار اردستان - مسجد جامع زواره - مسجد جامع برسیان - چند مناره عهد سلجوقی در خارج اصفهان - کاروانسرای تاریخی مهیار - کتبد چاروق شاه - عملی گردید و این خدمت بوضع منظم و اساسی ادامه دارد.

(۲) با همکاری و حسن توجه فرمانداری محترم و شهرداری یزد ترتیب نگهداری و تعمیر بنای تاریخی تکیه میرچقماق یزد داده شد و اداره کل فرهنگ یزد موفق به تعمیرات صحیح بنای مزبور با استفاده از اعتبارانی که بوسیله اداره کل باستانشناسی و انجمن آثار ملی برای همین منظور تخصیص و ارسال شده بود گردید و تعمیرات مورد نظر ادامه دارد.

خواهد شد و ضمناً طی نامه ای مناسب بعنوان جناب آقای نخست وزیر و جناب آقای استاندار و ریاست محترم انجمن آثار ملی اصفهان و کمیته است ذیصلاح ارسال خواهد گشت .

رئیس هیئت مؤسسان
حسین علاء^(۱)

رئیس هیئت مدیره
سپهبد آقاولی

(۱) هنگام تهیه و صدور قطعنامه فوق ریاست هیئت مؤسسان انجمن آثار ملی برعهده شادروان حسین علاء بود و پس از درگذشت آن فقید سعید (که در تاریخ ۲۱ تیرماه ۱۳۴۳ بوفوق بیوست) جناب آقای علی اصغر حکمت در جلسه ۱۷ شهریورماه ۱۳۴۳ بر ریاست هیئت مؤسسان انجمن نامبرده برگزیده شده اند .

APPENDIX VII
Conservation Policies
Presented by NOCAIM

POLICIES PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE CONSERVATION OF ANCIENT IRANIAN MONUMENTS. 16 OCTOBER 1966

Inspired by the orders of His Imperial Majesty the Shāhanshāh Āryāmehr, the High Council of the National Organization for the Conservation of Ancient Iranian Monuments announces, in its first session of Sunday, Mehr 24th 1345, its adoption of the following objectives and basic method:

1. The Organization must strive at exhorting the entire population to realize the archaeological importance of the monuments of their country, become duly acquainted with them, and consider the preservation of these valuable relics as a national duty. In order to achieve these aims, the Organization must print a comprehensive inventory of historic monuments and sites, accompanied with sufficient explanations, and prepare a map of Iran indicating historic points and centres, putting them at the disposition of the public, as well as devising educational programs for the people.
2. Adapting and altering historic monuments must be expressly forbidden, and repairs in monuments must be carried out under the supervision of responsible experts. Such repairs must comply with the historic styles and time-honoured techniques of the monuments, so that each may forever represent the architectural style and the arts and crafts of its time.
3. The Organization must, in cooperation with universities and other scientific institutions, prepare plans for the training and preparation of technicians able to run the activities of the Organization in the future. Obviously, the Organization will make necessary measures as to the provision of the welfare of its permanently employed experts and other technical personnel.
4. For each historic monument, two types of perimeters must be defined and marked. Within the specific perimeter of these buildings, any kind of operation leading to the destruction or deterioration of their foundations or the alteration of their appearance must be forbidden, and within the general perimeter, the extent and limits of which shall be determined in accordance with the situation of the monument considered, construction and development works are to be subjected to particular conditions assuring the preservation of the monuments' historic appearances and their harmony with their surrounding buildings. In determining the perimeters of monuments which constitute an ensemble, such as Naqsh-e Jahān Square and its adjacent buildings, special construction regulations must be established, and in cities as Esfahān, Shirāz, Qazvin

and the like, which bear historic features, conditions must be realized in such a way that their historic features and the architectural styles of their monuments are preserved at least in the ancient parts of the cities.

5. Each monument must have an identification document comprising its construction plans and designs such that can fully represent the construction period, particular features and decorations of the edifice. These identification documents must be printed in the form of brochures and books in Fārsi and other languages and put at the disposal of the public. As concerns archaeological sites, their identification documents must determine their perimeter and geographic coordinates.

6. The Organization must permanently cooperate with the Iranian National Tourist Organization and other institutions active in such services in view of educating and training capable guides and drafting and organizing their educational courses.

7. Historic inscriptions must be photographed, molds are to be made of all of them, and the molds shall be preserved in a special museum. Collecting and publishing the ensemble of these inscriptions is a public necessity; therefore, inscriptions already collected and published by scholars and amateurs must be translated into Fārsi, and the yet uncollected lot must be collected, translated and printed. Moreover, the Organization must devote full attention to the preservation of the inscriptions from climatic assaults and intrusions.

8. Archaeological sites throughout the country must be safeguarded by appropriate means, all destructive operations within them must be prevented, and a perimeter within which any operations shall be forbidden must be determined for each site.

9. The Organization must utilize the Science, Hygiene and Development Corps personnel serving throughout the country in preserving and safeguarding archaeological sites and reporting unknown relics in view of discovering new historic sites, asking them to collect the names of the localities in their area of service. In coordination with relevant authorities, the Organization must give necessary instructions to the personnel of the above mentioned corps.

10. The Organization will duly cooperate with the Society for the Conservation of National Monuments and the Bequeaths Organization in drafting the programs concerning the historic monuments which will be repaired from their funds and shall implement these programs using such funds.

11. In order to implement these projects, the National Organization for the Conservation of Ancient Monuments is in need of capitals which it must attempt to collect by attracting the attention of the public, particularly industrialists, tradesmen, other businessmen and benevolent individuals. Obviously, governmental and local authorities shall also take necessary measures to provide funds to be remitted on a regular basis to the Organization.

APPENDIX VIII
Cultural Heritage
in the Iran-Iraq War

Cultural Identity in Danger

MEHDI HOJJAT

My concern here is with the cultural heritage of a people whose works, both intellectual and material, are grand and priceless. They are an invitation to meditation and deliberation. The founders of Iranian civilization and culture, its protectors and promoters, throughout history and at present, created awe-inspiring works that cause any beholder to bow in respect and charge not only Iranians but the people of the world to preserve their value. The identity of a nation is made up of its cultural heritage. Without appreciation of the heritage and recognition of its main components, no cultural planning will be fruitful.

The Islamic revolution has its roots in history, the understanding of which is necessary for further solidifying its foundations. Historical documents are often inaccurate because of their authors' intentional distortions or prejudices or because of their distance in time. Relics of the past could serve as a criterion to test the truth of historical events.

Archaeology is a tool for delving into the life of the ancient past; anthropology is the study of the present. Together with traditional crafts that represent the generations, they pave the way for understanding the past. To achieve this understanding, after the victory of the Islamic revolution the Organization for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage was founded. The foundation of this organization in the early stages of the Islamic revolution and the allocation of facilities, equipment, immediate funds, and an annual budget of approximately 5,000 million rials (about \$60 million), even in the midst of war, indicates the value of cultural heritage for the Islamic Republic.

The members of the newly founded organization felt a great respon-

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sibility to preserve monuments, a necessary precondition for any kind of study and research. We assumed the task of preserving more than 8,000 monuments and historical sites. Approximately 1,100 monuments and 800 sites have been registered as national treasures. Three of the monuments are of extreme importance: Imam Square in Isfahan, Choghazanbil Temple, and Persepolis are registered as part of the world's cultural heritage. The oldest and vastest monuments of our country are located in the western and southwestern regions, that is, in Azarbayegan, Kurdistan, Kermanshah, Ilam, and Khuzistan. They include monuments dating from the fourth and fifth millennia B.C.

The value of the civilizations of the Khuzistan Plain and the vast historical site of Susa and the like are self-evident. The magnificent Temple of Choghazanbil is located on the Khuzistan Plain close to the border. The city of Dezful, considered a masterpiece of architecture in the Islamic period, and many other monuments are in the western and southwestern regions that came under enemy raids at the early stages of the Iraqi offensives. In the western regions of the country, some monuments of the Median, Elamite, Achaemenid, Parthian, Seljuk, Atabakan, and Safavid eras came under direct or indirect attacks. The reliefs known as Sheikh Khan, belonging to the third millennium, numerous Median monuments in Sare-Pole-Zahab, the Sassanid Palace, the Square Dome, and more have been occupied by the enemy for years, and most are already ruined. The raids of the enemy's forces were so widespread that no preventive or rescue operation was feasible. For more than several hundred kilometers, the offensives of several Iraqi divisions, together with air and ground weapons and rocket fire, destroyed mounds, monuments, cities, museums, and mosques. The people in the occupied region were slaughtered so savagely that no one could pay attention to preservation at that time.

Abadan was besieged with artillery, and its museum containing fine relics was ruined. The city of Dezful received hundreds of missiles, and they destroyed more than 50 percent of its old quarter that, in addition to Sassanid monuments, contains buildings belonging to the Seljuk, Safavid, and Qajar eras. With the strong determination and extraordinary endeavors of the local officials in the district, we were able to transfer,

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under artillery fire, the relics of the Susa Museum. (We carried them by train, under constant attack, to Tehran and into the National Museum of Iran [Iran Bastan Museum].) Qasr-e-Shirin was occupied and the Sassanid Square Dome leveled. The remnant of the Sassanid Palace was attacked, and carvings and reliefs about 2,000 years old were destroyed as a result of the enemy's direct fire. The historic and religious sites of Susa, the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, and the Susa Museum were hit directly by artillery, and the historic mound of Susa and the existing archaeological center containing thousands of relics were damaged. The early air and missile attacks of the enemy badly damaged the business center (Bazaar) in Bakhtaran; the Mo'aven-ol-Molk passion plays theatre containing the finest paintings of religious rites on tiles and of the highest cultural value; the Biglar-Bagy passion plays theatre; the Hegmatane Mound in Hamadan; and the Bazaar in Urmia. The onset of air attacks on the residential areas of cities far from the frontier and on cities located in central Iran was an introduction to wider damages to cultural properties.

The air attacks on Isfahan were carefully planned and executed, and the places hit clearly indicate that the enemy's target was the old quarter of this area and the central district of the city. Part of the old section of the city and more than twenty old residential houses, the Sheik-ol-Islam passion play theatre, the Aqa Noor Mosque, the Haj Mohammad Jafar Mosque, the Seeid Mosque, the Khan Mosque and, most important of all, the Jame (congregational) Mosque (which can be considered the embodiment of an encyclopedia of the Islamic architecture and one of the finest monuments of art and architectural history) were hit by rockets. One of the rockets landed near the main dome and the other close to the northern dome. The mosque was hit at the time of the noon prayer, *further evidence of the enemy's intentions*. The attack on the sacred city of Qom, which injured people near the shrine and the bazaar, and the attack on the historic city of Burujerd close to its congregational mosque dating from the fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D. and on the girls' school, which caused the deaths of a large group of the city's youth, were other consequences of the attack on the cities.

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The air and missile attacks on Tehran seriously threatened the relics concentrated in a large number of museums there. The Golestan Museum-Palace of the Qajar era, of tremendous value for its architecture and with thousands of precious objects, was badly threatened several times and suffered minor damage because it is located downtown and close to the bazaar. The missiles that landed less than 100 meters from the Decorative Arts Museum and others that landed near the National Art Museum caused minor damage. Fortunately, just at the start of the missile attacks on Tehran, the artifacts in the latter had been wrapped and transferred to a safer place and thus sustained no damage. It should be noted, however, that transferring items from more than ten museums all over Tehran, irrespective of administrative problems, inflicts damage to the artifacts; for museums, moving to a new place twice causes the same damage as one fire.

Iraq's aggression has had some side effects in addition to the direct damage to the cultural heritage. In a country like Iran, with thousands of historical sites, one effective method for preventing unauthorized excavations is controlling the borders to check for the presence of antiquities. If there were no possibility for smuggling the artifacts, there would be less incentive for unauthorized excavations. Of course, it was difficult to control more than 1,000 kilometers of border after the outbreak of war. For opportunists, profiteering would be a powerful incentive for smuggling antiquities and unique artistic and cultural products. Another harmful effect of the war is felt in fund allocation policies. As cultural affairs do not enjoy a high priority, particularly while a war is being waged, cultural trends suffer unforeseen and unwanted setbacks.

But, in my opinion, the most damage was what our president has termed "the raid on revolutions." Obviously, after the victory of a revolution or at least an Islamic one, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people did not die. The war was imposed on Iran to diminish and wipe out the strong will of its people, and it was sustained for this purpose for more than eight years. In response, our strategy has been to restore and remove the damaged material even during the actual course of the war. After any destruction, a team of restorers rushed to the scene to begin restoration. For example, reconstruction of the destroyed sections of the congregational mosque of Isfahan was carried out on the basis of

photogrammetric pictures, and in less than one year the mosque was restored to its original form.

After forcing the enemy out of the occupied territories, restoration was begun on the monuments of the Abadan Museum, the Susa Museum, the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, the House of Valy, the Bazaar of Urmia, the Biglar-Bagy passion plays theatre, and other damaged monuments, and they reopened after completion. Of course, the old quarters of the cities, ruined mounds, lost reliefs, and destroyed relics can never be revived, and the question is how these kinds of violations could be checked on an international scale. The 1954 Hague Convention immediately comes to mind. In view of the date of this convention, developments in war techniques, and the weapons invented during the past thirty years, the deficiency of the convention is abundantly clear. Delving into the articles of the convention shows that it was drawn up in a realistic way to protect cultural property at that time. Unfortunately, at present this convention is no more than moral advice and could not possibly be considered adequate.

Article 6 says that, "according the provisions of Article 16, cultural properties should be marked with special signs to be recognized presently." When a regime makes use of whatever is in its power to terrorize people and compel them to abandon their hometowns, marking cultural treasures could only be a step toward their destruction. The UNESCO mission, which was a response to Iran's request, was dispatched to survey the evidence of the damages in the war-afflicted provinces. After the survey, mission members admitted that it was necessary to conduct a more earnest discussion on implementing the feasibility of the convention.

Article 8 says that immovable property of considerable importance could be put under special protection under the conditions that (1) they are located a reasonable distance from industrial centers or any important military target considered to be a sensitive place, such as an airport, radio station, installations working for national defense, ports, and important railway stations and highways, and (2) they are not being used for military purposes. The congregational mosque, with its large dome, is one of the most prominent buildings in Isfahan and is easily recognizable. None of the above-mentioned conditions pertains to it,

and the mosque was hit twice by rockets launched from an airplane in the daytime. One is forced to wonder about the utility of a convention if after eight years it has not had the smallest effect.

Based on Iran's request to execute the convention, UNESCO proposed that a general commissar for cultural property be appointed. A qualified person was selected from a list of individuals from different countries. Iraq rejected this person and did not suggest another, so nothing could be done to enforce the convention. In the latest general conference of UNESCO, the Islamic Republic of Iran proposed a resolution that was approved. In this resolution Iran asked for more attention to the convention and its enforcement. A letter sent by the general director to the Iranian Mission said that the Executive Council of UNESCO had, according to Resolution 8/10, asked UNESCO's Secretariat to accelerate the execution of resolution 11/2 approved by the 24th Session of the General Conference concerning a deeper survey into the methods of executing the Hague Convention. This points up the leniency of the execution and the problems in the text of the convention.

We hope that the laws' shortcomings and the ineptitude of the authorities will be ameliorated by further attention, careful discussion, and adoption of new methods. The Organization for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, which has protected cultural property during the war, is well prepared to contribute to any national or international measure to study this topic and to perform its share of activities in the future.

Editor's note: Mehdi Hojjat, head of the Organization for the Preservation of Iranian Cultural Heritage since the revolution in 1979, is an architect by training. The information shared here is based on internal reports of the organization.

APPENDIX IX
Proposal for Replacement of ICHO



جمهوری اسلامی ایران

شیرین حسن پور
شورای عالی اداری
بسمه تعالی

شماره ۱۰ / ۲۶۳۵ / د

تاریخ ۱۳۷۲ / ۱ / ۲۵

سازمان اسناد و کتابخانه ملی
۱۳۷۲ / ۱ / ۲۵

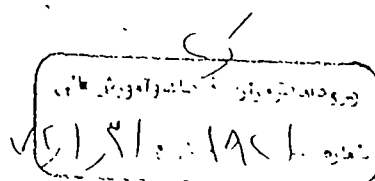
وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی

شورای عالی اداری در سی و نهمین جلسه مورخ ۱۳۷۲ / ۱ / ۱۸ بنا به پیشنهاد سازمان امور اداری و استخدامی کشور و به منظور هماهنگی و افزایش کارایی و اثربخشی سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور و همچنین تقویت، یکپارچگی و انسجام در مدیریت و تشکلات امور فرهنگی کشور تصویب نمود:

- ۱- سازمان میراث فرهنگی به همراه کلیه ادارات، کارکنان، دارائشها، اموال و تعهدات از وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی منتزع و به وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی واگذار می گردد.
- ۲- شورای سازمان میراث فرهنگی حسب نظر رئیس جمهور درجه و رتبه ها و کد های
- خواهشمند است.
- ۳- کلیه اختیارات و مسئولیت های مربوط وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی در رابطه با موضوع وظایف اجرایی سازمان میراث فرهنگی به وزیر و وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی اتمه سال می یابد.

سید منصور رضوی

معاون رئیس جمهور و دبیر شورای عالی اداری





جمهوری اسلامی ایران
سازمان برنامه و بودجه
دانش فنی

" بسمه تعالی "

(۱)

بسم

مقام محترم وزارت

حجت الاسلام والمسلمین جناب آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی

رئیس جمهور محترم و رئیس شورای عالی اداری

۱۱/۹/۷۱

سلام علیکم - همانطور که مستحضرند تا قبل از سال ۱۳۶۴ دستگاههای متعددی شامل:

اداره حفظ میراث فرهنگی شهرستانها، اداره کل موزه ها، اداره کل بناهای تاریخی، و اداره کل کاخها تابع وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی و مرکز باستانشناسی ایران، اداره کل هنرهای سنتی، مرکز و موزه مردم شناسی، دفتر آثار تاریخی، موزه ایران باستان و سازمان ملی حفاظت آثار باستانی تابع وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی و اداره کل بیوتات (کاخ گلستان) وابسته وزارت امور اقتصادی و دارایی، در ارتباط با میراث فرهنگی کشور فعالیت داشتند.

از آنجا که با توجه به اهمیت میراث فرهنگی و با توجه به تعدد دستگاهها و با توجه به گستردگی منابع می شود از یک طرف، و سیاستهای دولت منی بر اصلاح نظام اداری محدود نمودن دامنه فعالیت های دولت و حذف تشکیلات موازی از طرف دیگر، باعث گردید که با توجه به تشکیل سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور به منظور ادغام دستگاههای فوق الذکر، در دهم بهمن ماه سال ۱۳۶۴ به تصویب مجلس شورای اسلامی برسد.

تشکیل سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور منجر به داشتن محاسنی از قبیل: حذف فعالیت های موازی، تمرکز در تصمیم گیری و هماهنگی در فعالیت ها برای افزایش کارایی سازمان مذکور، مشکلات عدیده ای را نیز برای سازمان مذکور بخصوص در راه دستیابی به اهداف اصلی به همراه داشته است.

در نظر گرفتن سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور بعنوان یک موسسه پژوهشی و تحقیقاتی زیر نظر وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی، ارتباط آنرا با فرهنگ بمعنای آموزش، نزدیک تر ساخته است، در حالی که جایگاه اصلی و واقعی هنر، موزه، میراث فرهنگی و آثار باقی مانده از گذشتگان و بطور کلی سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور در بطن فرهنگ عمومی نهفته است. همانطور که اشاره شد جدائی سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور که هدف ارتقای آن ایجاد زمینه برای کسب عبرت از حرکت فرهنگی اسان و بقاء و رفاه و هویت و شخصیت



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فرهنگی جامعه است، از متولی اصلی برنامه ریزی فرهنگ عمومی کشور یعنی وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی که یکی از وظایف آن هدایت و جلب افکار مردم به مسافرت و بهره گیری از دیدنیها و جاذبه های داخل کشور و شناساندن میراث فرهنگی و تمدن اسلامی به ایرانیان و جهانیان است، به فعالیتهای هر دو دستگاه فوق الذکر لظمه زده و آثار را از دستیابی به اهدافشان باز داشته است.

هدف نهائی از صرف منابع مالی و نیروی انسانی برای تعمیر، مرمت و نگهداری میراث فرهنگی که بیش از نود درصد (۹۰٪) فعالیتهای سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور را تشکیل میدهد، ارائه و نمایش آثار مذکور برای بازدید عموم مردم از جمله ایرانیان و جهانگردان خارجی و بهره گیری فرهنگی از آنهاست که در حال حاضر بدلیل عدم هماهنگی بین سازمان مذکور و وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی بعنوان متولی بخشهای فرهنگ و ایرانگردی و جهانگردی حتی در تنظیم ساعات ارائه خدمت موزه ها و آثار تاریخی با اوقات فراغت مردم و زمان بازدید تورهای داخلی و خارجی، موفقیت آمیز نبوده و اتلاف منابع را نیز در بر داشته است.

لازمه عرضه و معرفی بهینه میراث فرهنگی کشور برای بازدیدکنندگان داخلی و خارجی داشتن تشکیلات منظم، منسجم و مرتبط با تشکیلات بخش فرهنگ و به واسطه آن با بخش ایرانگردی و جهانگردی است لذا ادامه کار سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور بعنوان یک موسسه پژوهشی وابسته به وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی، علاوه بر عدم استفاده بهینه از میراث فرهنگی، نتایج نامطلوبی در بر دار که مهمترین آن محروم شدن سازمان مزبور از درآمدهایی است که میتواند در احیاء آثار در اختیار کمک شایان بنماید.

کثرت و پراکندگی بناهای تاریخی در سطح کشور و ارتباطات بین المللی آن از یک طرف، و تنوع ایرانگردان داخلی و خارجی که به شکلهای گوناگون در کشور سفر میکنند از طرف دیگر ایجاب مینماید که جایگاه این سازمان بنحوی تعیین شود که از پشتیبانی مناسبی در سطح استانها و شهرستانهای کشور و همچنین نقاط مختلف جهان بهره مند گردد که در این راستا منفعک شدن سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور از وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی و وابسته شدن آن به وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی، بدلیل وجود ادارات ارشاد اسلامی در سطح کشور



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ونمایندهای فرهنگ در خارج از کشور ، وضعیت مناسبتری را برای سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور فراهم خواهد ساخت . مخافا " اینکه بخشهای مختلف وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی از قبیل سینما ، کتاب ، مطبوعات ، فعالتهای هنری و ... نه تنها مکمل مناسبی برای سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور به شمار میروند ، بلکه ارتباط و هماهنگی مستمر آنها ، زمینه بهره برداری وسیعتر و مناسبتری را از مجموعه موزهها و بناهای تاریخی و مراکز مختلف سازمان مذکور فراهم نموده و در نهایت سطح فرهنگی و بالتری را برای جامعه به ارمغان میآورد .

شایان ذکر است که شناخت وضع موجود صنعت توریسم در ایران و جهان ، به تعیین جایگاه سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور و لزوم هماهنگی هرچه بیشتر آن با بخش ایرانگردی و جهانگردی کمک فراوانی خواهد نمود .

بر اساس برآوردهای سازمان جهانی جهانگردی در آمد توریسم در سال ۱۹۹۰ تا ۲۰۴۹ میلادی ۳۰۰ میلیون دلار در حدود ۱۰۰ درصد تولید ناخالص ملی جهان بوده است که به این ترتیب بیشترین درآمد و حجم مبادله را بعد از نفت و فرآورده های نفتی و منابع اتومبیل به خود اختصاص داده و از نظر اقتصادی و کسب درآمدهای ارزی در بین کشورهای مختلف جهان اهمیت و جایگاه خاصی یافته است . به همین دلیل مادر سالهای اخیر شاهد رقابت فشرده ای در زمینه جذب توریست در بین کشورهای جهان هستیم . از جمله نموده های این رقابت ، می توان از مواردی چون : سعی کشورهای مختلف برای برگزاری تورنمنت های ورزشی ، برگزاری جشنواره های فرهنگی و هنری و تئاتر و سینما ، ایجاد نمایشگاههای تجاری ، بازرگانی و صنعتی دائمی ، برگزاری کنفرانسها و سمینارهای بین المللی ، ایجاد تاسیسات عظیم و جاذبه های مصنوعی و در راس آنها از میراث فرهنگی و ارائه آثار باقی مانده از گذشتگان بعنوان ابزارهای اصلی و بسیار مهم برای کسب درآمدهای ارزی نامبرد .

پیچیدگی های اقتصادی و اجتماعی جوامع بشری در عصر حاضر و فاصله عمیق و روزافزون کشورهای صنعتی و توسعه یافته با کشورهای جهان سوم ، ادامه بقا ، کشورهای عقب مانده



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پرست:

با اقتصادهای يك پایه ياتك محمول رادرعرمه كنونی جهان نه تنها دشوار، بلکه عملاً غیر ممکن ساخته است. به همین دلیل اکثر کشورهای با اقتصاد تك محمولی سعی در یافتن امکانات کسب درآمدهای جدید داشته و تلاش خود را برای رهایی از حالت اقتصادی يك پایه ادامه می دهند زیرا اقتصاديك پایه، علاوه بر شکننده بودن نمی تواند پشتوانه محکمی برای خوداتکائی و رهایی از وابستگی کشورهای جهان سوم باشد. جمهوری اسلامی ایران نیز از این قاعده مستثنی نبوده و باید هرچه سریعتر در جستجوی منابع درآمدی جدیدی باشد.

براین اساس در برنامه پنجساله اول و در جریان تجدید ساختار اقتصادی و در راستای قطع وابستگی از درآمدهای نفتی، صنعت توریسم بعنوان یکی از صنایع بسیار سودآور اشتغال زا با ارزش افزوده بالا و منبع مهمی برای کسب درآمدهای ارزی و همچنین عاملی مثبت در صدور انقلاب و شناساندن فرهنگ و تمدن ایرانی اسلامی به جهان بان مورد توجه خاص قرار گرفته است. اما همانگونه که مستحضری: متأسفانه به علت وجود مشکلات متعدد، درآمد ایران در بخش جهانگردی در سالهای اخیر از حدود یکصد میلیون دلار (در حدود ۰/۰۰۰۴ درصد کل جهانگردی جهان در سال ۱۹۹۱) تجاوز نکرده است.

با توجه به مراتب فوق الذکر و با عنایت به اینکه عرضه آثار تاریخی و فرهنگی

کشور برای بازدید عموم مردم، ایرانگردان داخلی و جهانگردان خارجی تاکنون موفقیت آمیز نبوده و بدون تغییر جایگاه فعلی سازمان مذکور، در آینده نیز موفقیتی در بر نخواهد داشت و با در نظر گرفتن این مطلب که در کلیه کشورهای جهان عرضه اینگونه آثار برای بازدید مشتاقان بویژه توریستهای خارجی از طریق ایجاد هماهنگی با بخشهای فرهنگ عمومی و سازمانهای جهانگردی صورت می پذیرد و از این طریق درآمدهای قابل توجهی نصیب کشورهای یاد شده می گردد، پیشنهاد می شود در صورت موافقت خناب عالی سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور از وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی منفك و بصورت سازمانی وابسته به وزارت فرهنگ، و ارشاد اسلامی به فعالیت خود ادامه دهد تا به این ترتیب هماهنگی های لازم در رابطه با بهره برداری مناسب از آثار فرهنگی و تاریخی کشور و در نتیجه ارتقا فرهنگ عمومی فراهم شود.



جمهوری اسلامی ایران
سازمان برنامه و بودجه
دفتر رئیس

تاریخ:
شماره:
پیوست:

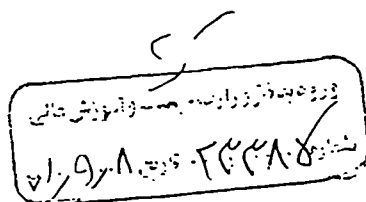
متن مصوبه مربوطه در خصوص طرح و تصویب موضوع در شورایی عالی اداری به ضمیمه
تقدیم شده است .

مسعود و غنی زنجانی
معاون رئیس جمهور و رئیس سازمان برنامه و بودجه

علی لاریجانی
وزیر فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی

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عالی اداری



دروود دفتر سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور
شماره ۵۳۵۹ تاریخ ۹۷/۱۵



APPENDIX X

Interviewes

LIST OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED AND MAIN SUBJECTS DISCUSSED

As explained in the preamble, in the section on methodology, beside referring to written documents and completing a workshop, the author carried out interviews with 5 key individuals whose activities are influential in Iranian cultural heritage matters. The aim of conducting these interviews was to evaluate the questions raised in this research and become acquainted with new points of view in this concern. In order to create proper conditions for the interviewees to express all their views in the areas under discussion, the interviews were held in a semi-structured form. Excepted in two cases, for which references are given in the text, the contents of the interviews have not been used in this research.

The main areas covered by the questions are as follow:

- > *In your opinion, where lies the importance of historic relics?*
- > *What are the principal reasons for protecting the cultural heritage?*
- > *Is there a relationship between the why and the how in conservation?*
- > *What differences do you notice in cultural heritage affairs before and after the Revolution?*
- > *What bottlenecks exist in cultural heritage affairs in Iran?*
- > *What solutions do you suggest?*
- > *How do you rate the relation of tourism with cultural heritage?*

The interviewees' specifications and the place, date and length of each interview are summarized in the table on the following page.

	Specialty	Antecedents	Location	Date	Length
Baqer Āyatollah- Zadeh Shirazi	M.A. Arch. Tehran Ph D. Conservation Home	Director, National Organization for the Preservation of Iranian Monuments, Esfahan Unit (?-1979) Director, National Organization for the Preservation of Iranian Monuments (1979-1985) Director, Bureau of Historic Artifacts (1979-1985) Vice Director & Substitute of Director, ICHO (1985-1995)	Tehran, in his office	14, July 1991	2½ hrs
Rezā Hashemi	M.A. Arch. Tehran	Director General, Housing and Urban Planning of Hamadan Province (1979-1984) Deputy Minister of Housing and Urban Planning (1984-1995)	Tehran, in his office	20, Aug. 1994	2½ hrs
Javad Mojābi	M.A. Arch. Tehran	Director, National Organization for the Preservation of Iranian Monuments, Zanjan Unit (1975- 1985) Director General, Zanjan unit of ICHO (1985-1995)	Qazvin, Qazvin Museum	30, Aug. 1994	2 hrs
Hassan Pāsvār	Industrial Engineer	Director General, Culture, Art & Physical Education Bureau (1993- 1995)	Tehran, in his office	6, Sept. 1994	1½ hrs
'Ata'ollāh Vahdati	Ph D. Art History, Paris	Director General, Ministry of Islamic Guidance, Planning Bureau (1980- 1983) Director General, Ministry of Culture, Traditional Arts Office (1983-1985) Director General, ICHO, Traditional Arts Office (1985-1988) Director, ICHO, Higher Education Centre (1988-1995)	Tehran, in his office	6, Sept. 1994	1 hr