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**Historical Gardens in Transition in 20th Century Iran:
A Critical Analysis of Garden Conservation**

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Abstract

While Iran is considered by many to be the land of the earliest recorded gardens, during the 20th century many of its historical gardens were deliberately destroyed, while others were inadequately conserved or remain in a state of dereliction and suffer continued decline. In contrast to current literature that generally studies Iranian historical gardens as physical structures under the rubric of ‘Persian Gardens’, this study integrates the changes in different dimensions of historical gardens to capture their plight in 20th century Iran. It aims to provide a deeper understanding of how political shifts before and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 have shaped various approaches towards historical gardens, and the ways in which these attitudes have affected or been reflected in the material, social, and symbolic dimensions of Iranian historical gardens. It will analyse the key factors shaping the diverse approaches and interests, as well as the outcomes of these on the life of such gardens, in order to provide more appropriate recommendations regarding garden conservation in Iran.

To this end, this thesis employed an in-depth case study strategy. The selected case studies are: Golestan Royal garden in Tehran; the gardens of the nobility in Shiraz; and the Qadamgah tomb garden near Neyshabour. Each of these cases highlights a particular aspect of garden treatment. All of the case studies pursue a consistent line in order to trace the different approaches and changes (mainly challenges brought by the changing political climate) to various dimensions of those gardens and the ways of garden conservation more broadly. Through the interpretation of socio-political events, categorising the wide and varied sources of information to support these case studies, documentation of overall changes has been done chronologically through a close reading of each case study garden. Drawing attention to how three examples of gardens have been affected differently, this research provides an original contribution to the knowledge of how the concepts of cultural heritage, ideology and religion have an impact on various dimensions of historical gardens in 20th century Iran.

Based on the results derived from the analysis of case studies, this research argues that in order for gardens to find ways to continue as vibrant and ‘living heritage’, the approach adapted to conservation should firstly move beyond the traditional museum-like approach and material restoration. Conserving the twin dimensions of the physical and social aspects could offer a more consistent and resilient platform for the process of identity construction, engaging the public much more in the life of gardens. Secondly, it suggests that both restricted/rigid and flexible approaches, both the bottom-up needs of the people and the top-down tendencies of the authorities, could be compatible. These provide useful points of reference regarding practical ways for addressing the continuity of the material and social life of historical gardens.

Foreword

Trained as an architect and having studied a Masters Degree of Restoration of Historical Buildings and Cities, I followed my personal interest in heritage conservation in the world beyond the boundaries of Iran to broaden my horizons. My postgraduate project titled, *The architectural restoration of historical fabric of Khoosf*, was awarded the prize for the Best Masters Thesis by the University of Tehran, which motivated me to align my initial PhD proposal to propose a framework for the conservation of historical villages and cultural landscapes. However, due to my particular interest in gardens, and my conservation practice in historical gardens located in Birjand and Shiraz, my pre-occupation with the history of Iran, and the absence of guidelines or any research which addresses the issue of garden conservation, I shifted my initial focus to capture the plight of historical gardens in a land with the earliest designed garden, Iran.

The two main issues on which my research is grounded are as follows; in Iran both in theory and practice there is an overemphasis on physical restoration, and limited knowledge about historical gardens in the existing literature. These distract attention away from the importance of changes happening in gardens' material, and more notably in their social and symbolic dimensions, which in turn affects demise or survival of gardens. With these key challenges in mind, this research pioneers in suggesting recommendations for garden conservation in Iran by tracing the ways in which three examples of gardens have been affected differently.

Inspired by the insightful Masters thesis of Talin Der-Griogorian, who analysed, interpreted and traced the construction and fate of three major architectural monuments in Iran, in this study I narrate what has happened to historical gardens due to the political shifts and various approaches in 20th century Iran. However, the lens employed for analysing the transformation of gardens is to some extent a personal viewpoint. Also, due to the limitations of time and space, I cannot sufficiently develop on many issues that relate to this vast topic. By addressing the dilemma facing the historical garden in a meaningful way, presenting different ways of analysis and interpretation, and combining a considerable amount of overlooked primary and secondary sources, I only hope this study opens new trajectories for undertaking further research on the historical gardens. Through the lessons derived from this study, the policy-makers will also benefit in setting out a national framework for garden conservation and tackling the conundrum facing historical gardens in Iran.

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The time period of a PhD could be part of the journey of a lifetime that throughout this journey many individuals play various roles. From all of these actors, we learn life lessons that for me are more valuable in comparison to the lessons taken from the PhD thesis. For me, the reason why I decided to come to Sheffield instead of Newcastle University, where I had been offered three years partial scholarship, is still unanswerable, but rather what I have got from here is that matters. This journey is impossible to finish without the contribution of a variety ranges of people.

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Abbreviations in this thesis

FCHHTO	Fars Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organisation
ICHO	Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation
ICHHTO	Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organization
IRI	Islamic Republic of Iran
ICOMOS	The International Council on Monuments and Sites
ISMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
NRS	National Relics Society
NOCHM	National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments
SAVAK	National Intelligence and Security Organization
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WHS	World Heritage Site

Glossary

Ab anbar: Reservoir of water

Adjr: Divine reward

Andaruni: The gendered women sector of traditional house courtyard and gardens

Awqaf: Endowment Organisation

Bagh: Garden

Bagh-e- Irani: Persian Garden

Bagh Kooshk: Pavilion gardens

Barekat: Blessing

Biruni: The public sector of Iranian traditional house courtyard and gardens

Chador: A long outer garment, open down the front, draped over a woman's head.

Chaharbagh: Four-fold garden

Dua: Beseechment, prayer

Ebrat: Edification history's lesson

Farangi: European; Western

Fatwa: A religious decree establishing the licit or non-licit character of an act.

Ferdows: In Islamic doctrine, Paradise has many levels and *Ferdows* is the highest level.

Ghaire Islami: Anti-Islamic

Hayat :Yard

Hadith: Reports of statements or sayings of Mohammad and for Shi'a Muslims it also refers to saying of 12 Shi'a Imams.

Haramsara or Harem: Seraglios; sanctum; the women sector of royal gardens that any males except a King, eunuchs and *Maharem* were forbidden to enter it.

Hashiti: Octagonal vestibule, a multi-angle entry that directed visitors systematically to public or private sector of courtyard house

Hejab: Veil or specific dress code wearing by Muslim women; *Hejab* also associated with meaning of privacy and morality.

Howz: water tank

Imarat: A large buildings or pavilion in gardens, structure.

Ismah: State of infallibility attributed to Shi'a Imam

Iwan: A semi-open space enclosed on three sides by supporting walls

Khajeh: Eunuchs

Jannat: Connotes both 'garden' and 'paradise' in hereafter

Qanat: traditional Iranian irrigation system; an underground water canal.

Qibleh: The direction for prayer of Muslim towards the Kaaba in Mecca.

Qasr: Palace

Qalyan: Hookah

Naghare zani: Traditional music in which drums were played in sunrise and sunset.

Manghul: Movable

Maharem: The legal term denoting the relationships by blood, milk, marriage or sexual union which makes marriage between people so related forbidden.

Maydan: Square

Mazar: Cemetery; visiting place

Marja taghlid: Highest ranking authority of Shi'a *ulama*

Memar: traditional architect, master builder

Mostazafan: Downtrodden

Nahad-haa-ye Enghelabi: Revolutionary Guards

Namahram: Opposite of *maharem*; literality denotes any person of the opposite sex whose kinship does not represent an impediment for marriage

Nazri : Offerings

Usta memar: Master builder

Roshanfekran: Enlightened thinkers

Shah: King

Sigheh: Concubines

Sufi: Mystical or ascetic orders in Islam, united under the authority of *Shaykh*, who draws his teachings from a chain of predecessors.

Taghuti : Royalist

Talar: Hall

Tekeye: Open or enclosed place for performance of Shi'a communal mourning ceremonies

Ulama: Clergyman

Voza: Action in preparation for saying the prayers

Waqf: Endowment made to God in the form of charity and whose reward is reaped by the donor in the afterlife.

Waqfnameh: The written instruction

Ziarat: Making pilgrimage to religious places such as Holy shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad.

Notes

It is noteworthy to mention that in this thesis, the abbreviation **SH** (Solar Hijri) is used for the official solar calendar of Iran. To show the lunar or the Islamic calendar, **AH** (Anno Hijri) is used. The calendar convertor used in this study was accessed online <

<http://www.elib.hbi.ir/persian/CLINICAL-EPIDEMIOLOGY/calendar%20converter4.htm>>

To give the equivalent of the Iranian currency notably *Rial* to US\$, before 1370 SH/1991, this currency was converted approximately based on the exchange rate of the same year by referring to the daily *Etelaat* Newspaper. After 1370 SH/1991, the exchange rate available at the official website of the Central Bank of the IRI was used; this may not correspond to black market of Iran (*bazaar azad*). Also, while the *Toman* is an everyday term used by Iranians for transactions (10 *Rials* is 1 *Toman*), in this study I have mostly used *Rial*.

Moreover, in this research, the term 'Persia' is applied, when the study is concerned with the time before 1314 SH/1935. After Reza Shah ordered a change in the official name of the country from 'Persia' to 'Iran', the term 'Iran' is used. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the pre-Islamic period refers to the time before the end of the 6th century. The most important pre-Islamic Persian Empires were the Achaemenid (550-330 BC) and Sassanian Empires (224–651). The Islamic era refers to the time after (637–651), when Islam was introduced to Iran and became the main dominant religion. Also, the translation of all sources and interviews from Farsi (Persian) to English was done by the author.

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Introduction

Iran is considered by many to be the land of the earliest recorded gardens produced by any ancient civilization;¹ these may date back as far as 4000 BC.² The four-fold garden or *chaharbagh* is an archetype of most Iranian gardens and is a significant and noble achievement of ancient Iran which has influenced other gardens in the East such as the Taj Mahal in Agra or the Alhambra in Spain in the West.³ In addition to their historical values, these gardens document a heritage that manifests an important interchange of human values which were interwoven with the cultural and social aspects of the Iranian society over long periods of history. However, over the course of time, many historical gardens have been deliberately destroyed, while others are badly conserved or in a state of dereliction and suffering continued decline. The historical garden is not celebrated as an important part of the country's heritage, and the issue of garden conservation is widely neglected; up to now, garden conservation in Iran has no record of its own history. This lack of attention could be the result of the intense political changes the country has faced, unwilling and ignorant managers, economic problems, inadequate and insufficient research, and a lack of clear vision about what is important within these gardens.

A growing interest in cultural heritage among scholars has started to produce some research on the conservation of architectural heritage in Iran, but in contrast, no significant attempt has been made to address or criticise the conservation of historical gardens. In terms of cultural heritage, attention is generally directed towards historical cities, where most studies are more focused on the effect of policies on the physical intervention in historical fabric.⁴ Concerning

¹ Geoffrey and Susan Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man : Shaping the Environment from Prehistory to the Present Day*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975). ; Taylor, 2006; ASLA, 2010), ASLA, 'What is Landscape Architecture?', *American society of Landscape Architect*, (2003), <http://www.asla.org/nonmembers/What_is_Asla.cfm> [accessed 22 December 2010].

² Donald N Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979).; Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, (London: Scolar Press, 1980).; Grace H. Kirkwood, 'Persia: The Culture of Pleasure Gardens', in *Gardens and Culture : Eight Studies in History and Aesthetics*, ed. by Hannah Disinger Demaray (Beirut [Lebanon]: Eastern Press, 1969), p.53.

³ Timothy Cochrane and Jane Brown, 'Landscape Design for the Middle East', (London: RIBA Publications for the South East Chapter of the Landscape Institute, 1978)., p.297; Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man : Shaping the Environment from Prehistory to the Present Day*; Penelope Hobhouse, *Gardens of Persia*, ([San Diego]: Kales Press, 2004), p. 67; James Dickie, 'The Islamic Garden in Spain', in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. by Elisabeth B. Macdougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1976).

⁴ It is noteworthy to mention that apart from many Masters Theses on the topic of urban and rural regeneration with historical core, until now many PhD theses, either in Iranian or foreign universities, have been studied with respect to urban regeneration policies in Iran. Theses completed in the universities of the UK are: Reza Abouei, 'Urban Conservation (with Reference to Iranian Cities) in Historic Cities', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2006) ; Mohammad saeid Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University, 2008); Seyed Nader Pourmosavi, 'Urban Renewal Policies (a Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal Policies in Iran, 1286-1400 Sh/1907-2020 Ad)', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2011) ; For PhD theses completed in Iranian universities, see. Pirooz Hanachi, 'Maremat Shahri Dar Shahryahe Tarikhi Iran (Urban Restoration in Iranian Historical Cities)', (Unpublished

historical gardens, the majority of current thinking develops from western studies that tend to focus almost exclusively on the similarities of concept and common themes such as the Qur'anic Paradise symbolism of *chaharbagh*,⁵ with a primary concern for the Safavid era (1501–1736). The plethora of these studies is grounded in the material structure of Persian Gardens within specific elements of *chaharbagh* archetype that is present in the majority of gardens.

Little attention has been given to socio-cultural and intangible aspects of gardens, for example, the rituals of piety or regality associated within them which in turn affects garden's demise or survival. Furthermore, the uncertainty of what is important within historical gardens, due to a limited understanding of the considerable changes that have occurred to gardens; all make the problem of garden conservation worse. These unchallenged issues, and the narrow attitudes regarding what existed in current literature,⁶ drive this study to search for other aspects of gardens and employ a different perspective.

During the 20th century, Iran experienced two main Revolutions that brought changes to all aspects of the country at every turn. The changes in political context and imageries from 2500 years of monarchy through to the Islamic Republic in 1979, as a turning point in Iran's history, were reflected in and influenced the shifts in perception of heritage including of historical gardens, which remains an under-researched subject. Unfamiliarity with the impacts of political and ideological shifts upon the material, symbolic and social dimensions of gardens could be one reason for the failure of any garden conservation plan, as giving a clear definition of heritage dimensions is the determinant of successful conservation projects.⁷ For these reasons, this research has broadened its aim in order to address these significant shifts in power and to link heritage conservation with political events in the context of Iran by using the vehicle of historical gardens. It concentrates on compiling a precise body of knowledge regarding the various changed or unchanged dimensions of gardens from the time that these gardens were designed until the present, in order to give a

doctoral thesis, University of Tehran, 1378 SH/1999) ; Kouroosh Afzali, 'Arzyabi Roykardyahe Ehyaye Baftte Gadimi Dar Shahrhaye Iran;Kerman (Evaluation of the Approaches Towards Revitalization of Historic Cities of Iran; a Case Study of Kerman)', (unpubsihed doctoral thesis, Islamic Azad University, Science and Research branch, 1390 SH/2012).

⁵ For detail discussion regarding the influence of Islam and Qur'an on *chaharbagh* gardens, see. Appendix C.

⁶ However, in the first part of the Chapter Four, I addressed the Persian Garden studies, which inordinately focus on Qur'anic Paradise symbolism, as one of the catalyser for valuing *chaharbagh* gardens in Shiraz during the post-revolutionary period.

⁷ Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2012) ;Kapila D.Silva and Neel Kamal Chapagain, 'The City Imageability; a Framework for Defining Urban Heritage Dimension', in *Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns, and Prospects*, (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 325-44, (p.326).

rich insight and understanding that can inform managers to draft appropriate recommendations regarding garden conservation in Iran.

In terms of cultural heritage, it is often asserted that the Pahlavi regime with its secular perspective was responsible for imposing Western ideology and mis-using the built heritage of the country to reinforce their rule. In contrast, the Islamic Republic is usually portrayed as the state that paid particular attention to restoration and renovation of religious heritage. This research, by challenging such thoughts, examines how each political era has approached historical gardens differently, and elaborates on the way in which politics, the concept of cultural heritage, ideology and religion have affected the material, symbolic and socio-cultural dimensions of three examples of gardens in 20th century Iran. I have developed these issues, with a focus on how these gardens emerged, changed and/or found the ability to survive, through comparison of the approaches towards them and the drivers that caused changes before and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (*doran bad v ghabl Enghelab*), when huge shifts took place in Iran. This study also may be seen as an examination of the complex political shifts before and after the Revolution, and the pros and cons of the various approaches towards cultural heritage, read through the lens of gardens in 20th century Iran.

Research context

Covering a land area of 1,648,195 km², Iran is the 18th largest country in the world and the 2nd largest in the Middle East. It consists of complex mountain chains ‘enclosing a series of interior basins, extending from eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus as far as the plains of the Punjab’,⁸ that is also known as Iranian Plateau. While the northern region along the coast of the Caspian Sea has a subtropical climate, enjoying dense rain and an average annual precipitation of over 2,000 mm, central Iran is characterized by a hostile climate with an annual rainfall of about 25 mm.⁹ Due to two large deserts located in the middle of the country, namely Lut and Kavir, Iran generally known ‘as an arid zone with green islets scattered over it’. In such an arid country, water is a key: ‘everything is alive by water’.¹⁰

⁸ Fisher, W.B., ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran; the Land of Iran*. Vol. 1 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968).p.5.

⁹ Mohammad Reza Balali, 'Towards Reflexive Land and Water Management in Iran Linking Technology, Governance and Culture', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Wageningen University, 2009), p.9.

¹⁰ Fisher, W.B., ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran; the Land of Iran*, p.599.

In terms of political context it was never colonized, however, because of the strategic location of Iran and its natural resources (e.g. oil, gas),¹¹ it never remained immune from interventions of great powers, in particular during the 19th century. As mentioned above during the 20th century, the country experienced two major Revolutions embodying opposing ideologies. According to Abrahamian, the first which took place in 1907 was brought about by the intelligentsia ‘who [were] inspired by such Western ideologies as nationalism, liberalism and socialism’ and ‘hoped to recreate their society in the image of contemporary Europe’.¹² In contrast, the second revolution, which took place in 1979, was dominated by religious authorities, ‘who, [were] inspired by ‘golden age’ of Islam, have sealed their victory by drawing up a thoroughly clerical constitution’ and ‘replacing the state judiciary with Shari’a courts’.¹³ These two revolutions touch upon all aspects of country, including cultural heritage and gardens. Iran now has 31 provinces with a population of more than 78 million. About 95 percent of Iranians belong to the Twelver (*Ithna Ashari*)¹⁴ and therefore Iran has the largest majority of Shi’a Muslims population in the world.

Research aims and objectives

This research aims to provide a deeper understanding of how political shifts have led to shaping various approaches towards historical gardens, and in which ways these attitudes have affected or been reflected in the material, symbolic, and social aspects of gardens, particularly before and after the Islamic Revolution. Furthermore, it aims to analyse the key factors shaping these diverse approaches and interests, as well as the influences of these on the destiny of gardens, in order to provide more appropriate recommendations regarding garden conservation in Iran. In order to draft any recommendations for the policy-makers, it is essential to understand the existing situation, trace the ways in which the various dimensions of gardens have been transformed in relation to political context and the ways of garden conservation.

¹¹ Iran has the world's second-largest reserves of natural gas and owns the world's fourth-largest proven oil reserves.

¹² Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.531.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.531

¹⁴ Twelver is the main and largest branch of Shi’a who believe in twelve divinely *Imams*. Imam Ali is the first Shi’a *Imam* and Imam Mahdi is the twelfth one who is now in occultation (*Gheybat*).

To this end, the main objectives of this study will be to:

- Highlight the changes in material, symbolic, and social dimensions of historical gardens (meanings and functions)
- Contribute to the knowledge of how political and ideological shifts have shaped the various attitudes and approaches towards historical gardens.
- Explore and identify the factors behind the various approaches and the motivations that have brought about different destinies for historical gardens in Iran.
- Examine the results of these various approaches on the material, symbolic and socio-cultural aspects of historical gardens.
- Draw conclusions about the ways in which policy-makers and people could conserve the country's historical gardens.

With these objectives in mind, the main research questions can be stated as follows:

- How have political and ideological shifts and various approaches towards historical gardens in Iran affected such sites?
- Which driving forces have served to shape these various approaches towards gardens?
- What have been the impacts and effects of these changing approaches on the material, symbolic and socio-cultural dimensions of these historical gardens?
- What kind of appropriate recommendations could be made to improve the future conservation of historical gardens in Iran?

The Research methods and the Research process

This section will review the research design process, explain the applied methods to match research aims, introduce case study strategy, identify and justify the selection of case studies for the analysis of garden conservation, the main sources of data use as well as the way of data collection and barriers that the implementation of the research has faced. Finally, it will set out the process of data analysis aiming to respond the research questions that have already been mentioned.

Research design

Research design serves as a guide to link the key elements of research together. It addresses the procedure of research development in line with the stated research aims and objectives. The diagram below identifies the key stages of this study which includes the main aims, objectives, review of literature, and detailed analysis of the selected case studies and the final stage of the research.

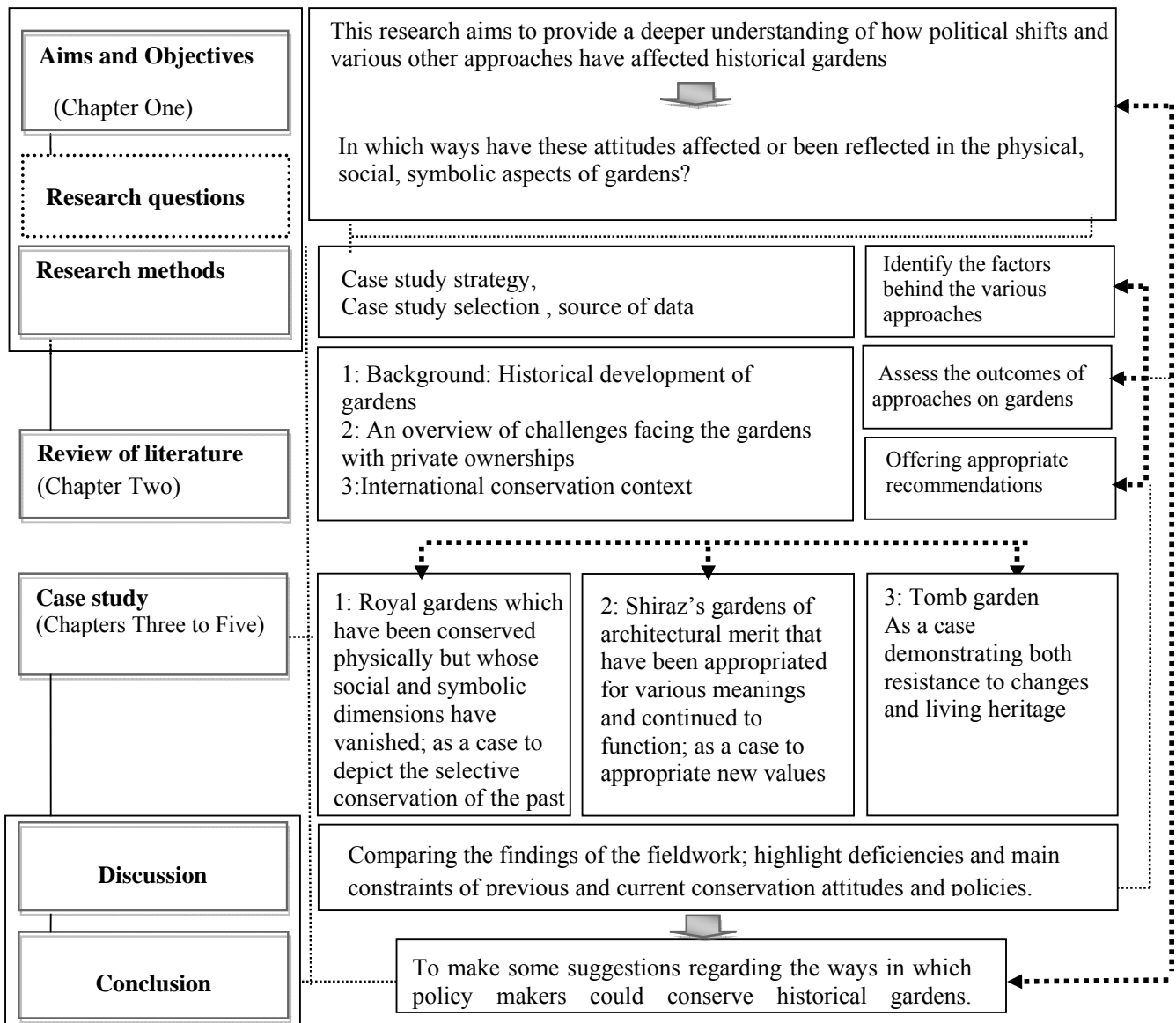


Figure 1.1: The research design addressing the main stages of this study

Case study strategy

For a research project that is about little known phenomena and that has been faced with a lack of data, the qualitative research method selected is the most appropriate.¹⁵ This study is a pioneering attempt to analyse the effects of political shifts and various approaches on the historical gardens, this thesis has consequently employed the in-depth case study strategy as an appropriate way to carry out qualitative study.¹⁶ In the most cited book, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, Robert Yin explained how this strategy ‘investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth’.¹⁷ It also provides ‘holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as organizational and managerial process’,¹⁸ and is used when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being asked.¹⁹ Case studies could be descriptive, exploratory and explanatory to follow ‘replication logic’.²⁰ This research could be viewed as combination of two of Yin’s typologies producing exploratory-descriptive work,²¹ in which unknown phenomena are examined and the ‘researcher strives to achieve an organised and coherent presentation of phenomenon’.²²

Qualitative research usually deals with examination of a few cases in detail, in contrast to quantitative research. However, it is accepted that even a single case could be representative of a phenomenon, while the evidence from multiple case techniques is more compelling, being considered ‘more robust’ and ‘replicable’.²³ A series of case studies could provide a basis for more systematic treatment of a particular thesis.²⁴ The limitation of multiple case studies is that it needs ‘extensive resources’ and time beyond the demands of a single researcher,²⁵ and there is a challenge to integrate data in a coherent way.²⁶ Due to the nature of the main questions, the study applies multi-case studies strategies while remaining mindful of the challenges that this brought.

¹⁵ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 3 edn (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, c1999).p.57; W. E. C. Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods*, (London: Continuum, 2000).

¹⁶ Robert E Stake, 'Case Studies', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by Norman K, Denzin, and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000), pp. 435-53.

¹⁷ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, 4th edn (Los Angeles, Calif. ; London: SAGE, c2009),p.18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*,p.4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*p.13.

²⁰ Linda Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2 edn (Hoboken: J. Wiley, 2013). p.432; Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*.

²¹ Exploratory case study research also gives rich insights into boundaries and phenomena.

Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, (London: SAGE, 1996).

²² David JA Edwards, 'Types of Case Study Work: A Conceptual Framework for Case-Based Research', *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 38 (1998).

²³ Robert E Herriott and William A Firestone, 'Multisite Qualitative Policy Research: Optimizing Description and Generalizability', *Educational researcher*, 12 (1983). Yin. *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, p.53.

²⁴ Tim May, *Social Research : Issues, Methods and Process*, 4th edn (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2011) , *Social Research : Issues, Methods and Process*, p.240.

²⁵ Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, p.53.

²⁶ Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, p.441 and p.1013.

Case study selection

To study ‘various aspects of the problem from different angles’,²⁷ and as ‘every case should serve a specific purpose within the overall scope of enquiry’,²⁸ case studies were identified to follow how the concept of cultural heritage, religion and ideologies are echoed in the destiny of gardens. Although there is no definitive list of nationally registered historical gardens, such a list can be derived from the current National List of Properties, on which the number of designated gardens increased dramatically from 24 in the 1990s to approximately 147 gardens²⁹ during the 2000s (see Appendix A).

These gardens are now managed by the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organisation (ICHHTO).

The ICHHTO is an independent organisation which is responsible for conducting research programmes, surveying, identifying, listing, restoring and conserving of all kind of cultural heritage in Iran, including registered historical gardens. This organisation also responsible for supervising conservation and regeneration in urban renewal programmes for historical cities and textures, as well as setting out programmes for encouraging the private and non-governmental sectors to invest in heritage and tourism affairs.³⁰ The Head of the ICHHTO is directly appointed by the President, and although its budget is directly ratified by the Parliament, the organisation ‘enjoys financial and administrative independence’.³¹ While the process of change in its administrative system will be explained in the third part of Chapter Two (see especially Figure 2.16), this thesis indirectly mentions more broadly how the



Figure 1.2: Location of the selected case studies

²⁷ Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, (Thousand Oaks, Calif, London: Sage, 1995).

²⁸ Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, p.432.

²⁹ It should be mentioned that in 1387 SH/2008 about 26,667 historical buildings and sites were registered on the List.

³⁰ The ICHHTO came about as a merger of units involved in heritage including: 'the Iranian Archaeological Centre', 'the General Office for Traditional Art', 'the Centre for Ethnology (social and cultural anthropology)', 'the Office for Historical Monuments', 'Iran Bastan Museum', 'the Office for Conservation of Cultural Heritage', 'the General Office for Museums', 'the General Office for Historical Buildings', 'the General Office for Palaces', 'Iranian National Organization for Conservation of Historical Relics', and 'the General Office for Court Palaces (Golestan Palace)', Tourism Organization and Handicraft Organization.

³¹ Mehdi Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1995), p.229.

approach and policies of this organisation have been transformed during the 20th century: this discussion will take place particularly in Chapters Three and Four.³²

The majority of the registered gardens under the supervision of the ICHHTO have single or multiple buildings of architectural merit. In terms of function, they can be divided into two main types: gardens of the kings and the nobility, and tomb gardens.³³ So, this study limited the selection of case studies from all types of gardens to provide the required depth of materials in response to the research questions. The selected case studies are: the Golestan royal garden in Tehran; the gardens of the nobility in Shiraz; and the Qadamgah tomb garden near Neyshabour.

Each case study has experienced multifarious material and socio-cultural changes in response to changing political situations and the various approaches employed by the authorities at different moments in time. Each of the selected case studies aims to highlight a particular aspect of garden treatment such as the political exploitation of the past to legitimise the ruling powers, the boosting of national pride, changing the patterns of social interaction in an attempt to enhance secularism or to bring back Islam, and the role of people's belief. Moreover, each of them scrutinizes a particular type of garden that is comparable in terms of original function, geographical location (see Figure 1.2), ownership and historic characteristics. Whatever their differences, all of these gardens share similarities and a common theme, as they are formal gardens that are already open to the public.

The Golestan garden, to be discussed in detail in Chapter Three, has been selected, so the impacts of the transformation of the garden following shifts of the Pahlavi and then the IRI changing it from sign of power to a didactic device can be pursued. The case remains somehow physically but its symbolism has been rendered impotent to respond to different needs of various states. The gardens of the nobility in Shiraz detailed in Chapter Four provide a showcase of the private garden's transformation into open public places in ways that appropriated these gardens for a new use and meaning. Chapter Five takes the Qadamgah tomb-garden as an example that demonstrates how the garden has enjoyed an ability to resist changes in ways which link to the prioritising of its original intangible values. These case studies are selected from three places, namely Tehran, the capital of Iran, Shiraz, the sixth largest Iranian city, and Qadamgah, a smaller and lesser-known county near Neyshabur.

³² For detailed responsibilities of the ICHHTO, see. Article 3 of the Law of Constitution of Iran's Cultural Heritage; 1367 SH/1988 and also Law of Establishment Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization; 1382 (Approved on 1382 SH/2003).

³³ Tomb gardens in Iran could be the cemetery of poets, *Imamzadeh*, saints or religious places.

Tehran is generally portrayed as a metropolis, the main centre of politics, and characterised by pollution and traffic, while Shiraz has a specific appeal due to its extensive gardens, and Neyshabur is distinguished as one of the country's pre-Islamic cities that has lost its significance during the 20th century. The first two case studies (the Golestan garden and the gardens of Shiraz) are representative of the majority of gardens belonging to the kings and the nobility and exemplify how policy-makers and authorities determine the various fates of gardens. While the latter is an exemplar of those gardens which served as sacred and religious places, providing proof of peoples' ongoing faith and involvement, and which are now conserved under the supervision of the *Awqaf* (Endowment Organisation).

All of these case studies have been pursued with a consistent line of questioning to sketch the impact of factors and changes (mainly challenge by the political climate) on the material, symbolic and socio-cultural dimensions which consequently influenced garden conservation. Since all of these cases are analogous in terms of some political context at national level, to avoid coincidence of political junctions, each case study focuses on the turning point or pertinent fundamental event that has had a direct or explicit influence on its particular history, and which eventually determined the various meanings, uses and values for these gardens. In the case of the Golestan royal garden, this is the rise of Reza Shah's Pahlavi regime in 1925 and the establishment of the first law in terms of cultural heritage in 1932; for the gardens of Shiraz, this is the Arts Festival of 1967; and for the tomb garden, the Land reform of 1962. Moreover, the selected case studies can be taken as being more broadly representative of the variety of approaches towards and treatment of historical gardens in the country as a whole.

It should be emphasised that the approach taken towards these case studies neither tackles the reception of these gardens by the public, nor the perceived relationships of Iranians with their cultural heritage, and does not aim to understand what Amos Rapoport defined as 'inter-person perception'.³⁴ The question of how or what the royal gardens of Safavid, Qajar, Pahlavi or religious gardens meant to Iranians, of how people use, interact and perceive this heritage, of how much the public accepts the various reinterpretations that have been made, or how these places could constitute the identity of Iranian society, all need detailed further studies, which could themselves provide the topics of separate theses and are open for sociologists or architectural historians.

³⁴ Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment : A Nonverbal Communication Approach*, (Beverly Hills, Calif ; London: Sage, c1982), p.139.

Sources of data

This study has benefitted from relatively unknown and previously unexamined materials that have been archived in Iran, have had restricted access, and have either seldom or never been scrutinised in the context of garden history. However, the disparity and paucity of data (as a result of the absence of any research centres, the lack of scientific journals or a central library concerning Iranian cultural heritage, and in particular historical gardens) are the most significant challenges confronting the current research. As in some case studies (e.g. Qadamgah and Shiraz's gardens) there is no well documented source, official and/or systematic records available on the situation of these gardens during the 20th century specifically for the Pahlavi era. The required information for each case study has been obtained in various ways and from various sources; a time-consuming task. These included diaries; archival documents; historic photographs; audio-visual materials; press reports, maps, government policies and legislative documents; restoration reports; site visits; direct observation; and interviews.

To address this lack of readily-available information pertaining to historical gardens, the primary sources and supporting textual references, either in English or Farsi (Persian) languages, have been gathered from libraries and institutions mainly in Iran, the UK and the USA. In Iran, eight major libraries and archives were visited, especially with the purpose of gathering material relevant to the case study chapters. These included the National Library and Archives of Golestan palace in Tehran; the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation Document Centre in Tehran; the Library and Archive centre of the University of Tehran; Malek National Library and Museum Institution in Tehran; National Library and Archives of the Islamic Republic of Iran (*sazman asnad va ketabkhane meli Jomhori Islami Iran*) in Tehran; Archives and Document Centre of the ICHHTO, Fars Province in Shiraz; Organisation of Libraries, Museums and Document Centre of Astan Quds Razavi; and Archives and Document centre of the ICHHTO, Khorasan-Razavi Province in Mashhad.

For the case study of the Golestan garden, the archive of the Golestan palace was consulted mainly to gain access to limited-access published or unpublished material such as reports on restoration activities, historical photographs, oil paintings, and maps (e.g. Berezin map (1842), Abdoghafar (1891)), and contemporary maps provided by the Deputy of the World Heritage Office, for the nomination of Golestan to the World Heritage List. In order to present a general image about Qajar gardens and in particular the Golestan garden (i.e. their

physical development or symbolic/social function), manuscripts and memoirs of Naser al-Din Shah, written between 1272 AH/1856 and 1303 AH/1885, the books and daily diary of Etemad al-Saltaneh, written in about 1306 AH/1889, and Doost Ali Khan Moaeiro al Mamalek, the grandson of Naser al-Din Shah, written approximately in the 1960s, have been used as primary materials since they provide contemporary accounts from the Garden's owner or the Qajar's courtiers.

Furthermore, some historical photographs of Qajar gardens have been used from the Albums of Photographs by Ali Khan Vali taken between 1879 and 1900, which are available online at Harvard Library. In this case study, another source of information are European travellers' accounts and memoirs from those who visited Iran such as George Curzon (1889-1890), Pascal Coste (1841), Johannes Feuvrier (1889-1892),³⁵ Samuel Benjamin (1882-1883), Robert Porter (1817-1821) and Colonel F. Colombari (1833-1848). The descriptions by European visitors of the gardens and the activities they contained, have also been used as a window through which the ways that the rituals were practised (e.g. Greeting Ceremony, *Ta'ziyeh*) was captured with these men, since they witnessed them personally. The explanations of the rituals have been supplemented, where possible by historical photographs or paintings available in the custody of the archives of Golestan Palace: some of these have never been published as they are maintained in an exhibition case and not accessible to researchers.

Simultaneously, in order to trace the impact of the perception of either enlightened thinkers or influential members in charge of the National Relic Society (NRS) towards built heritage generally and Qajar's edifices in particular, the letters, books, speeches, and memoirs of these men have been referred to in this study, with careful consideration given to their conflicting viewpoint against the Qajar era. Some of these men were: Isa Sedigh (1945-1970s), Arthur Pope (1925-1970s), Andre Godard (1931-1960s) and Asghar Hekmat (1933-1955). Moreover, in order to (re)construct a picture about which Qajar gardens were destroyed, restored or changed their function during the Pahlavi era, the various activity reports of the NRS, edited by Mostafavi (1955), Bahroulomi (1976), and Afsar and Mousavi (1977), are of primary importance to this chapter. These data have been combined with works of Tehran's historians such as Hodjat Balaghi, Nasr A Meshkuti, Manoochehr Sotudeh and Yahya Zoka.

³⁵Johannes Feuvrier, *Trois ans a la cour de Perse 1889-1892, (Paris:1906)*, p.161, quoted in Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville Peter Avery, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*. Vol. 7.p.925.

For the case study of Shiraz's gardens, at the first stage with the same manner of Golestan, the writings of historians such as Ibn Balkhi, 12th historian of Fars and Forsat al Doleh (1854-1921) have been gathered mainly from National Library to provide a historical background for Shiraz and its gardens. The books pertaining to history, culture, and historical buildings and sites of Fars province and Shiraz published by main men involved in heritage affairs in Shiraz or local historians such as Sami (1950s-1980s), Afsar (1974), Mostafavi (1965) and Imdad (1960- 2007), this time have been recounted and reviewed through the lens of gardens. These sources of data have been supplemented by western studies on Shiraz (descriptive or quantitative) such as Arberry (1960) and Clarke (1963) to provide a clearer image for the changes that happened in Shiraz's gardens in Pahlavi Iran.

More specifically, the government documents and memos pertaining to the Arts Festival that later in 2003 were published by the Intelligence Ministry and National Security, have been used as primary data for detailing the selected gardens for the Festival and also analysing the impacts of the Festival's events on Shiraz's gardens. Moreover, some unpublished original letters of the Bureau of Culture and Art concerning built heritage and tourism affairs in Shiraz during the late Pahlavi era have been obtained from the National Archive Organisation of the IRI (*sazman asnad Meli*) in Tehran. Also, in this case study, where I failed to gain the required census for visitors of some Shiraz's gardens from annual report of Municipality of Shiraz (*salname Amari*), monthly unpublished records of visitors —where these existed — have been gathered through the site visits.

For the case study of the Qadamagh garden, the Document Centre of the ICHHTO, the branch of Khorasan-e-Razavi in Mashhad was consulted to gain access to historical photos and brief unpublished reports of activities regarding its restoration, in addition to site visits. I also participated in a religious gathering in Qadamagh, and this personal observation has supplemented my argument in Chapter Five.

For all of the case study chapters, in particular Chapter Three and Four, the books and memoirs left behind by the members of the Pahlavi Family, such as Mohammad Reza Shah written in 1978, Farah Pahlavi written in 2004, and Ashraf Pahlavi written in 1979, have been sourced to view the heritage and gardens through the lens of the ruling powers, although some parts of them have been censored or edited after the Revolution. Moreover, the old official newspapers and news accounts such as *Dolat Elieh* (1277 AH/1860-1278 AH/1862) and *Etelaat* (from 1303 SH/1924-1357 SH/1978), and the Royal periodical calendar

(*Gahnameh shahanshahi*) have been referred to in this study. While the former (*Dolat Elieh*) is useful for its published figures sketching the rituals in Qajar gardens, the latter are beneficial in uncovering the historical and political facts during the Pahlavi era, or to access official speeches. In addition, such a kind of review of newspaper accounts, that reflected the criticism or gave information about the situation of gardens, while they are not many, framed my interpretation, when there was no published account to cover the required data concerning the relevant time. Moreover, the *New York Times*, available online through ProQuest Historical Newspapers at Harvard Library, has been used for giving additional information about the Festival in Shiraz.

Further, all of the base maps of the mentioned gardens have been collected from the Document Centre of the ICHHTO in the provincial branches in three cities, Tehran, Shiraz, and Mashhad. In many cases, I have redrawn and modified either to improve legibility or to consolidate information from different sources on the plan. For depicting the material changes in the case study gardens, the unpublished reports on restoration activities, were obtained from the aforementioned collections, and have been recounted and cross-referenced by this author. It should, however, be noted that for many years, such activities were not recorded.

In order to support and triangulate data concerning the process of conservation policies, the annual reports of the NRS and the National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments (NOCHM), official reports, handbooks, booklets, and brochures of the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO) pertaining to budget statements and administrative structures; the annual reports of the Municipality (*salname Amari*); the published reports on the inclusion of nine Persian Gardens and Golestan Garden on the World Heritage List provided by the Deputy of World Heritage Sites in Iran; the proposed Master Plan; and the Restoration Plans provided by consultants to the projects (e.g. the restoration plan of Delgosha garden in Shiraz that was provided by the consultant engineers of Bavand) have all been scrutinised. Also, a comprehensive account of regulations and laws regarding cultural heritage summed up by the efforts of Samadi Rendi (2003) have been sourced where relevant. Some of these mentioned data while not available in the Document Centre of the ICHHTO and libraries, such as unpublished reports of the Rehabilitation Fund (*sandough ehya*), have been obtained as well and referenced in Chapter Four. Since in some cases, I was denied access to official records of derived revenue, or allocated finance for garden restoration and maintenance, for staff and garden administration,

or for cultural events, this study relied on the provincial budgets published by other government organisations (e.g. the ICHHTO, the Municipality and the Fars Management and Planning Organization).

Moreover, in terms of the literature historical review of Pahlavi gardens, since these gardens simply have been overlooked in garden studies, the Documents Centres (*markaz asnad*) in Sadabad and Niavaran gardens were consulted. This was supplemented by memoirs of Soleiman Behboodi (servant of Reza Shah), and Hossein Lorzadeh (the traditional master builder of Reza Shah's palaces), and visual surveys, phone interviews with architects of the same era (e.g. Kamran Diba) and the former manager of the Sadabad garden. Furthermore, some maps and illustrations for the case study chapters or the part explaining the historical development of gardens in the literature review have been gathered from the libraries and archives outside of Iran including the British Library in Boston Spa and London, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, and the Library of Congress in Washington DC. These libraries and Archives visited are listed in the Bibliography.

Apart from the aforementioned sources, a large amount of secondary library sources, books, and journal articles have been collected from the library of University of Sheffield, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and the University of Durham (through the inter-library loan service) which have constituted an important part of this study. Regarding Iran's history and its economic and socio-political context, a considerable amount of data have been collected from library sources such as Abrahamian's books, seven volumes of *The Cambridge History of Iran* and *Encyclopedia Iranica*. These have been studied to help trace the impact of several factors (mainly political) that have contributed to changing the conception of cultural heritage in Iran.

More specifically, with respect to the perception of cultural heritage and its evolution in Iran, the present study mainly profited from the two PhD theses of Talin Grigor³⁶ and Mahdi Hodjat, and some inferences of this research are drawn from those works. First, Talin Grigor's PhD, which was later published as a book in 2009, is highly beneficial, and in this study, I counted on her materials regarding the Pahlavi regime's attitude towards heritage. Grigor scrutinized in detail how the invention of national heritage emerged in Iran through the efforts of enlightened thinkers and followed the activity of the NRS in the construction of

³⁶ Talinn Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005).

modern mausoleums for Iranian poets and philosophers as public architecture. Her PhD's main chapters were similar to the *Karname Anjoman Asar Meli (Report Book of the NRS from 1350 SH/1971 to 1353 SH/1974)* that was published in 1355 SH/1976 in Iran. However, she studied with an innovative and fresh perspective by gathering a large amount of original information aiming to trace the design process and transformation of five tombs (*aramgah*), namely Ferdowsi in Tus, Hafezieh in Shiraz, Ibn Sina in Hamedan, Omar Khayam in Neyshabour and Pope in Isfahan. 'With a close look at the history of these monuments' and critical historiography, her research is far more comprehensive in terms of heritage, nationalism and architecture in Pahlavi Iran compared to previous studies.

Second, in the doctoral thesis of Mahdi Hodjat, who was the first Head of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation (ICHO) after the Revolution of 1979, the evolution of cultural heritage conservation policies was traced from the Pahlavi epoch to the post-revolutionary era. Hodjat, with a critical review and by condemning the Pahlavi political propaganda approach towards cultural heritage, tried to redefine the values of cultural heritage according to the Holy Qur'an as an alternative strategy in order to set policies for Islamic countries. Due to his personal experience in the ICHO, his works uncovered the maturation of cultural heritage after the Revolution. However, his argument was restricted to saving built heritage (predominantly archaeological and architectural sites) and he wrote generally without addressing any specific kind of heritage.

Both of these PhD theses refer to cultural heritage in Iran; though the former details the heritage concept throughout the Pahlavi era by examining the NRS's involvement in the construction of five tombs (*Aramgah*), the latter was more involved with policies after the Revolution of 1979. While drawing on both these works, the focus of this research is different, as here I re-examine the changes in perception of cultural heritage through the lens of historical gardens, applying more historical perspective with descriptive modes.

Apart from these two theses, whose data were directly used, and due to the fact that there is no existing relevant literature in terms of historical gardens in Iran, some other studies have also informed the development of the idea of this work. Exemplary studies in the context of Iran that are central here include: the PhD thesis of Pamila Karimi who studied the role of gender, foreign missionaries, economics, religious rhetoric and education in transition

domestic architecture in 20th century Iran, from the late Qajar period up to the 1990s,³⁷ the Masters thesis of Talin Der-Griogorian, in which the construction and fate of three major architectural monuments in Tehran were analysed and interpreted namely: *Aramgah* Reza Shah Pahlavi (1950), the Shahyad Aryamehr Monument and *Namaz Khane* in Farah Park (1978).³⁸ Moreover, in the earlier stage of this study, the methodological approach of some theses in the context of China and India were considered. Lei Gao's PhD thesis reviewed chronological events in four case studies to elucidate the transformation of values of Chinese historical gardens in the 21st century;³⁹ Jijun Zhao in a quite similar order followed the impacts of ideological shifts (communist or socialist) during the Mao era on landscape design in China;⁴⁰ the work of Sadaf Anasri, who addressed the trajectory of popular interpretation from the time of construction of Humayun's Tomb in India up to present with a chronological sequence of study, was also reviewed.⁴¹

Some information has also been derived from unpublished PhD theses in the USA (through free access online to the library and all E-resources of Harvard University at Dumbarton Oaks) and the UK (through access online EThOS) on the topic of Iranian studies, such as Izadi's PhD thesis on the topic of 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran.'⁴²

The data collected from these extensive documentary and archival sources has been combined with direct observation, sites surveys, and interviews⁴³ to answer the research questions and to provide a clear image regarding the transformation of historical gardens in Iran.

³⁷ Pamela Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009). Her PhD thesis later was published as a book, see. Pamela Karimi, *Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran: Interior Revolutions of the Modern Era*, (London: Routledge, 2012).

³⁸ Talin Der-Griogorian, 'Construction of History : Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran, 1951-1979', (Unpublished Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998).

³⁹ Lei Gao, 'Breaking and Repairing : Conflicting Values in the Historic Gardens of China', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2010).

⁴⁰ Jijun Zhao, 'Thirty Years of Landscape Design in China (1949-1979):The Era of Mao Zedong', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Sheffield, 2008).

⁴¹ Sadaf Ansari, 'Constructing and Consuming 'Heritage':Humayun's Tomb in Popular Perception', (Unpublished Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2003).

⁴² Izadi, cited above.

⁴³ Yin reminds us the strength of case study strategy is deal with large 'evidence -documents, artefacts, interviews and observation'. Yin., *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, p.11 and p.100.

Interviews

While the scope of this investigation has been limited to address the period before and after the Islamic Revolution (from 1979 up to the 2000s), in order to assess the weaknesses and limitations in current conservation approaches and to put this into perspective, 14 structured interviews were conducted during summers of 2011 and 2013. Since there is no specific organisation, Research Centre, specialist or engineering consultancy responsible for the conservation of historical gardens, interviews were conducted with the key people whose decisions regarding, or involvement in, cultural heritage affairs had or have influenced historical gardens before and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

From 14 interviewees, three interviews were undertaken with the former Head of the ICHO, one with the Head of ICOMOS in Iran, three with the former Head of the ICHO in Branch of Tehran, Fars, and Khorasan which reach in gardens; one with the Head of Rehabilitation Fund responsible for conservation of some gardens; one with Manager of engineer consultancy for restoration projects of some historical gardens; one with the Deputy Head of World Heritage Site in Iran who currently is Vice president of the ICHHTO; one with former manager Consultant's executive of the ICHHTO; one with the Deputy Manager of the Golestan garden; one with the former Director of Persian Garden Research Centre; and the rest with individuals having empirical experience of involvement in garden projects (See Appendix B for positions and job titles of the interviewees).

Several of these interviewees could be also considered to belong to the 'elite',⁴⁴ as many of them were or still are in high positions in cultural heritage affairs. The process of planning and conducting interviews⁴⁵ with key people in senior political positions in Iran is not a simple task. Indeed, it is a heavily time and effort consuming process, as asking the individual's opinion is not yet a common approach or method in Iran. To obtain access to the interviewees and make an appointment, having personal contact or interpersonal relation plays an important role in the context of Iran. The familiarity of this researcher with some of the interviewees facilitated this procedure. In this sense, initial contacts were made via phone calls with the participants who knew me beforehand and could introduce me to further key interviewees who might otherwise avoid being interviewed with me. This method, also

⁴⁴ The term 'elite' generally refers to people who possess a power such as managers, ministers, religious leaders who their decision affect other people. Katherine E. Smith, 'Problematising Power Relations in Elite Interviews', *Geoforum*, 37 (2006).

⁴⁵ This followed the position set out by Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London SAGE, 1996).

known as ‘snowball sampling’, which opens the doors to the researcher for accessing to the participants who contact with them is difficult.⁴⁶

While Creswell mentioned the challenges facing the interviewer is how to convince the interviewees to take part and how to provide ‘trust’ and ‘credibility’,⁴⁷ this researcher did not encounter such issues. After introducing the subject of my research and declaring me as a doctorate candidate via phone or personally referring to their office, the interviewees generally consented to give their time to be interviewed. Since this subject had not yet been surveyed, many of my participants generously agreed to contribute for sharing their knowledge and experience, in order that this could be used to improve the situation of historical gardens in the future. However, being PhD student in the UK, the country that has problematic political relationships with Iran, led to the refusal of a few managers of the ICHHTO who were in charge at that time (summer 2011). Some interviewees also did not easily give their own voice freely due to the direct relations of problems facing cultural heritage with political situation of Iran. Depending on the available time of the interviewees and their knowledge, the length of these interviews, which were conducted in Farsi, generally ranged from 30 min to 70 min. Moreover, it should be noted that prior to starting the interviews, the consent forms and information sheets (translated into Farsi), which had been ethically approved by the University of Sheffield, were given to the interviewees and permission was also asked for tape recording.

The primary data gained from the interviews is helpful in this study, to highlight the problems that have been threatening gardens (generally their material dimension). Having sought to gain different perspectives, the interview questions were designed to obtain the personal viewpoint and insight of officials in terms of values of gardens, strength and threats facing cultural heritage in general and historical gardens in particular, and to see the main practical ways to tackle the problems (see Appendix B for the interview questions). While the interviewees’ opinions cannot be necessarily considered a straightforward representation of ‘reality’ or ‘factual records’,⁴⁸ in the case study chapters some of the interviewees’ explicit points have been quoted directly due to the practical experience of those participants in the ICHHTO. Based on personal knowledge and the empirical experience of the well-informed

⁴⁶ Douglas D Heckathorn, 'Respondent-Driven Sampling II: Deriving Valid Population Estimates from Chain-Referral Samples of Hidden Populations', *Social problems*, 49 (2002).; Leo A Goodman, 'Snowball Sampling', *The annals of mathematical statistics*, (1961).

⁴⁷ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*, 2nd edn (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, c2007).

⁴⁸ Mason, *Qualitative Researching*.

authorities involved directly or indirectly in heritage affairs before and after the 1979 Revolution, in some interviews a follow-up unstructured interview was conducted to gather information for filling gaps in the case study chapters.

In the case of the Golestan garden, one pre-arranged interviews also was carried out with the manager of a private enterprise, the Supporters of Green Space, to compare a contrasting viewpoint with the Deputy Manager of the Golestan garden. Also, in the Qadamgah garden, a few informal conversations with visitors have been carried out, generally asking about the reasons why they visited the garden. It is noteworthy that the data obtained from the structured-interviews with the key managers in charge, not only unpack the problems facing the material dimension of gardens, but also bears evidence to the fact of the narrow perspective, and limited understanding of the managers about what is important in terms of historical gardens in Iran. These issues will be explained in Chapter Six.

Interviews, data collection and site surveys have been accomplished through two main fieldwork trips in 2011 (from July 2011 to January 2012) and 2013 (from August to September 2013).

Data analysis strategy

It is accepted that identifying and preserving the symbolic dimensions of place is difficult to achieve.⁴⁹ Mindful of these difficulties, the transformation of gardens has been examined from the perspective of material, social and symbolic dimensions,⁵⁰ interpreting social and political contexts, and employing the 'inductive approach'.⁵¹ The material dimension 'includes the multi-sensory and spatial attributes of physical features'⁵² and deals with physical and visual appearances, morphological and structural organizations.⁵³ The social dimension is concerned with users and communities, people, activities and social behaviour

⁴⁹ Kapila D Silva and Neel Kamal Chapagain, *Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns, and Prospects*, (London: Routledge, 2013), p.331.

⁵⁰It should be mentioned that the definition of these dimensional approach has been adopted from the scholarly work of Bala Garba who applied five dimensions namely social, symbolic, cultural and historical to investigate the changes in the public space of Zaria, Nigeria Shaibu Bala Garba, 'Change in the Public Spaces of Traditional Cities:Zaria,Nigeria', in *Whose Public Space*, ed. by Ali Madanipour (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 87-106.

⁵¹ 'Inductive approach' relies more on 'defining categories, properties and subcategories following data collection, with a greater number of distinctions allowing for historical context'. May. *Social Research : Issues, Methods and Process*, p.237; Lars Mjoset, 'The Contextualist Approach to Social Science Methodology', in *The Sage Handbook of Case-Based Methods*, ed. by David Byrne and Charles CC Ragin (London: Sage, 2009), pp. 39-69. (p.58).

⁵² Silva and Chapagain.'The City Imageability; a Framework for Defining Urban Heritage Dimension' p.327.

⁵³ Matthew Carmona and others, *Public Places-Urban Spaces:The Dimension of Urban Design*, (Oxford: Architectural Place, 2003) .p.11; Garba., cited above, p.87.

which occur in the environments⁵⁴ all of which play a crucial role in the continuity of conservation.⁵⁵ The symbolic dimension includes ‘cultural meaning, collective memories, connections and belief⁵⁶ that ‘people develop through participation in the social life of communities’.⁵⁷

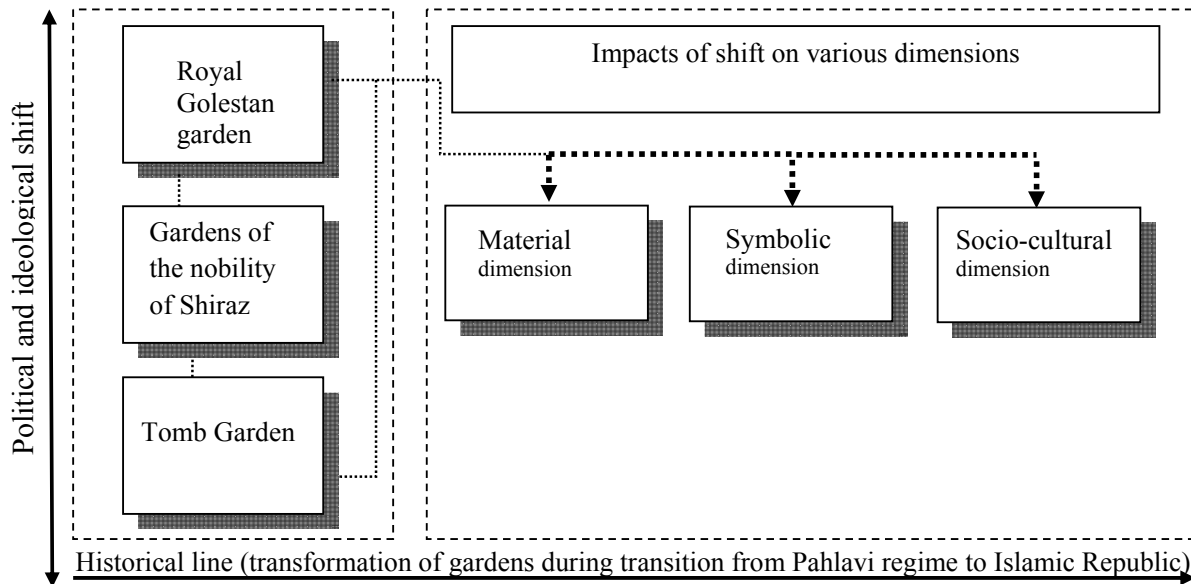


Figure 1.3: Framework for data analysis in this study, (Source: Drawn by the author)

After categorising the wide and various sources of information from aforementioned sources, to support the case studies,⁵⁸ documentation of overall changes has been conducted chronologically through the close reading of each case study garden. All the case studies then pursue a consistent line in order to trace the amalgam of various approaches and changes (mainly challenges brought by the changing political climate) on various dimensions of those gardens and the ways of garden conservation more broadly. It should be mentioned that my interpretation in the case study chapters, seldom concerns the description of architectural elements of gardens, but rather mainly focuses on the main changes occurring in different dimensions as well as the reasons behind these.

⁵⁴ Don Mitchell, 'Introduction: Public Space and the City', *Urban Geography*, 17 (1996), p.128 ; Garba., 'Change in the Public Spaces of Traditional Cities:Zaria, Nigeria', p.89.

⁵⁵ Aylin Orbasli, *Tourists in Historic Towns: Urban Conservation and Heritage Management*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002), p.19; Noha Nasser, 'Planning for Urban Heritage Places: Reconciling Conservation, Tourism, and Sustainable Development', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 17 (2003).

⁵⁶ D.Silva and Chapagain, cited above, p.331 and p.329.

⁵⁷ Carmona and others, cited above, p.187.

⁵⁸ In such a research which does not aim to develop of a theoretical framework 'the organisation of data become essential in preserving the unitary character the social object being studied'. May, *Social Research : Issues, Methods and Process*, p.238.

In order to maximise the ‘reliability’⁵⁹ and ‘the accuracy of the research methods’⁶⁰ that ‘allows [the researcher] to investigate a boarder range of historical and behavioural issues’,⁶¹ I made efforts to be careful with, even cautious of, the secondary sources, particularly in terms of previous historical development and function of gardens, modifying accounts in light of accessible archival or documentary materials; if and when these were available. To reduce concern regarding the validity of official records, as Yin suggests ‘the political conditions under which they were published’⁶² have been taken into account and compared with contrary political periods. However, not all data and information could be considered accurate, specifically with regard to the case of the royal gardens in Tehran, where I was not able to obtain or produce certain definitive information. These include the scale of maps or definitive dates of a garden’s construction or destruction as they are recorded differently in different sources. These issues concerning the ‘authenticity’ of a document⁶³ remain problematic in this research, because of a lack of existing surveys and archives. Moreover, in many cases other supporting documents and sources were also not satisfactory and in some maps or surveys do not actually now exist. Those presented here, drawn by the author to show the approximate location or arrangement of gardens that have been destroyed and/or restored.

In the final chapter, ‘towards making the arguments’,⁶⁴ the effects of political shifts responsible for changing values and characterizing the different ways of garden treatment will be discussed. Also, deficiencies and potentials, as well as the similarities and differences between those driving forces behind employed approaches to gardens will be compared between case studies. It focuses on ways that might inform policy makers regarding the conservation of garden heritage in Iran. By revealing difference and diversity, it is possible to engage in exploratory comparisons as they ‘consider the macro factors which influence social and political change and the micro factors peculiar to each social setting’,⁶⁵ through which specific outcomes could be gained.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Yin explained that the quality of case study designs would be strengthen through considering four crucial conditions :construct validity, internal validity external validity and reliability. Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, p.24

⁶⁰ Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, p.40.

⁶¹ Yin., *Case Study Research : Design and Methods*, p.115.

⁶² Ibid.,p.106.

⁶³ May,cited above, p.206.

⁶⁴ Mason, *Qualitative Researching* p.173.

⁶⁵ May, *Social Research : Issues, Methods and Process*, p.250.

⁶⁶ According to Peter Swanborn when specific results do not expected from cases, comparable study is applied. Peter Swanborn, *Case Study Research : What, Why and How?*, (London: SAGE, 2010), p.105.

The current state of knowledge regarding Persian Gardens

Studies concerning gardens in Iran by western scholars appeared in the first quarter of the 20th century, emerging from the related field of Mughal garden studies. Two scholars, C.M.Villiers-Stuart and Baroness Gothein (1923) conducted research about Mughal gardens that was a turning point. According to Attilio Petruccioli, the ‘diffusion in Europe of knowledge of the Indian garden’ is owed to their scholarly works.⁶⁷

In 1940, the first primary research regarding Persian Gardens was done by American architectural and art historians Donald Wilber and Phyllis Ackerman, who wrote a short report, later published as a book under the title of *The Persian Garden*, in which the authors consider Iran the ‘origin of the formal garden’ in the world.⁶⁸ In 1962, twelve years later, Wilber wrote *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* that is still used as the key source book in Iran. As his book was written before the archaeological excavation by David Stronach at the Pasargadae site, he considered the Sassanian period (224–651) as the origin for the standard plan of Persian Gardens.⁶⁹ Starting his book with the relationships of Iranians with nature, trees, flowers, the sounds of water, *qanat*, and reflections of these in garden carpets and Persian poets, he praised the garden design in Iran. Wilber provided brief historical and architectural descriptions of some royal gardens, designed between the 15th and 19th centuries in chronological order. Relying on his personal investigation⁷⁰ the book includes maps and photos of some gardens. The core of the book is based on the regions, rich in terms of palaces or pavilion gardens, notably the Safavid gardens in Isfahan and alongside the Caspian Sea, the Royal gardens of Tehran, and Shiraz, home of gardens and poets. However, according to Petruccioli, the book lacks ‘a careful spatial analysis’.⁷¹ A most remarkable text is *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India*, published in 1980 by Elizabeth Moynihan, who retraced the historical link between the Achaemenid gardens (pre-Islamic gardens) in Iran to the earlier Mughal gardens (Islamic gardens) in India.⁷²

While in the *Landscape of Man* (1972) by Jellicoe and *Design on the Land* (1971) by Newton, there are short chapters addressing Sassanian gardens in Iran, it was only in early 1976, with the Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium, organised by Richard Ettinghausen and

⁶⁷ Attilio Petruccioli, *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1997).

⁶⁸ Donald N Wilber and Phyllis Ackerman, *The Persian Garden*, (New York?: The Iranian Institute of America, 1940)..p.1.

⁶⁹ Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, p.3.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Attilio Petruccioli, 'Rethinking the Islamic Garden', *Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*.,p. 351.

⁷² Moynihan, Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*.

Elizabeth B. MacDougall for understanding ‘the Islamic garden’,⁷³ that scholarly interest raised the question of the origin of *Chaharbagh* ‘by outlining the archetype belonging’ to pre-Islamic roots.⁷⁴ The royal garden of Pasargadae in Iran dating back to 500 BC was recognized as a prototype of garden design in Islamic gardens and this subject has been developed by western scholars.

In 1979, Iranian scholars, Nader Ardalan and Lale Bakhtiar, published *The Sense of Unity* brought issues of the spiritual aspects of Persian Gardens as a space for reflecting the cosmos.⁷⁵ This will discuss in more detail in Chapter Four. Another study written by Iranians but similar to *The Sense of Unity* published originally in English, is *The Persian Garden: Echoes of Paradise*, which specifically addressed the development of Persian gardens from Achaemenid (550-330 BC) to Qajar dynasty (1785–1925) with more graphic material and plans. According to Moghtader, the co-author, this source was written by the request of an editor in Washington DC, with many materials and documents that being gathered from the National Library in France.⁷⁶ Compared with its predecessors, this book contains a richer collection of photographs, old engravings, architectural renderings and plans of the gardens from the 6th century BC to the 19th century. Since then, Safavid gardens have been largely studied in the literature on ‘Islamic garden’ which frequently juxtaposed pan-Islamic gardens from Spain to India, and including Iran.

In these kinds of studies or surveys, regardless of the regional, historical, climatic and cultural differences between them, a fundamental unity⁷⁷ and similarities of concept prevails, with common themes such as Qur’anic paradise symbolism, and the spatial qualities and design ideas underlying them, are explained.⁷⁸ These studies depict how and why Muslims see the garden as a model of Paradise, but provide little detail or elaboration beyond this. In several articles, the reflection of Persian Gardens in artworks, poems, garden carpets, and miniatures have also been studied. Much of this work has enriched our understanding of the

⁷³ James L. Wescoat, 'Mughal Gardens: The Re-Emergence of Comparative Possibilities and the Wavering of Practical Concern', in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), p. 126.

⁷⁴ Petruccioli. 'Rethinking the Islamic Garden', p. 351.

⁷⁵ Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity : The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p.86.

⁷⁶ Source from phone-interview with Reza Moghtader conducted by the author on 28.06.2013.

⁷⁷ James Wescoat, 'The Islamic Garden: Issues for Landscape Research', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1 (1986), p.13

⁷⁸ Elisabeth MacDougall and Ritchard Ettinghausen, 'The Islamic Garden', (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1976) ; Jonas Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise : Garden and Courtyard in Islam*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) ; Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, (Philadelphia, Pa. : Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press ; University Presses Marketing [distributor], 2008). ; John Brooks, *Gardens of Paradise: The History and Design of the Great Islamic Gardens*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987).

influence of Persian Gardens on cultural artefacts more broadly. In a recently released publication (2013), *Persian Gardens and Pavilions: Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts*, written in English by Mohammad Gharipour, the social, metaphysical, visual depiction, and functional aspects of pavilions setting in Persian Gardens have been studied by considering their reflection in religious and literary texts, Persian poetry, miniature paintings and travellers' accounts. The author tried not to envisage the pavilion as an isolated structure rather as an entity.⁷⁹

Inside Iran, after the attention of Western scholars was attracted to the significance of Persian Gardens, a greater emphasis was placed on this topic by scholars during the 1990s. Arianpour was one of the first to publish a description of historical gardens in Shiraz.⁸⁰ Since then, with reference to these books, a great deal of articles that have appeared in Iranian journals. They frequently concern religious interpretations and symbolic meanings of Persian Garden, and are focused on the relation between the physical structure of *chaharbagh* and the depiction of celestial Paradise in the Holy Qur'an.⁸¹ This approach provides a basis for an understanding the religious character of *chaharbagh* gardens.⁸²

Also in recent years, it is possible to source the flourishing monographic studies of some important Iranian gardens which are still in an appropriate condition today such as the Bagh-e-Fin in Kashan⁸³ and Bagh-e-Shazdeh in Mahan. These studies often focus more on a historiographic perspective, describing the architectural elements and ornaments of the garden, their aesthetic and functional use, and explain the traditional system of irrigation. Since 2000, a few Iranian scholars have perceived gardens in a different light. In respect of Safavid gardens, the golden age of garden design in Iran, Mahvash Alemi illustrates new and unpublished images of gardens in the city of Isfahan using historical evidence from European prints and travel logs,⁸⁴ and also carries out primary research about the political usage of

⁷⁹ Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions : Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts*, (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

⁸⁰ Ali Reza Ariyanpour, *Bagh Haye Tarikhi Shiraz (Historical Gardens of Shiraz)*, (Tehran: Frahangsara, 1986).

⁸¹ For instance see. Darab Diba and Mojtaba Ansari, 'Persian Garden', in *Majmoye Maghalat Kongere Tarikh Memari Va Shahrsazi Iran*, ed. by Dabirkhane Kongere (Tehran: ICHO, 1374 SH/1995), pp. 25-42.

⁸² James L. Wescoat, 'From the Gardens of the 'Qur'an' to the 'Gardens' of Lahore', *Landscape Research*, 20 (1995), pp.19-29

⁸³ Hamid R. Jeyhani and Ali Omrani, *Bagh-E-Fin*, (Tehran: ICHO press, 2009).

⁸⁴ Mahvash Alemi, 'The Royal Gardens of the Safavi Period: Types and Models', *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, (1997), pp.72-96.

Safavid gardens.⁸⁵ She has also shed new light on the concept of *chaharbagh*, criticising the accepted idea that characterises it as a layout divided into four quarters.

Moreover, *Acquaintance with Iranian Gardens: Bagh-e-Shazdeh*, written by Abbas Massoudi, marks a turning point, being the first attempt to compare the outstanding physical characteristics of *chaharbagh* Gardens in Iran, especially those located deserts areas, with attributed *chaharbagh* gardens in other parts of the world, such as those in India. Significantly, the author makes valid point that despite the dominant philosophy of Islam, which has a similar basis for creation of *chaharbagh* in Islamic garden, the environment and elements such as water and trees in 'Persian Gardens' play a different role and meaning in Iran.⁸⁶ Azadeh Shahcheraghi also invites readers to consider the healing effects of Persian Gardens, and propose to re-create these gardens as 'spiritual attachment' for reducing anxiety in the 21st century. Indeed, she compares the affection of gardens in artworks in the past with Iranian contemporary arts such as painting, cinema and conceptual art.⁸⁷ While she claims that these characteristics belong to 'Persian Gardens', her analysis is, however, not supported by enough detailed analysis, as the healing effects that she names could be attributed to any kind of garden, courtyard or any open public green spaces.

In general, with the exception of the work of Mahvash Alemi with its fresh outlook towards the Safavid gardens, Mohammad Gharipour about the characteristics and function of Persian gardens and pavilions, and that of Ardalan and Bakhtiyar, few other aforementioned works carried out by Iranian scholars not go beyond what western scholars have already written. These latter studies still show a general lack of knowledge concerning the development of gardens, and have not engaged with the transformation of these gardens and their relationships with historical or contemporary social political context of Iran. The next section will define some of the most relevant terms of reference that are frequently used in this study.

⁸⁵ Mahvash Alemi, 'Princely Safavid Gardens, Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy', in *The Middle East Garden Traditions : Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007). pp.113-135.

⁸⁶ Abbas Massoudi, *Bazshenasi Bagh-Irani: Bagh-E-Shazdeh (Acquaintance with Iranian Gardens: Bagh-E-Shazdeh)*, (Tehran: Faza Publication; Scientific and Cultural Institute, 2009).

⁸⁷ Azadeh Shahcheraghi, *Paradaimhaye Pardis: Daramadi Bar Bazshenasi V Baz Afarini Baghe Irani (Paradigms of Paradise: Recognition and Re-Creation of the Persian Gardens)*, (Tehran: Jahad Daneshgahi Tehran, 2010).

Definitions of the relevant terms of reference

Paradise garden

The English word ‘paradise’ is originally taken from the old Persian word ‘*pairidaeza*’ which comprises two words ‘*pairi* (around) and ‘*daeza*’ (wall).⁸⁸ For the first time, Xenophon, a Greek historian, recorded this word as a ‘*paradeisoi*’ for gardens and hunting parks of the Achaemenid Empire which he saw in 401 BC during his visit of Persia. This word later passed into English as ‘paradise’ and it usually refers to a garden of God (Garden of Eden) and also to ‘Heaven’ or an ‘ideal garden’. In Iran, in later years ‘*pairidaeza*’ was converted into two words: ‘*paliz*’ and ‘*pardis*’. Nowadays the word ‘*paliz*’, especially in Azarbayejan province refers to a land with green vegetables and was lost its main meaning as ‘an enclosed garden’. Instead, another word ‘*pardis*’ (پردیس) is defined both as ‘paradise’ and ‘garden’ in the Iranian dictionary.⁸⁹



Figure 1.4: Aerial photo of Shazdeh garden, Mahan, known as Paradise garden, (Source: Massoudi, Abbas, *Bazshenasi Bagh-Irani: Bagh-e-Shazdeh (Acquaintance with Iranian Gardens: Bagh-E-Shazdeh)*)

After the birth of Islam, the idea of garden as a paradise ‘acquired a new spiritual interpretation taken from the Qur’an’.⁹⁰ ‘The paradise garden was usually described as a place where it was perpetually spring, that is, the climate was temperate, there was an abundance of plants, particularly fruit.’⁹¹ According to Turner among Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the religion that is most correlated with making gardens was Islam.⁹² In the Islamic world ‘Paradise garden’ refers to the earthly replica of the Heavenly gardens usually in *chaharbagh* pattern which is described in the Holy Qur’an. As illustrated in Figure 1.4, due to the hot climate in Iran, Persian Garden has a closer meaning to Paradise garden because of its paradox between desert and garden (Hell and Paradise).⁹³

⁸⁸ Moynihan. *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, p.1; Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise : Garden and Courtyard in Islam*.

⁸⁹ Persian dictionary Dekhoda, s.v. “pardis”, <<http://www.loghatnaameh.com/dekhodaworddetail-35b64c2d503045b4ae1bb5bdc79baa38-fa.html>>, [accessed 29 December 2010].

⁹⁰ Hobhouse, *Gardens of Persia*, p.67.

⁹¹ Louise Wickham, *Gardens in History : A Political Perspective*, ([Oxford?]: Windgather Press ; Oakville, CT : [Distributor] David Brown Book Co, c2012), p.11.

⁹² Tom Turner, *Garden History : Philosophy and Design 2000 Bc - 2000 Ad*, (London: Spon Press, 2005), p.89.

⁹³ Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India* (London: Scholar Press, 1980); Jonas Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise : Garden and Courtyard in Islam* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980); Donald N Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*. 2nd edn (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), p.3.

Chaharbagh

Chaharbagh, a Persian word, literally means four-part garden ('*Chahar*' means 'four' and '*Bagh*' means 'garden') that was the basic quadripartite geometry. In this layout, the main axis generally is longer than the other,⁹⁴ specifying the place of the pavilion, streams, ponds and the beds. *Chaharbagh* is an archetype of most Iranian gardens what is known as 'Persian Gardens' that sometimes this term is interchangeably used as the synonym of garden. While Pasargadae in Iran is recognised as the earliest *chaharbagh* garden in pre-Islamic era, according to Fairchild Ruggles, 'the earliest record for Islamic *chaharbagh* layout dated back to the second quarter of the eighth century in Rusafa excavated by a team from the German archaeological institute in Damascus.'⁹⁵

In 921 AH/1515, Ghasem Ibn-e-Yusef Heravi⁹⁶ wrote *Irshad Alzerae* (guide to agriculture) which could be regarded as the earliest book regarding gardening. This book had specific details about gardening and contained a typical chapter for describing types of soil, cereal cultivation, planting vegetables, and plant grafting. He interviewed traditional farmers in Harat. In the last chapter of his book, the *chaharbagh* plan was described with precise measurements of the pools, a pavilion and their dimensions on a plan and granted to the Shah. Mahvash Alemi, redrew the *chaharbagh* plan based on the description on of Heravi in final chapter of *Irshad Alzerae*, as shown in Figure 1.5.⁹⁷ Another historical horticultural book is *Marefat Falahat*, written by Abdol Ali M Birjandi in about 929 AH/1523. While in this book there is no references to *chaharbagh* pattern, it is an invaluable Farsi manuscript on agricultural and horticultural issues in the 10th century. The book is divided into 12 chapters (*bab*) that each sections deals with giving

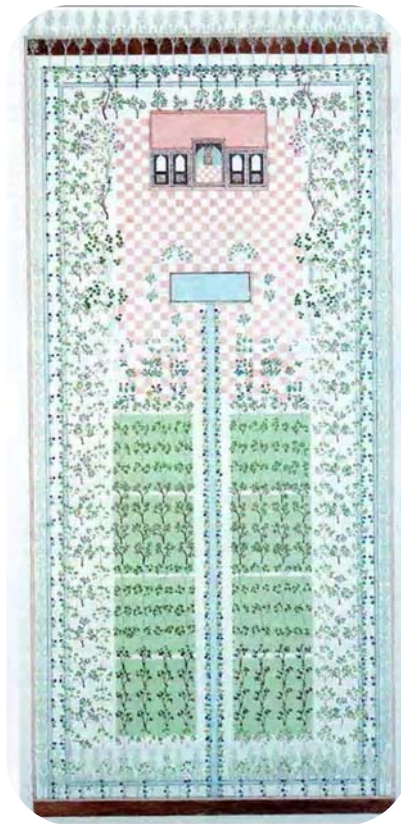


Figure 1.5: Plan of the *Chaharbagh*, as described in the treatise *Irshad Alzerae*, drawn by Mahvash Alemi, (Source: Courtesy of Mahvash Alemi)

⁹⁴ Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, p.3.

⁹⁵ D. Fairchild Ruggles, 'Humayun's Tomb and Garden: Typologies and Visual Order', in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1997), pp. 173-86..p.175.

⁹⁶ One of the Iranian horticulturists was Mirak Seyed Ghiyas, who inspired the author of *Irshad Alzerae*, lived in Herat. He served as garden designer in to the Timurid ruler, Sultan Husaini Baygara Mirza (1469-1506) and later to Uzbek khan until his death after 1550. Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, p.38.

⁹⁷ Ghasem Y A Heravi, *Irshad Alzerae*, (Tehran: Amirkabir, 1356 SH/1977).

instruction about the cultivation variety of trees and plants in gardens.⁹⁸ Both *Irshad Alzerae*, and *Marefat Falahat* were inspired by *Varz Nameh* written by Greek author, Cassianus Bassus in the 7th century.⁹⁹

Until recently, it is largely accepted that *chaharbagh* layout means that the garden is divided into the four quarters by the intersection of two main axes of water courses or walkways and usually defining four equal quadrants. However, some researchers such as Alemi challenged this issue warranting more research to define what exactly *chaharbagh* refers to.

Bagh (garden)

The common term which refers to a pleasant, prosperously planted place is *Bagh* (باغ) that is originally common between Persian and Arabic language and its plural forms is *Bigan* (بیغان).¹⁰⁰ It is claimed that it used in Pahlavi and Sogdians Language. Many linguists are of the belief that the word root of *Bagh* (باغ) is *bāg* (بغ) or *bāk* (بک) and used in Zoroastrian's book (*Avesta*) in the form of *baga* or *bāg*. *Bagh* also means forgiveness¹⁰¹ or division¹⁰² and hold the sacred meaning. But in the wall carving of Persepolis it refers to god. This word as a common meaning of garden reappeared in general use from the 11th century in the Seljuk dynasty.¹⁰³ In Persian dictionary, *Bagh* defines as 'a large land usually surrounded by a wall in which flowers, fruit trees and vegetables are cultivated'.¹⁰⁴ Nowadays *Bagh* is indifferently applied to any type of royal gardens or private large orchards (usually more than 2000 square meters). It could be used as a place of leisure and pleasure or as a source of revenue (e.g. fruit gardens). Thus the terms of yard (*Hayat*) or courtyard (*Hayat Dakheli*) are different from garden (*Bagh*) in Iran. In this thesis, the word '*Bagh*' uses as an interchangeable synonym of 'garden'.

⁹⁸ Abdol Ali M Birjandi, *Marefat Falaht; Davazdah Bab Keshavarzi (Agricultural Knowledge)*, (Tehran: Miras Maktub, 1387 SH/2008).

⁹⁹ For *Varz Nameh*, see. Cassianus Bassus, *Varz Nameh*, (Tehran: Markaz Nashr-e- Daneshgahi, 1388 SH/2009).

¹⁰⁰ Persian dictionary Dehkhoda, s.v. "bagh" باغ, < <http://www.loghatnaameh.org/dehkhodaworddetail-5884bf6cfee9408098aef0b2bead3f2b-fa.html>>, [accessed 07 June 2012].

¹⁰¹ Jahangir Oshidari, *Daneshnameye Mazdisa (an Encyclopedia of Zoroastrianism)*, (Tehran: Nashr Markaz, 1371 SH/1992), p.167.

¹⁰² Naser Barati, 'Bagh V Baghsazi Dar Farhang Irani', *Bagh-e- Nazar (Garden of Vision)*, 2 (1383 SH/2005), p. 7.

¹⁰³ Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, and Minouch Yavari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*, (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2004), p.54.

¹⁰⁴ Mohammad Beheshti and Mehrdad Ghayumi Bidhendi, 'Dictionary of Iranian Architecture in Persian Reference Books', (Tehran: Matn, 1388 SH/2009), p.42.

***Bagh-e-Irani* (Persian Garden)**

Most of the historical gardens in Iran designed before the 19th century, have distinctive physical characteristics that define as a ‘Persian Garden’, known as *Bagh-e-Irani* in Farsi. It is frequently considered as specific style or archetype, remaining stable somehow for centuries. Some characters of Persian Gardens are common among other Mughal gardens such as having a cross-axial *chaharbagh* layout, using straight lines for creating ordered geometry and symmetry, having specific elements such as walls, pavilions, one main water channel (*Shah joy*), a central pool or tank where shade trees such as poplar, willow (*bid*), cypresses, plane trees are the dominant trees cover. Unlike gardens designed in Europe which are generally intended for promenading, Persian Garden has been often described as a place for contemplation and recreation. These gardens in terms of function could be classified into two main types: the palace or pavilion gardens and the tomb gardens.

Ta'zīyeh

Ta'zīyeh literally means ‘expression of sympathy, mourning and consolation’¹⁰⁵ it is passion plays or kind of condolence Theatre performed on *Tasua* and *Ashura* (9th and 10th of *Moharam*) for tragic of Imam Hossein¹⁰⁶ in the battle of Karbala.¹⁰⁷ This battle started in the first day of the month *Moharam* where Imam Hossein, and most of his family were killed (except for his son) by the Ummayyad caliph.



Figure 1.6: *Ta'zīyeh* rituals in Iran, <<http://nasnews.ir/صفحه-اصلي>>.[accessed 22 December 2013].

According to Chelkowski, while *Ta'zīyeh* is Islamic in appearance, ‘it is strongly Persian drawing its vital inspiration from its special political and cultural heritage’¹⁰⁸ that ‘relate to the cosmic issue of religious suffering’.¹⁰⁹ Inside Iran, *Ta'zīyeh* and *Ruze khani* (the reading of eulogies) usually have been performed at the first 10 days of the month of *Moharam* but

¹⁰⁵ Peter J. Chelkowski, 'Ta'zīyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran', (New York: New York University Press, 1979) .p.2.

¹⁰⁶ Imam Hossien (A.S), is the grandson of prophet Muhammad and the third Shi'a Imam

¹⁰⁷ Imam Hossein (A.S) opposed the Sunni majority and their caliph, Yazid, who was considered as ‘illegitimate ruler’ by Shi'a Muslims. Yazid's troops pursued Hussein from Medina to Mecca, then to Kufa. In Kufa, Yazid's troops ambushed Hussein along with a group of his supporters and family. Maria Salva, 'Twentieth-Century Transformations in Iranian Ta'zīyeh: Religion, Modernism, and Revolution', (Unpublished Master thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2013).

¹⁰⁸ Peter Chelkowski, 'Majlis-I Shahinshah-I Iran Nasir Al-Din Shah', in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change (1800-1925)*, ed. by Edmund Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), pp. 229-42..p.1.

¹⁰⁹ Salva., 'Twentieth-Century Transformations in Iranian Ta'zīyeh: Religion, Modernism, and Revolution', p.3.

might last until the end of month. In the theatrical ritual, the *Ta'ziyeh* group play the events happened in Karbala to the audience to make the event more tangible (Figure 1.6). Throughout the *Ta'ziyeh* 'the actors of drama express their sorrow and grief through the verbal text of the performance, but it is the people in the audience who provide the explicit, forceful, and sometimes violent expression of grief and mourning which is absent from the performance representation'.¹¹⁰ During the course of time, changes occurred in *Ta'ziyeh* performance, musical instruments,¹¹¹ and type of the reading of eulogies.

Nowrouz

Nowrouz, literally the New Day ('Now' in Farsi means New and 'Rouz' means Day), is Iranian New Year starting at the time of the spring solstice (usually 21 March). This day is considered as the first day of official year in Iranian Solar calendar, followed by 13 days holidays. Dating back to Achaemenid Empire (550-330 BC), it was the ancient Zoroastrian Festival that continues, with few changes, till now in Iran. Traditionally, on the eve of New Year, Iranians gather around the table setting



Figure 1.7 : Paints and oils painting depicting *Sofre Haft sin*, drawn by Hussein Sheikh- Kakh-e Abyaz (Source: Courtesy of the Anthropology Museum, Golestan garden- Number of property: 1268)

known as '*sofre haftsini*' (Figure 1.7), consisting of seven symbolic items started with letter 'S' (س) in Farsi alphabet. While it is asserted that it was originally *Haft Shin* in Zoroastrian tradition and then converted to *Haft Sin*, now this seven items include: *sabze* (kind of wheat or lintel sprouts) as a symbol of rebirth in new season; *samanou* (kind of sweet made of wheat); *sib* (apple) symbol of health; *sir* (Garlic) as a symbol of medicine; *serke* (vinegar) as a symbol of age or patience; *somagh* (Sumac) as a symbol of colour of sunrise. Other symbolic items that might be appeared in *haftsini* table are: *Sonbol* (Hyacinthus plant); *seke* (coins) as a symbol of wealth; *tong mahi germez* (bowl of gold fish) as a sign of Pisces. Iranians start their New Year usually by reciting some verses of Holy Qur'an and/or Hafez reading (*tafaol bar Hafez*), embracing and greeting, exchanging gift (*Eidi*), that follows by having traditional food such as *Sabzi polo ba mahi*. In the 13th day of *Nowrouz*, the last day of national holiday

¹¹⁰ According to Beeman 'indeed the audience is exhorted to weep for their own sins, their own troubles, remembering how much greater was the suffering of Hussein and his follower'. William O. Beeman, 'Cultural Dimensions of Performance Conventions in Iranian Ta'ziyeh', in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. by Peter J. Chelkowski, pp. 24-31., p.26.

¹¹¹ For more information, see. Anayatullah Shahidi, 'Literary and Musical Developments in the Ta'ziyeh', in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. by Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1979), p.43.

calling *sizdah bedar* (means to pass the bad luck of the 13th day), Iranians spend a day in nature and gardens at family picnics. In 2009, *Nowrouz* was registered on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage List of humanity.

The next section will turn to review of the outline of this research, and set out how it responds to the challenges identified above.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The current chapter has already set out the research context, the research problems and questions, the aims and objectives, methods, definitions of relevant terms, and thesis structure. It will conclude by indicating a number of limitations and challenges that have been experienced during this study. **Chapter Two** reviews the literature that provides a background to the study and will help the development of later discussion. It will be divided into three main parts. The first part gives a brief picture of the development of historical gardens from the pre-Islamic (500 BC) to the Pahlavi era (1979). The second part aims to broaden the knowledge and understanding of the dilemmas facing privately owned gardens and house courtyards as a result of increasing land prices. This context is important in order to explain the market-oriented approach underlying much recent policy and decision making affecting conservation and regeneration schemes in Iran. The third part of Chapter Two looks at the maturation of approaches towards heritage conservation at international level and then relates these to the situation in Iran. The chapter ends with a brief summary of themes emerging from the literature and cross-references these to the analysis that takes place through the case studies.

Chapters **Three to Five** construct the main core of the thesis, and are devoted to the case studies which trace the impacts of political shifts and different applied approaches on the destinies of three types of gardens before and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. As already explained above, this analysis will be done by employing three types of gardens (royal gardens, the gardens of the nobility, and a tomb garden). Case studies are undertaken and presented independently in these three chapters, but connected together in the discussion that follows them, in order to provide the basis of knowledge about the impacts of the main changes by making comparisons between various applied approaches. Each case study chapter starts by giving relevant historical background before setting out a particular analysis

in more detail. All of the case study chapters end by summarising how and why the various dimensions of gardens have been changed, and what has remained unchanged.

Chapter Three specifically addresses the royal gardens of Tehran, which were created in the Qajar era during the 19th century. The Golestan garden has been selected as the case study to support analysis of the transformations which have taken place in royal gardens, mainly from the Pahlavi regime to the Islamic Republic. This case study is of the only surviving Qajar royal garden in Tehran that is already open to the public. It serves as the best and arguably the most complex example of royal gardens, which, unlike the other gardens, experienced different political stages, as it was a centre of governance for the seven Qajar rulers and the two Pahlavi kings. This case study depicts how the differentiations of the authorities' attitudes towards bygone regimes have affected the garden. In the first part of the chapter, after setting out the historical background, the rituals of piety and regality and the function of the Golestan garden are studied from the point of view of the Qajar kings. Then the chapter goes on to delve into the ways in which the Golestan garden went through multiple changes as a result of subsequent indirect or direct factors during the 20th century.

Chapter Four scrutinizes the gardens of the nobility in Shiraz, and studies the impact of two contradictory approaches on these private gardens. The gardens in Shiraz are representative depictions of the changing dimensions of private gardens as a result being transformed into public places. The focus of this chapter is to explore the effect of changes in these gardens brought about by the inauguration of the Arts Festival in 1967, an event that was eventually terminated by the establishment of the Islamic Republic. The chapter details the many ways in which these gardens, through various policies and agendas, were turned into tourist attraction sites and how their previous uses were replaced by modern ones during the post-revolutionary period. The chapter shows the various ways through which the manipulation by the regimes determined a different life for the private gardens of Shiraz.

Chapter Five is the case study of the Qadamgah tomb garden, and mainly focuses on the superior role of belief and the interest of Iranians in the conservation of gardens belonging to Shi'a *Imamzadeh* and saints. In terms of the attitude and approach towards garden conservation, these kinds of gardens differ greatly from the other gardens studied. The Qadamgah garden in particular is selected as a physical representation of the Shi'a Iranians' beliefs in their eighth Imam. This garden exemplifies the interplay between religious places and people, and represents those gardens that are managed by such powerful religious

authority — namely *Awqaf* (Endowment Organisations) — that the national government cannot not easily interfere in these activities.

Chapter Six brings together the main issues derived from the case study chapters in order to present an overall comparison between the impact of various approaches on the material, symbolic and socio-cultural dimensions of gardens. Having discussed the impact of political events and the approaches on gardens with reference to the three case studies, it offers important original contributions to knowledge of the effects of different treatment of gardens in Iran. By summarising the key findings, the final section highlights the various efficiencies or weaknesses of various approaches, in order to set out some key recommendations for policy-makers and managers. The chapter ends with suggestions for garden conservation that pick up from a number of derived lessons in the case study chapters, as well as addressing further suggestions for future researchers.

Limitations

As explained earlier in this chapter, the most significant obstacle confronting this research was data collection during the fieldwork trips. It was a much more time-consuming process than expected. This was mainly due to the scarcity of data, maps, and documentation, and the absence of reliable and updated information on this subject, as well as the geographical dispersal of archival and library sources: thus this researcher had to gather, recount, modify and reassess all the published and unpublished materials in different ways.

Moreover, this study has largely restricted itself to the study of those formal gardens in legal governmental ownership that are open to the public. Despite the significance of the many gardens still in private ownership, they have not been included here beyond their brief mention in the context of the dilemma facing these gardens as this is explained in Chapter Two. Due to their various ownership-types, these gardens do not fall within the same administrative systems as those discussed in detail here, and consequently deserve separate research. The majority of these gardens belong to high-income class, and the distinction between these and middle-income samples in different climatic situation warrants further detailed analysis.

While the agricultural and horticultural issues clearly form part of the broader complex of factors associated with the growth and loss of gardens in Iran, this study did not intend to

address these issues due to the limitations of time and lack of academic background of the author. Here again, the analyses of the roles of those organisations involved mean these issues cannot be fully taken into account without changing significantly the scope of the study. Finally, across the whole of the research, a general lack of cooperation from site managers, poor archival resources and documents that are not easily available to researchers, time consuming bureaucratic procedures, and a reluctance or refusal on the part of individuals to be interviewed, have also proved limitations facing this research. However, it is possible for the work started here to be continued and strengthened as and when further documents become available.



Introduction

In response to the main aims of the research, this chapter aims to provide the general background for this study through reviewing the relevant literature by considering the different gardens' issues in 20th century Iran. It is divided into three main sections. The first part will selectively overview the historical development of gardens mainly belonging to the Persian kings. Except for the Pahlavi gardens that are always eliminated from garden studies, the materials for this part have been gathered from those secondary sources that are largely studied under the rubric of Persian Garden (*bagh-e-Irani*). In addition to asserting the historical importance of gardens, revisiting the historical development of gardens also gives insight into how the physical shape of royal gardens had been transformed over the 20th century, reflecting the differing taste of kings. This survey of the rise and fall of palace gardens up until the end of monarchy in 1979 will be followed by a second section that briefly addresses the dilemmas facing gardens and courtyard houses in private ownership. It aims to depict the reason for ongoing process of gardens' demolition in the 20th century. The issues raised in this section are part of the story, providing an example of kinds of larger threats to gardens and public space today. What I refer to as gardens in this part are those vernacular gardens, or orchards in the countryside, which remain as private properties (either with residential or garden functions), and they help to clarify the forthcoming case studies that enjoy legal public ownership, which will be discussed in detail in Chapters Three, Four and Five. The third part of the present Chapter will outline the evolution of attitudes and policies towards cultural heritage and landscape at an international level and in the context of Asia. While in the earlier form of guidelines, the values addressed by conservation and cultural heritage policies resided in the form and materials of heritage, in the new paradigm it is the intangible aspects that should be protected in parallel with perpetuation of the physical consideration.¹ In step with this changing of attitudes towards cultural heritage, the approach of this study has benefited from literature that argues for a shift in or broadening of focus from physical and tangible to intangible aspects of heritage, and placing emphasis on the role of people in the process of dynamic conservation. Then finally the section will pay attention to an understanding of changing attitudes and policies towards monumental heritage, cultural landscape and gardens in the context of Iran to depict the limitations upon and challenges faced by the conservation of cultural heritage in general.

¹ Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon, 'Prospect and Challenges for Cultural Landscape Management', in *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, ed. by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 345-64.(p.362).

Historical development of gardens (550 BC-1950s)

Pre-Islamic Persian Gardens (550 BC-651 AD): Achaemenid Empire (550BC-330 BC)

There is little known for certain about the time when gardens were originally created in what is now Iran. Historical documents depict that there was communication among three civilization of Mesopotamia, the Indus valley and Iranian plateau.² Ancient pottery dating back to 2000 BC³ that was discovered by Ernst Emil Herzfeld⁴ during his archaeological excavation depicted a garden divided into four sections.⁵ However, apart from old earthenware depicting the four divisions (Figure 2.1), based on archaeological records, the



Figure 2.1: buff earthenware discovered in Sialk belonging to 1st Millennium BC, depicting four-fold layout in its left side (Source: Mohammad Y Kiani, *Sofalinehaye Irani (Iranian Pottery)* (Tehran: Special Publication of the Prime Ministry of Iran, 1978),p.71)

first formal designed garden was created in Pasargadae, the capital of the Achaemenid Empire (550-330 BC).⁶ Being located on the Morghab plain, 130 km northeast of Shiraz, the royal garden of Pasargadae, perhaps is the earliest known archetype of *chaharbagh*, remaining as the most persistent innovation of the Achaemenid Empire. In comparison to the previous royal gardens created during the Mesopotamian civilization (3100-539 BC) innovation in terms of design and hydraulic system were added in this royal garden.⁷ Cyrus the Great (559–529 BC), ‘King of the Four Quarters’⁸ or in the words of Moynihan ‘the greatest gardener of the ancient worlds,’⁹ determined to build his capital full of gardens and

² Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, (London: Scolar Press, 1980), p.7.

³ Vita Sackville-West, 'Persian Garden', in *The Legacy of Persia*, ed. by Arthur John Arberry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p.403.

⁴ Herzfeld, a German Professor of Oriental studies at the University of Berlin, was invited by the NRS to take up the position of Librarian for Tehran’s Antiquities Museum. His PhD project was concerned with the Pasargadae site and in 1930 he was granted the rights to conduct the archaeological excavations at Persepolis. For more information about the activities and role of Herzfeld in heritage affairs in Iran see: Talinn Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005), pp .61–70.

⁵ It is asserted that that a common belief of division of the earth into quarter had reflected the concept of four division of Persian garden in the pre-Islamic era. Abbas Massoudi, *Bazshenasi Bagh-Irani: Bagh-E-Shazdeh (Acquaintance with Iranian Gardens: Bagh-E-Shazdeh)*, (Tehran: Faza Publication; Scientific and Cultural Institute, 2009) , p.37.

⁶ David Stronach, 'Parterres and Stone Watercourses at Pasargadae: Notes on the Achaemenid Contribution to Garden Design', *The Journal of Garden History*, 14 (1994).; David Stronach, 'Pasargadae', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York, 2009). < <http://www.iranica.com/articles/pasargadae>> (2009), [accessed 20 January 2011].

⁷ Babylonian or Assyrian royal gardens had always been separated or had been a complementary part of the palace. However, palaces of Cyrus, with their elongated porticos and their surrounding open spaces, served as the complement of a comprehensive project in which the garden, in a sense, became a royal residence. David Stronach, 'The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy', *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis*, 1 (1989).

⁸ Stronach, 'Pasargadae.'

⁹ Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a garden in Persia and Mughul India* .p .11.

its major buildings and palaces were indeed built inside extensive gardens. Strabo illustrated the conditions of the foundations of Pasargadae in these terms:

Cyrus held Pasargadae in honour, because he there conquered Astyages the Mede in his last battle, transferred to himself the empire of Asia, founded a city and constructed a palace as a memorial of his victory.¹⁰

Xenophon, a Greek essayist and historian, who visited Persia in 401 BC, said that Cyrus filled the garden or ‘*paradeisos*’ with ‘all good and beautiful things that the earth wishes to put forth.’¹¹ David Stronach, who excavated the Pasargadae site from 1961-1963, asserted that ‘Royal Garden c.300*250 m in size, ‘appear to have had only three formal points of entry; Palace P itself, Pavilion A at the east corner, and Pavilion (B) at the south corner of the garden.’¹² Stronach recorded that ‘stone water channel with regularly spaced rectangular basins on three sides, as well as the axis of sight extending from the throne room through the centre of garden, led to support [the assertion] that the area has been divided into four sections by intersecting watercourses.’¹³ The total area of Pasargadae garden, extending along Pulvar River,¹⁴ was 8 hectares, and comprised of private palaces, watercourses, the Audience Palace (S), the gate house (which had a Winged Man carved on its surviving doorjamb), a pavilion (A) in the east of the garden, pavilion (B) in the south of the garden, and also a bridge that was called *Shahi* (royal) bridge, as their location is shown in Figure 2.2.¹⁵ This garden (*pairidaeza*), which was integrated into the palaces and is irrigated by Pulvar river, was always appreciated by Greek historians¹⁶ as one of the most external manifestation of Persian wealth and luxury.¹⁷ According to Stronach, palace (A) and (B) ‘have rectangular

¹⁰ Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander : A History of the Persian Empire*, (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002).p.85.

¹¹ Maureen Carroll, *Earthly Paradises : Ancient Gardens in History and Archaeology*, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003),.p.49; Louise Wickham, *Gardens in History : A Political Perspective*, ([Oxford?]: Windgather Press ; Oakville, CT : [Distributor] David Brown Book Co, c2012), p.17.

¹² David Stronach, *Pasargadae : A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*, (Oxford [Eng.] ; New York: Clarendon Press, 1978), p.110.

¹³ David Stronach, ‘Parterres and stone Watercourses at Pasargadae: Notes on the Achaemenid Contribution to Garden Design,’ *Journal of garden History* 14(1994):3-12, quoted in Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, (Philadelphia, Pa. : Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press ; University Presses Marketing [distributor], 2008),. p.40

¹⁴ Mahvash Alemi, ‘Princely Safavid Gardens, Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy,’ in *The Middle East Garden Traditions : Unity and Diversity : Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), pp.113-137, (p.120).

¹⁵ Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, and Minouch Yavari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*, (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2004). p.36; Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, ‘Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens’, (Tehran: ICHHTO, 2011),. p.78.

¹⁶ Also, in Socratic Discourse, the Oeconomicus, Xenophon the Greece historian, recorded that Lysander, who visited the garden of Cyrus at Sardis, marvelled at trees that ‘finely and evenly planted’ and the way which everything was ‘exact and arranged at right angles.’ David Stronach, ‘Čahārbāg’, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1990).< <http://www.iranica.com/articles/caharbag-lit>>.[accessed 20 January 2011]; Moynihan, *Paradise as a garden in Persia and Mughul India*, p.1; Sackville-West, ‘Persian Garden,’ p.260.

¹⁷ Briant., *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, p.86.

rather than square. Garden Pavilion (B), 'is located 120 m to the north of Palace S,' approximately 11.7*10.15 m in area.'¹⁸

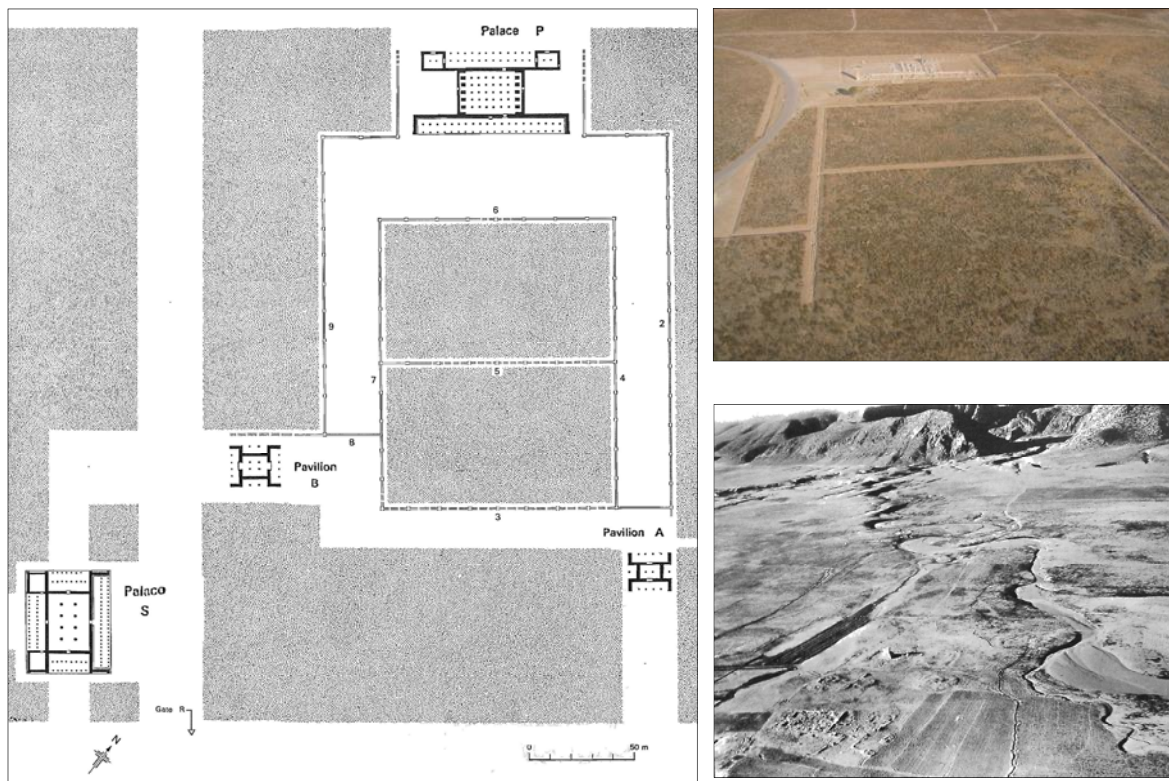


Figure 2.2: Left: Sketch plan of Pasargadae drawn by Stronach, (Source: D. Stronach, 'The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the near East in the First Millennium BC,' *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 4 (1990), p.175); Right: Aerial photo of Pasargadae garden. (Source: Courtesy of Archive of Deputy of World Heritage of Site).

After 40 years, 'Pasargadae was succeeded by Persepolis.'¹⁹ According to Stronach, Darius the Great (550-486 BC), determined to have a garden that was different from the Pasargadae garden in Persepolis (Takht-e-Jamshid). It is assumed that in the east of his palace, there was a garden with a platform facade²⁰ and with water channels. Persepolis was burned by Alexander in 330 BC, however, what remains today in repetitive stone carvings of lotus flower, upright cypress and pine trees and leaves of Persepolis²¹ bears evidence of the grandeur and the harmony of Achaemenid *pairidaeza* at that time (Figure 2.2)²²The extant

¹⁸ Stronach, *A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*, p.110.

¹⁹ Ernst E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, (London, 1935), pp.28-9.

²⁰ David Stronach, 'Sheklgiri Bagh Pasargard V Tasir an Dar Baghsai Iran (the Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy in Archiological Iranica Et Oreintalis Miscellanea', *Asar*, 22,23 (1371SH/1992), p.62.

²¹ Latif Abolghasemi, 'Hanjar Bagh-E-Irani (Norm of Persian Garden)', in *Majmoye Maghalat Kongere Tarikh Memari Va ShahrSazi Iran*, ed. by Bagher A Shirazi (Tehran: ICHO, 1374 SH/1995), pp. 281-93,(p .282);

²² Penelope Hobhouse, *Gardens of Persia*, ([San Diego]: Kales Press, 2004), p.52.

grounds of a palace belonging to Artaxerxes II (435 -358 BC) situated at Susa ‘may be more confidently associated with a quadripartite plan.’²³



Figure 2.3: Left: General view of Persepolis, Right: Bas-relief of the Apadana palace in Persepolis. It shows the archers faced a pine tree.

The Gardens of the Sassanian Empire (224–651)

Alexander, by burning Persepolis in about 330 BC, brought about an inglorious end to the greatness of the Persian Empire.²⁴ Since that time, the Seleucids (317 BC–138 AD) sought to control the Iranian plateau; after the period of Hellenism, the Parthian dynasty (247 BC–224 AD) ruled Persia. They built their palaces in a similar way to the Achaemenid, with large artificial terraces surrounded by gardens.²⁵ In this period, the characteristic element of *Iwan* was formed, which is a semi-open space enclosed on three sides by supporting walls and open on the fourth: this became the most prominent feature of Islamic architecture, especially in palace gardens and mosques. The Sassanian Empire (224–651), the second principal Persian Empire after the Achaemenid, was famous for constructions of palaces and gardens from the Euphrates to Afghanistan,²⁶ and preferred ‘the Achaemenid *pairidaeza* which they maintained as vast hunting parks.’²⁷ Khosrow I (531–579), the greatest king of the Sassanian, improved agriculture and began a program of land reclamation. Bridges, dams and aqueducts forming a complex irrigation system were constructed throughout Iran.²⁸ As Zoroastrianism was the dominant religion at that time and due to water’s sanctity in that religion,²⁹ the palace gardens such as Takht-e-Soleyman (Trone of Soleyman), Firuzabad in Fars (Figure 2.4) and Taq-e-Bustan were all positioned near natural springs.³⁰ Taq-e-Kasra was the earliest

²³ Stronach. ČHĀHARBĀG.

²⁴ When Alexander looted and destroyed Persepolis in 330 BC, he stayed at Pasargadae, to demonstrate public admiration for Cyrus’s memory.

²⁵ Khansari, Moghtader, and Yavari. *The Persian garden : echoes of paradise*, p.46.

²⁶ Hobhouse., *Gardens of Persia*, p.3.

²⁷ Moynihan. *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, p.30.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.35

²⁹ For detail discussion regarding the influence of Zoroastrian on Persian Gardens, See. Appendix C.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.30

example of a building situated in a royal garden.³¹ It was as ‘elliptical arch soaring 120 feet above the ground which covered the king’s audience hall.’³² The most splendid carpet called ‘Spring of Khosrow’ or the ‘Winter Carpet’ in Khosrow’s Throne Hall contained the motif of the design of the royal garden.³³ Its design ‘was divided into flower beds and water channels which intersect at a pavilion’³⁴ and was captured by Arabs in 635.

Shapur II (310-379) built an enclosed garden named Takht-e- Soleyman in the northwest Iran ³⁵ that was later ruined by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in about 624. Khosrow II, in Qasr-e-Shirin, constructed another enclosed garden for his Armenian wife, Shirin.

The nature of this garden is unknown, but as evidence from archaeology records, ‘the terrace of the great pool which lay between the palace and monumental entrance portal set in the east side of the enclosing walk of the *pairidaeza* that it comprise vistas.’ ³⁶ Although most of their garden has disappeared, the remains of rock-carvings of Taq-e-Bostan depict the details of a royal hunt which illustrates the use of hunt gardens by the Sassanians.³⁷ Arab historians recorded that these gardens were ‘overlooked by arcaded passage and cool rooms’ that were laid out in a three-hundred acre walled area. ³⁸

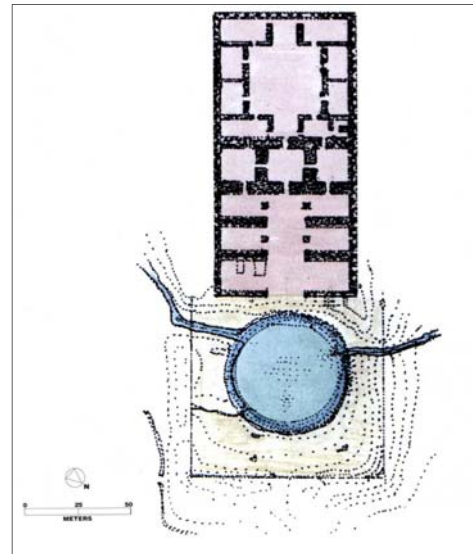


Figure 2.4: Plan and general view of remains of Firuzabad palace, (Source: Khansari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise* .p.46), reproduced by permission of the Mage publishers.

³¹ Hobhouse, *Gardens of Persia*, p.60.

³² Khansari, Moghtader, and Yavari. *The Persian garden : echoes of paradise*, p.49.

³³ Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, pp.32-5; Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, Minouch Yavari, *The Persian garden : echoes of paradise*, p.12.

³⁴ Hobhouse, cited above, p.60.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.62.

³⁶ Ralph Pinder Wilson, 'The Persian Garden: Bagh and Chahar Bagh', in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. by Elisabeth B. Macdougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1976), p.73.

³⁷ Moynihan, cited above, p.35.

³⁸ Khansari, Moghtader, and Yavari. *The Persian garden : echoes of paradise*, p.49.

Gardens during the Islamic era: from the 7th century to the early 16th century

After a series of wars with the Romans, the power of the Sassanian Empire declined, and the Arab-Muslims finally defeated them in 642. Converted from Zoroastrianism to Islam, Persia was one of the prominent countries that accepted Islam as the official religion. The Islamic architecture including the garden design was influenced by Persian civilization. The *chaharbagh* garden, as the earthly counterpart of the Qur'anic garden promised to believers,³⁹ spread with Islam and Arab conquerors throughout other countries such as Egypt, Spain and the Maghreb.⁴⁰ Archaeologists have found the garden from the time of the Umayyad caliph Hashem (724-743) at the gypsum walled city of Rusafa in Syria, which could be considered the earliest example of the *chaharbagh* garden after the advent of Islam. Moreover, an archaeological survey in Abassid city of Sammera in Iraq depicts another enclosed garden with its crossed waterworks dating back to the mid-9th century. According to Fairchild Ruggles, when the Umayyad dynasty ruled Syria, and later during Hispano-Umayyad's reign in the Iberian Peninsula, the *chaharbagh* plan was at the heart of the territory's symbolism.⁴¹

However, in Persia, there is no specific archaeological record to depict the earliest *chaharbagh* after the birth of Islam. After the Arab domination the Buyid (933-1055), was the first national and Muslim dynasty, who selected Shiraz as their capital and many gardens and palaces in the countryside were created. Following that, the Turko-Persian rulers, the Seljuk Empire (1037–1194) ruled the most of central Asia including Persia. During the reign of Malikshah, the golden age of Seljuk dynasty, four gardens were built in his capital, Isfahan, namely Bagh-e-Krana, Bagh-e-Ahmad, Bagh-e-Bakr and Bagh-e-Fallasan.⁴² Furthermore, Atabak Qaracheh, who was appointed by Seljuk Sultan Sanjar (511 AH/1118 to 522 AH/1153) as the governor of Fars, constructed many pavilion gardens in Shiraz.

The massive invasion of the Mongol Empire, who ruled from China to Persia in the mid-13th century and occupied the East of Iran in 1218, led to destruction of many monuments and cities in Persia. The West was also attacked by Changiz's grandson and many irrigation systems were knocked down. After the death of Changiz, the Mongol Empire was divided into four smaller dynasties. The Mongol-Ilkhandis (1256-1353), descendants of Changiz,

³⁹ Moynihan. *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, pp.39-41.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.39-41; Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity : The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1979) ;Wilson, 'The Persian Garden:Bagh and Chahar Bagh,' p.73.

⁴¹ Ruggles. *Islamic gardens and landscapes*, pp.45-8.

⁴² Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, Minouch Yavari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*, p.54.

ruled Iran and established a constant administration.⁴³ As Mongols had no specific culture or religion of their own, they adopted these from the countries which they occupied. Being imbued with Persian culture,⁴⁴ Mongols also adopted the style of Persian Garden.⁴⁵ New plants such as the peony were introduced from China into Persia by them; according to Elizabeth Moynihan, the peony became a dominant flower in Persian Gardens.⁴⁶ In 1302, an enclosed garden — the Golden Horde — was laid out by Ilkhanid near Tabriz, which was constructed for feasts. Consisted of a pavilion, a central water tank and meadows, flanked by surrounding towers, a bath and lofty buildings, this kind of garden was developed by the Ilkhanid in order to respond to his tribe's traditions of a nomadic encampment.⁴⁷

After the Mongol-Ilkhanid period, Timur (Tamerlane), who was also descended from the Mongols, founded the Timurid dynasty (1307-1506).⁴⁸ After he conquered many cities, he concentrated more on the development of his capital, Samarqand.⁴⁹ Having special interest in Persian Gardens, many great gardens in Samarqand were constructed upon Timur's order. These gardens were named similarly to those gardens in other Islamic cities, such as Shiraz. These were: Bagh-e-Takht-e-Qaracheh, Bagh-e-Jahan Nama, Bagh-e-Delgosha, and the fourth, Bagh-e-Eram.⁵⁰ Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador of the King, went to Samarqand in 1404, described many royal festivities in the tents and palace gardens.⁵¹ When Timur's descendants established the Mughal dynasty in India, the active Timurid use of gardens was expanded, and reached its height of development throughout India. While the Timurid ruled the East, the Turkaman governed the West of Persia. According to Josafa Barbaro, the ambassador of the Uzan Hasan (1466-1478), who was the founder of Turkaman, constructed the Hasht Behesht garden (Eight Paradise) with an octagonal pavilion in Tabriz. Due to earthquakes and wars, none of these gardens has survived.⁵² The reign of Turkaman was ended by Shah Ismail, the founder of Safavid, in the early 16th century.

⁴³ Ruggles, *Islamic gardens and landscapes*, p.67; Moynihan., *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, p.47.

⁴⁴ Susan Jellicoe, 'The Development O the Mughal Garden', in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. by Elisabeth B.Macdougall and Richard Erringhusen (Washington: Dumbaton Oaks, 1976).

⁴⁵ Norah M. Titley, *Plants and Gardens in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art*, (London: British Library, 1979), p.21.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, pp.47-49

⁴⁷ Wilson, *The Persian Garden: Bagh and Chahar Bagh*, p.76-77.

⁴⁸ According to Yazdi, when Timur invaded Persia in 1380, he determined to reside in Qaracheh garden in Shiraz. Sharafo Din Yazdi, *Zafarnameh (Book of Victory)*, (Tehran: Tehran press, 1958).,p.437 .quoted in Amrolah Safavi, 'Bagh V Bagh Arayi Dar Iran'(Garden and Gardening in Iran)', *Faslname Honar*, 11 (1986).,p.198.This could be the reason for adaptation the name of Shiraz's gardens in Samarqand.

⁴⁹ Samarqand now is the second largest city in Uzbekistan.

⁵⁰ Sharaf al Din Yazdi reported that after Timur returned to Samarqand, he ordered to build four gardens that their names borrowed from the Shiraz' gardens. Yazdi. *Zafarnameh (Book of Victory)*.

⁵¹ Donald Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, p.24; Norah M Titley, *Plants and gardens in Persian, Mughal and Turkish art*, p.23.

⁵² Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, p.52.

Safavid gardens (1501–1736)

The Safavid dynasty,⁵³ known as the golden era of Islamic history in Iran, was established by Ismail in 1501 and he selected the title of ‘Shah’ (King) as the rulers of Persia. After the Arab conquest in the 7th century and in almost 900 years of foreign domination, the Safavids revived Persian sovereignty as native rulers, dominating most parts of Persia.⁵⁴ Followed by the continuous victories against the Ottomans and occupying, what is now Armenia and Kurdistan in 1515-16, Shah Ismail spent the rest of his life retreating in royal pleasures such as hunting, drinking and feasting, until his death in 1524.

The second Safavid king, Shah Tahmasp (1514-76) removed the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin because of the attack of the Ottomans Empire in 1544.⁵⁵ He was responsible for implementing the large urban program in Qazvin through the construction of a series of gardens and residential palace gardens such as Chehel Sotun, Ali Qapu and Sadadat Abad. After the completion the garden city in 1557, he ordered Abdi Bayk Navidi Shirazi to describe the royal gardens in a poem. His poetic compendium was called Jannat-e-Adan (Garden of Eden) and contained poems about flowers, fruits of gardens, and palaces from the garden. Navidi Shirazi’s poems depicted that the *Maydan*, the public open city space, and alley (*khiyaban*) were designed to glorify the royal gardens.⁵⁶ Following Shah Tahmasp’s death, the sixteen-year-old Abbas Mirza was crowned in 1587 at Chehel Sotun garden in Qazvin.⁵⁷ The Safavid state reached the peak of its power under his reign. He had a reputation not only for his political or military achievements but also for flourishing the remarkable fine and applied arts, architecture and urban planning.

By transferring the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan,⁵⁸ which had previously been known as Sepahan or Esbahan, new urban planning in this city was established upon Shah Abbas’s order. Isfahan had been the capital of Malik Shah from 1072 to 1092 in the Seljuk dynasty.

⁵³ It is asserted that the Safavids were originally from Kurdestan, then moved to Azerbaijan and settled in Ardabil (North West of Iran) in the 11th century.

⁵⁴ E. Van Donzel, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Boston: Brill, 1998), p.765.

⁵⁵ Shah Tahmasp was a calligrapher and painter and had a strong personal taste in arts and architecture. For establishing the religious power of the groups and reinforcing his religious ideals, Shah Tahmasp extended the Atigh Mosque and restored the Panje Ali mosque.

⁵⁶ Poets of Navidi Shirazi illustrate the variety of the forms of lawn in octagonal, round and square plots. Furthermore, in some of his verses he praised the variety of plants which had come from all over the world such as some kinds of the fruits and trees. Mahvash Alemi, 'Princely Safavid Gardens, Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy', in *The Middle East Garden Traditions : Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), p.115.

⁵⁷ The gardens in Qazvin had a great impact on the creation of Shah Abbas’s palace gardens in Isfahan.

⁵⁸ According to the Greek geographer Strabo (ca.58 BC –ca.25BC), Isfahan was one of the major Achaemenid centres. Isfahan was a military camp of Sassanian as well. Heidi A Walcher, 'Between Paradise and Political Capital: The Semiotics of Safavid Isfahan', *Middle Eastern Natural Environments Journal*, 103 (1997), p.335.

However, it historically and architecturally, is most clearly identified under the Shah Abbas I's rule. Employed by Shah Abbas about 5000 skilled artisans and craftsmen,⁵⁹ many urban projects including, the *chaharbagh* Avenue, palace gardens, mosques, bazaars, *Maydan*, and bridges were construct. These architectural projects all contributed to transform Isfahan into the most world-famous city and a thriving capital in the early 17th century. The great Maydan-e-Shah or Naghsh-e-Jahan (Exemplar of the World) is 508m in length and 158m in width, and is still one of the largest public squares in the world (Figure 2.5). It is surrounded by massive buildings, such as the Masjed Shah (King Mosque), Ali Qapu, Sheikh Lotf Allah Mosque (1602-18), palace gardens (Figure 2.7) and bazaars.



Figure 2.5: Above: Painting of Naghshe-e- Jahan ,(Source: Coste, Pascal, *Monuments Modernes De La Perse* (Paris: A. Morel, 1867)). Below: Aerial view and plan of Naghsh-e- Jahan square, Isfahan.

⁵⁹ 'Encyclopaedia of Islam', ed. by E. Van Donzel (Boston: Brill, 1998), pp.765 -73.

Designing many bridges and caravanserais along the main route for travellers and allocating road guards to ensure safe commercial travel provided useful revenue, increased the number of European travellers and helped to develop trade and economic prosperity. According to John Chardin, during the Safavid era, Isfahan had 12 gates, 162 mosques, 48 religious schools (*madrasesh*), 273 public baths and 12 cemeteries and 1802 caravansaries, providing a striking comparison with other major European or Chinese cities during the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶⁰ The *chaharbagh* garden reached its apex ‘of the religious metaphysical paradisiacal garden of Islam’⁶¹ under Shah Abbas’ rule. Influenced by the Achaemenid and Timurid gardens, he decided to revive the architectural style associated with Cyrus. Many European travellers who were in Isfahan such as Engelbert Kaempfer (1684-85), Pietro Della Valle (1619), Thomas Herbert (1628) and John Chardin (1660s-70s), all described the royal gardens, art and architecture of that era. Kaempfer (1651-1716), who was in Persia for four years from 1684 to 1688,⁶² claimed that Shah Abbas designed the *chaharbagh* Avenue (Figure 2.6) to demonstrate that he was the legitimate and laudable successor of the great Cyrus.⁶³ This Avenue ‘was lined thirty gardens along its side,’⁶⁴ generally belonging to chief officials and the Shah (see Figure 2.7).

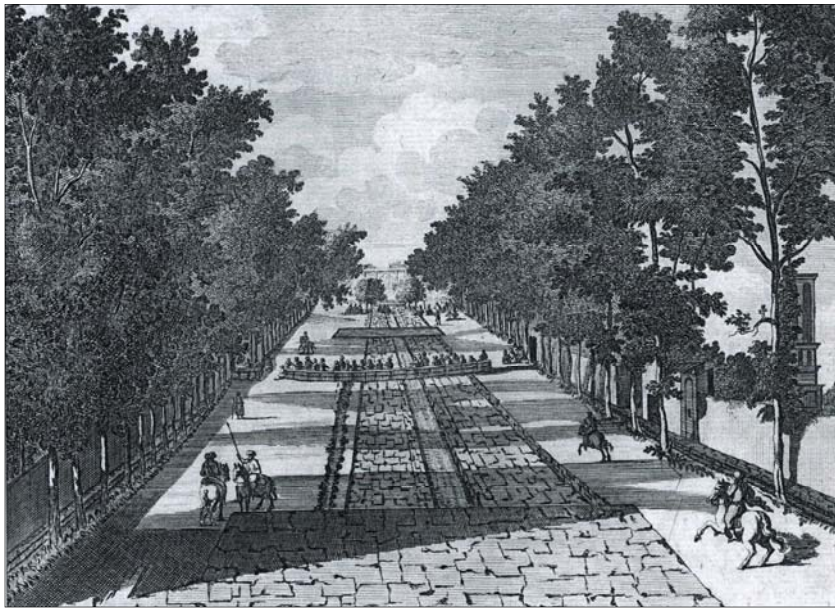


Figure 2.6 : The Chaharbagh avenue in Safavid era in Isfahan, Reprinted from Le Bruyn, Travels. (Source: Blake, Stephen P., *Half the World : The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan*, p.92)

⁶⁰ Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.176.

⁶¹ Walcher. 'Between Paradise and Political Capital: The Semiotics of Safavid Isfahan,' p.330.

⁶² Kaempfer travelled to Iran as a doctor and secretary to the embassy of the Swedish King Charles XI to the Persian court of Shah Soleiman. Mahvash Alemi, 'The Royal Gardens of the Safavi Period: Types and Models', *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, (1997), p.72.

⁶³ Engelbert Kampfer, p.198, quoted in Walcher, cited above, p.342.

⁶⁴ *ibid.* p.341.

The Ali Qapu, mentioned above as part of Naghsh-e-Jahan's development, 'is dominated by its projecting *Talar*, a colonnaded veranda more usually associated with far more private dwelling, where it would be provided as a sheltered vista toward an enclosed garden in the pool that served as a physical centre of domestic space.'⁶⁵ Bagh-e-Hezar Jarib, was another remarkable garden at Isfahan,⁶⁶ that contained approximately 500 jets of water. Shah Abbas I, also constructed six gardens,⁶⁷ in different cities in the north part of the country along the coast of the Caspian Sea, namely Farahabad, Ashrafabad, Abbasabad, Amol and Babol. Unlike the majority of Persian Gardens that were situated in barren desert areas, these gardens have benefited from the large amount of annual rain. Shah Abbas I, came annually to these gardens for royal hunting;⁶⁸ indeed, Farahabad in Mazandaran was regarded as his second capital. Pietro Della Valle, who visited Farahabad in 1618, illustrated that the 'circuit of the wall if not greater than that of the Rome and Constantinople, and that the town contained streets of more than a league in length.'⁶⁹

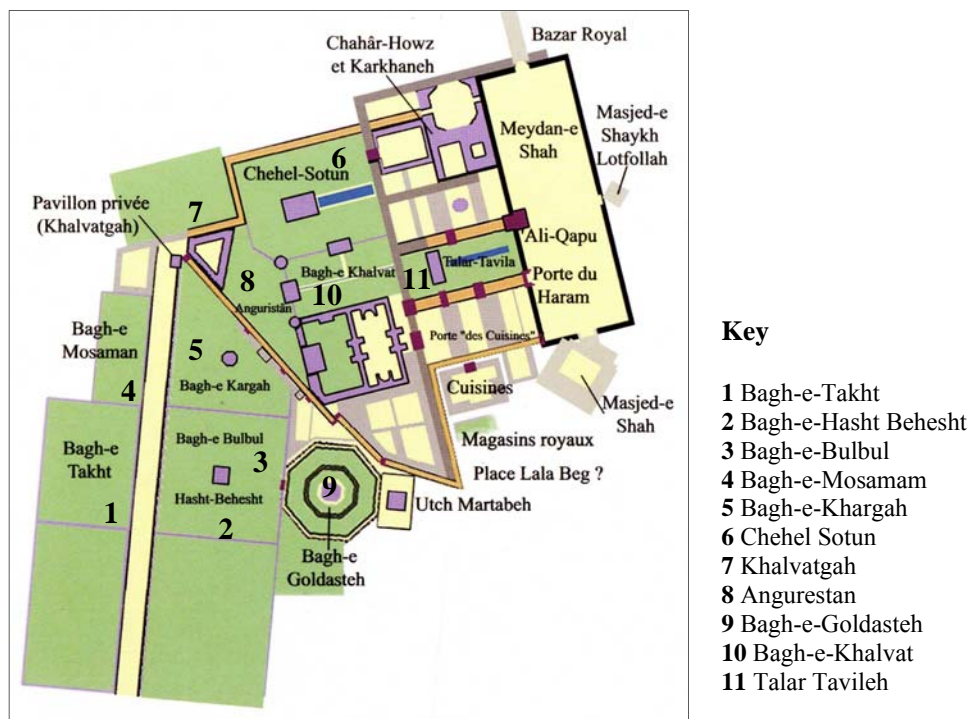


Figure 2.7: Plan of Naghsh-e-Jahan and palace gardens, according to Kaepmfer's planographia Sedis Regiae (Source: Brignoli, Jean-Do, 'The Royal Gardens of Farahabad and the Falls of Shah Sultan Husayn', in *The Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective* ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), pp. 139-53.

⁶⁵ E. van Donzel, 'The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition. Index of Proper Names to Volumes I-Ix and to the Supplement, Fascicules 1-6', (Boston: Brill, 1998), p.789.

⁶⁶ Donald N Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), p.14.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.56; Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, Minouch Yavari, *The Persian Garden: Echoes of Paradise*, p.76.

⁶⁸ Savory. *Iran under the Safavids*, p.96. It is noteworthy to mention that Taj Abad and Ghooshkhane in Isfahan and Bar Foroush and Paraste Kol in Mazandaran, were the royal hunting places for Shah Abbas I and II., see. Fatemeh Ghaziha, 'Gozaresh Shekarhaye Naser Al-Din Shah (Report of Hunting of Naser Al-Din Shah)', (Tehran: National Library and Archives of the IRI, 1390 SH/2010), p.71.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.97.

Finally Shah Abbas died at Ashraf garden in 1629. After his death, confidence in the Safavid rule began to wane. According to John Chardin, a French traveller during 1670s, 'when this great prince (Shah Abbas I) ceased to live, Persia ceased to prosper!'.⁷⁰ Since his death, Shah Safi I and Shah Abbas II built the series of palace gardens in Isfahan. Chehel Sotun and Sadabad gardens were constructed by the decree of Shah Abbas II. The Hasht Behesht garden (Eight paradises) was built upon the order of Shah Soleiman in Isfahan in about 1108 AH/1697 which borrowed its name from the garden in Tabriz (Figure 2.8). While its stone lion statues recalled decoration of Achaemenid's palaces, its extended pool were influenced by Sassanian palace setting. In the early 17th century, Chehel Sutun (forty column) and the Hasht Behesht were the most significant gardens in the country.⁷¹

During the reign of Shah Sultan Hossein (1694-1722), the last King of the Safavids, the magnificent collection of school buildings and Madarshah caravansary, Bazaar-e-Shahiand, and Farah Abad garden were constructed in Isfahan. The design of the Farah Abad garden⁷² followed the physical convention of Persian gardens with a large rectangular pool and residential pavilions in a geometric plot. This garden 'was connected to the Hezar Jarib garden by a long tree-lined promenade' that covered almost 500 acres and be even larger than other gardens.⁷³ Following the occupation of Isfahan by Afghans, Farah Abad was burned in 1722.

The Safavid's power dwindled after the Afghan invasion in 1722, and Persia entered a long period of political and social chaos.⁷⁴ Nader Shah joined forces with Soltan Hossein's son, Tahmasb II, and led the resistance against the Afghans. Finally, he defeated the Afghans in 1729 and then found the Afsharid dynasty in 1736. He ruled for 12 years and during his reign the country reached its greatest geographical extent. With the exception of his main palace in Kalat-e-Naderi, known as Qasr-e-Khorshid in Kalat, because of the conquest and war, Nader Shah did not build or reconstruct any special monuments and gardens. Dolat Abad in Yazd and Golshan garden in Tabas, also were constructed upon the order of his governors. After the fall of the Afsharid dynasty, Karim Khan, who was one of Nader Shah's generals, came to power and established the Zand dynasty in 1750. Declaring Shiraz as the capital, many

⁷⁰ Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p.266.; Wilber., *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, p.40.

⁷¹ Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, p.43.

⁷² For more detail regarding the Farah Abad garden in Isfahan, see. Jean-Do Brignoli, 'The Royal Gardens of Farahabad and the Falls of Shah Sultan Husayn', in *The Middle East Garden Traditions : Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), pp. 139-53.

⁷³ Mehdi Khansari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*, p.104.

⁷⁴ Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.37.

gardens were constructed in a similar way to the Safavids by Karim Khan, as will be mentioned in Chapter Four.

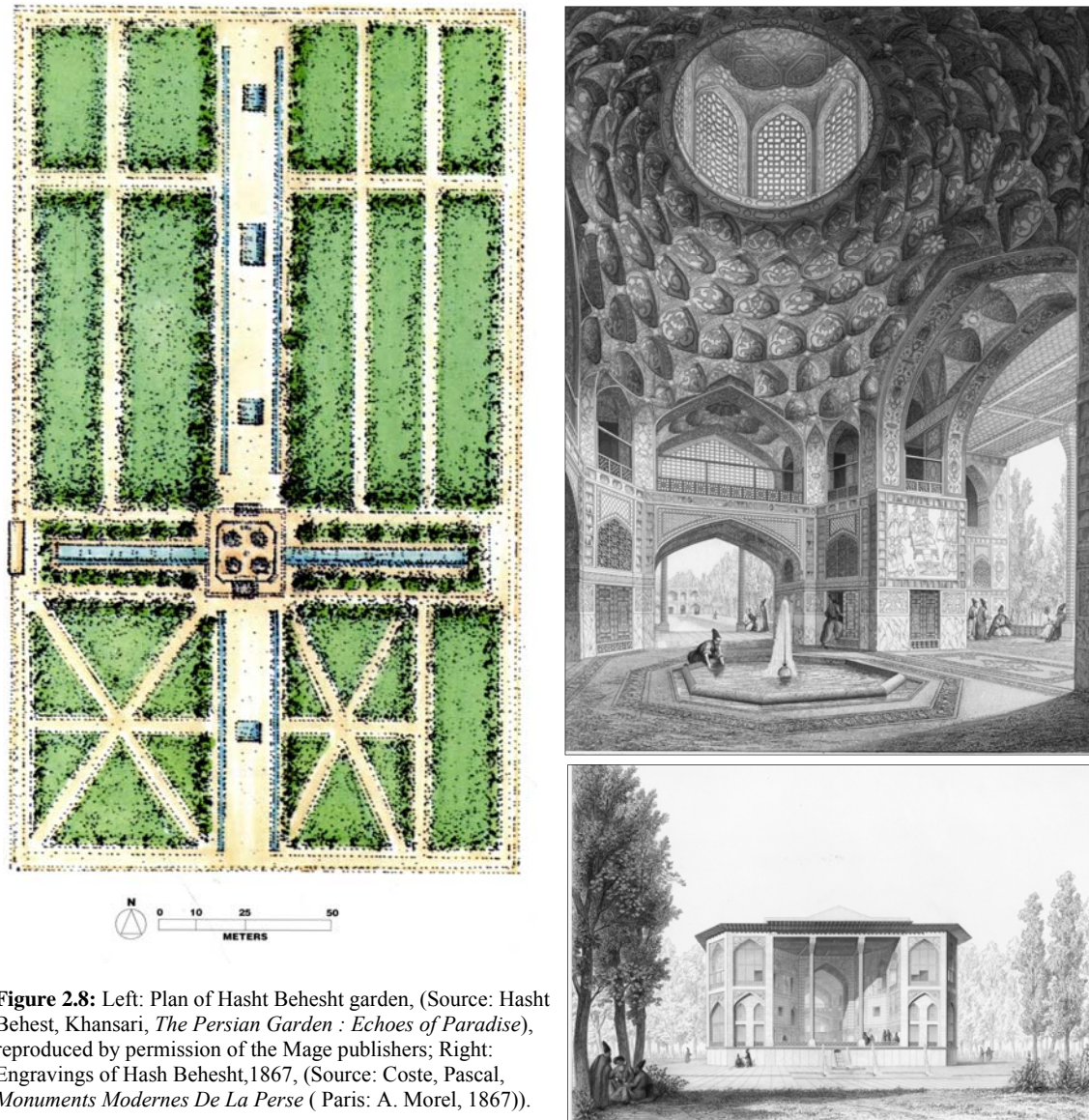


Figure 2.8: Left: Plan of Hasht Behesht garden, (Source: Hasht Behesht, Khansari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*), reproduced by permission of the Mage publishers; Right: Engravings of Hash Behesht, 1867, (Source: Coste, Pascal, *Monuments Modernes De La Perse* (Paris: A. Morel, 1867)).

Qajar gardens (1785–1925)

By defeating the Zand dynasty, Aqa Mohammad Khan, founder of the Qajar dynasty, selected Tehran as his capital in 1788. The Qajars originated from Turkoman tribes. However, later, Fath Ali Shah ‘discarded the tribal style in favour of the ancient traditions of imperial Shah-in-Shah.’⁷⁵ To counter their previous nomadic way of life, and as the Qajars indulged in entertainment, many summer and winter gardens were constructed during that period, generally in Tehran. During the long reign of Naser al-Din Shah, the fourth Qajar king, between 1848 and 1896, through diplomacy, trade, social and political institutions of European powers, and erection of new educational institutions,⁷⁶ more knowledge regarding the West was achieved.⁷⁷ This perhaps had an impact on the creation of hybrid styles of palace gardens.



Figure 2.9 : Above: Water colour painting drawn by Mickhail Zichi, 1874, showing Naser al-Din Shah and Alexander II parade in Europe. Below: Water colour painting drawn by Mickhail Zichi, 1874, showing presentation of Princes Maria (Alexander II's daughter) to Naser al-Din Shah, (Source: Ērmitazh, Gosudarstvennyĭ, *Iran V Ērmitazhe : Formirovanie Kollektzii : Katalog Vystavki / [Avtory Kon T`Sep T`Sii Vystavki Sostaviteli Kataloga: A.T. Adamova, A.B. Nikiman]* (Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyĭ Ērmitazh, 2004), p.214 and p.216)

However, after direct observation of the West (Figure 2.9), Naser al-Din Shah preferred to refurbish his gardens by borrowing the architectural styles of Europe and juxtaposing them with Iranian-Islamic architecture, although he still did resist the fuller adoption of western life and followed strict religious Islamic norms. Being involved with moving from colder to hotter area (*yeilagh-gheshlagh*), to keep his ancestral nomadic life style, Naser al-Din Shah constructed many suburban gardens. In sharp contrast to Shah Abbas I, who focused on the

⁷⁵ Ibid.p.38.

⁷⁶ Fatemeh Kateb-Valiankoh, 'Iran Domestic Architecture During Qajar Period', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Central England in Birmingham, 1998)., p.50.

⁷⁷ It should be mentioned that the first knowledge about the West was gained in the early Qajar era. Between 1809 and 1813, in the melee Iran- Russia war, France and Britain united with Russia. So, Iran was forced to make peace and passed over Caucasus, North Azerbaijan to Russia according to the humiliating Golestan Treaty that resulted in the loss of national prestige. Following ceding Northern territories to Russia and losing political prestige, Prince Abbas Mirza, the governor of Azerbaijan, made an attempt to modernise the Iranian armies by learning from the European military, see. Gholamreza Varham, *Nezam Siasy Va Sazmanhaye Ejtemayi Iran Dar Asr Qajar (Political System and Social Organizations in Qajar Era)*, (Tehran: Moein, 1385 SH/2006). Hence in 1276 AH/1851, he sent the first 42 Iranian students to France. A.Majd S Kermani, *Tarikh-E- Inqilab Mashrutiyat-E Iran (History of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution)*, (Isfahan, 1972).pp.79-87; Isa Sedigh, *Dore Mokhtasar Tarikh Farhang Iran (a Brief Cultural History of Iran)*, (Tehran: Sherkat Sahami Tabe Ketab, 1334 SH/1956), p.175.

creation of great mansions and gardens in Isfahan in order to reinforce his imperial grandeur, the number and location of Naser al-Din Shah's gardens were a visual testimony of his taste that responded directly to nomadic life style of the Qajars and their indulgence in personal pleasure. However, the gardens of the Qajar kings kept the *chaharbagh* layout of the Safavid gardens with harmony of geometrical pattern. These gardens will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Pahlavi gardens (1925-1979)

In 1925, Reza Shah founded the Pahlavi dynasty. Unlike Naser al-Din Shah, Reza Shah was less ambitious in garden making, as he more involved in urban development projects. During his reign, only the Marmar and Sadabad gardens and later during Mohammad Reza Shah's reign the Niavaran garden were constructed in Tehran as their location is shown in Figure 2.10, in addition to a few gardens designing in the northern part of the country. Supervised personally by Reza Shah, these gardens embodied his principles and reflected his persona, with the intention of providing an emblem of his glory.



Figure 2.10: Location of Pahlavi palace gardens on the map of Tehran, (Source: map of Tehran, highlights and numbers added by the author)

Upon Reza Shah's order, the plan of Marmar garden, occupying an area of about 3.5 hectares, was designed by foreign-trained architect Hossein Taherzadeh Behzad in lieu of traditional master builder, Ostad⁷⁸ Jafar Khan, and completed in 1317 SH/1938.⁷⁹ In comparison with previous counterparts (Safavid and Qajar gardens), this palace contained the distinct feature of an Islamic copula (Figure 2.11). Inspired by Arthur Pope's lecture in 1925,⁸⁰ with respect to the masterpiece of Safavid architecture, Reza Shah visited Isfahan in the same year. Since then he ordered the construction of the same dome, to replicate the architecture of Sheikh Lotf Allah Mosque in his secular palace. The construction of the dome was the work of Hossein Lorzadeh accomplished by 1314 SH/1935.⁸¹ In order to construct the Marmar palace, the traditional craftsmanship required, therefore, its decoration was the work of Iranian craftsmen. According to Lorzadeh, *Muqarnas* work was carried out by Ostad Hossein Kashi and wood inlay work (*khatam*) was performed by Mohammad Hossein Kahn Sani Khatam. According to Javadi 'on each side of the gate, two statues of fully equipped Achaemenid infantryman stood on stone platforms with engraving and fauna patterns to manifest the skill of Iranian craftsmen in the field of old decoration.'⁸²



Figure 2.11: General view of Marmar garden in Tehran, (Source: Javadi, *Negahi Be Khakh-Moze Marmar (a Glance at Marmar Palace -Museum)*)

⁷⁸ *Ostad* or *Usta memar* refers to traditional constructor or decorator of buildings, who learned architecture or decorations such as inlay working or tile working from his masters.

⁷⁹ Hossein Mofid and Mahnaz Rayisian, *Majaraye Memary Sonati Dar Khaterat Lorzadeh (the Story of Traditional Architecture in Lorzadeh's Memoir)*, (Tehran: Moli, 1385 SH/2006). However, the ICHO recorded that this palace was constructed by French engineer, Josef Leon with cooperation of Iranian architect Fatolah Ferdows, see also. Pamela Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009), p.111.

⁸⁰ Arthur Pope delivered a lecture on 22 April 1925 in Tehran in front of Reza Khan and officials, that left a tremendous impact upon the discourse on heritage during the Pahlavi era. While Pope himself did not involve directly in restoration projects, his lecture, however, led to establishment many restoration projects in Isfahan. For English and Farsi text of Pope's speech, see. Isa Sedigh, 'Honar Memari Iran Dar Gozashte V Hal (the Past and Future of Persian Art)', (Tehran: Entesharat madrese ali Jahangardi v etelalt, 1350 SH/1971).

⁸¹ Mofid and Rayisian. *Majaraye Memary Sonati Dar Khaterat Lorzadeh (the Story of Traditional Architecture in Lorzadeh's Memoir)*, p.37

⁸² Gholamreza Javadi, *Negahi Be Khakh-Moze Marmar (a Glance at Marmar Palace -Museum)*, (Tehran: Kelid, 1378 SH/1999), p.27.

There is no trace of seraglios in the Pahlavi gardens, in contrast to Qajar or Safavid gardens. However, earlier than banning the Islamic veil, the structure of Marmar garden followed the traditional style, separated into two sections; *Andaruni* and *Biruni*. When the palace was ‘unveiled during a ceremony held in honour of Reza Shah’s women’s unveiling Law,’⁸³ accordingly the concept of *Andaruni* and *Biruni* gradually began to diminish. In order to allow more space for these constructions, the Qajar buildings adjacent to the Marmar site was bought at a low price and demolished to make way for expansion of the Marmar garden.⁸⁴ In the diary of Lorzadeh, the traditional master builder of Reza Shah’s palaces, he asserted that near the Marmar palace, the palace for the elder daughter of Reza Shah, Ashraf, was designed by a Belgian architect. The Prince Palace belonging to Mohammad Reza Shah was planned by ‘Boris,’ a German architect, while a French architect was responsible for designing of Shams’s palace.⁸⁵

Aiming to bridge from the grandeur of the pre-Islamic era to contemporary architecture and the revival of the Aryan race, pre-Islamic motifs appeared in the Neo-Achaemenid and neo-Sassanian architectural styles which formed the design of the National Bank and the National Museum (*Muze Iran Bastan*). At a small scale pre-Islamic motifs likewise were utilized in the interior architecture of Reza Shah’s palaces (see Figure 2.12). Concerning garden design, there is no concrete information about the key designer of the Pahlavi gardens. However, the diary of Soleiman Behboodi, the private servant of Reza Shah, bears witness to the assumption that the designing of the Marmar garden was perhaps implemented by Iranians, in response to Reza Shah’s chauvinistic persona. While Behboodi did not provide any details about designer, he wrote:

Shams, the daughter of Reza Shah, ordered to build a palace responding to her taste. She decided to have designed a garden and elaborate the parterres by importing flowers from Europe. Many designs were proposed for her garden, but she did not accept any of them. Finally, André Godard, French architect, designed a plan for topiary of garden that was accepted by Shams...but Reza

⁸³ Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran.' p.111.

⁸⁴ Mofid and Rayisian. *Majaraye Memary Sonati Dar Khaterat Lorzadeh(the Story of Traditional Architecture in Lorzadeh's Memoir)*, p.58-61

⁸⁵ The absence of British and Russian architects was apparent in the early Pahlavi epoch. Because of their political interference in Iran for centuries in Iranian oil industry and political realms, Reza Shah restricted their involvement in Iranian affairs and championed rapprochement with Germany engineers. Generally, important infrastructural projects were implemented by Germans. Moreover, Nazi foreign Minister informed that Hitler excluded Iran from Nuremberg race law, and in one of his speeches had proclaimed that the Aryan race had tied up to Iran. By categorising Iranians as pure Aryans by Germany, the diplomatic relationships between Iran and Germany improved. Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). p.86.; Talinn Grigor, "'Orient Oder Rom?' Qajar "Aryan" Architecture and Strzygowski's Art History', *The Art Bulletin*, 89 (2007).p.571. While the idea of superiority of Aryan race over the world was not originated by Nazism in Iran, confirming Ariyan-ness of Iranian by Germany led to increase Reza Shah’s imagination to resist nationalism through race of ancient Iranian. see, Mohammad A Katouzian, *Sadeq Hedayat, His Work and His Wondrous World*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

Shah, did not approve Godard's design and tore that up. He said after dispatching students to Europe I anticipated that Iranians would design the garden.⁸⁶

The Sadabad garden is the largest garden of the Pahlavis, benefitting from the natural advantages of Shemiranat, near the natural spring of Darband. Sadabad was the former summer residence of the Qajars. The *Qasr-e-Sangi* (Stone Palace),⁸⁷ what is also known as the *Kakh-e-sabz* or Green Palace) was the first edifice that was built in Sadabad between 1301 SH/1922 and 1307 SH/1928 (Figure 2.12).⁸⁸ Its plan was designed by Mirza Jafar Kashi Memar Bashi, its mirror decoration was performed by Sheikhan, and its painting (*tazhib*) was the work of Hossein Taherzadeh Behzad.

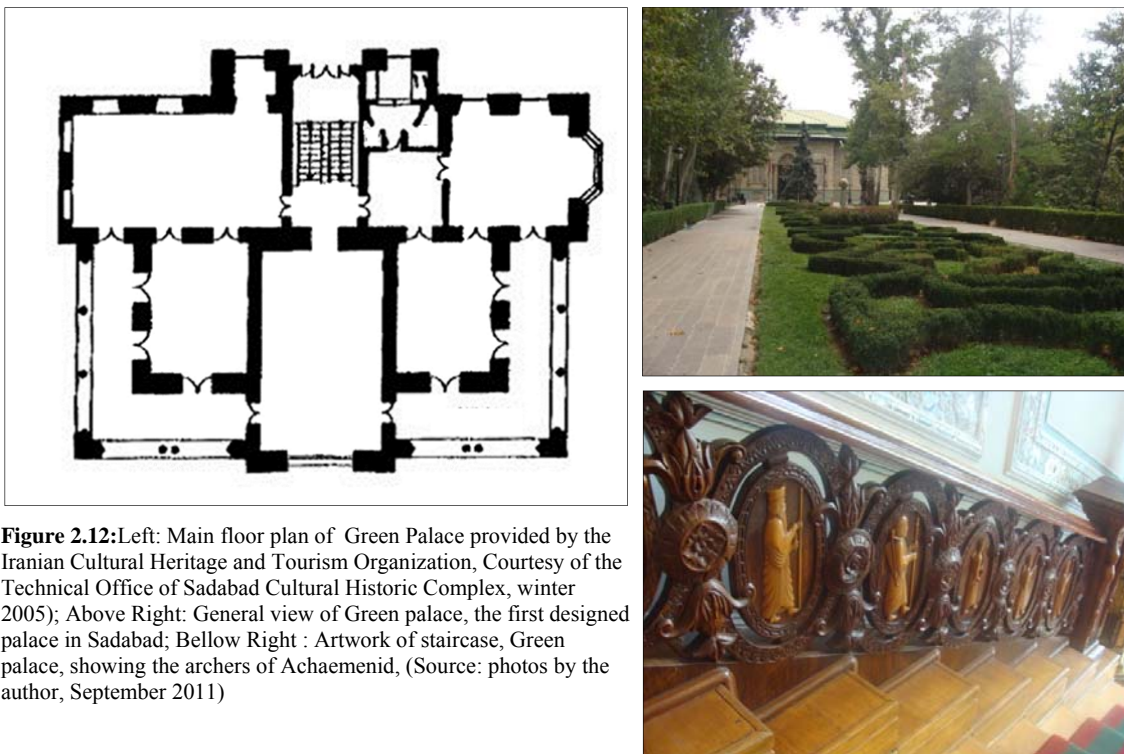


Figure 2.12:Left: Main floor plan of Green Palace provided by the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization, Courtesy of the Technical Office of Sadabad Cultural Historic Complex, winter 2005); Above Right: General view of Green palace, the first designed palace in Sadabad; Bellow Right : Artwork of staircase, Green palace, showing the archers of Achaemenid, (Source: photos by the author, September 2011)

⁸⁶ Soleiman Behboodi, *Reza Shah;Khaterat Solieman Behboodi (Reza Shah;Diary of Soleiman Behboodi)*, Gholamhossein mirza saleh edn (Tehran: Sahba, 1372 SH/1993). p.356.

⁸⁷ Manoochehr Sotudeh, *Geografiyaye Tehran (Geography of Tehran)*, (Tehran: Institute for Cultural Studies and Research, 1371 SH/1992). p.399.

⁸⁸ The name of the Green palace was applied due to the colour of the stones using in its facade. These stones were extracted from the Khamse Mine in Zanjan. It is said that after construction of the Green palace, Reza Shah decreed to destruct that mine in order to its stones did not use for other buildings and his palace remained unique.



Figure 2.1 Plan of the Sadabad garden and location of its palaces, (Source: Courtesy of the Technical office of the Sadabad palace)

As demonstrated in Figure 2.13, the Sadabad garden hardly shows any traces of a designed garden and is not a product of garden designers; however, it is more than a casual arrangement of palaces and trees. In general, in sharp contrast with earlier examples of Persian Gardens, in Sadabad, geometric design was not anymore been preferred and it was laid out with incongruous lines. Also, the shape of rectangular pool located in front of the Qajar or Safavid gardens, reshaped into a circular form in Reza Shah's gardens, had not carried any symbolic function, but it was only for decoration. The linear sidewalks were also reshaped to curved ones that these perhaps became the prototype for other villas of the high

social classes. Responding to new standards of lifestyles, the design language of these new gardens changed accordingly.⁸⁹ With the exception of Green and White palaces which employed symmetrical plans, the symmetry in the main facades of other palaces was no longer challenged by new foreign-trained architects such as Vartan Avannassian and Farmanfarmaiyan.⁹⁰ The changes to the architectural design perhaps influenced the design of the garden in front of it. Furthermore, in the new palaces, the wider windows of the main buildings (to provide broader vistas over the landscape) aimed to integrate the exterior into interior. According to Karimi, the palace designed by Vartan in Sadabad, the 'semi-circular beam extends over the landscape, allowing the building to expand into nature horizontally.'⁹¹ The new design patterns of the Sadabad palaces began to have an impact upon the design of country villa gardens in Tehran.

In sharp contrast to the former royal gardens, archival documents in the Document Centre of the Sadabad garden bear witness to the shifting of garden functions from the ornamental to the primarily utilitarian. There were many buildings functioning for economic purposes — keeping poultry, aviary, beekeeping and animal husbandry were all new addition in Pahlavi gardens. Moreover, other archival court letters available at the Sadabad Document Centre (Figure 2.14) depict that great emphasis that was placed on importing ornamental and non-native plants (e.g. Helena, Purple splendour, Fedora) and trees during Mohammad Reza Shah's reign in the Sadabad resulted in different spatial shape being given to the last generation of royal garden.

⁸⁹ Mostafa Kiani, *Memory Doreh Pahlavi Aval: Degarguni Andisheha, Peydayesh, Va Sheklgiri Memery Dore Bist Sale Moase Iran (Architecture under the First Period: The Formation of Modern Iranian Architecture 1920-1941)*, (Tehran: Moasseh Tarikh Motaleat Moaser, 1383 SH/2004).

⁹⁰ This author could not find any concrete information about who was responsible for designing the last generation of palace gardens in Pahlavi Iran. Probably after designing the palace, the landscape in front of it was also designed by the same architect. Apart from traditional master builders mentioned above, other main Iranian foreign-trained architects that were responsible for designing the palaces in the Sadabad and Niavaran gardens were: Vartan Avannassian, Abdolaziz Farmanfarmayian and Mohsen Forughi. Farmanfarmaiyan, was graduated from Ecole des Beaux Arts of France in 1950. His final project awarded as the best thesis (diploma) of the year. Coming back Iran, from 1957 to 1958 he taught students architecture at the University of Teheran, School of Fine Arts (*Daneshkadeh Honarhaie Ziba*). He generated new architectural style in Iran and according to Kamran Diba, Farmanfarmaiyan is the 'Father of Iranian engineering consultant,' see. Kamran Diba, '*Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaiyan: Morori Bar Rob Gharn Memary Dore Akhir* (a Quarter-Century Overview of Architecture)', *Memar*, 15 (Winter 1380 SH/2002). Farmanfarmaiyan designed: New Niavaran Palace (1967), Old Niavaran Palace renovation (1967), Queen Mother's Sadabad residence (1972), Prince Mahmoud Reza's residence (1965), see. Abdolaziz Farmanfarmaiyan, 'Evolution of Iranian Architecture from 1940 to 1978', *Memar*, 25 (1383 SH/2004), p.60. After movement of Pahlavi family to the Niavaran garden in 1345 SH/1966, it is said that the site plan of Niavaran garden was redesigned by Farmanfarmaiyan. Source from the phone-interview with Kamran Diba conducted by the author on 18.01. 2011.

⁹¹ Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran.' p.134

By the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1979, the Sadabad garden had 18 palaces,⁹² 12 *qanats*, an amphitheatre, cinemas, six greenhouses, and tennis ground that after the Revolution its physical structure underwent many transformations on an annual cycle.

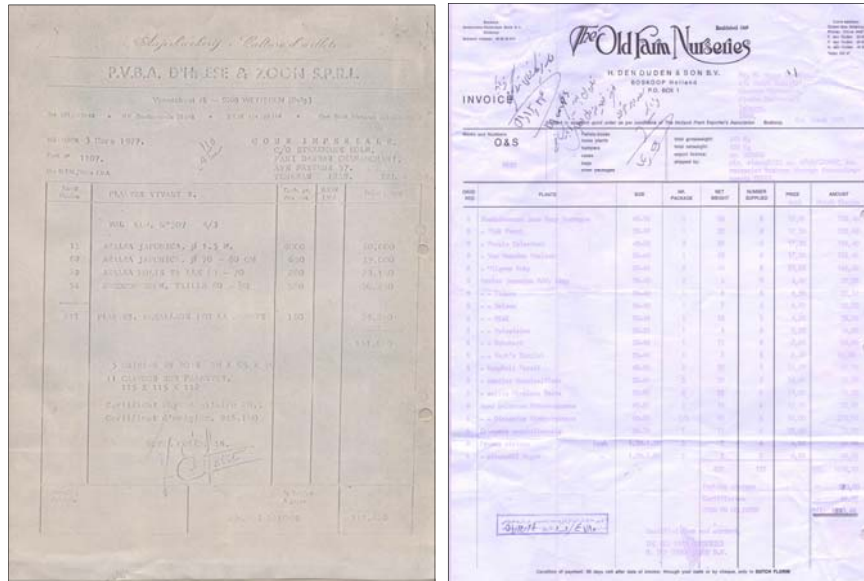


Figure 2.14 : Illustrations selected examples of archival documents depicting the list of imported flowers from France and Netherland to Sadabad garden, (Source: Courtesy of the The Document Centre of the Sadabad palace)

The next section will turn to the review of a range of problems that have been, and continue to be, encountered by gardens in private ownerships in 20th century Iran.

An overview of challenges facing gardens in private ownerships and courtyard houses in 20th century Iran

Stepping into the 20th century and the rise of the Pahlavi regime, these were not only responsible for rendering new architectural vocabulary for the last generation of the royal gardens as mentioned above. But also this trend remarkably marked the beginning of changes in the structure and function of other gardens and house courtyards that clearly differed from the traditional architectural style. However, the dilemma confronting gardens in private ownership is beyond of the aims and scope of this research, in this section, I will briefly highlight a number of the driving forces behind the transformation of gardens in private ownership and house courtyards (that were previously an inseparable part of Iranian's

⁹² The biggest palace in the Sadabad garden is the White palace with an area of 4500 m² and the smallest one is Leila palace with an area of 150 m². The oldest palace is Ahmad Shahi palace and the newest one belonged to previous crown-prince Reza, see. Mahtab Aghayee, 'Restoration and Rehabilitation of Sadabad Palace Complex', (Unpublished Master's thesis, Islamic Azad University, Tehran Central branch, 2007),.p.108.

accommodation) into businesses and commodities in 20th century Iran. This situation is the result of a developing market-oriented approach that aims to enhance utilitarian rather than paying attention to traditional socio-cultural aspects.

During Reza Shah's rule, the basis for the transformation of traditional patterns of cities was accelerated due to the implementation of intense reforms.⁹³ Parallel with Reza Shah's encounters with the reforms of Ataturk in Turkey, he desired to construct an ideal modern Iran. These reforms coupled with the discontinuity from the past, the displacement of old structures with new, and the replacement of inward looking architectural patterns with outward patterns. Starting from the capital, Iranian cities experienced a wave of major changes as the 20th century progressed. By the 1340s SH/1960s,⁹⁴ in the face of rapid urbanisation and population growth, the morphology of gardens as well as the pattern of land properties and ownership all witnessed dramatic changes. According to Madanipour, 'the restructuring of agriculture to enter the world market and the Land Reform were the major processes through which old structures were broken to free capital and labour to concentrate in urban areas.'⁹⁵ Just like many agricultural lands in Iran, the changing pattern of gardens and house courtyards was also intensified, particularly after Land Reform Act of 1962 as part of the White Revolution (*Engelab sefid*) reforms.⁹⁶

The Land Reform Act of 1962, which after three main stages was officially approved in 1971, aimed to share the large land and agricultural properties with peasants, who 'worked on the same land,' to end the unequal distribution of the land and traditional system of landlord-peasant relations (*arbab-rayati*). This reform was opposed by the landlords and certain clerics

⁹³ Eckart Ehlers and Willem Floor, 'Urban Change in Iran, 1920-1941', *Iranian Studies*, 26 (1993); Mina Marefat, 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988).

⁹⁴ Due to the migration of rural population in the mid-1930s, 'the annual rate of population growth in urban areas reached 2.30 per cent as compared to 1.30 percent in rural areas.' Julian Bharier, *Economic Development in Iran*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

⁹⁵ Ali Reza Madanipour, 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1990). p.125.

⁹⁶ According to Abrahamian, despite increasing the country's oil revenue and American aid after the 1950s, the Pahlavi regime had failed to bring a marked improvement and the majority of people were among the poorest in the world. While the oil revenue climbed to US\$958 in 1969, Abrahamian. *Iran between Two Revolutions* p.427. In the same year, 70 percent of Iranians, about 20 million people lived in villages. Ibid, p.71-2. For this reason, American government encouraged Mohammad Reza Shah to implement the reform program. Finally, in 1963, the Shah initiated the reform program called 'White Revolution' with the support of his American-backed Prime Minister, Ali Amini. Amini claimed that these reforms would free Iran from injustice and corruption and bring social and economic changes. Ibid., p.76. By initializing reforms, Mohammad Reza Shah had achieved several short-term objectives towards improving his domestic credibility and security. Moreover, he opened up new bases of supports among peasants, industrial workers, women, intellectuals, professionals, who had been dissatisfied with regime. Ibid., p.91. Land Reform was accepted by the majority of people through a referendum in 1963. It included 19 elements namely: nationalisation of forests, abolition of feudalism, giving rights to women for voting, profit-sharing for industrial workers, privatization of the government enterprise, the formation of literacy and health Corps, establishment of construction Corps, increasing social security.

who had acquired large areas of land under the rubric of endowments. Although Land Reform aimed to increase ‘the ranks of peasant properties,’⁹⁷ it failed to transform the status of peasants into ‘independent farmers,’⁹⁸ because the lands enjoying proper irrigation system and fertile soil were still occupied by landowners.

The portions of land given to peasants were so small that they were inadequate for providing income. Between 1976 and 1986, due to the lack of governmental support, agricultural activities declined ‘from 34 percent to 29.1 percent,’⁹⁹ and forced peasants and rural masses to migrate to the big cities.¹⁰⁰ From 1966 to 1976, the population of the 20 key cities grew by 67 percent. Just as the ‘the worldwide transformation of villages into cities by the late 1960s, led to emergence of metropolitan cities,’¹⁰¹ in Iran, similarly the total urban population increased to 26.9 million or 54.4 percent in 1986.¹⁰² Due to the flow of migrants into the big cities, the housing problem and the need for more dwellings became the most important challenge facing the government.

Year	Urban		Rural		Total (in millions)
	(in millions)	(percentage)	(in millions)	(percentage)	
1901	2.08	21	7.84	79	9.92
1934	2.80	21	10.52	79	13.32
1940	3.20	22	11.35	78	14.55
1956	5.95	31	13.00	69	18.95
1966	9.79	39	15.29	61	25.08
1976	15.85	47	17.85	53	33.70
1986	26.84	54	22.60	46	49.44

Table 2.1 : Urban and Rural Population in Persia from 1319 SH/1941 to 1365 SH/1986, (Source: Eckart Ehlers, 'Modern Urbanization and Modernization in Persia,' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan YARSHATER (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1992).

To tackle this issue of housing shortage, and due to the sudden boom of oil revenue (particularly after the 1960s), that generated the oil-centred economy, landowners were encouraged to invest more in construction activities, ‘large housing estates and high-rise

⁹⁷ Ibid.,p.430.

⁹⁸ Ibid.p.423.

⁹⁹ Ebrahim Razzaghi, *Eghtessad-E Iran (Iran's Economy)*, (Tehran: Nashr-e Nay, 1988)..pp.111-17; Madanipour., 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran' ,p.120.

¹⁰⁰ Mohammad saeid Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration:A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University, 2008). For more detail regarding the Land Reform Act, see. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*.

¹⁰¹ Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012)., *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, p.76.

¹⁰²Razzaghi. *Eghtessad-E Iran (Iran's Economy)*, p.92; Ali Reza Madani Pour, 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran,' p.119.

buildings'¹⁰³ in urban areas instead of agricultural and industry sectors, as depicted in Table 2.1.¹⁰⁴ This situation characterised the trend of the 'commodification of agricultural land,'¹⁰⁵ in which the gardens and large scale courtyard houses were exchanged to be sold as land to bring about more benefit for both the owners and buyers. In this sense, the transaction of large plots of land and gardens become a widely adopted solution for changing low-income owners to 'higher-income.'

Year	Urban Areas		
	Sum	% Change	% in Totl
1959	25.7	-	89.9
1960	33.9	31.9	87.4
1961	39.6	16.8	84.8
1962	38.6	-2.5	85.6
1963	39.0	1.0	83.5
1964	45.2	15.9	85.0
1965	49.2	8.8	83.7
1966	50.0	1.6	82.2
1967	52.8	5.6	83.9
1968	52.5	-0.6	82.3
1969	60.2	14.7	87.1
1970	77.8	29.2	89.1
1971	74.3	-4.5	85.7
1972	92.9	25.0	86.3
1973	105.7	13.8	85.7
1974	108.1	2.3	86.7
1975	161.0	48.9	90.4
1976	219.6	36.4	89.7
1977	223.0	1.5	90.6
1978	192.2	-13.8	88.2
1979	191.9	-0.2	88.4
1980	200.4	4.4	86.9
1981	149.4	-25.4	85.3
1982	163.0	9.1	87.3

Table 2.2: Investment in construction by private sector in urban and rural Areas, 1959-83, (*Billion Rial at 1974 Fixed Prices*). (Source: BMI 1984,1983,1981; Madani Pour, 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran,' p.214)

The fever of construction activities spread among house builders and development agencies. A category of *besaz befroosh* (builders and sellers) emerged, who with commercial scope sought an increasing return on their investment through apartment construction. The majority of *besaz befroosh* were unskilled and untrained, and came from different backgrounds. They targeted the gardens and old courtyard houses, subdivided them into two or more plots, and finally pulled down the old buildings in order to make room for new residential complexes.

For constructing affordable dwellings for the nuclear family, *besaz befroosh* bought old houses with courtyards or garden arrangements known as *kolangi* at a low price, as they had the potential to be replaced with apartments. Being considered outdated, traditional single-

¹⁰³ Ali Madanipour, *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*, (Chichester: John Wiley, 1998). p.125.

¹⁰⁴ Madanipour, 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran,' p. 227; Karimi. 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.142.

¹⁰⁵ Madani Pour, 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran,' p.114. 'The importance of the agricultural sector in the country's economy, which contributed 80-90 per cent of the GNP at the turn of the century, reduced to about 50 per cent by 1950. Despite changes in the type of crops, for example curbing the production of opium and increasing tea and sugar, the structure of agricultural production remained basically unaltered.' Bharier., *Economic Development in Iran 1971*; Madanipour, 'A Study of Urban Form : An Analysis of the Interaction of Agencies and Structures in the Development Process, with Special Reference to the Case of Tehran,' p.110.

storey houses with an inward-looking courtyard were thus willingly replaced with the new multi-storey apartments that had first been introduced to Tehran in the 1930s by foreign-trained architects.¹⁰⁶ However, these apartments were usually constructed with low-quality materials by non-professionals. With an economic mind-set, *besaz befroosh* did not pay enough attention to the detailed construction of residential buildings, and ignored the positive aspects of courtyard house that responded to different climatic conditions, and the socio-cultural norms of Iranians. According to Parviz Rajabi, attention to these factors would have decelerated the speed of mass apartment construction and escalated expenditure.¹⁰⁷ Despite new types of houses and apartments were still enclosed with walls, the new architectural and landscape language clearly differed and was alien from traditional patterns. The social mores of Islam as the concept of the introverted 'earthly Paradise Garden,'¹⁰⁸ with its geometric forms that dominated the design of earlier *chaharbagh* gardens, was recognized as an obstacle of modern life, and gradually came to an end.

Throughout the 1950s, in parallel with the newly emerging forms of dwelling morphology (brought about through demographic and economic pressures just noted), and the newly emerging urban lifestyle, many upper- and middle-class Iranians abandoned their traditional courtyard houses to settle in small family households.¹⁰⁹ In 1966, 46 percent of 'modern houses were located in Tehran, and a further 29 percent were in the next ten largest cities.'¹¹⁰ The demand for settling in apartments, that became the dominant type of lifestyle, responded also to the alteration of the traditional structure of the Iranian family, together with broader changes to social classes in 20th century Iran. If the reconfiguration of the traditional modes of extended family into nuclear families was in response to the increasing sense of individuation and the need to live in separate houses, the segregation in wealth was due to the emergence of class division and hierarchy.¹¹¹ Starting in Tehran, after the relocation of Pahlavi Royal family to the north part of Tehran in 1967, the term *balay-e-shahr* (the upper city) and *payin-e-shahr* (the lower city) distinguished the rich with 'most of the higher

¹⁰⁶ The Reza Shah's era, particularly after 1945, confronted with the birth of Iranian architects, most trained in Paris's Ecole des Beaux-Arts. By the arrival of the mostly French trained architects and also first alumni of the University of Tehran, the new house types walk up usually built on commercial units were emerged. Nader Ardalan, 'Architecture VII. Pahlavi, after World War II', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica (1992-2001)*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁷ Parviz Rajabi, *Memory Iran Dar Asr Pahlavi (Architecture of Iran in Pahlavi Era)*, (Tehran: National University), p.65.

¹⁰⁸ Ardalan, 'Architecture VII. Pahlavi, after World War II.'

¹⁰⁹ Karimi., 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.121.

¹¹⁰ By 1956, modern houses accounted for 44 percent of urban dwellings and the proportion had increased to 56 percent by 1966. Bharier., *Economic Development in Iran*, pp.228-9.

¹¹¹ Asef Bayat, 'Tehran: Paradox City', *NEW LEFT REV*, (2010).

households' from the poor dwellers. 'The south part [of Tehran] housed the lower-class residents, new rural migrants and the lower strata of working people.'¹¹²

While eastern and western parts of the city accommodated 'the relatively large middle classes: state employees, professionals and small-business owners.'¹¹³ This social dichotomy was largely based on income, fuelled by the need for gaining social status, and the prestige that was now measured by living in stylish villas in the suburb of *balay-e-shahr*. These 'free-standing single family villas' with generally asymmetrical plan were usually positioned in the middle of a garden.¹¹⁴ According to Abdolaziz Farmanfarmaiyan, these villas were generally influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright and Neutra's architectural style: they became known as 'California style,' designed by Iranian foreign-trained architects,¹¹⁵ and soon began to become a prototype for upper and middle class domestic architecture.

In parallel with these economic and morphological changes in the urban environment, the land use also witnessed changes. The trend for apartment construction in the majority of Iranian cities meant the dominant land use was residential with less land used for gardens. Targeted by volume house-builders, large-scale gardens became the main potential source of development revenue (centred on investment for high rise residential buildings). These factors, together with the increasing costs of garden maintenance, the lack of productivity of fruit gardens, decreasing agricultural inputs, the shortage of water supply, drought, increasing wage of gardeners, problems regarding the distribution of water, the complexity of inheritance laws with regard to landownership after death of the main owners, and above all contentious rising prices of land in the majority of Iranian cities, all had a tremendous impact upon the process of garden destruction. For instance, in Tehran during the last 20 years, the land price increased 2.3 times compared to that of other large cities¹¹⁶ due to the investment of private sectors. In 1371 SH/1992 the land price of old house courtyards (*kolangi*) in Tehran on average was about 463,000 *Rial* (about US\$ 323) per square metre, reaching

¹¹² Bayat, 'Tehran: Paradox City,' p.104. The gap between poor, living by *Rial*, and rich, living by Dollar/Euro, emerged during the presidency of Rafsanjani. 'The "Agha-zadeh" (clerical noble-born) became a common name attributed to the Ayatollah's sons and/or close relatives who are blessed by patrimonial politics and privileged by the rents received from formal and informal sources. This New Class, to use Milovan Djilas's classic concept, continued to enjoy its privileged position in the Khatami era. Mojtaba Mahdavi, 'Rethinking Structure and Agency in Democratization: Iranian Lessons', *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory*, 1 (2008), p.148.

¹¹³ Bayat, 'Tehran: Paradox City,' p.104.

¹¹⁴ For more detail about the revolution of villa design which accompanied with the arrival of western or western-educated architects, see. Marefat, 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941.'

¹¹⁵ Farmanfarmaiyan., 'Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaiyan: Morori Bar Rob Gharn Memary Dore Akhir (a Quarter-Century Overview of Architecture)' ,p.133 and p.140.

¹¹⁶ Madanipour, *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*.

15,098,000 *Rial* (about US\$ 1640)¹¹⁷ in 1386 SH/2007 with a growth rate of 24.1 percent (in Iranian currency).¹¹⁸

The flow of money from the private sector into the housing market, made the problem of the land price growth worse, more specifically during the presidency of Ahmadinejad (2005-2013) who set the agenda to encourage the private sector to invest in housing construction while aiming also to provide more affordable dwellings for middle- and low-income classes under the name of ‘Mehr Housing Plan.’ The table below shows the private sector investment in new building construction in Tehran from 2000 to 2008 that produced many residential units.

	Private sector investment in new building	Private sector investment in new dwelling units according to construction stage	Completed residential units	Housing bank services granted	Housing bank services granted	Land price indicator	Construction services indicator
Year	*Hundred thousand US \$	Starting *construction	number (unit)	number (thousand)	Hundred thousand \$	Without scale	Without scale
2000	9384.8	8504.5	339659	217	10445.6	48.9	49.8
2001	13836.5	11342	370736	239.5	12456.6	59.6	54.6
2002	18886.9	16283	445974	372	15748.8	75.8	64.4
2003	14576.6	16058	463127	334.8	14488.6	89.7	79.5
2004	15628.7	20215	402524	208.8	17584.3	100	100
2005	21218.9	26058	479153	299.4	43446.8	109.1	118.1
2006	26199.6	31818	448242	432.4	73143.5	127.6	140.1
2007	40176.4	65639	491385	393.3	69444.8	200.7	182.9
2008	68299.8	90052	601280	334.1	65885.5	293.9	246.3

Table 2.3: The private sector investment in new building construction in Tehran from 2000 to 2008, (Source: Government report, 2007)

The escalating rate of the destruction and transaction of gardens in private ownership into smaller plots, which had arisen together with shortage of green space,¹¹⁹ obliged the Municipality to draft policies with more details and set out laws to freeze or reduce the pace of demolition. Based on the Environmental Conservation Act that was ratified in 1974 and amended in 1980, any tree cutting or uprooting and development activity leading to damage natural resources was prohibited. There would be punishment for those activities (i.e. three

¹¹⁷ In 1371 SH/1992 US\$ 1 was about 1430 *Rial* and in 1386 SH/2007 was about 9200 *Rial*.

¹¹⁸ Ali Chegini, 'Tahavolat Geimat Maskan, Zamin V Ejare Az 1370 Ta 1386 (the Process of Change in the Price of House, Land and Rent from 1992 to 2007)', *Eghtesad Maskan*, 42 (1386 SH/2008).

¹¹⁹ Greening standard was considered in Iran 7 to 12 while United Nation consider 20-25 m² per capita for each person. In 1392 SH/2013, in the official website of Tehran Park and Green Spaces Organisation, recorded that the green standard doubled in the last 8 years and reached into 16 m² per person. The Park and Green Spaces Organisation, <<http://parks.tehran.ir/default.aspx?tabid=92&ArticleId=1341>>, [accessed 08 July 2013].

years imprisonment together with paying infringement and fines). In 1980, more laws were ratified for the maintenance of green space.¹²⁰ Tehran's Municipality became responsible for providing identity plaques and 'all the green space whether public or private that are larger than 500 m² became protected by law from conversion to residential use.¹²¹ According to Article 50 of the Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran, any development activity that damages natural resources is prohibited.¹²²

However, again canopies of trees continued to catch fire and be cut down as a result of sudden increases in land price 'outside the municipal jurisdiction.'¹²³ In Iranian construction law, which was approved by the Municipality, 60 percent of land with residential use could be constructed on, while in the case of properties with garden use, only 20 percent of the garden could be built over.¹²⁴ Moreover, if gardens were located in urban fabrics, the Commission for Article 5 is responsible 'for adopting urban development control regulations.'¹²⁵ However, while this legal framework provided the opportunity for safeguarding the gardens, in practice it was not welcomed and embraced by many private owners. This law placed limits on any development of their properties which forced them to exchange the garden use with residential use through illegal means.

Attempting to ease the legal permission procedure of changing the land-use, many owners deliberately burned trees or made them dry up (e.g. by adding salt water), then claimed to the Municipality that their gardens had caught fire naturally. Through issuing construction permits, both the landowners and Municipality benefited and in this way their revenue would be maximised. This was the case in point particularly after 1995, when the Municipalities were confronted with financial problems as a result of decreasing the governmental budget, which urged them to find alternative ways to provide financial resources for governing the cities. These self-sufficiency strategies including 'land use change, land sale, the pressure to pay more taxes, and the privatisation of many services levied on buildings and lands, taxes

¹²⁰ Some others Acts regarding saving green space include: the Act for the Conservation and Promotion of Green Spaces in Urban Areas (1980), the Law for Natural Disasters (1991), the Forest and Natural Resources Act (1992).

¹²¹ Bulletin, no13, Tir 1372 :28-9. quoted in Madanipour. *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*, p.138.

¹²² The Islamic Penal Law (1997), Articles 675, 679, 680, 686, 688, 689, 690, 691 and 696 are concerned crime subjects and punishments related to natural recourses.

¹²³ Madanipour, *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*, p.138.

¹²⁴ Moreover, in the case of some gardens more details principles have been drafted. For instance in the case of Qasr al dasht: less than 2000 m², only 250 m² of garden could be constructed. The gardens larger than 2000 m² (between 2,000 to 10,000 m²) maximum 10 percent of garden could be constructed-up to two-storey in which the main level can occupied 250 m²-The garden could not divide to less than 10,000 m².

¹²⁵ The Word Heritage Office. 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens', p.669.

collected from owners and parts of municipalities' were considered.¹²⁶ The most important source of revenue came from issuing construction permits to landowners.

For adding the construction density (*tarakom*), 'at any height above three-stories,' substantial extra payment would be received as part of the fees by the Municipality.¹²⁷ Daily newspapers reacted to this ongoing trend and condemned the uncontrolled process of destruction of private gardens together with the illegal burning of trees in order to sell the garden as a 'commodity,' arguing that this was not beneficial for the continued life of the city or for its inhabitants as a whole. Some efforts have also been made by the public and critical voices emerged to criticize the lack of attention from the government regarding the fate of gardens and green space (Figure 2.15) and in a number of occasions have forced the authorities to stop further destruction.



Figure 2.15:Above Left: Protest against destruction of botanical garden of Noshahr by the Municipality for construction of new subway, (Source: < <http://chn.ir/NSite/FullStory/News/?Id=105342&Serv=0&SGr=0>>, [accessed 06 July 2013]); Below Right: Symbolic protest against cutting down trees in Kerman, 2011.(Source: Mehr New, Photo by Hamid Sadeghi, < <http://www.iranerooz.com/content/94016-اعراض-جه-قطع-در-ختان-در-ک-گزارش-تصویری->.html>, [accessed 08 October 2012]) Below: Protest against cutting down the trees in Bagh-e-Sib, Karaj on 1394.01.20 SH/ 18.04.2014, < www.asriran.com >,[accessed 22 April 2014]

The gardens' demolition in a few cases, such as gardens of Ghasr al Dasht in Shiraz, became so critical that it attracted the attention of journalists. Published reports featured the

¹²⁶ Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.86.

¹²⁷ Kaveh Ehsani, 'Municipal Matters: The Urbanization of Consciousness and Political Change in Tehran', *Middle East Report*, (1999). p.26. Due to corruption in the structure of the municipality some employers in the municipality involved in illegal permission for higher density through receiving the bribe from the investors.

unrestrained and illegal trend of demolitions. Due to the rise of illegally burning down trees in Ghasr al Dasht, the Municipality announced that any gardener and owner of gardens who deliberately dried, fired, or demolished their gardens, were committing considered crimes and would not lead to permission to change the garden's use. The criminal who commits these actions would be taken to court, and if convicted must revitalize the garden, pay a fine, be imprisoned or have their gardens confiscated. Being burnt or firing, being dried or drying for various justifications including shortage of water could not exonerate the accused.¹²⁸

Economically speaking, by the turn of the 21st century, in such a competitive and overheated housing market, one of the most assured forms of investment was property. According to Madanipour, 'development for use, hence has usually been seen as a form of investment with a high rate of return, higher than saving in the banks or other forms of investment.'¹²⁹ In this sense, the gardens which lacked architectural importance, under the rubric of '*kolangi*,' have been annihilated, and continued to be sold, replaced with multi-storey apartments. Even after providing, revising and re-modifying many planning strategies and setting out the penalties, which have led to the rate of demolitions being reduced, the Municipalities have failed to encourage owners to upkeep their gardens by purchasing and compensating the owners with other plots of land by setting out more strict punishments. Generally, the majority of private gardens are under threat of disappearance, or subdivision of the plots. There is a typical scenario; first trees were burnt or dried, then owner requests for construction permission to construct apartments. Like a natural disaster the burning of gardens has had an impact upon the life in the cities as a whole.

Some of internal factors and economic pressures mentioned above directly affected the fate of these gardens. However, external factors have recently intensified the problems. At the moment, with such fluctuations in inflation (that announced by the Central Bank of about 31.5 percent and in non-official records were 100 percent in 2012), the result of the sudden and ongoing devaluation of Iranian national currency due to the recent EU embargo on oil industry after 2012, has influenced land prices and the cost of living. While private investment in the housing market declined from 80 percent in 2006 to 65 percent in 2012, as sanctions provide insecure conditions for the private sector, land price has increased. An average price for residential land (*kolangi*) in Tehran has increased from about 20 million

¹²⁸ Municipality of Shiraz, <<http://www.eshiraz.ir/news/parks/fa/8783>>, [accessed 09 June 2013].

¹²⁹ Madanipour, *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*, p.173.

Rial per square metre in 1390 SH/2011 to approximately 55 million *Rial* in 1391 SH/2012 equivalent to a growth rate of 157 percent.¹³⁰

This continuing economic recession and increase in land price provides another dilemma for property owners; whether to maintain their gardens or sell them due to economic necessity. However, still the aftermath and repercussions of oil sanctions and how it will affect the wave of interest of investment in the housing market remain uncertain, these situations overshadow all aspects of life in the country and result in a lack of concern regarding environmental problems or consequences of changes in the suburban environment, cultural heritage or any conservation issues as a whole.

The final section of this chapter will outline the changing perceptions of heritage at international level and in the context of Iran.

An overview the historic gardens and cultural landscape conservation context

Since the 19th century different European countries enacted guidelines concerning the conservation of architectural heritage¹³¹ and a number of organisations were established such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) created by William Morris.¹³² By stepping into the 20th century, the international movement and interest concerning both architectural and urban conservation entered a new phase. Subsequently, many international guidelines and key charters were produced such as the Athens Charter of 1931 (which mainly focuses on the architectural heritage of single buildings) and the Venice charter of 1964 (which addresses architectural heritage and urban surroundings): in step with these measures, various international organizations such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and UNESCO have been formed.

Concerning the conservation of historic gardens, a systematic strategy has been organized since the early of the 20th century in Europe.¹³³ For example, in Italy, the main concern regarding conservation of historic gardens and parks was raised in 1912, and State law was

¹³⁰ It is noteworthy to mention that in non-official records the highest land price in district one in Tehran was about 200 million *Rial* and the lowest land price was in South of Tehran about 1 million *Toman* per square metres. BBC Persian News <http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/business/2013/07/130713_101_housing_tehran.shtml>, [accessed 07 August 2013].

¹³¹ Portela Marques, 'A Structural and Conceptual Framework for Garden Conservation : What Portugal can Learn from the United Kingdom' (University of Sheffield, 2001), p.36.

¹³² Bandarin and Oers. *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, p.3.

¹³³ Michael Rohde and Rainer Schomann, ed., *Historic gardens today*, translations from the German by Mic Hale and Melany Jacobs-Reynolds, ([Leipzig] : Edition Leipzig, 2004), p.19.

provided for their protection with historic interest.¹³⁴ In Germany, in 1921, ‘the first guideline for conservation of the former princely gardens was published’ while it was only in 1992 that the list of historical gardens was provided.¹³⁵ In the UK, the attempts was made in late 1950s and early 1960s, by the National Trust ‘with re-created layouts at Pitmedden, near Aberdeen’¹³⁶ and then the Garden History Society (GHS) introduced an organized guideline for understanding garden history in 1965.¹³⁷ Since then, many conferences and relevant conventions were produced concerning the cultural and natural heritage such as UNESCO’s *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding of the Beauty of Landscape and Site* (1962) and the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972), that ‘continue to frame international debate about the nature, consequences and value of cultural and national heritage.’¹³⁸ However, the *Florence Charter*, which was produced by the ICOMOS-IFLA (1982), based on *Venice Charter* theories, was a turning point in terms of historic gardens, in that it considered them an independent category.¹³⁹ The *Florence Charter* was adopted by ICOMOS in 1987, that ‘led subtly to a shift by the heritage profession’ and which for the first time heritage practitioners were concerned with ‘a place where character was defined by plants.’¹⁴⁰ Parallel with the increasing awareness regarding cultural heritage and the emerging notion of cultural landscape,¹⁴¹ categories of cultural landscape were added by UNESCO and World Heritage Convention (WHC), and adopted by the General Conference at its 17th session in Paris on 16 November 1972. This Convention asserted the importance of both and cultural heritage (Article 1) and natural heritage (Article 2).¹⁴²

¹³⁴ Margherite Azzi Visentini and Lionella Scazzosi, 'The Conservation of Parks and Gardens in Italy', *Landscape Research*, 12 (1987).

¹³⁵ Gert Gröning, 'Aspects of the Political and Social Context of the Garden Conservation Movement in Twentieth-Century Germany', *Garden History*, (2000).

¹³⁶ John Sales, 'Garden Restoration Past and Present', *Garden History*, (1995), p.4.

¹³⁷ John Pendlebury, 'The Statutory Protection of Historic Parks and Gardens: An Exploration and Analysis of 'Structure', 'Decoration' and 'Character'', *Journal of Urban Design*, 2 (1997).

¹³⁸ *Intangible Heritage*, (London: London: Routledge, 2009, 2009), p.1.

¹³⁹ ICOMOS-FILA, Historic Gardens and Landscapes (*The Florence Charter*), (Florence: ICOMOS-IFLA, 1982); <<http://international.icomos.org/charters/gardens.htm>>. [accessed 10 January 2010].

¹⁴⁰ Jane L. Lennon, 'Cultural Landscape Management: International Influences', in *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, ed. by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (London: New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 45-69., 'Cultural Landscape Management: International Influences', p.46.

¹⁴¹ *Landscape* origins in Anglo-German language dating back to c.500 AD in Europe. The words – *landskipe* or *landscaef* – and the notions implied were taken to Britain by Anglo-Saxon settlers. John B Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1984). *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*.

¹⁴² Ken Taylor, 'Cultural Landscapes and Asia: Reconciling International and Southeast Asian Regional Values', *Landscape Research*, 34 (2009). 'Cultural Landscapes and Asia: Reconciling International and Southeast Asian Regional Values', p.15. For details concerning this convention refers to <<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>>

After a decade of international debates, the narrow definition given by the WHC, which ignored the symbolic values and concept of ‘cultural continuity,’ was criticised from various angles. For example, the cultural criterion (iii) did not tackle the importance of the Kakadu National Park or any other places in Australia as a ‘place symbolically and materially representative of the continuing survival of Aboriginal culture.’¹⁴³ These issues, as well as the inevitable dynamic process of changes in cultural landscape, were addressed in *the International Union of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention* at Santa Fe in 1992. This Convention set out a coherent framework and guidelines for the identification and designation of cultural landscapes of ‘outstanding universal value’ that recognized human interrelationship with the natural environment.¹⁴⁴ Sintra in Portugal was listed in 1995 as the first European cultural landscape, and subsequently 35 cultural landscapes were inscribed as WHS (22 of them are in Europe).¹⁴⁵ According to Jane Lennon the WHC is considered the first international legal instructions responsible for recognising and protecting cultural landscape, which was considered via three main themes:

- The clearly defined landscape designed and created internationally by man including garden, park and landscapes often associated with religious meaning or containing monumental buildings.
- The originally evolved landscape that results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. This category is divided into two sub-category: a relict (or fossil) landscape and continuing landscape.
- The associative cultural landscape. The inscription of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.¹⁴⁶ (UNESCO 2008, annex 3)

Tongarariro National Park, New Zealand, was designated as the first property under these amended criteria of the WHC.¹⁴⁷ Developed by these international charters, in 1997 English Heritage (EH) published *The Document Sustaining the Historic Environment: New perspective on the future*; that document called for continuing the ‘process of conservation rather than achieving any particular final position.’¹⁴⁸ Later in 2006, EH revised and re-issued

¹⁴³ Lennon, ‘Cultural Landscape Management: International Influences,’ p.46.

¹⁴⁴ S Weizenegger and W Schenk, ‘Cultural Landscape Management in Europe and Germany’, in *The Conservation of Cultural Landscapes*, ed. by Mauro Agnoletti (Wallingford: CABI, 2006), pp. 183-96. , ‘Cultural Landscape Management in Europe and Germany,’ p.192

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, Annex 3*, (Paris: WHC, 2008). *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, Annex 3*.

¹⁴⁷ Lennon., cited above, p.48.

¹⁴⁸ English English Heritage, ‘Sustaining the Historic Environment: New Perspective on the Future-an English Heritage Organisation Document’, (London: English Heritage, 1997).

the document as *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance: Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment*¹⁴⁹ in which conservation is defined as ‘as the process of managing change to a significant place in its setting in ways that will best sustain its heritage values, while recognising opportunities to reveal or reinforce those values for present and future generations.’ Also the ‘historic environment’ refers to a ‘resource that should be sustained for the benefit of both present and future generations.’¹⁵⁰

In 1999, a major shift in perspective towards the values of heritage occurred, from conservation of tangible cultural heritage (monumental value) to intangible and symbolic values of heritage such as language, performing arts, social practice, ritual and festive events that was addressed in the *Burra Charter*.¹⁵¹ The *Burra Charter* has been widely recognized as a comprehensive guideline for the conservation of both the tangible and intangible values of ‘place’ and sites.¹⁵² For the first time this Charter offered management plans for the conservation of ‘cultural significance’ and re-defined the terminology associated with heritage more clearly compared to the earlier charters.¹⁵³

At the level of Europe, the *European Landscape Convention*, which was set out in 2000 by the Council of Europe, laid emphasis on the significance of cultural and historic landscape?¹⁵⁴ The convention was based on the *Carta del paisaje mediterraneo* and approved in 1993 (Siena, Italy).¹⁵⁵ It was signed by 18 countries that put it into force in 2004. It deals with: awareness-raising; training and education; identification and assessment of landscapes; identification of landscape quality objectives and implementation.

¹⁴⁹ According to Admads, ‘the idea of sustainability goes back more than forty years to the new mandate adopted by International Union for the Convention of Nature in 1967. Following the population growth of urban areas, ‘the concern for the environment and the sustainability of urban development increased. Bandarin and Oers., *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, p.81. The sustainable use of heritage has been proposed for landscape as well. see, Weizenegger and Schenk, ‘Cultural Landscape Management in Europe and Germany.’

¹⁵⁰ English Heritage, *Conservation Principles : Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment*, (London: English Heritage, 2008).

¹⁵¹ Article 1.4 of *Burra Charter*, defines conservation as ‘all the process of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.’ Australia ICOMOS, *The Australia Icomos Charter for Place of Cultural Significance (the Burra Charter)*, (Canberra: The Australia ICOMOS, 1999).

¹⁵² ‘Place meant site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works and may include components, contents, spaces and views.’ Ken Taylor, ‘Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10 (2004). ‘Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia.’

¹⁵³ Moreover, in 2003 the General Conference of UNESCO, namely *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)*, was became the important instruction added to existing guidelines. Francesco Bandarin, ‘From Paradox to Paradigm? Historic Urban Landscape as an Urban Conservation Approach’, in *Managing Cultural Landscape*, ed. by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 213-31.(p.220); see also. Intangible Heritage., ed. by Smith Laurajane and Akagawa Natsuko.

¹⁵⁴ In article 2 of this convention cultural landscape defines as ‘natural, rural, urban, and peri-urban ...land, inland water and marine areas.’ Council of Europe, ‘Explanatory Report to the European Landscape Convention’, (Florence, 2000).

¹⁵⁵ Weizenegger and Schenk, ‘Cultural Landscape Management in Europe and Germany,’ p.188.

Concerning the conservation of cultural landscapes in Asia, in 2004 a report given by ICOMOS, *The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps – an Action Plan for the Future*, addressed the issues with regards to selection criteria of cultural landscapes in the Asia-Pacific Region. As the majority of listed cultural landscapes were archaeological, religious and architectural sites this report aimed to highlight the absence of vernacular architecture, as well as ignorance regarding the spirit of place in the region.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, *Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)* and the *Hoi an Protocols (2000)*, both addressed ‘authenticity’ within social and cultural values of each context, and developed an analytical process for local applications to safeguard cultural identities of the Asian countries.¹⁵⁷ By shifting the paradigm of Asian cultural landscape, Japan, defined the category of ‘scenic beauty’ by law in 2004 to protect this landscape. In China, the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites (China ICOMOS)* was drafted in 2000. It involved the combination of the *Burra Charter* together with American experience. This Charter included the definition of heritage value, and reviewed the process and principles for conservation and interventions to meet ‘the needs of Asian culture.’¹⁵⁸ China also moved to ‘consider places other than classical gardens and sacred mountains.’¹⁵⁹ Moreover, in another Asian country namely India, by increasing an understanding of ‘authenticity,’ the *Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH)* prepared a charter for conservation that addressed ‘concepts of living heritage, vernacular heritage’ in the Indian context.¹⁶⁰ In 2011, of 936 places listed as WHS, 205 were in the Asia-pacific region, 143 were cultural sites, and 18 of them were cultural landscapes.¹⁶¹

Recently, since ‘behavioural and symbolic dimensions play a key role in Asia’s heritage,’ is there is a call to consider new theories and tools for Asian heritage management. In contrasts the west in Asian context preserving material fabric authenticity that keeps the notion of minimal intervention is not the key concern ‘as the people were always the centre in conservation, buildings were built, repaired, restored, rebuilt or reconstructed, and extended by the people with their craftsmanship, rituals, and spiritual knowledge for their continuing need of everyday life.’¹⁶² In this sense, it is suggested that the charters should develop

¹⁵⁶ Ken Taylor, 'Landscape and Memory: Cultural Landscapes, Intangible Values and Some Thoughts on Asia', (2008).

'Landscape and Memory: Cultural Landscapes, Intangible Values and Some Thoughts on Asia.'

¹⁵⁷ Taylor, 'Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia'; Kapila D. Silva, 'Prospects for Asian Heritage Management', in *Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns, and Prospects*, ed. by Kapila D.Silva and Neel Kamal Chapagain (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 345-55.

¹⁵⁸ Taylor, 'Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia.'

¹⁵⁹ Taylor and Lennon., 'Prospect and Challenges for Cultural Landscape Management,'p.361.

¹⁶⁰ Taylor, cited above, p.431.

¹⁶¹ Lennon., 'Cultural Landscape Management: International Influences,' p.51.

¹⁶² Tim Winter, 'Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage Conservation and the Politics of Difference', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20 (2012),p.127.

conservation thinking towards ‘socially based value systems’ instead of ‘the usual art historical based value systems.’¹⁶³ The new approach should focus on: ‘local system of beliefs and knowledge; incorporate traditional ways of safeguarding heritage along with contemporary practice; realise and respect local ethics on conservation and review the conventional ethics in this new understanding; and recognise that each new approach may have limitation in universal application.’¹⁶⁴

As mentioned above, after the *Venice Charter* of 1964, the policies, guidelines, regulations, selection criteria, theories, and terminology have evolved and changed continuously to fill the gaps and geographical coverage of the previous paradigm. The approach towards heritage has been expanded, moving from single important monuments to include environments and areas of surrounding heritage within their context, and moving from a conception focused on the fossilized and static object¹⁶⁵ preserved with a museum-like approach to become instead more dynamic.¹⁶⁶ If for much of the 20th century, the main policy for landscape management was to stop or slow down any changes, during the 21st century the scope of new landscape policy has been expanded. Instead of resisting change, the new charters and guidelines address the dynamic processes and ‘drives of change’¹⁶⁷ and seek the adaptation of undesired landscapes into more resilient and self-sustaining states.¹⁶⁸

Moreover, landscape conservation policies have recently addressed challenges such as changing demographics, the loss of sense of place, ‘sustainability in the face of climate change,’ and community engagement.¹⁶⁹ Even at the level of World Heritage Sites, there have been calls to shift the responsibility with regard to conservation ‘from a forum of conservation experts’ to that of a ‘partnership approach involving an expanded list of local and regional stakeholders.’¹⁷⁰ To generate participation of people to get involved in heritage affairs, there are many empirical examples at international level, which involved local people

¹⁶³ Silva, *Prospects for Asian Heritage Management*, p.350.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.349.

¹⁶⁵ Bandarin and Oers., *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, p.11.

¹⁶⁶ Weizenegger and Schenk, 'Cultural Landscape Management in Europe and Germany.'

¹⁶⁷ Nina Schneeberger and others, 'Driving Forces and Rates of Landscape Change as a Promising Combination for Landscape Change Research—an Application on the Northern Fringe of the Swiss Alps', *Land Use Policy*, 24 (2007).; Paul Selman, 'Landscapes as Integrity Framework for Human, Environmental and Policy Processes', in *Resilience and the Cultural Landscape : Understanding and Managing Change in Human-Shaped Environments*, ed. by Tobias Plieninger and Claudia Bieling (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁶⁸ Selman, cited above, p.35.

¹⁶⁹ Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon, 'Managing Cultural Landscapes', (London; New York: Routledge, 2012). ,p.11.

¹⁷⁰ Sue Millar, 'Stakeholder and Community Participation', in *Managing World Heritage Sites*, ed. by Anna Leask and Alan Fyall (Amsterdam ; London: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006), pp. 38-54. (p.39).

in heritage conservation.¹⁷¹ Generating national pride, place attachment, place identity, and ‘passions and commitment for the volunteer work’;¹⁷² creating local community heritage groups; asking the local population to define criteria for heritage designation; organising collaborative workshops, exhibitions and educational programmes; holding special days; and using multimedia,¹⁷³ are some proposed tools that can contribute to involving the community. However, some concerns have arisen due to the public participation in heritage affairs. For instance, achieving a consensual view is difficult due to the different levels of understanding between experts and lay-people about heritage values or aims and objectives of conservation,¹⁷⁴ or passing down the criteria for listing heritage from expert level to local people ‘might result in a loss of a single system of criteria applied across the country.’¹⁷⁵

By calling for measures to save natural and historical heritage and its surroundings, conserving spiritual, social and symbolic values, preserving the ‘authenticity’ and previous values, these enhancements of regulatory powers stress the role of public participation, and attempting to manage a change for a sustainable future: all these aim to assert the importance of preserving and recognising the whole value of heritage. The emphasis of these charters are more on the preservation and restoration of historical monument, sites and other cultural documents, rather than their reconstruction, in order to transmit the values to the next generation¹⁷⁶ and integrating these heritage sites and qualities into social and economic life.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ At the moment, there are some regeneration schemes which aim to improve a co-operative, stakeholder based approach to enhance of the historic environment such as ‘the Conservation Area Partnership Scheme (CAPS), the Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI) and the Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS). Also there are suggested methods ‘for local involvement community, in rural landscape such as Village Design Statements (VDS) and Parish Landscape Statements (PLS). For more details see, John Hudson and Philip James, ‘The Changing Framework for Conservation of the Historic Environment’, *Structural Survey*, 25 (2007).

¹⁷² Corinne Perkin, ‘Beyond the Rhetoric: Negotiating the Politics and Realising the Potential of Community-Driven Heritage Engagement’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (2010).

¹⁷³ Silva., ‘Prospects for Asian Heritage Management’, p.353.

¹⁷⁴ Tim Townshend and John Pendlebury, ‘Public Participation in the Conservation of Historic Areas: Case-Studies from North-East England’, *Journal of Urban Design*, 4 (1999).; Esther HK Yung and Edwin HW Chan, ‘Problem Issues of Public Participation in Built-Heritage Conservation: Two Controversial Cases in Hong Kong’, *Habitat International*, 35 (2011).

¹⁷⁵ Hudson and James., John Hudson and Philip James, ‘The Changing Framework for Conservation of the Historic Environment’, p.261.

¹⁷⁶ Dennis Rodwell, *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities*, (Oxford : Blackwell, 2007), p.10.

¹⁷⁷ Lennon, ‘Cultural Landscape Management: International Influences’, p.45.

A preliminary review of policies and approaches towards cultural heritage conservation in Iran (1930-2000s)

As indicated above, the last twenty or so years of the 20th century saw a rapidly-growing interest in the conservation of historic gardens and cultural landscape¹⁷⁸ at all levels — popular, professional and official — and conservation came at the end of the development process, especially in Europe. However, in Iran garden conservation is just beginning. In Iran, it is possible to identify the changes of attitudes toward the importance of saving built heritage as far back as the early 1900s. After many antiques and movable relics had been stolen from archaeological sites or plundered by foreign countries — especially France and Britain — the National Museum was established in 1917 and then the Antiques Office (*Edare Atighat*) in 1919. Nevertheless, it was only in 1930 that the first national charter was enacted to place the ‘National Relics’ under a protective law with the help of archaeologist André Godard from France.¹⁷⁹ Iran became one of the pioneers among the Middle Eastern countries, to draft such legislation. The charter consisted of 20 articles. In the first article, ‘National Relics’ defines as:

All industrial relics,¹⁸⁰ buildings and places both movable (*manghul*) and immovable (*ghiere manghul*) heritage which had been constructed in Iran by the end of the Zand dynasty (1794), could be considered as part of ‘National Relics,’ and they become under the supervision and protection of the government .

That charter was edited in 1933 and named National Relics Preservation Law, which commonly became known as the Antiquities Act (*Ghanune Atighat*). The term ‘antique’ in this charter referred to the ‘antiquity’ of those movable relics which were unearthed during legal or illegal archaeological excavations, while immovable relics were classified as historical buildings. However, this charter had many deficiencies. First, there were no specific criteria for the categorization of National Relics which depended on experts’ opinions and personal interest; and second, it was one-sided and myopic as it selectively eliminated specific periods from its coverage. Because of the conflict and enmity between Reza Shah (the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty) and Kings of Qajar, the buildings and relics which belonged to the Qajar dynasty (1795-1925) were not considered National Relics (*Asar Meli*).¹⁸¹ Therefore, considerable damage and destruction occurred, with the loss of many

¹⁷⁸ Phillada Ballard, *The Restoration and Maintenance of Historic Gardens*, (No date) <

<http://www.craftsintheenglishcountryside.org.uk/pdfs/Historic%20Gardens.pdf> >, [accessed 30 November 2010], p. 169.

¹⁷⁹ For more detail about how the national relic society was shaped in Pahlavi Iran, see. Chapter Three of this thesis and also Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, (New York: Periscope Publishing, distributed by Prestel, 2009).

¹⁸⁰ In this charter, industrial works means the heritage which are made by human beings.

¹⁸¹ The term *Asar* means sites, monuments, works or relics, and *meli* means national.

hundreds of historic buildings including their gardens, to deliberately eradicate any memorial of Qajar Kings.¹⁸²

Mass destruction continued on an unprecedented scale until 1945. In that year by the order of Minister of Culture, those public Qajar buildings which were built before 1906, prior to the initiation of the Constitutional Revolution (*Mashrotiat*), came under the umbrella of Antiques Law. In 1964 the Cultural and Art Ministry was established. This organization played a crucial role in the restoration and conservation of historical monument and sites. Its purpose was to raise the awareness of people toward heritage values, providing the complete list of heritage along with their plans, as well as educating and training architects and archaeologists, and cooperating with other national organization such as the Pious Foundation and the Charity Affairs Organization as well as international organizations such as ISMEO in Italy. In 26 Azar 1347 SH/17 December 1968, one legal bill was approved by the National Council (*shoraye meli*) which allowed the National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments to purchase lands and buildings for the conservation of historical buildings.¹⁸³

In line with the general international trends set out in the previous section, since the 1960s, the approaches towards heritage conservation in Iran shifted away from single major architectural buildings to address the surroundings of heritage, urban and rural built environment. At the level of education, a range of Iranian architects, such as Houshang Seyhoun, the head of school of Fine Arts at the University of Tehran, made an effort to add a compulsory module for students to visit, draw and sketch from historical buildings in cities such as Yazd, which enjoyed vernacular and local architecture possessing courtyard houses with wind-catchers, and domed ceilings constructed with adobe. But later, after 1968, this module was eliminated by the Head of the School.¹⁸⁴ Concurrently, in 1350 SH/1971 the first congress regarding the restoration of historical buildings and cities was held in Tehran, with the cooperation of the University of Tehran and ISMEO. This event also led to the emergence of the first national Statement in which recommendation for the establishment of a Research Centre regarding historical cities and villages in all parts of Iran was introduced.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² For detailed discussion, see. Chapter Three.

¹⁸³ Shoja al-Din Shafa, '*Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi*; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadiiran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)', (Paris: Soheil, 1356 SH/1978)., p.1795.

¹⁸⁴ Mehdi Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1995)., p.202.

¹⁸⁵ Mansour Falamaki, *Baz Zendesazi Banaha Va Bafthaye Tarikhi (Revitalisation of Historical Monuments and Cities)*, (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1383 SH/2005)., p.244.

The authors of this guideline founded it on similar principles to the Venice charter (1964), publishing it a year later. Moreover, after 1356 SH/1977, due in part to the growing educational exchange between Italy and Iran, and particularly through the efforts of Mansour Falamaki,¹⁸⁶ who graduated from the University of Tehran and later received his doctoral degree from Italy, methods for restoration of buildings, such as ‘anastilosis,’¹⁸⁷ as well as the theory of five western pioneers with regard to restoration of historical monuments, had published in his books that are still taught at university level in the fields of restoration. These five theorists were: Eugene Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), John Ruskin (1819-1900), Luca Beltrami (1854-1933), Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) and Camillo Boito (1836-1914).

After the Islamic Revolution in 1979, a new cycle was initiated and some important alterations occurred. In the Islamic Punishment Law, which was enacted in 1980, ‘Historical Relics’ and ‘Antiques’ referred to relics that were more than 100 years old. This was the only explicit legal definition about what was regarded as ‘historical’ in Iran. In 1980 during the war between Iraq and Iran, the Ministry of Culture and Art was annulled and the Ministry of Culture and Education was formed, with responsibility for the preservation of cultural heritage and properties. In 1985, the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO) was formed under the supervision of this ministry and the Organization of Archaeological Relics Conservation with Archaeological Office and other eight offices from different ministry were merged with it.¹⁸⁸ The formation of this organization during the Iran-Iraq conflict was one of expediency for restoring and conserving heritage. Following that statute was enacted in 1988 for defining the duties, aims and pillars relating to the ICHO, and drafting new regulations for registering the cultural heritage. Since then, the ICHO underwent many structural transformation and various policies and regulation have been drafted, depicted in Figure 2.16. Also, more preventative laws have been ratified to preserve the physical structure of listed buildings. The chart below depicts the major administrative transformations.

¹⁸⁶ Among architects who studied in the faculty of Fine art, Mohammad karim Pirnia and later Bagher Shirazi, and Mansour Falamaki were instrumental men in heritage conservation before and after the Revolution. Pirnia, was accepted in college of Fine Art in 1317 SH/1938, but he left his study after two years. However, due to his interest to Iranian architecture, he involved in many conservation projects such as Dolat Abad garden in Yazd after joining Art and Culture Ministry in 1344 SH/1966. In terms of restoration theory, Dr. Falamaki, who published many books regarding revitalization and restoration of historical buildings and cities, is one of the ardent supporter of leaving historical building untouched as much as it is possible and opposing the wholesale reconstruction.

¹⁸⁷ Falamaki, cited above, pp.29-33.

¹⁸⁸ Yunes Samadi Rendi, *Mirase Farhangi Dar Hogoge Dakheli Va Beinol Melal (Cultural Heritage in Internal and International Regulations)*, (Tehran: ICHO, 1382 SH/2003), p.127.

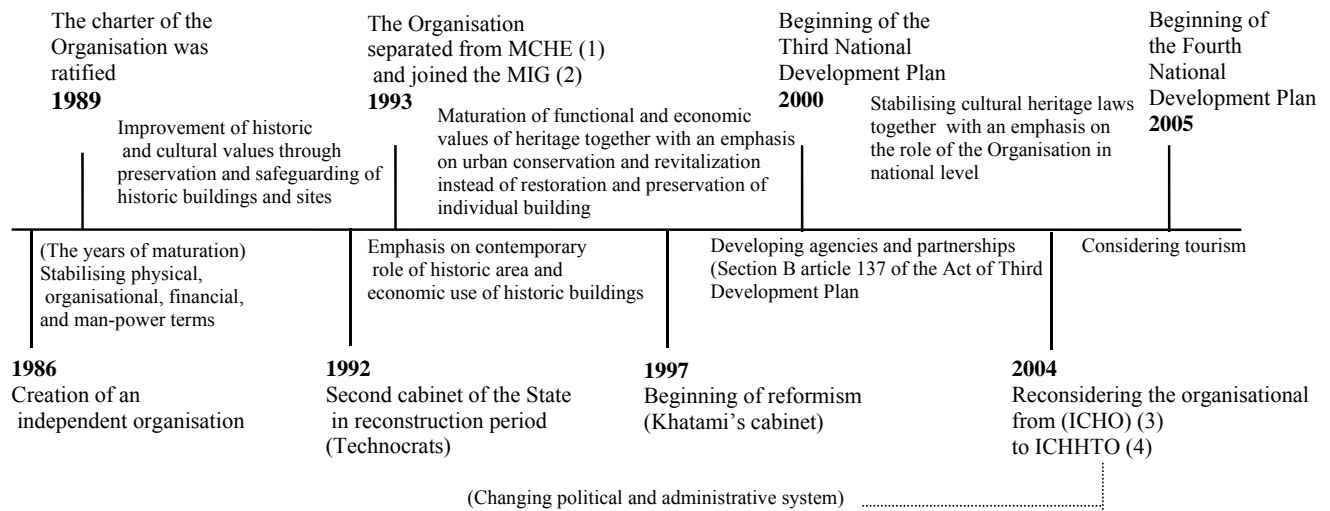


Figure 2.16: The administrative changes of the ICHO from 1986 to 2005 and the evolution of policies, (1) Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, (2) Ministry of Islamic Guidance, (3) Iran Cultural Heritage Organisation, (4) Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation, (Source: Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.95)

By the authority of the Parliament of the IRI, in 2004, the ICHO was become an independent organization¹⁸⁹ which is supervised by the Presidency. Moreover, due to the desire to develop the tourist industry and incorporating the Handicraft Organization, the name of the ICHO was changed to the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO) in 2006.¹⁹⁰

Furthermore, after the end of the Iran-Iraq war from 1990, efforts have been made for the regeneration of the historic cores of cities and rural areas.¹⁹¹ In 1999, the newly established programme of the country to establish a system based on elected local councils directly and indirectly affected the heritage affairs in urban or rural areas. The Urban Development and Revitalization Company (UDRC) was established as the first national agency¹⁹² responsible for providing regeneration plans and encouraging more investment in urban areas. After the

¹⁸⁹ The term 'organisation' meant that its director may be a Deputy of the President or a Minister, but it benefitted from financial and administrative independence. Its budget is allocated by the Parliament. Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country.'

¹⁹⁰ The Law of Establishment of Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization; approved on 1382.10.22 SH/ 31.11.2003 stated: 'Article 1: According to this law both Iranian Cultural heritage Organisation and Tourism Organisation detach from the ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance and through integration of them together Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation establish under the supervision of president enjoy all authorities, equipment and personnel of these two organisations given by law.'

¹⁹¹ For more information about factors that led to changing structure and approach of the state in urban regeneration, see. Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalization of Historic City Centres in Iran.'

¹⁹² In 2000, UDRC from 'Company' was transferred to Organisation. Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.99.

achievement of reformists, an opportunity was provided to generate elected local councils and organisations of civil society that aimed to offer more collaborative networks between authorities and the non-governmental sector.¹⁹³ The Third Five-Year National Development Plan (2000-2004) was also accompanied by a policy from decentralisation of the central government to lower city and province level. By distributing the tasks of regeneration of historical cities among various organisations, the local authorities have acquired more powers to become involved in city-centre conservation.¹⁹⁴

With respect to cultural landscapes, if the discourse on cultural landscapes in the West began with considerations of rural landscapes introduced by David Jacques,¹⁹⁵ in Iran it probably started with the discourse on pre-Islamic sites and later moved to consider the issues of Persian Gardens. In 8 Daymah 1353 SH/29th December 1974, Iran acceded to UNESCO'S Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972): abiding with the requirements of this Convention are compulsory to signatories. However, while the concept of cultural landscape was still not fully or clearly defined, the cultural landscapes (either natural or man-made) in Iran could be divided into six themes:

- The palace gardens of kings that were confiscated by the revolutionary guard or gardens of the nobilities, both of which are managed by the ICHHTO.
- The religious and sacred places which dominated most parts of Iran, generally belonging to the Imam and *Imamzadeh* such as holy shrines, tomb gardens. Some tomb gardens such as Hafezieh and Sadiyeh have been constructed for the national poets and heroes. Another type of religious centre could be the fire temples for Zoroastrians.
- Urban landscapes such as Maydan Nagsh Jahan in Isfahan and the avenue of Vali Asr in Tehran.
- The ancient sites with rock reliefs and carvings such as Taq-e-Bostan.
- Villages and rural settlements that benefited from vernacular and local architectural style such as Masooleh in Gilan and Abyaneh in Isfahan and Meymand in Kerman provinces.
- Natural landscape such as Hara Forests in Qeshm, Golestan National Park, the salt desert of Lut as the that are now served as tourist or leisure.¹⁹⁶

Moreover, the designation of cultural landscapes as WHS is a new phenomenon which has gained shape recently, that has persuaded managers to provide documents and detail plans for

¹⁹³ Izadi, cited above, p.96.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p.349.

¹⁹⁵ David Jacques by publishing 'the rise of cultural landscapes' in 1995, draws the attention to cultural landscape as an important assets. David Jacques, 'The Rise of Cultural Landscapes', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1 (1995).

¹⁹⁶ It should be mentioned that due to the absence of official statement about what could be considered as cultural landscape in Iran, I borrowed these six themes from Sirisrisak and Akagawa, who sub-divided the cultural landscape in Thailand into five themes. Tiamsoon Sirisrisak and Natsuko Akagawa, 'Concept and Practice of Cultural Landscape Protection in Thailand', in *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, ed. by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 173-91. This is not to imply that the ICHHTO also categorised the same themes, and this would benefit from further scrutiny by experts and researchers.

their particular site and to date 16 historical sites and buildings have been listed under World Heritage List and 52 are submitted on the tentative List. The number of cultural landscape registered by UNESCO has increased from three in 1994 into ten in 2013,¹⁹⁷ that depict the primary attempts of the IRI to demonstrate the heritage of the country to the world.

Concerning gardens, although there is no definitive list of nationally important historic parks and gardens, it can be derived from the current National List of Properties that the number of designated gardens enjoying architectural monument status has increased dramatically from 24 to approximately 147 gardens during the 2000s, which represents approximately .5 Percent of the total inventory. This designation of historical gardens and other cultural heritage depends on criteria given in the ICHHTO that are still subjective and vague. In 2010, efforts were made to designate nine Persian Gardens on the list of WHS: this was confirmed by UNESCO in 2011. According to the UNESCO's report, these registered gardens may be considered true cultural landscapes in that they reflect an evolutionary process in terms of form and composition.

With the exception of these nine registered gardens, there is no guideline and specific law for garden conservation, meaning that most gardens have been left defenceless, especially in the remote cities of Iran. In the absence of specific measures for the evaluation of historical gardens or parks, and due to little consistency in what is defined as Persian Gardens (*bagh-e-Irani*), most historical gardens are still classified as 'historic monuments' on the National List of Properties. As most gardens in Iran are monumental, gardens without buildings are not classified, and gardens will not be conserved if they are not listed. Simultaneously, the significance of the surroundings of pavilions is at least important as the pavilion itself. It means that if a pavilion or the residential building of a garden has a historical or artistic value, then the garden should be protected as well. The conservation work regarding gardens has lagged behind the situation for the physical and structural restoration of their major historical buildings, so they have suffered from insufficient historical research and a dearth of management skills.

¹⁹⁷ Among 16 World Heritage Sites, I considered, Meydan Imam, Isfahan (1979), Chogha Zanbil (1979), Pasargadae (2004), Bam and its Cultural Landscape (2004), Bisotun (2006), Golestan Palace garden (2013), Shushtar Historical Hydraulic System (2009), Takht-e Soleyman (2003) and the Persian Garden (2011) as registered cultural landscape. UNESCO, World Heritage List, < <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/IR/> >, (2013) [accessed 12 December 2013].

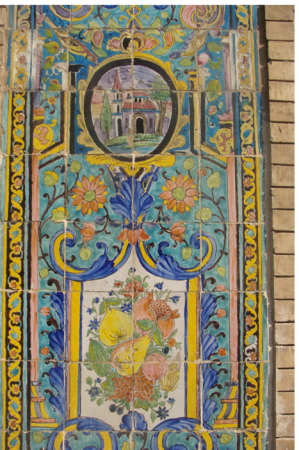
Concluding remarks

This chapter, through its survey of the historical development of gardens in Iran, outlines the dilemma facing historical gardens and the review of the literature concerning conservation policies, has introduced the general background for this study. The first part depicted the evolution of palace gardens from the early 500 BC to Pahlavi Iran in the 1950s, in order to give an introduction to the design process prior to the 19th century that provides context for the main case study of this research start from that era (Qajar gardens). This part also gave a brief description of the last generation of royal gardens — those of the Pahlavi regime — that are always overlooked by garden studies, which accused them of being non-Persian Gardens. As the study of garden design in the Pahlavi era could be a separate research project in its own right, my aim in this part has been restricted to highlighting the noticeable differences between the structure of these gardens and those of previous palace gardens. Then the next section looked at the ways in which the morphology of courtyard houses and gardens in cities came to an end in the face of urban development and economic interests. By addressing the prioritisation of construction of apartments due to the rapid rise in the value of land, my intention was not to give alternative solutions, but rather to draw attention to threats facing gardens and house courtyards remaining in private ownership, which lead us to broader questions about how to maintain them. These gardens are being destroyed at an alarming rate to make room for high-rise apartments, and serve to illustrate the threats to the broader context of large public places that remain problematic. The third part reviewed the evolution of perception of cultural heritage, including gardens and landscape, across the world. This international perspective provides a guide that has shaped the overall approach of this research, but from this point forward it will consider these issues within the specific context of Iran.

In summary, three significant themes have been derived from this review. Firstly, the first section, while providing an introduction to the case study of the Qajar gardens that will be undertaken in the next chapter, also depicted the narrow perception of Persian Gardens and the absence of any definition of what is ‘historical’: this has led to exclusion from the study and protection of gardens designed during the Pahlavi epoch together those gardens in private ownerships that are not ‘artfully designed.’ Second, while my focus in this research is on the categories of formal gardens that are already open to the public, the second section presented a picture of one part of the main story that of the plight of gardens and small plots of courtyard houses due to which economic fluctuations and the increase in housing market

investment in Iran, have failed to achieve the new value they require to survive as gardens. Third, in the final section we have seen that after the *Venice Charter* of 1964, guidelines, regulations, selection criteria, theories, concepts and terminology regarding heritage conservation have changed and continue to evolve, moving away from a focus on single important monuments to include the environments and contextual surrounding of heritage, from a static museum-like approach to a more dynamic one.¹⁹⁸ However, most of the conservation plans guided by ICOMOS charters are more concerned with preserving the ‘material authenticity’ and the ‘original fabric’ of cultural heritage often neglecting the importance of authenticity in terms of ‘intangible’ or ‘intrinsic’ values.

¹⁹⁸ Jong Hyun Lim, 'Conservation Approaches to the Historic Urban Landscape in the Era of Globalization : In the Same Bed but with Different Dreams?', *Historic environment*, 23 (2011); Weizenegger and Schenk, 'Cultural Landscape Management in Europe and Germany'.



The royal gardens in Republican Iran; A case study of the Golestan garden

Introduction

The Qajar dynasty, who ruled Iran from 1785 to 1925, created a series of the royal gardens and hunting lodges ringing Tehran and Shemiranat. In 1925, with the rise of Reza Shah's Pahlavi regime, the majority of the Qajar gardens were deliberately destroyed and/or converted into prisons or military bases, such as Eshrat Abad and Saltanat Abad. A few, such as the Golestan garden, that had been the main seat of government of seven Qajar rulers, were partly preserved. During Reza Shah's reign, in order to bring about a more secular and Western-influenced future, the existence of Golestan was conditioned by the mass destruction of unwanted and outmoded buildings, the humiliation of any 'standing tributes to Qajar political power,'¹ and the banning and denigration of any religious rituals. After the fall of the Monarchy and establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, the royal gardens were destined to a different fate due to the different approaches of the new regime. Once again, the Golestan garden in order to fit in to a new ideological concept of the post-revolutionary managers was forced to change its meaning and function and sacrifice all the traditions associated with the Monarchy. Through the selection of the Golestan garden as a case study, this chapter narrates the transformations which have taken place in the material, symbolic and social dimensions of the royal gardens. The first portion of the chapter will focus on historical development of Golestan and highlights its use and meaning in the time that it was laid out. Then the chapter mainly will explore in which ways its physical aspects, rituals of piety or regality, and the Golestan conservation has been affected as a result of changing values and ideological shifts particularly from the Pahlavi dynasty (1925) to the Islamic Republic. It is argued that both under the Pahlavi and the Islamic Republic, conservation schemes regarding Golestan garden, have been oriented towards demoting the bygone regime, affected by the prevailing attitudes towards its previous users. While the restoration of Golestan has not been implemented properly due to the less attention to its material 'authenticity,' this chapter mainly questions the current conservation approaches that are characterised by the isolation of historical or social facts, restricted to a historic selectivity that is the result of vengeance towards bygone regimes. There has been no attempt to revive or represent previous social activities, yet arguably its intangible aspects associated with its history are all fundamental means for integrating the garden in Iranian society and bringing Golestan back to life again.

¹ Talinn Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005), p.129.

The development of Golestan and Citadel–Arg from 1785 to 1850s: a brief history

Tehran was a village, so renowned for its fruit gardens. For this reason, in 1607 the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle, called it the city of ‘plane trees.’² In 1794, Aqa Mohammad Khan, who originated from Turkaman tribes,³ defeated the Zand dynasty and formally found the Qajar dynasty in 1788. The selection of Tehran by Aqa Mohammad Khan as the capital of the Qajars, gave an important role to the development of the Golestan garden and the royal Citadel–Arg. The precise date when the Citadel–Arg was built is not yet known. Its foundation, however, is ascribed to the first Safavid king, Shah Tahmasb I (1514–1576). The Arg was enclosed with walls and gates in 961 AH/1553. Later Shah Abbas I, designed *chaharbagh* and plane trees garden for the Citadel–Arg known as *chenarestan* as shown in Figure 3.2.⁴ The earliest reference regarding the Golestan garden was recorded by Abol Ghasem Ghafari Kashani in 1173 AH/1759.⁵ Kashani



Figure 3.1: Location of Tehran on the map of Iran

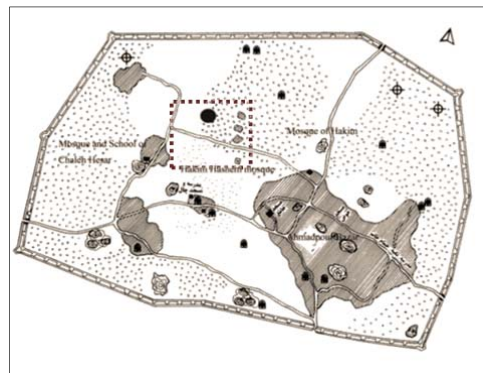


Figure 3.2: The possible Location of the Citadel–Arg in the Safavid era, (Source: The Municipality of Tehran)

reported that during the reign of Karim Khan (1179-1193 AH/1765-1779) Talar and the mansion of Doroyi were built simultaneously with small garden (*baghchesara*) and tank in the Citadel–Arg. Under Aqa Mohammad Khan’s leadership, the first Qajar king, due to the numerous wars and political vicissitudes, he could not consider becoming involved in any architectural projects. A few documents bear witness that he extended the area of the Arg.⁶ He also began the construction of new buildings in the Golestan garden such as Qasr-e-

² Samuel Greene Wheeler Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, (London: Murray, 1887), p.56.

³ However, later Fath Ali Shah, ‘discarded the tribal style in favour of the ancient traditions of imperial Shah-in-Shah’. Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between two Revolutions* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.38.

⁴ Yahya Zoka and Mohammad H Semsar, *Tehran Dar Tasvir (Tehran in Illustration)*, (Tehran: Soroush Press, 1369 SH/1990).; Jennifer M Scarce, ‘The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath ‘Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Nasir Al-Din Shah (1848-1896)’, *Iranian Studies*, 34 (2001).

⁵ Sedigheh Golshan, ‘The Influence of European Arts on Bagh-E-Golestan: The Qajarid Garden’, *International Journal of the Arts in Society*, 4 (2010). 377-414.

⁶ Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, ‘Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens’, (Tehran: ICHHTO, 2011), p.73.

Golestan on the East-West axis: these remained unfinished following his death in 1211 AH/1797.⁷

However, the 38-year reign of Fath Ali Shah, from 1211 AH/1797 to 1250 AH/1834, permitted the establishment of extensive architectural projects in Tehran. Carrying on the tradition of the Qajars, Fath Ali Shah's court life dominated with moving out of Tehran to cooler area known as Shemiranat (Figure 3.3). Therefore, many suburban gardens including Qasr-e-Qajar, Negarestan,⁸ Suleimanieh (1808), Niavaran (Sahebgharanieh), Laleh-Zar, and Soltanieh in Tehran, and Cheshme Ali in Damghan (1806),⁹ were constructed.¹⁰ During Fath Ali Sha's reign, for the first time the mansions of gardens of Qasr-e-Qajar in Tehran (Figure 3.4)¹¹ and Bagh-e-Takht in Shiraz were designed in a terrace form with artificial lake.

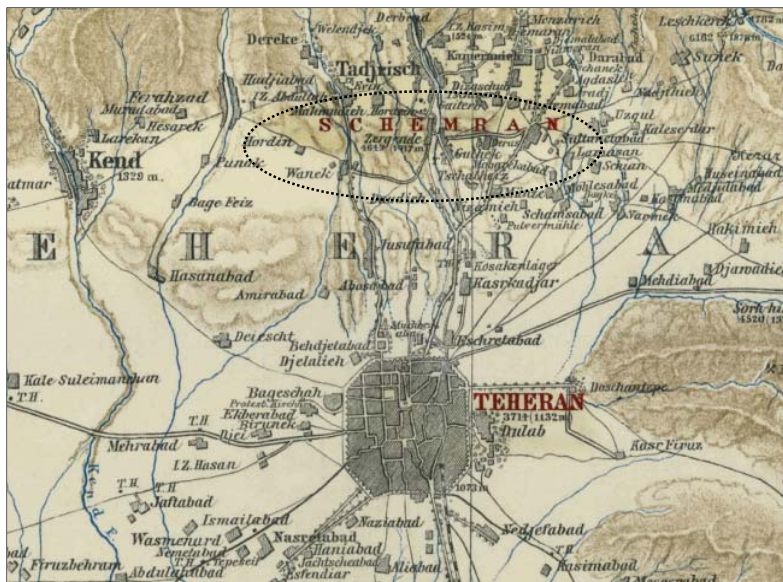


Figure 3.3: Location of Shemiranat on the map of Qajar's era, (Source: Karte der UMGEGEND-von TEHRAN by A.F STAHL in 1279 AH/1900), Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C)

⁷According to Jennifer Scarce, Bagh-e-Shah in Damavand, a pavilion garden and hunting lodge, was also constructed during Aqa Mohammad Khan's rule, but this no longer exists. Jennifer M. Scarce, 'The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; a Survey', in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change (1800-1925)*, ed. by Edmund Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), pp. 329-41, (p.335); Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List', (Tehran: ICHHTO, 2012), p.74.

⁸Due to the lack of water, the Negarestan garden dried. Therefore, in 1267 AH/1851, a *qanat* was dug out for its irrigation. Naser al-Din Shah rarely visited this garden and according to Etemad al Saltaneh only after nine years he decided to visit Negarestan. As during the Naser al-Din Shah' reign there was no specific place for foreign ambassadors, Negarestan was considered for accommodating the formal guests of the court. According to Etemad al Saltaneh, in 1298 AH/1880-81, the Legation of Soviet was settled in Negarestan garden. Iraj Afshar, 'Roozname Khaterat Etemad Al Saltaneh (1292-1313 Ah) (Daily Diary of Etemad Al Saltaneh)', (Tehran: Amir Kabir Press, 1345 SH/1966), p.18 and p.77.

⁹Cheshmeh Ali garden was constructed for Fath Ali Shah's 42nd wife.

¹⁰Donald N Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), p.65; Scarce, 'The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; a Survey', p.339.

¹¹Qasr-e-Qajar was built in 1213 AH/1798, in the second year of Fath Ali Shah's reign that was located on the hill. Each of terraces contained within an arcaded brick wall and its 'rectangular doubled-storey buildings of the Royal apartment' that had no windows to the interior garden's court. Scarce, 'The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; a Survey', p.337.

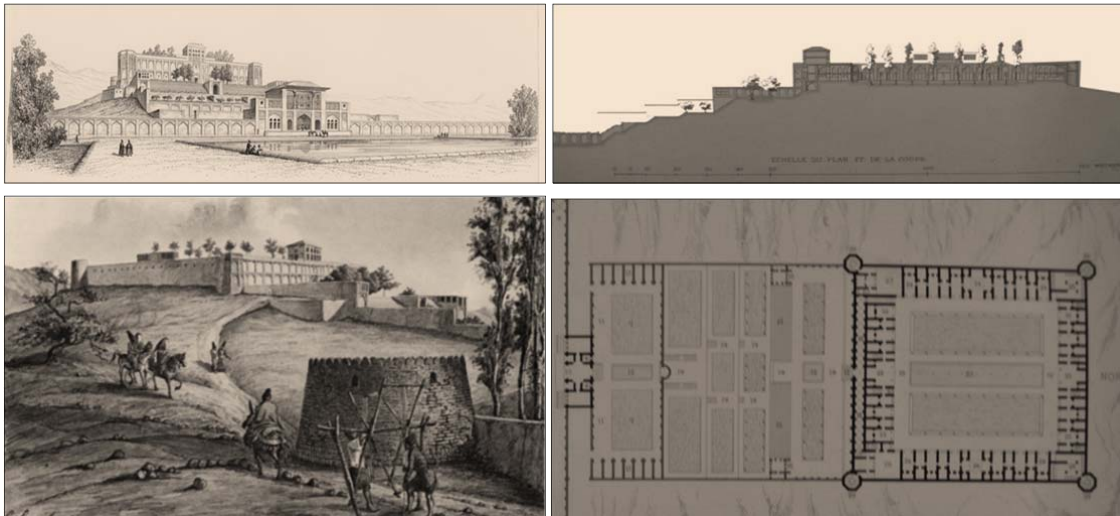


Figure 3.4: Above and Below Right : Section and Plan of Qasr-e- Qajar, (Source : Pascal Coste, *Monuments Modernes De La Perse* (Paris: A. Morel, 1867), pl LVIII, photo was taken by permission of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Rare Book Collection; Below left : Painting of Qasr-e-Qajar, designed in a terrace form (Source : Lynne Thornton, *Image De Perse (Le Voyage Du Colonel F. Colombari)*. trans. Mina Navaii (Tehran: Cultural Research Bureau, 1996), p.14.)

By focusing on the Citadel–Arg, Fath Ali Shah gradually transformed it into the political and social heart of Tehran containing the royal garden, bazaars, mosques, Tekeye and residential quarters.¹² Ordered by Fath Ali Shah, many mansions and palaces in the Golestan garden were built, in order to serve as his Royal residence, the centre of government and ambassadorial reception. Due to the dominance of the nomadic life style, under Fath Ali Shah’s rule, little importance was given to the domestic quarters of Golestan. However, the structure of the Divankhane (audience chamber) that connected to extensive gardens,¹³ with the open porch known as a talar ,was different as it was a stage upon which Fath Ali Shah showed himself to the foreign guests and courtiers (see Figure 3.5). By 1806, the Divankhane was decorated lavish with mirror work.¹⁴ The Qasr Golestan, that was finished in 1801, Imarat Bolur on the North side, and Talar Almas on the south side of garden were other constructions that added to Golestan. Imarat Badgir was the last mansion added in the Golestan garden during Fath Ali Shah’s rule (see Table 3.1).¹⁵

¹² Mina Marefat, 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988). , p.39.

¹³ Scarce. 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Naser Al-Din Shah (1848-1896)', p.110.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.111.

¹⁵ The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens', p.77.

Based on the first map of Tehran that was provided in 1852 by the Russian Orientalist, Ilya Nikolayevitch Berezin, it can be seen that the area of the Citadel–Arg remained unchanged until 1269 AH/1854 (Figure 3.6).¹⁶ It was not until the long-lasting reign of Naser al-Din Shah (1848–1896), who was the fourth Qajar King, that Tehran and in particular the Citadel–Arg witnessed greater changes.

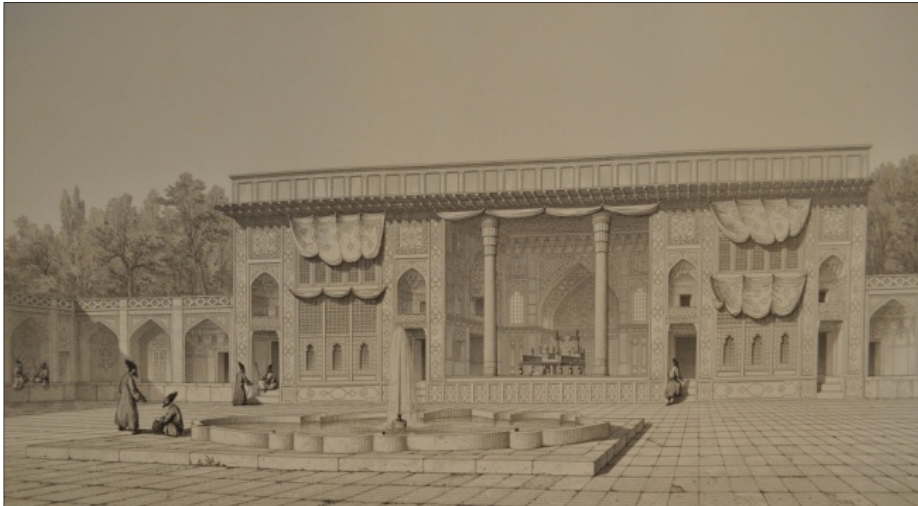


Figure 3.5: Audience chamber (Later known as Takht-e-Marmar) in Golestan, (Source: Coste, *Monuments Modernes De La Perse*, plate LXII, photo was taken by the author by permission of Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, Rare book Collection)



Figure 3.6: The first known map of Tehran drawn by Berezin in 1842, (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of Golestan Palace)

¹⁶ Sedigheh Golshan, 'Golestan Bagh-E-Golestan (Arg-Etarikhi Tehran)', in *The Second Congress of the History of Iranian Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. by Bagher A Shirazi (Bam-Kerman: ICHO, 1374 SH/1995), pp. 720-57., (p.733).

During the forty-eight years of his reign, Tehran enlarged fourfold in comparison to Fath Ali Shah's era and in 1284 AH/1867 was named *Dar al khelafe Naseri* (Naser al-Din Shah's seat of khalifat al Islam). Inspired by the Hausmannian model in Paris, which similarly adopted in Cairo, Sofia, and Istanbul, the urban renewal was implemented in Tehran.¹⁷ In about 1284 AH/1868, 114 tower old walls of Tehran were knocked down¹⁸ when new octagonal walls with 12 gateways¹⁹ were constructed with the collaboration of Abdollah Khan Memarbashi and French General Buhler. Modelled on the Vauban's fortification of Paris,²⁰ these 12 gateways were also reflected Shi'a doctrine in the urban images that depicted their belief to 12 Imams.²¹

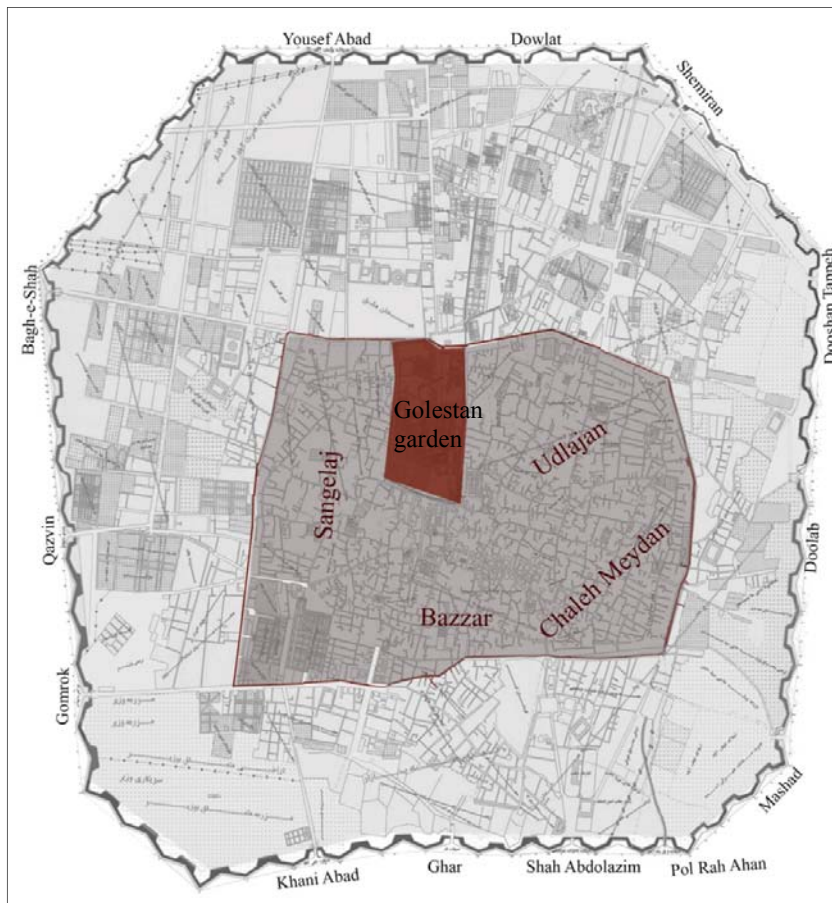


Figure 3.7: New wall and gates of Tehran in 1868, (Source: Abdol Ghafar's map drawn in 1309 AH/1891, Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan Palace. Highlights and text added by the author)

¹⁷ Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p.5.

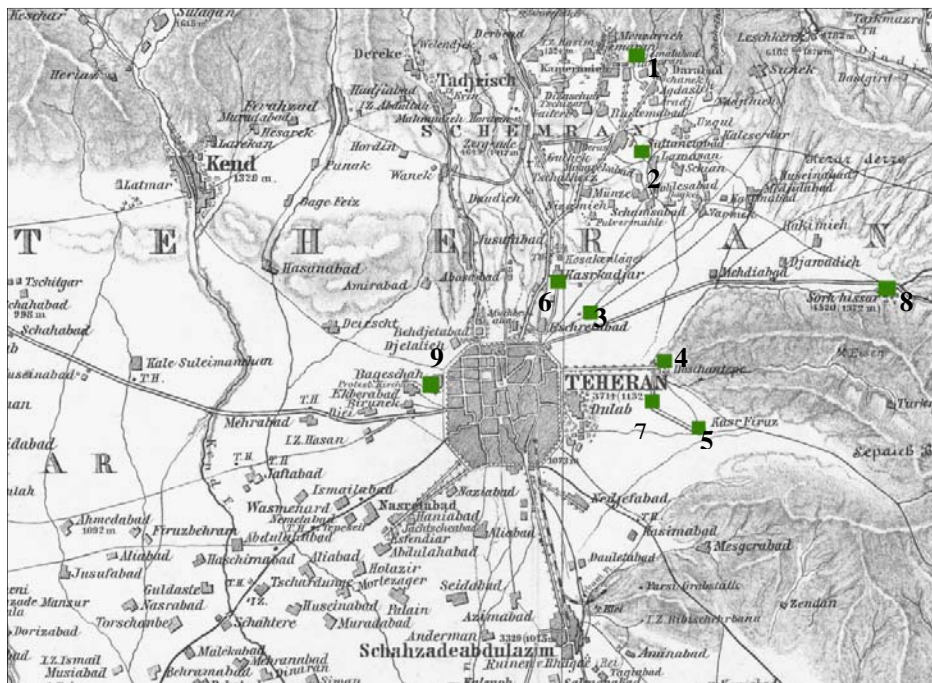
¹⁸ Mina Marefat, 'Fractured Globalization: A Case Study of Tehran', in *New Global History and the City*, (Saint Petersburg, 2003), p.7.

¹⁹ These gates were: Yusef Abad, Dowlat, Shemiran, Dushan, Dulab, Mashad, Hazrat-e-Abdol Azim, Ghaar, Khani Abad, Gomrok, Qazvin and Bagh-e-Shah.

²⁰ Scarce, 'The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; a Survey', p.339; Marefat., 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', p.35.

²¹ Marefat, 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', p.38.

Since being involved with nomadic lifestyle, during the Naseri era,²² a necklace of winter and summer gardens ringing Tehran were also built²³ that far outnumbered those of his predecessors (Figure 3.8). Approximately ten new gardens were created outside the new barrier of Tehran namely Eshrat Abad (1874),²⁴ Sahebgharanieh, Qasr-e-Yaqut, Qasr-e-Firuze, Aish Abad (1890), Shahrestanak and Sorkhe Hesar. Rooted in nomadic Qajars' lifestyle, construction of these gardens also depicts an indulgence of Naser al-Din Shah in hunting, luxury and gardens. He was always on the move between summer and winter suburban gardens.²⁵



Key

- 1 Sahebgharnieh (Niavaran)
- 2 Saltanat Abad
- 3 Eshrat Abad
- 4 Sorkhe Hesar (Dooshan teppeh)
- 5 Qasr Firoozeh
- 6 Qasr Qajar
- 7 Suleimanieh
- 8 Sorkhe hesar
- 9 Bagh-e-Shah

Figure 3.8: Possible location of Naser al-Din Shah's garden in Qajar era, (Source: Highlights and numbers added by author, based-on Karte der UMGEGEND-von TEHRAN by A.F STAHL, 1279 AH/1900), Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C)

Most of his suburban gardens had caravansaries, thermal baths (*garmabeh*), a garrison of troops, menageries, aviaries and *harem* or seraglios.²⁶ With the rise of suburban gardens and due to their importance for the Shah, in 1290 AH/1873, the Royal State Garden's Office

²² Naser al-Din Shah's reign from 1848 to 1896 also was known as the Naseri era.

²³ Scarce. 'The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; a Survey'.

²⁴ According to Etemad al Saltaneh Naser al-Din Shah cultivated four trees by his hand in this garden which became as a tradition for other courtiers. Afshar. 'Roozname Khatrat Etemad Al Saltaneh (1292-1313 Ah) (Daily Diary of Etemad Al Saltaneh)'.
²⁵ Many nomadic movements were because of the affection of Naser al-Din Shah to Royal hunting that was the tradition of Iranian monarchs from 600 BC. From the diary of Naser al-Din Shah it could be seen that Dooshan Tappeh, Sorkhe Hesar (1302 AH/1884), Shahrestanak, Jajrood, Komesh, Zarak, Firoozeh and Soltanieh gardens were served him as hunting lodges. Fatemeh Ghaziha, 'Gozaresh Shekarhaye Naser Al-Din Shah (Report of Hunting of Naser Al-Din Shah)', (Tehran: National Library and Archives of the IRI, 1390 SH/2010), p.82.

²⁶ It is noteworthy to mention that there is no mosque in the gardens of the Qajars. Albeit Naser al-Din Shah in his daily diary frequently mentioned that he held his prayer in his gardens (e.g. Bagh-e-Maydan). For this information, see. Abdol Hossein Navaie and Elham Malekzadeh, 'Rooznameh Khatrat Naser Al-Din Shah (Diary of Naser Al-Din Shah)', (Tehran: National Library and Archives of the IRI, 1390 SH/2010), p.24 and p.68.

(*Edare Baghate Mobarake Dolati*) was established²⁷ and Mohammad Hasan Khan Etemad al Saltane was appointed as the Head of the office. Assisted by Haj Mirza Mohammad Beig Baghbanbashi and Mirza Mehdi Sareshedar as Head Gardeners, this Office was responsible for maintaining and managing the trees and green spaces in the royal gardens, and restoring the *qanat* and repairing the pavilions. In *Maser al Asar*, the historical textual source that was written by Etemad al-Saltaneh in about 1306 AH/1889, the name of six men who managed the royal gardens,²⁸ six *qanat* finders (*Moghani*), in addition to nine traditional master builders called *memarbashi* were recorded.²⁹ Etemad al-Saltaneh reported that 500 servants and gardeners maintained gardens of Dooshan Teppeh, Eshrat Abad and Qasr-e-Qajar. Parallel with the construction of many suburban gardens during Naser al-Din Shah's reign Golestan garden also experienced changes.³⁰ From 1850 to 1896 much intervention was undertaken and the garden was continuously transformed as will be discussed in the next section.

The Golestan garden during Naser al-Din Shah's reign (1269 AH/1853-1313 AH/1896)

Amir Kabir, the reformist prime minister (1848-51), extended the Golestan garden's area during Naser al-Din Shah's reign. The eastern part of the Arg was bought from the Asef al Doleh family for the erection of new constructions including Golestan Hall and Diamond Hall. According to Sedigheh Golshan, under the supervision of the traditional master builders, Hajeb al Doleh and Abdollah Khan Memarbashi,³¹ the thermal bath and Chehel Sotun, near the octagonal pavilion or Kolah Farangi were constructed, and in 1277 AH/1860, the *qanat* of Mehrgard was dug out.³² At about the same time, the Abdarkhane (kitchen) or Soltani mansion was also built, and a boating pool was laid out for the king and his wives. A photograph in the archive and library of the Golestan palace, dated to 1315 AH/1898 provides evidence of the new use of the lake in the royal gardens, showing the king and the

²⁷ Vaghayeo Etefagiey Newspaper, NO.183, quoted in Manoochehr Sotudeh, *Geografiyaye Tehran (Geography of Tehran)*, (Tehran: Institute for Cultural Studies and Research, 1371 SH/1992), p.491.

²⁸ These Head gardeners were: Haj Alikhan Hajeb al Doleh, Mohammad Taghi Khan Hajbe al Doleh, Agha Ali Ashtiani, Amin Hozour, Mohammad Valikhan Qajar Alaodoleh, Mohammad Hasan Khan Etemad al Saltaneh.

²⁹ *Qanat* finders (*Moghani*) of Qajar gardens were: Haj Alikhan Hajeb al-doleh, Amin al Sultan, Zia al molk, Mohammad Taghi Khan Memarbashi, Agha Ebrahim Khan Amin Al Sultan I, Mirza Aliasghar Khan Amin al Sultan II. Etemad Al Saltaneh, *Al Maser Al Asar*, (Tehran: Sanayi, 1306 AH/1889), p.22-9.

³⁰ Similar to other historical gardens in Iran, there is little known about the key designer of the garden and buildings of Golestan. The role of the patron of buildings was emphasized instead of that of architects. Fatemeh Kateb-Valiankoh, 'Iran Domestic Architecture During Qajar Period', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Central England in Birmingham, 1998), p.134; Marefat., 'Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', p.112. Etemad al Saltane recorded that his father Haj Ali Khan Hajebodoleh was responsible for the construction of the Dormitory (*Khahgah*), mansion of Khoroji, Imarat Badgir (wind catcher buildings) and lake in the Golestan garden. The identity of the Head gardener (*Baghbanbashi*) namely Mashadi Reza and Mohammad Bagherbaig Baghbanbashi, who had probably designed the garden during the Naseri era, was also recorded by Etemad al Saltaneh in *Al Maser al Asar*.

³¹ Zoka and Semsar, *Tehran Dar Tasvir (Tehran in Illustration)*, p.21.

³² Golshan, 'Golestan Bagh-E-Golestan (Arg-Etarikhi Tehran)'.

government boating (Figure 3.9). This photo may further reinforce the assumption that the pools in gardens found a more recreational role during the Naseri era. This is in contrast to the Safavid era (1501–1736), in which the pools functioned as a symbolic element according to the concept of Shi'a and Islamic purity, or replicas of *Hoze-Kosar* in Paradise.



Figure 3.9 : The lake in Golestan garden considered for boating. (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan Palace)

Compared to his ancestors, Naser al-Din Shah focused on the development of the domestic section to use the Golestan garden more as a permanent residence and extended women's quarter in 1267AH/1851. The demand to increase the size of the women's quarter usually referred to as *harem* or *Andaruni*, shaped the main structure of Naser al-Din Shah's gardens.³³ His *harem* had more than 1600 inhabitants,³⁴ including 4 wives and over 300 concubines (*sigheh*),³⁵ who were guarded with 90 eunuchs (*khajeh*).³⁶ Located on the North side of Takht-e-Marmar³⁷ and the East part of the administrative section, the one-storey high women's houses of *Andaruni* were separated by a large squared courtyard in order to hide their view from the main garden (Figure 3.10).³⁸ Contrary to the public sphere of Golestan —

³³ *Harem* or *Haramsara* refers to the private sector that any males except a King, eunuchs and *maharem* were forbidden to enter it, see. Glossary.

³⁴ Ehsan Yarshater, 'The Qajar Era in the Mirror of Time', *Iranian Studies*, 34 (2001).p.8.

³⁵ In Shi'a Islam, in addition to the 'permanent marriage' with up to four wives, which itself contains many conditions for having more than one wife, 'temporary marriage' contracts (*Sigheh*) also is legal, but it is much different from permanent marriage contract.

³⁶ Moaeiro al Mamalek, *Yaddashthayi Az Zendegi Khosusi Naser Al-Din Shah (Report of Personal Life of Naser Al-Din Shah)*, (Tehran: History press, 1361 SH/1982), p.17.

³⁷ Fath Ali Shah about the year 1221 AH/1800 ordered a throne of yellow marble of Yazd to be made in Isfahan'. It was installed at the middle of the porch and was called Takht-e-Marmar or Takht-e-Soleimani. Its designer was Mirza Baba Shirazi and it was carved by Mohammad Ebrahim-e Esfahan, see. The Word Heritage Office. 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List', p.100.

³⁸ During the Naseri era, the practice of separating women's quarter and reception areas was continued. However, it was employed in a new way. While in the Safavid gardens and former Qajar kings, all of the members of women's quarter lived together in a main building that was completely separated from the ordinary world, in some of the Naser al-Din Shah's gardens such as Eshrat Abad and Golestan, each wife with her own servants had an independent room. So, *Andaruni* was no longer a forbidden dwelling, more exposed to the public garden.

where after entering the gateway, visitors immediately found themselves in the main garden — the process of entry into the women’s quarters followed the hierarchal principle of Islamic norms. Following the principle of the courtyard, it ranged from the public sector (*Biruni*) to private domain (*Andaruni*) and allowed visitors systematically directed to this female gendered courtyard through passing respectively from *Hashti* (vestibule), a narrow corridor (*dallan*) before finally entering into the women’s quarter in Golestan.³⁹ The entrance to the *Andaruni* was situated in the north-west, to protect the private domain from exposure to outside and strangers.⁴⁰ The Dormitory (*khabgah*) was located at the centre of the *Andaruni* and modelled on the Dolmabahçe palace in Istanbul.⁴¹ The construction work of it was perhaps carried out in 1303 AH/1885⁴² under the supervision of Amin al Sultan.⁴³

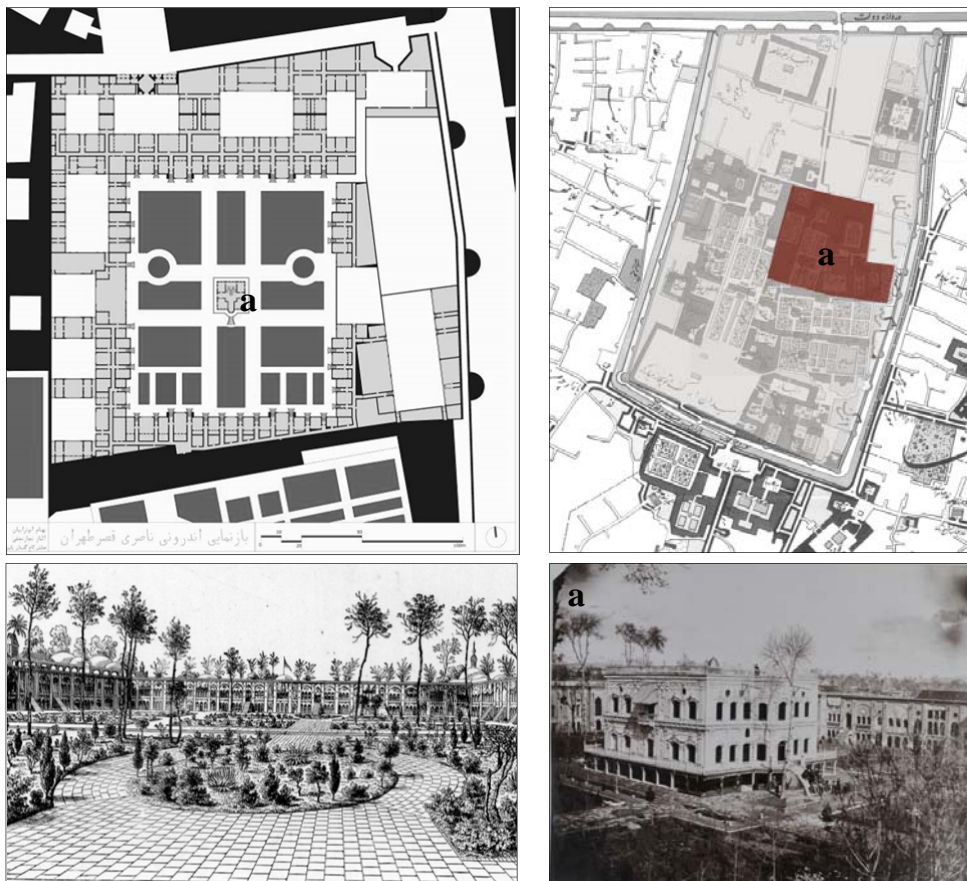


Figure 3.10 : Above Left: Possible plan of Royal Harem in Golestan, (Source: redrawn by Behnam Aboutorabian, Elnaz Najafi); Below Left: Royal Harem in Golestan, (Source: a drawing by a Persian Artist, in Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p.203); Below Right: Dormitory mansion (*khabgah*) in Golestan which is said that modelled on Dolmabahçe’ palace in Istanbul, Turkey.(Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan Palace)

³⁹ Kateb-Valiankoh, 'Iran Domestic Architecture during Qajar Period', p.200.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 199.

⁴¹ Moaeiro al Mamalek, *Yaddashthayi Az Zendegi Khosusi Naser Al-Din Shah (Report of Personal Life of Naser Al-Din Shah)*, p.15.

⁴² Yahya Zoka, *Tarikhche Sakhtemanhaye Arg Saltanati Tehran (Rahnamaye Kakh Golestan) (History of Royal Buildings of Arg, Tehran [Golestan Guidance])*, (Tehran: National Relic Society 78, 1349 SH/1970)., *Tarikhche Sakhtemanhaye Arg Saltanati Tehran (Rahnamaye Kakh Golestan) (History of Royal Buildings of Arg, Tehran [Golestan Guidance])*, p.293.

⁴³ Sharaf Newspaper, No. 65, 1306 AH/1888.

Naser al-Din Shah was the first Iranian monarch to travel to Europe three times; in 1290 AH/1873, 1295 AH/1878, and 1306 AH/1889 respectively, and the structures of Fath Ali Shah's era seemed to be out of date to him. In this regard, during the second phase of Golestan's development, the buildings belonging to Fath Ali Shah's reign were replaced with a new series that reflected Naser al-Din Shah's fresh ideas. Buildings to the North side of the garden having not too much windows which had become dilapidated, were replaced with the Audience Hall, mansion of Adj and Shams al Imare or sun building (see Figures 3.11 & 3.12). Chehel Sotun and Kolah Farangi were pulled down and deep and wide lake for boating was laid out. Only the Divankhane (reception) with Takht-e-Marmar (Marble Throne) survived from Fath Ali Shah's reign in Golestan,⁴⁴ since these structures played an important symbolic and political role for holding a ritual of kingship for Naser al-Din Shah and other Qajar kings who had been crowned there.

The most important surviving building in the Golestan garden is Shams al Imare, a five-storeys building, with flamboyant decoration and an imported tower-clock.⁴⁵ Shams al Imare, that was constructed perhaps in 1284 AH/1867 under the supervision of Ali Mohammad Kashi,⁴⁶ could be considered as the first building to deploy a new design language adopting the Western neo-classical style. However, the majority of current literatures overemphasize how its new architectural style was a result of Nasser al-Din Shah's increasing experience of European architecture,⁴⁷ a closer look at the date of its construction reveals clearly that Shams al Imare was completed before his first travel to Europe. As the 'palaces and mansion of Safavid era were no more than one or two stories high,'⁴⁸ Shams al Imare would have been the highest building in Tehran, dominating the surrounding skyline for decades. Unlike the previous buildings attached to the Persian Gardens, Shams al Imare rises over the walls to provide a view to the city of Tehran and the Golestan garden from its balcony, and its fenestration differed from the previous buildings of garden. Changing attitudes towards the

⁴⁴ Scarce, 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Naser Al-Din Shah (1848-1896)', p.109.

⁴⁵ A tower-clock of Shams al Imare, which its mechanical clock gifted by Queen Victoria, is one of the imported architectural adornments of the Golestan garden. As Shams al Imare at first was used for accommodation of the Shah and his household, Naser al-Din Shah complained about the loud sound of the clock bothering his sleep. Parviz Badiyi, 'Yadashthaye Ruzaneh Naser Al-Din Shah 1300-1303 Ah (Daily Diary of Naser Al-Din Shah 1883-1886-7)', (Tehran: National Archives of Iran, 1378 SH/1999).p.231. However, later the clergymen encouraged the Shah that the privacy of the women's quarters of neighboring houses of the Golestan garden were endangered and visually being seen from Shams al Imare. Requested by clergymen, the Shah avoided touse the top level of Shams al Imare. Therefore, Shams al Imare was only (re)used for keeping valuable foreign gifts given to the king. Khosro Motazed, *Zillo Soltan, Az Faramoushkhane Ta Gangkhane Khosravi(from Masonry Hall to the King of Treasure)*, (Tehran: Alborz, 1380 SH/2001) , p.121.

⁴⁶ Shams al Imare was also financed by Doost Ali Khan Moeiro al Mamalek.

⁴⁷ Marefat., 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', p.45.

⁴⁸ Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World : The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590-1722*, (Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda Pub, 1999) , p.56.

garden perhaps had an impact on the architectural style of buildings in the Naseri era, as now here the large tall windows were used in audience hall and Shams al Imare facing the garden and reflecting pool.



Figures 3.11 & 3.12: Left: The Adj mansion (Ivory Hall) constructed at the north side of the garden in 1280 AH/1863, Right: Shams al Imare constructed in 1867, photo by Abdolah Qajar, (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan palace)

During Naser al-Din Shah's reign, however, the most exceptional construction in the Citadel-Arg was Tekeye Dowlat (see Figure 3.13).⁴⁹ According to Peterson the Tekeye 'is the only purely Shi'a architecture to evolve in the Islamic world.'⁵⁰ Tekeye Dowlat was built between 1285 AH/1868 and 1290 AH/1873 that modelled perhaps on the Albert Hall in London.⁵¹ It was the first Iranian urban theatre for performance of the passion plays, *Ta'ziyeh*⁵² in the holy month of *Moharam*, which added a religious dimension to the Royal Citadel.⁵³ Samuel Benjamin, described the Tekeye Dowlat in detail as follows:

In centre of the arena was a circular stage of masonry, raised three feet and approached by two stairways. On one side of the building a pulpit of white marble was attached to the wall...But I soon discovered that all the architectural details of this remarkable building were secondary space to the extraordinary spectacle offered by the assembled multitude.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Tekeye Dowlat could accommodate about 20,000 spectators and in its scene 30 performed *Ta'ziyeh* drama.

⁵⁰ Samuel R Peterson, 'Shi'ism and Late Iranian Arts', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1981), p.110 quoted in Heather Empey, 'The Shi'i Passion: Ta'ziyeh, Tragedy and the Sublime', (Unpublished Master thesis, McGill University, 2003), p.22

⁵¹ Samuel R Peterson, 'The Ta'ziyeh and Related Arts', in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. by Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1979), pp. 64 - 87. (p.74). Although according to Talinn Grigor, Charles Garnier's Paris opera house begun in 1857. Grigor., 'Cultivat(ing) modernities: the Society for National Heritage, political propaganda and public architecture in twentieth-century Iran', p.131.

⁵² For more information about *Ta'ziyeh*, see. Terms of reference in Chapter One and also see. Empey. 'The Shi'i Passion: Ta'ziyeh, Tragedy and the Sublime'; Maria Salva, 'Twentieth-Century Transformations in Iranian Ta'ziyeh: Religion, Modernism, and Revolution', (Unpublished Master thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2013).

⁵³ According to Peterson, 'the compensation of the immoderate costs to the crown in erecting such a monumental building was partly realized through annual revenues from subscriptions for loges sold to the rising nobility and elite, a sum which one year amounted to 16, 250 *qeran* (488 pounds)'. Peterson., 'The Ta'ziyeh and Related Arts', p.74.

⁵⁴ Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, pp.382-88.

Coming back from his first European Travel in 1290 AH/1873, Naser al-Din Shah ordered to build the Brilliant Hall, Audience Hall, Museum Hall in a tall European style. These new constructions led to the demolition of many parts of the Khalvat Karimkhani in the North-West side of the garden in 1294 AH/1876.⁵⁵ Museum talar was the first private museum in Iran, and housed Naser al-Din Shah's growing collection of European decorative art⁵⁶ and gifts that he brought from his travels. Simultaneously, in 1295 AH/1878 *Narenjestan* (orangery) was built in the East-North side and 'extended retaining walls [were] completed.'⁵⁷

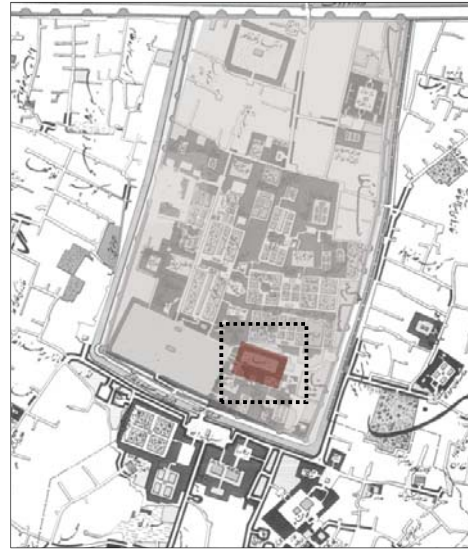


Figure 3.13: Approximate location of Tekeye Dowlat, (Source: Highlights added by the author, based on Kriziz map of the Arg, produced in 1275 AH/1858)

Between 1295 AH/1878 and 1313 AH/1895 the Khoroji mansion was demolished and the large pool of narrow width (similar to the proportion of Khoroji) was laid out in front of Imarat Badgir (see Table 3.1).⁵⁸ The diary of Etemad al-Saltaneh bears witness to the fact that the Kakh-bolour-e- Fath Ali Shahi existed until 1300 AH/1883 in Golestan. This building was probably destroyed in 1305 AH/1888 and replaced with existing Talar Bolur. Until 1305 AH/1888, the lakes and pools of Golestan had not been altered, but two years later, the eastern and western lakes were linked together and the beds in the middle of them became as an island in front of the *Narenjestan*. The last building added to Golestan in 1308 AH/1891 was Abyaz (White Palace)⁵⁹ that led to the demolition of the Abdarkhane (kitchen).⁶⁰ According to Golshan, after the construction of Abyaz, a circular lake was designed in front of the Tekeye Dowlat, linking through the stream to the pool in front of the Hall of Mirror (see Table 3.1).

⁵⁵ Golshan, 'Golestan Bagh-E-Golestan (Arg-Etarikhi Tehran)', p.747.

⁵⁶ Jennifer M. Scarce, 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Naser Al-Din Shah (1848-1896)', *Iranian Studies*, 34 (2001), 103-16.p.114.

⁵⁷ Scarce, , 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Naser Al-Din Shah (1848-1896)', p.115.

⁵⁸ The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List', p.75.

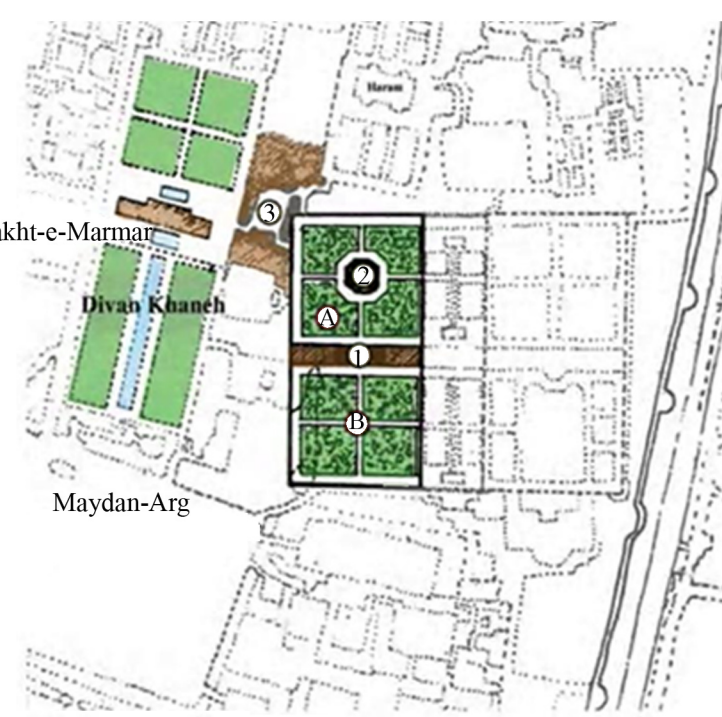
⁵⁹ Now, this building is Ethnographical Museum.

⁶⁰ It should be mentioned that in contrast to the principles of domestic architecture in Islamic countries that focused on the decoration of interior section, during the Naseri era, the exterior facade of mansions in Golestan, were decorated lavishly with polychromatic tile work. Containing the vignette of European villas and buildings that were probably modelled on the picture or postal cards coming from the West and 'intertwined with arabesque strapwork'. Scarce., 'The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; a Survey', p.339.

By expanding the garden towards the East and adding new constructions, the layout of the garden was transformed from rectangular shape in Fath Ali Shah's era to a square one. Despite keeping the formal and geometrical pattern, however, by its expansion, the layout did not necessarily follow the *chaharbagh* pattern which is traditionally dominated by a main axis.

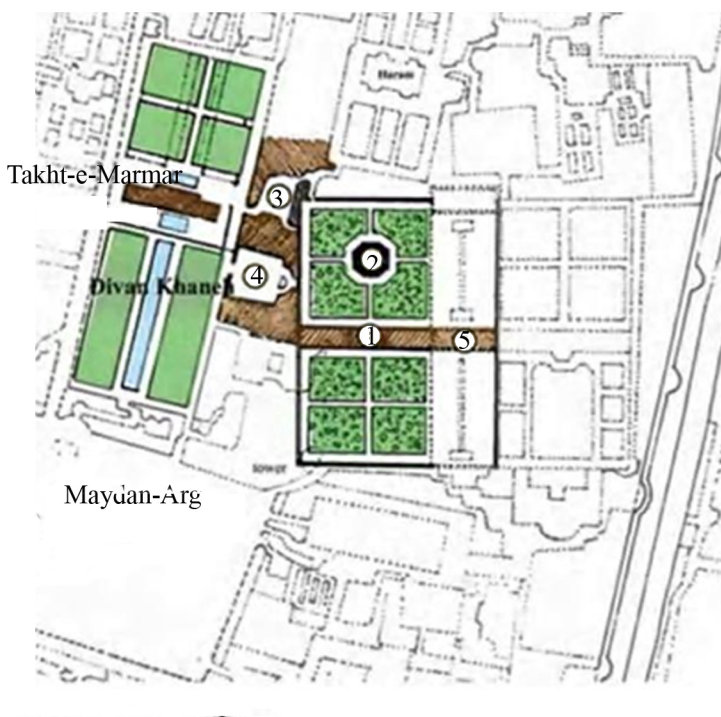
Table 3.1 : Right page: Historical development of Golestan garden from 1759 to 1895. (Source: The Word Heritage Office, Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List)

Golestan in Karim Khan-e Zand era, 1759-1779 AD



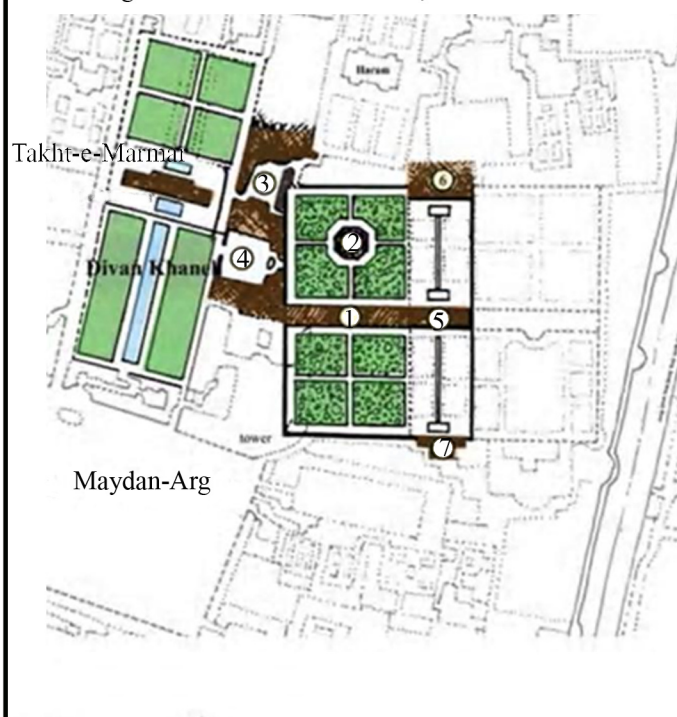
- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Kolahfarangi, 1760
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- A Kolahfarangi
- B Garden

Golestan garden in Aqa Mohammad Kahn era, 1786-1797



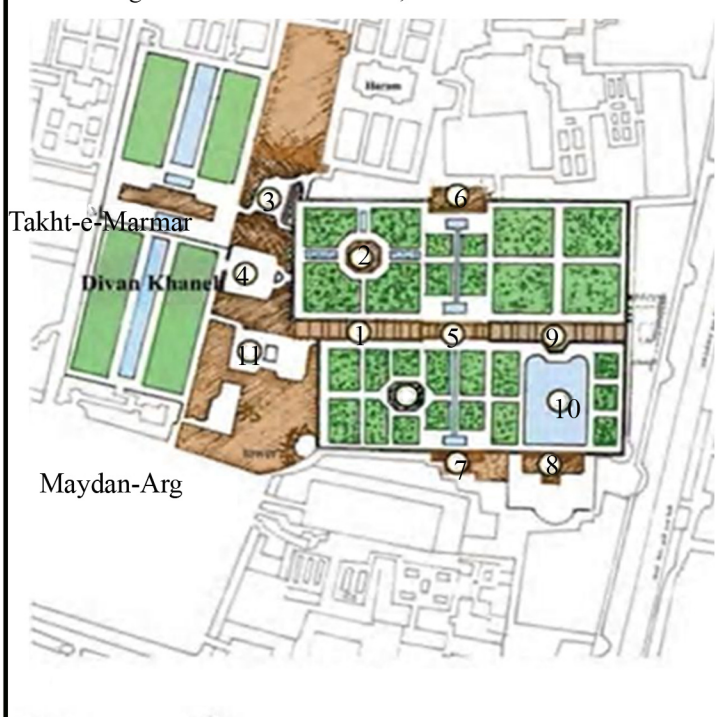
- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Kolahfarangi, 1760
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- 4 Sandoogh Khaneh, 1786-1795
- 5 Golestan Palace Foundation, 1796

Golestan garden in Fath Ali Shah era, 1797-1834



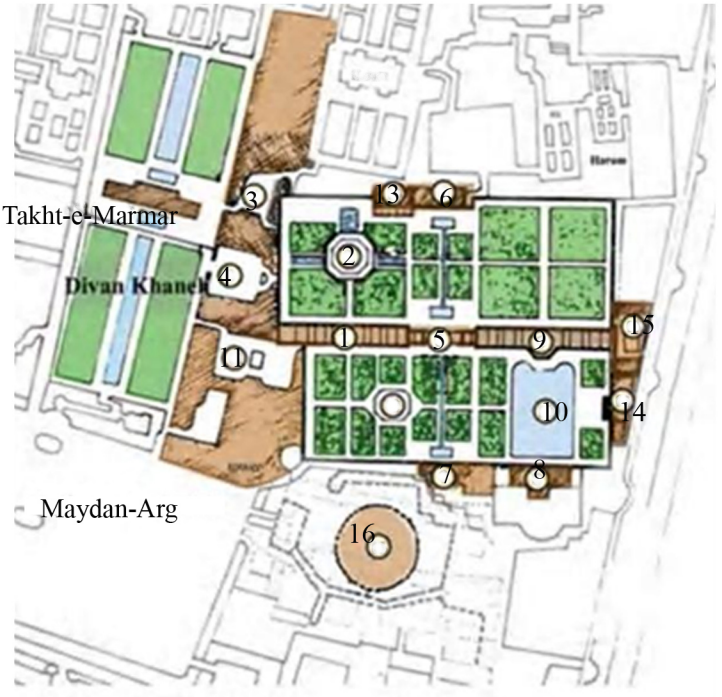
- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Kolahfarangi, 1760
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- 4 Sandoogh Khaneh, 1786-1795
- 5 Golestan Palace, 1796
- 6 Imarat-e Bolour, 1801
- 7 Talar-e Almas, 1801

Golestan garden in the Naseri I era, 1853-1859



- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Kolahfarangi, 1760
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- 4 Sandoogh Khaneh, 1786-1795
- 5 Golestan Palace Foundation, 1796
- 6 Imarat-e Bolour, 1801
- 7 Talar-e Almas, 1801
- 8 Imarat-e Badgir, 1854
- 9 Imarat-e Khorouji, 1854
- 10 Lake, 1854
- 11 Pantry, 1854
- 12 Chehel Sotun, 1854

Golestan garden in the Naseri II era, 1859-1869



- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Lake, 1864
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- 4 Sandoogh Khaneh, 1786-1795
- 5 Golestan Palace Foundation, 1796-1801
- 6 Imarat-e Bolour, 1801
- 7 Talar-e Almas, 1801
- 8 Imarat-e Badgir, 1854
- 9 Imarat-e Khorouji, 1854
- 10 Lake, 1854
- 11 Pantry
- 12 Lake, 1864
- 13 Talar-e Adj, 1864-1873
- 14 Shams al Imareh, 1868
- 15 Photo Gallery, 1864
- 16 Tekeyeh Dowlat

Golestan garden in the Naseri III era, 1869-1878



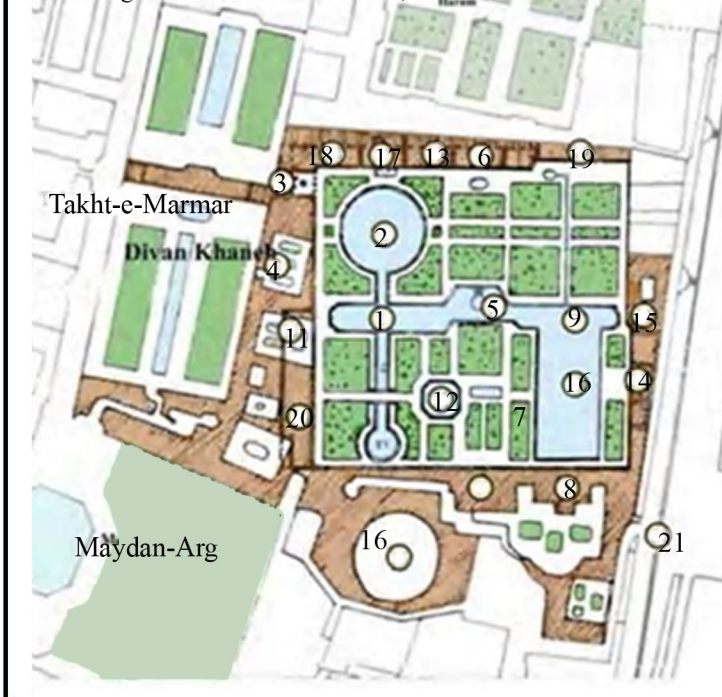
- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Lake, 1864
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- 4 Sandoogh Khaneh, 1786-1795
- 5 Golestan Palace Foundation, 1796-1801
- 6 Imarat-e Bolour, 1801
- 7 Talar-e Almas, 1801
- 8 Imarat-e Badgir, 1854
- 9 Imarat-e Khorouji, 1854
- 10 Lake, 1854
- 11 Pantry, 1854
- 12 Lake, 1864
- 13 Talar-e Adj, 1864-1873
- 14 Shams al Imareh, 1868
- 15 Photo Gallery, 1864
- 16 Tekeyeh Dowlat
- 17 Talar Ayineh
- 18 Talar Salam 1874-1879
- 19 Narenjestan, 1873

Golestan garden in the Naseri IV era, 1878-1883



- 1 Talar Tavileh (Linear Hall, 1760)
- 2 Lake, 1864
- 3 Khalvat Karim Khani 1760
- 4 Sandoogh Khaneh, 1786-1795
- 5 Golestan Palace Foundation, 1796-1801
- 6 Imarat-e Bolour, 1801
- 7 Talar-e Almas, 1801
- 8 Imarat-e Badgir, 1854
- 9 Imarat-e Khorouji, 1854
- 10 Lake, 1854
- 11 Pantry, 1854
- 12 Lake, 1864
- 13 Talar-e Adj, 1864-1873
- 14 Shams al Imareh, 1868
- 15 Photo Gallery, 1864
- 16 Tekeyeh Dowlat
- 17 Talar Ayineh
- 18 Talar Salam 1874-1879
- 19 Narenjestan, 1873

Golestan garden in the Naseri V era, 1883-1895



- 10 Lake, 1854
- 11 Pantry
- 12 Chehel Sotun
- 13 Talar-e Adj, 1864-1873
- 14 Shams al Imareh, 1868
- 15 Photo Gallery, 1864
- 16 Tekeyeh Dowlat
- 17 Talar Ayineh
- 18 Talar Salam
- 19 Narenjestan
- 20 Kakh-e Abyaz 1888-1891
- 21 Shams al Imareh entrance, 1888

Moreover, during the last years of Naser al-Din Shah's reign, an old photo taken between 1311 AH/1893 and 1315 AH/1897, shows the figural statues that were erected at specific intervals around the pool in front of the Hall of Mirror (Figure 3.14). As the depiction of all humans and animals is discouraged and opposed to Islamic principles, after the advent of Islam in Iran, no standing statue is known.⁶¹ The first figural sculpture and 'equestrian statue' in Iranian gardens was erected in 1306 AH/1888 in the Bagh-e-Shah or King's garden, as depicted in Figure 3.15.⁶² Based on old photos of Tehran published in the book of Zoka,⁶³ it can be seen that these kinds of lamp stands in Golestan, were also evident in the old photos of Russian Legation Garden in the Zargandeh, the Atabak Park and the Niavaran garden. Duplicated from the Russian Legation Garden's lamp stands around Golestan's pool and in the Niavaran garden, they represent the king's awareness of political reality of the late 19th century by means of artistic contribution that was more strategic than symbolic. Perhaps these lamp stands were removed between 1314 AH/1898 and 1324 AH/1906 during Mozafar al-Din Shah's reign (1896-1907).



Figures 3.14 & 3.15: Left :Lamp stands around the pool, (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan palace), Right: Statue of Naser al-Din Shah in Bagh-e-Shah (King's garden),oil painting by Kamal al Molk, 1206 AH /1888, (Source: Hamid R NouriTalab, *Tehran:Past and Present* (Tehran: Siarami, 1386 SH/2007, p.93))

⁶¹ Islamic art being dominated by geometric pattern, tile working, inlay works, calligraphy benefitting from foliage patterns of the arabesque.

⁶² According to Doost Ali Khan Moairolmamalek, the statue of Naser al-Din Shah was constructed by Mirza Ali Akbar in weapon factory (*Ghourkhane*),who was traditional master builder and also sculptor. In the day of inauguration of the statue, the nobilities, princes and foreign ambassadors were invited. By the arrival of Naser al-Din Shah to Bagh-e-Shah, his statue was unveiled. Music was played, Ottoman ambassador gave a speech, faltering poem was read and ceremony continued until the sunset.

⁶³ Zoka and Semsar, *Tehran Dar Tasvir (Tehran in Illustration)*, p.419.

The Citadel-Arg and the Golestan garden as an arena for social and religious rituals

This section will shift the focus of discussion towards highlighting the ancient dynamic activities and rituals that took place in the Golestan garden and extended to be performed in the Arg *Maydan*. These activities and the changes that took place not only to the material architecture and landscape but also to the range of activities and its symbolism over the course of the 20th century, are central to the development of this thesis.

With more than 2,500 years of imperialism in Iran, Iranian the royal gardens and the *Maydan* in front of them, not only were used as a centre of government, administrative headquarters, worldly pleasure and Royal residence, but they also embodied specific Royal and religious rituals serving to reinforce their political powers. The royal gardens were a stage for the performance of religious Shi'a rituals, the celebration of Muslim *Eids*, the *Nowrouz* festival (Figure 3.16),⁶⁴ marriages and the Greeting Ceremony (*marasem-e-salam*). In Safavid Iran, the Kings almost continued the performance of ancient Royal rituals to present themselves as the successors of the ancient Persian Empires,⁶⁵ in particular the Achaemenid Empire, in order to strengthen their legitimacy.



Figure 3.16 : Celebration of rituals in gardens; Left: Khosrow celebrating *Nowrouz*, *Shahnameh Shiraz*, 1535, Right: The beginning of the feast of Eid, From the *Divan* by Hafez, attributed to Sultan Mohammad, 1527. (Source: © The Library Board, IO. Islamic 133 f519; The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC 86 recto, no.66)

⁶⁴ For information about social activities taken place in Persian Gardens before the 18th century, see. Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions : Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts*, (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

⁶⁵ Mahvash Alemi, 'Princely Safavid Gardens, Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy', in *The Middle East Garden Traditions : Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007). , p.114.

Resembling the Timurid the royal gardens (1370-1507), which were the place of power and cultural domination,⁶⁶ Shah Abbas I, had a similar intention to create the garden as the reflection of kingship and territorial control.⁶⁷ The Naqsh-e-Jahan *Maydan* in Isfahan, (literally the ‘Design of the World’), dating back to the Safavid era was and still has been one of the major royal *Maydan* in Iran.⁶⁸ Under Shah Abbas I’s rule, the Nagsh-e-Jahan *Maydan* was the focal point of Isfahan, becoming the main stage for political, economic, religious, and social activities aimed to manifest royal power. According to Natanzi, ‘the *Maydan* was levelled for Polo and horse racing,’⁶⁹ which was a tradition of imperial display to demonstrate the ability of a hero, dating back to the 5th century BC.⁷⁰ An English merchant traveller captured the festivities in the royal gardens of Isfahan as follows:

For thirties days continually, the King made the Feast in a great Garden of more than two miles compassed under Tents, pitched by certain small courses of running water, like divers rivers, where every man that would come, was placed according to his degree, either under one or other tent, provided for abundantly with meats, fruit, and wine, drinking as they would, some largely, some moderately, without compulsion.⁷¹



Figure 3.17: Activities that took place in *Maydan*, Isfahan, (Source: Engelbert Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum Politico-Physico-Medicarum Fasciculi :V. Quibus Continentur Variæ Relationes, Observationes & Descriptiones Rerum Persicarum & Ulterioris Asiae, Multâ Attentione / in Peregrinationibus Per Universum Orientem, Collectae, Ab Auctore Engelberto Kæmpfero, D. (Lemgoviae [Lemgo, Germany]: Typis & impensis H.W. Meyeri, 1712)*, photo taken by the author by permission of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Rare Book Collection)

⁶⁶Asher Catherine B, 'Babur and the Timurid Char Bagh: Use and Meaning', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1-2*, (1991).

⁶⁷ Heidi A Walcher, 'Between Paradise and Political Capital: The Semiotics of Safavid Isfahan', *Middle Eastern Natural Environments Journal*, 103 (1997), p.365.

⁶⁸ It is nearly 507 meters in length and 158 meters in width that lies to the east of the northern end of the Chahar-Bagh Avenue. It is surrounded by 'two of the greatest masterpieces of Safavid architecture, Masjed-e-Shah, and Masjed-e-Sheikh-Lutfullah' Mahdi Zandieh, 'Transformation of Urban Landscape Architecture in Iran; a Comparative Analysis of Traditional & Modern Approach to Urban Landscape Architecture in the Safavid (1501- 1725) & the Pahlavi (1921-1979) Periods (Case Study: The City of Isfahan)', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University Of Central England in Birmingham, 2004).

⁶⁹ Robert D McChesney, 'Four Sources on Shah 'abbas's Building of Isfahan', *Muqarnas*, 5 (1988). 103-34. (p.106), quoted in Alemi, cited above, p.125.

⁷⁰ R. G. Goel, Veena Goel, Gaurav Goel, *Encyclopaedia of sports and games*, (Delhi: Tarang, 2004), p. 318.

⁷¹ Donald N Wilber and Phyllis Ackerman, *The Persian Garden*, (New York?: The Iranian Institute of America, 1940), p.9.

When Shiism became the main Iranian official religion under the Safavid regime, the Shi'a rituals — namely *Ta'ziyeh* — was held in Nagsh-e Jahan.⁷² Furthermore, *Nowrouz*,⁷³ that was the ancient Zoroastrian feast on the eve of first day of Iranian New Year, was celebrated in Naghsh-e-Jahan. The first-ever record of celebration of *Nowrouz* in the Royal *Maydan*, was in 1005 AH/1596-97, during the construction of *Chaharbagh* Avenue.⁷⁴ From the *talar* of Ali Qapoo, Shah Abbas I, gave audience to the ambassador at *Nowrouz* eve and then overlooked horse races and polo performed in the *Maydan*. By holding these feasting ceremonies, the Safavid rulers, in particular Shah Abbas I, aimed to demonstrate their powers as a 'Shadows of God' and consolidate their kingships.⁷⁵

However, it was only during Naser al-Din Shah's leadership that *Ta'ziyeh*, the ceremony of mourning for the death of Imam Hossein, was practised as a drama. After the construction of Tekeye Dowlat, the first Iranian urban theatre, *Ta'ziyeh* reached its culmination. The oil painting by Mohammad Ghafari known as *Kamal al Molk*, depicts the rituals in Tekeye Dowlat. Surrounded by three tiers and entered

from a vaulted hall, its central arena, featured two stages (the *saku* in the centre and the *taqnama* at the site). 'Other architectural provision for performers was a large white marble *minbar* from which *rowzeh khani* was read.'⁷⁶ 'On the 5th of *Moharam*, after entering into the



Figure 3.18: Photo depicting *Ta'ziyeh* ritual in Niavaran garden, dated 1312 AH /1895 (Sahebghranieh), (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan palace)

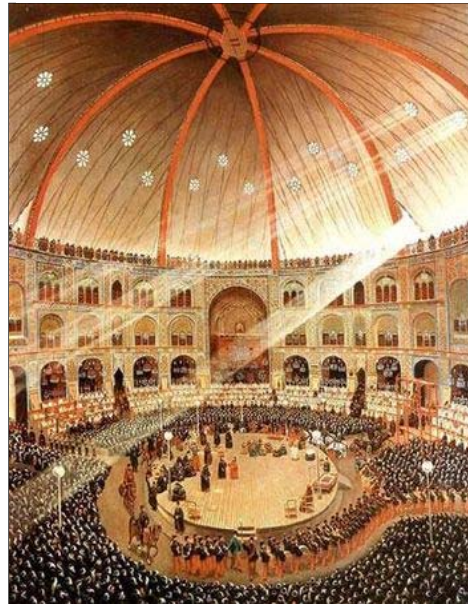


Figure 3.19: The oil painting of Tekeye Dowlat drawn by Kamal al Molk; the first theatre of Iran for performance of religious rituals, (Source: Courtesy of Archive of Golestan)

⁷² Alemi, 'Princely Safavid Gardens, Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy', p.129; Jean Calmard, 'Shi'i Rituals and Powers: The Consolidation of Safavid Shi'is: Folkore and Popular Religion', in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. by Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1996), pp. 139-91.

⁷³ For definition of *Nowrouz*, see. Definition of relevant terms in Chapter One.

⁷⁴ Blake, *Half the World : The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan*, p.21.

⁷⁵ Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.170 ; George Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*. Vol. 2 (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p.31.

⁷⁶ Peterson, 'The *Ta'ziyeh* and Related Arts', in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, p.74.

splendidly decorated and lighted Tekeye Dowlat, packed with spectators, Benjamin⁷⁷ first saw such preliminaries as the distribution of refreshments, rhythmic chanting and breast beating, the parading of military bands playing music, and a chorus of costumed children welcoming the *Ta'ziyeh* actors with a collective lament.⁷⁸ Through the construction of this major structure near the Golestan royal garden, Naser al-Din Shah was able to reinforce his religious status among the *ulama* to 'highlight his piety.'⁷⁹ Apart from its religious ideals as 'a step towards salvation,'⁸⁰ its dramatic-theatrical form was one of the means for entertainment of the royal households and ordinary participants. Under Fath Ali Shah's reign, English diplomats also were invited to watch the rituals;⁸¹ however, during Naser al-Din Shah's reign, participation in *Ta'ziyeh* was restricted 'to limited groups connected with foreign mission.'⁸² On some occasions Christians were excluded from such performance due to the opposition of clerics.⁸³ Apart from the Golestan garden, various accounts and pictures exist in Archive of Golestan, depicting how most of Naser al-Din Shah's suburban gardens were also used as a stage for performance of martyrdom of Imam Hossein, such as the Saltanat Abad in 1282 AH/1865 and the Niavaran (Sahebgharanieh), illustrated in Figure 3.18.⁸⁴

The second most powerful use of the Golestan garden during the Qajar era was for elaborate court feasts known as the Greeting Ceremony (*marasem-e-salam*) that was a potent symbol of Royal status and a way of strengthening the king's power (Figure 3.20 & 3.21).⁸⁵ This ceremony could be perceived as 'political rite' that in the words of Catharine Bell, 'specifically construct, display and promote the power of political institutions.'⁸⁶ Though in documented history, the performance of this ceremony can be traced back to the Achaemenid Empire (550 BC-330 BC), which had been somewhat altered over the course of time; it achieved more glory under the leadership of Fath Ali Shah and Naser al-Din Shah. There are

⁷⁷ Samuel G W Benjamin was the first American Minister to Iran in 1883.

⁷⁸ Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, 382-90; Empey, 'The Shīr Passion: Ta'ziyeh, Tragedy and the Sublime', p.27.

⁷⁹ Scarce, 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Naser Al-Din Shah (1848-1896)', p.115.

⁸⁰ Peter Chelkowski, 'Majlis-I Shahinshah-I Iran Nasir Al-Din Shah', in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change (1800-1925)*, ed. by Edmund Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), pp. 229-42., (p.229).

⁸¹ Jean Calmard, 'Muharram Ceremonies and Diplomacy (a Preliminary Study)', in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change (1800-1925)*, ed. by Edmund Bosworth and Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), pp. 213-28., (p. 214-19).

⁸² Ibid., p.223.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Afshar, ed., *Roozname Khaterat Etemad Al Saltaneh (1292-1313 AH) (Daily Diary of Etemad Al Saltaneh)*, p.380; Saltaneh., *Al Maser Al Asar*, p.133.

⁸⁵ Yarshater, 'The Qajar Era in the Mirror of Time', p.191.

⁸⁶ Catherine Bell, *Ritual : Perspectives and Dimensions*, (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.128.

frequent remarks about the Greeting Ceremony, in travel logs and diaries of the Qajar's courtiers, which demonstrate that the public and courtiers (both women and men) participated in it. This Royal ceremony was practised on specific Shi'a Muslim feasts such as Eid Fetr or the *Qurban* feast (see Figure 3.21),⁸⁷ and the King's birthday.⁸⁸ Most importantly this observance was practised on the Iranian New Year at the time of the spring solstice known as *Nowrouz*. According to George Curzon, who himself participated in the court's ceremony in 1889, this ceremony could be an imitation of Darius in Royal state in the *talar* of Persepolis, 2600 years ago.⁸⁹ During the thirty-eight years of Fath Ali Shah's rule (1797-1834), the Greeting Ceremony was practised in a new way with marked differences to Shah Abbas's court.⁹⁰ Upon the Marble Throne in Golestan garden, 'thickly-set [with] diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds,'⁹¹ Fath Ali Shah displayed himself to the public and courtiers. It is said that four elephants knelt in front of the Shah. A special servant (*pishkhedmat bashi*) took the gold hookah (*Qalyan*) decorated with valuable jewellery and gave the Shah its mouthpiece to smoke.

As time went on, tobacco use was abolished; Fath Ali Shah did not take the hookah pipe (*neipich*) in his hand anymore. Instead *pishkhedmat bashi* continued to hold this ceremonial hookah as a mark of tradition until the end of this ritual.⁹² Under the leadership of Naser al-Din Shah, the Greeting Ceremony continued with more lavish ceremony. In the daily diary of Etemad al Saltaneh, *Rooznameh Khaterat*, many quotes regarding the Greeting Ceremony bear witness to the fact that apart from mentioned days, this ritual was also practised on the birthdays of Imam Ali, Imam Mahdi, and Naser al-Din Shah.⁹³ Much like his grandfather, he wore the diamond *Daryay-e-Noor* (Sea of Light) and the *Taj-e-Mah* on his armbands. His regalia encrusted by a diamond-studded sword with the carved portrait of Fath Ali Shah as sovereign insignia and parade of wealth.⁹⁴ Around the main pool in front of the Marble

⁸⁷ Some of the Muslim feasts include: Eid Ghadir, Eid Fetr, the birthdays of Imam Ali (A.S) and Imam Mahdi (A.S).

⁸⁸ According to Scarce, Naser al-Din Shah introduced a new ceremony to mark his birthday, a custom which he had borrowed from Europe. Scarce, 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistan Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834) and Naser al-Din Shah (1848-1896)'.
⁸⁹ George Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p.312.

⁹⁰ Benjamin., *Persia and the Persians*, p.196.

⁹¹ Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &C. &C. : During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820 (1821)*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821).

⁹² Niavarani, Cultural-historic Complex, < <http://www.niavaranmu.com/Menu1/Description.aspx?id=325>> [accessed 7th September 2010].

⁹³ On 13 Rajab 1292 AH/1875 Etemad al Saltaneh wrote about the performance of this ceremony on the birthday of Imam Ali. Navaie and Malekzadeh., eds., *Rooznameh Khatereh Naser Al-Din Shah (Diary of Naser Al-Din Shah)*, p.14; on 15 Shaban 1292 AH/1875, Etemad al Saltaneh recorded the performance of ceremony on Birthday of Imam Mahdi, Ibid.,p.20; On 6 Safar 1299 AH/1888, the performance of 'Greeting Ceremony' was recorded to be performed on Birthday of Naser al-Din Shah. Ibid., p.138-9.

⁹⁴ Afshar., ed., *Roozname Khaterat Etemad Al Saltaneh (1292-1313 Ah) (Daily Diary of Etemad Al Saltaneh)*, p.349.

Throne there were gold inlaid pitchers filled with various drinks (*sharbat*) for hosting the guests. Curzon described this ceremony:

It is a place for a fountain running water being other appurtenances of Eastern Royalty. The symbolism of this custom is interpreted as either as signifying light and being therefore of good omen, or as typifying the main source of wealth in a thirsty land and being consequently a mark of luxury.⁹⁵



Figure 3.20: Oil painting 153*221 depicting Greeting Ceremony, Above right: Courtiers and princes in 'Greeting Ceremony', Above left: British and Russian ambassadors, (*Vazir mokhtar*), (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan palace)

Depending on the seasonal weather conditions, when the Greeting Ceremony was performed in open areas of garden, the courtiers and viziers arranged themselves around the pool according to their social and political status, and assembled before the Shah's arrival (Table 3.2).⁹⁶ Before the Shah arrived, the high-ranking *ulama* and courtiers stood in the first line. Foreign ambassadors, guardians, and administrative chief of the Qajar tribe stood in a curved line around the pool in front of the Marble Throne (Figure 3.21),⁹⁷ and the lowest ranking official and the public stood outside the barrier of the garden. All of the avenues leading to

⁹⁵ Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, p.313.

⁹⁶ Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p.199.

⁹⁷ Golshan, 'Golestan Bagh-e-Golestan (Arg-Etarikhi Tehran)', p.722.

the Golestan were lined with cavalry and guards.⁹⁸ Benjamin reported that with the exception of the clergymen who were ‘kneeling and sitting backward on their upturned hill,’ all of officials remained standing. At the moment of *Nowrouz*, when the astrologers announce the time of vernal equinox, the Shah pressed the Holy Qur’an to his forehead, bosom and then gave it to the clergymen, saying ‘may it be propitious to you! (*Mobarak bashad*).’⁹⁹ In due orders of social rank, the courtiers approached the Shah for salutations and greeting of the New Year and the Shah distributed silver and gold coins. After that, diplomatic ambassadors offered their congratulations. This ritual was practised in *harem* for the female relatives (*khavas*) as well, but with less formal etiquette.



Figure 3.21: Left: The Greeting Ceremony on the eve of New Year, Koleh Farnagi, Golestan garden; Right: The Greeting ceremony on the eve of Eid Fetr, Golestan garden; (Source: Dolat Elieh Newspaper 1277 AH/ 1861, No 487& No 488, Courtesy of the Archive of Astan Quds Razavi, Newspapers Division)

⁹⁸ Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p.200.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.200.

The public was excluded from participating in the Greeting Ceremony in the Golestan garden; however, the Arg *Maydan* in front of the main gateway of Golestan, embodied a sense of community involvement particularly on the third day of the New Year. Amir Kabir, the reformist prime minister (1848–1851), transformed the *Maydan* into a place for public gathering in about 1850 (see Table 3.2) that ‘decorated by flower beds as well as plane trees, pines and fruit trees.’¹⁰⁰ After the king delivered a solemn speech to the ambassadors and the courtiers, the Greeting Ceremony was continued with densely crowded assembly of the public, followed with fireworks, mock fortresses, wrestling, tightrope acts, music, and *naghare zani* in the Arg *Maydan*.

The main gate of the Golestan garden changed its function, becoming the physical connection between with the monarchs and the public, or in other words, it served as mediator between the private domain of the king and the public domain. Naser al-Din Shah sat on the main gate, *Imarat-e-talar*, to watch a semi-official ceremony which formed the entertainment of the public, who also participated in it.¹⁰¹ After that, gold coins were scattered by the King to wrestlers, drummers and trumpeters.¹⁰² While the Greeting Ceremony during *Nowrouz* usually took place in the Citadel-Arg, in which over 500 courtiers participated, when the Shah was settled in suburban gardens such as Saltanat Abad, this rite in other Shi’a feasts was also practised there.

¹⁰⁰ The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List', p.83.

¹⁰¹ Fatemeh Ghaziha, 'Jashn Aroosi Kamraz Miraz B Ravayat Naser Al-Din Shah (Wedding of Kamran Mirza)', *Ganjine Asnad Tarikhi*, 50-49 (1382 SH/2003). p.32.

¹⁰² Zoka. *Tarikhche Sakhtemanhaye Arg Saltanati Tehran (Rahnamaye Kakh Golestan) (History of Royal Buildings of Arg, Tehran [Golestan Guidance])*, p.34.

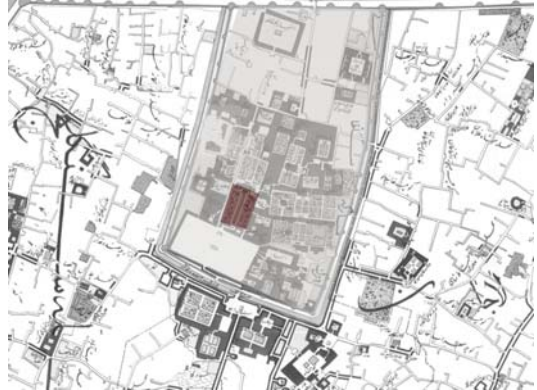
Marble Throne		
Arg Maydan		
Tekeye Dowlat		

Table 3.2: The location and photos of performance of rituals; **a:** Greeting Ceremony in *Nowrouz* ,(Source: Archive of Golestan palace) **b:** Wrestling, tightrope acts, traditional music performing in the Arg square, (Source Mohammad H Semsar, and Fatemeh Sarayian, *Simaye Tehran Dar Sadeye 13h.G(Tehran During the 13th Century Ah)* (Tehran: Zariran, 1387 SH/2008:p.57&64).**c:** The performance of the *Ta'ziyeh* ritual in Tekeye Dowlat. (Source: drawn by the author, based on Kriziz map of the Arg, produced in 1275 AH/1858; Source of photos: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan palace)

Being considered useless traditions that squandered large amount of money, many of these rituals were eroded away or abolished after the death of Naser al-Din as they did not have any more religious or political significance.¹⁰³

After the fall of the Qajar dynasty and rise of Reza Shah Pahlavi regime in 1925, Iran entered a period of rapid socio-political change that affected all aspects of the country, including the destiny of the Qajar gardens. In the late Qajar period, shameful capitulations, the interference of foreign power in governmental affairs, and the absolute powers of the Qajar kings resulted in a military coup d'état in 1921 that finally brought Reza Shah into power in 1925. The last kings of Qajar yielded many concessions to foreign powers, especially France, Britain and Russia, who thereby could manipulate many parts of Iran's industry such as oil and railways.¹⁰⁴ With the promise of bringing prosperity to Iran, Reza Shah, with the support of Iranian enlightened thinkers (*roshanfekran*)¹⁰⁵ proclaimed his ambition to eliminate foreign influences through a unified army, abolition of the system of 'capitulations',¹⁰⁶ the enhancement of patriotism,¹⁰⁷ and the modernisation of Iran. The next section will discuss in detail the impact of the rise of Reza Shah's Pahlavi regime and his reform schemes on the royal Qajar gardens of Tehran in general and the Golestan garden in particular.

The Rise of Reza Shah and Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1941): *The establishment of the first Law regarding cultural heritage (1930)*

Background

The enlightened thinkers (*roshanfekran*), who came into power after the Constitutional Revolution of 1907, just before the rise of Reza Shah, played a crucial role in changing the perception towards cultural heritage, the impacts of which will be traced in the following section. Benefiting from a state-sponsored education in Europe, these men believed that a modern and new Iran could be formed if the absolute power of the monarchy was destroyed;

¹⁰³ It should be noted that apart from political and religious ceremonies which were dictated by necessity, some ceremonies only were held for fancy of King such as porridge cooking feast (*marasem ashpazan*).

¹⁰⁴ The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which divided Iran into Britain and Russia, many protests had arisen by political and historical nationalists Kamyar Abdi, 'Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), 51-76, (p.55).

¹⁰⁵ Most men, who made up the National Relic Society (NRS) hoped to reconstruct new Iran, preserve and foster Iran's patrimony and enhance national and international prestige that had been lost during the Qajar era. For more detail about Iranian intellectual see, Negin Nabavi, 'The Changing Concept of the "Intellectual" in Iran of the 1960s', *Iranian Studies*, 32 (1999).

¹⁰⁶ In 1306 SH/1928, Reza Shah abolished the capitulation which was the symbol of foreign influence in Iran.

¹⁰⁷ Donald N Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran*, (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition. 1975), p.49.

clerical dogmatism eliminated; foreign imperialism eradicated; the ancient religion of Zoroastrian revived, and the centralized state of the Achaemenid and Sassanian rebuilt. Through the efforts of enlightened thinkers, in 1922, upon the proposition of Zaka al Molq Foroughi, the semi-governmental organisation called the National Relic Society (NRS) , or in Farsi *Anjoman-e-Asar-e-Meli* was established.¹⁰⁸

By focusing on ‘primordial Aryan origin’ and the pre-Islamic traditions,¹⁰⁹ the NRS was responsible for building mausoleums for Iranian poets, heroes and philosophers, constructing the National Library and registering the historical buildings and archaeological sites in a drive to a brighter future.¹¹⁰ To put an end to the French monopoly over the archaeological excavation rights in Iran,’ was the most important political task of the NRS.¹¹¹ In 1900, the French Republic had obtained the monopoly on archaeological excavations in Iran from Mozafar al-Din Shah, through which they controlled all archaeological sites until 1927. The Qajar kings for their benefit, vested monopoly to France for only 10,000 *Toman* which in turn angered the Iranian intelligentsia. Following the establishment of the NRS, Ernst Emil Herzfeld, German Professor of Oriental studies at the University of Berlin, was invited to take the position of librarian for Tehran’s Antiquities Museum and also was asked to provide the list for archaeological sites. This employment of a German archaeologist drew French attention, and in 1927 France renounced their monopoly of the 1900 convention in exchange for the directorship of the Antiquities Museum and Library in Tehran for 30 years. They nominated André Godard, the French archaeologist and architect, as the first person to take this position.¹¹²

Supported by Foroughi and with the help of André Godard, for the first time in 1930, laws and regulations were established to protect historical monuments and sites. The ‘Antiquities

¹⁰⁸ This organization also known as the National Monument Society, the Society for National Heritage, the Institute of National Heritage, the Society for the Protection of National Monuments, and the National Relic Society.

¹⁰⁹ Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh and Aqa Khan Kermani (1270 AH/1854- 1314 AH/1896) were the pioneer intellectuals during the late Qajar era, who believed that the Arab invasion of the 7th century had demolished the civilized Achaemenid and Sassanian Empires and was responsible for current backwardness of Iran, see. Juan R. I. Cole, 'Marking Boundaries, Marking Time: The Iranian Past and the Construction of the Self' by Qajar Thinkers', *Iranian Studies*, 29 (1996), 35-56. (p.40); Reza Bigdeloo, *Bastangarayi Dar Tarikh Moaser Iran (Archaism in Contemporary History of Iran)*, (Tehran: Markaz Press, 1380 SH/2002), pp. 40-68. Iranian poets and writers such as Eshgi, Farokhi Yazdi, Taghizadeh, Mirza Melcom launched the wave of Archaism and Aryanism in the newspapers and appreciated the glories of pre-Islamic history in order to fight against British and Soviet interferences in Iran. Kaveh Journal, which was published in Germany by Taghizadeh from 1916 to 1922, was one of the most influential publications that pushed readers to revive the pre-Islamic traditions of Persian Empires in order to encourage the sense of national pride in Iran. Ibid. p.165.

¹¹⁰ Hossein Bahroulomi, 'Karnameh Anjoman Asar Meli (Report Book of the Nrs from 1350 Sh/ 1971 to 1353 Sh/1974)', (Tehran: National Relic Society 131, 1976).

¹¹¹ Grigor., *Cultivat(ing) modernities : the Society for National Heritage, political propaganda and public architecture in twentieth-century Iran*, p.55.

¹¹² According to article 7 of the NRS that was approved in 1931, the National Relic Society could invite and hire Western archaeologists and architects to become involved in heritage affairs.

Law' (*Ghanun-e-Atighat*) was partly based on the translation of European law and following that, surveys and studies were carried out to recognise the historical buildings. Emphasis was placed on historical research and excavation of pre-Islamic edifices in order to regain the former prosperity of the country's ancient past. This focus on the pre-Islamic era led to the publication of numerous books regarding the art and history of pre-Islamic Empires, the launching of a Language Academy to purge foreign and Arabic words from Persian and the organisation of the millennium ceremony of Ferdowsi¹¹³ which represented a wholesale return to Iran's pre-Islamic Iran.¹¹⁴ André Godard also was responsible for registering the important buildings and sites in the List. Of the 247 buildings which had been scheduled as historic monuments by the end of 1932, 82 were pre-Islamic,¹¹⁵ which depicted the importance of pre-Islamic heritage for the NRS as that period recalled memoirs of Iranian grandeur.¹¹⁶ Pasargadae and Persepolis, dating from the Achaemenid Empire, were listed as one of the first National Properties (*Asar-e-meli*). Based on the List, it could be seen that four the royal gardens were nominated by Godard in 1310 SH/1931.¹¹⁷ The Fin garden in Kashan, Chehel Sotun in Isfahan,¹¹⁸ Pasargadae and Bagh-e-Hafttan in Shiraz, were the first historical gardens that were designated in the List between 1931 and 1932. However, during that time the Pasargadae royal garden was not excavated by Stronach, and it was registered because it contained the tomb and palaces of Cyrus.

Preparation for urban reforms in Tehran: *Demolishing Qajar gardens under rapid modernization schemes of Reza Shah (1304 SH/1925-1320 SH/1941)*

The members of the NRS and Iranian reformists during Reza Shah's reign focused on the importance of pre-Islamic heritage, particularly Achaemenid palatial architectural style, as one of the keys for regaining the 'glorious past' of Iran. At the same time they portrayed the Qajar era as a 'shameful age of dogmatism, fanaticism and rampant clericalism,' which 'pulled the country backward.'¹¹⁹ Fath Ali Shah was accused of having been 'an unqualified calamity to Persian art' and a man with 'no taste.' Naser al-Din Shah was criticised for his perceived inadequacy that neither resisted Western imperialism nor made enough effort to

¹¹³ Construction the tomb of Ferdowsi, the greatest Iranian poet, was the first main project of the NRS.

¹¹⁴ For more details, see. Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran : Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarch*.

¹¹⁵ Peter Avery, *Modern Iran* (London : Benn, 1965), p.287.

¹¹⁶ Eghbal Yaghmai, *Karnameh Reza Shah: Bonyangozar-E-Iran-E-Novin (Report-Book of Reza Shah the Great)*, (Tehran, 1971).

¹¹⁷ Keramat A Afsar and S Ahmad Mousavi, *Pasdari Az Asar Bastan Dar Asr Pahlavi(Guarding of Ancient Relics in Pahlavi Era)*, (Tehran: Ministry of Art and Culture, 1355 SH/1977). p.86.

¹¹⁸ Chehel Sotun was registered on 6 Jan 1932 (1310.10.15). Andere Godard, Yedda Godard, and Maxime Siroux, *Asar-E-Iran (L'art De L'iran)*, (Mashad: The Islamic Research Foundation (Astan Quds Razavi), 1368 SH/1989), p.295.

¹¹⁹ Donald N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi*, (Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1975)., p.180.

modernize Iran. Mozafar al-Din Shah, who gave the right of archaeological excavation to the French in 1900, was seen as ‘the ignorance of a Sovereign who in reality had no right to traffic ... the nation’s heritage.’¹²⁰ All of the reformists agreed on one thing; the Qajar kings, with the support of *ulama* and clerical deputies, had driven Iran into ‘the Dark Middle ages’ and were responsible for ‘public ignorance, fear, backwardness and superstitions.’¹²¹

This resentment toward the Qajar kings and demand for rapid reforms was manifested in the first Iranian conservation Law of 1931, namely the Antiquities Law (*Ghanun Atighat*). Legitimised by the first Article of that Law, the pre-conditions were provided to accelerate the legal erasure of the Qajar buildings. In this Article, only historical monuments that had been constructed by the end of the Zand dynasty (1794) were considered as ‘National Properties’ (*Asar-e-meli*). It meant that cultural heritage constructed during the previous 130 years of the Qajar era, from 1796 to 1925, were excluded from the register; this increased the arbitrary process of damage to the Qajar edifices.

Moreover, the humiliation of the 19th century Iranian architecture by Western Orientalists accelerated the rate of destruction of the Qajar edifices. For instance, Arthur Upham Pope believed that the *Masjed-madrese* of Madar Shah in Isfahan (Mosque-school) was the last valuable building, and that Iranian architectural continuity was broken during the 18th century. He also claimed that the Qajar edifices were constructed without ‘good taste,’ and Iranian architecture was not immune from European influence during the Qajar era. André Godard, who had a major role in drafting of the first Law regarding cultural heritage, similarly did not appreciate Qajar architecture and believed that the noble art of Iran including tile working, carpet weaving, painting and architecture, was degraded during this era with the onslaught of the West.¹²² Both Pope and Godard agreed that blind imitation of Western architecture was one of the notable reasons behind the decline of Persian art during the Qajar era. In this sense, this biased view of the Qajars and the handpicking of historical monuments, based on the first Article, accelerated the arbitrary process of destruction of edifices constructed under Qajar leadership. Between 1932 and 1937, the first steps were taken to obliterate traces of the Qajar; this was the destruction of 12 gateways into Tehran,

¹²⁰ British Minister of the Foreign Office, OF 416,113/E 2445 Clive, Apr.30,1930:Tehran; quoted in Grigor, ‘Cultivat(ing) Modernities: The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran, p.22.

¹²¹ Kazemzadeh, ‘Republication and the Social The Revolution’ *IranShahr* 2(1924), 257-58; Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982),p.133.

¹²² Godard, Godard, and Siroux., *Asar-E-Iran (L’art De L’iran)*, p.465.

dating back to the Naseri period, which gave the traditional appearance to the city.¹²³ The secular elite perceived such landmarks as embarrassing especially European visitors and diplomats visited the city,¹²⁴ and they were destroyed to facilitate rapid urban development. Reza Shah said that ‘I will make Iran so good that the Westerners will come and visit the country.’¹²⁵

Some of the demolished buildings often were substituted by new construction, while most of the sites remained vacant,¹²⁶ because of the demand for wider streets and open spaces. ‘In 1940, the USA embassy estimated that the number of residential structures demolished ranged from 15,000 to 30,000.’¹²⁷ Herzfeld, the German archaeologist, confessed to the American attaché in 1932 that ‘it is a system of ruining established authorities of old, without replacing them with anything at all; everything is methodic destruction.’¹²⁸ Rosita Forbes, an American traveller during the 1930s, also reported Tehran as ‘slightly Hollywoodesque, for the new streets looked as if they had not quite settled where they were going and the rows of the new houses, one room deep, were all frontage.’¹²⁹ Alterations were made to make Tehran resemble the European cities. In doing so, 10 percent of the city was shifted into open spaces including urban squares, municipal parks and wider streets.¹³⁰

After approving the Street Widening Act in 1933 for extension or widening the old streets, ‘any and all buildings — residential, monumental, historical or whatever’ were demolished to keep new streets straight.¹³¹ In 1925, the confiscation of properties for widening the streets led to objections from the anti-Pahlavi clergyman Modares. He said in the Parliament that ‘modernization had to be distinguished from such lawless acts against the people and their positions.’¹³² Two main streets with pavements, namely Pahlavi Street and Shahreza, were designed to accommodate the new commercial hubs, at the expense of the gardens of the

¹²³ Mina marefat, 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941,' p.74.

¹²⁴ Grigor., 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities: The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran,' p.130.

¹²⁵ Donald N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi* (Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1975), p.233.

¹²⁶ Eckart Ehlers and Willem Floor, 'Urban Change in Iran, 1920-1941,' *Iranian Studies*, 26 (1993), 251-75, p.258; Marefat., 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941,' p.76.

¹²⁷ US State Department Archives, Hart, dispatch 1830, 'Change in the city of Tehran,' 891.101/3, May 10, 1940, Tehran, quoted in Mohammad Qoli Majd, *Britain and Reza Shah: the plunder of Iran 1921-1941*, (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), p.162.

¹²⁸ USA state Department Archives Hart, dispatch 1393, 891.00/1562 Mar.25, 1932, Tehran; quoted in Majd, *Britain and Reza Shah: the Plunder of Iran 1921-1941*, (Gainesville Fla., 2001), pp. 155-56; Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran, p.38 .

¹²⁹ Rosita Forbes, *Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan* (London, 1931), p.105.

¹³⁰ Grigor, *Building Iran : Modernism, Architecture and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.37.

¹³¹ Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism, 1926-1979*, (New York, 1981), p.110-11.

¹³² Ibid., p.120.

Qajar era that were situated in their way (Figure 3.23).¹³³ Only the names of some gardens remain in the sign-posts of streets, a reminder that these new streets and boulevards were constructed over gardens in order to build a modern Iran. This urban development followed two main purposes: ‘it included clearing and reconstructing degraded areas,’ in particular in the central and north-western parts of the old city. On the other, the ‘construction of very impressive administrative buildings, together with several palaces in a quasi- European style, were the most typical establishments of this period.’¹³⁴

Targeted by the newly appointed mayor of Tehran, mansions, gardens and old trees were all eliminated to accelerate the urban renewal, as they were no longer considered as of great importance. In 1317 SH/1939, following the cutting down of trees for widening the streets and rapid urban reform, at the proposal of Ali Asghar Hekmat, who was the Minister of Public Instructions (*vezarat maref*), forbade the cutting of trees more than 100 years old in any place or governmental garden, municipality, mosque or religious places. However, this law was abolished shortly after in 1320 SH/1941,¹³⁵ and garden demolitions and cutting down of trees continued. Although there is no statistical record on the destruction of Qajar gardens during the modernisation schemes of Reza Shah, it is likely that more than half of the important gardens of the Naseri era — such as the Amin al-Doleh, Amin al-Molk (Figure 3.22)



Figure 3.22 : General view of destroyed Qajar gardens during the Pahlavi era; Above: Amin al-Doleh garden, Tehran, Below: Amin al-Molk garden, (Source: Album of photographs by Ali Khan Vali , p. 303 and p. 305)

Moairo al Mamalek, Dooshan Tappeh, Kamranieh, Aish Abad, Ilkhani, Behjat Abad, Zello al Soltan’s park and Hasan Abad gardens, as well as 30 houses in Eshrat Abad garden — were destroyed completely or divided between heirs (see Figure 3.23). Little by little these gardens were vanished, accelerating the momentum of Tehran’s expansion. Moreover, under Reza Shah’s reign many suburban gardens that had responded to the nomadic tradition of the

¹³³ Marefat, 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941,' p.83-6.

¹³⁴ Eckart Ehlers and Willem Floor, 'Urban Change in Iran, 1920-1941', *Iranian Studies*, 26 (1993). , p.258.

¹³⁵ Ali Asghar Hekmat, *30 Khatere Az Asr Farkhonde Pahlavi (30 Memories of Pahlavi Era)*, (Tehran: Vahid, 1355 SH/1976). , p.268.

Qajars had been deliberately destroyed¹³⁶ as they now fell within the city and were thus in the way of the new urban programme.



Figure 3.23: Approximate location of destroyed gardens of the Qajar nobility and kings during the Pahlavi era under rapid urban renewal. (Source: highlights and numbers added by the author based on combination of Abdol Ghafar map of Tehran, produced in 1309AH/1891 and map of Tehran in the Pahlavi era, published in W.B. Fisher, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran; the Land of Iran*. Vol. 1, p.448)

Other surviving gardens of the Qajars were considered for military use by Reza Shah, as he was Commander in Chief of the army during the late Qajar era and had a martial character.¹³⁷ For Reza Shah, military service played the same role as mosques had done during Safavid era, and he allocated 40 percent of the national budget to military services. Many Qajar gardens were thus converted into urban military units such as Officers' College, administrative centres, barracks, or prisons after the political chaos raised by the coup d'état of 1299 SH/1921. The gardens that were used for the military purposes included: Eshrat Abad (1300 SH/1921), Saltanat Abad,¹³⁸ Dooshan Teppeh, Jalalieh, Amirieh in Tehran (1301 SH/1922) Arg-e-Karim khan and Bagh-e-Takht in Shiraz.¹³⁹ To provide parade grounds, trees

¹³⁶ In 1900, from about 7.79 million populations, 2.47 million were nomads. By increasing more pressure on nomads, in 1932 the number of them declined to a million. Esfandiari B Yaganegi, *Recent Financial and Monetary History of Persia*, (New York, 1934), p.4. quoted in Julian Bharier, *Economic Development in Iran*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p.31.

¹³⁷ With exception of clergy-men, in 1304 SH/1925, the Military service forced all of the men aged between 21 and 25 years old to be for conscripted into the army. Although the first aim of having the united military was for defending Iran against foreign attacks, it was then used for restricting any independent internal powers.

¹³⁸ Saltanat Abad garden also was considered for weapons factory from 1311SH/1933. Sotudeh., *Geografiyaye Tehran (Geography of Tehran)*, p.492.

¹³⁹ Nasr A Meshkuti, 'Fehrest Banahaye Tarikhi Va Amakene Bastani-E- Iran (List of Historical Monuments and Ancient Buildings of Iran)', (Tehran: NOCHM, 1349 SH/1970), p.222.

were cut down and women's quarters were swept away; only in a few cases the main building of a garden was put to use. The Qasr-e-Qajar, which had a series of elevated and traced open rectangles and gave a varied panorama of multi-storeyed Royal quarters,¹⁴⁰ was changed into the first concentrated prison in Tehran in 1308 SH/1929.¹⁴¹ Bagh-e-Shah, or garden of the jockey, that was designed for the solemn horse racing of Royal Qajars, was destroyed completely and replaced with a square for military troops (Figure 3.24).¹⁴²

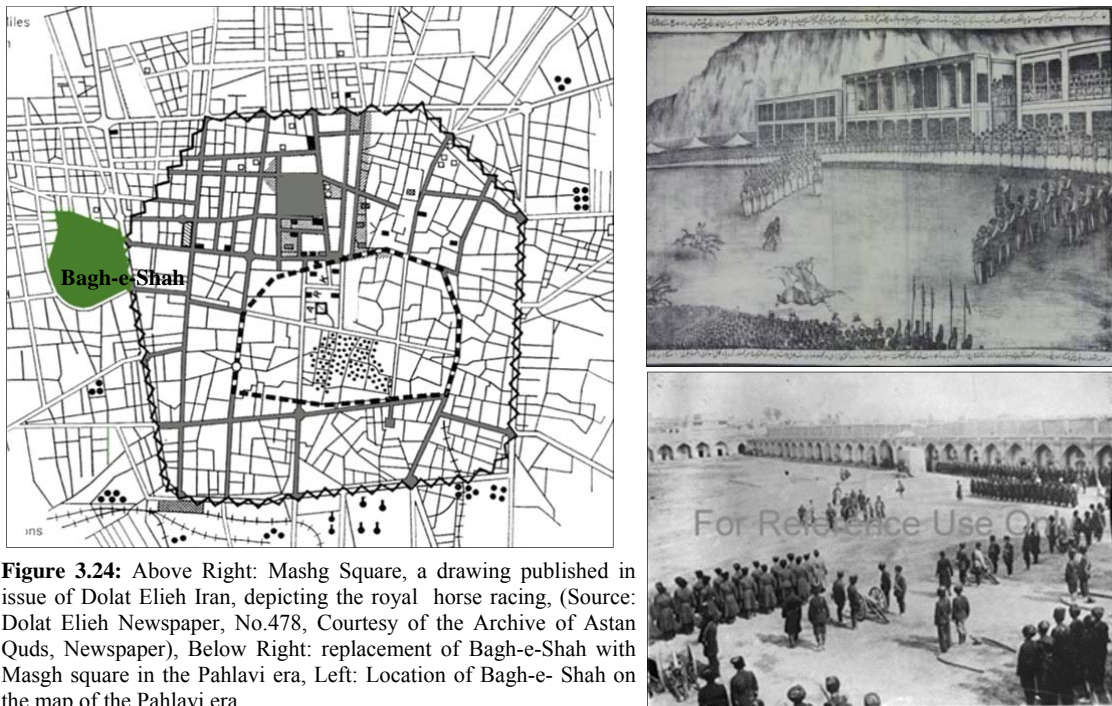


Figure 3.24: Above Right: Mashgh Square, a drawing published in issue of Dolat Elieh Iran, depicting the royal horse racing, (Source: Dolat Elieh Newspaper, No.478, Courtesy of the Archive of Astan Quds, Newspaper), Below Right: replacement of Bagh-e-Shah with Masgh square in the Pahlavi era, Left: Location of Bagh-e-Shah on the map of the Pahlavi era.

A few gardens that escaped such destruction were appropriated by the Ministry of Culture. Masoudieh, the garden of the son of Naser al-Din Shah, was bought by Reza Khan in 1304 SH/1925 and considered as a cultural institution. In 1307 SH/1928, the Negarestan garden was also considered for painting school of Kamal al Molk¹⁴³ and then transformed into an Education Centre (*moalemsara*) at the proposal of Isa Sedigh, Minister of Culture. The Ferdows garden was likewise purchased by the Ministry of Culture in 1316 SH/1937,¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville, 'The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic', (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). p.919.

¹⁴¹ After the Islamic Republic, this prison was re-used as apolitical prisoners. In 2000, it was rehabilitated and changed to museum but there is no trace of previous garden. Hojat Balaghi, *Gozideye Az Tarikh Tehran (Selective of History of Tehran)*, (Tehran: Mazyar, 1386 SH/2007). p.115.

According to an article from the popular old newspaper, Dolat Elieh Iran, the great mansion in centre of Bagh-e-Shah was built for Naser al-Din Shah in 1277 AH/1860. The courtiers settled in one side of the main building and the opposite side belonging to the Royal households and chief women of *harem*.

¹⁴² Benjamin reported that during *Nowrouz*, annual race was occurred and 'the horses run at a terrific rate six times the course and have been accomplished in twenty-two minutes.' Benjamin., *Persia and the Persians*, p.201.

¹⁴³ Mehrdad Soltani, 'Sheklgiri Boostanhaye Shahri Moaser Dar Gozar Az Mafhoom Bagh Be Park (Formation of Urban Green Spaces from Garden to Park)', *Bagh-E-Nazar (Garden of Vision)*, 8 (1386 SH/ 2007).

¹⁴⁴ Balaghi. *Gozideye Az Tarikh Tehran (Selective of History of Tehran)*, p.123.

however, was reduced in size and its structure changed dramatically for new purposes.¹⁴⁵ Through rapid modernization, Tehran of 1941 was not similar to the Tehran of 1921,¹⁴⁶ its area increased two times in comparison with the Naseri period.

	Name of garden	Owner	Date of construction	Current use or situation/ownership
1	Dooshan Teppeh Winter resistance of king	Nasr al-Din Shah	1269AH/1852	Demolished to be replaced with airport. Later, its site, first project of modern mass houses complex 400 <i>Dastgah</i> in 1925 SH/1946
2	Sharestanak	Nasre al-Din Shah	1294-95 AH/1877	Demolished during the Pahlavi era
3	Aish Abad	Naser al-Din Shah	1309 AH/1890-91	Demolished during the late Qajar era
4	Qasr-e-Firoozeh	Nasre al-Din Shah	1269 AH/1853	Burned
5	Kamranieh	Kamran Mirza (son of Naser al-Din Shah)	1295 AH/1878	Demolished during the Pahlavi era
6	Amin al Doleh	Ali khan Amin al Doleh	1290 AH/1873 to 1297 AH/1880	Demolished
7	Moaeiro-al Mamalek	Doost ali Khan Moaier al Mamalek	n/a	Demolished during the Pahlavi era
8	Masoudieh	Masoud Mirza(son of Naser al-Din Shah)	1290 AH/1873	Main Restoration office of ICHO/ICHHTO until 2011
9	Eshrat Abad	Nasre al-Din Shah	1291 AH/1874	The main pavilion remain (Military use and Library)/Army of the Guardians of the IRI
10	Atabak park (Amin al Sultan)	Mirza ali asghar khan Amin al-Sultan(Prime minister)	1304-6 AH/1887	Russian Embassy
11	Malijak	Azizo al Soltan	1313 AH/1895	In 1379 SH/2001, it was restored
12	Davoudieh	Mirza Agha khan Noori(Prime minister)	1270 AH/1854	It was converted into an orphanage probably after 1965s
13	Baharestan	Moshir al-dole Sepahsalar	1296 AH/1879	Partly remains, used as Islamic Consultative Assembly
14	Nezamieh	Mirza Aghakhan noori (Prime minister)	1270-71 AH/1854	One of its buildings remains.
15	Saltanat Abad	Naser al-Din Shah	1276 AH/1859 or 1305 AH/1887	The main pavilion was used as weapons factory in 1311 SH/1933.Now it belongs to Army of the Guardians of the IRI and uses as a Library.
16	Ferdows	Moiar al Mamalek (Fath Ali Shah's son in law)	1264 AH/1848	Partly remains that is now used as cinema – museum/Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance
17	Sahebgharanieh(Ni avaran) Summer resistance	Nasre al-Din Shah	1268 AH/1852	Only its main pavilion remains that was registered in the List 1334 SH/1956 and was used as a museum after the Revolution/ ICHHTO
18	Amirieh	Kamran Mirza (Son of Naser al-Din Shah)	n/a	Military use in Reza Shah era. It was demolished during the Mohammad Reza Shah's reign
probably 19	Yaghot or Sorkhe hesar Winter resistance for hunting	Nasre al-Din Shah	1303-1305 AH/1886-1888	Only the main pavilion remain and converted to hospital in 1336 SH/1957 and later in 1355 SH/1976 converted into public hospital
20	Farah Abad	Mozafar al-Din Shah	1320 AH/1902	Army of the Guardians of the IRI

Table 3.3: Destroyed and surviving gardens of the Qajars in Tehran during the Pahlavi epoch, (Source: table provided by the author with the source from Hojat Blaghi, Zaka and Semsar and site surveys)

¹⁴⁵ Dooshan Teppeh within its *qanat* was donated to Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran (*jamiyat shir va khorshid sorkh Iran*).

¹⁴⁶ Amin Banani, *Modernization of Iran 1921-1941*, (Stanford, 1961).p.144.

Golestan garden during Reza Shah's reign: destruction and/or survival

In contrast to many Qajar gardens that had disappeared or been transformed for use by military organisations as mentioned earlier, the Golestan garden somehow stood the test of time. This section through detailed discussions will explain how the dominant political approach, manifested in the material, symbolic and social dimensions of Golestan in different ways.

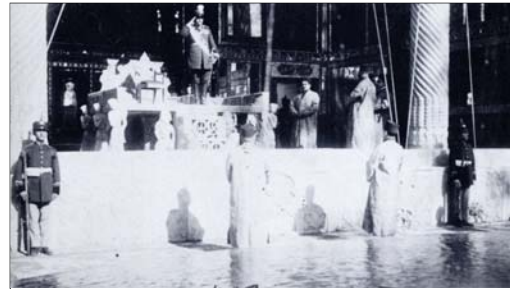


Figure 3.25: Reza Shah Pahlavi on the peacock throne in 1925, (Source: Photo by Akas Khadem, in Wilber Donald, *Riza Shah Pahlavi* (Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1975))

In 1925 Reza Shah was crowned on the Peacock Throne in the Golestan garden (Figure 3.25).¹⁴⁷ Just as many Qajar gardens were deliberately demolished to make way for new constructions, Reza Shah's approach similarly led to the destruction of many buildings and palaces in the Golestan, and the restructuring of its garden, but he did not ruin it all. The magic days of Golestan during the 19th century were seen as a shameful in the eyes of Reza Shah. According to Ashraf Reza Shah's daughter the Golestan garden 'was polluted by the ignominious history of Qajars which had no glorious past.'¹⁴⁸ Reza Shah never used the Golestan as a residential place for the Pahlavi family. Instead, he constructed his own new gardens, Sadabad and Marmar (1934). The construction of the Marmar palace resulted in a shift of the main political focus from Golestan, although the latter continued to serve a political function, being used for diplomatic meetings and the coronations of the Pahlavi kings.

To leave behind the 'Dark Middle Ages,' any structure in Golestan that was perceived to hold traces of religious rituals and which thus may have questioned the grandeur of the pre-Islamic era or denigrate the ideal image of modern Iran, was knocked down as a sign of backwardness. Others were selectively retained, albeit their uses and functions were changed to respond to Reza Shah's fresh ideological concept. At an architectural level more than 60 percent of the Golestan garden disappeared during the Pahlavi era (see Figure 3.27).

Moves towards the de-Islamisation of the country that was supplemented by enactment of the Unveiling Act brought about the metamorphosis in the structure of Golestan, the new the royal gardens of the Pahlavis and most specifically in the introverted architecture of Iranian

¹⁴⁷ Teymourtash, requesting records of both European coronation and Safavid and Qajar tradition to invent a new coronation.

¹⁴⁸ 'Khaterat Ashraf Pahlavi (Diary of Ashraf Pahlavi)', ed. by Pezhman Azad Fara (Tehran: Beh Afarin, 1386 SH/2008).

cities dominated previously by *Andaruni* and *Biruni* domains. The deformation of the traditional morphology of the cities in general, and gardens or courtyards in particular occurred through the Unveiling Act of 1314 SH/1936. Inspired by Atatürk's reforms, Reza Shah on his return from Turkey¹⁴⁹ made an attempt to change the appearance of all Iranians via the definition of a new 'dress code.'¹⁵⁰ In 1936, Iranian women were forced to remove their veils and scarves by his order, which met opposition from religious leaders.¹⁵¹ Reza Shah said European 'always taunted Iranians because of the veil of women and their ignorance.'¹⁵²

These together with the marriage law of 1931 (that encouraged monogamous marriages),¹⁵³ encouraging people to have fewer children could be perceived as part of the Women's Awakening¹⁵⁴ project of the Pahlavi state, which in turn aimed to demonstrate the differing status of women in 20th century Iran. Reza Shah considered the veil, sexual segregation and having many wives¹⁵⁵ as obstacles to progress. By changing the status of women, he was able to restructure the traditional extended family and the household patterns of Iranians. In sharp contrast with former kings of Iran, whose political power and status was measured by the large size of the women's quarters (*haramsara*), modern Iran was founded upon new standards, which were defined by influential thinkers, having a large seraglio were equated with 'backwardness.'

If the earlier kings who through the segregation of womenfolk from *namahram*, laid emphasis on their power and also followed the rules of Islam, the idea of separation of the inner area (private space) from outside view was largely condemned as early as the 20th century. Reza Shah deliberately and systematically demolished these embarrassing buildings from gardens in order to remove these reminders of previous eras and start afresh. Being

¹⁴⁹ On 2nd June 1934, Reza Shah travelled to Turkey and stayed there until 11th June 1934. Shoja al-Din Shafa, '*Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi*;Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi,Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadiiran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)', (Paris: Soheil, 1356 SH/1978)., p.126. The impact of his short time in Turkey was deep and since then his secularism schemes were enhanced. When Atatürk died on 11th November 1938, Reza Shah declared one month of State Mourning in Iran. Ibid.,p.150.

¹⁵⁰ Reza Shah also forced all men excluding registered clergymen to wear *kolah-e- Pahlavi* (Pahlavi's cap) and trousers with coat instead of costume. For more detail regarding changing of dress code 1 in Reza Shah's era, see. Houchang E Chehabi, 'Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress Codes and Nation-Building under Reza Shah', *Iranian Studies*, 26 (1993).

¹⁵¹ Due to the forced unveiling, many women never went out until the 1940s, however, others who were western-educated daughters of upper class or enlightened thinkers ventured into public space without veil or full-length covering known as *chador* (tent).

¹⁵²Hekmat., *30 Khatere Az Asr Farkhonde Pahlavi (30 Memories of Pahlavi Era)*, p.97.

¹⁵³C.M. Amin, 'Importing "Beauty Culture" into Iran in the 1920s and 1930s: Mass Marketing Individualism in an Age of Anti-Imperialist Sacrifice', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24 (2004).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.81-100.

¹⁵⁵ Reza Shah had four wives, but he did not married with all of them at the same time and they lived separately.

isolated and detached from the structure of any the royal gardens, the substantial quarters for women (*Andaruni*) was no longer seen anywhere, including Golestan and other upper-class house-gardens in Tehran. When Naser al-Din Shah died in 1896, his *harem* in the Golestan had over 85 women who were guarded by 90 eunuchs.¹⁵⁶ After his death, until the end of the Qajar dynasty, the seraglio was gradually depopulated and by the 1910s it only housed a few women. However, in Pahlavi Iran, Naser al-Din Shah's Dormitory in Golestan (within the large women's quarter) was destroyed and replaced with a building for the Ministry of Finance.¹⁵⁷ The Arg's high walls were knocked down and Ministries built that were 'meant to be "accessible to all" and depicted the enactment of the "democratization" of bureaucracy.'¹⁵⁸ The introduction of automobiles likewise left no function for stables and caravansaries in these gardens. Instead, the Ministry of Trade was constructed on the expansive site left by the demolition of the Royal stables.

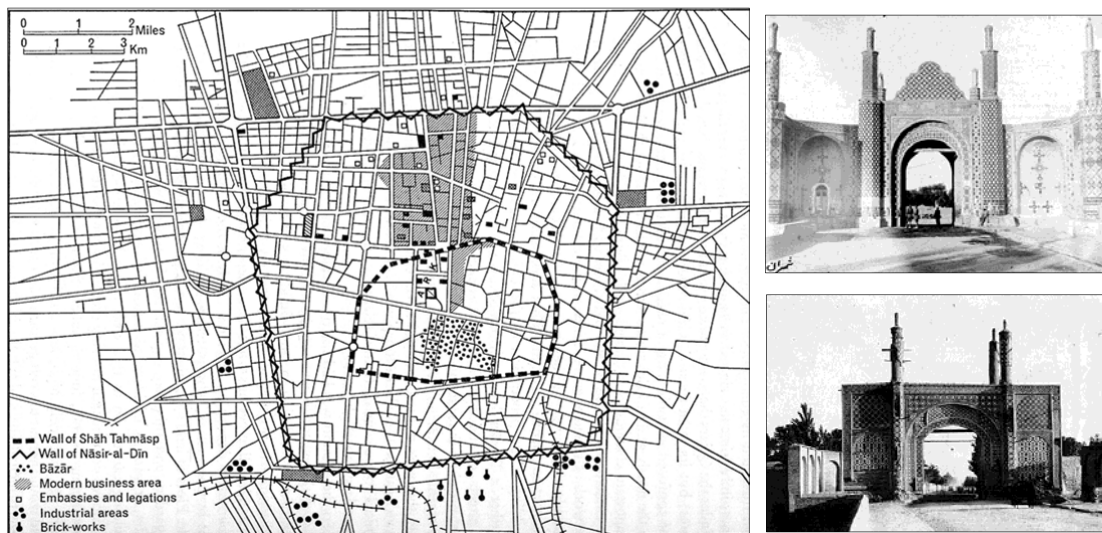


Figure 3.26: Left: Location of previous Arg's high within 12 gates that were destroyed in the Reza Shah's era, (Source: W.B. Fisher, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran; the Land of Iran*. Vol. 1 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p.448). Right: general view of tow destroyed gates, Shimiran and Yousefabad, (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of the Golestan palace).

Under orders from Taymourtash, the garden's main gateway known as Almasiyeh, was likewise treated in 1929, to allow the entry of the Iraqi king's car to the garden: thus no trace of it remained.¹⁵⁹ This gateway had symbolically transferred the Royals from the earthly world to Heavenly Paradise,¹⁶⁰ politically connected and/or separated court life from the public sphere; physically accommodated the Royal guards, and socially was the place where

¹⁵⁶ Mamalek, *Yaddashthayi Az Zendegi Khosusi Naser Al-Din Shah (Report of Personal Life of Naser Al-Din Shah)*, p.21.

¹⁵⁷ Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran,' p.130.

¹⁵⁸ Marefat, 'Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941's,' p.75.

¹⁵⁹ The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List,' p.91.

¹⁶⁰ The verse in the Holy Qur'an that invites Muslims to enter Paradise is 'Edkhol Jenah.'

rituals and social activities took place. Historically, it dated back 200 years. However, in Pahlavi Iran, it was seen as neither historical nor functional, and was demolished completely probably by the 1930s. Automatically the activities that were practised around it faded.

The most significant destruction in terms of function, 'scale and symbolism' was Tekeye Dowlat, which occurred in 1325 SH/1946.¹⁶¹ Architecturally speaking, it was the first and greatest theatre of Iran, functioning to accommodate the performance of rituals of *Ta'ziyeh* during Naser al-Din Shah's reign, as discussed earlier. Officially it was demolished upon the order of Hossein Hajir¹⁶² to make way for the new Bazaar Branch of National Bank (*Bank Meli*), designed by Mohsen Foroughi. It was, however, not actually in the path of the urban program (see Table 3.4).¹⁶³ If the Royal *harem* was destroyed because it contributed to 'backwardness,' and was thus a cause of shame, the demolition of Tekeye Dowlat was the key for reinforcing this secular reform, as it was considered to encapsulate 'religiousness' (see Table 3.4). Like Mao Zedong, the Chinese Marxist, who saw the religion as superstitions during the 1920s, and for that reason ordered the destruction of most temples and shrines in China Reza Shah treated Islamic places in the same way.

To humiliate Islam, most holy shrines were neglected, and thereafter some mosques demolished or were opened to non-Muslim tourists, inflaming the clerics and religious groups.¹⁶⁴ In 1931, the state banned the practice of *qameh-zani* during month of *Moharam*, arguing that these extreme practices seemed backwards and barbaric to the West.¹⁶⁵ Most importantly, travellers later in the decade reported that the performance of the mourning the martyrdom of Imam Hossein during *Moharam* was officially banned in 1935,¹⁶⁶ whether in private houses or mosques, as it was perceived to be regressive. Thus, through the demolition of Tekeye Dowlat and the banning of the rituals of *Ta'ziyeh*, under the rubric of modernizing the capital, the Golestan garden lost all aspects of its previous religious function.

¹⁶¹ In 1304 SH/1925, *Majles Moasesan* the selection of Reza Khan for the kingdom — was held in Tekeye Dowlat: that could be the last political event in it before its destruction.

¹⁶² Hossein Karimian, *Tehran Gozashte V Hal (Tehran: Past and Present)*, (Tehran: National University, 1355 SH/1976)., p.22.

¹⁶³ Marefat. 'Building to Power : Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941.'

¹⁶⁴ Reza Shah 'replaced the Muslim Lunar calendar with a solar one which started the year from 21st March, the ancient Iranian year.' The Muslim months were replaced with Zoroastrian terms such as *Khordad*, *Tir*, and *Shahrivar*, in order to distract people from religious days of Muslims. Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). , p.83.

¹⁶⁵ Kamran Scot Aghaie, *The Martyrs of Karbala: Shi'i Symbols and Rituals in Modern Iran*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004). , pp.52-53; Salva., 'Twentieth-Century Transformations in Iranian Ta'ziyeh: Religion, Modernism, and Revolution,' p.17.

¹⁶⁶ Salva, cited above. p.22; Peterson, 'The Ta'ziyeh and Related Arts.'

If the earlier monarchies, in particular Shah Abbas I and Naser al-Din Shah, tended to glorify royal power and prestige by means of holding religious and social ceremonies in their the royal gardens, by sharp contrast, under the reign of Reza Shah, any Islamic rituals that recalled Muslim traditions, especially those with a Shi'a essence, were banned and undermined. *Ta'ziyeh*, and *Eid al-Adha* (i.e. recorded to be practised in Negarestan) and *Naghare zani*, all began to diminish from the social life of Golestan as part of the secular schemes of the Pahlavis. Targeted as bearing the religious backwardness, these rituals were banned, since their performance jeopardised the 'Great Aryan civilization.' Amongst certain others rituals that had been performed in Golestan, only the 'Greeting Ceremony' (following the tradition of Iranian monarchs) was practised during the Pahlavi era, but with a loss of political and religious meaning.¹⁶⁷ Published daily political reports in the *Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar* bear witness that this ceremony, if in the past performed during the festive days of Shi'a Muslims, in Pahlavi Iran, was restricted to celebrations only on *Nowrouz*, the day of the coronation of Reza Shah, festive days of *Eid al-Ghadir* and *Mabas*.¹⁶⁸

Once the seraglio in the Golestan garden was completely razed, the nomadic custom of the Qajar kings was abolished, the religious building, Tekeye Dowlat, was destroyed and the social activities that had taken place during the 19th century were abolished, Golestan became the proclamation of a new regime to reinforce Reza Shah's broader ideological message. It was transformed from an assemblage of social and religious gathering and re-modified for more private and secular use. Translated into politics, the selective erasure of any physical representation of structures or traditions that recalled Islam and Shi'a ethics were all the strategic moves to stigmatize the Qajars, and Islamic traditions in the hope of reviving the remote past, particularly the Achaemenid and Sassanian Empires in the service of a new present.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Under the Reza Shah's rule, 'Special Greeting' (*salam-e-khas*) was no longer performed in the festive days of *Fetr*, *Ghorban* or birthday of Imam *Mahdi* and guardians could not participate in official ceremony anymore. Shafa., ed., *Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadiran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)*, p.84-6.

¹⁶⁸ *Eid Ghadir*, is the most important celebratory day of Shi'a Muslim, on the 18th of Dhu al-Hijjah of Islamic calendar, in which Imam Ali appointed as successor of Prophet Mohammed. *Eid Mabas* is also celebrated on 27 Rajab of Islamic calendar. On that day Angel Gabriel revealed Prophet Muhammad a verse of the Qur'an (Qur'an, Sura 96 Al-Alaq) and appointed by the will of God as a Prophet to spread the divine message of Islam.

¹⁶⁹ In 1314 SH/1935, Reza Shah ordered to change the country's official name, 'Persia' be changed to 'Iran' to assert Iran as birthplace of Aryan. This idea was borrowed from western archaeologist, Herzfeld. The Nazi's foreign Minister informed that Hitler excluded Iran from Nuremberg race law, and in one of his speeches had proclaimed that the Aryan race was linked to Iran. Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, p.86. While the idea of superiority of 'Aryan race over the world' did not originate by Nazism in Iran, confirmation of the Aryan-ness of Iranian by Germany led to improvement the relationships between the two countries and increased Reza Shah's aspiration to resist nationalism.

Name	Location of destroyed buildings on the Qajar's map	Possible Location on the current map of Tehran	Visual appearance (before or during the destruction)	Current situation/building
Andaruni (Royal harem)				Ministry of Economic affairs and Finance 
Tekeye Dowlat				Bank Melli Iran, constructed on Tekeye Dowlat 
Main Gate (sardar-e-Almasiyeh)				Main Entrance of the Golestan garden 

Table 3.4: Location and Visual appearance of destroyed buildings of Golestan garden in Pahlavi era,(Source: produced by the author)

However, a few of Golestan's main mansions were retained, particularly those located in *Biruni* (the public sector). Some remaining buildings had their meaning and function transformed, while others such as the Marble Throne, retained their previous function. The political value of the Marble Throne saved it from physical destruction, even by the end of the Qajar dynasty, as it was reminiscent of the coronation of Reza Shah as well. From the 1930s onwards, by the construction of new administrative buildings taller and larger in scale than Shams al Imare in a position near it, the function and symbolic meaning of Shams al Imare was altered. During the Naseri era, Shams al Imare was the emblem and the architectural manifesto of Naser al-Din Shah's era and that provided an insight into Tehran, in Pahlavi Iran. However, after the Ministry of Finance was built nearby, it was no longer the architectural achievement of Qajar as discussed above. It lost the effectiveness that was previously ascribed to it by its height.

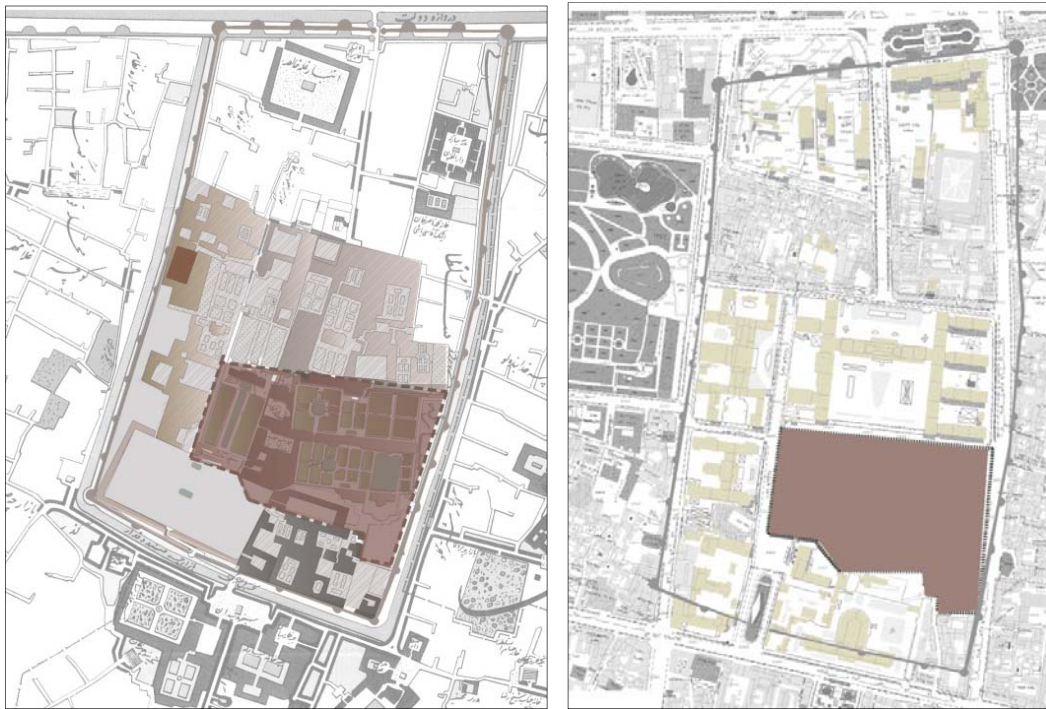


Figure 3.27: Left: Demolished areas in the Golestan garden highlighted in grey; Right: replacement of judicial and administrative buildings in the Golestan garden during the Pahlavi era, highlighted in yellow (Source: Redrawn by the author based on the Krziz map, produced in 1275 AH/1858 and current map of Tehran)

The Golestan and the Citadel–Arg were gradually surrounded by new administrative buildings. To the south of Golestan and the west of *Maydan* is the Radio building; along the northwest side is the Courthouse¹⁷⁰ (latter the Ministry of Justice); and to the south and north,

¹⁷⁰ This building was designed by Gabriel Gurakian.

is the Ministry of Finance and National Bank (*Bank Meli*).¹⁷¹ A few key buildings continued to serve cultural uses. For instance, the Narenjestan was reused as a library to keep rare documents and inscriptions. Abyaz palace also was considered for diplomatic meetings of government until 1334 SH/1955.¹⁷²

As discussed above, during the 20 years of Reza Shah's rule, while regulations for heritage restoration were formulated in 1930, there was a dominant attention towards preservation of pre-Islamic heritage and demolition the buildings identified with a Qajar dynasty. Moreover, as a result of the widespread humiliation of traditions Islam and Qajars, many historical Qajar gardens were destroyed and the symbolic dimension of garden mainly with religious essence was eradicated to meet the new ideology of the regime.

However, after Reza Shah was forced by Britain and the Soviet Union to resign in 1941 during World War II, in favour of his son, and exiled to Johannesburg, the Golestan garden and other Qajar heritage began to be treated in a different light. In 1323 SH/1944, the NRS, which had been closed for 10 years because of the political chaos, re-launched its activity.¹⁷³ Following this, in 1323 SH/1944, Dr. Sedigh, the Minister of Culture, proposed that Qajar buildings which had public usage should come under the umbrella of the Antiquities Law (1930).¹⁷⁴ By approving this article, the mass destruction and humiliation of Qajar edifices was temporarily halted.¹⁷⁵ Having had a unique architectural and artistic importance, Golestan was added to the list of National Properties in 1955 (ascribed number 417). However, the attention towards the restoration of Qajar's historical buildings increased, and once again some mansions in the Golestan garden were destroyed during Mohammad Reza Shah's rule. For instance, in 1339 SH/1961 Queen Elizabeth carried out a state visit to Iran¹⁷⁶ in response to Mohammad Reza Shah's first visit to Britain that had taken place in 1337 SH/1959. In order to protect the dignity (*aberoo*) of Iran during her visit, the State hastily decided to set an agenda for built heritage restoration, particularly in Tehran, Isfahan and

¹⁷¹ Ministry of Finance and National Bank were designed by Mohsen Foroughi.

¹⁷² The restoration of Narenjestan, wind tower building and Imarat-e-Brelian (Brilliant palace) was performed by traditional master builder, Osad Lorzadeh.

¹⁷³ The NRS was closed in 1313 SH/1934, because of socio-political conditions of Iran. imprisoning the key people in NRS who had a contradict with Reza Shah's despotic policy, beginning of World War II, kept the institution closed for ten years. During these years, three main members of the NRS had died. Yunes Samadi Rendi, *Mirase Farhangi Dar Hogoge Dakheli Va Beinol Melal (Cultural Heritage in Internal and International Regulations)*, (Tehran: ICHO, 1382 SH/2003), p.22.

¹⁷⁴ Isa Sedigh, *Yadegar Omr (Memory of Life)*, (Tehran, 1340 SH/1961). p.362; Afsar and Mousavi., *Pasdari Az Asar Bastan Dar Asr Pahlavi(Guarding of Ancient Relics in Pahlavi Era)*,p.144.

¹⁷⁵ in 1338 SH/1959 the NRS which had not specific location purchased the Amir Bahador's house who was a prime minister of Mozafar al-din Shah Qajar it should be said that those house that had an artistic value and its owner was doing works for reviving any Iranian culture, Amir Bahador was republished Shahnameh, Bahroulomi. *Karnameh Anjoman Asar Meli (Report Book of the NRS from 1350 SH/ 1971 to 1353 SH/1974)*,p.792.

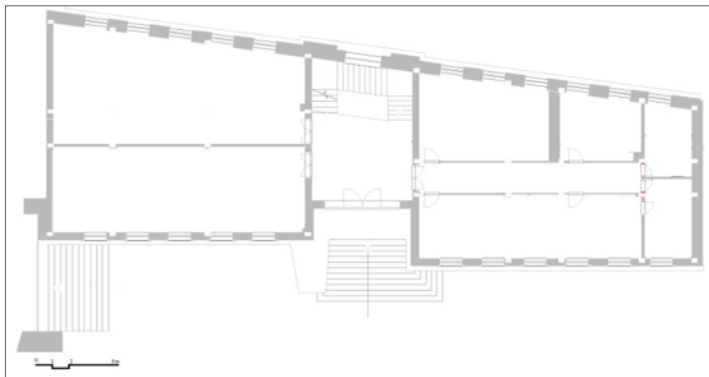
¹⁷⁶ BBC Persian TV <http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/world/2012/06/120603_172_jubilee_vid.shtml>.[accessed 15 June 2012]

Shiraz. The Golestan garden was chosen to provide the accommodation for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip, and new accommodation known as Khabgah-e-Elizeh was constructed in 1342 SH/1963 at the expense of Narenjestan's destruction (Figure 3.28).¹⁷⁷

When in 1344 SH/1965, Golestan was selected as a venue for the coronation¹⁷⁸ of Mohammad Reza Shah and Queen Farah it regained its political significance and, therefore, the restoration activities proliferated. Under the supervision of foreign-trained architect, Mohsen Foroughi, a large-scale restoration plan was implemented to accommodate the coronation ceremony. The restoration works included: renovation of the basement of the Imarat Badgir, restoration of the southwest building of the complex, and restoration of Shams al Imareh that continued until 1978. However, to provide an integrated place for the performance of the coronation, some physical interventions were implemented, and there was no effort to save its 'authenticity.' This included the connection of the yard of Dar-al Hokumeh (i.e. the yard of Takht-e-Marmar) to the yard of the Golestan garden. The lecture hall of the Ministry of Finance within the northern limits of the complex in the years 1969-1971 was constructed. This led to the 'destruction of a big five door and two floored room between the Takht-e-Marmar and Khalvat-e-Karim Khani on the north side of the yard.'¹⁷⁹



Figure 3.28: Above Left: General view of Narenjestan before its demolition, (Source: Album of Photographs by Ali Khan Vali, p.287); Above right and below: general view and plan of Khabgah-e-Elizeh, constructed in 1342 SH/1963, (Source: Courtesy of the Technical office of the Golestan palace)



¹⁷⁷ According to Kamran Diba, after visitation of Elizabeth and the problems associated with accessibility to the Golestan garden, the Pahlavi Family decided to construct the new royal garden in North of Tehran. Sahebgharanieh, the previous Qajar gardens also known as Niavaran, was reconstructed and considered for foreign guests of the Pahlavis. (Source: phone interview with Kamran Diba conducted by the author on 18.01.2012)

¹⁷⁸ Mohammad Reza Shah, after 41 years of his kingship, officially put the crown on his head on October 26th 1967 at the Marble Throne. Most importantly, he put crown on Farah's head, 'as the first queen in the 2500 years and more years of Persian Monarchy.' Newspapers announced that 'the queen become the Regent of her oldest son, the heir apparent, Reza II.

¹⁷⁹ The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List,' p.95.

The particular political event of the coronation led to both the preservation of the garden and its mansions, and gave Farah the political authority to become involved in various aspects of the country, especially in architectural and cultural domains. Farah, who studied architecture in France for two years, considered herself as an aficionado in art and culture. In 1343 SH/1967, when the Ministry of Culture and Art was established, she took over this Ministry and cultural heritage was an instrument of reform in her hands.¹⁸⁰ From 1345 SH/1966, with the support of Farah, the previous pattern of destruction somehow was began to diminish.

Some Qajar gardens, which the reformists of the 1320s SH/1940s had had no hesitation to destroy, were bought by the National Relics Society, Farah's Foundation and the Ministry of Art and Culture.¹⁸¹ A few buildings that remained from Qajar gardens were purchased by Farah's Foundation used for charitable or cultural institutions. Davoudieh, for example, was converted into an orphanage and Qasr-e-Yaghot was reused as a hospital.¹⁸² The garden of Qavam al Saltaneh (1910-1925), which had been sold to the Egyptian Embassy in 1925, was bought back by Farah's Foundation and became a museum of ceramics and glassware (Abgineh museum) in 1972. Moreover, the Queen, by 'special command' (*farman makhsus*), insisted that every historical monument should serve a cultural purpose — for example, by being converted into a museum, pedagogical centre and library or lecture hall.¹⁸³ As a result, the revitalization of some historical gardens and buildings as museums was strengthened by the institution of the monarchy as the leading patrons of culture.¹⁸⁴ Due to these trends, during the 1970s, a cultural function was given to the Golestan. For instance, the first anthropology museum dating back to 1316 SH/1937 was relocated from the NRS office in Amir al Bahador house to Abyaz palace in Golestan and opened to the public in 1350 SH/1971.¹⁸⁵ It became the place for holding temporary exhibitions such as the first Iranian Women Clothes Exhibition in 1954.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, (New York: Periscope Publishing, distributed by Prestel, 2009), p.183.

¹⁸¹ Farah Foundation was erected in 1343 SH/1964, Balaghi., *Gozi-deye Az Tarikh Tehran (Selective of History of Tehran)*, p.167.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp.138- 46.

¹⁸³ Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.186

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.137.

¹⁸⁵ Shoja al-Din Shafa, '*Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadiiran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)*', (Paris: Soheil, 1356 SH/1978), p.2065.

¹⁸⁶ Abyaz also served as the main office of the Department General of Museums and Public Culture.' The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List,' p.132.

The above sections have depicted how the Golestan garden metamorphosed during the Pahlavi regime, while the following section will shed light on how the royal gardens have been treated differently in the Republican era by pursuing the changes in their material, symbolic and social dimensions.

From 2,500 years Monarchy to the Islamic Republic: Royal buildings and gardens in the early of the Islamic Republican era (1979-1990)

After 2500 years of imperialism fell and the Islamic Republic in 1979 was established, the hostile approach towards the imperial past led to the setting aside of Royal heritage, including Golestan garden, and once again their material, symbolic and social dimensions were altered dramatically. In 1979 Mohammad Reza Shah was forced to leave Iran as his aspiration for transforming the country into an industrialized and pro-Western country was placing 'strain upon an over-extended economy.'¹⁸⁷ Increasing corruption among the Royal family and top government officials, together with mounting economic inequalities, were widening the gap between the privileged and wealthy minority and the unprivileged poor majority.¹⁸⁸ The religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, played a pivotal role in attacking the Mohammad Reza Shah's pro-western, 'corrupt' and 'immoral' dictatorship. Ayatollah Khomeini declared that 'according to the Prophet of Islam, the title 'King of Kings' (*Shah-an-Shah*) was the most hated of all titles in the sight of God. Islam is fundamentally opposed to the whole notion of a monarchy,¹⁸⁹ and the entire regime had to be toppled. This attitude towards imperialism brought about the drastic changes in the destiny of the royal gardens that will be traced here.

In the early days of the Revolution, popular resentment and condemnation manifested itself in public monuments and royal icons. Iranians lost their sense of dependency on heritage, especially towards the royal monuments that had served as the tools of the Pahlavi family. There were rumours that some the royal gardens were vandalized and that mobs sacked royal icons. Zealots tried to destroy the figures at the Safavid palace gardens because they were seen as anti-Islamic (*Ghaire Islami*) icons, but this did not happen in many other places. The Goli garden in Tabriz also experienced violent treatment and was set on fire by groups of people.¹⁹⁰ While some radical and angry people decided to eliminate most of the monarchical

¹⁸⁷ Avery, Hambly, and Melville. *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*. Vol. 7, p.288.

¹⁸⁸ Amin Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah*, (Princeton University Press Princeton, NJ, 1980), p.187.

¹⁸⁹ Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, (Berkeley, Calif: Mizan Press, 1981), p.202.

¹⁹⁰ Amir Bani Masoud, *Baghaye Tarikhi Tabriz (Historical Gardens of Tabriz)*, (Iran Cultural Studies, 1390 SH/2011), 2011

icons and symbols, the leader of the Revolution and the conservationists rebuffed these acts of violence. Ayatollah Taleghani, the religious leader, published a declaration which ‘announced that the content of palaces belonged to the people, and exhorted the population’¹⁹¹ to avoid damaging the Royal properties: this was one of the primary actions of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) to protect the Royal icons. *Asar*, the archaeological journal published by the NRS, also condemned the demolition of valuable monuments and pre-Islamic tombs around the country.¹⁹² With the exception of a few instances where Pahlavi’s statues and monuments were destroyed (Figure 3.29), the Islamic Revolution was quite a nonviolent experience, because the Leader of the movement never advocated wholesale destruction of the Royal properties.¹⁹³



Figure 3.29: Left: Destruction of Mohammad Reza Shah’s statue by the public, (Source: Institute for Iranian contemporary historical studies <http://iichs.org/index_en.asp>, [accessed 11 November 2011]); Right: Reza Shah tomb prior to its destruction after the Revolution of 1979. In the early days after Revolution it was destroyed without any trace by Islamic government, (Source: Amir Bani Masoud, *Memary Moaser Iran Dar Takapouye Sonat V Modernite (Contemporary Architecture of Iran)* (Tehran: Honar Memary Qarn, 1388 SH/2009), p.232)

¹⁹¹ Mehdi Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1995), p.215.

¹⁹² Mohammad Karim Pirnia, 'Moghadameh (Introduction)', *Asar*, 1 (Spring 1980). quoted in Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.271.

¹⁹³ Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran's', p.532.

Confiscating of Royal Properties and gardens by the revolutionary Guards (nahad-haa-ye enghelabi) during Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988)

Under the Pahlavi regime, the palace and hunting gardens of the royal family — including Niavaran, Nakhjir, Tash-e-Farah and Golestan garden — were under the supervision of Office of Royal Houses (*Edare boyotat-e-saltanati*).¹⁹⁴ When Mohammad Reza Shah left Iran forever in 1979, this office was abolished. All of the gardens and royal properties of the Pahlavi family were confiscated by the Republican government, generally by *Basij*. Ayatollah Khomeini, who was also known as the ‘Leader of the Dispossessed,’ had decreed the seizure of the properties of the Shah and all his henchmen, who shared the brutalities with Pahlavi, for the benefit of the poor.¹⁹⁵ In order to fight against inequality between poor and rich, Ayatollah Khomeini said that ‘no one must be remaining without a house.’ *Kar* (work) newspaper reported that over 4500 villas had been appropriated by the poor¹⁹⁶ and ‘*mostazafan*’ (downtrodden). According to Asef Bayat, in the clamour of the Revolution, the poor in the Southern slums of Tehran seized and took over the vacant homes, houses and villas of the upper-class in Northern parts of Tehran who had migrated to the European countries or the USA after the Revolution.¹⁹⁷ The Foundation of the Dispossessed (*Bonyad-e-Mostazafan*) was erected to replace the Pahlavi Foundation.¹⁹⁸ The property of 50 high-class families,¹⁹⁹ including their villas and gardens (such as gardens of Alam family in Birjand) that had acquired wealth through Pahlavi family and were accused of being Royalist (*taghuti*), fell under the control this Office. About ‘150,000 housing units — palaces, hotels, villas and unfinished apartment blocks — were eventually taken over by the Foundation of the Dispossessed.’²⁰⁰

Only two years after the Revolution, a war between Iran and Iraq broke out, and once again the cultural heritage was threatened. During the year of war, only a few Acts were drafted to restrict unlawful excavations. According to article No.83 of the Constitution Law, ‘governmental buildings and properties falling into the category of national masterpiece cannot be transferred, except upon the approval of the National Consultative Assembly, and

¹⁹⁴ Source from the interview with Dr.Hodjat conducted by the author in Tehran on 28.11.2011.

¹⁹⁵ Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*.

¹⁹⁶ *Kar* Newspaper, 1358.01.23 SH/ March 1979, quoted in Pamela Karimi, ‘Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran’, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009), p.264.

¹⁹⁷ Asef Bayat, *Street Politics: Poor People’s Movements in Iran*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p.67 quoted in Karimi., ‘Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,’ p.264.

¹⁹⁸ Pahlavi Foundation was a vast charitable organisation. According to Western bankers, Pahlavi Foundation received an annual subsidy of over US\$40 million. By 1977, the foundation had shares in 207 companies, including 8 mining firms, 10 cement firms, 17 banks and insurance companies, 23 hotels, 25 metal companies, 25 agribusinesses, and 45 construction companies.’ Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, p.438.

¹⁹⁹ Abrahamian., *A History of Modern Iran*, p.178.

²⁰⁰ Asef Bayat, ‘Tehran: Paradox City’, *NEW LEFT REV*, (2010), p.105.

on the condition that they are not unique national items.’ This law mainly considered Sadabad and Niavaran gardens and the properties therein.²⁰¹ Most importantly, in the melée of Iran-Iraq war, in 1985 the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO) was established under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. For the first time, all of the major cultural institutions²⁰² were gathered in the ICHO under a unified policy and strategy and the task for restoration of all heritage falls on this organisation.²⁰³ The formation of the ICHO as an independent organisation, and the consequent rewriting of the Heritage Laws (*Asasname sazman*) and regulations with more details adopted from the international charters, was one of the most significant events concerning cultural heritage after the Islamic Revolution guiding the restoration plan of built heritage and historical gardens to this day.

Reinterpreting the monarchy’s architecture

From sign of power to sign of lesson (Az namade ghodrat ta ayeneye ebrat)

The Islamic Revolution brought certain changes in political language, the structure of the state, ideology and the meaning of Iranism and Shiism.²⁰⁴ The slogan ‘Neither Eastern, Nor Western, only Islamic Republic’ represented an anti-Western and anti-Eastern perception of the post- revolutionary authorities, it was meant to strongly revive the Islamic identity of Iranians that had been undermined during the Pahlavi regime. Unlike the rapid tendency to reinforce Islamic values after the Revolution, before the 1990s not much attention was paid to architectural heritage.²⁰⁵ As a result of the distortion of the concept of architectural heritage throughout the Pahlavi era, the IRI marginalized and rejected cultural heritage, and was especially apathetic towards the secular and royal monuments. In sharp contrast to the Pahlavi rulers, who had emphasized the pre-Islamic heritage in order to enhance national pride and provide some justification for the imperial system, after the Cultural Revolution in 1361 SH/1982,²⁰⁶ which was run by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, a ‘selective history’

²⁰¹ ‘Relics that not have cultural values but have economical values delivered to Central Bank (*bank-e-markazi*) and those that were not so expensive (less than 10000 *Tomans*) would be used for the purposes that is approved in Law. Hodjat, ‘Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,’ p.282.

²⁰² These institution including Archaeological Museum, Centre for Traditional Crafts, Centre for Archaeological Research, Centre and Museum of Ethnography, Office of the Museum, Office of the Palaces, National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments of the Provinces. Rendi., *Mirase Farhangi Dar Hogoge Dakheli Va Beinol Melal (Cultural Heritage in Internal and International Regulations)*, Vol.1, p.127.

²⁰³ Adel Farhangi, ‘An Overview of Policies on the Protection of Cultural Properties in Iran’, in *Proceedings Tenth Seminar of the Conservation of Asian Cultural Heritage*, (Tokyo: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 2003), pp. 111-36., (p.122).

²⁰⁴ Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, p.5.

²⁰⁵ Hodjat, ‘Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,’ p. 213 and p.263.

²⁰⁶ During the Cultural Revolution from 1359 SH/ 1980 to 1361SH/1982, Iranian universities were closed for two years in order to change the subjects of book to adopt to Islamic doctrine. Nahid Roshan Naha, *Enghelab Farhangi Dar Jomhori Islami Iran (Cultural Revolution in Islamic Republic)*, (Tehran: Islamic Revolution Document Centre, 1383 SH/2004), p.136.

was formulated due to the militant approach towards imperialism. Towards the elimination of any favourable image of the monarchies and secular heroes, a series of anti-Pahlavi schemes were promulgated. In this sense, books were rewritten and Pahlavi documents were sent to archives or censored. According to the anthropologist Setrag Manoukain, 'things had to be made a new, into the opposite of what they had been.'²⁰⁷ Both the Pahlavi and pre-Islamic era were disqualified; they were considered as symbols of un-Islamic monarchical tyranny imposed upon the people, and portrayed as an 'age of ignorance' and a time of 'despotic kings.'²⁰⁸ Any sign of respect for the pre-Islamic Iran 'smacked of paganism (*sherk*).'²⁰⁹ While the former dynasty (Pahlavi), perceived the royal heritage as the sign of glory, the latter (IRI), rebranded them as sign of 'tyranny' and 'atrocities' which in turn depicts the difference between meaning of royal heritage in the viewpoint of two regimes. Moreover, at the beginning of the Revolution, it was rumoured that *Nowrouz* should not be celebrated anymore, but in practice it did not happen as it is so deeply rooted in Iranian tradition for more than 2500 years.

As a result of these aggressive and hostile approaches towards the imperial past, the royal heritage and palace gardens suffered a reverse in their fortunes. These secular places were reinterpreted and rebranded as the 'legacy of decadence,' and a sign of 'Royal excess,' and thus were looked down upon. Residing in palaces (*kakh neshini*) which tended to show the wealth of the owner was broadly rejected in favour of the simplicity of Islamic principles (which are against luxury).²¹⁰ When the revolutionary enthusiasm gradually decreased and the Iran-Iraq war ended, nationalism and a concern for tradition returned to some extent. As the ideology of the new state shifted, there was a need for a new vocabulary and tactics to justify cultural heritage, particularly royal architecture. To overcome the negative image that had been crystallized by the Pahlavi rulers, in the first years after the Revolution the managers of the ICHO had a hard time in safeguarding the designated historical buildings from demolition and to convince the post-Revolutionary governors about the importance of historical remains. To this end, in 1366 SH/1988, the ICHO organised a meeting for the Islamic Committee and Guardians (*Komiteh Engelab Islami*) to acquaint them with the

²⁰⁷ Setrag Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, (New York: Routledge, 2012) p.450.

²⁰⁸ Rashid Keykhosravi, *The Age of Ignorance: The Pillage of Iranian Cultural Heritage*, (Tehran, 1984), quoted in Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran,' p.534; K. Abdi, 'Nationalism, Politics and the Development of Archaeology in Iran,' *American journal of archaeology*, 105 (2001), 51-76.

²⁰⁹ Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, p.178.

²¹⁰ Ayatollah Khomeini frequently condemned the essence of aristocracy and considered it a source of misery.

importance of heritage. It aimed to reduce the danger of looting and the exporting of historic artifacts through the large network of smugglers of ancient relics that had emerged during the Iran-Iraq war.

This time the language and articulation for justifications underlying conservation of heritage shifted dramatically. Instead of perceiving heritage as a 'national icon,' the importance of safeguarding historical relics was emphasized from the point of view of the Holy Qur'an, in addition to some *Hadith* of Imam Ali.²¹¹ According to the Holy Qur'an, Muslims should refer to past remains in order to learn lessons from them, a term that is called *Ebrat* or edification from history's lessons.²¹² Consequently, through the ideological manipulation of religiously-minded experts, the ICHO successfully ascribed new meanings to royal and/or secular heritage in order to rescue them from demolition and neglect. In this sense, the royal heritage was no longer perceived with a nostalgic outlook as 'national icon,' but rather as an educational tool that could teach lessons about the destiny of Royalty to condemn imperialism. Both gardens and palaces of monarchs, in particular those of the Pahlavi family, were reinterpreted as symbols of 'Royal excess,' 'symbols of atrocity and corruption' and 'class oppression' (*zolme tabaghati*).

From a material point of view, the development of Tehran in all directions set the Golestan garden aside from being the focal point of the city (Figure 3.30). The Citadel-Arg decreased in size and was reconfigured from a square shape to a rectangular one. Moreover, many administrative executive courts and judicial organizations settled in the vicinity, thus changing the area to a more judicial centre. Parallel with the shift in power from 'monarchy' to 'Republic' together with a new emerging ideological language, the previous social and political significance of the Arg *Maydan* was changed simultaneously. For affirming and constituting the revolutionary images, the Arg Avenue in front of the Golestan garden was renamed *Panzdah Khordad*. This recalls the demonstrations of the *panzdah Khordard* 1342 SH/5th June of 1963 in Tehran, which was considered one of the central events for 1979

²¹¹ It should be mentioned that in this meeting the Western Orientalists were also recognised as the 'element of world's arrogance' (*Anasor Estekbar*) who by imposing shameful treaties plundered Iranian historical relics for many years. It could be one of the reason why the Cultural Heritage Organisation after the Islamic the Revolution hardly permitted the direct involvement of foreigners in heritage project. ICHO, *Az Servathaye Farhangi Keshvar Hefazat Konim (Preserving the Cultural Treasure of the Country)*, (Tehran: ICHO, 1366 SH/1987),, p.7.

²¹² 'The Holy Qur'an by presenting particular examples and suggesting certain interpretations invites us (Muslims) to travel the earth and investigate the deeds of past nations.' This attention can be attributed to the repeated exhortations of the Holy Qur'an to refer to historic remains for learning lesson from the fate of the past generation. Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,' p.46 and p.267. Dr. Hodjat, was the first manager of the ICHO after the Revolution, in 1999 published a PhD thesis who considered the values of Cultural Heritage according to Islam and the Holy Qur'an in order to set policies regarding conservation of cultural heritage in Iran.

Revolution.²¹³ Instead of being used for the performance of ritual activities, the Citadel-Arg was reshaped into a criminal justice centre that was guarded by soldiers, completely alien to its traditional use. The imperial *Maydan* lost its royal prestige, and instead became an arena for anti-monarchy and post-Revolutionary gestures.

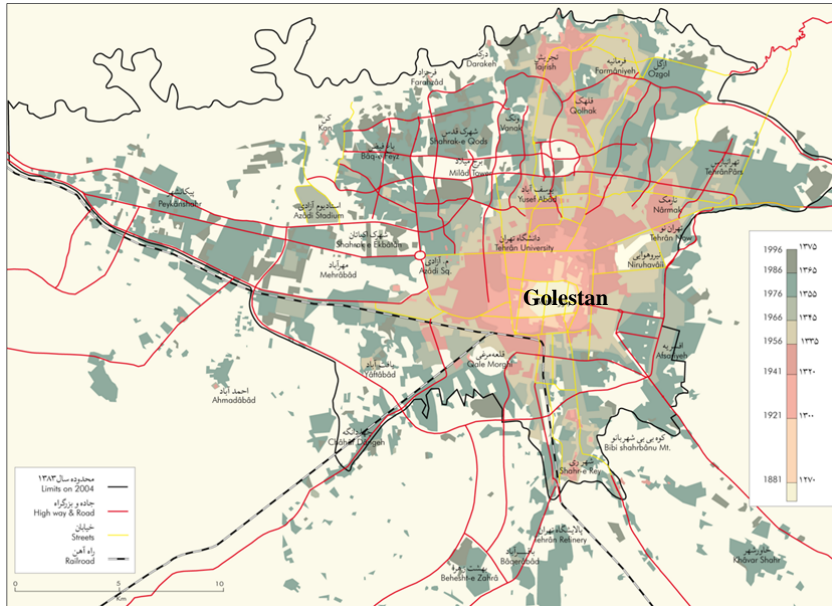


Figure 3.30: The evolution of built up areas in Tehran from 1881-1996, (Source: Atlas of Tehran Metropolis < http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/volume.php?d=atlas_tehran&l=en>, [accessed 1 December 2013]).

Debates over the reconstruction and restoration of Golestan

In 1968 during the rule of the Pahlavi family, the conservation of the Golestan garden was transferred to the Ministry of Royal Court. When the former Ministry of Royal Court was abolished after the Islamic Revolution, the management of this ensemble came under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs. As a result of war conditions, budget shortages and negative attitudes toward heritage (in particular royal heritage), there were no funds available for its restoration. However, at some point the technical bureau of the National Organization of Conservation of Ancient Monuments implemented restoration projects.²¹⁴ This included emergency and restoration works including the restoration of ‘a treasury or reservoir for safeguarding objects and monuments beneath part of the yard of Golestan,²¹⁵ the fountain in front of the Takht-e-Marmar and its decorations, were carried out by the technical office of the National Organization for Conservation of Antiquities.’ By the end of the war, the first concern regarding the restoration of the key palaces of the Golestan

²¹³ *Panzdah Khordad* 1342 SH/ 5th June 1963, is the day in which the Pahlavi regime arrested Ayatollah Khomeini in *Ashura* at the Faizieh, because of his speech highly criticised the Pahlavi kings and many protests against Khomeini’s arrest was taken. Approximately 15,000 people killed by the Pahlavi military. For more information, see. Islamic Revolution Document Centre, < <http://www.irdc.ir/fa/calendar/30/default.aspx>>, [accessed 20 November 2013].

²¹⁴ The Word Heritage Office, ‘Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List,’ p.96.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.97.

garden and the rehabilitation of the bazaar in the Citadel-Arg was raised in 1373 SH/1994 due to its location in the capital and its proximity to the grand bazaar. Besides this, two other possible physical reasons helped it to overcome the hardship of political fluctuations. First, its origin was attributed to the Qajar rulers, not the Pahlavi regime; it clearly contained unprecedented buildings and invaluable architectural style of the 19th century. Second, the re-interpretation of the royal heritage served as an educational tool aiming to manifest ‘the Royal excess’ for future generations of Iranians.

While in the late Pahlavi era, some palaces of Golestan had been restored to serve as museums, it was only after the Revolution that it was decided to open the ensemble as a museum-garden to represent the relics, paintings and artefacts of the Qajar period.²¹⁶ Given priority to the architectural importance, for the first time, a plan of the existing site of Golestan (not its palaces) was provided thanks to the efforts of students in the architecture department of the Shahid Beheshti University in 1370 SH/1991 (Figure 3.31). This attempt may also be viewed as the first serious consideration of the architectural values of historic buildings at an educational level.



Figure 3.31: Guide map and general views of the existing site of the Golestan garden, provided by the Shahid Beheshti University, (Source: Courtesy of the Technical office of the Golestan garden; photos by the author)

²¹⁶ Now the Complex is consisted of these halls and palaces: Takht-e-Marmar, Khalvat-e-Karim Khani, Talar-e-Salam, Howz Khaneh, Mouze-e-Makhsous, Negar Khaneh, Talar-e-Ayineh, Talar-e-Aaj and Howz Khaneh, Imarat-e-Brelian, Shams al Imareh, Imarat-e-Badgir and Howz Khaneh (Akkas Khaneh Museum), Chador Khaneh, Talar-e-Almas, Kakh-e-Abyaz (Anthropology Museum).

In order to return the garden back to its original condition by restoring certain features, gradually, after 1990, alterations to the physical appearance were made. In response to the need to represent the Golestan as only architecture, a masterpiece of the 19th century, the emphasis was at first given to the restoration of the interiors and facades of the key palaces. The damaged pavements in the garden areas were replaced with a new collection of plants and trees were planted, and damaged buildings were restored. The restoration schemes mainly focused on Talar-e-Almas (Diamond Hall), Takht-e-Marmar (Marble Throne) between 1374 SH/1995 and 1377 SH/1998, Tent House (*chadorkhane*) in 1377 SH/1998 and Talar-e-Blour in 1379 SH/2000 (see Table 3.6).²¹⁷

After the restoration of key mansions in the Golestan, from 1373 SH/1994 onwards, the garden area received attention as well. Some parts of the pools and tanks in front of Takht-e-Marmar (Marble Throne), Talar-e-Salam (Reception Hall), and Talar-e-Ayeneh (Hall of Mirror) that had disappeared during the first Pahlavi era were reconstructed, not exactly based on previous available documents and archaeological surveys, but guided instead more by historical pictures and assumptions of the managers that were in charge.

However, cultural heritage only came into focus again during the presidency of the reformist president, Khatami, from 1997 to 2005. The social political reforms as well as the selection of the slogan 'Dialogue among Civilizations' provided the opportunity to foster patriotism and nationalism. History and traditions were seen from the point of view of modernity, and once again became fervent topics among scholars and politicians. In order to portray Islamic-Iran as a civilized country at international level, and to regain the honour that had been lost after the Revolution, greater funds were allocated to the ICHO. This was mainly for re-surveying the history of Iran, archaeological excavations, restoring historical buildings and constructing new museums, holding an international congress and exhibitions in the USA and Europe with the title of '8000 years' civilization.' There was a dramatic rise in the number of designated National Properties on the List, the advertising of cultural heritage in the mass media, as well as an increase in other encouragements for people to visit historic places. Some Pahlavi the royal gardens, such as Marmar and part of Sadabad, were restored as well, to serve as the places where the president and diplomatic meetings with officials could be held.

²¹⁷ Golestan Palace, < http://www.golestanpalace.ir/Fr_Site/collections/marematB.htm >, [accessed 12 November 2012].

To this end, from 1381 SH/2002, much budget was allocated to Golestan's restoration (see Table 3.5). Depending on the budget, the surviving palaces were restored and converted into museums under the supervision of the ICHO, with the cooperation of Iranian architects and engineers.²¹⁸ However, not all of the mansions were transformed into museums; some were reused for administrative offices. It was decided to change Khabgah-e-Elizeh into a library and administrative offices. A large-scale physical intervention was done to change its function. All of the inner decorative design, such as the wallpaper of the accommodation which contained pictures of the western park, was removed. Accordingly, Abyaz (White Palace), Imarat Badgir (Wind Tower Mansion), and Talar-e-Ayeneh (Hall of Mirror) also underwent restoration and were opened to the public on certain days. The site of the garden was also paved with new brick, and priority was given to the area in front of Khalvat-e-Karim khani (Karim Khan Veranda). The garden beds were replanted with colourful flowers, but without referring to historical resources such as the diary of Naser al-Din Shah or *Al Maser al-Asar* which could have informed the revival authentic planting schemes.

Year	Provincial Budget (Million Tomans)			National Budget & incomes (Million Tomans)	Organization other than ICHHTO (Million Tomans)	Sum (Million Tomans)
	Maintenance	Conservation and restoration	research			
1390 SH/2011	300	550	120	600	380	980
1389 SH/2010	200	450	90	500	240	740
1388 SH/2009	180	200	70	350	100	450
1387 SH/2008	150	180	40	300	70	370
1386 SH/2007	130	150	20	250	50	300

Table 3.5: Sources & finance for the Golestan Palace, (Source: The Word Heritage Office, Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List,' p.266)

²¹⁸ The hostility against the involvement of foreigners in any kind of heritage affairs reveal an uneasy relationships with the West and depict the rigid conception that only Iranian architects or archaeologists are eligible for performing any kind of construction, protection or management schemes.


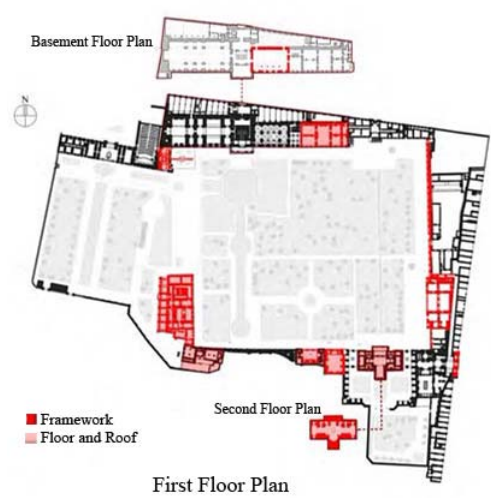
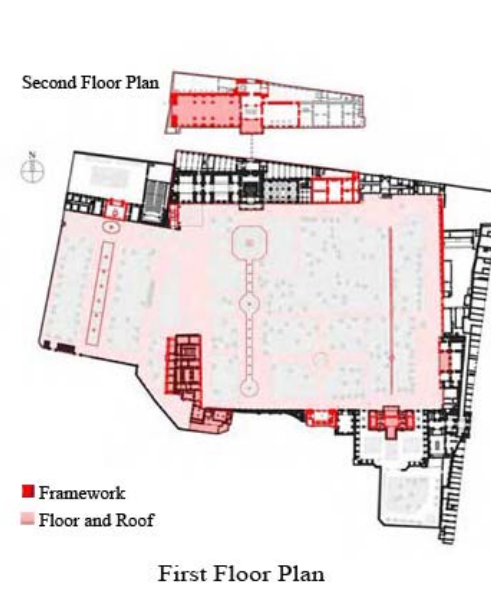
<p>1983-1990</p>	<p>Shams al Imareh: repair of decorative elements, particularly the mirror works of the <i>Iwan</i> and the <i>Shahneshin</i></p>	 <p>Basement Floor Plan</p> <p>First Floor Plan</p> <p>■ Framework ■ Floor and Roof</p>
<p>1991-2000</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chador Khaneh: making box-walls in the wall in order to eliminate the ascending moisture, stone-paving of the floors, fixing the staircases leading to the <i>Shahneshin</i>, restoration of the alcove and stabilization of its decorative elements (stucco works and mirror works), installation of chandeliers and lights, restoration of <i>Orsi</i> windows and the ceiling; - Shams-al Imareh: fixing the mirror works of the upper spaces; - Imarat-e Brelia: repair of gable roof; - Imarat-e Badgir: fixing of the main masts of the ceiling (wooden trusses), restoration of marble plinths in <i>Howz Khaneh</i>, restoration of the stone pavement of <i>Howz Khaneh</i>; - Khakh-e Abyaz: digging dewatering canal. 	 <p>Basement Floor Plan</p> <p>Second Floor Plan</p> <p>First Floor Plan</p> <p>■ Framework ■ Floor and Roof</p>
<p>1999-2000 2003</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shams-al Imareh: cleaning and maintenance of stucco works, restoration of <i>Bab Ali</i> façade (repairs at <i>Imarat-e Brelia</i>, removal of the staircases added to the entrance from the <i>Iwan</i> to the main courtyard, replacement and completion of electrical system (replacement of cables, cleaning of chandeliers), repairing of brick staircases Imarat-e Brelia: washing of chandeliers, cleaning and stabilization of mirror works, - Talar-e Aaj: stabilization of mirror works and stucco works; - Kakh-e Abyaz: painting the spaces. - Talar-e Aaj: Restoration of <i>Orsi</i> windows; - Talar-e Salam: stabilization and maintenance of mirror works, washing of chandeliers, painting the walls, fixing sash windows and windows; - Talar-e Ayineh: washing the chandeliers, stabilization and maintenance of mirror works and stucco works; - Imarat-e Badgir: Restoration of the <i>Noh-dari Orsi</i> window of the north side, - Kakh-e Abyaz: replacement of electrical system, installation of lights, installation of engine room for chilling and heating, ducting. 	 <p>Second Floor Plan</p> <p>First Floor Plan</p> <p>■ Framework ■ Floor and Roof</p>

Table 3.6: Restoration plan of the Golestan garden between 1983 and 2003, (Source: The World Heritage Office, Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List')

When some palaces were revitalized into museums and the garden used as venues for temporary exhibitions, the visitor information centre was constructed at the main gateway. It was also decided to increase the entrance fee in order to provide revenue. The systematic recording of the number of tourists started in 1381 SH/2002, and depicts how in that year 24,560 national and international tourists visited Golestan (Table 3.7). That number rose dramatically to 456,964 during the Iranian new year's vacation (*Nowrouz*) in 1392 SH/2013.²¹⁹ Shams al Imare and the Marble Throne were shown to be the most visited mansions in Golestan. Almost every day, school children are brought to this garden. From 2010, apart from the public, retired teachers, who are exempted from entrance fees, became the most frequent visitors. In the brochure given to tourists at the main entrance, it refers to 'Golestan; the Pearl of the Capital' (*negin paytakht*).

Year	Total price tickets	Half price tickets	Guest visitors	Foreign visitors	Total visitors
1385 SH/2006	90028	38687	75707	19943	224365
1386 SH/2007	119299	47142	89047	27568	283056
1387 SH/2008	124414	76513	45829	34869	281625
1388 SH/2009	126591	73634	22059	42200	264484
1389 SH/2010	199923	121893	41026	34042	296884
1390 SH/2011	149181	85568	28267	38850	301866
Total	809436	443437	301935	197472	1652280

Table 3.7: Number of visitor in Golestan garden from 2006 to 2011, (Source: The Word Heritage Office, Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List,'p.269)

²¹⁹ Golestan Palace, <<http://www.golestanpalace.ir/Blog%20Posts/post04.html>>, [accessed 09 April 2013].

Challenges facing the conservation of Golestan garden

After the Revolution of 1979 the Museum Bureau and the ICHHTO directly managed the Golestan garden. Following the political volatility that followed the presidential election in 2008, the structure of the ICHHTO was transformed. Emphasis was given to encouraging private enterprises to invest in historical buildings. To this end, in terms of garden maintenance, for the first time the management of the green space of Golestan became detached from supervision of its palaces and buildings in 2009. The green space of Golestan and eight other museum-gardens under the supervision of the private company named Protector of Cultural Heritage (*hamiyan miras farhangi*). This newly private company appointed the private enterprise named Supporters of Green Space (*Hamiyan Sabz*) founded in 1389 SH/2009.

According to the interviews conducted by this author in summer 2011 there was a lack of an exchange of ideas between managers and academics. The profit-making approach, as well as the conflict between various interests and priorities of the private enterprise interfered with the maintenance of the garden and the manager of the palaces, which held back the effectiveness of any restoration plan.²²⁰ The main concern of the advisory body of the Golestan palace is to save its material ‘authenticity’; in contrast, the private company Supporters of Green Space made an attempt for beautification of the garden area through cultivating plants and trees species, using species that were not part of the original design. Also since there is neither a planting guide nor a replanting scheme, a number of issues including the kind of trees that should be planted was not addressed. For example, in my interviews, the member of the company of Supporters of Green Space mentioned that they planned to bring many colourful flowers from Netherlands to cultivate in the Golestan garden. I asked him if, for this plant scheme, they refer to historical manuscripts such as *Al-maser Asar* to guide them about the original flowers in Golestan, and how a new species of flowers could affect the Golestan’s historical essence, he was not aware of these historical texts. He replied that it is the responsibility of the researchers to survey these issues, not his advisory team in garden maintenance.

This kind of viewpoint bears evidence of two dilemmas affecting the Golestan garden and other historical gardens in general. First, it vividly reflects the lack of up-to-date information and adequate awareness of the managers about the maintenance techniques of botanical

²²⁰ Source from the interview with the Manager of the Golestan palaces and the Manager of the company of the Supporters of Green Space (*hamiyan sabz*), conducted by the author on 21.11.2011.

elements addressed in international charters, such as those that already had been addressed in international historical landscape guidelines such as Woodland Trust No 2, published by the Ancient Tree Forum (ATF) or the Woodland or Tree Advice Trust, Forestry Commission (2002). Second, it emphasises the gap between research and practical restoration. Without referring to the relevant documentation and research in order to gather past evidence, the managers are unable to implement an appropriate and authentic replanting scheme. Moreover, in contrast with the past, similarly to many historical gardens in Iran, the main underground irrigation system in Golestan was *qanat*, this was replaced with a piped system of irrigation supplied from a well and no attempts have been already made to revive the traditional irrigation system.

In 2011, however, Golestan received attention. Because of the decision of the Head of the ICHHTO to divide the organisation and relocate some parts from Tehran into various provinces, the Deputy of World Heritage Site was relocated to the Golestan garden. The manager of Golestan and the Deputy of the World Heritage Site put their vision forward to register it as a World Heritage Site (WHS) as one the surviving examples of the 19th century architectural style in Tehran. To be



Figure 3.32 : Celebration of the Golestan's nomination as WHS by President Ahmadinejad, (Source: Photo by Amir Kholousi published in *gahname dakheli Kakh Golestan*, No.3 , *Mordad* 1392 SH/2013, p.2, <
<http://www.golestanpalace.ir/kaghazeakhbar3.pdf>>

nominated as a WHS in Tehran, in 2011 the primary works on documentation and providing accurate maps for Golestan were established. However, due to a lack of archival support, this was not based on historical research and suffered from a lack of data and the absence of accurate recording of the restoration process. This attempt, however, could be considered the first comprehensive documentation process in terms of botanical and architectural elements of Golestan. Visited by the international World Heritage experts, finally Golestan was designated as WHS in 2013. This event was celebrated by attendance of the President in Golestan in August 2013 (Figure 3.32). The criteria for nomination of Golestan as WHS were:

Criterion (i): *Represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;*

Golestan Palace represents a unique and rich testimony of the architectural language and decorative art during the Qajar era represented mostly in the legacy of Naser al-Din Shah. It reflects artistic inspirations of European origin as the earliest representations of synthesized European and Persian style, which became so characteristic of Iranian art and architecture in the late 19th and 20th centuries. As such, parts of the palace complex can be seen as the origins of the modern Iranian artistic movement.

Criterion (ii): *Exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design*

The complex of Golestan Palace represents an important example of the merging of Persian arts and architecture with European styles and motifs and the adaptation of European building technologies, such as the use of cast iron for load bearing, in Persia. As such Golestan Palace can be considered an exceptional example of an east-west synthesis in monumental arts, architectural layout and building technology, which has become a source of inspiration for modern Iranian artists and architects.

Criterion (iii): *To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization that is living or which has disappeared;*

Golestan Palace contains the most complete representation of Qajari artistic and architectural production and bears witness to the centre of power and arts at the time. Hence, it is recognized as an exceptional testimony to the Qajari era.

Criterion (iv): *Be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;* Golestan Palace is a prime example of the arts and architecture in a significant period in Persia, throughout the 19th century when the society was subject to processes of modernization. The influential role of artistic and architectural values of ancient Persia as well as the contemporary impacts of the West on the arts and architecture were integrated into a new type of arts and architecture in a significant transitional period.²²¹

However, despite this further attention, so far a few regulations regarding restoration that were rectified in 1309 SH/1930 and subsequently modified in 1382 SH/2003, all emphasise preserving architectural elements of historical buildings and only have a ‘dissuasive character.’²²² In general, based on my interviews with key authorities, the lack of leadership consciousness, sensitivity and adequate training of the managers involved; the authoritarian nature and/or centralized structure of the ICHHTO; the never-ending and increased conflict that existed between the managers involved; the rapid turnover of personnel of the ICHHTO that simultaneously accompanied by changes in administrative leading team; and the weakness of the ICHHTO in providing finance,²²³ all contributed to diminish the effectiveness of restoration even the physical structure according to the existing regulations in Iran. For instance in the case of the Golestan garden, due to the lack of budget and lack of

²²¹ UNESCO, World Heritage List, Golestan Palace, < <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1422>>, [accessed 28 December 2013].

²²² Hodjat. ‘Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,’ p.284.

²²³ The issue raised during the interviews will explain in Chapter Six.

involvement of knowledgeable experts regarding restoration techniques, the pavement on the roof of Shams al Imare had been isolated with 2 to 3 layers of asphalt and tarmac that led to increasing the humidity and moisture of the ceiling. Also, in the same building, many tile workings on its external façade were badly repaired at variance in the original plan (i.e. using inappropriate new tiles with poor colour/geometrical match and with poor workmanship).²²⁴ The managers of Golestan were not able, or might have been unwilling to record the interventions or changes that happened for the various historical periods that are the first step for providing further restoration schemes. Moreover, the finance considered for the maintenance of green space was cut during the 2000s, considered to be a waste of budget, and thus the insect infestation of trees has not been monitored effectively. These kinds of examples, apparent in the case of Golestan, threaten the historical essence of the garden, and can be blamed in part on the weak management of the built heritage and plant protection.

In addition to these problems, another challenge facing the conservation of the royal gardens in general and Golestan garden in particular, is the selective preservation of the past due to vengeance towards bygone regimes. Under the IRI, Golestan should be relieved of its associations with the history and the iconography from the Pahlavi era. It embodied both the historical period of Qajar and Pahlavi, serving as the seat of government for both dynasties. During the second Pahlavi era, some buildings such as Khabgah-e-Elizeh (Elizabeth Dormitory) were constructed in the Golestan. However, the IRI placed heavy emphasis on the former dynasty (Qajar) at the expense of the latter. In contrast to many monuments in which memory is the fundamental means for their continuity,²²⁵ in the case of Golestan, history associated with the Pahlavi rulers was not considered worthy of presentation or preservation. Similar to Reza Shah who saw the Qajars as ‘backward’ rulers, the Pahlavi era was demoted by the post-revolutionary authorities. From the 1990s onwards, when scholars were invited to begin a rapprochement with history, some research has been done by students or art historians regarding the architectural style, tile working, painting or decoration of the Golestan’s architectural remains. For the majority of scholars, dual architectural style of Golestan’s buildings serve as the prime example of the onslaught of the West that juxtaposed with Iranian-Islamic architecture.

²²⁴ Source from the interview with one of the member of Technical Office in Golestan garden conducted by the author on 30.11.2011.

²²⁵ Françoise Choay, 'Alberti-the Invention of Monumentality and Memory', *Harvard Architecture Review*, 4 (1984).

In contrast, Pahlavi architectural buildings benefitting from the pre-Islamic motifs and styles such as those constructed in Naser Khosro Avenue were not valued much by researchers until 2000. The royal gardens of the Pahlavi family — Sadabad, Marmar, and Niavaran, which are the last generation of palace gardens in Iran — have not been categorised as Persian Garden and worthy landscapes. Having been largely condemned as poor mimics of Western parks, even 30 years after the downfall of the Pahlavi regime, there is still no significant research on the Pahlavi's gardens. Further, in terms of architectural rectification in Golestan, any signs, panels, or portraits that include Reza Shah or his son's name have been reworded or removed. All of the palaces in Golestan have been refurnished with Qajar relics and antiquities to direct visitors to see the lifestyle and furnishings of the 19th century, not the Pahlavi era. In 1388 SH/2009, through allocation of budget to the Golestan, a statue of Naser al-Din Shah was erected in Talar-e-Salam (Reception Hall). The post-revolutionary experts blamed the Pahlavi state for the mass destructions of the Qajar gardens, the destruction of Tekeye Dowlat, and other Qajar edifices in Golestan. In 1385 SH/2004, there was a suggestion to destroy the buildings near Shams al Imare, constructed during Mohammad Reza Shah's reign, and reconstruct the previous Qajar building according to available old photos and documents.²²⁶ However, as a result of the lack of budget and administrative changes, this was not carried out. All of these attempts to discredit the Pahlavi regime through the honouring of their enemy, the Qajars, have dominated the attitudes of post-revolutionary scholars that contribute to the anti-Pahlavi agenda of the IRI.

Apart from the substantial problems facing the material dimension of Golestan mentioned above, it is, however, from the symbolic dimension that the Golestan garden has experienced its greatest metamorphosis. While the re-interpretation of the IRI successfully saved much royal heritage from physical destruction it has made their symbolism impotent. Politically, by the denouncing imperialism through the Islamisation of all aspects of the country, the monarchic traditions have been discredited through many cultural and political policies.²²⁷ In perceiving the concept of 'Monarchy' to be of no importance, the existential function of the Golestan is no longer used as a reminder of the greatness of Royal life expressed in rituals as discussed earlier. Now the initial uses of the garden have been distorted; it becomes a place for performance of the anti-monarchical ceremony (i.e. the victory of the Islamic Revolution

²²⁶ Memaran online News, 1384. 01.18 <<http://www.memaran.ir/index.php/home/.../264-2011-06-24-09-33-58>>, [accessed 20th July 2012].

²²⁷ Talin Der-Griogorian, 'Construction of History : Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran, 1951-1979', (Unpublished Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998).

over 2500 year of imperialism and the end of the Pahlavi regime calling ‘decade of the victory’ (*dahe fajr*), is celebrated in many historical places). Neither does Golestan narrate the (hi)story of the kings of the Qajar and Pahlavi dynasties , not does it act as a repository of traditional and historical events. For these reasons and due to the lack of accuracy in terms of historical research regarding the past events and their various (re)interpretations, the historical facts are not transmitted to visitors of the Golestan garden as these are not considered of significance. In this regard, without articulation of the past, Iranians are hardly remember the original function of Golestan, its intangible reality, the people who lived there, the reason for its construction, or the cause of its destruction and its transformation.

In order to fit the IRI’s ideological concept, the Golestan garden, similar to other royal heritage, has been forced to sacrifice all the traditions associated with the ‘Monarchy’. While these places were traditionally the venues responsive to political power, there was no effort to revive or re-introduce the earlier festive life such as the ‘Greeting Ceremony’ or games of ‘polo,’ held only in Iranian gardens: these were not appreciated as intangible heritage, they were excluded from the life of gardens and slipped into neglect.²²⁸ Even now, when the architectural values of the Golestan gardens became apparent and restoration works have been broadly (re)established, the long-term conservation policy neglects the capabilities of these intrinsic traditions in transforming these gardens back to places of assembly.

²²⁸ Only in the signboard in front of the *Talar-e- Salam*, written that this *talar* was served for holding the Greeting Ceremony.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have depicted the process of change that has taken place in various dimensions of the Qajar gardens in Tehran in general and Golestan in particular, addressing the most relevant and significant factors since the turn of the 20th century. Tehran, once described by Western visitors as a city of plane trees,²²⁹ has lost the majority of its trees and gardens, and been transformed into one of the largest cities in Western Asia. It is now the eighth most polluted city²³⁰ and one of the most crowded metropolitan areas in the world. In comparison with Naser al-Din Shah's reign (1848–1896), it has expanded in all directions, enlarged its urban from 7 km² to 730 km². Its population has increased from 150,000 in the 1860s to more than 11 million in 2012. In parallel with the socio-political changes over the course of time, the gardens of Tehran belonging to the Qajar rulers were destined to meet various fates. Yet in contrast to the fate of many Qajar gardens that were destroyed or disappeared under the Pahlavi regime or after the Revolution, Golestan has been able to survive longer than the political period for which it was built. However, in order to fit the ideologies of various subsequent authorities, whether secular or religious, modernizer or traditionalist, many parts of it was destroyed²³¹ and its narrative has been reshaped through various (re)interpretations. Its function has changed considerably, some parts of its history have been erased, and its previous socio-political significance obliterated.

The transformation of the royal garden, as exemplified through the case of the Golestan garden, depicted how the ambivalence to bygone regimes has affected the royal gardens differently. In an attempt to represent a 'past' more appropriate for the 'present' use, the conservation projects did not give 'authenticity' to these places, but rather aimed to offer 'authority' to the state and emphasised specific periods and architectural aspects that affected both the material and social dimensions of the garden. Through negating the symbolic value by deleting the spirit of the royal gardens, they remained only as empty shells. While the Golestan still exists, the memories associated with its owners do not; neither do its previous social and symbolic lives. Despite the fact that it is located in the crowded southern part of Tehran near the grand bazaar, it rarely attracts Tehranies. Through the loss of its imperial patronage, it became detached from the past and its surroundings, and now continues its life in isolation with little tangible and intangible 'authenticity.' The story of the Golestan garden

²²⁹ Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p.56.

²³⁰ Reza Daneshmir and Catherine Spiridonoff, 'Subterranean Landscape: The Far-Reaching Influence of the Underground Qanat Network in Ancient and Present-Day Iran', *Architectural Design*, 82 (2012), (p.69).

²³¹ Now Golestan covers an area of about 260,000 m².

is an exemplary case of those gardens that remain physically while their conservation policies are informed by deliberate historic selectivity. This selective preservation of the past is not restricted to the Golestan garden. The values that are not visually perceived together with the vitality inherent in these the royal gardens have been eroded as well. Their social and cultural life is ignored and eliminated knowingly or unknowingly. This kind of abandonment deprives the gardens of their unique traditions or rituals that were contained in them through history. One key argument in this case is that when the approach to the historic (material) fabric is dominant, the ideal scenario for perpetuating social and symbolic life would fail.²³²

²³²This viewpoint also was captured by Francesco Bandarin, see. Francesco Bandarin, 'From Paradox to Paradigm? Historic Urban Landscape as an Urban Conservation Approach', in *Managing Cultural Landscape*, ed. by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 213-31.



Chapter Four

Shiraz's private gardens of architectural merit and their transformation to public place

Introduction

This chapter aims to study the impact of complex political changes alongside various approaches and policies on the material and socio-cultural dimensions of the private gardens of architectural merit originally belonging to the nobility in Shiraz. What I refer to as nobility gardens here are those that previously belonged to the Zand rulers, Qajars' relatives or important families and governors of Shiraz. The chapter will scrutinise the factors that have determined the different fortunes of these gardens before and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The first part of this chapter is given over to the study of the private gardens that were transformed into public spheres for hosting the Arts Festival in 1967. If throughout the era of the first Pahlavi King many parts of the Golestan and other Qajar royal gardens were destroyed as a consequence of Reza Shah's moves to secularise and modernise Tehran, during the reign of the second Pahlavi King Shiraz's gardens were systematically bought, restored and opened to the public by the state. Consequently, these gardens experienced dramatic alterations in their material and social dimensions. Changes were made to dictate alien behavioural modifications, reshaping and secularizing the foundation of Islamic and Shi'a morals to legitimise the kingship of Mohammad Reza. After the examination of the impacts of the Shiraz's Festival in the 1960s upon those gardens, the next portion of the chapter will elaborate on the transformation of gardens in the face of the Revolution. In turn, after a decade of oblivion, Shiraz's gardens, once more witnessed changes. I deconstruct some assumptions in which ways these gardens were transformed and address how managers and scholars alike brought about new kinds of use and meaning, behavioural patterns and cultural activities in these places. This part will detail many ways in which different approaches towards these historical gardens voiced by religious-minded scholars and money-minded managers alike caused these gardens to readopt and accommodate new uses; to be conserved as tourist attractions during the post-revolutionary era. Nowadays, Shiraz is first among the most important tourist attractions both in Iran and the region: two of its gardens were registered as World Heritage Sites (WHS) in 2011.

Shiraz: A brief background of the study area

Shiraz is the capital of *Fars* province and is the sixth largest city in Iran; it had a population of 1,460,665 in 1390 SH/2011 (Figure 4.1).¹ It is located in the southwest of the country, 200 Km from the south seacoast at than 1500m (5000ft) above sea level.² Shiraz is famous for its historical gardens and the pre-Islamic sites; is known as the 'city of garden,' 'city of rose' and 'cultural capital of Iran.'



Figure 4.1 : Location of Shiraz in Fars Province

The history of Fars province and Shiraz dates back approximately to 2000 BC, although 'little is known about central Fars in the time between 1600 and 1300 BC,'³ until it became the centre of government during the Achaemenid Empire (550-330 BC). Shiraz was developed when it 'had supplanted the ancient city of Estakhr, the nearby Sassanian capital.'⁴ In about 933, under the Buyid dynasty, Shiraz became the provincial capital. 'It grew into a large and prosperous town,' which had 12 quarters and 8 gates.⁵ Then it experienced fluctuations in its fortunes: it was devastated by Timur in 1387 and later by natural disasters such as great floods in 1630, in 1668 by earthquakes, and in 1724 sacked by Afghan invaders.⁶ Being selected in 1762, as a capital by Karim Khan,⁷ the founder of the Zand dynasty (1750-94), Shiraz experienced further prosperity, and its population reached 200,000.⁸ Subsequently, many architectural projects including the Arg-e-Karim Khan, tomb gardens, mosques (e.g. Masjed-e-Vakil), bazaars and city walls were constructed during his

¹ Municipality of Shiraz, 'Salnameh Amari Shiraz (Annual Statistical Report of Shiraz)', (Shiraz: Municipality of Shiraz, 1390 SH/2011).

² Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens', (Tehran: ICHHTO, 2011).

³ Ahmad Ashraf, 'Fārs Iv. History in the Qajar and Pahlavi Periods', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York, 1999).

⁴ Josef Wiesehöfer, 'Fars, Province in Southern Persia; II. History in the Pre-Islamic Period', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999).; Mohammad saeid Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University, 2008), p.112.

⁵ John W. Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez: The Glory of a Medieval Persian City / John Limbert*, (Seattle, Wash. : Chesham: Seattle, Wash. : University of Washington Press ; Chesham : Combined Academic, 2004., 2004) p.9

⁶ John I. Clarke, *The Iranian City of Shiraz*, (Durham: Dept. of Geography, University of Durham, 1963), p.11; Izadi., cited above, p.112.

⁷ Karim Khan refused to adopt the title of 'Shah,' and instead choose the title '*Vakilo raaya*,' meant 'representative of the people' or 'Advocate of the People.' According to Markham, British historian 'the memory of this great and good man is still revered by the Persians and his name is immortalized in the splendid bazaar and other buildings of Shiraz. 'Clements R. Markham, *A General Sketch of the History of Persia*, (1874). , p.337. Karim Khan's generosity and justice also was appreciated after the Islamic Revolution in compare in other Iranian monarch.

⁸ Clarke., *The Iranian City of Shiraz*, p.13.

14 year reign. Karim Khan dedicated considerable amounts of money to restoration or construction projects. During this period, garden design continued in a similar way to the Safavid era but the decoration of pavilions was simpler. During Karim Khan's reign, several gardens including Hafezieh, Delgosha,⁹ Nou, Nazar, Haft Tanan, Jahan Nama and Chehel Tanan were designed and/or renovated (Figure 4.2).¹⁰ The Nazar garden with an octagonal pavilion known as Kolah Farangi,¹¹ was the main governmental centre of Karim Khan;¹² after his death it became his mausoleum.

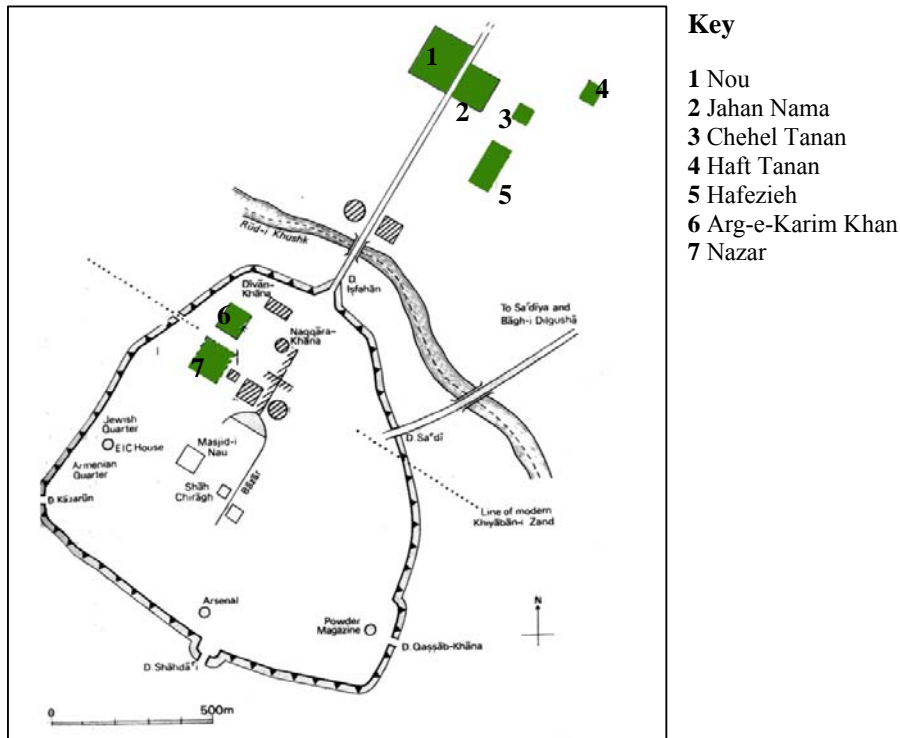


Figure 4.2: Map of Shiraz and its gardens at the time of Karim Khan, (Source: Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville, eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*. Vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.101, highlight and numbers added by the author)

⁹ With the area 7.5 hectare, the origin of the Delgosha garden attributed to the Safavid era and it is said that it is reconstructed by Karim Khan.

¹⁰ Hasan Imdad, *Shiraz: Gozashte Va Hal (Shiraz: Past and Present)*, (Shiraz: Ethadiye Matboati Fars, 1339 SH/1961), p.102.

¹¹ *Kolah farangi* is the term used for an open octagonal pavilion with a shallow dome

¹² Gavin Hambly and Charles Melville Peter Avery, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*. Vol. 7, p.906.

In 1788, although Tehran was selected as the capital by the Qajar rulers, Shiraz still served as one of the most important cities and regional capitals of the Qajars and increased in size (see Figure 4.5). Over time, during the long reign of Naser al-Din Shah (1848–1896), a series of large garden retreats were constructed, generally belonging to the Noori family, Qavam family¹³ and Qashghayi Khans who were the most important local nobilities and governors of Shiraz.¹⁴ The gardens of Afif Abad or Golshan (1284 AH/1868),¹⁵ Narenjestan (1305 AH/1888), and Eram were all signifiers of Qavam's power. Whatever their similarities in *chaharbagh* layout, all of the main edifices of Qavam's gardens were constructed at the beginning of the 19th century, containing an explicit pre-Islamic visual motif (Figure 4.4).¹⁶



Figure 4.3: General view of Narenjestan garden, (Source: photo by the author, September 2013)



Figure 4.4: Achaemenid motifs carving on the main pavilion of Narenjestan, (Source: photo by the author, September 2013)

¹³ By rising the conflicts between the Qavam family and constitutionalists, in 1326 AH/1908, Mohammad Reza Khan Qavam al Molk was assassinated by Brojerdi in Narenjestan garden. Mansoor Nasiri Tayebi, *Enghelab Mashrooteh Dar Fars (Constitutional Revolution in Fars)*, (Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Centre of Publication, 1386 SH/2007), p.38. Moreover, in 1336 AH/1918 all of the properties of them in their gardens except Eram garden were plundered by people and sold in Shiraz. Hasan Imdad, *Fars Dar Asr Qajar (Fars in Qajar Era)*, (Shiraz: Navid, 1389 SH/2011), p.607.

¹⁴ Forsataldoleh Shirazi (1854-1920), the local historian of Fars, wrote '*Farsnameh, Asar Ajam* in which he addressed the geography of Fars. This book was published in 1868. In the section regarding the Shiraz's gardens (*basatin Shiaz*), Forsataldoleh described the gardens of Shiraz briefly. These gardens are: Nazar; Qavam; Biglarbeigi; Kalantari; Khandag; Ilkhani; Saheb Ekhteyarieh; Sheikh; Zaferani; Haji Ataodoleh; Mirza Agha Khan; Abolfath Khan; Eram; Rash; Habib Abad; Nari; Takht; No; Mirza Mohammad Reza; Delgosha; Jahan Nama; Poodnak; Soltan Abad; Qale Shahzadeh Beigom; Darki, Jenat; Golshan; Songhori; Rahmat Abad; Balivaz; Hoz; Behjat Abad; and Hajo Mohammad. For more detail regarding the description of these gardens, see. Mohammad N Forsatodoleh, *Asar Ajam Dar Tarikh V Joghrafiyaye Amaken Fars*, (Tehran: Farhangsara, 1362 SH/1983).

¹⁵ Afif Abad belonged to Afifeh, the daughter of Hossein Ali Mirza Farmanfarma. This garden has the area 127,000 m².

¹⁶ However, according to Lerner such a kind of Achaemenid motifs carved on some buildings in late Qajar era did not necessarily underpin racist Aryan theories, for more detail, see Judith Lerner, 'A Rock Relief of Fath'ali Shāh in Shiraz', *Ars Orientalis*, 21 (1991); Talinn Grigor, "'Orient Oder Rom?' Qajar 'Aryan' Architecture and Strzygowski's Art History", *The Art Bulletin*, 89 (2007), 562-90.

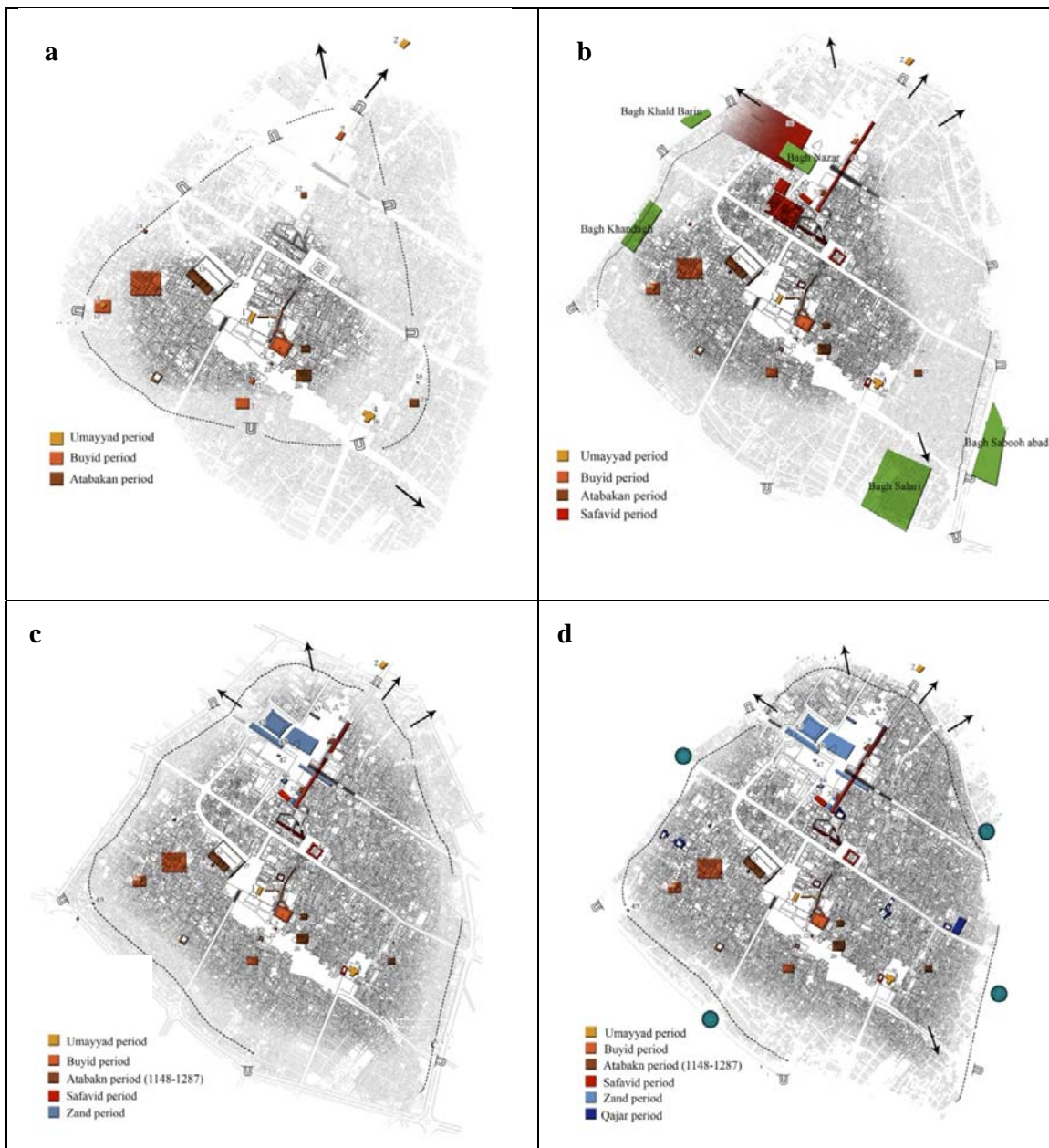


Figure 4.5: Historical development of Shiraz, **a:** Shiraz in Umayyad dynasty (661–750), **b:** Safavid period (1501–1736) **c:** Zand dynasty (1750–94) **d:** Qajar dynasty (1785–1925), (Source: The Document Centre of FCHHTO, Shiraz)

After the collapse of the Qajar dynasty, when Reza Shah came to power in 1925, the ideological intent to modernise the country led to dramatic changes in major Iranian cities and by extension this affected their historic cores. Thus, Shiraz was ‘subject to the same reconfigurations of material and conceptual space instituted’ as in Tehran.¹⁷

¹⁷ Setrag Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), p.23.

From the 1930s onwards, Shiraz entered a new phase of urban development; from an initial circular shape, its plan was transformed into a more organic structure. The newly established spinning factory, government institutions, municipality, courts, banks, textile factory (1937) all depicted the wave of gradual modernization.¹⁸ During the two decades of Reza Shah's reign from 1925 to 1941, just as Tehran and other major cities, so, too, many historical gardens in Shiraz vanished or were left abandoned to make way for expansion of the city, and construction of new public governmental buildings and wide streets. Following the Street Widening Act in 1933 and road plan, two East-West parallel arteries, Lutf Ali Khan Street and Karim Khan Boulevard, were constructed over existing routes (Figure 4.6). Superimposed on the compact old fabric of the city, the major parts of the streets interrupted the main branches of the bazaar. 'The two new streets immediately became the axes of development to the west outside of the old core.'¹⁹

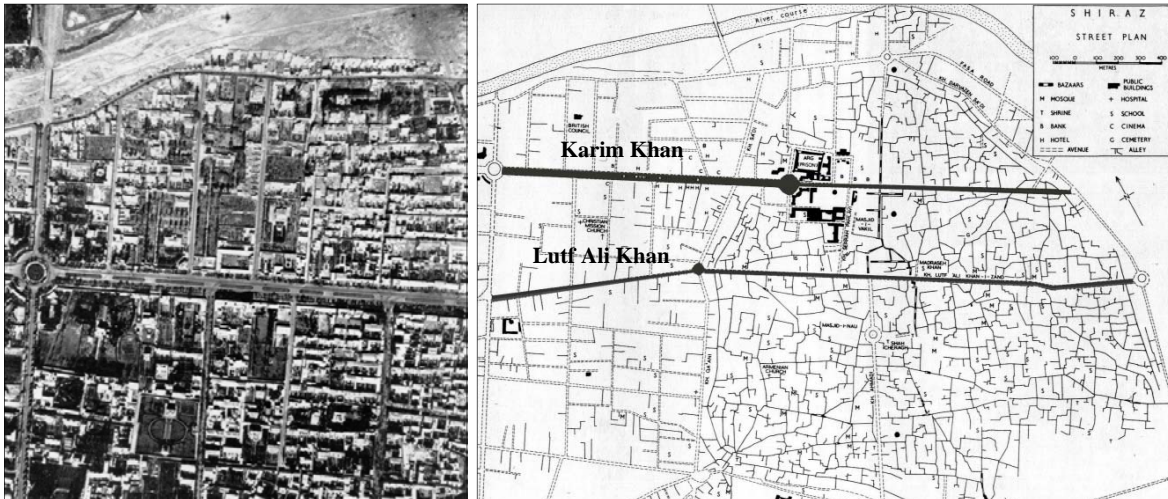


Figure 4.6: Above Left: Aerial photo of Shiraz depicting that some gardens such as the Nazar garden traversed by wide Karim Khan Boulevard. Above Right: new street plan of Shiraz in about 1930s which designed in contrast to traditional layout, (Source: John I. Clarke, *The Iranian City of Shiraz*, p.24 and p.19. highlighting the streets added by author); Left Below: Destruction of Arg-e-Karim Khan for construction of Karim Khan street, (Source: Sane, Mansour, *Shiraz Koodaki Ma:Axhaye Ghadim Shiraz (Old Photos of Shiraz)* (Tehran: Mansour Sane, 2011))

¹⁸ Ashraf, 'Fārs Iv. History in the Qajar and Pahlavi Periods.'

¹⁹ Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.120.

However, the proximity of Shiraz to Persepolis and Pasargadae, whose conservation and excavation were the priority of the NRS, resulted in the restoration of some historical gardens as a museum to preserve relics of archaeological sites. Derived from the list of Iranian museums the Nazar garden in Shiraz was perhaps the earliest garden in Iran that was converted into a museum in 1315 SH/1936 (Figure 4.7).²⁰ More than half of the garden area, including Khorshid and Ayenekhane mansions, was destroyed in order to provide a site for an Educational Office and the national Library in Shiraz.²¹ The Nazar garden was renamed the Pars Museum and was designated as National Heritage in 1314 SH/1935.²² Ascribing this new name of 'Pars'²³ instead of 'Nazar' was wholly influenced by certain politics aiming to recall the grandeur of the pre-Islamic era and trace the Aryan roots of Iranians.

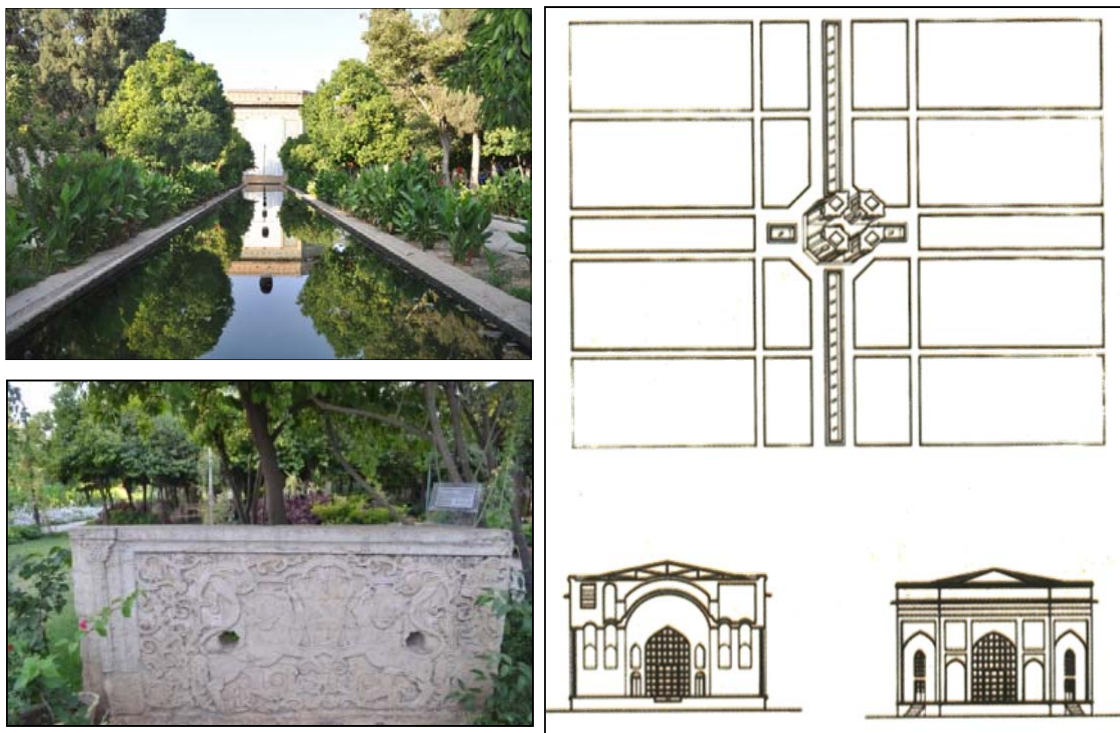


Figure 4.7: Above Left: The Nazar garden (Pars museum), the first garden museum in Iran, Below Left: Plinth of Khorshid in garden area, (Source: Photos by the author, September 2013); Right: Plan and elevations of the Nazar garden, (Source: Sarvestani, Koroosh Kamali, *Baghaye Tarikhi Shiraz (Historical Gardens of Shiraz)* (Shiraz: Daneshname Pars, 2005), p.97)

²⁰ In Iran, the first private museum was *Talar* in the Golestan garden that housed Naser al-Din Shah growing collection of European decorative artistic material. In 1295 SH/1916, one national museum opened in Dar al Funun which later its relics was transferred to Masudieh garden in 1315 SH/1936. It was only during the Pahlavi epoch, through the discourse on Aryanism, for shaping a secular historiography museums were constructed. The preservation of old ones was important to Iran's modernization and was an incentive for Iran's modernity. Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, (New York: Periscope Publishing, distributed by Prestel, 2009), p.183. At the proposal of Asghar Hekmat, the first public National Museum (*Muze Iran Bastan*) was designed by André Godard and inaugurated in 1316 SH/1937.

²¹ Ali Sami, *Shiraz:Shahr-E-Javidan (Shiraz:The Eternal City)*, 3 edn (Shiraz: Navid, 1984), p.592.

²² Imdad, *Shiraz: Gozashte Va Hal (Shiraz:Past and Present)*, p.205.

²³ 'Pars' or 'Fars' is derived from *Pârsa*, the ancient name of Persia.

Financed by General Ali Reyazi, the Head of Ministry of Culture of Fars, in 1315 SH/1936, the main pavilion of the Nazar garden was restored by Ali Sami, the director of Archaeological Office in Fars. Mostafavi, the Archaeologist Director, reported that some motifs of Persepolis, reliefs of the son of Fath Ali Shah and plinths of the wall of Khorshid, that were located in the North-West of the garden and duly demolished during the construction of the Zand Street, would be shown as the free-standing landmarks in the garden for visitors (see Figure 4.7: Below Left).²⁴ Based on Sami's account, Pars Museum was a temporary museum and after the construction of a new one, the garden would only be used for presenting the Zand relics.²⁵ This quote bears witness to the emergence of a fresh idea regarding historic preservation during the 1930s to display the free-standing historic relics and motifs of the original dynasty, Zand (1750–94), in the garden of the same period.

Under Reza Shah's leadership, although the appreciation of pre-Islamic and some Safavid architectural buildings was increased by the NRS, there was no budget for restoring historical buildings until 1936. 'Appreciating the importance of heritage alone does not save the cultural heritage against wind, rain and sun,'²⁶ Mostafavi said. For instance, in 1311 SH/1931 in the *Etelaat* newspaper, an article written by Dr. Parviz Kazemi drew Iranian's attention to visiting Isfahan and Shiraz to seeing the dire condition of their historical buildings. Showing his fear for the loss of the Hasht Behesht garden in Isfahan due to the lack of budget, he further mentioned that while it was the royal Safavid garden, now it was a private property that nobody could visit; the garden had been divided up into plots as sold to different people.²⁷ This quote vividly exemplifies a lack of attention towards significant built heritage.

However, it was only in 1314 SH/1936 that the first funds were considered in the government budget for repairing monuments: this was at the proposal of Asghar Hekmat (1892-1980),²⁸ Minister of Culture and Education.²⁹ He considered one twentieth of the revenue of bequest

²⁴ Seyed Mohammad Taghi Mostafavi, *Iglim Fars: Asar Tarikhi Va Amaken Bastani Fars (Climes of Fars: Historical Heritage and Archaeological Buildings of Fars)*, (Tehran: National Relics Society, 1343 SH/1965), p.59.

²⁵ Ali Sami, *Shahr Hafez Va Sadi (City of Hafez and Sadi)*, (Shiraz: Moosavi, 1337 SH/1959).

²⁶ Mohammad T Mostafavi, *Talash Dar Rah Khedmat Be Asar Meli V Omid Be Ayandeh (Attempts to Preserve National Heritage a Hopes for Future)*, (Tehran: Archaeology Office, 1334 SH/1955), p.43.

²⁷ *Etelaat*, 1585 & 1584 (27 Farvardin 1311 SH/16 April 1932).

²⁸ Hekmat was a key politician in charge of many ministries. He was the Head of national monument in 1964, and chair of literature at the University of Tehran. He financed several restoration projects in Shiraz. For more information, see. Imdad, *Shiraz: Gozashte Va Hal (Shiraz: Past and Present)*; Manoukian., *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.37.

²⁹ In 1311SH/1932 The first budget after erection of the Antiquities Law that allocated for restoration of historical buildings of Isfahan was borrowed from one famous businessman in Isfahan, Amin Al-Tojar, by request of Taghizadeh, Minister of Finance. Through this budget (200,000 Rial), Shaikh Lotfollah, Masjid Shah and Masjid Jameh in Isfahan were repaired. Keramat A Afsar and S Ahmad Mousavi, *Pasdari Az Asar Bastan Dar Asr Pahlavi (Guarding of Ancient Relics in Pahlavi Era)*, (Tehran: Ministry of Art and Culture, 1355 SH/1977); Mostafavi, *Talash Dar Rah Khedmat Be Asar Meli V Omid Be Ayandeh (Attempts to Preserve National Heritage a Hopes for Future)*, p.44; Isa Sedigh, *Taghizadeh: Sharhe Hal Khadamat*

supervision rights and the tax of opium.³⁰ As a result of the financial difficulties during Reza Shah's reign, between 1921 to 1949, drawing from annual Reports of the NRS, it can be seen that only Chehel Sotun,³¹ Ashraf Talar, Fin gardens in Isfahan³² and the Nazar garden in Shiraz were restored. Moreover, since the annual records of the NRS did not add more gardens in the List, one might assume that during these years not all of the gardens of the Safavid and the Zand era were seen as important assets to be registered.

Shiraz's gardens during the Mohammad Reza Shah's reign (1941-1979): Preparation of Shiraz for holding the 2500 years Celebration of Persian Empire and the Arts Festival

It was only after enhancing oil revenue that heritage sites, especially those located in Shiraz and Isfahan, became a main focus of the second Pahlavi King, Mohammad Reza Shah, with the support of his wife, Farah. Iran's oil industry was nationalized in 1951 by the endeavour of Dr. Mosadegh, the Prime Minister of Iran. However, later oil nationalisation led to a coup d'état against Mosadegh, and also the severing of diplomatic relations between Iran and Britain.³³ After sanctions on oil exports imposed by Britain were solved through the aegis of the United States and the CIA, oil revenue increased dramatically which brought a new era to Iran. In this sense, there was a need for changing the judgment of the West towards Iran, who still looked upon it as a backward country.³⁴ Shojaldin Shafa, Cultural Ambassador of the Shah, made a proposal to Mohammad Reza Shah to make Iranians familiar with the long civilization of the country and to draw international attention to Iran, benefited from Cyrus (550–336 BC).³⁵

In 1338 SH/1960, proposed by Shafa, the Shah was encouraged to hold the 2500th celebration of the founding of the Iranian monarchy in order to trace his genealogy to Cyrus,³⁶ King of Achaemenid Empire. According to Ahmad Ashraf the Shah aimed to pay homage to 'the Empire of the Aryans.'³⁷ To this end, from 1960 to 1970, to portray Iran as a civilized

Ou Be Tasis Hokomat Meli Va Farhang Iran (Taghizadeh: The Efforts of Him for the Establishment of the National Front), (Tehran: NRS, Esfand 1348 SH/ 1970), p.6.

³⁰ However, the revenues collecting from the endowed building (*Mowqufeh*), could not be spend for any other buildings, except for determined purposes defined in *waqf-nameh*, the written instruction.

³¹ André Godard was in charge of restoration of Chehel Sotun. Andere Godard, Yedda Godard, and Maxime Siroux, *Asar-E-Iran (L'art De L'iran)*, (Mashad: The Islamic Research Foundation (Astan Quds Razavi), 1368 SH/1989), p.298.

³² Fin garden was restored in 1314 SH/1935 by the Bureau of Culture and Art in Kashan.

³³ Iranian oil industry since 1913 was under the control of Britain through the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

³⁴ Documentary on 2500-Year Persian Empire Celebration, *Hargez Nakhsh Koroush* (Never Sleep, Cyrus)', (Manoto TV, 2011); *ibid.* <<https://www.manoto1.com/videos/kourosh/vid1076>>, [accessed 12 August 2012].

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Shoja al-Din Shafa, ed., *Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadi Iran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)*. Vol. 3 (Paris: Soheil, 1356 SH/1978), p.1061.

³⁷ Ahmad Ashraf, 'Iranian Identity Iv. 19th-20th Centuries', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999).

country to the West, approaches and policies towards cultural heritage were subject to important changes; in particular 'investment in the Achaemenid Empire reached new level.'³⁸ Mohammad Reza Shah ordered the way to be paved for this festivity in order to portray himself as a humane ruler like Cyrus and to legitimize his right to rule Iran. Guided by this viewpoint, in almost every official speech, he emphasised the importance of historical and ancient relics and is quoted as saying 'I am proud of the valuable legacy of my ancestors.'³⁹

Little by little the discourse around built heritage had shifted from emphasising only the pre-Islamic era to restoring remarkable architectural heritage particularly that of the Safavid era. Whereas at the beginning of Reza Shah's reign the Western model was appreciated while the Islamic tradition was perceived as backward, during the 1960s both Islamic and pre-Islamic monuments were treated as layers of authentic Iranian history. As the majority of historical books had focused on pre-Islamic heritage with a primarily archaeological approach, documentation on authentically Iranian cultural heritage now started to burgeon.⁴⁰ Moreover, the National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments (NOCHM) was established in 1344 SH/1966.⁴¹

The Antiquities Law was revised with precise statutory status to prepare a register of more nationally and locally important sites and buildings. Meanwhile, Parliament also approved a plan to raise 20 *Rial* (approximately US\$0.30) from a tax on every one ton sack of cement, to be given to the NRS in 1344 SH/1965. According to Hodjat, '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.'⁴² Thus the number of preservation and restoration projects increased substantially. However, from the first Law regarding cultural heritage, it took 40 years for all of the valuable Qajar edifices to come under the protection of the Antiquities Law. During these years, many gardens that had been created in different cities during the Qajar era (1785-1925) were destroyed completely by the Municipality for urban development.⁴³ In Shiraz, in particular, from the map provided by Ariyanpour it can be seen

³⁸ Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.40.

³⁹ Shoja al-Din Shafa , ed., *Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadi Iran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)*. Vol. 3, p.1952.

Chapter 4 ⁴⁰ Nader Ardalan, 'Architecture VII.Pahlavi, after World War II', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica (1992-2001)*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000).

⁴¹ Shoja al-Din Shafa, cited above, vol 4, p.1544.

⁴² Mehdi Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1995), p.197.

⁴³ In few examples the Municipality of Tehran remodeled the gardens of the Qajar nobility for public park, such as Naz khatun garden in 1334 SH/1955, Ghaiytarieh in 1349 SH/1970, and the Mostofiolmamalek garden (Shafagh park). With the

that at least 30 significant historical gardens were demolished. Their approximate locations are shown in Figure 4.8.

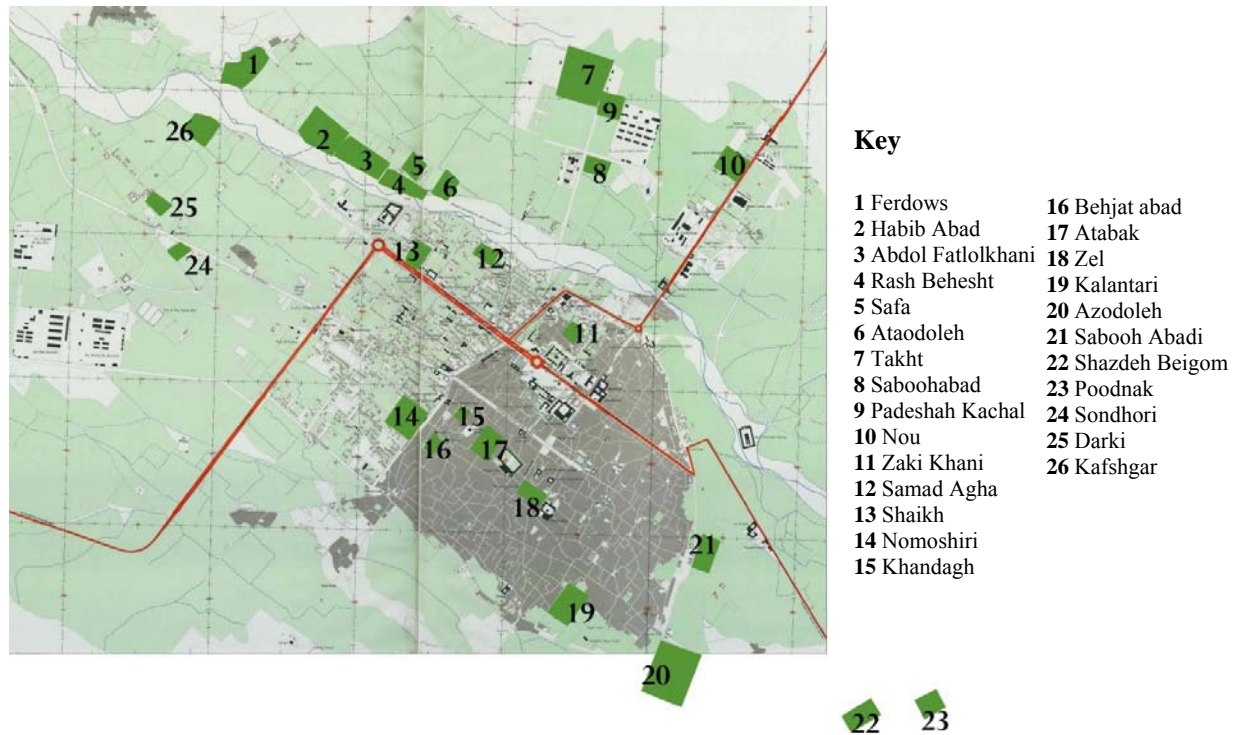


Figure 4.8 : Location of demolished historical gardens in Shiraz during Pahlavi era. (Source: highlights and numbers added by the author, based the map of Shiraz provided by the Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers, U.S Army, Washington DC, copied from Town Plan of Shiraz, 1952, Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C)

The registration as National Relics of Qajar edifices and gardens which did not have a public use, was put forward at the fourth International Congress of Art and Archeology in New York.⁴⁴ Therefore, in 1352 SH/1973, one legal article was added to the Antiquities Law and approved by Parliament, allowing the Ministry of Culture and Art to register and protect immovable relics which were important from a historical point of view and significant for national identity, regardless of their date or their age. In 1974, following the formation of this protocol, many historical buildings and gardens dating to the Qajar and Pahlavi eras including: Niavaran, Masoudieh, Bagh Meli (National garden), Negarestan garden and Baharestan garden (Parliament) in Tehran, the garden of the Municipality in Behshahr, Hafez and Sadi tomb gardens, and the Bagh-e-Monshi Bashi in Shiraz, were designated in the List.⁴⁵ The Annual reports of the NRS depicts that some gardens such as Monshi Bashi in Shiraz were declared 'National Property' only because Reza Shah stayed there for a while. In 1354 SH/1976, the historical gardens of Baghche Joogh in Macoo, Shazdeh in Mahan,

exception of some trees, everything in gardens including their buildings demolished. Farshad Abrishami, *Tehran Rozegaran Ghadim (Tehran in Ancient Times)*, (Tehran: Khane Tarikh va Tasvir, 1389 SH/ 2010), pp.104-9.

⁴⁴ Isa Sedigh, *Yadegar Omr (Memory of Life)*, (Tehran, 1340 SH/1961).

⁴⁵ Afsar and Mousavi., *Pasdari Az Asar Bastan Dar Asr Pahlavi (Guarding of Ancient Relics in Pahlavi Era)*, p.359.

Akhavan in Isfahan, Kazeruni in Shiraz, Brojerdiha house in Kashan were all bought by the NOCHM in order to convert them into museums, galleries or theatres.⁴⁶ Furthermore, in 1974 for the first time, the ancient trees were registered and identity cards were provided by the NOCHM, which in turn demonstrates consideration of the old trees as cultural heritage.⁴⁷

As a result of the conservation movement and political calculations, Shiraz and its heritage envisaged a further attention because of its juxtaposition to Persepolis and Pasargadae,⁴⁸ the selected sites for the '2500 years Celebration of the Persian Empire' (*jashnhaye 2500 sale shahanshahi*). Shiraz was also chosen as the city for holding the annual Arts Festival that was officially inaugurated on 11 September 1967 in Persepolis at the proposal of Queen Farah Pahlavi.⁴⁹ This Festival aimed to 'enhance Iranian national art,'⁵⁰ together with the presentation of Western Art, linked to the Art of the East, and brought together, 'classical and avant-garde arts.'⁵¹ In order to prepare Shiraz for facilitating the transportation of international tourists to the Festival and welcoming Westerners for the 2500 year celebrations, a new airport in Shiraz was built in 1345 SH/1966, and scheduled flights started.⁵² Whereas Tehran was considered the capital and a centre for 'transnational industrial corporations,' by the 1960s, Shiraz was presented as the 'city of gardens,' the 'home of poets,'⁵³ 'a city of wine,'⁵⁴ 'poetical capital,' 'city of knowledge' (*darol elm*), 'capital of the Achaemenid Empire,' 'city of rose and nightingales,'⁵⁵ 'city of saints and poets'⁵⁶ or in the words of the Belgian Royal couple, 'the centre of poetry, culture and human civilization.'⁵⁷ Through the construction of monumental tombs of well-known Iranian poets, Sadi and Hafez,

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.347.

⁴⁷ Mahmood Mehran, *Karname 10 Sal Khedmat Sazman Meli Hefazat Asar Bastani Iran (Report-Book)*, (Tehran: Sazman Meli Hefazat, 1976), p.94.

⁴⁸ Shiraz was situated 50 km to the south of Persepolis.

⁴⁹ Shoja al-Din Shafa, '*Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi*; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejetemayi Va Eghetsadiiran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)', (Paris: Soheil, 1356 SH/1978). Vol. 4, p.1671. Half of the price of this Festival was sponsored by the Radio and Television Organization and its programmes were broadcast on National Television. Fatemeh Shirin, *Baziche Shahbanou, Jashn Honar-E-Shiraz (Plaything of Shahbanou, Art Festival of Shiraz)*, (Tehran: Islamic Revolution Document Centre, 2005), p.380.

⁵⁰ Shirin, cited above, p.80.

⁵¹ Maria Salva, 'Twentieth-Century Transformations in Iranian Ta'ziyeh: Religion, Modernism, and Revolution', (Unpublished Master thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2013), p.20.

⁵² Ashraf, 'Fārs Iv. History in the Qajar and Pahlavi Periods,' p.19.

⁵³ Angela Rodkin, *unveiled Iran*, (London, ca.1942), quoted in Grigor, *Building Iran : Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.113.

⁵⁴ 'The French traveller, Tavernier, who visited Shiraz in 1665, estimated that 4,125 tone of wine were produced in local vineyard in Shiraz. According to Lockhart, under the leadership of Shah Abbas II (1642-1660), English, Dutch and Indian Companies were allowed to export Shiraz's wine to India. (Laurence Lockhart, *Famous Cities of Iran / with a Forward by Lord Cadman of Silverdale*, (Brentford, Middlesex: W. Pearce & Co, 1939), p.32.

⁵⁵ Clarke, *The Iranian City of Shiraz*, p.9.

⁵⁶ Arthur John Arberry, *Shiraz: Persian City of Saints and Poets*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960). *Shiraz: Persian City of Saints and Poets*.

⁵⁷ A Ghatan, 'Chiraz: Ville de poets,' *Le Journal de Tehran 1485-1486 (May 19-20, 1940)*, pp.1-6. quoted in Grigor, *Building Iran : Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.103.

whose necropolis sites were changed into pleasure gardens, construction of modern infrastructures and hotels⁵⁸ as well as restoration of historical buildings, Shiraz became the archetypal city of Iranian art and culture, representing 'Persian culture' as a whole.⁵⁹

Opening the introverted gardens to the public during the Arts Festival (1960s): *Private inward gardens and public place in transition*

In the traditional and religious atmosphere of Iran, the concept of 'public park' did not really exist until the 20th century.⁶⁰ Based on article 4 of the Municipality Act (*Edare Baladiye*) approved on 11 Khordad 1286 AH/1907 and also set out in article 27 approved on 6 Khordad 1309 SH/1930, the municipalities were responsible for the construction of national gardens. Following population increased and the subsequent need for green space, the first public national garden, known as '*Bagh Meli*' (National garden), was designed in 1306 SH/1927. Hesam Dolat Abadi, the Mayor of Tehran, resuscitated the western part of the Mashgh square,⁶¹ converting it into a public garden by planting some trees,⁶² paving its floor with stone, and adding some lamps.⁶³ *Bagh Meli* was used as a public promenade until 1312 SH/1933. After the construction of administrative offices around site of *Bagh Meli*,⁶⁴ it was closed to the public and nowadays only its main gateway remains from the park (Figure 4.9).⁶⁵ In other cities, such as Shiraz, some cemeteries were also transformed



Figure 4.9: General view of the surviving gateway of *Bagh Meli* in Tehran (Source: photo by the author, July 2012)

⁵⁸ For more detail regarding the procedure of construction the tombs (*Aramgah*) in Pahlavi Iran, see. Talin Grigor, *Building Iran : Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*.

⁵⁹ Arberry, cited above.

⁶⁰ However, during the Safavid dynasty (1501-1736) *Chaharbagh* Avenue was a promenade for the public, rather than a commercial and military thoroughfare. Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World : The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590-1722* (Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda Pub, 1999, p.95. During the Qajar era (1785-1925), *Bagh-e-Shah* (King's garden) and *Bagh Golshan* in *Arg* served as public gardens. Moreover, in 1920, in newspaper announced that Iranians could visit Russia Embassy's garden (*Atabak Park*) on Fridays, and many Tehranies went for promenading. Following that the garden of Parliament (*Baharestan*) was opened to the public through the order of the Head of Parliament. When Russia Embassy was fired in 1301 SH/1922, its visitation by the public was banned.

⁶¹ Ali Asghar Hekmat, *30 Khatere Az Asr Farkhonde Pahlavi (30 Memories of Pahlavi Era)*, (Tehran: Vahid, 1355 SH/1976), p.50.

⁶² According to Vita Sackville-West, who was in Tehran from 1925 to 1927, this garden had only Marjoram and wallflowers. Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Tehran*, (Tehran: Fars press, 1376 SH/1997), p.108.

⁶³ In *Etelaat* newspaper regarding the inauguration of *Bagh Meli*, wrote: the term '*Bagh Meli*', has recently become prevalent. Last year we had no National Garden, but today we have one. There are many gardens in Tehran; however, none of them is for the public. It is unimaginable that in Tehran there is no national garden, whereas in each village in Europe there is one and in each small city there are several national garden,' see. *Etelaat* newspaper, 601 (17 Farvardin 1307 SH/19 Oct 1928).

⁶⁴ According to Hekmat, it was decided to construct the National Museum (*muze Iran bastan*) at the centre of *Bagh Meli*, but Reza Shah did not approve and preferred to use *Bagh Meli* for administrative constructions. Hekmat, cited above, p.53.

⁶⁵ Nowadays, only the gateway of *Bagh Meli* remains that was built in 1300 SH/1921. Hasan Amin, *Karnameh Ghani; Naghdi Bar Tahavolat Siyasy, Ejtemaei, Farhangi Dar Doran Pahlavi (a Critical Review of the Political, Social and*

into *Bagh Meli* through the effort of the Municipality⁶⁶ based on the Law of 5 February 1929 that 'assigned all fallow and dead land squares and ditches to the Municipality.'⁶⁷

The development and design of public parks or places for leisure activities was stimulated by the Pahlavi state from the 1960s onwards in 'a non-Habermasian fashion.'⁶⁸ This is in contrast to Europe and the United States, where the development of public spheres was usually the result of bourgeois society. Aiming to cultivate civic behaviour, that was believed to be a prerequisite of any civil society, in 26 Farvardin 1346 SH/14 April 1967, the State, through official command, decreed the construction of public parks and promenades around the country.⁶⁹ Some new parks were designed on the site of historical gardens going back to the Qajar era or earlier, such as Shafag Park, Geytarieh and Koodak; in some cases, unused areas were transformed into public parks, such as Jalalieh horse racing square to Park Lale. With the exception of the first and largest public park, Shahr Park in Tehran, designed by Kazeruni and Rahmani in 1328 SH/1949 (247,478 m²),⁷⁰ it was only during the last decade of Pahlavi (1970s) designing large parks gained a new momentum in major cities.⁷¹

Some architects called for the revival of the forgotten *chaharbagh* pattern, making reference to Persian *chaharbagh* gardens, and designed a modern landscape project in line with this geometrical pattern. For example, in 1973, under a request of the Minister of the Environment of Iran, Eskandar Firuz, the design of an ecological park namely Pardisan (alluding to the Persian word for Paradise) in Tehran's northern suburbs was granted to the American Landscape architect, Ian McHarg (Figure 4.10). According to McHarg, 'a commission from the Shah with a budget of US\$1.8 billion' that is the significant project at

Cultural in Pahlavi Era, (Tehran: Daierat al-maref Iranshenasi, 1380 SH/2001), p.93; Amir Bani Masoud, *Memory Moaser Iran Dar Takapouye Sonat Va Modernite (Contemporary Architecture of Iran)*, (Tehran: Honar Memory Qarn, 1388 SH/2009), p.107.

⁶⁶ Imdad., *Shiraz: Gozashte Va Hal (Shiraz: Past and Present)*, p.105.

⁶⁷ E. Ehlers and W. Floor, 'Urban Change in Iran, 1920–1941', *Iranian Studies*, 26 (1993).

⁶⁸ Habermas's book, on the structural transformation and disintegration of the bourgeois public spheres in the Europe, was one of the most influential and widely cited scholarly works. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere : An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1989); Elizabeth Thompson, 'Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women's History', *Journal of Women's History*, 15 (2003), p.68; Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran.'

⁶⁹ Shoja al-Din Shafa, '*Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi*; Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi, Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadiiran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)', (Paris: Soheil, 1356 SH/1978); *ibid.*, p.1636.

⁷⁰ Mehrdad Soltani, 'Sheklgiri Boostanhaye Shahri Moaser Dar Gozar Az Mafhoom Bagh Be Park (Formation of Urban Green Spaces from Garden to Park)', *Bagh-E-Nazar (Garden of Vision)*, 8 (1386 SH/ 2007).

⁷¹ In 1966, the Municipality of Tehran recorded the parks constructing during the Pahlavi era namely: Chenam (14,801 m²), Sahebgharanieh (62,624 m²), Pahlavi (28,000 m²), Shahanshahi (1,052,527 m²), Sayi (100,000 m²), Koodak (5000 m²), Valiahd (185,000 m²), 25 Shahrivar (28000 m²), Narmak (36,000 m²), Farah (300,000 m²), Nazi Abad (17,000 m²), Javadieh (5,300 m²), Reza Pahlavi (52,000 m²), Koodak Shahnaz (2,000 m²), Gooteh (481 m²). Tehran Municipality, *Tehran: Paytakht Shahanshahi Iran (Tehran: The Imperial Capital of Iran)*, (Tehran: Municipality, Relation Department Public, 1345 SH/1966). In general, these parks were officially inaugurated by Queen Farah and the Shah. It should be mentioned that after the Revolution the name of majority of these parks were changed.

that time.⁷² An American-trained Iranian architect Jahangir Sedaghfar with Nader Ardalan, also collaborated with design of this park. The main idea of this environmental park is to show the various Iranian environments: 'the Caspian Sea, the Elburz and Zagros Mountains, the full ranges of deserts, the Persian Gulf and coastal environment.'⁷³ The different wildlife as well as the ethnographic history of Iran also planned to be replicated in Pardisan⁷⁴ that aimed to transform it into 'an ecological microcosm of the world.'⁷⁵

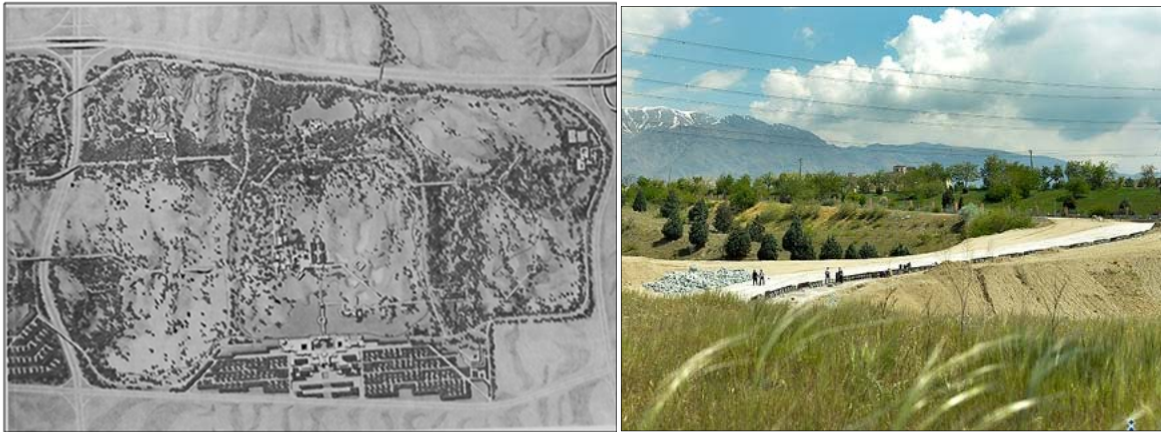


Figure 4.10: Left: Propose plan for Pardisan by Ian McHarg and his team, an environmental park in Iran, (Source: © Ian L McHarg, *A Quest for Life : An Autobiography*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), p.291); Right: general view of existing situation of Pardisan, Tehran, (Source: photo by Somayeh Abbasi , <<http://shahr.ir/>> [accessed 14 February 2014])

In this sense, through designing new parks, modern institutions for public entertainment, and novel venues for inter-gendered social interactions,⁷⁶ gradually the norms of public places were altered. In the words of Grigor the modern park 'undermine[d] the Islamic notion of pleasure and recreation — or at least pleasure in such ambiguous and uncontrolled manner.'⁷⁷ Modern Iranians were changed 'by what had happened to their public place,'⁷⁸ and hence had to behave and dress in a different way.

Inauguration of the Arts Festival in 1967 was also could be perceived as one part of Pahlavi's schemes to enhance leisure activities, aimed to secularise the Iranian public places. The Festival and 2500th anniversary of Persian Empire both had the same political task; that of the survival of regime by means of the predilection for saving the country's heritage linking with political propaganda. Both of these events, but in particular the Festival, had a direct bearing

⁷² Ian L McHarg, *A Quest for Life : An Autobiography*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996) , p.290.

⁷³ Ibid., p.291.

⁷⁴ McHarg, p.293. For more detail regarding 'Pardisan,' see. McHarg, *A Quest for Life : An Autobiography*, pp.290-6.

⁷⁵ Pamela Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009) , p.260; Mina Marefat, 'Fractured Globalization: A Case Study of Tehran', in *New Global History and the City*, (Saint Petersburg, 2003).

⁷⁶ Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.102.

⁷⁷ Talin Der-Griogorian, 'Construction of History : Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran, 1951-1979', (Unpublished Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998) , p.169.

⁷⁸ Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.94.

on the opening up the private gardens of Shiraz, which later became the engine for changing the material and social dimensions of gardens with architectural importance.

The government document of the National Radio and Television Organization depicts that 21 historical places and some cinemas were selected for the performance of theatre and music during the Festival (Figure 4.11). Inspired by the Art Assemblies in the gardens of Lahore in Pakistan, Farah hired 600 employees and invited famous artists, theatre directors at exorbitant fees such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, John Cage, such as Peter Brook and Robert Wilson, and the European conductors, Von Karajan.⁷⁹ In Farah's memoirs, published in 2004, she asserted that from 1972 onwards, the directors performed the dramas in the Shiraz's gardens.⁸⁰

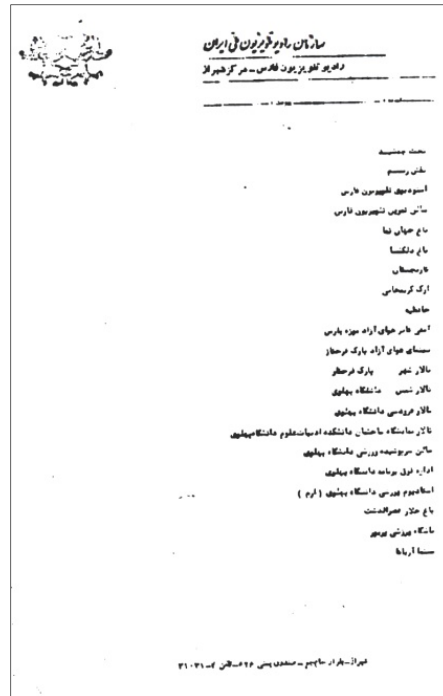


Figure 4.11: Illustration of a document, listing the selected gardens and places for performance of dramas and music during the Festival (Source: Intelligence Ministry, Centre of historical Documents, *Jashn Honar Be Ravayat Asnad Savak* (the Art Festival in Savak Documents) p.439)

Based on aforementioned documents, the gardens that were considered for the performance of dramas during the Festival were: Narenjestan,⁸¹ Jahan Nama,⁸² Arg, Hafezieh, Kelar Qasr al Dasht, Nazar, Golshan (Afif Abad), Delgosha, Jennat, Safa gardens and Farahnaz Park (Figure 4.12).⁸³ In 1967, the Eram garden also was chosen to serve the Shah and Farah as a royal residence during the Festival.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Centre of historical Documents Intelligence Ministry, *Jashn Honar Be Ravayat Asnad Savak (the Art Festival in Savak Documents)*, (Tehran: Intelligence Ministry, Centre of historical Documents, 1381 SH/2003).-/ ج p.182, no 6802

⁸⁰ Farah Pahlavi, *Kohan Diara; Khaterat Farah Pahlavi (Ancient Land; Diary of Farah Pahlavi)*, (Tehran: Farzad, 2004), p.105.

⁸¹ In 1931 Arthur Upham Pope, who was director of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology in New York for 24 years, extended that institute and established the Asia Institute in Shiraz in Narenjestan garden. Narenjestan went under restoration based on the plans provided by Jay and Sumi Gluck who came from Japan to Shiraz to draft of activities for the institute. In April 1969, Narenjestan was inaugurated as the Asia Institute. Arthur Pope was its director. Noel Siver, 'Pope, Arthur Upham', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (2003).

⁸² Jahan Nama pavilion was bought by order of Farah and was converted into museum. Ali N Behroozi, *Banahaye Tarikhi Va Asar Honari Shiraz: Jolgeye Shiraz (Historical Buildings and Cultural Heritage: Plain of Shiraz)*, 2 edn (Shiraz: The Bureau of Art and Culture of Shiraz, 1354 SH/1975), p.80.

⁸³ In 1339 SH/1960 Hassan Imdad reported that many gardens were neglected and in poor conditions. Imdad, cited above, p.108.

⁸⁴ Intelligence Ministry, *Jashn Honar Be Ravayat Asnad Savak (the Art Festival in Savak Documents)*, p.127.



Figure 4.12: Location of gardens selecting for Festival in Shiraz, (Source: Highlights and numbers added by the author, based the map of Shiraz provided by the Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers, U.S Army, Washington DC, copied from Town Plan of Shiraz, 1952, Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C)

As a result of the Shiraz's Festival, the architecturally introverted prototype of gardens with traditional characteristics that were based on Islamic morals was undergoing dramatic transformations.⁸⁵ The metamorphosis in the function of gardens through changing the sense of 'privateness' and 'publicness' destined the various fates for both the Pahlavi regime and the gardens of the nobility. The model of typical gardens, with their inward looking arrangement related to enclosure, was replaced with the concept of the extroverted park familiar in the West. This reversed function was a step to formulate new interactions between citizens, imposing alien behavioural patterns. While the majority of the Shiraz's gardens belonging to the important individual families were enclosed by high walls and embodied the sense of 'privacy,' for hosting the Festival, these were given a new role and had to adopt different function that subverted the previous one. If in the past, these private gardens rarely hosted strangers (especially non-Muslims), now they became more impersonal places in order to accommodate international visitors. In the words of Arberry they were 'opened for all to walk in.'⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.103.

⁸⁶ Arberry, *Shiraz: Persian City of Saints and Poets*.

Subsequently, the terminologies associated with gardens and courtyard house — namely *Qanat*, *Garmabeh* (thermal bath), *Ab anbar* (water reservoirs), stables, caravansaries, *Howz* (water-tank), *Hashti* (vestibule), *Andaruni* (private sector), *Biruni* (public domain), *Sofre khane* (dining room) — slipped into neglect. In contrast to description of Victorian Englishmen who defined Shiraz's gardens as 'enclosed by a high mud wall, over the top of which appears a dense bouquet of trees,'⁸⁷ here, the gardens selected for the Festival (e.g. Nazar and Eram), thick walls were replaced with short parapets or iron fences to provide more expansive vistas to and from public world. As shown in Figure 4.13, the wall was unlikely to play its previous role of protecting women from the eyes of strangers,⁸⁸ but rather was only for safety. The entrance of the garden, this time was neither the 'means of going into the house or of protecting property' nor a 'symbolic frontier which should be sealed off from even visual intrusions from outside.'⁸⁹ *Hashti* (vestibule) that had been a place for strangers to wait, preserving the privacy of the owners and which followed the hierarchical principle of *Mahramiyat*, blurred its original function. The central pond in front of the pavilion also became conceptual; it was used neither for ablution (*vozo*)⁹⁰ nor did it contain the Islamic belief of purity. Its role shifted to become only a decorative element, its previous duty being reversed (see Table 4.1).



Figure 4.13: Replacement of thick and high wall with iron fence. Above: The Eram garden, Below: The Nazar garden, (Source: photos by the author, September 2013)

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.14.

⁸⁸ Karimi., 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.136.

⁸⁹ kamran Diba, *Kamran-Diba Building and Project*, (Germany: Hatjeh, 1979), p.9. quoted in Der-Griogorian., 'Construction of History : Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran, 1951-1979,' p.174.

⁹⁰ According to Shi'a doctrine for preparing some religious activity namely reading Holy Qur'an and especially before saying daily prayers, being pure and clean (*taher*) is the primitive action. The ritual of ablution includes washing face, hands, and feet. Shi'a performance of ablution is much differed from Sunni Muslim.

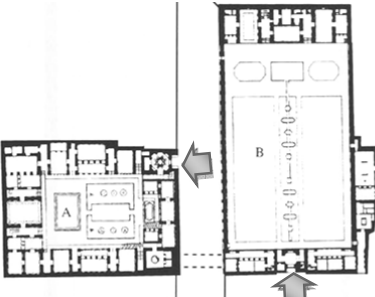
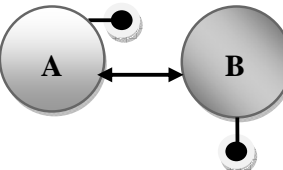


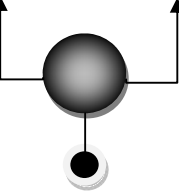

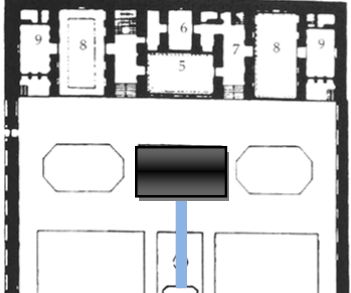
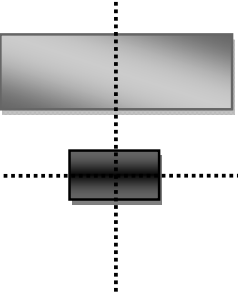

Plan	Diagrammatic representation	Visual appearance
	<p>A: <i>Andaruni</i>, zinatol molk House B: <i>Biruni</i>, Narenjestan (Qavam garden)</p> 	
<p><i>Hashti</i> of Narenjestan</p> 		
<p>Central pool in Narenjestan</p> 		

Table 4.1: *Andaruni*, *Biruni*, *Hashti* and central pool of the Narenjestan garden, Shiraz, (Source: table and photos by the author)

Through such acts of reversal, the central pavilion in the garden, which symbolically represented the *Ferdows* in the Hereafter, during the Festival become a focal point for the audience to watch the dramas. Moreover, in new pattern of use, the boundaries of private domains and public spheres had been shaken through elimination of *Andaruni* (the sphere of women) and *biruni* (public sector), which itself was the result of a new vision of womanhood, as this was introduced in previous chapter.⁹¹ By altering the role of the traditional components of the nobility's gardens, together with replacing traditional gender-segregation with the gender-integrated pattern, the Pahlavi regime subverted or blurred the concept of 'privacy' rooted in Islamic principles.

⁹¹The removal of women's quarter started with house-gardens of the elite and upper class at the beginning of the 20th century, following the models of Reza Shah's palace gardens (e.g. Sadabad) which were designed by western-trained architects.

While under the Safavid and Qajar rulers, those leisure activities that strictly speaking were against Islamic and Shi'a doctrine were performed occasionally in the protection of the royal gardens due to the fear of being observed by the public, under the Pahlavi regime, were transmitted into some public places. For instance, the *New York Times* wrote that in the 2500 year celebration ceremony in Shiraz, 'the cocktail reception was held shortly before sundown in the gardens of pink and red geraniums and 10-foot rose bushes of exquisitely tiled stucco Bagh-e-Eram, a public palace.'⁹² However, despite the efforts of the regime to foster the idea of Westernization and change, the social interaction of people through the elimination of the physical barriers of private spaces, the banning of the veil in 1936 and the changing of religious and cultural patterns, Iranian men and women could not socialize together easily, and refused to be westernized.⁹³

The impact of the Arts Festival and the end of the Pahlavi regime (1970-1979)

In contrast to Shiraz's gardens that had been fortunate enough to receive attention as a result of holding the Arts Festival and the 2500th anniversary of Persian Empire, the Pahlavi family was not, as these events led ultimately to the fall of the regime. However, while the Festival initially intended to transform Shiraz into a rendezvous of East-West art that absorbed the attention of the West (Figure 4.14),⁹⁴ it failed to accomplish its anticipated missions and at that moment became problematic for the religious environment of Iran. Instead of the improvement of traditional culture, the Festival became a stage for propagating Western art and spreading what was perceived to be immoral, and thus 'triggered accusations of exaggerated expenditure and immorality.'⁹⁵

⁹² Charlotte Curtis, 'First Party of Iran's 2,500-Year Celebration', *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, (Oct 13, 1971).

⁹³ This issue is also captured by Thomson, see .Thompson. 'Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women's History,' p.58.

⁹⁴ Talinn Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005), p.253.

⁹⁵ Manoukian., *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.41.

Due to the promotion of performances of Western (generally immodest) dramas, music and dance especially during the holy month of Shi'a Muslims, *Ramadan* and *Moharam*, as well as breaking down the taboos of Islam, many protests were staged against the Festival by religious-minded groups including the *ulama*, students and intellectuals. The Festival distorted the original function of historical places including the gardens of Shiraz, changing them into a carrier of western ideologies that clearly differed from Islamic norms. For instance, documents bear witness that in the Delgosha garden (Figure 4.15), the vulgar theatre of Robert Wilson, calling *Madmen*, angered the audience and brought 'social rage at home.'⁹⁶

The remonstrations against the Festival reached their pinnacle in 1356 SH/1977, following the performance of the Hungarian theatrical piece called 'Pig! Child! Fire!' by Squate's troupe, in full view of passers-by. Many protests and social convulsions took place as that drama was perceived to be 'obscene,' particularly unacceptable to be performed during *Ramadan*. While Squate's troupe was expelled from many European cities and stripped of their Hungarian nationality. This drama, during the late Pahlavi era, 'felt like the greatest provocation ever.'⁹⁷ The British Ambassador, Anthony Parsons, criticised the Shah for allowing the performance of rape 'in full (no pretence) by a man (either naked or without any trousers...) on a women whose dress had been ripped off by her attacker.'⁹⁸

The *ulama* largely condemned the Festival within its participants and denounced Farah who was responsible for the creation of this anti-Islamic atmosphere in Shiraz. Baha al-Din Mahalati, the influential clergyman, insisted that while he was not against art as such, but with an art that was performed in Shiraz. During the months of chaos, just before the sparking of the Islamic Revolution, some people attacked and burned historical places which were



Figure 4.14: Interview of Mohammad Reza Shah and Farah with journalists during the Arts Festival, Eram garden, (Source: Courtesy of the National Archives of the IRI, Tehran, File No: 251717.)



Figure 4.15: Drama in the Delgosha garden during the Arts Festival, (Source: Courtesy of the the National Archives of the IRI, Tehran, File No: 254279.)

⁹⁶ Shirin, *Baziche Shahbanou, Jashn Honar-E-Shiraz (Plaything of Shahbanou, Art Festival of Shiraz)*, p.23.

⁹⁷ Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.261.

⁹⁸ Parsons mentioned the Shah that 'if such a drama was performed in Manchester, directors and actors would be penalised.' Anthony Parsons, *The Pride and the Fall; Iran, 1974-1979 (Ghoror Soghut)*, (Tehran: Hafta, 1363 SH/1984), p.48.

assigned for the Festival, such as Saray-e-Moshir in 1357 SH/1979.⁹⁹ The confidential letters and memos pertaining to the Festival, published later by the Centre of Historical Documents of the Intelligence Ministry in 2003, show that by the rise of protests, governors of Shiraz asked Farah that dramas to be performed merely in Persepolis and Takht-e-Rostam, or in places where participants could be controlled by National Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK), instead of in gardens or universities (Figure 4.16).¹⁰⁰

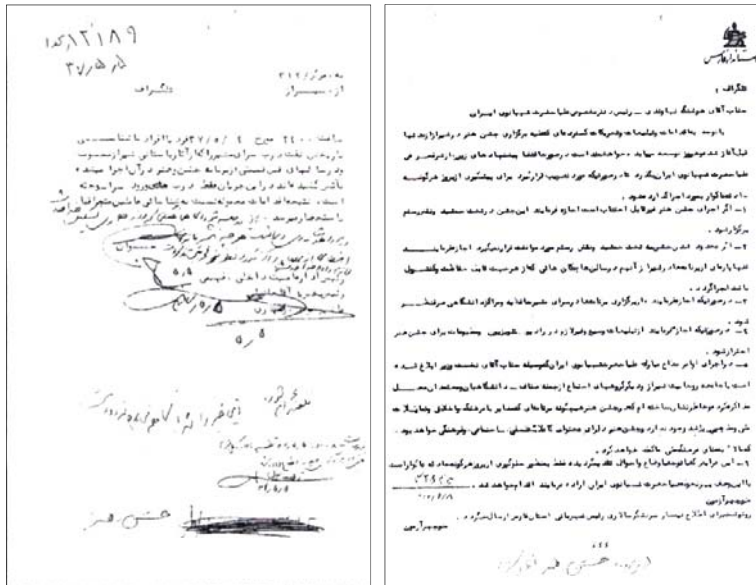


Figure 4.16 : Illustrations of selected government documents reporting conflict related to the Festival; Left: report on burning the door of Saraye Moshir, issued on 1357.5.5 SH/1976, letter No. 12189; Right: Requesting from Farah's office to restrict the performance of programmes in closed and controlled places, issued on 1357.5.8 SH/1976, telegraph No./2643. (Source: Intelligence Ministry, Centre of historical Documents, *Jashn Honar Be Ravayat Asnad Savak (the Art Festival in Savak Documents)*, p.427,p.436)

When the Shiraz's Festival was inaugurated in 1967, neither Farah nor Mohammad Reza Shah knew that it would finally become one of the tools that would cut the Monarchy off forever from 2500 years of imperialism in Iran. In 2004, 25 years after the fall of the Pahlavi regime, Farah in her memoir admitted that the revolutionary assemblies, social encounters of different political groups and performance of various ideologies that took place in Shiraz's historical places, were the reasons for overthrow of the Pahlavi regime.¹⁰¹ However, stamping private gardens as a place for performance of (immoral) Western theatre and open shows of affection, that disregarded the social and cultural realities of Iranian society, were the most important motives to instigate the Revolution. The continuity of Islam's aversion policy gave voice to people's dissatisfaction. Indeed, the Pahlavi regime failed to alter the modes and behavioural patterns of the society easily by either imposing or importing western criteria. They were oblivious to the fact that the Arts Festival was too secular and alien for the

⁹⁹ Intelligence Ministry, *Jashn Honar Be Ravayat Asnad SAVAK (the Art Festival in SAVAK Documents)*, p.427.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Document No. 2543, p.436.

¹⁰¹ Farah, *Kohan Diyara (ancient land)*, p.223.

majority of Iranians of that time and 'beneath the modern, cosmopolitan veneer of the city, there throbbed a latent deeply religious soul, ill at ease with modernity.'¹⁰²

Shiraz and its gardens after the proclamation of Islamic Republic (1979-2000s)

Mohammad Reza Shah's conciliatory efforts to portray himself as a National and 'spiritual' Leader, heir to 2500 years of recorded history,¹⁰³ by means of changing the Solar calendar to a Royal Calendar in 1350 SH/1971 (the year from 1355 to 2535),¹⁰⁴ using the slogan of 'Iran, Gate of Civilization' and adopting the title of *Arya-mehr* (sun of the Aryan), could not rescue himself from international and national collapse. Holding 2500 years Celebration of Persian Empire in 1971 (Figure 4.17), which coupled with symbolic and strategic anniversary in Shiraz, was criticized by the majority due to its luxuriousness. Ayatollah Khomeini denounced that, and named it the 'Devil's Festival.' The *New York Times* reported that the festivity cost as much as US\$100 million,¹⁰⁵ which instead could have spent on social services for Iranians rather than on foreign royalty and the viceroy's guests. Consequently, these actions destabilized the Shah's power, brought mass dissatisfaction, aroused the wrath of people, and in turn resulted in the loss of the people's attachment to the heritage. For instance, during the sparking of the Revolutionary wave in December 1979, most

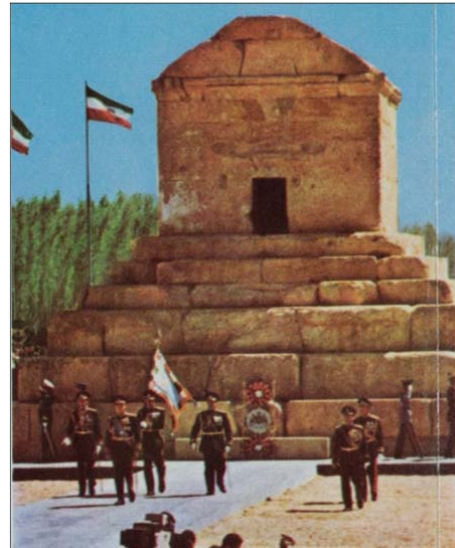


Figure 4.17: The 2500th anniversary of Persian Empire at Tomb of Cyrus. (Source: Tourist map of Shiraz, Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C)

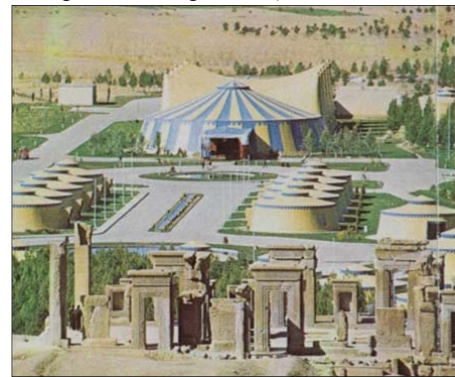


Figure 4.18: Tachara Palace, Tent for 2500th anniversary celebration at Persepolis, that were totally destroyed after the Islamic Revolution, (Source: Tourist map of Shiraz, Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C)

¹⁰² Marefat, 'Fractured Globalization: A Case Study of Tehran,' p.13.

¹⁰³ Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Be Soye Tamadon Bozorg (Towards the Great Civilisation)*, (Tehran: Markaz Pazhuhesh v Nashr Farhang Siasi Doran Pahlavi, 1355 SH/1978), p.253.

¹⁰⁴ This calendar originated the time and history from the Achaemenid Empire. It allocates 2500 years for the length of Iranian monarchy and 35 years for Mohammad Reza Shah. According to Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, p.152.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Cottom, *Nationalism in Iran*, Sadaf edn (Tehran, 1371 SH/1992), p.415. However, it should be mentioned that in the documentary on 2500-Year Persian Empire Celebration the manager of this ceremony later in 2011 claimed it was cost only 157 Million *Rial* (about US\$22 million). 'Documentary on 2500-Year Persian Empire Celebration, *Hargez Nakhab Koroush* (Never Sleep, Cyrus)', Manoto TV, 2011)

specifically the 'tent-city adjacent to the ruins of Persepolis (Figure 4.18), which had housed the king's guests' for the 2500 year old Celebration of the Persian Empire in October 1971, 'was thoroughly vandalized and left on public display as evidence of royal gluttony.'¹⁰⁶ Such pre-Islamic heritage was considered a sign of the Pahlavi regime serving as the instruments for attracting foreigners.

Only two years after the Revolution, in 1980, the Iran – Iraq war commenced. Once more the cultural heritage was under threat. Because of the chaos associated with the political turmoil and war conditions, many problems regarding cultural heritage arose. For instance, all of the organizations or ministries had to transform into Islamic institutions. The Ministry of Culture and Art was dissolved by the Revolutionary Council because its function and aims were completely opposite to Islamic values. The Ministry of Culture and Higher Education was erected instead, and the issue of cultural heritage being entrusted to it. Moreover, some of the experts involved in the NRS and National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments (NOCHM) emigrated to foreign countries or were forced to resign.

All of the Western Orientalists and international teams such as *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* (ISMEO) left Iran, and therefore, those historical sites which had been managed by them remained defenceless. The 20 *Rial* tax from every sack of cement that was raised for restoration of historical buildings was abolished, and the NRS encountered a large amount of debt, so had to sell the material which had been bought for repairing buildings.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the war conditions forced the authorities to occupy historical buildings and monuments as Revolutionary Institutions. According to Hodjat the glorification of cultural heritage '[was] perceived as behaviour favouring' the Shah and Farah, so the post-Revolutionary governors had no inclination to participate in heritage affairs.¹⁰⁸

The structures of buildings were changed according to new needs, regardless of any consideration of heritage principles approved at that time. The NOCHM made complaints to these organisations and petitioned them to reduce infringements, however, because of the war conditions, no court investigated its complaints.¹⁰⁹ In the melee of war, in 1362 SH/1984 the restoration plans of 250 historical places,¹¹⁰ which had been halted for five years because of

¹⁰⁶ Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.206.

¹⁰⁷ NRS, *Gozaresh Faliathaye Anjoman Asar Meli(Report Book of Nrs)*, (Tehran: NRS, 1357 SH/1979), p.9.

¹⁰⁸ Hodjat., 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,' p.170.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.226.

¹¹⁰ By 1974, 15 technical offices (*daftar fani*) under the supervision of the NOCHM were established. Out of 472 major buildings were restored and put to use, and 250 of them were actively under repair. Ardalan.. 'Architecture VII. Pahlavi, after World War II.' Moreover, it should be mentioned that by the down of the Pahlavi regime in 1979, there were approximately

the Revolution and war, were re-started by the effort of some architects and archaeologists who still remained in charge of in the NOCHM. From the annual reports of the NRS, it is evident that there were 10 important gardens among these places that continued to be restored. These gardens were: Fin and Chehel Sotun in Isfahan, Soleymanieh in Karaj, Golestan in Tehran, Baghche Joogh in Macoo, Qadamgah in Neyshabur, Shazdeh in Kerman, Dolat Abad in Yazd, Eram and Afif Abad in Shiraz (Figure 4.19).¹¹¹

As mentioned earlier, misusing cultural heritage as a means for political propaganda by the Pahlavi regime, the drastic political and administrative changes after the Revolution, falling income from the oil industry and the eight years of war (1980-1988), resulted in the cultural heritage being forgotten for about a decade.¹¹² From the Revolution, it took almost 10 years for tangible heritage to receive further attention. With the establishment of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation in January 1986, as well as the ending of the war and the beginning the Era of Construction (*doran-e-sazandegi*), cultural heritage somewhat re-emerged into the socio-political mainstream, and conservation policies underwent evolution.



Figure 4.19: Location of the gardens that were restored in 1984.

In 1991, Rafsanjani, the first president after the Islamic Revolution,¹¹³ visited the Persepolis and Pasargadae sites in Shiraz, signalling a move in the IRI's perspective towards the pre-Islamic heritage and Empires. Rafsanjani asserted that 'although Persepolis was ruined, we can imagine its power. The remains of Persepolis show that all were rooted in our past' which proved that 'we (Iranians) have a great civilisation... depicted by the cultural background of

25 museums that seven of them were historical gardens: Chehel Sotun, Pars Museum (Nazar garden), Negarestan (1354 SH/1975), Marmar (1355 SH/1976), Abyaz in Golestan garden (1971) and Fin garden in Kashan. This information was derived from Mohammad T Mostafavi, *Asar Tarikhi Tehran (Historical Monument of Tehran)*, (Tehran: NRS, 1361 SH/1982).

¹¹¹ ICHO, *Gozaresh-E Hefazat Az Miras-E Farhangi (Cultural Heritage Conservation Report)*, (Tehran: Ministry of Science and Higher Education press, 1984), pp. 207-15.

¹¹² However, during Iran-Iraq war, some cultural events also were organised. For instance, in 1984 the Shiraz office of the ministry of National Guidance, co-organised with the Ministry of Education and sponsorship of by UNESCO organised a conference on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of Sadi, the famous Iranian poet. For more details, see. Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.73.

¹¹³ In 1989, the post of prime minister was eliminated and a constitutional referendum alongside presidential election was held which approved by 97 percent voters.

our country.¹¹⁴ After his speech, the pre-Islamic era gradually returned into public discourse as unquestionable and magnificent days of glory. The changes of policy redesigned the scenario of cultural heritage: 'Officials gradually began to participate in national ceremonies, spoke in support of protection of national heritage and paid visits to historical sites and museums.'¹¹⁵ Ayatollah Makarem Shirazi, 'supported possibility that *Dhu al-Qarnayn* was Cyrus,' and that provided a religious justification for the celebration of the Achaemenid Empire.¹¹⁶ From 1995 onwards, in parallel with the changing attitudes towards culture, history and heritage, Shiraz once again experienced a short period of revitalization. The historical gardens of Shiraz, those have been overtly Westernized and opened to the public by the Pahlavi regime for the Arts Festival, throughout the late 1960s, after the proclamation of the Republic due to the combination of various reasons, had their uses re-modified to serve as a tourist attractions or recreational places, and thus have continued to function.

Several steps have been taken to characterize the current situation, which went hand in hand to give a new kind of life to the historical gardens of Shiraz having architecturally major pavilions and affected their material and socio-cultural dimensions in different ways. The possible factors that acted as catalysers could be, the emerging definition of 'Persian Garden' that associated with the religious metaphor embodying the archetype of *chaharbagh* gardens; giving a cultural use that was adapted to new needs based on Islamic code; and shaping the new direction by money-minded managers of the ICHHTO towards the architectural heritage. Through the retrospective consideration and interpretation of events, the factors that contributed to changing the attitudes towards Shiraz gardens of architectural merit and have had an impact upon the material and socio-cultural dimensions of them in different ways will be explained. While some of these factors, such as the increasing the awareness regarding Persian Gardens and changing cultural and social behaviour, have been implemented at a national level, through the example of Shiraz's gardens at local level, the effects of these on the gardens in detail will be examined. Moreover, some of these factors were crystallized by the authorities and scholars alike just a decade before the Islamic Revolution, though these

¹¹⁴ Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, < <http://www.hashemirafsanjani.ir/?type=dynamic&lang=1&id=109>>, [accessed 20 November 2011].

¹¹⁵ K. Abdi, 'Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran', *American journal of archaeology*, 105 (2001).

¹¹⁶ In 1996, the Foundation of the study of Fars reprinted the book of Ali Sami, Pasargadae with new edited title; *The Capital and Tomb Cyrus (Dhu al-Qarnayn)*. This issue also not restricted to Cyrus, but national poets such as Sadi, is appropriate by new order as his work is 'based foremost on the Qur'an and *Hadith*.' Manoukian., *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.93 and p.73.

were evolved and reformulated in distinctive ways with a new vocabulary during the first three decades of Republican era in order to fit to a new political Islamic ideology.

Increasing the awareness regarding Persian Garden (Bagh-e-Irani): turning from pavilions to the garden layout

A decade before the Islamic Revolution, the search for an Iranian identity, which could not be defined without Islam, was emerging in both theoretical explanations and architectural discourse through the work of two main groups. Concerning theory, intellectuals educated within Shi'a outlook (such as Shariati and Jalal al Ahmad) formulated the religious-national identity in order to construct a 'modern Shi'a

society'¹¹⁷ or in the words of Karimi 'Shi'a modernity.'¹¹⁸ With respect to architecture, western-educated Iranian architects (such as Nader Ardalan and Kamran Diba, who studied architecture at Harvard University), made efforts to provide a dialogue between modern architecture and traditional forms to reassert on an 'Iran-ness.' Unlike the enlightened thinkers of the 1930s, who encouraged architects to use the pre-Islamic motifs as the truest model for modern buildings, this new generation of architects¹¹⁹ emphasised indigenous and traditional architecture to avoid postmodernism.¹²⁰ Their tendency towards the cultural vernacular, 'Iranian-ness' and unsullied rural tradition led to the creation of new buildings and landscapes that combined with Iranian traditional architecture.¹²¹

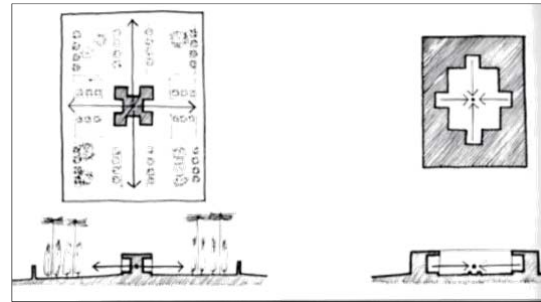


Figure 4.20: The concept of *Persian Garden*, (Source: Ardalan and Bakhtiar, *Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p.68, Courtesy of the author, Nader Ardalan)

¹¹⁷ Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.242.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.217.

¹¹⁹ Between 1920 and 1930, Reza Shah made an effort to construct a unified infrastructure network such as asphalt roads, the Trans-Iranian railway, new administrative buildings, modern schools and universities, and public open places for the first time. These projects generally were designed by European architects such as Maxim Siro, André Godard and Nicolay Markov, or Iranian architect who graduated from European universities such as Mohsen Foroughi, graduated from Ecole De Buazarts and Vartan Avasian.

¹²⁰ In contrast to Reza Shah's era, Western architects took a back seat to Western-trained Iranian architects after 1963. From 1960s onwards, the new generation of foreign trained architects, shifted the defined programmes in the faculty of Fine art from French (Ecole des Beaux-Arts) and American to Italian influences especially after 1967-68. See, Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities: The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran'; Masoud., *Memary Moaser Iran Dar Takapouye Sonat Va Modernite (Contemporary Architecture of Iran)*, p.259.

¹²¹ 'The projects for the Iran Centre for Management Studies by Ardalan (1976), Shushtar New Town (1974-80) and the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (1967-76) by Kamran Diba, and the offices of Cultural Heritage by Ali Amanat (1980) are along this line.' Ludovico Micara, 'Contemporary Iranian Architecture in Search for a New Identity', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1 (1996).

In 1973 the publication of *The Sense of Unity* by Nader Ardalan and Lale Bakhtiar (in English, published by Chicago University Press) was a turning point in the study of the traditional architecture of Islam 'in its Persian setting from the point of view of Sufism and Mysticism.'¹²² The authors were influenced by the spiritual approach of Seyed Hossein Nasr who believed that Islamic architecture 'reflects the Divine Principle.'¹²³ Instead of concentrating on the functional role of Islamic architecture (e.g. home, garden, mosque), this book, thorough the lens of Sufi-Muslims,¹²⁴ tried to see the mystical aspects of traditional architecture as the image of cosmos, devoid of social and historical context. According to Pamila Karimi, *The Sense of Unity* gave emphasis to keeping the courtyard house not as an ideal concept for sexual segregation or necessary part of 'everyday home life' but rather as 'something to be remembered.'¹²⁵ The authors perceived the Persian Garden and the courtyard with 'geometric form' as an earthly shadow of Paradise that provides the connection with nature,¹²⁶ symbolizing the first and most important principle of Islam, 'unity' (*towhid*).¹²⁷ The garden (*Bagh*) is redefined as the 'manifestation of the centrifugally oriented form of the macrocosm, the Manifest' (see Figure 4.20). The inner courtyard (*hayat*) is perceived as the 'manifestation of the centripetally oriented form of the microcosm, the hidden may be viewed as mutually complementing and thereby completing aspects of place.'¹²⁸ Instead of a materialistic outlook, in the eye of the authors, each traditional component of the *chaharbagh* garden had spiritual duties:

Walls are requisite for defining and isolating this sacred place within which the soul can be sensed and its spiritual quest fulfilled. The interaction of shape and surface must create a space that is totally at rest, devoid of tensions and conducive to contemplation. Such a solidified shape is to be found in the cube, a perfect form whose symbolic essence is stability, man and the earthly Paradise. Within this tranquil space, the placement of the traditional pool provides a centre as a positive direction for the creative imagination. Thus the horizontal creation of man is linked to the Vertical Cause and man's recapitulation of paradise is complete.¹²⁹

This statement indicates how the spiritual aspects and 'the heavenly image'¹³⁰ of Iranian courtyards and gardens were perceived during the 1980s. The authors believed that the

122 Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1979). with a forward by Seyed Hossein Nasr, p.xi.

123 Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.245.

124 The main principle for *sufis* is 'the individual's spiritual quest for union with God and the resulting loss of self on becoming one with him.' Sufism is not only intuitive but also has developed its own rituals, organisations and leader. Similar to Shi'a Imams' tombs are important assets, for the *Sufis*, the tomb of *sheikh*, their leader, is largely revered. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Images of Paradise in Islamic Art', (Austin: Distributed by the University of Texas Press, 1991), p.27.

125 Karimi, cited above, p.246.

126 Ardalan and Bakhtiar., *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, p.67.

127 Ibid., p.6.

128 Ibid., p.68.

129 Ibid., p.68.

130 Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,' p.247.

Iranian royal gardens such as *Hasht Behesht* (Eight Paradise) manifested the concept of Paradise as they were designed in the hot and arid plateau of Iran. However, they did not mention that the 'symmetrical arrangement' of *chaharbagh*, with a central pavilion overlooking the pool, was modelled on descriptions of Paradise in the Holy Qur'an, which awaits believers and Muslims in the Hereafter as the reward. Gardens with a fourfold geometrical pattern were instead perceived as 'a defined space encompassing within itself a total reflection of the cosmos,' containing 'sense of place' (*makan*).¹³¹

It was only after the publications by Western scholars, such as Elizabeth Moynihan's *Paradise as a Garden; in Persia and Mughal India* (1980), Wilber Donald's *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* (1962) and Vita Sackville West's discussion of the Persian Garden, in *The Legacy of Persia*, (1953), that the term 'Persian Garden' became the subject of research for subsequent Iranian scholars. The Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium published a book about Islamic gardens, framed with the question 'by outlying the archetype belonging' to pre-Islamic roots in Iran.¹³² This book dedicated one chapter to 'the Persian Garden: *Bagh and Chahar Bagh*,' written by Ralph Wilson, and hence gardens in Iran become one of the subsets of Islamic Gardens in Western literature. This kind of attention was mainly due to the archaeological excavations of the Scottish archaeologist David Stronach at the Pasargadae site in 1967, which directly affected the way of thinking of western scholars and triggered debates in their books regarding gardens with *chaharbagh* layout.¹³³

The western academics cited Stronach's work, and considered the garden's layout of Pasargadae as a prototype of *chaharbagh* design, which after the birth of Islam in the 7th century had wrought a revolution in gardens of Mughul India, or others such as the Alhambra in Spain. While *The Sense of Unity* focused on the spiritual aspects of Persian Gardens and rarely addressed the connotations of Qur'anic symbolism embodied in *chaharbagh* layout, from the 1990s, as a result of the influx of the English language books just mentioned, thoughts of Iranian researchers were turning to the archetype of the Persian Garden as a replica of Qur'anic Paradise. Furthermore, due to the Islamization of all aspects of the country after 1979, Muslim paradisiacal imagery and the theological interpretation of Persian Gardens with religious metaphors received particular attention. Over a decade after the

¹³¹ Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity : The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, p.68.

¹³² Attilio Petruccioli, 'Rethinking the Islamic Garden', *Coppock and Miller, Transformations*, (1998), p. 351.

¹³³ For more detail regarding Pasargadae garden see David Stronach, 'The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the near East in the First Millennium BC,' *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 4 (1990), 171-80 and Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens,' (Tehran: ICHHTO, Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, 2011).

publication of *The Sense of Unity*, Iranian scholars reiterated the argument of the authors, but this time attempted to re-define the importance of Persian Garden via religious and Qur'anic issues. While resembling the garden to Paradise (*behesht*) always existed in everyday language of Iranians, even for non-*chaharbagh* garden, the Qur'anic symbolism of the *chaharbagh* layout outpaced other aspects: this shows the ability of Persian Gardens to shift their meaning. Whether based on appropriate interpretation of *chaharbagh* gardens or its physical metaphor, this kind of approach was embraced by the post-revolutionary government. The courtyard house, within which the interior sectors were 'divided according to the male and female domains,'¹³⁴ was considered an ideal example enhancing the sense of privacy.¹³⁵ Subsequently, the extroverted new house typology, with windows opening to the streets, that was alien to introverted and traditional architectural pattern of courtyard house,¹³⁶ was largely condemned.

Drawing on studies of western scholars, in particular Wilber Donald's book, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* that was translated in Farsi in 1348 SH/1969,¹³⁷ from 1990 onwards, pioneer Iranian architects such as Pirnia,¹³⁸ Mirfendereski, Abolghasemi and Daneshdoust published articles in which the historical gardens constructed between the pre-Islamic era and the 18th century acquired the prevalent epithet 'Persian Garden' (*Bagh-e-Irani*). This term clearly differed from the 'Gardens of Persia.' Aware of the Royal garden of Pasargadae¹³⁹ which dated back to 529 BC, one of the earliest designed gardens in ancient civilization, these scholars proudly asserted that this garden influenced the design of the gardens in the Islamic period, particularly by the role of its water circulation, the manner of its division in the garden and its geometrical patterns.¹⁴⁰ Iranian scholars gave common characteristics for

¹³⁴ Ali Madanipour, *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*, (Chichester: John Wiley, 1998). p.242.

¹³⁵ However, as mentioned above, the movement to address the traditional Iranian architecture in new architectural projects was shaped in the late 1970s. The concept of Public Park was considered as an alien place for Muslims societies. Nader Ardalan in 1980 encouraged the readers to revive the traditional courtyards in new modes of design. He wrote: 'The public park appears to be an indispensable corollary to apartment living, but this pattern is totally alien to statistically, the indigenous private courtyard house can accommodate the same population density as a medium-rise apartment block, if careful measures of light availability and space separation are observed. Why, then, has this traditional adaptive mode of housing been sacrificed for an alien form, ill-suited both to Muslim personal life and to the ecology of the typical Islamic environment?' Nader Ardalan, 'Places of Public Gathering', in *Places of public gathering in islam. Proceedings of the seminar held in amman, may 4-7, 1980*, (The aga khan awards, 1980), pp. 5-16.9, (p.11).

¹³⁶ Madanipour., *Tehran : The Making of a Metropolis*, p.242.

¹³⁷ The first translation of Donald's book in Farsi was published in 1348 SH/1969 that was translated by Mahin Dokht Saba.

¹³⁸ Pirnia involved in many conservation projects after joining to the Art and Culture Ministry in 1344 SH/1965. Apart from restoration of many historical mosques, buildings, he repaired and restored one of the important gardens in Yazd namely Dolat Abad garden. Pirnia tried to reconstruct main buildings of garden similar to its old picture. Akbar Ghalamsiyah, 'Yadname Ostad Karim Pirnia (Memorial of Karim Pirnia)', (Tehran: Bonyad Marhoom Pirnia, 1381SH/2002).

¹³⁹ At present, only a bridge called Royal Bridge and tomb of Cyrus remain from this complex which is the focal point for visitors to Pasargadae. Pasargadae site was registered on the List of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites (WHIS) in 2004 as one of the most important ancient capital in the world.

¹⁴⁰ Source from the interview with Mr. Daneshdoost conducted by the author in his office, Mashhad on 08.01.2012.

the majority of surviving historical gardens under the rubric of *Bagh-e-Irani*: their enduring impact can be felt on historical garden studies until today, and is clearly dominant in every article. In contrast, gardens of the late Qajar and Pahlavi era of the early of the 20th century have been considered to have a non-Iranian atmosphere and identity,¹⁴¹ which disregarded the traditional *chaharbagh*, and questioned the authenticity of Persian Garden. Abolghasemi castigated Farah Abad garden, which was constructed in the late Qajar era with non-geometrical design, accusing it of blindly mimicking the Western park. He further asserted that it was the manifest example of the start of the degradation of garden art, and that it was totally irrelevant to Iranian landscape identity.¹⁴²

In 1365 SH/1986, Alireza Ariyanpour, who was neither an architect nor art historian, wrote the first book with respect to Shiraz's gardens. This book was the primary one regarding Persian Gardens written in Farsi, for this reason it has been widely referenced by Iranian architects and scholars right up the present. As I noted in Chapter One, from 1995 onwards, the upward perception of the values of Persian Gardens led to the emergence of some monographic studies, particularly those in the category of pure samples of Persian Garden, central for construction identity. Praised inordinately by scholars, these gardens with *chaharbagh* layout, such as Eram, Afif Abad and Delgosha, were considered to be the peak in the art of garden making and the icon of Persian self-assertion.¹⁴³ Other gardens or parks, particularly those designed during the late Pahlavi era (1925-1979), have been denounced as 'bad practice,' and simply have been excluded from these surveys.

The current articles about gardens generally all addressing the certain features and morphological characters that are common to many of the historical gardens and were distinguished by Pirnia, such as geometry (*hendese*), the location of the main pavilion in the centre (*markaziyat*) and synonymously (*tagharon*). The authors of these articles start by reminding the readers that the English word 'Paradise' derives from ancient Persian word *pairidaeza* in order to reassert *Bagh* (garden) as 'a sacred part of the Persian psyche,'¹⁴⁴ inspired by Zoroastrianism and which continued in Iranian life after the birth of Islam. Article after article appearing in Iranian journals have provided the focus on a histographic

¹⁴¹ Latif Abolghasemi, *Avalin Namayeshgah Beinolmelali Gol Va Giyah Tehran (the First International Flower Show, Tehran)*, (Tehran: Park Organization, 1371 SH/1992), p.22.

¹⁴² Latif Abolghasemi, 'Hanjar Bagh-E-Irani (Norm of Persian Garden)', in *Majmoye Maghalat Kongere Tarikh Memari Va Shahrsazi Iran*, ed. by Bagher A Shirazi (Tehran: ICHO, 1374 SH/1995), pp. 281-93.

¹⁴³ Mirfenderski was responsible for providing restoration plan for the Delgosha garden in Shiraz. Micara., 'Contemporary Iranian Architecture in Search for a New Identity,' p.79.

¹⁴⁴ Madanipour, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*, p.137.

perspective, description of the architectural elements, highlighting the aesthetic values, which frequently emphasised the Qur'anic Paradise symbolism. The manifestation of the Persian Garden in art or its reflection in miniatures, carpets (Figures 21&22) and poems has also been studied in a few papers. However, with the exception of the book of Gharipour,¹⁴⁵ the rest of works lacked detailed analysis about the relationship between the gardens illustrated in the miniature paintings and the physical form as well as activities taken place in gardens.



Figures 4.21 & 4.22: Left: Persian carpet garden with *chaharbagh* layout, (Source: Khansari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*) Middle : Miniature by Qasim Ali, 1485 showing Mystics in a garden, (Source: Binyon, Laurence, *Persian Miniature Painting : Including a Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House* (London Oxford University Press; H. Milford, 1933), LXVI); Right: Miniature in Diwan Hafez, 1533 showing Lovers entertained by musicians and dancers.

By emerging the discourse of Persian Gardens in the field of Landscape Architecture (*Memory manzar*), which for the first time was added in Shahid Beheshti University in 1376 SH/1997 and later in some other universities, one module has been taught to introduce *Bagh-e-Irani* as an archetype with specific character to MLA students.¹⁴⁶ This module aims to curb the blind mimicking of western style parks and propose instead good practice for designing new parks based on Iranian-traditional roots.¹⁴⁷ In this sense, some journals such as *Faza-e-Sabz* (Green Space), *Payam-e-Sabz* (Green Message), and *Bagh-e-Manzar* (Garden of vision), also were published to address the issues pertaining to gardens and landscape in Iran. All these confirmed the broader attempt for recognition of the historical gardens to enrich past Iranian culture and connect this with the present. Accompanied by the search for the

¹⁴⁵ Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions : Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts*, (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

¹⁴⁶ The curriculum of landscape architecture has been modelled on French Universities and then inspired by American, British and Germany modules. Source from personal Email to Dr.Seyed Mohammad Mansoori, 4.11.2013. The compulsory modules of Landscape Architecture in Iranian Universities are more focused on the concept of the modern park and public place design, and only one module tackle with the Persian Gardens. So, due to the insufficient tutorial the dominant interest among young architect students to design new open spaces rather than conserve what existed as historical gardens.

¹⁴⁷ Specific characters of Persian Gardens were also taught as a part of the module of Islamic architecture at level of bachelor of architecture.

Persian Garden, this growing attention culminated in the first Symposium in 2004, called 'Persian Garden; Ancient Philosophy, New look.' This symposium was held in collaboration with the ICHO and Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (*Moze Honarhaye Moaser*) in Tehran to mark the importance of the Persian Garden. This event also provided recommendations with respect to the conservation of Persian Gardens; educational curriculum; international cooperation and legal structure,¹⁴⁸ but these currently only remain as theory and have not yet been undertaken in practice.

From Local to World Heritage Sites: (Re)construction of national identity

By increasing the awareness of *Bagh-e-Irani*, in 2010, in order to boost national pride, establish collective identity and reinforce its international image through landscape design and cultural precedent, the World Heritage Office, Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, attempted to register nine of the most outstanding examples of Persian Gardens as World Heritage Sites (WHS) on the World Heritage List.¹⁴⁹ These gardens were located in eight cities (Figure 4.23) and were designed during various historical periods (Achaemenid, Safavid, Zand and Qajar), but all

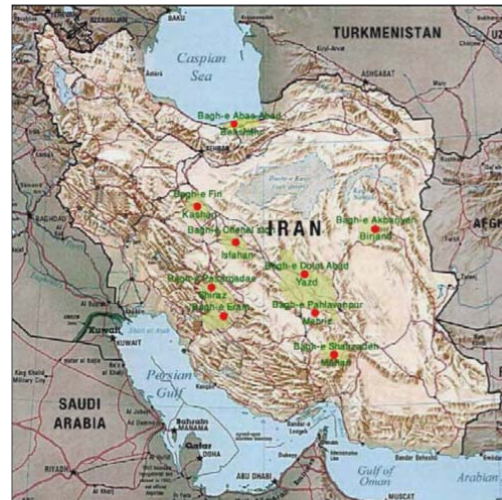


Figure 4.23: Location of nine registered Persian Gardens as WHS. (Source: Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, The World Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens,' p.3)

shared similar characteristics. As can be seen from Table 4.2, in which the main axis highlighted by red, all of these gardens have geometric formal layout. The primary work towards the listing was established by a team, including Masters Students at the University of Tehran, with the cooperation of Iranian academics under the supervision of the Head of the World Heritage Office in Iran. The team was responsible for providing the documentation, historical description and identification, monitoring plans and the definition of the 'buffer zone' for each garden. For this purpose, the list of trees and plants in these nine gardens was recorded and detailed maps were provided. Furthermore, there was an effort towards establishing preliminary proposals for the gardens' management and for the first time, a standard management plan specifically for gardens was provided.

¹⁴⁸ After this, one of the recommendations of this symposium was implemented and the 'Centre of Persian garden Research' was erected in 1383 SH/2004. This Research Centre was responsible for conducting a preliminary research regarding historical gardens but it was abolished shortly due to the relocation of the ICHHTO from Tehran to Shiraz.

¹⁴⁹ Nominated gardens as WHS are: Pasargadae in Shiraz, Dolat Abad in Yazd, Eram in Shiraz, Fin in Kashan, Chehel Sotun in Isfahan, Akbarieh in Birjand, Abbas Abad in Behshahr, and Shazdeh in Kerman.

Plan	Visual appearance/Aerial view
	<p>Garden of Pasargadae, Fars/Shiraz, Achaemenid Empire, 529 BC. 249,65 (ha)</p> 
	<p>Bagh-e Eram, Fars/ Shiraz, Seljukids era, 11th century. 12,70 (ha)</p> 
	<p>Bagh-e Chehel Sotun, Isfahan/ Isfahan, Safavid era, 1057 AH, 1674. 5,80 (ha)</p> 
	<p>Bagh-e Fin, Safavid and Qajar era, 999 AH/1587-1250s AH/1830s?. Isfahan/ Kashan. 7,60 (ha)</p> 

Table 4.2: Plans and photos of Pasargadae, Eram, Chehel Sotun and Fin, World Heritage Sites. (Source: drawn and extracted by the author from Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran, The World Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens').

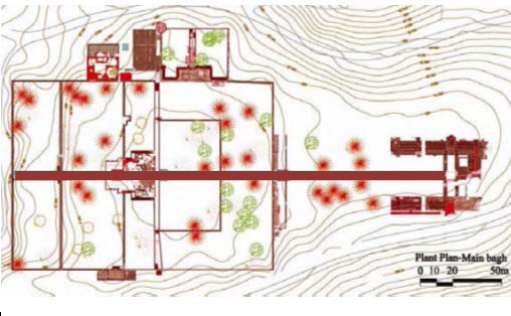

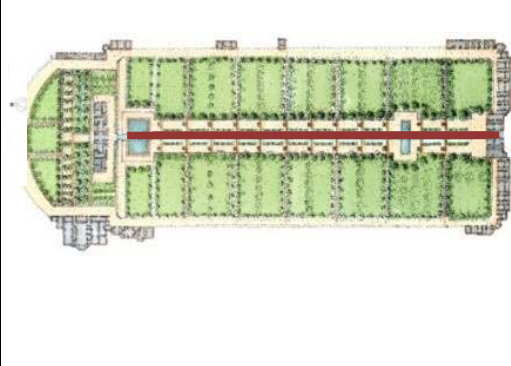



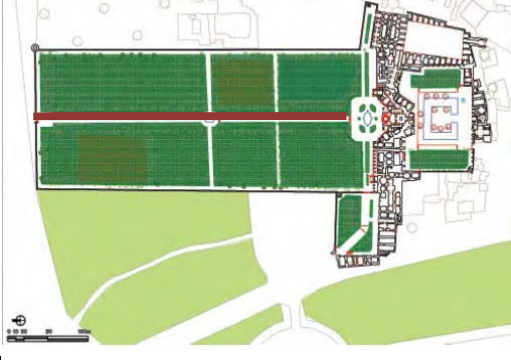

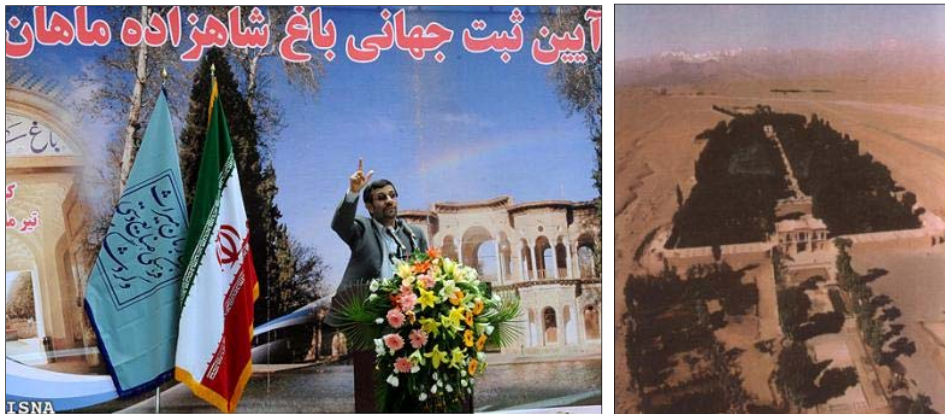
<p>Plan</p>  <p>Plant Plan-Main bagh 0 10 20 50m</p>	<p>Bagh-e Abas Abad, Safavid era,1021 AH/1621 .Mazandaran/ Behshahr, 420,20(ha)</p> 
	<p>Bagh-e Shazdeh ,Kerman/Mahan, Qajar era,1910s. 5,5(ha)</p> 
	<p>Bagh-e Dolat Abad, Yazd/Yazd, Zand era,1160 AH/1747.8(ha)</p> 
	<p>Bagh-e Akbariyeh ,Southern Khorasan/ Birjand, Zand and Qajar era,1300-1364AH .3,40(ha)</p> 

Table 4.3: Plans and photos of Abbas Abad, Shazdeh, Dolat Abad and Akbarieh gardens, World Heritage Sites. (Source: drawn and extracted by the author from Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens')

The primary concern for registering these gardens as WHS was not for economic revenue, but instead to reclaim the identity of the country through the means of landscape design, to burnish the country's international image, to differentiate the Persian Garden from the Western or other Oriental gardens and finally to depict the Iranian roots of *chaharbagh* plan to the World.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, these registered gardens could benefit from the technical and financial support of UNESCO, fostering an exchange of knowledge regarding garden conservation with the world. These nine gardens were registered by UNESCO in 2011,¹⁵¹ a remarkable event relating to garden conservation, and one that raised hopes that these would become exemplary for the rest of the historical gardens in Iran.

While the nomination of these gardens as WHS remained broadly unreported in the national mass-media, official newspapers and internet websites did announce and advertise the WHS listing issues. Shazdeh in Mahan benefited from this state attention, and celebrated the event of its nomination as WHS with President Ahmadinejad (Figures 4.24 & 4.25).¹⁵² In 2011, Ahmadinejad¹⁵³ delivered a speech on the importance of this event, in which he sought to draw the attention of the audience to the history of Iranian Civilization as represented by the Persian Garden.



Figures 4.24 & 4.25: Celebration of World Heritage Site Nomination of Shazdeh garden, Mahan by President Ahmadinejad, 30 Tir 1390 SH/21 July 2012. (Source: Iranian Students' New Agency <www.isna.ir> [assessed 12 Nov 2012] photo by Mona Hobehfekar), Right: Aerial photo Shazdeh garden (Source: Abbas Massoudi, *Acquaintance with Iranian Gardens: Bagh-E-Shazdeh (Bazshenasi Bagh-Irani:Bagh-E-Shazdeh)* (Tehran: Faza Publication Scientific and Cultural Institute, 2009).

¹⁵⁰ Source from the interview with Dr. Talebian conducted by the author on 01.12.2011.

¹⁵¹ Selection Criteria under which inscription OF Persian Gardens is proposed (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi). and ICOMOS considers that criteria justified. For more details, see. UNESCO, <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1372>>, [accessed 07 May 2012].

¹⁵² BBC Persian News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/rolling_news/2011/07/110721_119_rln_shahzadeh_mahan.shtml> [accessed 11 May 2012].

¹⁵³ Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was the president of Iran from 2005 to 2013.

Among these nine gardens, two of Shiraz's gardens, namely Eram and Pasargadae, were nominated as WHS, and thus their restoration received further attention by the FCHHTO. The impetus behind the selection of the Eram garden as a WHS among other gardens of Shiraz was due to the fact that its restoration had been handed over to members of the Agriculture Department of the University of Shiraz, and consequently it was in better condition compared to the others. When the Eram garden was reused as a Botanical Research Centre in 1979, the research department of the University of Shiraz became responsible for its maintenance. In 2008, that department decided to register Eram as one of the main Botanical research centres in Iran and renamed it 'Eram Botanical Garden Research Centre.' Moreover, its physical 'authenticity' and 'integrity' were bit intact.

The Eram garden is now considered to be the best blueprint of a managed garden, as no other garden in Iran has been able to achieve this kind of maintenance standard (e.g. performing soil testing).¹⁵⁴ However, there is room for criticism of its conservation. For instance, more than 450 flowering plants species,¹⁵⁵ usually non-native plants, rockeries and trees such as pomegranates, sour oranges, olives, walnuts, and persimmons have been imported from various countries and some other parts of Iran. These imported elements decrease an unrivalled opportunity to see the garden's original horticultural qualities. Many irreversible restoration works were also implemented in its pavilions. Its garden area was paved with brick far larger in size than would have been originally used.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, as demonstrated in Figure 4.26, the addition of rocks planting with sub-tropical plants and an artificial lake in 1384 SH/2005 have threatened the historical essence of the place and have significantly affected its physical 'authenticity'. These new mentioned additional green spaces have been designed on the site which was used for a helicopter landing pad during the Pahlavi state, since this garden was used for their residence while they stayed in Shiraz. So, the Eram garden now looks more like modern garden than a historical garden dating back to the 19th century.

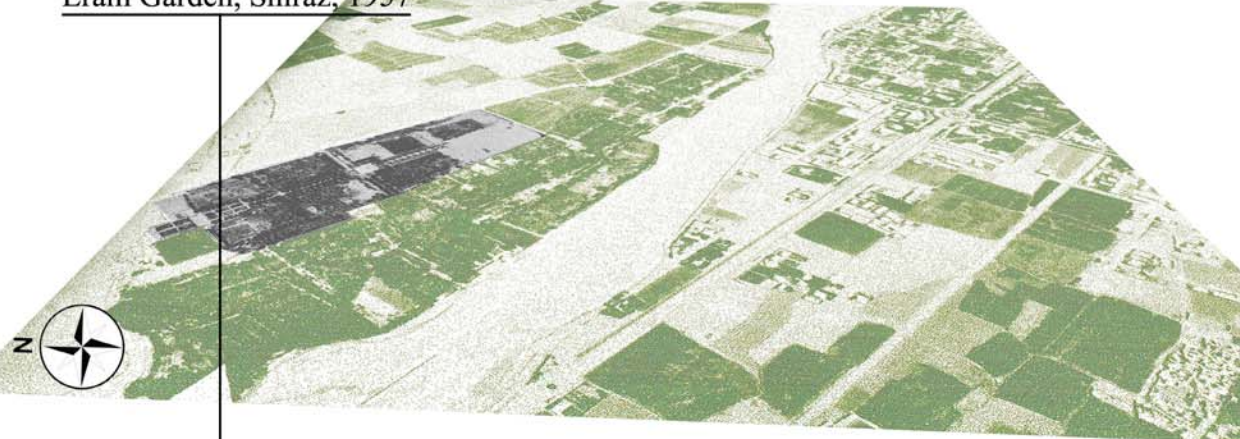
¹⁵⁴ Source from the interview with Dr.Talebian conducted by the author in Tehran on 01.12.2011.

¹⁵⁵Trees of the *Bagh-e Eram* can be classified into two groups of fructiferous and non-fructiferous ones. Among its non-fructiferous trees are: pine, cedar, maple, judas-tree, weeping willow, *Siaband*, mountain ash, pussy willow, eucalyptus and white poplar. Among its fructiferous trees are pomegranate, medlar, sour orange, persimmon, walnut, apricot, almond, apple, quince and pear.' Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Golestan Palace for Inscription on the World Heritage List', (Tehran: ICHHTO, 2012)., p.104.

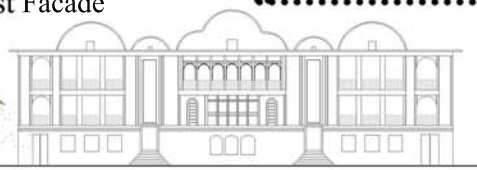
¹⁵⁶ Source from the interview with Mr.Rayati, the former Head of the Fars Cultural Heritage Organisation in Tehran on 29.11.2011.

Figure 4.26: Right page: Material changes in the Eram garden, (Source, redrawn by the author)

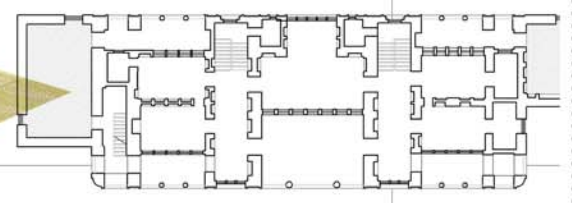
Eram Garden, Shiraz, 1957



East Facade



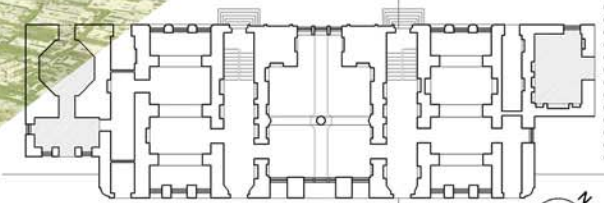
East Elevation



Plan of Second Floor



West Elevation



Plan of First Floor



Eram Garden

Eram garden view from close mountain



Poem engraving



Figure engraving

Wooden bridge



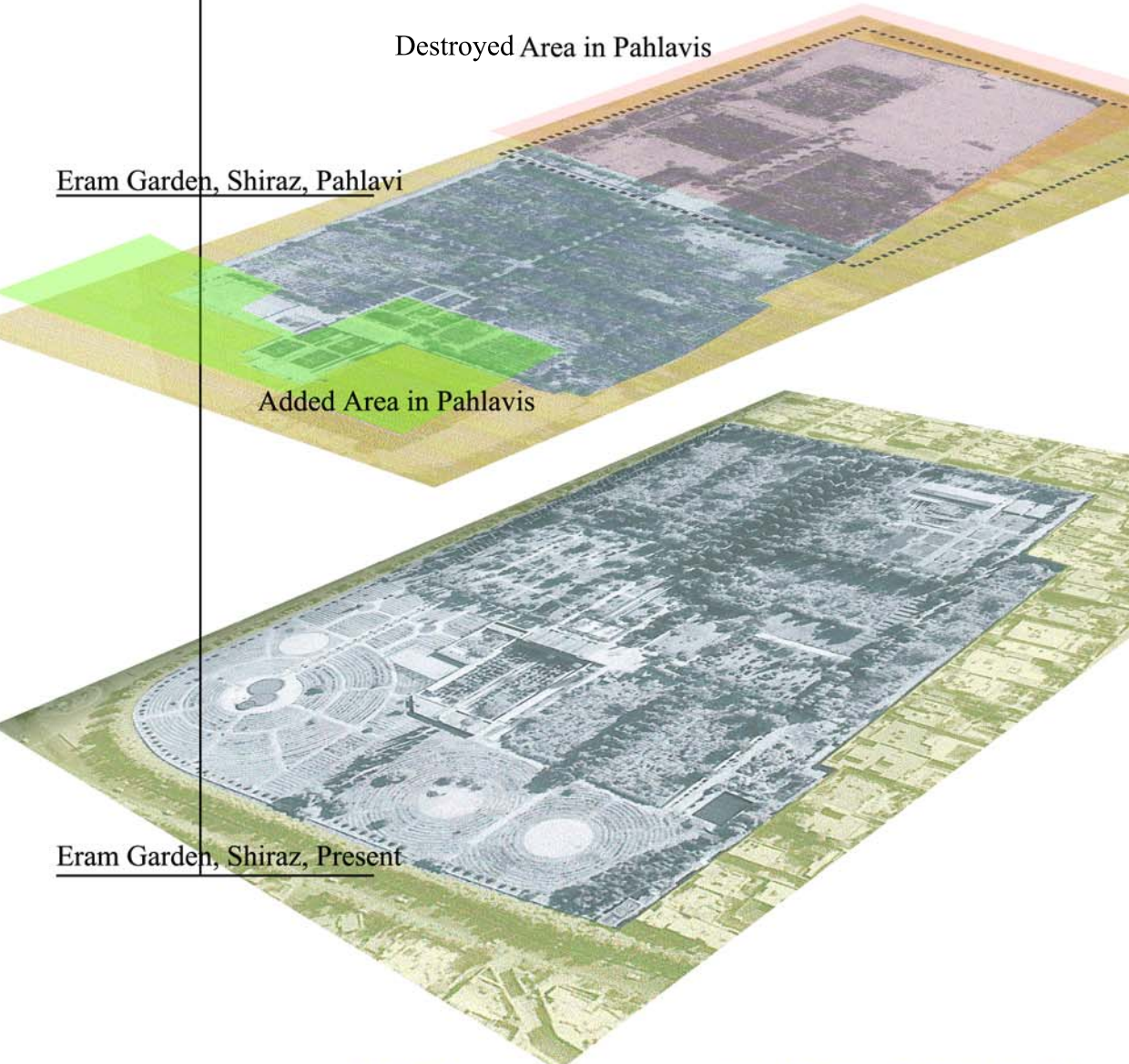
Helicopter landing pad, added in the Pahlavi era



Eram Garden, Shiraz, Pahlavi

Destroyed Area in Pahlavis

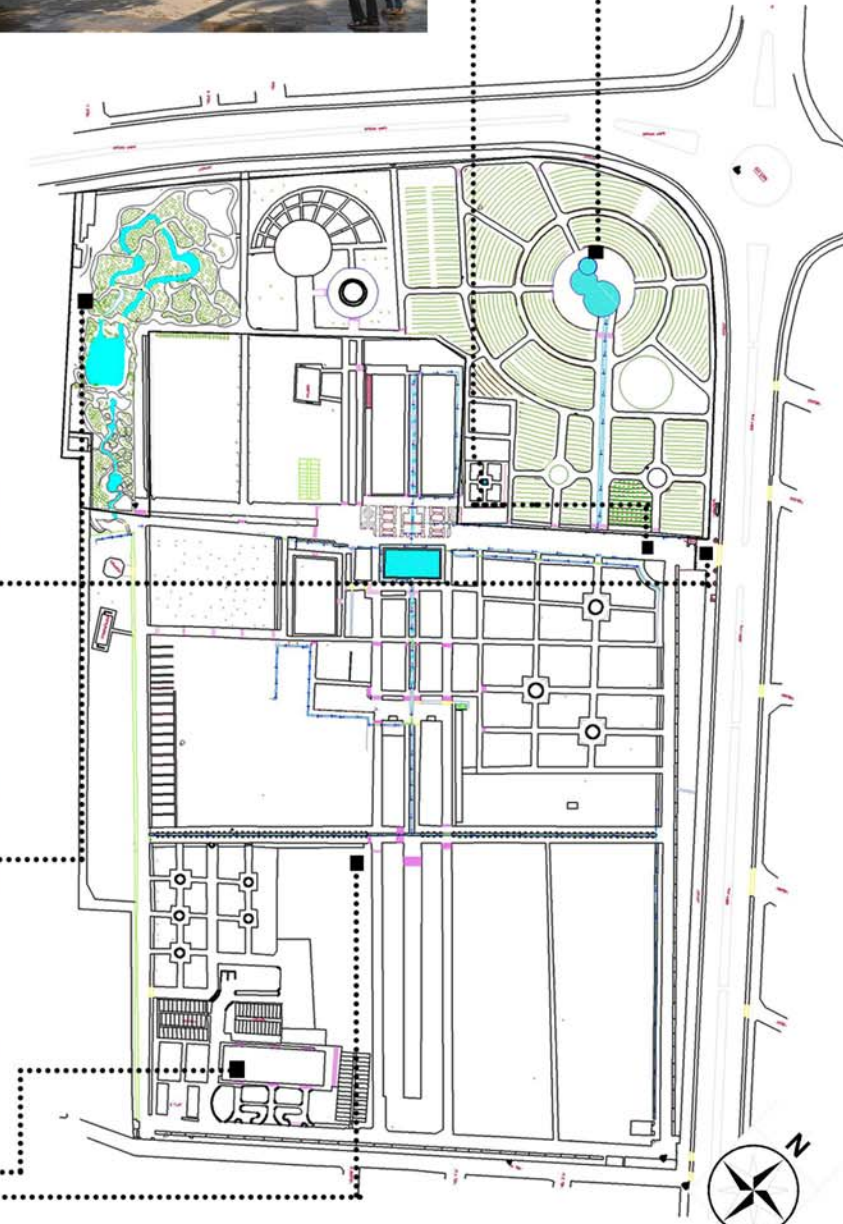
Added Area in Pahlavis



Eram Garden, Shiraz, Present



Electrical Entrance



Eram garden fences



Place of pray (Prayer room)



Eram garden nursery



Rocks and sub-tropical plants

Iranization and Islamization of behavioural patterns and cultural activities in public places and gardens

Following the Islamic Revolution, religious responses broaden beyond that of the Qur'anic Paradise that gave life to *chaharbagh* gardens, discussed in the previous section. As an alternative, after the Revolution, communication and social interaction governing public places was also re-formulated and re-fashioned through the lens of Islam, and Shi'a in particular.

Before and after the Revolution, the use of gardens, similar to other public places, experienced multiple alterations. As mentioned above, by the end of the Pahlavi era, due to the Arts Festival after 1965, the private gardens of the nobility were opened to the public,¹⁵⁷ serving as places for the performance of concerts or un-Islamic (*ghair-e-Islami*) western dramas. Immediately after the proclamation of the Islamic Republic in 1979, the Pahlavi vision of modernity, which had affected Iranians' public and private life, had been largely condemned and challenged by post-revolutionary government. Iran closed its doors to the West for decades in an attempt to hamper the 'cultural invasion of the west' (*tahajom farhangi gharb*) and eradicate foreign enterprise.

When the Republican state stabilized, the post-revolutionary authorities sought to reverse and supplant the atmosphere in the public places and previous un-Islamic behavioural patterns, in order to take society back to Islamic roots. It has been suggested that the Islamic Revolution 'was a transformation of body and mind that involved an integral reorganisation of one's own and society's life.'¹⁵⁸ An act of reversal was undertaken which 'is an orientation of actions and thoughts that is characterised by the imperative to turn thing upside down.'¹⁵⁹ In this way, some material and conceptual actions were implemented. As mentioned in the previous chapter, all the names associated with the Shah and Pahlavi regime were renamed in the new maps of all cities. In Shiraz in particular, the name of the Pahlavi Street was changed to Taliqani, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi Street with Azadi (freedom), Farahnaz Park¹⁶⁰ with

¹⁵⁷ However, it should be mentioned that in contrast to what is defined as 'public,' that is available for all, those gardens opened for hosting the Festival were at the service of a specific groups and visitors which were strictly controlled by SAVAK.

¹⁵⁸ Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.47.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.45.

¹⁶⁰ Farahnaz is the eldest daughter of Mohammad Reza Shah and Farah Pahlavi.

City Park (Shahr), Alam¹⁶¹ Square with Daneshjoo (student). Some street's names that were associated with the names of poets, such as Sadi, Hafez and Ferdowsi remained.

As Amos Rapoport reminds us, context influences social interaction and human behaviour,¹⁶² and in the new context after the Revolution, cultural activities were appropriated by the new order. The new principles and actual laws were set out in terms of gender boundaries, the polity of moral behaviour, social interaction, leisure activities and demeanour, in public and private spheres of Iranian life, were based on Islamic Shi'a doctrines. While there were no dominant feminine or masculine public places, gender-segregation was applied in enclosed public places such as universities, buses, cinemas and public gathering places. For example women and men now sat separately, men usually sitting at the front and women at the rear, or by sitting in different rows.¹⁶³ However, the division of gender spheres was not implemented in open public places.

The appropriate ways to behave in the street and public places were manifested and prescribed in the mass media, from newspaper to billboards and from leaflets to text books to ensure Iranians adopted the suggested or accepted kinds of behaviour. In new version¹⁶⁴ of social order and cultural behaviour, some behavioural patterns, such as physical contact between opposite sexes,¹⁶⁵ particularly unmarried couples, became unlawful.¹⁶⁶ These regulations concerning interaction between genders in Islam were derived from the Holy Qur'an and *Hadith*. The forbidden categories for marriage in Islam, called '*maharem*,' are those for who social interaction is permitted.¹⁶⁷ The passage of the Holy Qur'an defines *maharem* as:

And tell the believing women to reduce [some] of their vision... not expose their adornment except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women, that which their right hands possess, or those male attendants having no physical desire, or children who are not yet aware of the private aspects of women... And turn to Allah in repentance, all of you, O believers, that you might succeed.(24:31)

¹⁶¹ Asadollah Alam was the Prime Minister of Iran from 1962 to 1964.

¹⁶² Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment : A Nonverbal Communication Approach*, (Beverly Hills, Calif. ; London: Sage, c1982) , p.100.

¹⁶³ Ebrahimi, cited above, p.459.

¹⁶⁴ Manoukian, for the change of political and cultural atmosphere after the Revolution of 1979, uses the term 'editing' in his book to 'give relevance to the action of making public, and underline the work of transformation involved in such action.' Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz*, p.64.

¹⁶⁵ It should be mentioned that even in the absence of the moral police and laws, displaying of affection and visibility of these actions in public spheres or even in private places is not culturally accepted by Iranians.

¹⁶⁶ H. Zamani-Farahani and J.C. Henderson, 'Islamic Tourism and Managing Tourism Development in Islamic Societies: The Cases of Iran and Saudi Arabia', *International journal of tourism research*, 12 (2010).

¹⁶⁷ Jane Khatib-Chahidi, 'Sexual Prohibitions, Shared Space and 'Fictive' Marriage in Shi'ite Iran', in *Women and Space : Ground Rules and Social Maps*, ed. by Shirley Ardener (Oxford: Berg, 1993) , p.112.

Through applying a dress code and a rigid set of norms, during the time of the Iran-Iraq war 'public spaces have been transformed to the spaces of commemoration of war, Revolution and above all the main stage for the authority of the religion.'¹⁶⁸ Many leisure activities were driven into private homes, 'in silence and in the underground.'¹⁶⁹ In 1989, after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini and the end of the Iran-Iraq war, the Era of Construction (*doran sazandegi*) was started by the effort of the President of the IRI, Rafsanjani (1989-1997). In this era, the paucity of recreational and public places became one of the main challenges facing the Municipality in each city. Beginning in Tehran, through the efforts of Hossein Karbaschi,¹⁷⁰ the Mayor of the capital from 1989 to 1998, a large amount of the city's budget was allocated. This budget was mainly for the design of public places, highways, subways, transportation networks, luxuries shopping malls, 600 new parks, and civic centres such as Bahman Cultural Centre (Table 4.4).¹⁷¹ The municipality of Tehran selected the slogan 'Our City, Our House,' that aimed to stimulate the inhabitants to return to public places and break their recently imposed habits of enclosure.

Tehran Municipality Budget	1991/92	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99
Total Budget (billion <i>toman</i>)	30.1	234.6	200	118
Development Budget as Share of total Budget	63%	83%	63%	29 %

Table 4.4: Tehran Municipality Budgets (Source: Centre for Budget and statistics and Hamshahri Newspaper, May 3, 1999, quoted in Kaveh Ehsani, 'Municipal Matters: The Urbanization of Consciousness and Political Change in Tehran,' *Middle East Report* (1999), 22-27, p.24))

During Khatami's presidency from 1997 to 2005, in order to strike a balance between modernity, democracy and religiosity, a new less strict approach towards Islamic doctrines crystallized. Various types of social interactions, appearance and cultural practices synthesised with religious ethics and global cultural trends (such as consumerism and secularism), and were engendered in public places and parks.¹⁷² Through rising access to satellite TV, internet use and the development of international markets, a novel kind of *hejab* emerged that changed the dark image of public places previously dominant by black

¹⁶⁸ Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi, 'Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces', *Cities*, 23 (2006) , p.457.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.457.

¹⁷⁰ Karbaschi was the former mayor of Isfahan from 1366 SH/1987 to 1377 SH/1998.

¹⁷¹ Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic*, (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, c2007), p.56.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.88.

chador.¹⁷³ This time, in public places, women were able to wear tight, short, bright and colourful jackets (*manteau*).¹⁷⁴

Moreover, from 1997 onwards, the Ministry of Islamic Culture and Guidance¹⁷⁵ updated the agenda for cultural pleasure activities practiced in public places, including the outer spaces of gardens, which were theoretically allowed in Islamic doctrine. As it is impossible to follow the doctrinal principles of Islam or ideological concepts of the Islamic Revolution, according to Bayat, these newly introduced types of cultural activities aimed not to 'westernize youth to protect them from unregulated and corrupting behavioural models and influences.'¹⁷⁶

In the meantime, concerning cultural entertainment and products, the way for defining and codifying an 'ethical' music for Islamic society, music that led neither to seduction nor corruption (*fesad*), became the subject of debate among clerics (*marja taghlid*). As in the early years of the Revolution, music was conceived as a 'sin' (*masiyat*) by some highest ranking Shi'a authorities and the broadcasting of any kind of music, whether western or Iranian, except 'military marches (marsh) and certain patriotic hymns and songs (*soroud*),' was banned in public places, on radios and national television.¹⁷⁷ In 1989, Ayatollah Khomeini issued a *fatwa* (a religious decree establishing the licit or non-licit character of an act) authorizing the absolute ban on music, selling or buying musical instruments.¹⁷⁸ Gradually, traditional and regional Iranian music found legitimacy, and was thus broadcast again on national television and radio.

Influenced by new political conditions shaped by the 'reformist government,' in 1376 SH/1997, a green light was given for the holding of concerts of traditional Iranian music

¹⁷³ Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi, 'Transgression in Narration: The Lives of Iranian Women in Cyberspace', *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 4 (2008), p.92.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.98. Some conservatives and passionate proponent religious group such as Hizbullah criticised the wilful neglect of veiling as *bad-hejabi* (improper veiling), 'moral laxity in public parks.' Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic*, p.58.

¹⁷⁵ 'The ministry tasks range from the implementation of Islamic morality to the overseeing of the publishing ,music and especially film industry, acting as promoter and as a censor in all of these domains.' Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz*, p.72.

¹⁷⁶ Bayat. *Making Islam Democratic*.

¹⁷⁷ This is in sharp contrast to the late Pahlavi era, in which '90% of the national Radio and Television programmes broadcast music... mainly consisting of imitations of Western pop music songs.' Ameneh Youssefzadeh, 'The Situation of Music in Iran since the Revolution: The Role of Official Organizations', *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 9 (2000). 35-61, (p.36).

¹⁷⁸ Concerning the 'Art' Ayatollah Khomeini asserted that 'during the Pahlavi regime, the media art (cinema and theatre) was associated with corruption because of the western influence...now, our responsibility is to open up the minds of our youth and show them we don't need to follow the West in our cultural achievements and artistic production.' Ayatollah Khomeini, 'Moghadameh' [Introduction]' *Faslname Honar* (1363 SH/1984),p.5. quoted in Karimi, 'Transition in Domestic Architecture and Home Culture in Twentieth Century Iran,'p.269.

(*mosighi sonati*).¹⁷⁹ The ICHO organised concerts in some historical gardens such as Shazdeh in Mahan, Golestan and Sadabad in Tehran, and Afif Abad in Shiraz (Figure 4.27).¹⁸⁰ These kinds of concerts have been generally held — with certain restrictions — during the birthday celebrations of the Prophet or Imams of Shi'a, or on the eve of the festival of *Fajr* (decade of victory of Islamic Revolution, 12 to 22 Bahman, or 1 to 11 February). 'In the mid-90s, over 75 percent of concert-goers were young boys and girls, and 65 percent of the visitors were women, including young women from poor and traditional families.'¹⁸¹



Figure 4.27: The Iranian concert in the Afif Abad garden, Shiraz, 19 Tir 1390 SH/10 July 2011. (Source: <http://music.farhang.gov.ir/ershad_content/media/image/2011/07/10107_orig.jpg> , [accessed 11 November 2012].

From the socio-cultural dimension, the staging of variety of pop¹⁸² or traditional concerts in public open or enclosed spaces, together with the establishment of diverse recreational and cultural centres, with more freedom and sense of openness, opened the way for girls, boys, women and men to meet and socialize.¹⁸³ In such an outdoor domain, where less family control could be exerted, but where nevertheless a degree of protection could be maintained

¹⁷⁹ This 'ethical music' usually benefited from the poems of famous Iranian poets such as Hafez and Sadi, containing mystical essence (*erfani*) to 'identify national identity' (*shenasayi hoviat meli*) and 'improve spiritual culture' (*Etelaye farhang manavi*). Youssefzadeh, cited above, p.41.

¹⁸⁰ Source from the interview with Mr. Beheshti conducted by the author in Tehran on 08.11.2011.

¹⁸¹ Masserat Amir Ebrahimi, 'Ta'sir-e Farhangsara-ye bahman bar Zendeghi-ye Ejtima'ii va Farhangui-ye Zana va Javanan-e Tehran,' *Goftegu*, no. 9, Fall 1995, pp. 17–25. quoted in Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic*, p.57.

¹⁸² In some occasion, holding pop music was accompanied by dissension. Some groups with religious outlooks contesting the notion of 'western-centric (*gharbzadeh*) character' cultural commodities which damaged the Islamic norms and foundation of the Revolution. Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.81. also see. Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic*.

¹⁸³ Bayat. *Making Islam Democratic*, p.57.

under certain ethical and religious obligations¹⁸⁴ that should not exceed the Red lines of the Revolutionary ideals, the sense of vitality returned to public open places.

Similar to Tehran, the amelioration of urban space was performed in Shiraz, where the Municipality and the office of Culture and Islamic Guidance in Shiraz invested more in the creation and development of recreational and cultural centres as shown in Table 4.5. In 1996, the Foundation of the Study of Fars, a cultural institution of the Shiraz municipality, organised a conference on the history and culture of the region of Fars.¹⁸⁵ Sadiyeh and Hafziyeh have also been used generally as a venue for cultural and poetry conferences. Park Khaju was developed and a 'walking path with sculptures and children games was built on the Shahid Kamran Avenue.'¹⁸⁶ In 1390 SH/2011, the number of parks in Shiraz was recorded by the Municipality at about 119, with a total area of 3,667,607 m².¹⁸⁷

The naming of Shiraz as a 'cultural capital of Iran' (*paytakht farhangi*) in 2000, as proposed by Mohammad Beheshti, the Head of the ICHO from 2001 to 2005, appeared in official speeches and newspaper articles. By increasing the discourse with regard to the importance of culture and history, article after article addressed Shiraz as the representative city of Iranian culture. In 2001, when Shiraz Day (15 Ordibehehst/16 May) was considered for celebrating 'the heritage of the city,' a pop concert was held in Afif Abad garden. In 2003, Shiraz Day, together with an international *Farsshensasi* congress, was celebrated, while in 2005 and 2006 it was not celebrated. 'In 2007 foreign ambassadors were invited to the celebration, that was criticized in Newspapers for the attention [given] to foreign guest[s] and lack of attention to Shirazis.'¹⁸⁸ In 2013, the ISNA agency reported that it was not celebrated, under the title of 'Shiraz Day passed in silence.'¹⁸⁹ In the case of Shiraz, these efforts were due to the consideration of the city 'as repository of culture'¹⁹⁰ and its potential in the tourist market, as will be mentioned later in the following section. All of these efforts 'were substantiated and

¹⁸⁴ These changes that were reflected in the public places were the product of the new thinking and version of reformists (*Eslah Talaban*) who managed the ministries and took control of the Islamic parliament of Iran.

¹⁸⁵ Manoukian., *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.62.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.68 and p.217.

¹⁸⁷ These 119 parks include: 108 neighbourhood parks (*hamsayegi*), 31 local parks (*mahaleyi*), 45 district park (*naheyiye*), 15 regional parks (*mantagheyi*). In definition given by the municipality, the neighbourhood parks refers to the park with area less than 0.5 hectare, local parks with area between 0.5 and 2 hectare; district park with area between 2 and 6 hectare; and regional park with area more than 6 hectare.

¹⁸⁸ Manoukian.cited above, p.101.

¹⁸⁹ Iranian Student's new agency (ISNA), 'Shiraz Day passed in silence,' 15 May 2013 <<http://isna.ir/fa/news/>>, [accessed 14 July 2013].

¹⁹⁰ Manoukian., *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.80

internationally confirmed by the nomination of Shiraz as a UNESCO 'City of Literature.'¹⁹¹ This also meant that more state investment was essential.¹⁹²

The annual allocated Budget to cultural and social Organisations by Municipality of Shiraz * (1000 Rial)	1386 SH/2007	1387SH/2008 \$US 1= 9200 Rial	1388 SH/2009 \$US 1=9800 Rial	1389 SH/2010 \$US 1=10690 Rial
		12,950,000	19,532,877*	39,102,146
Organisation of Park and green space	164,889,728	196,804,000	207,600,000	269,065,000
Revitalization of old fabric	-----	80,000,000	104,200,000	80,440,000

Table 4.5 : The annual allocated Budget to cultural and social Organisations by the Municipality of Shiraz.

In terms of more religious activity, when daily prayer in most public institutions and workplaces become part of the IRI's schemes, some buildings in gardens whose original use had been lost were reused as prayer rooms without major physical intervention. According to Article 2 of the NOCHM, approved by Higher Council (*shoraye ali*) on 24 Mehr 1345 SH/1966, 'appropriating and altering historical buildings is forbidden and any building restoration must be carried out under supervision of experts.'¹⁹³ Guided by this restoration principle, that frequently revised by the ICHO, only by adding temporary barriers such as curtains to separate the prayer hall of men from that of women that the function of these buildings were changed. However, as shown in Figure 4.28, in some gardens such as Eram and Delgosha, new buildings have been constructed as a prayer room. Also, sign boards containing verses of Holy Qur'an and Hadith with moral messages, have been installed on the fences or inside of some gardens to reinforce the IRI ideological concept.

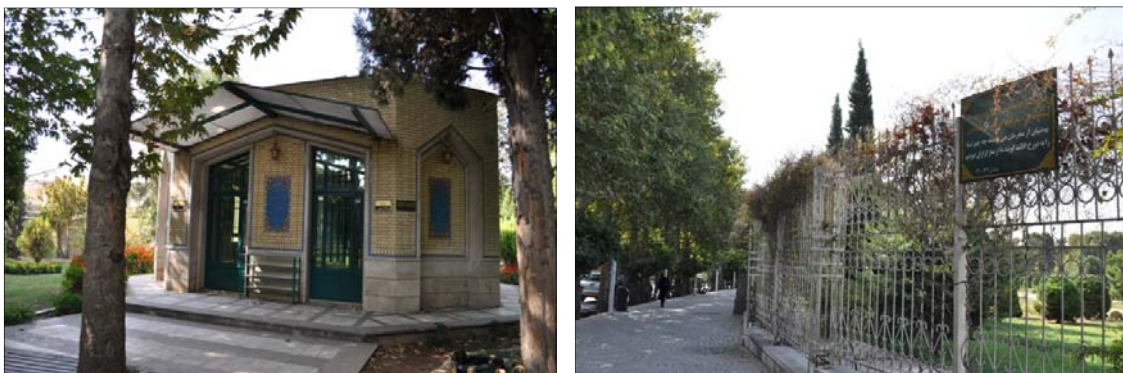


Figure 4.28: Left: added new construction in gardens of Shiraz as a prayer room for men and women ; Eram garden; Right: added sign boards containing Islamic *Hadith* (Source: photo by the author, September 2013)

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p.101.

¹⁹² President Ahmadinejad during his provincial visit to Fars called Shiraz as 'the cradle of the culture and civilisation of Iran' (*gahvare farhang v honar*).

¹⁹³ Yunes Samadi Rendi, *Mirase Farhangi Dar Hogoge Dakheli Va Beinol Melal (Cultural Heritage in Internal and International Regulations)*, (Tehran: ICHO, 1382 SH/2003), p.99.

Shaping new direction of Cultural Heritage Organization towards the tourism industry: Shiraz as a tourist spot

An overview of the tourist industry in Iran before the Islamic Revolution

A decade after the establishment of the Pahlavi state, in 1934, the Office for Attracting Tourists and Propaganda was established in the Ministry of Interior (*vezarat dakhele*) in order to provide utility services for foreign tourists.¹⁹⁴ In 1320 SH/1941, the Bureau of Tourism evolved into the Superior Council of Tourism (*shoraye ali jahangardi*), and was incorporated into the National Organization for Iranian Tourists.¹⁹⁵ In 1951, Seyfolah Shekari wrote an article in the *Etelaat* newspaper, pointing out that foreign tourists should be encouraged to visit Iran. He further explained that the royal gardens of Safavid in Isfahan had the potential to attract foreigners. This was probably the first article to appear in daily newspapers addressing the potential of gardens for attracting tourists.¹⁹⁶ However, for much of the 1940s, due to World War II and civil conflicts within Iran, there was no significant effort to develop the country's tourist industry. It was only however, during the 1960s that tourism was developed as an industry. In 1342 SH/1963 the Organization of Attracting Tourists (*sazman Jalbe sayahan*) was founded, and since then 'the development of a tourism industry has been part of the essential projects of the government.'¹⁹⁷ The tourist project considered mosques and religious places as historical monuments, and re-used them as tourist destinations.

For shaping an image of Iran as the 'Gates of the Great Civilization' (*darvaze tamadone bozorg*),¹⁹⁸ it was the pre-Islamic heritage that first was recognised as the place for absorbing international tourists, predominantly that of Shiraz's heritage. In order to travel from Paris or Rome to Persepolis and Pasargadae sites, a stopover in Shiraz was required: this led to the construction of modern infrastructure in Shiraz.¹⁹⁹ The Organization of Attracting Tourists concerned more on construction of hotels and teahouses focused on sites near Islamic-Iranian historical buildings and hotels.²⁰⁰ 'Hotel investment was supported by management contracts with major international brands such as Hilton, Hyatt, Intercontinental and Sheraton.'²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ H Ebtehaj, *guide book on Iran* (Tehran:ca1935), pp.58-59.

¹⁹⁵ Ali Pasha Saleh, *Iranshahr*, (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1343 SH/1964)., vol2, p.1535; Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran.'

¹⁹⁶ Seyfollah Shekarriz, *Etelaat* newspaper, year 25, No 7489, (20 Farvardin 1330 SH/10 April 1951).

¹⁹⁷ Historique de l'organisation National du Tourisme Iranien, *Le Journal de Tehran* 9203 (June 1966) 4-5. quoted in Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities: The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran,' p.278.

¹⁹⁸ By the 1973, the slogan 'Gates of the Great Civilization' appeared in mass media.

¹⁹⁹ Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, p.101.

²⁰⁰ Praviz Rajabi, *Memory Iran Dar Asr Pahlavi (Architecture of Iran in Pahlavi Era)*, (Tehran: National University), p.88.

²⁰¹ Tom Baum and Kevin D O'Gorman, 'Iran or Persia: What's in a Name, the Decline and Fall of a Tourism Industry?', in *Tourism and Political Change*, ed. by Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul (Oxford: Goodfellow, 2010).

In 1961, when Organization of Attracting Tourists joined the World Organization for Tourism, 74,218 overseas tourists visited Iran and within three years there was twofold increase in numbers, which reached to 135, 984.²⁰² In 1971, the number of foreign tourists increased to 322,000: a 34 percent increase in comparison to the previous year.²⁰³

By increasing numbers of foreign visitors in Iran and Shiraz subsequently due to the Festival and 2500th anniversary of Persian Empire, some historical buildings were considered to benefit tourists by changing their function. For instance, in 1352 SH/1974 the Ministry of Information and Tourism decided to buy the courtyard houses in Shiraz with traditional architecture and change their function to hotels or teahouses. Therefore, as shown in Figure 4.29, the Bureau of Art in Fars identified and presented twenty courtyard houses to this Ministry and requested from the Municipality of Shiraz to safeguard these selected houses from demolition during implementation of urban renewal plan.

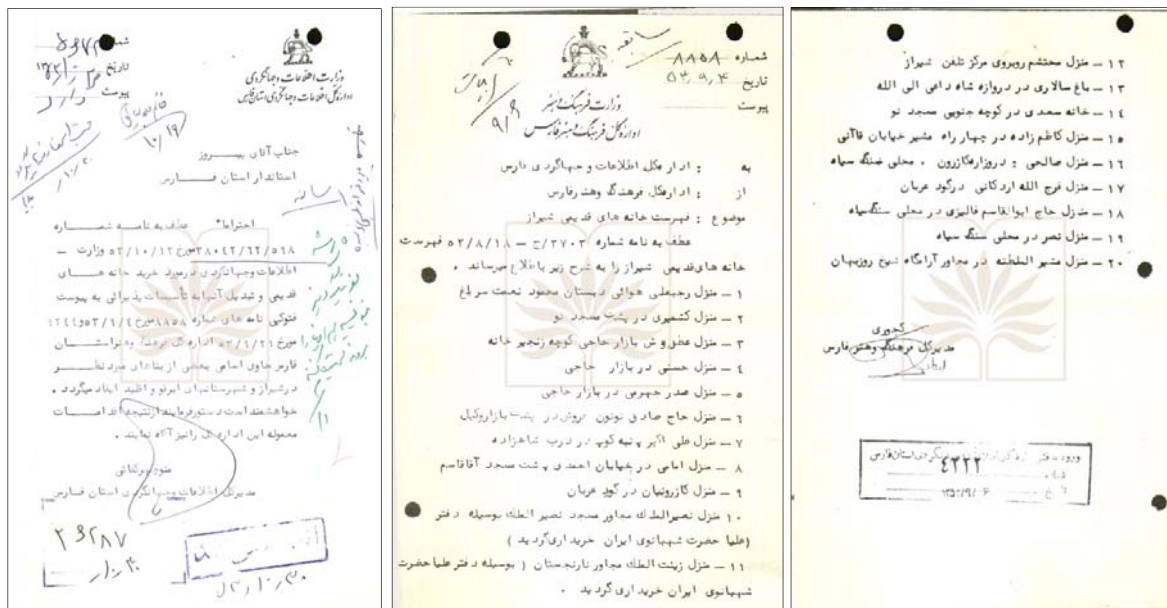


Figure 4.29: Illustrations of documents depicting the list of 20 historical courtyard houses that identified to present to the Ministry of Information and Tourism. Left: letter No 5672, issued on 1352.10.26 SH/ 16.1.1974, Middle: Letter No: 8858, issued on 1353.9.4 SH/25.6.1974, (Source: Courtesy of the Archive of National Library of the IRI, Tehran)

²⁰² Shiraz: The Poetical Capital of Persia ‘Travel guide to Iran (Tehran:ca.1960),p.11.

²⁰³ Shoja al-Din Shafa, ed., *Gahname 50 Sale Shahanshahi;Fehrest Rozberoz Vaghaye Siasi,Ejtemayi Va Eghetsadi Iran Az 3 Esfand 1299 Ta 30 Esfand 1355 (Fifty Years of the Pahlavi Imperial Calendar: Daily Political, Social and Economic Events from 1921 to 1977)*. Vol. 4, p.1990.

The tourist industry after the Islamic Revolution

After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the number of foreign visitors declined dramatically from 680,000 in 1978 (which had brought with it about US\$ 235 Million in revenue) to 147,000 in 1358 SH/1979, and subsequently to 9,300 in 1990.²⁰⁴ This sudden fall in the international tourist market was due to the intensification of internal conflicts, the anti-western policy of the religious authorities (who believed that Islamic values and the foundation of the Islamic Republic might be threatened by foreigners), the growing threat of war with Iraq, the restriction of some leisure activities such as alcohol consumption,²⁰⁵ and the issuing of negative international news regarding Iran. It was only after 1990, following the post-war reconstructions and the decline of the country's oil revenue,²⁰⁶ that the urge for forming a greater interest in the economic use of heritage was felt due to growing financial crisis. This is in contrast to the Pahlavi era, in which the political role of heritage was distinctive. In 1991, a key Act was approved that defined a new role for built heritage, including historical gardens with major buildings. According to this Act, the Cultural Heritage Organization was transferred from the Ministry in charge of Research and Higher Education to the Ministry of Islamic Culture and Guidance.

The aim of this change was to increase the function of historical buildings by introducing them to national and international tourists, and to shift from a cultural-scientific approach towards an economic one.²⁰⁷ This transformation also illustrates the primary attempt of the IRI to exploit the country's built heritage, particularly its major historical buildings, for their economic value. However, the revenue derived from the historical buildings that was remitted to the Treasury (*khazaneh dolat*)²⁰⁸ was not sufficient to meet the restoration costs, and was not comparable with previous oil and gas revenues. For instance, the oil revenue in 1370 SH/1991 was US\$ 15.8 Billion,²⁰⁹ while the international tourist receipts was US\$ 105 Million, gaining from 249,103 visitors.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ Iran Touring and Tourism Organization, 'Tourism Management and Impact Analysis', (Tehran: National Tourism Development Office, 2002).

²⁰⁵ Hamira Zamani-Farahani and Ghazali Musa, 'The Relationship between Islamic Religiosity and Residents' Perceptions of Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism in Iran: Case Studies of Sare'in and Masooleh', *Tourism Management*, 33 (2012).

²⁰⁶ Hodjat., 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,' p.264.

²⁰⁷ Mehdi Hodjat, *Miras Farhangi: Syasatha Baraye Keshvar Islami (Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country)*, (Tehran: ICHO, 1995)., p.26; Idem, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,' p.222.

²⁰⁸ In Iranian Law any historical buildings belonged to the ICHO 'must remit their revenues to the Treasury and obtain their credits through the annual budget.' Hodjat., 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,' p.237.

²⁰⁹ Khabaronline, <<http://khabaronline.ir/detail/285312/>>, [accessed 22 May 2013].

²¹⁰ Eisa Ebrahimzadeh, *Toseye Tourism Va Tahavolat Karkardi Dar Hale Gozar (Tourism Development and the Process of Change)*, *Ulom Joghrafiyayi*, 6 (1386 SH/2007), p.104. In 1379 SH/2000 oil revenue was US\$ 11,500 Million while the international tourist revenue was about US \$ 670 Million from 1,341,762 visitors.

While Iran faced war, the budget consideration for the restoration of heritage increased from 200 Million *Tomans* (US\$ 25 Million) in 1361 SH/1982 to about 1.5 Billion *Tomans* in 1370 SH/1991²¹¹ (about US\$ 250 Million), but this was still insufficient for covering the cost of restoration projects and research.²¹² In 1378 SH/1999 the Rehabilitation Fund (*Sandogh Ehya*) was established under the supervision of the ICHO. In order to turn historical sites into tourist attractions and likewise shift away from taking sole responsibility of the ICHO for providing the finance, the Rehabilitation Fund has been tasked with the revitalization of registered historical buildings including historical gardens, (except valuable National Heritage) for scientific and economic exploitation.²¹³

According to Addendum 23 of the Budget Law of 1378 SH/1999, 50 Million *Rial* (nearly US\$ 28,571)²¹⁴ was allocated to the ICHO for purchasing the historical buildings or for restoration of buildings.²¹⁵ In the same Addendum that was re-modified in 1998, it was asserted that valuable historical buildings located in tourism belt (*mehvar gardeshgary*) in different provinces should be reused as tourist spots should be selected, restored and outfitted under the supervision of the ICHO, according to existing restoration principles. The primary concern was to encourage the private sector to invest in historical buildings and assure them that their investment would be returned with interest. Regulations were approved to adapt these buildings to suit the new needs of the public. This is the policy of government 'to reduce the public enterprise sector led by the Law of the third National Development Plan' (2000-2005).²¹⁶

If historical buildings were usually re-used as cultural institutions (such as Arg in Shiraz, which served both as the headquarters of the FCHO and also as a museum-garden), after the Third Plan, it was decided to change the function of some registered historical buildings into hotels or restaurants. Towards the commercialization of built heritage, the Rehabilitation Fund targeted 124 historical buildings, including gardens, and allocated part of their budget for their restoration. These gardens included Pahlavanpour, Sadri Taft, Hojat Abad Vazir in

²¹¹ In 1361 SH/1982, US\$1 was about 80 *Rial*, 1370 SH/ 1991 US\$1 was about 60 *Rial*. For this information see <<http://www.darek.ir/archive.php>>, [accessed 05 June 2013].

²¹² Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country.'

²¹³ ICHHTO, 'Ayiname Nahve Enteghal Malekiat Asar Ghabele Ehya Be Sandogh Ehya Va Bahrebardari Az Banaha (Regulation for Trasnferring the Properties to Rehabilitation Fund and Exploitation of Historical Buildings)', (Tehran, 1389 SH/2010). Approved in 1388.12.22 SH/13 March 2010.

²¹⁴ In 1378 SH/1999, US\$1 was about 1750 *Rial*.

²¹⁵ Base on this Addendum 50 percent of the repair costs for the restoration of these buildings should be provided by non-governmental sectors. Rendi. cited above, vol1, p.180.

²¹⁶ Management and Planning Organisation (MPO), 'Law of the Third National Development Plan (2000-2005)', (Tehran: Management and Planning Organisation, 2000) ; Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.99.

Yazd and Shapoori in Fars.²¹⁷ The Shazdeh garden in Mahan,²¹⁸ was probably the first garden in Iran that was granted to the private sector at auction²¹⁹ for about 12 Million *Rial* (nearly US\$1,500) in 1381 SH/2002 in order to be exploited for economic purposes within a one year lease.²²⁰

In 1370 SH/1990, to accommodate the international Congress of Khajoo Kermani, the garden underwent a major restoration. The stone paving of the whole garden, the surrounding water courses, the second floor of the *Shahneshin* building, as well as bathhouses (*Hammam*) were restored through the financial support of Kerman Governor's office.²²¹ As that garden was restored hastily, without challenging the physical authenticity, it was damaged considerably. For instance, before starting restoration work, documentation of the condition of site was not recorded. The newly-added brick and material of the main pavilion clearly differed from the original ones, and considerable replanting was carried out that changed the features of the garden. The efforts of the private sector were limited to the beautification of the garden just for maximising the economic benefit: due to the extensive physical damage and threats posed by this private sector, forced the ICHO to revoke the contract of tenancy. This kind of exploitation of heritage for economic consumption was not limited to the Shazdeh garden in Mahan, and soon was followed in other historical buildings.

In 1382 SH/2004, following a shift in the attitudes of managers towards more monetary use of heritage, a momentous structural change took place in the ICHO. The law authorizing the detachment of it from the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, and its amalgamation into the Tourism Organisation, was approved by the National Assembly Parliament. The ICHO was considered an independent organization. It was renamed as the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO). In terms of international tourist market, the key slogan of 'the Dialogue among civilisations' proposing by President Khatami aimed to enhance the international communication of Iran with the West. To boost dialogue, the diplomatic relations with Britain, other European and in particular Arab states developed,²²²

²¹⁷ Rehabilitation Fund, 'Movafegat Name Etebarat Tamalok Darayihaye Sarmayeyi (Meli), Barnameh 4, 1384-1389, Kholase Projeha (Budget for Acquisition the National Properties Project, Breif Report)', (Tehran, 1384 SH/2005).

²¹⁸ In 1354 SH/1975, the Shazdeh garden was purchased by the Bureau of Culture and Art. The Shazdeh garden until 1379 SH/2000 was under supervision of Iran Touring & Tourism Organisation and then was supervised by the ICHO. In 2006, 2007 and 2008, the number of its visitors was recorded as 231,505; 214,027; and 285,434 respectively. This data are recorded by the Base of *Bagh-e Shazdeh*. quoted in The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens,' p.721.

²¹⁹ In 1381 SH/2002, US\$ 1 was about 7,990 *Rial*.

²²⁰ Source from the interview with Dr. Zargar conducted by the author in the Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, on 21.11.2011.

²²¹ The Word Heritage Office., 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens,' p.613.

²²² Bayat. *Making Islam Democratic*, p.111.

'by easing a visa restriction.'²²³ These changes led to an increase in the number of international tourists, which reached around 1,421,379 in 1384 SH/2005 that generated receipts of US\$ 963 Million (Figure 4.30).

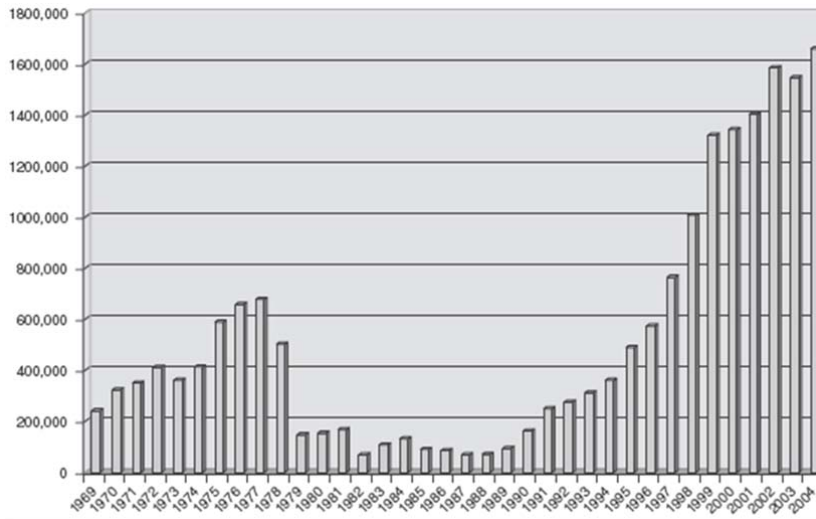


Figure 4.30: Inbound tourism of Iran from 1990 to 2004, (Source: UNWTO Compendium of Tourism, 2006)

Giving priority to the development of the tourist industry opened new pathways for Shiraz's built heritage as well. Once again the archaeological sites of Persepolis and Pasargadae, historical monuments, traditional commercial centre or bazaars, mosques and gardens, were considered important assets for attracting the tourists. These tourists generally come from European countries who are interested in visiting heritage of Shiraz including its gardens. The starting point regarding the revitalization of the old fabric (*baft-e ghadim*) of Shiraz within its historical buildings arose first in 1960, after a planning report provided by the United States operational Mission in Iran.²²⁴ When population of Shiraz grew from 170,659 in 1956 to 425,813 in 1355 SH/1976 (Table 4.6), to meet this dramatic growth of population and control the expansion of the city, the Comprehensive Master Plan of Shiraz was produced during 1966 to 1351 SH/1972 by the University of Tehran (Figure 4.31).²²⁵ In this Plan the need for a specific plan to resuscitate the historic core also was addressed. It does demonstrate an awareness of need to consider historical fabric. There were about 10 historical gardens in the historic core of Shiraz that with the exception of Ilkhani, Nazar and Qavam gardens, the rest of them were disappeared as their location depicted in Figure 4.32.

²²³ Alhayat, September 26, 1998. quoted in *Making Islam Democratic*, p.236.

²²⁴ GIBBS, *Plan of Shiraz*, (Iran: USOM, 1960). quoted in Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.125.

²²⁵ Shiraz is limited to the north by the Baba Koochi, Ahmadi, and Sadi Heights, to the south by the Sabz Pooshan Heights, and to the east by Maharloo lake. So, this Master Plan recommended a linear development for the city, stretched towards the East and West, 'to a lesser extent in the south side' that was bounded by dried river (*roodkhane khoshk*), and mountains in the north.

population	1335 SH/1956	1345 SH/1966	1355 SH/1976
Iran	18,954,704	25,788,722	33,708,744
Shiraz	170,659	269,845	425,813
Growth rate (%)	-	4.6	4.7

Table 4.6 : Population growth in Iran and Shiraz from 1956 to 1976.



Figure 4.31: Master Plan of Shiraz, producing between 1966 and 1351 SH/1972 (Source: Engineer Consultants of the University of Tehran, *Master Plan of Shiraz*, Ministry of Housing and Urban development, 1973).



Key

- 1 Qavam
- 2 Ilkhani
- 3 Nazar
- 4 Salari
- 5 Kalantari
- 6 Behjat Abad
- 7 Khandagh
- 8 Zaki Khani
- 9 Zel
- 10 Atabak

Figure 4.32 : Approximate location of historical gardens in historic core of Shiraz, (Source: Highlights and numbers added by the author)

In 1974, the third stage of the Master plan provided an opportunity for restoration of the historic core of Shiraz, which also was the first official plan concerning the historical fabric in Iran.²²⁶ However, many parts of suggested programmes in this master Plan remained on paper due to the lack of financial resources. After the Revolution, in 1991, by preparation of the Shiraz's City Centre Plan (later revised in 1373 SH/1994), emphasis was given to the restoration of historical buildings, asserting and saving the cultural identity of area, aiming for the 'improvement of public place, economic revitalisation and development of services and tourist attractions.'²²⁷

Increasing attention to the monetary potential of heritage led to the consideration of more budgets. In this direction, as it can be seen from the Table 4.7, from 1998 to 2003, the allocated budget for the tourism industry in Fars Province was raised dramatically. The old bazaar and Saray-e-Moshir, mosques, and old neighbourhoods were rehabilitated. Moreover, restoration schemes for gardens, which previously were launched as a result of hosting the Arts Festival and suspended by 1979, were re-launched after 1995.²²⁸ Following the decentralization of administrative functions to lower city and province level that was based on the Third Five-Year National Development Plan (2000-2005), the ICHHTO determined a new role for historical buildings and thus justified their maintenance.²²⁹

*Million Rial	1377 SH/1998	1378 SH/1999	1379 SH/2000	1380 SH/2001	1381 SH/2002	1382 SH/2003
Urban Development	9,960 */ \$5,691,000	9,024/ \$5,156,000	16,735/ \$9,562,000	32697/ \$18,684,000	39,855/ \$4,988,110	116,037/ \$13,980,000
Art and Culture	6,582/ \$3,761,000	10,379/ \$5,931,000	16,182/\$9,247, 000	20,965/ \$11,980,000	21,494/\$2,690, 000	20,964/ \$2,525,000
Tourism Industry	0	2,365/ \$1,350,400	9,298/ \$5,313,000	15,492/ \$8,852,000	14,261/ \$1,784,000	26,208/ \$3,157,000

Table 4.7: The annual budget for Fars Province from 1998 to 2003, (Source: Fars Management and Planning Organization (2005), quoted in Izadi, p.187).²³⁰

²²⁶ Mohammad M Falamaki, 'Sheklgiri Shahr Hay Iran (Iranian City Formation)', in *Shahr Haye Iran (Iranian Cities)*, ed. by Mohammad Y Kiani (Tehran: Sahab, 1987).

²²⁷ Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.135.

²²⁸ Some garden such as Bagh-e-Jahan Nama, that before the Revolution was a ownership of National Radio and Television, as a result of administrative change closed to the public for some years. In 1383 SH/2004 it was maintained by the Municipality of Shiraz under the supervision of the FCHHTO.

²²⁹ Izadi, cited above, p.96 and p.161.

²³⁰ Between 1377 SH/1998 and 1380 SH/ 2001 US\$1 was 1750 Rial, in 1381 SH/2002 US\$1=7990, in 1382 SH/2003 US\$1 was 7,990 Rial.

Parallel with this process, the number of designated historical buildings in Shiraz and other cities increased dramatically. The List of nominated historical buildings and sites published in 2005 depicts that the number of gardens escalated from 24 in 1381 SH/2002 to approximately 147 in 2009. In Shiraz, between 1997 and 2002, more than 39 listed buildings within the historic core were restored by the Fars Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation (FCHHTO). This inventory List contained '12 historic houses, 2 important monuments, 7 listed mosques, 4 historical gardens (see Table 4.8), Vakil complex, and the major parts of Vakil bazaar.'²³¹ A series of rehabilitation plans were promulgated and implemented by cooperation between the FCHHTO and the Municipality of Shiraz to readapt such buildings for modern uses such as a traditional restaurants (*resturan sonati*), tea houses and cafeteria.²³²

Name	Type of garden	Date of inscription /Inscription No
Pasargadae	Royal Garden	1932/19
Bagh-e-Nazar (Pars Museum)	Pavilion garden	1935/244
Bagh-e- Hafttan	Tomb garden	1932/74
Bagh-e-Monshi Bashi	Pavilion garden	1975/1221
Arg Karimkhani	Palace garden	1972/918
Bagh-e- Takht	Pavilion garden	1972/931
Bagh-e-Jahan Nama	Pavilion garden	1972/928
Bagh-e- Afif Abad	Pavilion garden	1972/913
Bagh-e- Eram	Pavilion garden	1974/1013
Sadieh	Tomb garden	1975/1010
Hafezieh	Tomb garden	1975/1009
Bagh-e-Ghavam (Narenjestan)	House garden	1975/1073
Zinat al Molk (andaruni Narejestan)	House garden	1975/938
Bagh-e- Ilkhani	Pavilion garden	1975/1069
Bagh-e- Delgosha	Pavilion garden	1972/912
Bagh-e-Salari	Pavilion garden	2001/3399
Bagh-e- No	Pavilion garden	2003/9819
Bagh-e- Navayi (Sheikhi)	Pavilion garden	2003/9799
Bagh-e- Minoo	Pavilion garden	2003/9782

Table 4.8: Registered gardens of Shiraz in the List, (Source: provided by the author based on the List of all of registered historical buildings and sites available courtesy of the FCHHTO, Shiraz)

From the material dimension point of view, by increasing the budget of the FCHHTO, some temporary stalls have been appeared in gardens to sell cultural items. Buildings in some gardens also were revitalized to serve as the traditional restaurants or other tourism-related

²³¹Pardaraz Consultants, 'The Revision Plan for Shiraz Historic Core', (Shiraz: Shiraz Municipality, 2003), pp 83-93. quoted in Izadi, cited above, p.163.

²³² Before the Revolution, in 1345 SH/1966, the first plan of the adaptive reuse scheme was initiated in Isfahan that was the rehabilitation of old caravanserai Madrasa Chaharbagh into the Shah Abbas hotel.

uses to accommodate Iranian's recreational activities.²³³ In this sense, some private sectors also bought and rehabilitated the historical gardens to serve as restaurant such as the Bagh-e-Shahi in Shiraz, however, the emergence of commercial activities threat the gardens and deprive them from their specific psyche.²³⁴

The Municipality of Shiraz has also been intimately involved in the improvement of utility services for tourists and the establishment of the beautification programs in Shiraz, such as boulevard lined with flowers.²³⁵ Public places and streetscapes have been improved, and safer public places appeared around gardens such as the Eram garden. A network of railways and airports for facilitating transportation, the construction of hotels, luxury shopping centres, restaurants, the development of metro projects and large streets for controlling traffic, as well as parks and the restoration what is deemed 'historical,'²³⁶ all lent a hand to transform Shiraz into a major tourist centre after 2000. However, potential tourism markets at international level have not been yet developed and the international status of Shiraz faded to some extent,²³⁷ due to the adherence to strict Islamic regulations, such as the absence of some leisure, and the requirement for wearing veil and the penalties for non-compliance to these standards.²³⁸ By contrast, the domestic tourism industry in general, and pilgrimage to Shi'a holy shrines in particular, become dominant type of tourism in Iran.²³⁹

²³³ However, due to the formation of religious-oriented principles and penalties, some leisure activities that are against Islamic regulations such as inter-gendered wedding or parties push to suburban private gardens, which now remain more secular in terms of function. Asef Bayat, 'Tehran: Paradox City,' *NEW LEFT REV* (2010), 99-122, (p. 108).

²³⁴ This issue raised by Dr. Zargar during the interviews. Source from the interview with Dr. Zargar conducted by the author on 21.11.2011.

²³⁵ Construction of new toilets in the city that started in 2000 in Shiraz, was also part of Municipality's programmes that was supported financially by the ICHHTO.

²³⁶ Manoukian, *City of Knowledge in Twentieth Century Iran: Shiraz, History and Poetry*, p.70.

²³⁷ In 2000, international tourist arrivals had grown to 684 million, and reached into 922 million in 2008. The international receipts reaching to US\$ 944 billion in the same year. Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, *The Historic Urban Landscape : Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p.99. While Iran's share of the world tourist receipts recorded as low as 0.001 percent for the year 2000. Iran Touring and Tourism Organization (ITTO), *Tourism Management and Impact Analysis*, (Tehran: National Tourism Development Office, 2002).; H. ALIPOUR and R. Heydari, 'Tourism Revival and Planning in Islamic Republic of Iran: Challenges and Prospects', *Anatolia*, 16 (2005), p.40.

²³⁸ In 2005, the authorities launched a 20 Year Outlook Plan with the aim of reaching 20 million visitors in two decades.' World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 'Religious Tourism in Asia and the Pacific', (Madrid, Spain, 2011). But due to the location of Iran between Iraq and Afghanistan, the neighbouring countries involved in war, and reluctance of the authorities to have diplomatic relations with the USA and Europe, and above all international sanctions due to preventing threats of what it is perceived 'nuclear Iran', that was intensified from 2012, left impact on the international tourist open market. These controversial issues and strict embargo in many Iranian industries in particular air lines industry resulted in poor travel infrastructures, that in turn discourage the international visitors in particular from long-haul countries to visit Iran. All of these reasons put bounds on tourism market. However, according to the ICHHTO's report, in 1391SH/2012, during 6 month, 2,469,246 international visitors visited Iran. This record depicted 41 percent growth in comparison to 2011 that brought US\$ 4.5 billion receipts. While World Tourism Organisation did not issued official record for international Tourism Arrivals in Iran in 2010, the Tourism Receipts in 2009 and 2010 was recorded by WTO as US\$ 2,012 Million and US\$ 2,707 Million respectively. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 'Unwto Tourism Highlights', (Madrid, Spain: UNWTO, 2011), p.8.

²³⁹ However, with respect to international tourists market, in 1391SH/2012, vice-chancellor of the Tourism reported the decrease in the number of international visitors. According to the statistics, the majority of these visitors are come from Middle East Iraq (705,401), Azerbaijan (389,584), Turkey (226,883), Pakistan (105,794), Turkmenistan (80,616), Pakistan

Iranians have been encouraged to pay homage to cultural heritage of cities, particularly Shiraz and Isfahan, making these cities the top tourist destinations. Tourism figure published by the National Tourism Organization depict a steady increase in the number of visitors to Shiraz who were interested to visit gardens, heritage and enjoy the relaxed life in the 'city of gardens.' According to the UNWTO, Shiraz is the top city among the tourist attractions in Iran and the region.²⁴⁰ In 1390 SH/2011 it was visited by almost 715,883 Iranians (Table 4.9). Among tourist attractions, the gardens of Shiraz in particular have a decisive role for absorbing many Iranians annually (Table 4.8). For instance, in Eram garden, the number of tourists has increased dramatically from 2000s. In 2008, about 456,025 Iranians and 5,241 international tourists visited this garden.

Year	1385 SH/2006	1386 SH/2007	1387 SH/2008	1388 SH/2009	1389 SH/2010	1390 SH/2011
visitors	858,600	255,231	918,400	755,287	676,121	715,883

Table 4.9 : Visitor statistics of Shiraz, (Source: Municipality of Shiraz, 'Salnameh Amari Shiraz (Annual Statistical Report of Shiraz) (Shiraz: Municipality of Shiraz, 1390 SH/2011))

Name /Year	1385 SH/2006	1386 SH/2007	1387 SH/2008	1388 SH/2009	1389 SH/2010	1390 SH/2011	1391 SH/2012
Pars Museum (Nazar garden)	78,607	81,716	126,174	87,074	75,085	95,894	103,887
Hafittanan	41,137	43,387	21,556	26,437	17,042	35,264	n/a
Sadieh	951,889	1,018,040	877,985	906,378	1,362,324	1,413,373	n/a
Arg Karim khan (Arg)	443,024	470,681	726,889	417,349	207,170	639,325	621,600
Pasargadae	217,574	228,243	300,904	343,218	349,669	413,426	n/a
Hafeziyeh	1,566,655	1,677,654	1,421,117	1,474,521	1,853,205	1,773,200	n/a
Eram	221,789	243,454	461,266	1,830,000	1,330,000	795,534	n/a
Afif Abad	96,040	?	?	?	190,391	176,376	241,093
Zinat al Mol (andaruni of Narenjestan)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	64,953 ²⁴¹

Table 4.10 : The number of visitors in Shiraz's gardens, (Source: provided by the author based on the statistic published in 'Salnameh Amari Shiraz (Annual Statistical Report of Shiraz) (Shiraz: Municipality of Shiraz, 1390 SH/2011) and also site visit surveys of the author in the gardens of Afif Abad and Ziant al Molk)

(105,794), Saudi Arabia (79,219), Kuwait (40,084), India (36,615), Bahrain (30,720). For this information, see. Khabronline news, <<http://khabaronline.ir/detail/282907/>>, [accessed 15 July 2013].

²⁴⁰ The Base of Persian Garden, Fars. quoted in Deputy of Cultural Heritage in Iran The Word Heritage Office, 'Nomination of Nine Persian Gardens,' p.714.

²⁴¹ This total number was recorded from Mehr 1391 SH/October 2011 to Shahrivar 1392 SH/September 2012 and for the previous years was not recorded. Moreover, it is worth to note that for gardens of Delgosha, Narenjestan and Jahan nama number of visitors was not recorded properly.

These records bears witness to the fact that the ICHHTO, together with Municipality of Shiraz, while have different interests and priorities, through the complex mixture of the aforementioned factors, achieving of what Farah and Shah had intended to implement in Shiraz during the 1960s. By successfully replacing the negative approach, that was framed in the first decade after the Islamic Revolution, with the new and more positive picture of cultural heritage, the Shiraz's gardens of architectural merit have been progressively turned back into public life in different way. The experience of Shiraz's gardens depicted that how the shift taken place in the approaches during the reform era by formulation new types of behavioural pattern, asserting on national identity and focusing on tourism industry could serve as the alternative options for continuity the life of gardens in Shiraz. Iranians from various social backgrounds are now touring these gardens, and this issue in turn has encouraged the ICHHTO to establish the commercial activities. These bring monetary benefit for locals as well as ensuring the existing the gardens. In these ways, the majority of historical gardens in Shiraz, which in the late Pahlavi era were secular in their focus, after the 1990s have been able to accommodate large numbers of Shirazis and Iranians, particularly during *Nowrouz* holidays and summer. Now, Shiraz, with the charms of its pleasure gardens, is the measure for Shirazis to know their city as 'the city of gardens.'

Conclusion

This chapter explained various ways in which the gardens of Shiraz with *chaharbagh* layout have been changed due to the political and ideological shifts alongside the transition from the private domain to public places. In the first section, through the close reading of previously unexamined materials, I demonstrated the ways in which the function and boundaries of the private gardens belonging to the Qajar nobilities had been transformed by the inauguration of the Arts Festival in 1967 and the idea of secularisation of public places. As we have seen earlier, under the absolute control of the Pahlavi regime, the function and meaning of the introverted gardens changed through the performance of dramas that took place in these gardens during the Festival while enjoying the sponsorship of the state. From a material point of view, the morphology of gardens shifted from that of being inward-looking dominated with separate inner site (*andaruni*) and outer side (*biruni*), to an extroverted one. In some gardens such as Eram and Nazar, the original structure of garden and main pavilion was transformed by replacing the outer walls with a fence, the physical restoration and replanting of the garden area, but conservation become counterproductive. From the social dimension, the gardens have experienced multifarious changes. As a result of the Festival, gardens suffered a loss of their original sense of 'privacy,' becoming more impersonal as they were transformed from being part of the private family sphere to that of public place for hosting the guests. The Arts Festival was destructive in terms of the gardens' previous functions; it reversed and disturbed the traditional function of these gardens, as they became a stage for the performance of western dramas and alien behavioural patterns. By divergence the gardens from their traditional function, the Festival became problematic in the late Pahlavi era and ultimately led to the toppling of the Shah's regime in 1979. Then the chapter followed an examination of the changes that have taken place in the life of these gardens due to the various changes in perception after the post-revolutionary era, shedding new light on the ways in which these gardens have been treated differently by the authorities. I deconstructed some assumptions by addressing the multiple factors and strategies which have been implemented in distinctive ways and which have contributed to defining a new path for the gardens of Shiraz.

From a socio-cultural perspective, under the domination of Islamic authorities, these gardens once more experienced various levels of alteration. During the first decade of the Revolution the opening-up of the gardens and public places was quickly followed by their closing down, aimed to hamper 'cultural invention,' and framed rigid principles in public places. These

marked a contradiction between the function and behavioural pattern of public places in general, and those gardens that were opened previously during the Festival. In this sense, these gardens lacked a sense of vitality. Findings in the case of Shiraz's gardens demonstrated that the cause for ineffectiveness of heritage vitality and garden conservation in the late Pahlavi era and early the Islamic Republic was due to the disregarding the social context and not taking into account the needs of people. However, during the reform era (1997-2000s) by providing the opportunity for improving public places, the social function of these gardens has been determined by the emergence of new cultural activities (e.g. concerts, conferences) and behavioural patterns.

This time, their uses were re-modified through the introduction of 'proper' behavioural patterns and activities in public places based on Islamic codes, as well as the consideration of the new needs of Iranians. At the same time, through the emerging discourse on culture, heritage and national identity, Iranian scholars with either nostalgic or religious outlook have been involved in giving new meaning (value) to *chaharbagh* Persian Gardens. Under the rubric of Persian Garden (*Bagh-e-Irani*), the formal gardens which have the connotation of Qur'anic Paradise have consequently taken on the national self-image that reinforces the authenticity of the Iranian landscape and fosters national identity.

From the material perspective, after increasing a new awareness towards historical buildings in general, and the development of the concept of *chaharbagh* gardens in particular that led to designation as WHS such as Eram, the protection of trees and the physical restoration of key pavilions has been undertaken. Moreover, due to the need for the development of the tourist industry and Shiraz's potential for property-market, the economic potential of gardens for the tourist market have also been taken into account. In this sense, further attention has been given to its architectural heritage. Strategies for absorbing tourists have been employed by money-minded members of the ICHHTO, who pump funds to provide a basis for conservation schemes. Thus, new commercial functions have been added. Some pavilions and buildings in gardens, whose original use had been lost, have been rehabilitated to serve for new purposes of visitor, although the absence of timely renovation has resulted in the deterioration of some gardens. At a local level, the key organisations involved in the process of decision-making here include the Fars Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organisation (FCHHTO), Shiraz's Municipality and the Fars Urban Development and Revitalisation Company. While they have various and divergent strategies and interests with an autocratic nature, they have jointly established a series of schemes that contribute to the

improvement of restoration policies, particularly involving the physical beautification of Shiraz. The interplay between the religious authority and money-minded authorities has influenced behavioural patterns in public places, and by extension, the outer spaces of historical gardens.

The combination of identity, culture, and commerce, have all played a decisive role in transforming the gardens to appeal to the public, and thus they somehow have continued to function. Nowadays, through devising new paradigms, the gardens of Shiraz of architectural merit, by undergoing material and socio-cultural changes, are a source of collective pride, a source of revenue and a source of pleasure and retreat for Iranians. Thus the importance of their conservation has been recognised for saving the Iranian cultural identity. So far, despite the contradictory attitudes of several authorities at citywide or local level, and the fluctuations of political and economic forces at national level, Shiraz is recognised as the 'city of garden.' Its architectural heritage is the most visited of all tourist attraction sites in Iran and its gardens continue to make Shiraz a desirable place for both international and national visitors.



The role of beliefs and religion in garden conservation: A case study of the Qadamgah tomb garden, Neyshabur

Introduction

This chapter, through the examination of the Qadamgah tomb garden as a case study will set out to depict the impacts of political shifts and different approaches upon the material, symbolic and social life of a tomb garden mainly belonging to Shi'a saint.¹ Qadamgah is a physical representation of the beliefs of Iranians towards their eighth Imam. According to Shi'a Muslims, the 12 divine Imams are the descendants of the Prophet Mohammad (Pbuh) through his daughter, Fatima and his son-in-law, Imam Ali. In Shi'a doctrine, the Imam acts as a mediator between God and Muslims, who are in a state of infallibility (*Ismah*).² Therefore the status of the Imam and *Imamzadeh* is exalted beyond that of any notable Sunni, and thus enjoys the nature of sacredness.³ Qadamgah also embodies theological meaning, as well as aesthetic association with Paradise garden of the Hereafter described in the Qur'an. While the dead body of Imam Reza is physically absent, the blessedness of his presence in the early ninth century still exists, and it continues to play a crucial role for perpetuating the life of this garden in 21st century Iran. In the case of Qadamgah, no matter whether the miraculous stories associated with its spring and footprint of Imam Reza are correct or bogus, no matter the extent to which the material authenticity of the tomb garden remains, and no matter what kind of attitudes towards conservation have had an impact upon it, we can now say that the conservation of its intangible aspect is more achievable. In this case study the social and symbolic dimensions of gardens have not witnessed a great changes and it remains more 'authentic' in terms of its spirit, which is one part of an ideal conservation scenario mentioned in international ICOMOS charters. This chapter argues that the faith and degree of religiousness of the Iranian community remains as a real force for continuity the social and physical life of the Qadamgah garden, helping it to resist complex ideological shifts and upheavals over the centuries.

¹ It should be mentioned that some aspects of this chapter have been published as: Sara Mahdizadeh, 'The Role of Religion and Tradition in Garden Conservation; a Case Study of Qadamgah Tomb-Garden, Neyshabur, Iran', *Exegesis E-Journal*, 3 (2013). The full text of this article is included in Appendix D.

² Shi'a Muslims have faith in 12 Imams as the best protector and convertor of Mohammad *Sunnah*, and who have the best knowledge regarding Qur'an and Islam.

³ Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture : Form, Function and Meaning*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999). p.266.

A brief overview of development of the tomb gardens in Iran

With the exception of the surviving example of tombs in the pre-Islamic era, that of Cyrus II which lay in the royal garden of Pasargadae (529 BC), it is difficult to ascertain the earliest tomb garden in Iran. Ironically, after the birth of Islam in 7th century Iran, the traditional of monumental tomb gardens did not develop significantly until the 17th century, and was never as prevalent as during the Mughal Empire (1526–1857), when they were usually constructed for Mughal kings. This might be due to the superior role that Shi'a Imams and saints held for the Shi'a Kings of Iran; that was not the case for Sunni Mughal kings.

The oldest record with respect to tomb gardens can be found in *Tarikh-e-Beyhaghi*, that written by Mohammad Hossein Beyhaghi between 409 AH/1016 and 470 AH/1077 during the Ghaznavian dynasty (975-1187). Recorded by Beyhaghi, in the early 11th century, the corpse of Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi, the first ruler of Ghaznavian, was buried in the Bagh-e-Piroozi (Victory garden) in 421 AH/1030. He further mentioned that Sultan Mahmood's son, Masoud, ordered to remove the plants and flowers⁴ and came in pilgrimage to his grave and said that his father favoured in Piroozi garden so he requested to be buried there.⁵ In the 15th century in Yazd, a 'burial palace (*hazira*) in a garden at the mosque of Amir Jalal al Din Khidrshah Yazd, was recorded by Lisa Golombek, but the garden layout was not mentioned.⁶

It was only during the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736) that emphasis was given to the construction and refurbishing of holy shrines and tomb gardens of Imam and *Imamzadeh* as a result of the domination of Shiism in Iran.⁷ For the first time in the history of Islam, Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, selected Shi'a as the official state religion to maintain the internal cohesion of Iran and to differentiate it from Iran's powerful neighbours, particularly the Sunni Ottoman Empire (1299–1923). The Safavid Kings concentrated on the (re)constructions of tombs of Shi'a notables and their ancestral *Sufis* to venerate the Divine, in addition to reasserting their significance as the symbol of their kingship. This was in contrast to Mughal kings, who generally built funerary tomb gardens for the veneration the

⁴ Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions : Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts*, (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), p.117.

⁵ Abolfazl M Hossein Beyhaghi, *Tarikh-E-Beyhaghi (History of Beyhaghi)*, (Tehran: Hirmand, 1380 SH/2001).; Persian dictionary Dehkhoda, s.v. "Bagh-e-Piroozi", <<http://www.loghatnaameh.org/dehkhodaworddetail-5ad265fe3da3433f91b71cdda0a28a59-fa.html>>, [accessed 12 December 2013].

⁶ D. Fairchild Ruggles, 'Humayun's Tomb and Garden: Typologies and Visual Order', in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1997), pp. 173-86, p.174-5.

⁷ After Arab conquest in the 7th century and almost 900 years of foreign domination, the Safavid, as native rulers, revived the Persian sovereignty and dominated the most parts of Iran. Donzel, E. Van, ed. Vol. 7, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Boston: Brill, 1998), p.765.

worldly love — the most famous example of which is the Taj Mahal in Agra, which Shah Jahan, the loving husband constructed for his wife, Mumtaz Mahal — or the Humayun tomb in Delhi.⁸

Furthermore, aiming to disseminate Shiism, the Safavid rulers encouraged the pilgrimage cult.⁹ Under the Shah Tahmasp I's reign (1514-76), the second Safavid ruler, the rites of visitation of shrines was highly encouraged. In 1544, when he accepted the exiled Mughal king, Shah Humayun, at his court in Tabriz, they performed pilgrimage at holy shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad. Later they made pilgrimage to Sufi Shaykh Safi al-Din Ishaq's tomb in Ardabil, who was the Shah Tahmasp's ancestor.¹⁰ Moreover, in 1548, Shah Tahmasp made pilgrimage to the Shrine of Sheikh Shahab al-Din Mahmud who was considered the 'founder of Suhrevaridi Sufi order' during the Ottoman siege of Tabriz.¹¹

In 1587, by the rise of Shah Abbas I, the fifth and greatest Safavid King, the embellishment and renovation of Shi'a shrines and tombs of *Imamzadeh* entered a new phase, and began to flourish throughout all of Iran. Shah Abbas, 'saw himself as an upholder of Shiism and as a humble supplement and as a humble supplicant whose duty it was to venerate the shrines of Shi'a figure.'¹² From 1587 to 1629, for spreading and reinforcing Shiism in Iran, he determined to transform Mashhad, the main burial place of Imam Reza, into the main Shi'a centre.¹³ In doing so, he travelled to Mashhad from Isfahan on foot in 1009 AH/1601, ordered to reconstruct and develop Imam Reza's Holy Shrine, and through construction of caravansaries in different areas, he opened the safe route for making pilgrimage to Mashhad.¹⁴

⁸ However, apart from religious dimensions manifested in the *chaharbagh* layout of these tomb gardens, Taj Mahal and Homayun also had 'funerary-dynastic and religious associations' and many rituals were practiced, see. Ebba Koch, 'Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan (1526-1648),' *Muqarnas*, 14 (1997), 143-65; Sadaf Ansari, 'Constructing and Consuming 'Heritage': Humayun's Tomb in Popular Perception' (Unpublished Master thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2003). Moreover, many of these tomb gardens such as known as Data Ganj Bakhsh and Milam Mir in Lahore were constructed for Sufis. See, James L. Wescoat, 'From the Gardens of the 'Qur'an' to the 'Gardens' of Lahore', *Landscape Research*, 20 (1995).

⁹ Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), p.1.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., p.170.

¹² Ibid., p.178.

¹³ Charles Melville, 'Shah Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad', in *Safavid Persia*, ed. by Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris&Co Ltd, 1996).

¹⁴ Talinn Grigor, 'Cultivat(Ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005), p.86.

In the Safavid era, religious affairs extended into the economic domain, so such this, the concept of *waqf* (endowment)¹⁵ was propagated by the Safavid rulers. The *Awqaf* (Endowment Organisation), that was responsible for managing *Mowqufeh* (properties and buildings mainly religious consigned to a specific use), was organised with more statutory rules. In this regard, Shah Abbas in 1607, donated many of his personal properties including bazaar buildings among *Maydan*, his library and many gardens in Isfahan and Qazvin as a *waqf*. This action also could be seen for gaining the greater support of the clergymen by giving them economic power.¹⁶

Moreover, during the reign of Shah Abbas I, apart from the development of Holy Shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad (Figure 5.1), the grand purpose-built tomb for the ardent devotees of Imam Reza such as Khajeh Rabi in Mashhad (Figure 5.2) or any area that was blessed by Imam's attendance such as Qadamgah in Neyshabur were built. Since the material architecture of the tomb was instrumental to consolidate Safavid's political status, according to Robert Hillenbrand the setting of such a tomb 'was often quite grand,...adjoining courtyards and extensive gardens.'¹⁷



5.1: Right: Holy Shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad ;Left: Tomb of Khaje Rabi in Mashhad, (Source: Fras News Agency, photo by Armin Kermani)

¹⁵ Perpetual endowment as non-obligatory but recommended (*Mostahab*) performance of good works could be achieved in the endowment of either secular or religious building. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, c2000)., p.130.

¹⁶ Lucien Louis Bellan. *Chah 'Abbas i, Sa Vie, Son Histoire*. (Paris: librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1932), p.171, quoted in Mahvash Alemi, 'Princely Safavid Gardens, Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy', in *The Middle East Garden Traditions : Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007)., p.126.

¹⁷ Hillenbrand. *Islamic Architecture : Form, Function and Meaning* , p.303.

Qadamgah garden: A brief history

Qadamgah tomb garden is located in the small county of the same name 24 km east of city of Neyshabur,¹⁸ that was built in the early 17th century (Figures 5.3& 5.4).

The development and formation of Qadamgah as a village rests on its association with a miraculous spring called *Cheshme Hazrat*, in addition to the carved stone footprint of Imam Reza, the eighth Shi'a Imam. In about 200 AH/815 when Imam Reza (A.S.) travelled from Medina in Saudi Arabia to al-Ma'mun's court in Khorasan, on his way to Marv he stopped at the village to say a prayer. Based on Imam Reza's retinue, one might assume that there was no water in that place, but Imam Reza removed a heavy stone and under that there was a source of water. Another narrative also said that due to the absence of water for ablutions before praying, he decided to perform dry ablution (*Tayammum*),¹⁹ when the water sprang out miraculously at this spot. According to locals, after his prayer, the impression of his feet appeared on the stone, while others are of the belief that it was carved by the stonemason during the 17th century in order to depict the blessedness of Imam Reza's presence in this place.²⁰ For this reason, it was given the name of Qadamgah, literally the 'place of foot' or 'footing' (*Qadam* means 'foot' and *gah* means 'place'). However, its authenticity of feet could be debatable, since there are various centuries-old narratives about the carved stone footprint. Moreover, 'a similar impression of the Imam's feet is preserved in shrine of *Imamzadeh* Mohammad Mahrouq,²¹ the relative of Imam Reza, in Neyshabur, which seems to suggest that a miracle also took place while Imam Reza passed through that city.'²² Due to the governance of Sunni rulers in Iran, the sacred spring was covered over until the 17th century, in order to hide its miraculous origin.



Figure 5.2: Location of Qadamgah in Khorasan-e-Razavi Province



Figure 5.3: The aerial view of Qadamgah, (Source: photo by the author, 2011)

¹⁸ The name of Neyshabur stems from King Shahpur I, Sassanian king (240-71).

¹⁹ *Tayammum* is an act of dry Muslim ablution using sand or soil when there is no available clean water.

²⁰ Qadamgah village previously was known as Hemra, Sorkhak and Alibab.

²¹ *Imamzadeh* Mohammad Mahrouq burned alive by Sunni governors in about 817.

²² Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, p.262.

As mentioned earlier, in 1587, with the rise of Shah Abbas I, the embellishment and renovation of Shi'a shrines or tombs of *Imamzadeh* entered into a new phase of attention. From 1587 to 1629, in order to spread and consolidate Shiism, Shah Abbas decided to transform Mashhad, the authentic resting-place of Imam Reza, into the main Shi'a centre.²³ For that purpose, he ordered the reconstruction and development of Imam Reza's holy shrine and through the construction of caravansaries opened a safe route for pilgrimage to Mashhad.²⁴ Ordered by Shah Abbas to construct of a mausoleum around the sacred spring in approximately 1020 AH/1611, Qadamgah gained the status of a tomb complex, due to its location on the pilgrimage route to Mashhad (see Figures 5 & 7).

Under his rule, the run-of-the-mill mausoleum of Qadamgah and *Imamzadeh* Mahrouq in Neyshabour (1041 AH/1631), and Khaje Rabi in Mashhad, 'were formed in [a] definite architectural style that much differed from Timurid predecessors.'²⁵ After the construction of the tomb in Qadamgah, the reliquary of the Imam's feet was installed in its southern wall, set at the height of 1.5 m as shown in Figure 5.6. Considering its landscape design, the layout of the Qadamgah garden adopted the typical *chaharbagh* pattern, with its physical form evoking the image of Paradise described in the Holy Qur'an.²⁶ However, in contrast to Persian palace gardens, the monumental tomb garden of Qadamgah contains a dual connotation, as apart from its *chaharbagh* layout, the garden itself also embodies and reinforces this theological and spiritual denotation. As part of Shah Abbas I's agenda for fostering the Shi'a pilgrimage cult,²⁷ a caravanserai was constructed near the garden to accommodate pilgrims and caravans. Subsequently, water reservoirs (*Ab anbar*), a



Figure 5.4: General view of the mausoleum of Qadamgah garden, (Source: Ali Taheri, *Neyshabur Tourist Guide* (Neyshabur: Abarshahr, 2009, p.65).

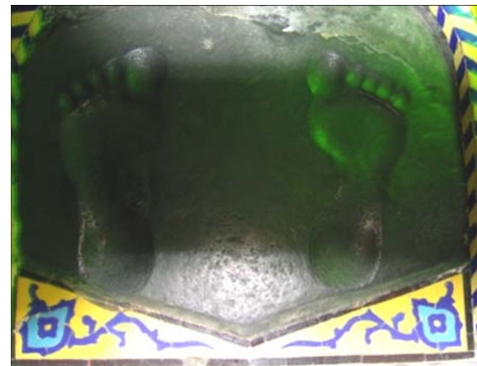


Figure 5.5: Carved footprint of Imam Reza in Qadamgah.

²³ Melville, 'Shah Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad.'

²⁴ Grigor., 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities : The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran,' p.86.

²⁵ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, p.306.

²⁶ Wescoat, 'From the Gardens of the 'Qur'an' to the 'Gardens' of Lahore'; Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden : In Persia and Mughal India*, (London: Scholar Press, 1980); Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, (Philadelphia, Pa. : Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press ; University Presses Marketing [distributor], 2008).

²⁷ Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran*, p.1.

thermal bathhouse (*hamam*), and two *Qanats* (a traditional Iranian irrigation system) were built, illustrated in Figure 5.7.

All were endowed as *waqf* (endowment) for the welfare of pilgrims. Added near the sacred spring, these joint constructions transformed the simple area into a tomb garden complex, which became a place for worship of God which was visited by large numbers of pilgrims.

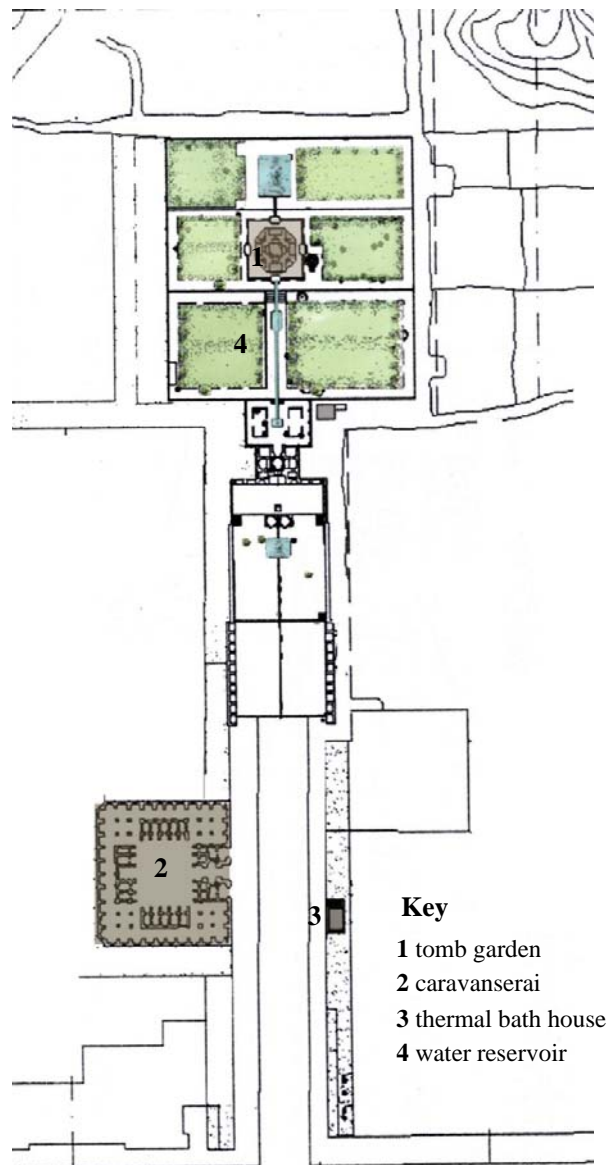


Figure 5.6: Plan of Qadamgah garden, (Source: redrawn by the author based on the plan available courtesy of the ICHHTO, branch of Khorasan-e- Razavi, Mashhad)

Change and continuity in Qadamgah garden during the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979)

There is little known about the condition of the Qadamgah garden during the 19th century. But it perhaps continued to function as a religious destination for pilgrims until the early 20th century. With the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty under the leadership of Reza Shah in 1925, the Qadamgah garden experienced waves of change in its religious ideals and significance similar to other religious places.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, under the rubric of the modernization of the country (or in the words of Homa Katouzian, 'pseudo-modernisation'),²⁸ Reza Shah underlined nationalism, de-Islamisation and Westernisation. He established a heavy-handed urban renewal programme, undermined the existing religion by banning women from wearing the veil in 1936, and aimed to focus on pre-Islamic traditions. In the eyes of Reza Shah, any Islamic ceremonies that recalled Muslim traditions (but especially those with Shi'a essence such as *Ta'ziyeh*) were considered to be devoid of value, and thus were targeted as hallmark of religious backwardness. Most remarkably, he set an agenda to marginalise the *ulama* (community of Muslim clerics), and clerical deputies, who were perceived as an obstacle to progress and denounced as 'black medieval reactionaries.'²⁹ The central role of the *ulama* was curbed through introducing new bureaucracy, the modern educational and judicial system.³⁰ To this end, in November 1931, the competence of the *ulama* in marriage and divorce was restricted. In March 1932, a notarial function that was traditionally done by the *ulama* was ended and in 1936, and they were likewise excluded from the judge position.³¹ Reza Shah also closely scrutinised the accounts of religious endowments, aimed to disempowering the *Awqaf*.³² This was achieved by the Endowments Law of November 1934, 'that gave the state wide discretionary powers to intervene in the administration.'³³

The law of *waqf*, in which the revenue derived from such endowed buildings should be dedicated only for repair works or requested purposes mentioned in the written instructions of

²⁸ Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism, 1926-1979*, (New York, 1981).

²⁹ Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.152.

³⁰ Nikki R Keddie, 'The Roots of the Ulama's Power in Modern Iran', *Studia Islamica*, (1969), p.51.

³¹ Hamid Algar, 'Religious Forces in Twentieth-Century Iran', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. by P. Avery, G. R. G. Hambly, and C. Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p741.

³² By 1284 SH /1906 the *Awqaf* was under the supervision of Ministry of Justice. Following the Constitutional Revolution (1285-1291/1906-1911), the affairs relating to religious buildings and the *Awqaf* went under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities. During the Qajar dynasty the Ministry of Cultural Education, Pious Foundation and Public Utilities was established and in 1910 claimed all responsibilities of the *Awqaf*. Seyed Nader Pourmosavi, 'Urban Renewal Policies (a Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal Policies in Iran, 1286-1400 Sh/1907-2020 Ad)', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2011), p.36

³³ Algar, 'Religious Forces in Twentieth-Century Iran,' p.741.

waqfnameh,³⁴ Reza Shah changed the system of *waqf* properties. However, ordered by Reza Shah, the revenue coming from endowed buildings was legitimised to be spent for other purposes, in particular the restoration of pre-Islamic heritage such as that found in Persepolis. After Reza Shah controlled the administration under the *ulama*'s supervision and also their land properties, 'it led to unrest and riots in the provinces since the *ulama* considered it a serious threat to their financial independence from the state.'³⁵ Introduced by Reza Shah Pahlavi, these political reforms were reflected in the material and symbolic dimensions of the Qadamgah garden which in turn contributed to the deterioration of both its religious significance and physical condition. Based on historical photographs it can be seen that from the material dimension, Qadamgah continued to deteriorate due to the absence of restoration works (Figure 5.8). However, it was not completely set aside from Shi'a life, and the beliefs of people played a key role in encouraging Shi'a Muslims to make pilgrimage to it and perform religious activities there.



Figure 5.7: Material deterioration of Qadamgah during the Pahlavi era and their location on the map, (Source of photos Courtesy of the Document Centre of the ICHHTO, branch of Khorasan-e- Razavi, Mashhad, Source of map: Highlights and numbers added by the author)

³⁴ Mehdi Hodjat, 'Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1995), p.95.

³⁵ Ali A Saeidi, 'The Accountability of Para-Governmental Organizations (Bonyads): The Case of Iranian Foundations', *Iranian Studies*, 37 (2004), p.483.

The policy towards disempowering the role of the *ulama* was continued during Mohammad Reza Shah's reign (1941-1979) as well through the land reform of 1962. As mentioned briefly in second part of the Chapter Two, the Land Reform Act of 1962, after three main stages was officially approved in 1971. While there are no official records of the *ulama*'s ownerships and revenue came from *waqf*, it seems that during the Safavid and Qajar era these classes had many properties. 'In Isfahan, for instance, the *ulama* comprised a very important landowning element, according to Mansoor Moaddel, about the 32 large landowners, 15, or in another sources 47 percent were the *ulama*.³⁶ During the Qajar period, the lands attached to the shrine of the Imam Reza in Mahshad, 'constituted probably the largest single source of clerical income.'³⁷ But following the Land Reform many wealthy *ulama* lost their large land properties.

However, unexpected revenue flowing from the emergence of the oil industry after the 1950s, and the establishment of the National Organisation for Conservation of Historic Monuments (NOCHM) in 1344 SH/1966, paved the way for the preservation of cultural heritage. In this sense, the architectural significance of Qadamgah was considered as a valuable asset. As mentioned in foregoing chapters, in contrast to the early period of Reza Shah's reign that was marked by humiliation of Islamic traditions and buildings, from the 1960s both Islamic and pre-Islamic culture and monuments were depicted to somehow as layers of authentic Iranian history. Therefore, as mentioned in Chapter Four, restoration works were undertaken in some gardens such as Chehel Sotun, Hasht Behesht gardens in 1347 SH/1969 and spread to other gardens, including Dolat Abad, Arg, Fin, and Cheshmeh Ali, as well as the tomb gardens of Qadamgah and *Imamzadeh* Mahrouh in Neyshabur.³⁸

In 1351 SH/1973 the branch of the NOCHM in Khorasan took the restoration of Qadamgah garden into its hands and a considerable amount about 25 million *Rial* (about US\$ 357,142)³⁹ was provided for its repair. For the first time, in the process of preparing an inventory of the tomb complex in 1352 SH/1974, plan documentation and maps of the garden were drawn up. Through the physical intervention and beautification that followed, the Qadamgah garden, with its *chaharbagh* symmetrical plan, once more attained the physical form of Paradise

³⁶ Another 15, or 47 percent were aristocrats, merchants, and writers the remaining 2, 6 percent, were physicians, see. Mansoor Moaddel, 'The Shi'i Ulama and the State in Iran', *Theory and Society*, 15 (1986), p.542.

³⁷ Saeidi., 'The Accountability of Para-Governmental Organizations (Bonyads): The Case of Iranian Foundations' ,p.482.

³⁸ Hossein Bahroulmi, ed., *Society for National Heritage 131(Karnameh Anjoman Asar Meli from 1350 to 1353)* (Tehran: Society for National Heritage, 1976), pp.778-86.

³⁹ In 1351 SH/1972 US\$ 1was about 70 *Rial*.

Garden as well as its religious connotation. These restoration works, undertaken by the NOCHM were not based on exact archaeological surveys or historical documents.



Figure 5.8: Establishment of the restoration works in caravansary, tomb's dome and garden area of Qadamgah in June 1972, (Source: Courtesy of the Document Centre of the ICHHTO, branch of Khorasan Razavi, Mashhad)

The role of religion and tradition in shaping different conservation ethics in Qadamgah garden after the Islamic Revolution of 1979: *Qadamgah as a multifunctional garden*

This section elaborates the ways in which the approaches and the ethics of conservation of religious places and *waqf* properties, including the Qadamgah garden, are much different from other cultural heritage, particularly after the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

After 2500 years of imperialism, the shift of power to the Islamic Republic brought different ideology and concept towards religious places, paving the way for enhancement of the religious dimension of the holy shrines and other related Islamic monuments. Due to the domination of religious authorities, the role of clergymen, including the *Awqaf* administrators, was praised for upholding Islam and Shiism. During the post-revolutionary era the *Awqaf* 'were exempted from taxes and many legal restrictions and assessments.'⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Saeidi, 'The Accountability of Para-Governmental Organizations (Bonyads): The Case of Iranian Foundations,' p.485.

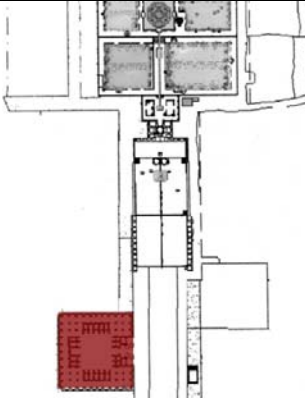


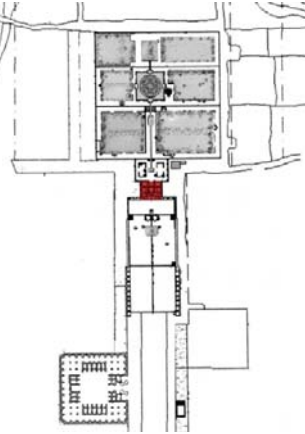


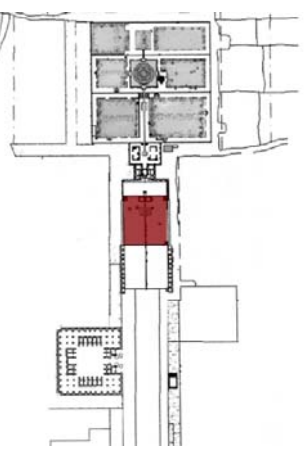


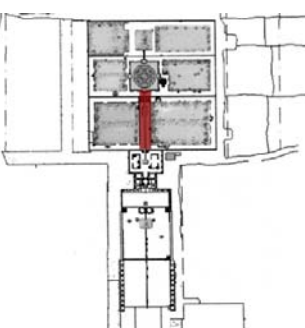


Location on map	Photo before restoration	Photo after restoration
		
		
		
		

Table 5. 1: The Qadamgah garden before and after the restoration works, (Source: Table provided by the author)

Subsequently the sanctuaries belonging to Shi'a Imam, *Imamzadeh*⁴¹ and notables received further attention, with the aim of towards turning them into a show of Iran's emergence as a main Shi'a centre in the world, with more than 70 million followers. In terms of physical restoration, the annual reports of the National Relic Society bear witness to the fact that in 1362 SH/1984, in the melee of war, the restoration plans of 253 historical places, including Qadamgah in Neyshabur,⁴² which had been halted for five years because of the Revolution and Iran-Iraq war, was to be re-started. From a financial point of view, while other historical buildings and gardens suffered from insufficient government budgets for their maintenance, this is not the case for Qadamgah. The law of *waqf* made Qadamgah self-sufficient, that facilitate the process of conservation.

As the prime aims of pilgrims are the upkeep and survival of Qadamgah in return for divine rewards and to benefit from the blessedness of Imam Reza, it received financial support from the public through covenants (*nazr*) and *waqf*. As shown in Figure 5.10 there are many donation boxes in the area of garden which with advertisement panels encouraged pilgrims to give the alms. People's financial support guarantees the physical entity of the complex. Therefore, after the 1990s, thanks to a large budget obtained from the public, and under the supervision of the *Awqaf* and the Cultural Heritage Organisation (ICHO),⁴³ the maintenance of the garden resumed in an attempt to improve the visual appeal of the Qadamgah garden (see Table 5.1).



Figure 5.9: Sign boards with sentences to encourage pilgrims to give the alms and financial offerings (*nazr*). (Source: photo by the author, September 2013)

⁴¹ It is noteworthy to mention that in 1357 SH/1979 it was estimated that about 1500 *Imamzadeh* were buried in Iran. After passing 30 years from the 1979 Revolution, this number reached into about 11,000. But from this number, only 2000 of these *Imamzadeh*'s tombs have documents and genealogy records. BBC Persian News <http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/arts/2013/11/131130_141_cultural_heritage_bijan_emamzadeh_renamed.shtml> [accessed 1 December 2013].

⁴² ICHO, *Gozarash-E Hefazat Az Miras-E Farhangi (Cultural Heritage Conservation Report)*, (Tehran: Ministry of Science and Higher Education press, 1984), pp. 207-15.

⁴³ As mentioned in previous chapters, the ICHO was established in 1985.

The income derived from covenants and the economic activities surrounding the tomb garden is sufficient to meet the restoration and maintenance cost of Qadamgah. Of the total revenue, 40 percent is spent on restoration and maintenance of garden, 25 percent on organising socio-cultural events, 15 percent belonged to the *Awqaf* and 20 percent spent on staff and garden administration.⁴⁴ Unfortunately though, due to the absence of a comprehensive national framework, and various conflicts between the organisations involved (in particular the *Awqaf* and the ICHHTO), the restoration works rarely attained even material ‘authenticity.’

In the case of Qadamgah, however, from the social and symbolic point of view, its traditional function and intangible values have remained relatively intact over the centuries. After the Revolution, and in sharp contrast to the treatment of royal gardens, whose symbolism has been made impotent, the tomb gardens and other sanctities of Shi’a notables have been transformed into ‘living heritage.’ Once more, religious and social meanings have been returned to holy shrines and tombs of Shi’a notables, as they become the focal point of religious authorities. These places have been portrayed by the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) not as ‘simply a place of burial and commemoration,’⁴⁵ but instead as a ‘surrogate mosque’ and mother-house for certain activities⁴⁶ that lead Shi’a Muslims toward Paradise.



Figure 5.10: An iron grille enclosure over the grave of Shi’a saint calling *Zarih*, (Source: photo by the author, September 2013)



Figure 5.11: Making pilgrimage to Qadamgah on foot on Shi’a religious days.(Source: photo by the author , 2013)

⁴⁴ Source from the interview with the co-manager of the Qadamgah conducted by the author in Qadamgah on 03.09.2013.

⁴⁵ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, p.260.

⁴⁶ Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran*, p.254.

Pilgrims remain sincere in their beliefs towards their Imam. ‘Receiving the blessedness of place’ and ‘for love to Imam Reza and Ahl al-Beit’ generally cited by pilgrims as the main reasons to come there even on foot from remote areas (Figure 5.12).⁴⁷ One of the interviewees pointed out, ‘look around, everybody comes here to ask his/her request (*hajat*) from God through Imam Reza.’⁴⁸ This strong belief is an important factor for transforming the garden into living place. For these reasons, Qadamgah was and is used for major events with traditional, cultural and religious nature that are deeply rooted in the daily life of Iranians. In Qadamgah and other holy shrines, touching and kissing the iron grille (*zarih*)⁴⁹ or threshold of the tomb complex (Figure 5.11), reciting the holy Qur’an or beseechment (*dua*), chanting, performing of *Ta’ziyeh* rituals, distributing offerings (*nazri*) that in the words of can be perceived as rites of exchange and communion,⁵⁰ and performing Muslim *Eid* prayers are all dominant and popular activities in order to obtain Divine reward (*adjr*).

At specific Shi’a holy months — in particular *Moharam* — and on the eve of the Shi’a Muslims’ feast — such as *Eid-e-Ghadir khum* — or on birth anniversaries of Imams, the communal and religious functions of all shrines and tombs in Iran have been enhanced.⁵¹ The month of *Moharam* and the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Reza are the peak times for pilgrimage, during which the number of pilgrims rises dramatically (to over 100 times everyday levels). People make pilgrimage to Qadamgah from different cities in Iran, but mostly from Khorasan province: they are diverse in social status, colour, age, gender and academic background, but all participate in the same ritual to share, express their grief and allegiance to their Imam. From early time in Qadamgah, during *Moharam*, *Ta’ziyeh*, the passion plays of mourning for the death of Imam Hossein and his companions, has been performed at the eve of *Tasua* and *Ashura* (9th and 10th of *Moharam*), that draws millions of pilgrims annually (Figure 5.13).

As after the Islamic Revolution, these ritualistic behavioural transformed into ideological apparatus by the post-revolutionary government, turns Qadamgah into a forum for social interaction and a locus of dynamic activities. Above all, Qadamgah is a venue where the ancient pre-Islamic feast at the eve of New Year is celebrated. Perpetuation of the nationwide festival of *Nowrouz*, a symbol of Iranian collective identity, demonstrates how the Qadamgah

⁴⁷ This resulted from a number of interviews with pilgrims conducted in the summer of 2013, when I asked visitors about their reason to come to Qadamgah.

⁴⁸ Source from the interview with visitors of the Qadamgah garden conducted by the author, September 2013.

⁴⁹ The grave of Muslim oriented towards Mecca in *Qebleh* direction.

⁵⁰ Catherine Bell, *Ritual : Perspectives and Dimensions*, (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) , p.109.

⁵¹ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*, p.266.

garden has found its way to constitute an individual identity that makes it stand out from other historical gardens in Iran.



Figure 5.12: various activities taken place in the Qadamgah garden, **a:**Religious: Making pilgrimage (*ziarat*), **b:** Recreational: traditional restaurant, **c&d:** Social and symbolic: performance of *Ta'ziyeh* rituals, (Source: photos by the author between 2011 and 2013)

However, the remarkable activity that marks Qadamgah as a unique place and distinguishes it from other shrines in general, and tomb gardens in particular, is the collection of water from the source of the sacred spring, illustrated in Figure 5.14.⁵² Pilgrims are allowed to bring bowls or bottles to drink and collect small amounts of water. There are various narratives regarding the miraculous healing by Imam Reza in his holy shrine in Mashhad, and also concerning the occult nature of the water in Qadamgah. My interviewing also confirmed that many pilgrims believed that, through the blessings of Imam Reza, the water could benefit the supplicant's spirit, protect them against discomforts and relieve their worries or have emotional consequences. According to the Manager of Qadamgah, two examples of the curing of disease have been recorded in Qadamgah. The spring, which has never gone dry — even in drought seasons— with its miraculous narrative, is a powerful incentive that motivates millions of pilgrims to travel to the Qadamgah garden.

⁵² This water also examined by Health Centre of Khorasan Razavi Province in about 1389 SH/ 2010 and it is said that the water is safe for human consumption. Source from the interview with the manager of the Qadamgah garden conducted by the author on 03.09.2013.



Figure 5.13: Left: Location of *Chesmeh Hazrat* on map of Qadamgah garden; Right: inside and outside views of *Chesmeh Hazrat* for Collection of sacred water.

In terms of marketing, Qadamgah also is a true place for housing various functions that have provided a source of income for locals and brought benefits for the *Awqaf*. As mentioned in Chapter Four, during the post-revolutionary era, particularly after 1990, the urge to take a greater interest in the economic use of heritage was felt. This was due to the financial crisis following the ‘post-war reconstructions’ and the decline of oil revenue, which lead to priority being given to the development of the tourism industry.⁵³ Due to the lack of potential for the development of international tourism markets, pilgrimage tourism to holy shrines and tomb complexes has become the dominant type of tourism in Iran. This shift in approach was accompanied by the establishment of a series of new policies. The rites of visitation of Shi’a holy shrines were encouraged by the authorities. The Holy Shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad has been positioned at the heart of religious and political events, broadcast in national media frequently to make it as visible as possible. Mashhad became a magnet for absorbing annually about 20 million domestic pilgrims, in addition to two million international visitors,

⁵³Hodjat, ‘Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country,’ p.264.

establishing it as the seventh of the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world. Qadamgah stood as a unique stopover on the itinerary of pilgrims en route to Mashhad.

From an economic point of view, the increased number of pilgrims crystallising in the physical ambit of the garden, have changed the economic activities on the site. Subsequently, the land-use and morphological pattern of the tomb's surroundings underwent change. From the 2000s onwards, under the supervision of the ICHHTO and with the budget of the *Awqaf*, a restoration plan was proposed by the ICHHTO for the rehabilitation of caravansaries that had lost their original function and been abandoned for many years, illustrated in Figures 15. It was successfully transformed into a traditional restaurant (*restoran sonati*) where visitors drank tea or smoked hookah (*qalyan*), not as religious veneration, but rather as Iranian recreational habits (see Figure 5.13.b).⁵⁴ Moreover, the stalls around the courtyard of caravanserai, previously known as *Hojreh*, have been leased to the pilgrims. Exploiting the commercial aspect of old caravanserais provided an opportunity to improve the poor quality of the tomb complex and thereby the welfare of pilgrims. Many visitors asserted that due to the availability of guest rooms and additional services, they were encouraged to spend some nights in Qadamgah to benefit from the blessedness of the tomb complex.

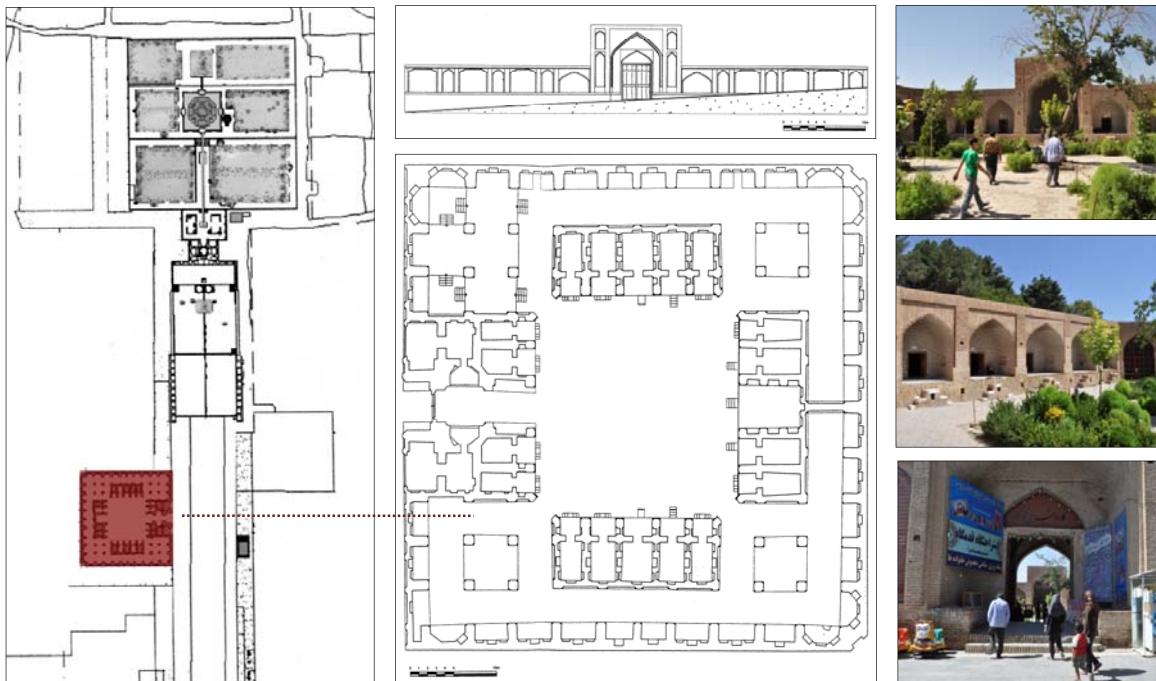


Figure 5.14: Left, Middle: Plan and elevation of caravanserais, (Source: Courtesy of the Document Centre of the ICHHTO, branch of Khorasan-e- Razavi) ; Right: General views of caravanserais, (Source: photos by the author, September 2013)

⁵⁴ It is noteworthy to mention that during the last site visit of the author in summer 2013, the restaurant was closed and instead caravanserai was rented to private sector to use as a gallery.

Moreover, a small bazaar, retail business and booths have emerged in order to meet the demands of pilgrims as shown in Figure 5.16, bringing benefit for the *Awqaf*, Municipality and locals.⁵⁵ Some vendors earn their living through selling local souvenirs. For pilgrims, souvenirs bought from the loci of the Qadamgah garden form a significant part of the pilgrimage as they are considered blessed. During the peak times of pilgrimage, some locals are also encouraged to open their homes to host pilgrims, providing a seasonal a source of income for these families. Implementation of all of these sub-projects in the proximity of Qadamgah garden has boosted business as well as the number of visitors to the garden, which reached more than eight million in 2012.⁵⁶ Through the combination of a sense of materiality and spirituality, Qadamgah garden finds the ability to balance the affairs of this world and the Hereafter, and continues its life in a sustainable way. Nowadays, the life of a small city with a population over 3,700 inhabitants connects directly or indirectly to the existence of the Qadamgah garden and the frequent visit of devotees of Imam Reza.⁵⁷



Figure 5.15: Left: Location of Commercial activities that have been shaped around THE Qadamgah complex , Right: General view of stalls surrounding of Qadamgah, (Source: photos by the author, September 2013)

⁵⁵ The shoppers contract with the Municipality.

⁵⁶ This number of pilgrims was recorded in 1391 SH/2012. Source from the interview with the co-manager of Qadamgah conducted by the author on 03.09.2013.

⁵⁷ Recently, in 2013, the rehabilitation plan for the complex has been provided by engineer consultant by the request of ICHHTO branch of Khorasan-e- Razavi and the *Awqaf* and will be implemented in near future.

Conclusion

The examination of the Qadamgah garden has revealed the superior role of beliefs of people and Shi'a ethics that could facilitate the process of conservation. This case study is a unique example of 'living heritage' garden in Iran, which has demonstrated its ability to resist ideological shifts and upheavals of the country, and which with unplanned policies, continues to function as a spiritual, commercial and social centre. In the case of the Qadamgah garden, as a result of the sanctity (*barekat*) associated with the eighth Shi'a Imam and the active involvement of people, the symbiotic relationships has continued between tomb garden and people, pre-Islamic and Islamic rituals that all contribute to changing the Qadamgah into a thriving centre. As long as the aura of holiness associated with Imam Reza encompasses the garden area, it motivates Shi'a Muslims to make pilgrimages or bequeath money as a covenant for its restoration, leading to a continuity of the sense of vitality that is inherent in it. Should these beliefs and strong faith decrease or vanish, the impetus for the garden's existence would perish simultaneously.

Nowadays, Qadamgah is more than a garden for contemplation. It is a source of revenue for the *Awqaf* (Endowment Organisation) and locals through tourism. Its garden is a source of pleasure for visitors, and still functions as a place of assembly for social gathering. Its sacred spring (*Cheshme Hazrat*) is a source of blessedness, the garden area and its tomb are a spiritual centre for thousands of pilgrims, serving as a refuge from the hustle and bustle of city life. With regards to conservation practices, in contrast to other heritage, the Qadamgah is self-sponsored and self-guarded against physical vandalism, for which much is owed to the traditional mechanism of *waqf*. Therefore, it has developed the ability to function consistently and never be finite, safely removed from the world's political and 'mercantilistic' outlook. It embodies both 'continuity and change' that formed a distinctive identity.⁵⁸ This case study provided us the alternative perspective which is in contrast to the dominant material approach to conserving cultural heritage, motivated by economic or political inclinations of the authorities or managers of the heritage sites. This distinctive conservation approach in the case of the Qadamgah garden, which relies heavily on the degree of religiousness of Iranians, goes hand in hand with traditions.

⁵⁸ Anne-marie Fortier, 'Remembering Places and the Performance of Belonging(S),' in *Performativity and Belonging*, ed. by Vikki Bell (London Sage, 1999), p.55.



Discussion: comparison of the results deriving from the case studies

This research, through the selection of multiple case studies, has not only taken gardens as physical structures in the conventional way, but has also integrated the changes in different dimensions of historical gardens within the changing socio-political and economic context of Iran. It has addressed the effects of political and ideological shifts on the material, symbolic and social dimensions of historical gardens, and captured the complex driving forces behind various approaches towards historical gardens in 20th century Iran through the selection of three case studies.

As indicated in the preceding chapters, the socio-political shifts in the country have brought about notably different attitudes towards (and interpretations of) historical gardens that have left contrasting results — and accordingly determined differing fortunes — for each garden. As we have seen, due to the multiple interpretations, interventions, manipulations, (mis)representations or (mis)understandings of these examples, the case study gardens have been affected by and responded differently to these changes. The (re)interpretations and manipulation of gardens are contingent and relatively ephemeral, not permanent, changing according to the various shifts in the situation of the country. Consequently, without scrutinising what changes have occurred in different dimensions of gardens, an analysis would be impossible, and attention here has mainly been paid to what has actually happened to the historical gardens over the centuries, rather than what these gardens should ideally be.

The story of the **Golestan garden** in Chapter Three epitomises the impact of political and ideological shifts on the life of royal gardens in 20th century Iran. While what happened to all royal gardens in various periods is beyond the scope of this study, what has been provided in this chapter shed new light on how the alteration of the ruling powers' interest and approaches have been echoed in the material, symbolic and social dimensions of royal gardens in Tehran, and how this in turn affected their treatment. By comparing the approaches towards royal gardens before and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the study of the Golestan garden reveals how the perception of each authority, whether secular or religious, modernizer or traditionalist, reformist or conservative, has led variously to the destroying, demoting, restructuring, re-interpreting and restoring of the Golestan garden. Both political states, despite the drastic differences between their ideologies, shared similarities in terms of their interest and left their own mark on the garden. Each state, in an attempt to legitimize their power, humiliated the previous political regime by deliberately

making strategic changes, which in turn had an impact upon the Golestan garden. One political regime (Pahlavi) that destroyed or restructured royal gardens in Tehran, identified with a bygone dynasty (Qajar), while another (IRI) restored, re-interpreted and eradicated the symbolic dimensions of royal garden to show its own legitimacy and misrepresent the previous monarchy. Both states, in their own way, rejected the recent past while honouring an earlier dynasty (i.e. Pahlavi honouring the Zand, the IRI praising the Qajars). This case study typifies the effects that militant and antagonistic approaches towards the bygone regimes have had, and how these continue to place limits on the conservation of royal gardens. Such rejection, distortion and concealment of the past, however, framed my interpretation throughout this chapter, it bears evidence to the fact that how such a vision has endangered the current situation of heritage conservation.

As I addressed in that chapter, Reza Shah's Iran reform scheme together with the regime's erasure of traces of the recent past (Qajars) combined to bring about the demolition and changes to life of the Qajar gardens in Tehran in general and the Golestan garden in particular (nevertheless, although many Qajar gardens disappeared completely, some aspects of Qajar garden at Golestan partly survived). Under the Pahlavis, from a material viewpoint, the Golestan garden metamorphosed and decreased in size as many parts of it were deliberately destroyed. Through focusing on the pre-Islamic heritage and overlooking the recent past, Golestan and Qajar heritage was portrayed as holding little architectural interest. Simultaneously the symbolic dimension, the rituals (mainly those with a Shi'a religious essence) began to disappear from the life of royal gardens.

After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the problematic relationships with the imperial past and the denial of the monarchy have had different influences on royal gardens. At first, Revolutionary governors rejected and defaced the royal heritage. Characterised by the new political situation, in order to meet the new post-revolutionary ideological concepts, royal heritage was re-interpreted as a sign of 'lesson' (literally in Farsi known as *namade ebrat*), but this new interpretation, to take lessons from the past, allowed them to remain physically. However, following the trend of political shifts (either under the Pahlavi or the IRI) from both the symbolic and social dimensions, the Golestan garden has been significantly affected, and the intangible aspects inherent in it, have simply been neglected and gradually vanished. Politically, due to the domination of Shi'a authority and the denouncing of imperialism through the Islamisation of all aspects of society, the monarchic traditions have been discredited through many cultural and political policies, some of the most relevant of which

have been introduced in Chapter Three. Similar to other royal gardens, Golestan has been forced to sacrifice all those traditions associated with the Monarchy that accompanied the disruption of its symbolic life. The new interpretation imposed by the IRI has changed Golestan from being a main centre of government and a sign of glory, into signs supporting broader didactic processes, so that the garden now functions as a museum-garden.

The Golestan garden has been transformed from being the stage of royal and religious rituals and shows of political power, to becoming an arena for anti-monarchical gestures. The IRI perceived those values that gave birth to Golestan as being devoid of value. In this sense, there was no effort to revive or re-introduce the earlier festive life such as the 'Greeting Ceremony' or 'polo,' which were held only in Iranian gardens; these aspects of intangible heritage have not been appreciated and have been forgotten over the course of time. Undoubtedly, the IRI will never try to take Iran back to its royal traditions to perform or introduce courtly rituals, due to the political conflict between the concept of 'monarchy' and 'Republic.' These traditions have been deliberately marginalised and the modern function of the royal garden supersedes previous symbolism.

Most importantly, the religious Islamic rituals such as *Ta'ziyeh*, whose symbolic representation, in the words of William Beeman, identifies it 'as a unique Iranian performance genre,'¹ is not practised anymore in royal gardens. Simultaneously, other rituals such as the *Qurban* Festival, that hitherto were performed in the Safavid or Qajar gardens and still play an important role in Iranian cultural life, have migrated from gardens into Mosques and Holy shrines. Now on those religious days (e.g. *Ashura*, *Tasua*) all of the gardens are closed to the public. Also, the celebration of *Nowrouz*, that crystallizes the essence of Iranian identity, is now excluded from the life of gardens as well. With the exception of the Delgosha garden under the supervision of the Municipality of Shiraz, other historical gardens have been closed on the eve of Iranian New Year. In this light, Golestan and other surviving royal gardens have changed from enjoying an active to a passive use that involves visitors staring at monuments. They only remain as forgotten monarchic icons which have become precisely the landscape that Taylor warns about 'some historical museum stopped in time.'²

From the 2000s onwards, the architectural values of Golestan became apparent and restoration works have been broadly (re)established. But of course, Golestan holds much

¹ William O. Beeman, 'Cultural Dimensions of Performance Conventions in Iranian Ta'ziyeh', in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. by Peter J. Chelkowski, pp. 24-31, (p.25).

² Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon, 'Managing Cultural Landscapes', (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), p.3.

more than just architectural interests. In 2013, during the process of becoming a World Heritage Site, emphasis was again given to Golestan's outstanding architectural values, not its associated meanings. The suspension of symbolic and social life appears no longer to matter. This does not mean that the physical features of the garden are missing — clearly thanks to the replacement of fabric and other material restorations, the physical dimension of Golestan continues to exist — but it does indicate that the symbolic set of values now continue to hold lesser importance. The IRI still neither proclaims any gardens as intangible heritage, nor brands them for specific rituals or symbolic functions, which affects what can be represented to visitors.

On the other hand, through the examination of the case study of **Shiraz's gardens** with their architectural merits in Chapter Four, I highlighted how the alteration of socio-political situations and tendencies of the authorities have influenced the material and socio-cultural dimensions of private gardens in different ways. Changes first occurred in Shiraz's gardens when the Pahlavi state inaugurated the Arts Festival in the 1967. In this chapter, I depicted that by imposing alien behavioural patterns, breaking the traditional boundaries, and changing the ownership of gardens from private (introverted) to public (extroverted), were all accompanied by a rupture with their inherent values and diminishing the sense of 'privateness.' I showed that how the Western dramas, which were staged in gardens throughout the Arts Festival, might be considered to have been active in pattern, but was passive in public reception at that time. The Festival had an adverse effect upon heritage and became problematic in the late Pahlavi era.

The evidence found in this example invites us to consider that when the motivation for heritage conservation (e.g. holding the Art Festival) derived from the abstract idea of the authorities in response to their own political ambitions while disregarding the needs of people, it failed to achieve a positive public reception. Consequently, it was not embraced by people and became highly unsustainable. This situation was the result of the conflict, mainly religious and ideological, between the ruling powers and the people. A repetition of the same situation would cause a similar scenario and can be avoided only if the authorities take the lessons from the past.

During the first decade after the Revolution of 1979, these gardens and other public places were partly closed down and there was a decade of forgetfulness. We have seen that when both authorities (the Pahlavi regime and the IRI) did not consider the expectations of the

people in line with socio-cultural situation of the country, this imposed limitations upon the conservation of material and social dimensions of gardens. Both the absolute dictatorship of the Pahlavi state and the control over public places exerted in the first decade after the Revolution³ led to depriving the gardens of their sense of vitality and vibrancy, or in the words of the sociologist, Ebrahimi, did not allow for the emergence of a permanent public sphere.⁴

However, from the 1990s onwards, the pattern of changes in Shiraz's gardens was different from other Iranian historical gardens. When the notion of culture, heritage and national identity were a genuine concern for the authorities, the gardens found the ability to appropriate new uses and meanings, and they became places with more freedom and openness. For instance, as I addressed during the reformist presidency (1996-2004), the consciousness of government to reassert national identity was regained and new horizons towards cultural heritage emerged. Changing attitudes towards the concept of Persian Gardens, by asserting the Qur'anic Paradise symbolism that accompanied with searching for national identity, guaranteed and justified the endurance of the physical structure of formal gardens under the IRI. Through highlighting the Islamic sides of *chaharbagh* gardens, they found a way to shift the meaning from mortal to celestial, changing the place from an un-Islamic (*ghaire Islami*) icon to an Islamic one.⁵ Also, I depicted how the IRI through rules, dress code, citizenry etiquettes, and by considering new Iranian needs (based on new standards, adaptable change) have somehow endorsed acceptable norms concerning public appearance and cultural activities.

Of relevance too, is the granting of priority to the business market that has formulated the new approach to improving the tourist industry and exploiting the historical gardens as a source of revenue. The joint work of the Municipality of Shiraz and the ICHHTO (the main organisations involved), links conservation with economic benefit,⁶ which in turn played a role in animating the gardens and transforming them into popular tourist spots in Shiraz. In

³ Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi, 'Weblogistan: The Emergence of a New Public Sphere in Iran', in *Publics, Politics and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. by Seteney shami (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2009), p.330.

⁴ Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi, 'Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces', *Cities*, 23 (2006).

⁵ For instance in the first documentaries at national Television of the IRI in 2010, named 'Persian Garden,' the whole programme emphasised the Qur'anic paradise symbolism of *chaharbagh* Safavid and some Qajar gardens instead concerning the real and secular life of royal gardens.

⁶ Mohammad saeid Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University, 2008), 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.352.

this sense, the combination of nostalgic, religious and economic responses all made a contribution to the revival of Shiraz's gardens that now provide recreation and enjoyment for citizens and visitors of any social status.⁷ In contrast to the way that these gardens hosted a specific group during the Arts Festival, they are now accessible for all and welcome any kind of people from various social and political backgrounds. However, during the trend of opening up and closing down the gardens, the various dimensions of private gardens, which originally had inward looking characteristics, have changed continuously and diverged from their traditional format; far from what previously were used or known. Now these gardens are attract large numbers of Iranians and a sense of vitality has returned to them.

The driving force behind Shiraz's garden conservation in the late Pahlavi era (or in other words, what has led to their survival) underlines the role of political propaganda that was packaged specifically to legitimise the kingships. This approach — notwithstanding its destructive results that also should be criticised — raises the additional question of whether the scenario of Shiraz's gardens and the tactic for their survival could not be broadened or applied to other Iranian cities such as Birjand which is similarly rich in gardens. Although Akbariyeh (one of Birjand's gardens) was registered as WHS in 2011, and many of its private gardens (generally belonging to the Alam Family) are now open to the public under the supervision of the ICHHTO, Birjand's gardens have not found the ability to become the 'living heritage.' These gardens are neither visited by Iranians nor treated similar to Shiraz's garden since they suffer from a lack of governmental finance and appropriate management, and therefore remain in poor condition.

With references to the case of the **Qadamgah tomb-garden** in Chapter Five, the study provides us a nuanced approach towards heritage. This case study depicts how, when the motivation behind a garden conservation is derived from the interest and belief of the people, that garden is more likely to survive for centuries, both in terms of its tangible and in particular intangible values; what we can call 'living heritage.' Contrasting to the previous examples, in this example the social and symbolic dimensions of the garden have not witnessed a great change; the garden remains more 'authentic' in terms of its intangible

⁷ However, after the election of President Ahmadinejad in 2005, the moral police became apparent in streets especially in crowded and modern part of the big cities to control the improper veiling (*bad-hejabi*) in outdoor life.

aspect. This is what Paul Gilroy calls the ‘changing same’: tradition as cultural reprocessing, as response to the inherent transience of modern life.’⁸

This case study is the exemplar of heritage which has the ability to resist complex ideological shifts and upheavals of the country. The degree of people’s involvement in the process of conservation and likewise sharing activities driven by the people’s belief, gives the garden a chance to continue to function as a place of spiritual, commercial and social encounters. Though the *Awqaf* (Endowment Organisation), the powerful religious authority, still takes the revenues and resources deriving from the tomb garden and has a direct intervention in the garden’s maintenance, the role of religious interests and belief is the dominant force. The income for garden maintenance derived as part of *waqf* system has made Qadamgah self-sponsored, facilitating the process of garden conservation and assures the life of this garden.

As resulted from the case study chapters, the intense and incremental changes of various dimensions of the Golestan garden are due to the misinterpretation of the past affected by the prevailing political climate in the capital, and in the example of Shiraz’s gardens has been due to the manipulation of the various ruling powers. In contrast with these examples, the stability of the Qadamgah garden owes much to the ambitions of people; this demonstrates the potential of a bottom-up approach in garden conservation. If both the formers gardens’ fate or their demise and survival has been tied to politics, that in order to survive, they have been forced to realign and reinvent themselves to the personal intentions of the authorities, Qadamgah — while not completely independent from political situation in the country — has more capacity to determine its own secure future. This garden and the way of its conservation could not be taken as an ideal or universal model nor be directly applied to other gardens in Iran, because of the particular sacred nature of this type of garden. However, this case does reveal to us that if conservation schemes come into line with Iranian beliefs and traditions, the long-term conservation of heritage is more achievable. By acknowledging and developing the influential role of belief, it could offer an alternative strategy through which garden conservation frameworks could be drafted in Islamic countries, especially Iran.

Having discussed the various motivations and interests that have affected the gardens’ destiny, the diagram below represented in Figure 6.1, summarises the involvement of key people and the motives that play a role in conservation in each case study.

⁸ Anne-marie Fortier, 'Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)', in *Performativity and Belonging*, ed. by Vikki Bell (London: Sage, 1999), p.51.

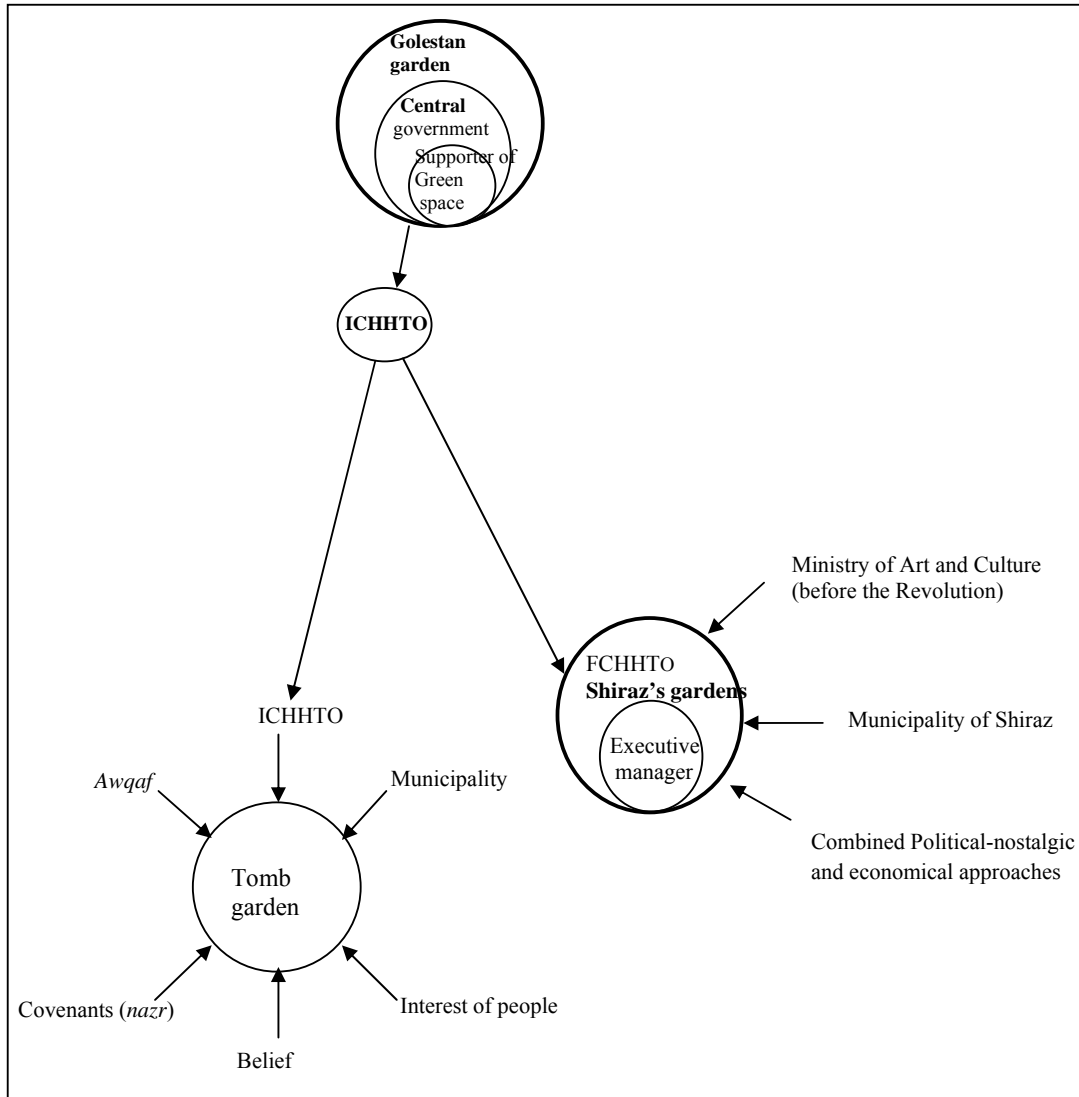


Figure 6.1: The key motives/organisation responsible for garden conservation, (Source: drawn by the author adapted from Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran,' p.342)

Whatever their differences, all the case studies share common concerns. Every single one of them suffers from similar threats to their material and social 'authenticity.' These gardens remain physically and their designation on the List plays a key role in preserving their physical dimension; or in other words, it prevents them from suffering wholesale demolition. However, this is not the only preferred way for saving the country's heritage. Generally, without appropriate preservation and in the search for economic gain, emphasis has been given to the replacement of materials, which threaten the concept of historical 'authenticity.' Therefore, the physical maintenance of these gardens falls far short of the standard of

international charters, as demonstrated in the example of Golestan and some gardens in Shiraz.

In addition to these, the distinctiveness of these gardens in terms of their social and symbolic dimensions, and their role in contemporary society, has been largely neglected. Constraining forces, such as financial support; centralisation in governance; and political and economic problems, have all left irreparable damage to heritage, and more specifically to gardens, which, in contrast to buildings due to their nature, could not tolerate or recover from this damage so easily. Moreover, unlike the economic opportunities provided by the Municipality and the FCHHTO in recognition of the potential of the tourist market in Shiraz, the investment conditions in the case of the Qadamgah and Golestan gardens have been restricted due to the insecure market in the heritage domain.

These key similarities and differences between the case studies compared in the main text have been summarised in Table 6.1.

Case	Time	Main approaches	The intentions/political context	Description of major changes
Golestan Royal garden, Tehran	Before 1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Having militant and antagonistic approaches towards bygone regime (Qajar) -Destroying the unwanted buildings (e.g. seraglios) -Portraying Qajar heritage as holding less architectural interest - De- Islamisation, secularisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Asserting superiority of Aryan race of Iranians over the western Reza Shah's Iran reform scheme -Banning the activities that recall religion such as <i>Ta'ziyeh</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Destroyed or restructured the Royal gardens identified with a bygone dynasty -Destruction of 60 percent of the Golestan garden - Elimination of the symbolic tradition of gardens mainly with religious essence
	After the Islamic revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Being apathetic to royal monuments - Condemning the residing in palace -Reinterpreting the monarchy's architecture -Distorting previous symbolic values - Re-establishing the documentation and restoration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Denouncing and demoting the Pahlavi regime and imperialism - Nominating the Golestan garden as World Heritage Site in 2013 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical restoration of the main palaces - Elimination of the symbolic and social tradition of gardens -Transformation from arena of power and the stage of royal and religious rituals into sterile museum
Gardens of the nobilities, Shiraz	Before 1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Buying gardens from private owners - Imposing alien behavioural patterns -Breaking the public and private boundary - Diminishing the sense of 'privateness' -Disregarding the needs of people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hosting International Festival Art in 1967 -Political exploitation -Sudden growth of oil revenue (1960s) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Subverting the previous function of gardens' elements -Eliminating the physical barriers of gardens to give more openness -Transferring the introverted architectural formula and changed concept of privacy - From residential and private place to public garden - Performing the physical beatification
	After the Islamic revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Forgetting the heritage (1980-1990) - Islamisation the public spaces -Boosting national proud -Standardizing adaptive social and cultural behaviour -Exploiting the historical gardens as a source of revenue -Adopting a need-based approach -Enhancing the tourism industry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being apathetic to heritage -Islamisation all aspects of the country as a result of domination of religious authority - Consuming heritage for economic uses - Improving the tourist industry - Joint work of the Municipality of Shiraz and Cultural Heritage Organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical deterioration -Formulating cultural activities in public space based on Islamic code - Improving the facilities for visitors -Nominating the gardens (e.g. Eram) in Shiraz as WHS
Qadamgah Tomb garden, Neyshabour	Before 1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - De-Islaminization, secularisation -Apathetic to religious places 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Undermining religion and traditional rituals -Marginalisation the <i>ulama</i> and Endowment Organisation -Land Reform Act of 1967 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical deterioration - Banning the activities that recall religion mainly with Shi'a essence -Physical intervention and beautification.
	After the Islamic revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Particular attention to religious buildings of pious foundation - Considering pilgrimage tourism -Giving primacy to religious places - A bottom-up approach (interest of people) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious interests and belief 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical restoration -Adding some temporary sub-projects (e.g. souvenir stall) in proximity of Qadamgah; - Improving the facilities for pilgrims

Table 6.1: The key similarities and differences between approaches towards the case studies, (Source: drawn by the author)

Issue raised by the interviews

Apart from the dilemmas raised by the examination of the three case studies here, what has emerged from the interviews with the managers⁹ also helps in understanding the realities about some related problems regarding gardens, the most relevant of which points have been addressed throughout the case study chapters. Several quotes have been used from the interviews to reveal the interviewees' opinions about the value of historical gardens; comparison of approaches towards cultural heritage before and after the 1979 Revolution; constraints and barriers in the way of garden conservation; and practical suggestions for improving the current situation.

While framed with a different perspective, generally for the managers the value of gardens was tied to their long history; unique *chaharbagh* archetype; architectural and ecological importance; physical manifestation of paradisiacal imagery (*tasvir behesht*); location in arid environment; innovative irrigation system; and geometrical pattern, that have deep linkage with Iranian psyche and spirit (*zogh*). For example,

The importance of each heritage revolves around the value that it gives to its surrounding...all of heritage reflects the past. We ask from the *bagh*, what value do you hold? *Bagh* is the mirror of interior desire and it reflects the spiritual delicacy and the quality of our enjoyments... *Bagh* is a perfect setting to reflect the view of the humans on nature ... is like *ghazal*...it is manifestation of the spirits (*avatef*).¹⁰

Other interviewees' general comments about values of gardens include: 'You know, if we consider the built heritage as poem, then *bagh* is like *ghazal* (*poetic verses*),'¹¹ or '*bagh* is semantic world.'¹² This kind of sentimental rhetoric, which was articulated in some interviewee's terms, reflects their awareness about the non-materialistic and poetic aspects of gardens, while this kind of perception is far from the historically original and earthly function of their mentioned gardens (here, the royal garden). Further, by predominantly highlighting the influence of Qur'anic religious principles in Persian *chaharbagh* layout, most of the interviewees perceived this formal layout as one of the main garden design in the world, perceived it as sign of Iranian pride, and a precious legacy of the past. This kind of viewpoint constructed the nostalgic image for Persian Gardens.

⁹ These interviews were conducted in 2011. After the presidential election in June 2013 the managers of the ICHHTO changed accordingly. These new appointed managers were not necessarily criticised by the interviewees. Also, the new managers have not been interviewed.

¹⁰ Source from the interview with Dr.Hodjat conducted by the author on 28.11.2011.

¹¹ Source from the interview with Mr.Beheshti conducted by the author on 8.11.2011.

¹² Source from the interview with Mr.Farhangi conducted by the author on 5.11.2011.

Comparing the main approach before and after the Islamic Revolution, they almost commented that neither before nor after that event have the gardens been categorised separately and conserved equally with other built heritage. However, based on interviewees' opinions, in general before the Revolution the scope of the authorities was focused on restoration of some significant gardens, such as Hasht Behest or Shiraz's gardens, due to the Arts Festival and their political importance for the Pahlavi regime, as explained in Chapter Four.¹³ However, after the 1979 Revolution, the approach has been expanded to conserve all kinds of heritage even in remote areas. In particular after 1375 SH/1996, conservation has been oriented towards the economic exploitation of built heritage by changing their function. The following viewpoint of the interviewee clarifies this issue:

I don't have empirical experience before the Revolution. However, it seems to me that in general before the Revolution, while the scope of the manager was limited to some important garden (mainly their buildings), the involved managers [in NOCHM] had more knowledge about restoration, were more sensitive and concerned with the long-term. After the revolution, a new theme has emerged that is rehabilitation (*ehya*) by changing the function.¹⁴

Moreover, from 1380 SH/2000, understanding of Persian Gardens has been raised, 'we do not perceive Persian Garden merely as a building anymore ... more knowledge has been gained about traditional irrigation system, trees, plants, and horticultural issues in these gardens.'¹⁵ Even though according to another interviewee, 'gardens are still marginalised and never treated or researched in their own right.'¹⁶

Concerning the main issues and barriers in current conservation planning, it was a common acceptance that the lack of consciousness of the managers; the absence of guideline and legislative framework; and the absence of professionals with relevant academic backgrounds could all be significant reasons behind the failure of achieving an effective result. The former Head of the ICHHTO voiced his frustration about the involvement of unskilled experts in the organisation:

Unfortunately at the moment, the consciousness, sensitivity of the organisation in charge of conservation, the ICHHTO, has decreased ... the experts left the organisation... due to the paucity

¹³ This result is derived from the interviews with Mr. Parsi, Dr. Zargar and Mr. Beheshti. see, Appendix B.

¹⁴ Source from the interview with Mr. Taghizadeh conducted by the author on 16.11.2011.

¹⁵ Source from the interview with Mr. Farhangi conducted by the author on 5.11.2011.

¹⁶ Source from the interview with Mr. Parsi conducted by the author on 20.11.2011.

of effective policy and strategy in some instances, implementation of conservation left more irreparable damage to the gardens.¹⁷

Regretting that the trees of Fin garden dating back 400 years had been dried out recently, he supported his criticism about the involvement of inexperienced managers at that time (2011). Another interviewee also confirmed the lack of experts in conservation field: 'The ICHHTO now lacked skilled experts... previously the managers such as Dr.Shirazi or Mr.Farahbod had knowledge about the built heritage and in which way to conserve them.'¹⁸

A further argument put forward concerned the commodification of built heritage and impact of tourism that make the gardens more fragile.¹⁹ In response to the market-oriented approach of the private sector which involved the manager of the ICHHTO, cultural heritage has been targeted as a source of revenue, valued much more for its economic benefit. Drawing people to visit gardens without a systematic strategy or consideration of the visitor capacity of each garden has endangered all kind of heritage in Iran, the former manager of the ICHO said. He justified his claim by exemplifying the Fin garden, which during the *Nowrouz* or summer holidays was visited daily by many people.

Due to the mass visiting of the thermal bath in Fin garden, the manager of the garden damaged the thermal bath by making the entrance and exiting doors larger. What is this worth? Increasing revenue from selling tickets or destroying the garden? At what price?²⁰

To criticise the commercialisation of the gardens, he further represented the Ghaiteriyeh garden in Tehran, which due to the emergence of commercial activities in it, no evidence of the Qajar garden now remains. 'Now instead of historical garden it looks like a park, as no part of it remains unchanged.'²¹ The lack of national policy and guidelines also affects the ways of implementing a conservation plan. On some occasions, although by no means all, what existed in restoration techniques for historical buildings have been applied in gardens to safeguard the material authenticity and integrity as a key conservation policy. In interviews with the director of engineering consultant this issue was explained:

While intervention and restoration of buildings of the gardens has been tied to existing regulatory framework in Iranian laws, for maintenance of trees, plant collections, or living organism there is no set of limitations... in 1373 SH/1994 when our consultant became responsible for conserving

¹⁷ Source from the interview with Mr.Beheshti conducted by the author on 08.11.2011.

¹⁸ Source from the interview with Mr. Farhangi conducted by the author on 05.11.2011.

¹⁹ This issue was mainly raised by Dr.Mokhtari, Dr. Talebian and Dr.Zargar during the interviews.

²⁰ Source from the interview with Dr. Zargar conducted by the author on 21.11.2011.

²¹ Ibid.

the Baharestan garden, I treated the garden based on existed restoration techniques; by removing those elements that were recently added to return the garden to its authentic form... with respect to its garden, I referred to the horticulture expert who was familiar with trees and plant collection and requested him to identify the local trees of Tehran and tree-ring dating.

Focused on the benefits of giving the conservation projects during the 1370s SH/1990s to the engineering consultant by the ICHHTO, and his joint experience with informal advisor about horticultural matters in the Baharestan garden, the director of this consultant further criticised the intervention of the ignorant manager, which affected the physical authenticity of the garden. He justified his claim by giving his empirical experience in the Cheshmeh Ali garden, Damghan, in which new walls were added, historical trees were swept away and instead new trees were cultivated. He explained:

For the preparation of conservation plan for the Cheshmeh Ali garden, I did the same as at Baharestan and suggested the removal of newly added elements (such as walls, toilet) and revival of the original design. For that, I relied on historical photos and past documents. I considered the ecosystem in this garden as well for saving its fish pool. However, the implementation performed by the contractor fell short of what was suggested in the conservation plan.²²

This information provided by the director of the engineering consultant not only depicted the incorporation of the contractor with consultant, but also confirmed the fact that the contracts for executing the conservation project have generally been given to unqualified or other inexperienced individuals.²³ Furthermore, the rapid turnover of personnel of the ICHHTO that simultaneously accompanied changes in the administrative leading team was explained as one of the reasons that resulted in the fragility of implementation of suggested plan provided by the consultant of the project. For instance, the interviewee drew attention to this concern:

For the conservation scheme of the Bagh-e-Abbas Abad in Behshahr, for example, at the middle stage of its preparation, by changing the main manager of the ICHHTO, newly appointed managers with different tastes changed the direction of the conservation plan. Finally, the executed plan differed completely from the suggested plan provided by the consultant.²⁴

Despite of such kinds of criticism about contemporary barriers facing the historical gardens and the way of their conservation, the interviewees perceived the inscription of nine Persian Gardens in the World Heritage List as the significant achievement of the ICHHTO, and

²² Source from the interview with Mr. Parsi conducted by the author on 20.11.2011.

²³ This issue also was confirmed by Mr. Parsi, Dr. Zargar and Mr. Beheshti. see, Appendix B.

²⁴ Source from the interview with Mr. Parsi conducted by the author on 20.11.2011.

hoped this listing would bring about a new era for registered gardens and become a sample for other historical gardens. ‘Now we show Iranian identity to the world [through Persian Gardens] and they know we are rooted in history’, the Deputy Head of World Heritage Sites in Iran said.²⁵

For practical guidance to improve the situation of gardens, it was suggested to benefit from the framework produced for nine world heritage Persian Gardens, and based on it to draw an outline for other gardens. Almost all interviews agreed that the best way forward is to increase knowledge; involve experts from various discipline; prevent intervention before conducting research; use knowledge of horticulturalist; improve theoretical and practical ways; train experts to make them familiar with both botanical and architectural elements;²⁶ organise workshops to exchange technical advice from international experts in the field of restoration and conservation;²⁷ rely on historical documents rather than an individual’s assumption and taste;²⁸ increase the scientific institution in the field; and to establish a Research Centre and digital Archive, that in turn would help raise awareness. ‘If we ask more deep questions and do research more, we become more conscious, and then conservation becomes more practical,’ the former Head of ICHHTO said.²⁹ Moreover, two of the interviewees, without giving alternative solutions, emphasised that historical gardens should never be treated like a park for recreational use and picnicking,³⁰ as such an inappropriate use would endanger the spiritual and sentimental atmosphere (*alam manayi*) of historical gardens. Nevertheless, it was suggested that the gardens should always be open to the public, even during the implementation of conservation plans.³¹ Some of these suggestions will be combined with lessons derived from this study, and developed in the following section.

As their quotes suggest, either the interviewees’ attention was focused on the factors that threaten the material dimension of gardens or the living organism, they were less concerned with authenticity in terms of intangible aspects of gardens. Nor did they acknowledge what happened to the original function and social life of the gardens over the course of time due to political shifts. They almost all ignored or did not address the socio-cultural aspects of historical gardens and the role these issues could play in garden conservation. While some

²⁵ Source from the interview with Dr.Talebian conducted by the author on 01.12.2011.

²⁶ This dearth of adequate training for many managers involved may be the result of insufficient courses and modules regarding historical gardens within the existing Iranian educational system.

²⁷ This result derived from the interviews with Dr.Mokhtari and Dr.Talebian.

²⁸ Source from the interview with Dr.Jeyhani conducted by the author.

²⁹ Source from the interview with Mr.Beheshti conducted by the author on 08.11.2011.

³⁰ This viewpoint was captured by Dr. Hodjat and Dr. Zargar during their interviews with the author.

³¹ Source from the interview with Dr.Hodjat conducted by the author on 28.11.2011.

interviewees mentioned that raising awareness of people about the importance of Persian Gardens is essential,³² in general they were not sensitive to what was important to the public, nor did they assert the importance of the role of people in the process of conservation.

Other observations derived from the interviews could be the narrow perception of what are already considered as historical gardens. The unique archetype of *chaharbagh*, and the spiritual or historical aspects of Persian Gardens, emerged uniformly from the understanding of managers about the values of gardens. Most of them were very selective, giving examples for certain *chaharbagh* gardens such as Fin, Shazdeh, and Abbas abad, while others asked me to exclude the Pahlavi gardens from my research, as they considered these to be non-Persian Gardens. From such a kind of resistance and viewpoints, I realized that for these individuals, who were previously or currently are in charge of the ICHHTO, it still is hard to welcome the idea that whatever garden designed in the past should exist and deserves to be conserved, to testify to its unique tradition and history. Out of the 14 conducted interviews, 12 of the interviewees replaced the term ‘historical gardens’ (*Bagh-e-Tarikhi*) with ‘Persian Gardens’ (*Bagh-e-Irani*). This reinforces the point made early on in the thesis that it is still the formal *chaharbagh* gardens which are considered as, or conflated with, ‘historical gardens’, due to the lack of research and national definition.

³² Dr.Talebian and Dr.Jeyhani suggested raising people’s awareness.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

To summarise, this research has examined the impact that political and ideological shifts have had on the material, social and symbolic dimensions of historical gardens. The main aim of the thesis was to show the ways in which various approaches before and after the Revolution of 1979 have affected or been reflected in various aspects of historical gardens. To this end, I addressed the most relevant and significant factors responsible for changing perceptions towards the historical gardens since the turn of the 20th century, in order to better understand the contemporary situation and give recommendations for the conservation of historical gardens.

The central questions of this study were:

- How have the political and ideological shifts and various approaches towards historical gardens affected them in different ways?
- Which driving forces served to shape these various approaches towards gardens?
- What have been the impacts and effects of these changing approaches on the material, symbolic and socio-cultural dimensions of the historical gardens?
- What kind of appropriate recommendations could be made to improve the future conservation of historical gardens in Iran?

To reiterate, the first chapter addressed the main aims, the research questions, and the methods adopted and identified and justified the selection of the case studies. In order to give a general background to this study, Chapter Two was divided into three main sections, each of which dealt with different aspects of gardens in Iran: the historical garden development in the country and broader region; the plight of gardens and small plots of courtyard houses belonging to private owners in 21st century Iran; and the changing attitudes towards cultural heritage that were revealed in the reviewed literature. To achieve the main aims and respond to the research questions, three main types of case studies were selected, as discussed in Chapters Three to Five. In answering the first question, each case has been characterised by a distinctive approach towards its treatment, such as the political exploitation of the past (Chapter Three), changing the patterns of social interaction in an attempt to enhance secularism or to bring back Islam (Chapter Four) and the strong belief of people (Chapter Five). In response to the second question, which dealt with exploring and identifying the factors behind the various approaches, each case study chapter highlighted a particular

pertinent, fundamental event that has had a direct or explicit influence on its particular history, and which eventually determined the various fortunes of each garden.

The discussion in the first half of this chapter summarized the key findings derived from the case studies that have resulted from the retrospective consideration and interpretation of socio-political events. The large amount of data (primary and secondary sources), is organised in chronological order and these provided the main and original contributions of this research. The dilemma confronting the historical gardens in Iran is presented by assembling documents and maps and cross-referencing these with detailed site-visits. The relationships between the ideological and political shifts and the corresponding treatment of these gardens are examined. The impacts of multiple (re)interpretation, intervention, and manipulations of these gardens and of differing approaches, on their tangible and intangible properties are analysed. By critically reviewing what changed and what have remained unchanged, new insights, knowledge and understanding of the complex changes that have occurred in the various dimensions of gardens are found. This focus is in sharp contrast to the prevailing approach to the policy, practice and study of conservation and regeneration (or destruction) of such cultural landscapes, characterised by an almost exclusive preoccupation with the treatment, interpretation and perception of physical structures.

In addition to the scholarly contribution of the thesis, by presenting an image of the plight of historical gardens over the course of the 20th century this study also offers pragmatic suggestions to inform managers, conservationists and policy-makers in decision-making that could be taken into account when setting out guidance or making the new policies on garden conservation in both short and long term. The key lessons that have arisen from the analysis of the case studies and conducted interviews have been not necessarily intended to provide a framework for assessing ‘good’ or ‘bad’ practices of garden conservation. Although these recommendations can act as the checklist for policy-makers in response to the fourth question. Moreover, while the geographical, historical, and cultural focus has been on Iranian gardens, some of these suggestions could also be considered and adapted in other areas.

Lessons that are worth considering in this research for practice

Organisational (re)arrangement

In terms of the short-term action, the starting point for the managers of the ICHHTO could be to provide the conditions for the re-establishment of the Research Centre with respect to historical gardens through gathering those specialists with relevant backgrounds and defining core function.³³ As I addressed in Chapter Four, as a result of political situation in 2009 and the lack of accountability concerning the managers involved, this new established Research Centre was closed down. Moreover, as digital photogrammetry mapping has been considered an expensive procedure, which implies a substantial cost in producing documentation for restoration plan many registered gardens still do not have any plans or maps. In this sense, the prioritization of this Centre after unification the listed gardens can be to tackle the main problems regarding the provision of the technical maps, documentation and establishment of an accessible archive centre for documentations and maps of gardens in the Centre. Defining the accountability for the manager of gardens to prepare the planting projects and monitor the overall effectiveness of the latter interventions, and encouraging programmes such as seminar programmes about gardens should also be taken into account. These can lead to filling the gap between research and practical restoration, as now due to the absence of the research centre, the managers do not refer to the relevant documentation, archaeological surveys, and surviving evidence of the past: this puts an impediment in the way of saving the material authenticity and in turn underestimate the other broader issues.

Providing legislative framework, maintenance guideline, and integrated policy for historical gardens

At the moment, the legal framework is the missing factor in conservation of gardens. As mentioned in third section of Chapter Two, while there are some laws created by the ICHHTO, and few by other organisations such as Environmental Conservation Act 1974, Conservation of green space in urban areas (1980) or the Islamic Penal Law (article 588 to 589) that address the punishment for those who change and damage registered built heritage. The existing legal rules regarding cultural heritage do not specifically address the historical gardens and have lagged behind for built heritage. The unfamiliarity of the managers in

³³ It should be mentioned that in 1389 SH/2010, a non-government institution, namely Institute for Persian Studies was inaugurated. This institution already organised two conferences which addressed some related issues pertaining to Persian Gardens.

charge or owner of gardens with even scattered laws, as well as the fragility in their implementation, makes the problems facing gardens worse.

The knowledge and information about the existing regulations should be taken into consideration by the managers. However, these legal rules must be updated, integrated, and gathered under a unique regulatory framework specifically addressing gardens to provide the statutory maintenance. Also, drawing up coherent standard guideline inventory listing systems with proper definitions of what historical and Persian Gardens could be, and undertaking the task to set the criteria and selection guides for the designation of locally and nationally historic gardens, (even the gardens of the recent past having local or national importance) in legal statements is essential. This prevents ongoing disfigurement of the gardens' elements and discarding the past evidence.

By adopting a multidisciplinary approach, the legislation framework should consider the involvement of broader ranges of people from wide fields and delimitation of their roles in conservation of gardens. These key roles could be: qualified landscape architects, horticulturalists with knowledge of historical planting styles and botanical collection, water and *qanat* technicians, Head gardener, archaeologist, traditional master builders, and expert for restoration of architectural buildings of the garden.³⁴ As obtained from the case studies chapters and interviews, due to the absence of consistent and integrated maintenance standards or the ways these legal concerns can be fulfilled in practice, the managers generally rely on their own assumptions. This in turn would run the risk for even inventoried gardens and threaten the harmonies and historical essence of gardens.

However, setting out proper legislation in terms of both botanical elements and the material of gardens should not distract the attention of the policy-makers from considering the social and symbolic life of gardens in framework which plays a key role for the continuity of gardens. Iran has already acceded to UNESCO's *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, and to date 10 elements have been registered on the list of World Intangible Cultural Heritage.³⁵ However, this issue is unattached to the conservation practice of built heritage and gardens in the country. This is in contrast to many Asian

³⁴ Some of these suggestions are derived from, Bill Malecki, 'Conservation in Action', in *Rooted in History : Studies in Garden Conservation*, ed. by National Trust (London: National Trust, 2001), pp.41-61.

³⁵ These World intangible heritage are: Radif of Iranian music and *Nowrouz* in 2009; the traditional skills of carpet weaving in Fars and Kashan, Ritual dramatic art of *Ta'ziyeh*, Pahlevani and Zoorkhanei rituals, and Music of the Bakhshis of Khorasan in 2010; Traditional skills of building and sailing Iranian Lenj boats in the Persian Gulf, Naqqāli and Iranian dramatic story-telling in 2011, Qālišuyān rituals of Mašhad-e Ardehāl in Kāšān in 2012. UNESCO, < <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=003111&topic=mp&cp=IR>>, (2012), [accessed 15 August 2014].

countries such as Japan and China, who have taken a leading role in the adaptation of this *Convention*, through legislative lenses addressed in their national frameworks.

Moreover, the role of community involvement in heritage affairs should be taken into consideration in legal rules. In article 7 of the Iranian Constitution, the role of citizens in decision-making is asserted as the most important factor for the setting, however, the authoritarian nature of political system in Iran, place bounds on the involvement of stakeholders.³⁶ To formulate the supportive framework and legal requirements, managers of the ICHHTO with cooperation of Iran ICOMOS, the World Heritage Office in Iran, and professionals can take a lead for that and prioritise it as a policy.³⁷ This could be drafted based on suggested framework for WHS Persian Gardens and by referring to UNESCO's charters or principles in Asian context such as Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (revised in 2004), with considering the degree of their applicability and limitation in Iranian context with its essential difference.

Encouraging network and partnership between organisations and managers involved

While the ICHHTO has an influential role in the conservation of historical gardens, but this task cannot be the accountability of this organisation alone. Central involvement of individual and the lack of network-relations between several of the involved organisations as a result of the different interests and priorities could all contribute to the failure of conservation. For instance, the conflict between the private enterprise Supporters of Green Space and the manager of palaces of Golestan was addressed in Chapter Three. In contrast, the second part of Chapter Four depicted how the joint work of the Municipality of Shiraz and the FCHHTO, due to the emergence of profit-oriented approach, have provided an opportunity for improving the situation of gardens to some extent. Therefore, through encouraging partnerships and active networks between other relevant Ministries and Organisations involved, including the *Awqaf*, Iran's Environment Organisation, the Municipality, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (responsible for cultural events), the IRI Broadcasting, researchers, professionals, and engineering consultants, the requirement for complementation of successful garden conservation will be provided.

³⁶ N Barakpour, 'Transition from Urban Government to Urban Governance in Iran', in *International Conference for Integrating Urban Knowledge & Practice: Life in the Urban Landscape*, (Gothenburg, Sweden, 2005). quoted in Izadi, 'A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Approaches to the Revitalisation of Historic City Centres in Iran', p.152.

³⁷ Source from the interview with Mr. Parsi conducted by the author on 20.11.2011.

The continuum between social, traditional and intangible dimensions by changing the 'museum-like' approach

This study depicts how the traditional attitude, giving priority to the physical restoration and monument-centric approach, has frequently led to overlooking the intrinsic and intangible aspects of gardens. In this study, some aspects of the inherent meanings of gardens have been highlighted and the case study gardens presented as a repository of various historical and social events. While some of these meanings have continued, many of them have been changed, suppressed or omitted. By the omission and exclusion of the past, the narrative of the present and in turn conservation schemes would remain imperfect. Therefore, in order for gardens to develop the ability to continue as vibrant and 'living heritage,' the approach adopted to conservation should first move beyond traditional 'museum-like' or 'monument-centric' approaches and material restoration to a more dynamic one. Conserving the twin dimensions of the physical and social aspects could offer a more consistent and resilient platform for the process of identity construction.

Bearing in mind that while the performance of some rituals and festivals in gardens (e.g. *Ta'ziyeh*, *Nowrouz*) can affirm the sense of continuity and simply return the gardens to life, however, other types, such as those performed throughout the Arts Festival, were alien to Iranian society, subverted the social order and left adverse effects. As Christopher Wulf reminds us, 'rituals are only successful where there is empathy in terms of ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions and shared values that create group identity.'³⁸ In this regard, renewed attention and a broader horizon are needed for the survival and revival of the meanings that have been embodied in gardens to interweave past values into the present. The opportunities for acceptable changes (including permitting the performance of rituals and ceremonies) can be provided by reviewing what has changed and what has remained unchanged.³⁹ For example, some sets of rituals with Zoroastrian origins dating back to the pre-Islamic past (e.g. *Nowrouz*), and others with Islamic roots (e.g. *Ta'ziyeh*), are politically, socially and ideologically acceptable in contemporary Iran and remain highly robust. According to Jean-Louis Luxen, 'intangible heritage must be made incarnate in tangible manifestations, in

³⁸ Dawson Munjeri, 'Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 131-50.

³⁹ It is noteworthy to mention that there are many international examples, in which heritage have been used for developing local or national festival and ceremonies such as in Spoleto, Italy, or reviving of Gaelic music in Scotland. Further examples in Asian context include the performance of rituals in imperial Altars, Beijing, China, or performance of traditional dance called Chong-Jae in Changdeokgung Palace in South Korea.

visible signs, if it is to be conserved.’⁴⁰ As Catherine Bell reminds us ‘the performative dimension per se—that is, the deliberate, self-conscious “doing” of highly symbolic actions in public—is key to what makes ritual, theatre, and spectacle what they are.’⁴¹ So, in terms of practical action, this study suggests that for better conceptualisation of the past to provide social cohesion, the specific rituals in gardens or important historical events that happened in gardens can be performed live for visitors on the eve of those days to provide a sense of Iranian gardens. Such kind of imagery is beneficial for understanding and interpreting past meanings, and is also central for community involvement in the life of gardens.⁴²

However, in the case of the royal gardens, the transmission of such rituals associated with Iranian kings such as the Greeting Ceremony to people is still problematic, as these are contrary to the concept of the Republic. Even if the owners of such gardens were ‘evil’ or ‘good’, or these rituals were the product of royalty, should these inherent meanings be omitted, neglected, and suppressed? Is the process of ‘collective forgetting’ easier in comparison to the construction of ‘collective memory’?⁴³ Giving definite alternative option for revival of conflicting past royal rituals in Republican Iran, subordinate to political situation, since the practice of heritage, ‘is an inherently political act.’⁴⁴ However, delivering intangible aspects rather than freezing⁴⁵ could not be against political manipulation of the IRI: instead it could bring the ideological message of the current revolutionary government into public discourse. In other words, if these traditions were to be bound up with the ‘brand’ of the IRI as an ‘educational tool’, the revival of such royal rituals would not necessarily serve a monarchical function for honouring the memory of the kings, but rather it could educate the populace about the history and legacy of the past, passing this on to succeeding

⁴⁰ Jean-Louis Luxen, ‘The Intangible Dimension of Monuments and Sites with Reference to the Unesco World Heritage List’, in *ICOMOS 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium*, (Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 2003). <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/luxen_eng.htm>, [Accessed 16 August 2014].

⁴¹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.159.

⁴² Since the performance of these rituals such as *Ta’ziyeh*, has been changed continuously, referring to historical documents for how these rituals looked like in specific era is beneficial.

⁴³ However, according to Forty, the process of collective forgetting is not against to collective memory, ‘but an integral component of it, a work of actively returning to and reevaluating the past anew.’ Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*, (Oxford: Berg, 2001). quoted in Rodney Harrison, ‘Forgetting to Remember, Remembering to Forget: Late Modern Heritage Practices, Sustainability and the ‘Crisis’ of Accumulation of the Past’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19 (2012), p.588.

⁴⁴ Mary Lorena Kenny, ‘Deeply Rooted in the Present, Making Heritage in Brazilian Quilombos’, in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 151-68.

⁴⁵ This idea was borrowed from Munjeri who said that: ‘Freeing rather than freezing the conditions under which intangible cultural heritage exists and operates is the best safeguard for intangible cultural heritage.’ Munjeri, ‘Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots’, p.148.

generation as all of these traditions are associated with Iranian-ness.⁴⁶ This kind of repackaging of the past shows the potential of heritage that can even be a 'repository of negative collective memory,' it can be reused for a purposeful function,⁴⁷ to serve for political will.

This issue should also not be limited to the registered gardens, as due to the cultural diversity there are many other traditional and local ceremonies, rituals, and seasonal activities that have been practised in rural or suburban gardens (e.g. *Golabgiri* in Kashan), that are unique in time or place. Moreover, other intangible aspects of gardens such as the knowledge systems that shaped the gardens, knowledge of traditional gardeners or builders of *qanat* (*Moghani*) should be scrutinised and transmitted. As Kurin reminds us, 'state' archives or national museums cannot preserve intangible heritage and it is only 'preserved in communities,'⁴⁸ and based in locally defined narratives that the safeguarding of all of these intangible aspects should be taken into consideration.

The compatibility between the bottom-up needs of people and top-down tendencies of the authorities

The case study chapters depict the result of the top-down approach and how the interests of the ruling powers in response to the changing political situation have affected the gardens. For instance, the results obtained from the royal Golestan garden, and Shiraz's gardens (the sections dealing with the late Pahlavi era and early the Islamic Republic) depict the impacts of imposed interests and manipulation by the authoritarian regimes. This in turn led to the unique traditions and meanings associated with gardens being ignored and the gardens being detached from the people. Furthermore, from the material dimension, any decision-making based on short-term interest of the authorities, (i.e. destroying the gardens or physical intervention) not only left irreparable damage to gardens in the long-term but also deprived the people of their rightful heritage. In other words, these chapters depict that when the motivation and decisions concerning those values originate from the ruling powers or

⁴⁶ It is worth noting that some mentioned rituals in the case study of the Golestan had not been practised in all royal gardens. For example, the performance of *Ta'ziyeh* in the Pahlavi gardens such as Sadabad, is incompatible with its traditional use as the religious use of gardens was against the Pahlavi ideological concept.

⁴⁷ Tolina Loulanski, 'Revising the Concept for Cultural Heritage: The Argument for a Functional Approach', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 13 (2006); Harrison, 'What Is Heritage', in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*.

⁴⁸ Richard Kurin, 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 2 (2007), p.12.

managers (top-down) and not from the communities of users (bottom-up),⁴⁹ the future of any historical gardens may be threatened and conservation may fall short of the acceptable result.

Despite many charters and guidelines, how to overcome the conflicting views in heritage conservation, and how to find equilibrium between the top-down and bottom-up tendencies, still remains controversial. On the positive side, heritage is perceived as ‘culture and landscape that are cared for by the community and passed on to the future to serve people’s need for a sense of identity and belonging.’ On the negative side, heritage is considered a ‘commodity’ that is ‘synonymous with the manipulation (or even invention) and exploitation of the past for commercial ends.’⁵⁰ The integration of these two contrasting viewpoints, through ‘unlocking the economic and social potential of cultural heritage,’⁵¹ can be seen as the most effective and functional way to safeguard heritage and guarantee its sustainability.

Drawing attention to this issue, the ways in which the various approaches witnessed in the examples of Shiraz’s gardens and Qadamgah can complement each other should be considered. The compatibility between restricted/rigid and flexible approaches, between the bottom-up needs of the people and the top-down tendencies of the authorities, could provide useful points of reference regarding possible and practical ways for addressing the continuity of both the material and social life of gardens. For example, the case study of Shiraz reveals that by changing the function and meaning, the gardens have the potential to either reinforce the political legitimacy or topple the ruling powers. In the reform era, due to the changes in the approach of the authorities from rigid to more flexible, as well as to shaping different horizons towards heritage and Persian Gardens, different types of cultural behaviour and activities have emerged in response to the socio-cultural needs of society. In turn, the gardens became an arena to practice democratic actions that ironically consolidate the authorities’ status among the people.

On the other hand, the lesson derived from the Qadamgah garden confirms that beliefs and people’s motivation are strongly effective for the perpetuation of the life of the garden. For visitors, this motivation is tied to Qadamgah’s spiritual and intangible aspects that are represented by the garden’s physical form, but it is superimposed on its material dimension.

⁴⁹ Francesco Bandarin, 'From Paradox to Paradigm? Historic Urban Landscape as an Urban Conservation Approach', in *Managing Cultural Landscape*, ed. by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 213-31, (p.225).

⁵⁰ Nick Merriman, *Beyond the Glass Case : The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991) , p.8

⁵¹Ibid.; Loulanski, 'Revising the Concept for Cultural Heritage: The Argument for a Functional Approach', p.226.

For the *Awqaf* and local people, by increasing the number of pilgrims, Qadamagh is identified as a garden that generates income and revenue. Although there are some critics of the commodification of heritage which ‘can devalue other intrinsic heritage values,’⁵² the case of Qadamagh exemplifies how this intrinsic value would be safeguarded in parallel with its economic function in response to bottom-up and top-down tendencies. This implies the need for keeping up the constant motivation of people, since without their involvement, no laws can guarantee the continuity of heritage in the full sense of a process that carries and supports tradition, culture and identity.

These lessons from the case study chapters can be turned into broader practice by prioritising the enrichment of the knowledge of the significance of the gardens. In this way the core sense of the gardens can be safeguarded while responding to the main concerns of both the top-down authorities (political or financial) and the bottom-up needs. For instance, this study is not against the adaptive reuse of historical gardens for cultural (e.g. exhibitions, live concerts) or commercial (e.g. restaurant, hotel) purposes. However, by employing a different perspective towards saving the intangible authenticity, it suggests that the articulation of non-physical aspects that are inherent from the past can physically benefit the conditions of gardens on their own merit. In other words, commodification of intangible aspects of gardens (e.g. the revenue derived from sales of tickets for the display of inherent rituals or historical events) can provide an opportunity for boosting income while attracting people and invigorating social cohesion.⁵³ This is perceived as one of the more successful ways of conservation ‘in which the heritage element is in actual use, and thus capable of generating revenue to pay for its preservation.’⁵⁴ In this way, the use of heritage is both adaptive and sustainable without losing its spirit.

Regarding financing, since the ICHHTO cannot fully cover the financial base for conservation of even registered gardens, maintaining the motivation of people is an essential task. Financed by the people, the case of Qadamagh depicts the long-term advantage of

⁵² B. J. Graham, Gregory Ashworth, and John Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage : Power, Culture, and Economy*, (London: Arnold, 2000) , pp.115-156.

⁵³ It is noteworthy that this is only one suggestion and is not conservation strategy. The process of commodification and how could be beneficial or detrimental for gardens, within their pitfall and potential warrants further research and extra caution in Iranian context. The commodification of intangible heritage may have the reverse result as well. For example, Sunkul, through selection of two case study; Cheung Chau Island in Hong Kong and Luang Prabang in Laos, examined the various impacts of commodification of intangible heritage in Asian context that in some cases is adversarial and in other is co-dependent. see, Wantanee Sunkul, 'Commodification of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Asia', in *Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns, and Prospects*, ed. by Kapila D Silva and Neel Kamal Chapagain (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 236-52.

⁵⁴ Dick Netzer, 'The Economic Implications of Heritage Preservation', *The Urban Age*, 4 (1997).

people's covenant for continuing the life of the garden. This cannot provide a universal model, due to the differentiation of the concept and regulation pertaining to *waqf* properties from other heritage. However, it provides evidence of the fact that when the revenue derived from people's support, is spent on the same property, the garden remains self-sufficient and the future of garden highly can be reasonably well assured. In this regard, with the exception of religious places, which Iranians are self-motivated to safeguard automatically, in order to encourage people's motivation to finance and participate in heritage affairs, incentive should be offered by the local authorities to private enterprise and the people.

Towards commercialisation of cultural heritage, the priority of the ICHHTO, particularly after 2013, is to privatise registered heritage to attract funds from the private enterprise through a so-called Build-Operate-Transfer (BTO). The updated conditions for managing the gardens by the private sector, is still in progress and not provided yet. At the moment, in many cases the private enterprise with dominant profit-approach generally lacks knowledge in terms of heritage affairs. The ICHHTO can take advantage of renting the built heritage to the private sector in the short term,⁵⁵ but as the main aim of this sector has been limited to the hasty beautification of the gardens and physical rehabilitation the buildings of gardens for commercial activities (e.g. restaurants, hotel), in the long-term it causes serious damage to gardens and needs to be offset. So this study suggests that the ICHHTO can reassure the private sector that their investment would be returned with interest by showing some successful examples⁵⁶ which benefited from this reciprocity based on shared interest in participatory manner (e.g. through subsidies or grants). This in turn would provide an opportunity for proper research by the consultants of such projects under the supervision of the ICHHTO. The private sector can be involved in the decision-making process for garden conservation, through close cooperation with the consultant and relying on their schemes. Also, providing the common interest and of joint scope between the needs of the private sector and people can potentially affect the gardens in a positive way.

For generating participation of people to get involved and fund heritage, some tools have been mentioned in Chapter Two such as generating national pride, place attachment, place identity, and 'passions and commitment for the volunteer work.'⁵⁷ However, in the context of

⁵⁵ This issue was mainly raised during the interviews with Mr. Farhangi and Mr. Parsi who gave the example about the problems with private sector who invested on the Masoudieh garden.

⁵⁶ Source from the interview with Mr. Taghizadeh conducted by the author on 16.11.2011.

⁵⁷ Corinne Perkin, 'Beyond the Rhetoric: Negotiating the Politics and Realising the Potential of Community-Driven Heritage Engagement', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (2010).

Iran, there is no major survey regarding what is the people's main interest for maintaining or visiting historical gardens, what aspects of the gardens are important to them, or what gardens means to Iranians.⁵⁸ Whether the preferences of people is architectural, historical, social, cultural, aesthetical, improving well-being, recreational (daily outings), economic, or religious, the various measurements for engagement of people could be taken to provide sense of place attachment. For example, presenting gardens as the icon of self-assertion and interpreting the underlying concept of *chaharbagh* within its symbolism, that is not easily recognisable for the public, can contribute to raising people's consciousness and awareness. Moreover, taking advantageous of the strong Shi'a beliefs of Iranians, an acquaintance with the Islamic viewpoints and religious language such as *Hadith* of prophet and Imams regarding the importance of trees, gardens and environment could also be one alternative option to increase the society's engagement and their financial contribution in conservation affairs.

Some measures towards implementing these recommendations are indicated in the lessons found here. However, making decisions; shaping policy regarding how gardens can perform their social, political, cultural and economic functions; solving financial concerns; providing a forum for gathering experts; and generating motivation for people, all depends upon a thorough understanding of gardens by top-down authorities and their political will. The ICHHTO and Iran ICOMOS are mainly responsible for implementation and complementation of these suggestions with the cooperation of municipal authorities. Due to political and economic fluctuations, it remains ambiguous to claim how slowly or quickly and with how much ease or difficulty these suggestions could be extended into practice, or to give a definite image of when the privilege is given to culture and heritage.

However, two earlier suggestions should be taken as initial short-term steps to save the physical fabric and living organism of gardens. Another likely challenging task is to gain consensus and solve disagreement among various organisations to get them actively involved with different interests and priorities. Taking practical steps towards the former will provide an opportunity for taking forward the latter two key lessons derived from this study in the long-term. Nevertheless, some of these implications could be implemented in the short-term

⁵⁸ There is also no major research about Iranians' viewpoint towards cultural heritage. Only a few articles studied the Iranians' perceptions towards tourism development by selection of case studies. For example, see. Hamira Zamani-Farahani and Ghazali Musa, 'The Relationship between Islamic Religiosity and Residents' Perceptions of Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism in Iran: Case Studies of Sare'in and Masooleh', *Tourism Management*, 33 (2012).; Hamira Zamani-Farahani and Ghazali Musa, 'Residents' Attitudes and Perception Towards Tourism Development: A Case Study of Masooleh, Iran', *Tourism Management*, 29 (2008).

as well. For example, perpetuating the socio-cultural life in gardens and integrating the intangible aspects in conservation can be retrieved and nourished only by changing the narrow, one-sided and dogmatic views of the authority towards gardens in charge of the ICHHTO.⁵⁹ This involves rediscovering past values and then making managers sufficiently aware to valorise both tangible and intangible aspects of gardens that are emblematic of Iranian identity.

However, it is noteworthy again to emphasise that while this research suggests flexibility in terms of approaches towards social and symbolic dimensions of gardens in line with the needs of people, in contrast, a legal flexibility that can severely damage the material dimension of gardens is not acceptable. The foregoing recommendations could be useful in guiding policy-makers of the ICHHTO. This would involve considering the basic issues in conservation of gardens such as water management in different climatic situations and involving indigenous techniques. Also, the maintenance of living organisms such as botanical elements and plants from the past with appropriate nurseries, and bird conservation, should all be taken into account.

With these key recommendations in mind, it goes without saying that at the moment there are three alternatives for enjoying gardens in Iran: historical gardens that are already open to the public (such as those mentioned in this research); the countryside gardens and shared courtyard houses belonging to those living in poor districts or rural environments who cannot afford to buy new apartments, have to endure poor infrastructure; and private villas belonging to the high social class, which are set in their own gardens in the city or the countryside. As depicted earlier in the second part of the chapter of Literature Review, this third category of gardens has reduced in number. Driven by *Besaz befroosh* (builders and sellers) and volume apartment builders, intentions for apartment constructions have been increased, so the courtyard houses typology effectively came to an end in the second half of the 20th century.

Given these perceived constraints, and the particular pressure to provide housing, high-density urban construction has become favoured. The bulldozing of large scale gardens, which lack architectural importance, continues as multi-storey apartments continue to be constructed in this way: thus the contingency for saving private gardens became unviable. What makes this situation worse is that the destruction of gardens continues to bring more

⁵⁹ For example for the listed gardens rituals could be performed live simply through agreement contract of the manager of the gardens, the ICHHTO and Ministry of Culture and Islamic guidance.

immediate perceived advantages and benefits. Acknowledging an already real threat such as gardens in private ownership face, means that more attention should be given to the gardens in government ownership, where there is a better chance that alternate conservation or rehabilitation will be considered. It is worth noting, however, that despite the differences in the ownership of the gardens that have been the focus of this study, they do share a number of similarities with private gardens. Both of them due to the ongoing economic stringencies cause owners and managers to search for greater benefit, without which they continue to be threatened.

Whilst it is clearly impossible to map out what has happened to the majority of historical gardens, review all published and unpublished sources, and identify the complex forces behind gardens' alterations during the 20th century, or discuss in detail the whole range of changes of other dimensions (e.g. economic and environmental), this research has set out to capture the plight of historical gardens in a meaningful way. My interest and motivation for undertaking this research has been to call for a re-thinking of historical gardens from a fresh angle, and bring an understanding of the challenges and opportunities of different kinds of treatment in order to give some suggestions that the authorities might consider for conservation of gardens.

Towards the end of this study, though the country still suffers economic recession as well as a fickle market of national currency due to international sanctions against Iran, the recent Presidential election in June 2013 has been accompanied by an increasing attention towards cultural heritage and also the cessation of some parts of the economic sanctions which could also benefit the situation of heritage including gardens. As derived from this research, political situation is strongly influential in assisting or derailing the process of heritage conservation. Hence, by providing this political opportunity after the presidential election, this research by mapping out an analytical background for the dilemmas facing historical gardens and critically analysing the factors contributing to change the gardens, can play a role for adopting decision- and policy-making regarding garden conservation over the coming years.

Original Contribution of this Research

Despite the importance of historical gardens in Iran, until now no scholarly work has previously been done with the scope of this study, nor has any major critical study been carried out regarding conservation of gardens in the country. As mentioned in the introduction, the current state of knowledge among academics is limited to architectural elements of Persian Gardens and *chaharbagh* symbolism. Also, the managers in charge of heritage remain more concerned with safeguarding the existing state of gardens, often with a monument-centric approach, while in practice physical restoration is not implemented properly. Placing emphasis on current architectural elements of historical gardens distracts attention away from the importance of changes happening in their material and above all in social and symbolic dimensions, which in turn affects gardens' demise or survival.

The present study is the first inquiry that brings another way of understanding such gardens by shifting the focus to what is not surveyed yet; that is, tracing the ways in which gardens have been transformed due to political shifts and various applied approaches in order to shed new light on the issue of garden conservation more broadly. In this sense, this study provides an original contribution to the knowledge of how the concepts of cultural heritage, ideology and religion have affected various dimensions of gardens in 20th century Iran. Drawing attention to how three examples of gardens have been affected differently, due to the multiple (re)interpretations, interventions, manipulations, and (mis)understanding of their values, this research contributes to a better understanding of the driving forces behind different treatments, as well as the outcomes of these on the life of historical gardens.

New insight is offered by addressing inherent, changed, continued, ascribed or suppressed meanings and functions of gardens, and by presenting different ways of analysis to elucidate the impacts of changes on the life of gardens. This research also contributes to the existing bodies of information in a new light as part of a broader investigation, by assembling unexamined and much-overlooked primary data, cross-referencing these on maps, and combining them with secondary sources that have rarely or never been interpreted and discussed in the context of gardens. Moreover, this study questions the existing material garden conservation in Iran, and then re-evaluates this in the light of broader concerns that approach 'heritage' as something that can include intangible/social as well as tangible/material aspects. However, the aim of this research is not to provide a national framework or guidelines for the conservation of gardens in Iran, although the lessons and

knowledge gained from this study could be used to (re)measure and (re)orient current policies and practice towards the formulation of an improved framework that would be suitable to the current context of Iran.

As the first work of its kind, and given the numbers of gardens in the country, my exploration has perhaps not been able to fully and sufficiently map out what has happened to the majority of historical gardens, and consequently many issues remain to be researched. However, I do believe that by taking a different interpretative framework and providing analytical background in a meaningful way, the important lessons deriving from this study can change the current limited awareness regarding historical gardens. It may also benefit further researchers and policy-makers who have to tackle the conundrum facing historical gardens when further documents become available. So, this study can open up new visions and opportunities for further work, as will be sketched out in the following section.

Further research

As mentioned at the outset, this research has focused on formal gardens that are already open to the public.⁶⁰ It is important to encourage researchers to shift or expand their concerns away from studying those artfully designed gardens usually gathered under the rubric of Persian Gardens in order to pay more attention to informal gardens. This could bring more insight to the dilemmas facing those gardens that fall within different administrative systems and ownership. Moreover, as this research has generally analysed the impact of approaches that emerged from top-down decision-making, other studies could be conducted into examples of bottom-up processes. For instance, a study could be conducted with reference to how Iranians perceive and communicate with gardens, understand the various dimensions or interpretation of gardens, or why they walk in or visit gardens. Also, what the WHS listing brings to the nine Persian Gardens, and the negative and positive impacts of each mentioned suggestion in this study, warrants further research (e.g. to assess the effects of participation of community in conservation of gardens, or performance of rituals in gardens).

⁶⁰ It is noteworthy to mention that to date, there are several formal registered gardens on the List that are forbidden to the public. Some of these gardens were previously occupied by the Pahlavi Guard and after the Islamic Revolution, during years of war; these gardens were occupied by the Army of the Guardian of the IRI (*Sepah pasdaran*). After the ceasefire and approval of one article of law, all of the governmental institution was forced to evacuate the historical buildings, though the Army of the Guardian still resides in some palace gardens such as Saltanat Abad, Farah Abad, Morvarid, Mozaferi Darabad, and Eshrat Abad in Tehran.

It is also important to carry out research into the necessity of saving gardens, historic environments and natural resources which are important from the Islamic and Shi'a viewpoints to give a clear vision based on the beliefs and value systems prevailing in Iranian society. Some scholars, such as Fazlun Khalid, have worked to highlight the Islamic world-view of the universe, natural resources and the built environment, to compare the various paradigms of Islam and the West.⁶¹ However, there is still room for research based on Shi'a doctrine, as there are many *Hadith* and sayings of Prophet Mohammad and Shi'a Imams regarding the importance of cultivation of trees, agricultural and horticultural matters that inspired ancient gardeners such as those mentioned in *Irshad Alzerae* by Heravi. As stated above, acquaintance with this religious language could increase the civil society's engagement in conservation.

Furthermore, as transmission of traditional knowledge is also part of intangible values, the identification and interviewing of those key people in the conservation of historical gardens such as *Moghani* (traditional builder of *qanat*), and in particular those who worked in the Pahlavi gardens, some of whom are still alive, can be the aim of future research. This could provide a valuable source of knowledge and insights about their experience with previous horticultural methods, systems of irrigation, the original flowers and trees, function of gardens as well as the broader guidance for management of garden.

Approximately 90 percent of Iran is arid and semi-arid; this, combined with the continuing increases in the population, has meant that the emphasis of the authorities in the drafting of new plans has not yet moved to tackle environmental problems. Furthermore, greening policy has not promoted as a way of enhancing the well-being of the city and helping the citizens to breathe. In the light of all these considerations, it would also be beneficial to study the environmental impacts of historical gardens on the life of citizens in 21st century Iran.

⁶¹ For instance, Fazlun Khalid explains 'how Islam defines human connection with the earth and how we may be kinder to it as the source of the generous gifts that sustain our lives.' He argues that Islam with its own unique expression could act as antidote to the environmental problems that affect the planet, in contrast to Western environmental language which adopts a scientific response. Fazlun Khalid, 'Islam and the Environment—Ethics and Practice an Assessment', *Religion Compass*, 4 (2010).

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Appendix A
List of registered gardens on the National List of Properties

Location		Name of garden/ <i>Bagh</i>	Type	Date of inscription /Inscription No
Province	City			
Azarbayejan Sharghi (East Azarbayejan)	Tabriz	Bagh-e- Fath Abad	Pavilion garden	1990/2519
		Bagh-e-Amir	Pavilion garden	2004/11116
		Bagh misheh	Pavilion garden	2005/12223
		Bagh-e-Shah Goli	Pavilion garden	2009/24744
		Bagh –e-Kalantari	Pavilion garden	2003/9712
	Macoo	Baghche joogh	Palace garden	1996/1739
Fars	Pasargadae	Pasargadae	Royal Garden	1932/19
	Shiraz	Bagh-e-Nazar (Pars Museum)	Pavilion garden	1935/244
		Bagh-e- Hafttan	Tomb garden	1932/74
		Bagh-e-Monshi Bashi	Pavilion garden	1975 /1221
		Arg Karimkhani	Palace garden	1972/918
		Bagh-e- Takht	Pavilion garden	1972/931
		Bagh-e-Jahan Nama	Pavilion garden	1972/928
		Bagh-e- Afif Abad	Pavilion garden	1972/913
		Bagh-e- Eram	Pavilion garden	1974/1013
		Sadieh	Tomb garden	1975/1010
		Hafezieh	Tomb garden	1975/1009
		Bagh-e-Ghavam (Narenjestan)	Pavilion garden	1975/1073
		Zinat al Molk(Narejestan)	House garden	1975/938
		Bagh-e-Ilkhani	Pavilion garden	1975/1069
		Bagh-e- Delgosha	Pavilion garden	1972/912
		Bagh-e-Salari	Pavilion garden	2001/3399
		Bagh-e- No	Pavilion garden	2003/9819
		Bagh-e- Navabi	Pavilion garden	2003/9799
	Bagh-e- Minoo	Pavilion garden	2003/9782	
	Lar	Bagh-e- Neshat	Pavilion garden	1974/973
Firuzabad	Bagh-e-Naranji	Pavilion garden	2002/5033	
Gilan	Rasht	Bagh-e-Chhokam	Pavilion garden	2005/13227
Hamedan	Hamedan	Bagh-e- Etemadieh	Pavilion garden	2001/4481
		Bagh-e- Nazari	Pavilion garden	1998/2019
		American garden	Pavilion garden	2006/1486
		Bagh-e-Beidol Hokama	Pavilion garden	2006/16485
		Bagh-e-Jenat	Pavilion garden	2006/16490
		Bagh-e-Gharaguzlu	Pavilion garden	2006/16482
Isfahan	Kashan	Bagh-e-Fin	Pavilion garden	1935/238
		Bagh-e-Kohne	House garden	2007/20006
	Isfahan	Bagh-e-Chehel Sotun	Palace garden	1932/108
		Chaharbagh Avenue	Avenue	1932/109
		Hasht Behesht	Palace garden	1934/227
		Bagh-e-Mohamad ali khan	House garden	2005/11549
Bagh-e-borj ali akbari golpaygani	House garden	2005/12318		
Kerman	Kerman	Bagh-e- Iman Jome Salehi	Pavilion garden	2003/9264
		Bagh-e- Modael Umum	Pavilion garden	2002/6124
		Bagh-e No1 Kerman	House garden	2003/6123
		Bagh Biglar beigi(Fath Abad)	Pavilion garden	2003/7284
		Bagh-e- Mohamad Ismaeil Noori	Pavilion garden	2002/6466
		Bagh-e- Salari Kalalntari	Pavilion garden	2005/13071
		Bagh-e-Sardar	Pavilion garden	2005/11599
		Bagh-e-Agha (Koshk Mahi abad)	-	2005/11600
	Sirjan	Bagh-e- Sangi	Pavilion garden	2006/15699
	Jiroft	Bagh-e- Omran	Pavilion garden	2006/15696
	Ravar	Bagh-e- Vakili	Pavilion garden	2005/13576
	Mahan	Bagh-e- Vali Khan	Tomb garden	2005/13782
		Bagh-e-Shazdeh	Pavilion garden	1974/1012
	Kohkilioeh v Boier Amad	Kohkilioe	Bagh-e- Cheshme Belgaise	Pavilion garden
Khuzestan	Shushtar	Bagh Kahn Payin	Pavilion garden	2008/23051
	Brujerd	Bagh-e- Homayuni	Pavilion garden	2005/12537

Appendix A
List of registered gardens on the National List of Properties

	Khoram Abad	Bagh-e-Eram		2003/9972
		Bagh-e- Falahat	Pavilion garden	2003/9928
Mazandaran	Behshahr	Bagh-e- Ashraf	Pavilion garden	1932/57
		Safi abad	Pavilion garden	1932/58
		Bagh-e- Chehel sotun	Palace garden	1977/1537
		Safi Abad	Pavilion garden	1932/58
		Bagh cheshme Emarat	Pavilion garden	1973/948
	Noshahr	Botanical Garden	Botanical garden	2007/17795
Ramsar	Bagh-e- Ramsar	Pavilion garden	1999/2323	
Qazvin	Qazvin	Bagh-e- Sepahdar	Agriculture Garden	1999/2227
		Chehel sotun	Palace garden	1958/389
		Bagli Tape	Pavilion garden	2002/5573
		Baghe Samirat	House garden	2001/5447
		Bagh-e- Sadat Abad	Pavilion garden	2008/22680
Khorasan Jonubi (South Khorasan)	Birjand	Bagh-e-Seid Abad Behlgord	Pavilion garden	2005/11942
		Bagh-e-Masumieh	Pavilion garden	2006/11943
		Bagh-e-Behlgord	Pavilion garden	2000 /2367
		Bagh-e-Amir Abad	Pavilion garden	1998/1969
		Bagh-e-Hesamodole	Tomb garden	1998/2041
		Bagh-e-Shokat Abad	Pavilion garden	1999/2363
		Bagh-e Rahim Abad	Pavilion garden	2001/2707
		Bagh-e-Akbaryeh	Pavilion garden	1999/2326
	Nehbandan	Bagh sara Mand	Pavilion garden	2002/4576
Khorasan Razavi	Fariman	Bagh meli Fariman	Public garden	2006/15875
	Sabzevar	Bagh-e- torshizi	Pavilion garden	2005/ 13151
		Bagh Hoshmand	Pavilion garden	2008/21243
		Bagh-e-Auskuyi	Pavilion garden	2001 /4572
	Kashmar	Bagh mazar Kashmar	Tomb garden	2003/8738
	Khaf	Hafez abru	Tomb garden	2003/8739
		Bagh-e- Sameh	House garden	2002/663
	Gonabad	Koosh Bagh Golshan Riyab	-	2005/13170
	Mashhad	Bagh Meli(National Garden)	Public garden	2005/13859
		Bagh-e- Virani	Tomb garden	2003 /8730
		Bagh-e-charborj Toos	House garden	2005/13500
	Neyshabour	Bagh-e- Amin al Islami	Pavilion garden	2002/4809
		Bagh-e- Neshat	Pavilion garden	2001/4492
Khuzestan	Shushtar	Bagh Kahn Payin	Pavilion garden	2008/23051
Zanjan	Khoda Bande	Baglar Tape	Pavilion garden	2004/9440
	Zanjan	Darayi	Pavilion garden	1999/2335
Semnan	Semnan	Baghe Amir	Pavilion garden	1988/2143
Sistan Baluchestan	Bamour	Bagh Kalese bampour	Pavilion garden	2000/2844
	Zahedan	Bagh Kallate Razagh zadeh	Pavilion garden	2003/9440
		Bagh-e-Kalte Razagh zadeh	House garden	2005/14990
Tehran	Tehran	Golestan garden	Royal garden	1956/417
		Bagh-e-Saltanat abad	Pavilion garden	1956/418
		Sahebgharanieh	Pavilion garden	1956/419
		Eshrat Ababd	Pavilion garden	1967/648
		Farah Abad	Pavilion garden	1977/1331
		Bagh Ferdows	Pavilion garden	1996/1876
		Bagh-e-Aino Dole	Pavilion garden	1998/2042
		Bagh-e-Darband(Sheikh khezel)	Pavilion garden	2004/10849
		Sad Abad	Palace garden	1989/1957
		Niavaran	Palace garden	1989/2025
		Bagh-e-Negarestan	pavilion garden	1989/2082
		Masoodieh	Pavilion garden	1990/2190
		Gavamo Doleh	House garden	1989/2024
		Abgineh	House garden	1989/2014
		UK embassy garden	Pavilion garden	1990/2280
		Bagh-e-Saba	Pavilion garden	2003/9913
		Italian embassy garden	Pavilion garden	1989/1965
		Qasr-e- Yagoot	Palace garden	2003/10410
		Bagh-e-Darband	-	2003/10849
		Bagh-e-Etehadieh	House garden	2005/12057
	Karaj	Bagh-e-Jahansharh	Pavilion garden	2006/15849

Appendix A
List of registered gardens on the National List of Properties

	Shemiranat	Bagh-e-Zahiro dole	tomb garden	2003/9944	
	Abarkooh	Bagh-e-Salar	House garden	2009/24431	
		Bagh-e-Azimi	House garden	2008/22755	
		Baghe-e-Omidvar	House garden	2008/23889	
	Bafgh	Bagh-e Emarat	Pavilion garden	2009/24422	
		Bagh-e- Dolat Abad	Pavilion garden	1968/774	
		Bagh-e-Roo ab	Pavilion garden	2003/7797	
		Bagh-e -Abdol Rahimkhan	Pavilion garden	2003/7780	
		Bagh-e-mash Rahim Abad	Pavilion garden	2004/8680	
		Bagh-e-Rostam Dastoor	House garden	2009/24419	
		Bagh-e-Moshir	Pavilion garden	2002/7778	
		Bagh-e-Sedgh	House garden	2006/14601	
		Bagh-e-Shah Abasi	Pavilion garden	2008/22761	
		Bagh-e- Hams	Pavilion garden	2006/15071	
		Bagh-e- Titoo	House garden	2001/3750	
		Mehriz	Bagh-e-Doctor Malek zadeh	Pavilion garden	2006/15897
			Bagh-e- Shojaie Laskar	House garden	2006/15070
	Bagh-e-Pahlavan poor		Pavilion garden	2002/6334	
	Tabas	Bagh-e-Golshan	Pavilion garden	1977/1310	
		Bagh-e-Ghiyasi	House garden	2005/14858	
	Taft	Bagh-e-Sadri namir	House garden	2000/2898	
		Bagh-e-Sadri Faizabad	House garden	2009/24413	
		Bgah-e-Sadri Mohamad abad	House garden	2009/24414	
		Bagh-e- Kaka	House garden	2009/23892	
		Bagh-Mozafari	House garden	2009/24418	
		Bagh-e- Farhang	House garden	2009/26596	
		Bagh-e-Hefazi	Pavilion garden	2005/1560	
		Bagh-e--Ali taghi Khan	House garden	2005/12344	

Appendix B
List of interviewees

Transcript producer: The author

No	Name	Position and status	Dates of Interview/place	Length of audio (min)	Words of transcripts
1	Dr. Mahdi Hodjat	The current Head of ICOMOS in Iran; The first Head of the ICHO after the Revolution	28.11.2011/His office (Tehran)	71	1845
2	Dr. Akbar Zargar	The former Head of the ICHO and Current Director of School of Architecture, Shahid Beheshti University	21.11.2011/ His office, Shahid Beheshti University (Tehran)	75	1374
3	Dr. Mohamad H Talebian	The Head of Deputy of World Heritage Site in Iran; The current Vice president of the ICHHTO	01.12.2011/Islamic Azad University of Tehran Central Branch(Tehran)	22	632
4	Mr. Mohammad Beheshti (M.Arch)	The former Head of the ICHHTO from 2002 to 2006; The current Vice president Head of the ICHHTO	08.11.2011/his office (Tehran)	34	1208
5	Mr. Adel Farhangi (M.Arch)	Consultants' executive of the ICHHTO and coordinator of Persian Garden Conference	5.11.2011/his office (Masudieh garden) Tehran)	56	1229
6	Dr. Eskandar Mokhtari	The former Head of the ICHO branch of Tehran province	3.11.2011/Islamic Azad University of Tehran Central Branch(Tehran)	34	841
7	Mr. Taghizadeh	The Head of the Rehabilitation Fund who conserved some gardens(e.g. Pahlavanpour)	16.11.2011/his office (Masudieh garden, Tehran)	35	1179
8	Mr. Farmarz Parsi (M.Arch)	The Manager of Imarat Khorshid Consultant Engineering (responsible for conservation of some historical gardens such as Masoudieh in Tehran and Cheshmeh Ali)	20.11.2011/ His office (Tehran)	39	1129
9	Mr. Jabar Avaj	Vice Manager of Royal Golestan garden	29.11.2011/his office, Golestan garden (Tehran)	15	590
10	Mr. Hossein Rayati (M.Arch)	The former Head of Cultural Heritage Organisation Branch of Fars province.	2.12.2011/His office (Tehran)	40	925
11	Dr. Hamid R Jeyhani	The former Director of Persian Garden research centre	(Email)	-	525
12	Dr. Vahid Heidar Nattaj	Historical garden conservationist Abbas Abad garden, Behshahr	12.11.2011/ (Email)	-	365
14	Mr. Yaghub Daneshdoost (M.Arch)	The former Head of Cultural Heritage Organisation Branch of Khorasan province; The former manager of restoration plan in Qadamgah garden	08.01.2012/ his Office (Mashhad)	35	750

Appendix B
List of interviewees

Informal and un-structured interviews

No	Name	Position and status	Dates of Interview/place	Length of interview (min)
1	Mr. Kamran Diba (M. Arch)	Designer of many parks and architectural buildings in Iran before the Revolution	18.01. 2011/ Phone interview(Spain)	40
2	Mr. Reza Moghtader (M. Arch)	Co-author of the book of <i>The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise</i>	28.06.2013/ Phone interview (France)	35
3	Mr. Qadamgahi	co-manager of Qadamgah garden	03.09.2013/ His office/Qadamgah	20

Appendix C

Effect of two main religions on Persian Gardens

Influence of Zoroastrianism on Persian pre-Islamic Garden

Under the Achaemenid Empire (550-330 BC), the Zoroastrian religion was gained prominence that its influence reflected both in garden and architectural design. The Achaemenid rulers presented themselves as the interface between *Ahura Mazda*¹ and people. In the *Avesta*, the ancient holy book of Zoroastrian, the garden and the sacred plants are highly praised as one of the four sacred elements.² Therefore, *chaharbagh* might be a reflection of the mythical perception of nature; 'four river of life and the division of each into quarters',³ or in the words of Vita Sackville-West 'the conception of the universe as divided into four quarter, usually by four great rivers'.⁴

In the *Avesta* mentioned that who makes a garden is the interface with the light of *Ahura Mazda*. For being safe from the harm of *Ahriman* (Satan)...the garden (*paradeisos*) must be irrigated and enclosed.⁵ Zoroaster encourages his followers 'to plant the best trees, the most sweetly scented flowers, and all kind of fruits.'⁶ In Zoroastrian doctrine, water, fire and plants are the sacred elements and 'water' is the most sacred and holy element after 'fire'. 'We sacrifice to the fountain of water and to the fording of the rivers', Zoroaster said.⁷ 'Water' has a specific goddess named 'Anahita', who is second in status after *Ahura Mazda*. For that purpose, many temples and gardens were constructed for worshipping this goddess near a natural spring in particular during the Sassanian Empire (224–651).⁸

In the *Avesta* says that 'we send our regards to water sources and to the water passing',⁹ and therefore, polluting the water was strictly forbidden.¹⁰ Trees also played an important role in

¹ *Ahura Mazda* is an *Avestan* name that refers to god of Zoroastrian.

² The four elements are: Earth, Heaven, Water and Plants.

³ Louise Wickham, *Gardens in History : A Political Perspective*, ([Oxford?]: Windgather Press ; Oakville, CT : [Distributor] David Brown Book Co, c2012). *Gardens in History: A Political Perspective*, p.12.

⁴ Vita Sackville-West, 'Persian Garden', in *The Legacy of Persia*, ed. by Arthur John Arberry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).p.262.

⁵ Heshmat Motedayen, 'Risheyahe Mazhabi Tahavol Baghaye Irani (the Religious Root of Transition the Persian Garden)', in *The Second Symposium of Architecture and Urban Design of Iran*, ed. by Bagher A Shirazi (Tehran: ICHO, 2000), pp. 407-22., (p.410).

⁶ Fargard 2:28, quoted in Mohammad Gharipour, *Persian Gardens and Pavilions : Reflections in History, Poetry and the Arts*, (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013).p.17.

⁷ Yasna 42:1, Yasna is the Zoroastrian collection. quoted in Gharipour, cited above, p. 17 and p.18.

⁸ Azadeh Shahcheraghi, *Paradaimhaye Pardis:Daramadi Bar Bazshenasi V Baz Afarini Baghe Irani (Paradaigms of Paradise:Recognition and Re-Craetion of the Persian Gardens)*, (Tehran: Jahad Daneshgahi Tehran, 2010),. p.100.

Taghi Bahrami, *Farhange Roostayi Ya Dayeratolmaref Falahati (Rural Culture or Encyclopedia of Farming)*, (Tehran, 1317SH/1938),.p.14; Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, and Minouch Yavari, *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*, (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2004),. *The Persian Garden : Echoes of Paradise*, p.34.

⁹ Taghi bahrami, *Farhange Roostayi ya Dayeratolmaref Falahati (Rural cultureor Falahati Encyclopedia)* (Tehran:1938), p.14, quoted in Azade Shahcheragi, *Paradigms of Paradise:Recognition and Re-craetion of the Persian Gardens*, p.100.

¹⁰ Mahmood Naghizadeh, 'Khastgaheye Ideye Dar Zamin (Origin of the Idea in the Land)', *Ketabmah Honar*, (2008). p.53.

Appendix C

the life of ancient Persia. *Ameretat* is a gardener of plants and trees¹¹ and people. It is asserted that two cypresses, that were the symbol of liberty, ever greens, happiness, and long life in Iranian culture, were cultivated by Zoroaster in Kashmar and Farimud and were existed for 1400 and 1691 years, respectively.¹²

Influence of Islam on Persian Gardens

It is often said that designed Persian Gardens and courtyards in Islamic world, evoke the image of the Paradise. In the Holy Qur'an describes the Paradise as a garden which is promised by God (*Allah*) to those who are faithful and follow the 'Way of God' as their reward. In order to imagine the visual appearance of the Paradise in the hereafter and make it tangible for people, in majority of verses, many worldly examples have been used. Repetitive phrase 'gardens underneath which rivers flow' (*jenaten men tahetal al anhar*) is the best description image of the Qur'anic Paradise. The *Hadith* clarifies that Paradise have eight gates.¹³ In the Holy Qur'an approximately there are 386 references to gardens, 81 of which describe the secular garden or the garden of this world and 306 explain the celestial garden in the Hereafter.¹⁴ The word '*Jennat*',¹⁵ is used 55 times in the Qur'an which attributes to the garden of creation (Eden), the garden of this world, or refers to the garden in the Hereafter.

The accepted view among scholars is that individual Muslims, who consider themselves detached from God, try to build an earthly paradise, which has the appearance of eternal futurity, through employing the Paradise metaphor in the Qur'an by symbolizing the celestial paradise.¹⁶ The layout of these gardens closely resembles the illustration of Qur'anic Paradise and most Muslim architecture 'must have been fully aware of the eschatological symbolism conveyed by the architect's innovative plan'.¹⁷ For example, the four water channel in *chaharbagh* reflected the four rivers in heavenly Paradise describing in the Sura of Mohammad:

¹¹ Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, Minouch Yavari, *The Persian garden : echoes of paradise*,p.34.

¹² Alireza Aryanpour, *Pazhoheshi dar baghhaye tarikhi Iran va Shiraz* (Research in the gardens of Iran and Shiraz),p.36b nagl az tarikh beyhagh.p. 283.

¹³ Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, 'Images of Paradise in Islamic Art', (Austin: Distributed by the University of Texas Press, 1991).,p.17.

¹⁴ Azadeh Shahcheraghi , *Paradaimhaye Pardis:Daramadi bar Bazshenasi v Baz Afarini Baghe Irani* (Paradigms of Paradise: Recognition and Re-creation of the Persian Gardens),p.114

¹⁵ *Jennat* 'is formed from a root meaning veiling, covering, since a gardens veils one from surrounding presumably arid or uncultivated land, or in this case form the fire'. [Qur'an 21:102] ,see. Blair and Bloom.,cited above, p.16.

¹⁶ James L. Wescoat, 'From the Gardens of the 'Qur'an' to the 'Gardens' of Lahore', *Landscape Research*, 20 (1995)..(p.19)

¹⁷ Wayne Begley, 'The Garden of the Taj Mahal:A Case Studt of Mughal Architectural Planning and Syblism', in *Mughal Garden:Sources,Places,Repsantations and Prospect*, ed. by James L. Wescoat and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, c1996), pp. 213-33.(p.228).

Appendix C

A similitude of the garden which those who keep their duty (to *Allah*) are promised: therein are rivers of water unpolluted, and rivers of milk whereof the flavour changed not, and rivers of wine delicious to the drinkers, and rivers of clear-run honey; .. [Qur'an 47:15]

Moreover, it is generally accepted that the central pool, is the replica of spring called *Kosar*, 'Tank of Abundance'¹⁸ in the Paradise. The main gateway of the garden also symbolised the entrance of Paradise based on the Qur'anic verse in which God invite people directly to the Paradise: 'enter thou my garden!' [Qur'an 89:30]. The celestial tree, *Loote*, is a tree of the 'Boundary' [Qur'an 13:29] that is also known as *Tuba* and *Sedrata al Montaha* [Qur'an 53:14]. This tree is conceived as a symbol of trees in gardens, 'whose extend is one hundred years, whose height is unknowable save by God'¹⁹ and it is said that its root is in the Prophet of Muhammad. The water also is a symbol of purity in Islam; 'we send down purifying water from the sky' [Qur'an 25:48]. Furthermore, water in the Qur'an is defined as a source of life, the blessing of Paradise's symbol, a source of the city and earth's life that prevents the thirst of the earth, a source for reclamation, and finally is one of the basic sources for identifying and proving the unity of God.²⁰

The other type of gardens which have been described in the Holy Qur'an refers to the gardens of this world (*Donya*) which are also the sign of 'God' for 'the people who have sense' and 'who understand'[Qur'an 36:35] and should be thankful for God's bless. God is the only creator of the gardens who makes them productive and gives the life to these gardens.

And there we made gardens of palms and vines, and in it we caused fountains to gush forth, so that they might eat of its fruit and the labour of their hands. Will they not give thanks? [Qur'an 36:34-35]

On the other hand, there are some stories in the Holy Qur'an for unbeliever and arrogance who 'associated anyone with lord' [Qur'an 18:42] and who 'desire to compete with original creation'.²¹ These gardens were ruined and burned by the order of God [Qur'an 2:266; 18:32-43; 89:6-8].

¹⁸ Ibid. p.227.

¹⁹ Blair and Bloom. eds., *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*.

²⁰ Mohammad Naghizade, *Jaygahe Tabiat V Mohit Zist Dar Farhang V Sharhaye Irani(Nature and Environment Status in Iranian Culture and City)*, (Tehran: Srbiau, 2005). pp.148-150.

²¹Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, (Philadelphia, Pa. : Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press ; University Presses Marketing [distributor], 2008)., *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, p.75.