

tually ended due to the return of unified conservative rule, which commenced in 2018 and was solidified in 2021.

It is noteworthy that the formal and informal relationships among the various actors extend beyond the specific points in time that this book uses to outline the cycles. These historical turning points were identified based on the significant shifts observed in the urban heritage planning context. They are used to illustrate the recurring pattern discussed, rather than to strictly indicate specific time frames.

The first cycle: Assembling the conservation fundamentals between two revolutions

With the early 1900s Constitutional Revolution, Iranian society broke with the structures of the past and created a plane of possibilities on which new socio-political structures could emerge. From this plane of possibilities, which Deleuze and Guattari would call a 'Body Without Organs',² the governmental, academic, and social assemblage of modern conservation was born in Iran. The legislative-administrative conservation apparatus that developed between 1910 and 1930 was linked to the pre-constitutional socio-political networks³ around the idea of modern Iranian nationality.⁴ Nevertheless, state implementation of conservation as a central policy in Iran began with the establishment of the parliamentary state and its ministries. In this regard, Tehran's

2 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

3 Elsewhere, I have looked at the transition of Iranian thought from pre-modern handling of old cities to modern conservation. See: Solmaz Yadollahi, 'Reflections on the Past and Future of Urban Conservation in Iran', *Built Heritage* 4, no. 1 (2020): 1–13.

4 For a detailed historical perspective on constructing cultural heritage preservation as part of modernization process in Iran, see: Talinn Grigor, 'Recultivating "Good Taste": The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage', *Iranian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2004): 17–45, doi: 10.1080/0021086042000232929.

material and discursive role in the overarching modernization policies, including conservation, was central.

With the establishment of the Ministry of Knowledge, Awqaf,⁵ and Handicrafts [*Vezerat-e Maaref, Awqaf, va Sanaye' e Mostazrefeh*] in 1910, ideas, funds, and human resources were collected in Tehran and distributed to other parts of the country.⁶ Western archaeologists also played an important role in laying the foundations for the administrative and academic components of conservation in Iran, for instance by establishing the National Council for Monuments (NCM) [*Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli*] in 1921 and drafting the very first list of national cultural heritage sites.⁷ They also played an integral role in drafting the 1930 Antiquities Law⁸ and in setting up the College of Fine Arts at the University of Tehran in 1939.⁹

The conservation projects that involved close cooperation with foreign architects and archaeologists were initially undertaken in the mid-1920s and 1930s at Persepolis in Shiraz and the monuments located in the Shah (Naghsh-e Jahan) Square in Isfahan.¹⁰ These sites played

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- 5 In Islamic contexts, the term 'Awqaf' refers to donated, inherited, or acquired assets held in trust for charitable social purposes.
 - 6 In 1922, the Parliament approved legislation to allocate funds for the purpose of sending Iranians overseas to attend military schools, with the aim of cultivating domestic human resources essential for the nation. This marked the initiation of subsequent fund allocations administered by the Vezerat-e Maaref. See: Maghsoud Farasatkah, *The Adventure of University in Iran* (Tehran: Rasa, 2009).
 - 7 I Sadiq, 'Anjoman-e Athar-e Melli', in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 1985; Grigor, 'Recultivating "Good Taste": The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage'.
 - 8 Parliament of Iran, 'The Law on Antiquities', 1930.
 - 9 The college, led by the French archaeologist André Godard, began as an art school that offered education in architecture, painting, and sculpture.
 - 10 See: Ève Gran-Aymerich and Mina Marefat, 'GODARD, ANDRÉ', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XI (2001): 29–31; Kishwar Rizvi, 'Art History and the Nation: Arthur Upham Pope and the Discourse on "Persian Art" in the Early Twentieth Century', in *Muqarnas*, Volume 24 (Brill, 2007), 45–66; Eugenio Galdieri and Kerāmat-Al-lāh Afsar, 'Conservation and Restoration of Persian Monuments', in *Encyclopedia Iranica* (New York, 1992).

an important role in shaping the conservation approaches in Iran by providing the technical and material context in which conservation ideas and methods could be examined, learned, and implemented in other sites. Galdieri and Afsar¹¹ highlight examples of how these sites have contributed to the definition of buffer zones around historic sites and how to use local materials in conservation projects.

Figure 2: Persepolis, Gate of All Nations, photographed during the 1939 excavation season



©The University of Chicago¹²

11 'Conservation and Restoration of Persian Monuments'.

12 Stable URL: <https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/91b60f15-5141-4e29-9cb9-2b16f9d224ee>

The international debates reflected in the Athens Charter,¹³ which advocated the preservation of monuments and the removal of the urban structures surrounding them, were also taken up in Iran during this period. As such, the Antiquities Law relied on expert interpretation of criteria such as artistic, scientific, or historical value (for instance, by listing monuments built before the end of the Zand dynasty in 1794).

At the urban level, the period following the Constitutional Revolution saw the territorialization of land and property within legally defined and registered boundaries of public and private ownership, previously defined by tradition and religion. Technological and demographic changes, widespread automobile use, and increased political control over urban areas led to the proliferation of road-widening projects and redevelopment, as well as the radical replanning of old neighbourhoods in Tehran and other major cities.¹⁴ Together with the Antiquities Law, this urban planning approach led to the development of modern cities in which selected monuments of conservation significance were listed for preservation.

After World War II and the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran in 1941, heritage projects were put on hold, pending an environment stable enough to allow for further administrative and on-site conservation measures. Having left the country in the early 1940s due to political instability and war, foreign archaeologists returned to Iran in the post-war period for what was described by Galdieri and Afsar as “the time of the great restoration projects”.¹⁵

Following the revision of the Antiquities Law in 1944, monuments from the Qajar period that were less than a hundred years old became eligible to be classified as historically valuable. The general cultural

13 Le Corbusier and CIAM, *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (New York, 1931).

14 EHLERS Ehlers Eckart, ‘Modern Urbanization and Modernization in Persia’, in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Cities iv, 1991, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cities-iv>; Ali Madanipour, ‘Early Modernization and the Foundations of Urban Growth in Tehran’, *Fachzeitschrift Des VINI*, 2006.

15 ‘Conservation and Restoration of Persian Monuments’.

policy reflected, for example, in radio broadcasts¹⁶ and tourism magazines,¹⁷ indicate that the Ashwothian¹⁸ economy-oriented heritage planning was gradually finding a place in urban policymaking. This subtle reorientation is particularly evident in the Law on Municipalities and City Anjomans,¹⁹ on the basis of which the municipalities became responsible for the conservation of urban monuments under the Law on Antiquities. Yet, conservation of monuments remained the primary approach. Cleansing the city fabric surrounding historical monuments in Yazd, Qazvin, Kashan, and Isfahan²⁰ exemplify interventions resulting from the overlap between administrative and legal systems that operated urban development and conservation.

Assembling and sophisticating conservation in Iranian cities

The period between 1960 and 1970 was characterized by an increase in oil revenue and a corresponding rapid urban development fuelled by a strengthened economy and cooperation with the US.²¹ In the progressive and stable political atmosphere after the White Revolution²² and

16 For example, see n. n., 'The Magazin of Radio Tehran [Inja Tehran Ast]', 65 1947, Tehran, National Library of Iran.

17 See 'Revue Du Touring Club de l'Iran [*Majale-Ye Jahangardi*]', September 1936, Tehran, National Library of Iran; 'Revue Du Touring Club de l'Iran [*Majale-Ye Jahangardi*]', August 1937, Tehran, National Library of Iran.

18 Ashworth, 'Conservation as Preservation or as Heritage: Two Paradigms and Two Answers'.

19 Parliament of Iran, 'Municipalities and City Anjomans Law [Chanoon-e Tashkil-e Shahrdari-Ha ve Anjoman-e Sahrha va Ghasabat]', 1949.

20 Asghar Mohammadmoradi, Atossa Amirkabirian, and Hojatollah Abdi Ardakani, *Revitalisation of Historic Urban Fabrics (a Review of Experiences)* (Tehran: University of Tehran, 2017).

21 See: Ehlers, 'Modern Urbanization and Modernization in Persia'; Madanipour, 'Early Modernization and the Foundations of Urban Growth in Tehran'.

22 In 1963, Mohammad Reza Shah initiated his 'White Revolution', which included agricultural and economic reform (for example, the transfer of farmland to peasants), giving women the right to vote, the nationalization of forests, and the mobilization of young men and women in the education, health, and agri-

with the development of the oil economy, the social and administrative structures of conservation began to expand and become more complex, much like other governmental and social formations. Without experiencing a radical break with the past (the legal, administrative, and discursive structure that had emerged following the Constitutional Revolution), the elements of conservation came to be rearranged to form a more complex structure assembled in cities countrywide.

The Ministry of Culture and Art and the Ministry of Development and Housing were both established in 1963 to promote the modernization of cultural and urban development. Although their impact in the cities was quite divergent even to the point of appearing contradictory, their function within a centralized legislative-administrative system nevertheless made the field of conservation more complex and expanded its traditional disciplinary boundaries. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, government policy and academic publications alike mention conservation of historic urban and rural areas as described in the 1956 Venice Charter,²³ outlining the emerging link between the fields of conservation and urban planning, which respectively fall under the jurisdiction of the two aforementioned ministries. This focus underscores the connection between the domestic urban conservation planning frameworks and the prevailing international discourses of the time.

Some mark the inclusion of settlements such as the City of Damavand and its surroundings and the ancient city of Gorgan in the National Heritage List in 1931 and 1938, respectively, to be the beginning of the drafting guidelines for the conservation of historic cities in Iran.²⁴ However, aside from documentation of various sites and ongoing discourse

cultural corps. Opposed by large landowners and the clergy, the White Revolution led to upheaval that contributed to the 1979 Iranian Revolution. See: Ehsan Yarshater, 'IRAN II. IRANIAN HISTORY (2) Islamic Period (Page 6)', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XIII, no. 3 (2012): 243–46.

23 ICOMOS, *The Venice Charter* (Venice, 1964).

24 Fieldnotes at the expert meeting on experiences of writing guidelines for historic fabrics (the case of Qom presented by Pardaraz Consulting Engineers), organized by Tehran Municipality, Mehraban Historic House, Tehran, 27.01.2020.

at the time, there is no evidence suggesting that before the 1960s, conservation practice in cities went beyond the monument-centred approach represented by the Athens Charter.²⁵

Despite theoretical and legal advances, the gap between conservation policy and practice persisted due to the social, political, and economic forces at work in urban areas throughout the 1960s and 1970s, restricting preservation and presentation to select monuments. For instance, municipalities practiced conservation in cities generally based on the 1930 Antiquities Law,²⁶ which also had a monument-centred approach. The 1968 Law on Acquisition of Land and Property for the Preservation of Historic and Ancient Monuments²⁷ also provided a legal basis for municipalities and the Ministry of Culture and Art to acquire and remove residential and commercial buildings that 'obscured' outstanding monuments. Also, in 1967, Parliament passed a law whereby a portion of the cement tax went to the NCM for preserving historic buildings.²⁸ Despite the theoretical acknowledgement of a broader urban perspective, the Master Plans of major cities, influenced by the aforementioned legal-administrative structure and the physical remnants within those cities, indicate a notable emphasis on monuments.

25 Le Corbusier and CIAM, *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments*.

26 Parliament of Iran, 'The Law on Antiquities'.

27 Parliament of Iran, 'Ghanun-e Kharid-e Arazi Abniyeh va Tasisat Baray-e Hefazat Asar Tarikhi va Bastani [Law on Acquisition of Land and Property for the Preservation of Historic and Ancient Monuments]', *The Official Magazine: Rooznameh-e Rasmi-e Keshvar*, 1968.

28 Parliament of Iran, 'Ghanun-e Akhz-e Mablagh-e Bist Rial Avarez Az Har Ton Siman Be Naf-e Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli [The Law on the Taxation of an Amount of Twenty Rials per Ton of Cement for the Benefit of the Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli]' (*The Official Magazine: Rooznameh-e Rasmi-e Keshvar*, 1968).

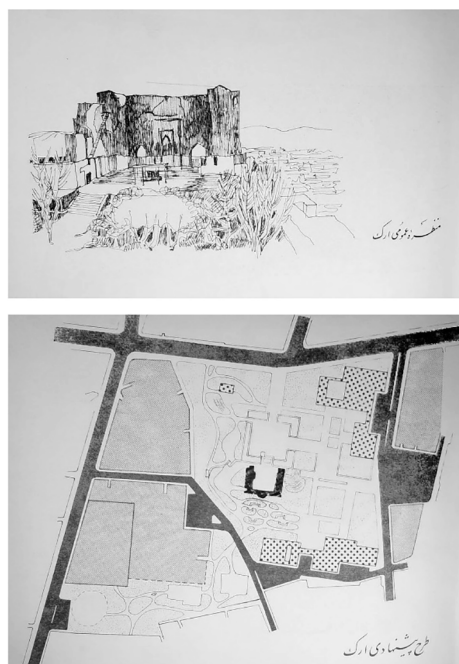
In the Master Plan and detailed plans of cities such as Tabriz,²⁹ Shiraz³⁰, Isfahan,³¹ and Mashhad,³² interventions in historic areas were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and Art, and guidelines for specific historic areas were prepared in cooperation with the ministry. While these plans recognized the aesthetic and tourism values of the 'old city', their proposed approach to "integrating them into the cityscape" typically involved visually exposing the historical monuments that were previously obscured by less significant structures.³³ The interventions around the Blue Mosque and Arg-e Alishah are examples of this approach in Tabriz (see Figure 3). The interventions around the Sheikh Safi Shrine in Ardabil and Amir Chakhmagh Square in Yazd are other examples of the spatial manifestation of this policy.³⁴

In the fall of 1965, the National Organization for the Preservation of Historical Monuments (NOPHM) [*Sazman-e Melli Hefazat-e Asare Bastani*] was established in Tehran to manage the conservation and promotion of built cultural heritage throughout the country. The organization began its mission by establishing provincial branches and networking with other governmental organizations, such as the Ministry of Development and Housing, municipalities, international institutions, universities,

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- 29 The Master Plan for Tabriz was remarkable in that it promoted the revitalization of the socio-spatial fabric of the bazaar and the residential neighbourhoods of the old city. It explicitly referred to the 1930 Antiquities Law for the protection of monuments and the cityscape. But as mentioned earlier, the 1930 Law had a monument-centred approach. See: Moghtader-Andreef, 'Master Plan of Tabriz', 1970.
 - 30 The detailed plan was prepared in 1974–5. See: M. Mansour Falamaki, *Seiri Dar Tajarob-e Marammat-e Shari, as Veniz Ta Shiraz [An Essay on Urban Conservation, From Venice to Shiraz]* (Tehran: Faza Scientific and Cultural Institute, 2005).
 - 31 Organic Engineering Consultancy, 'Detailed Plan of Isfahan' (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 1975).
 - 32 Daryoush Bourbour, 'Nosazi-e Atraf-e Haram-e Motahar Hazrat-e-Rza, Mashhad [Projet de Renovation de Haram Hazrat-e-Reza Meched]', *Art and Architecture*, no. 20 (1973): 30–41.
 - 33 For example, see: Moghtader-Andreef, 'Master Plan of Tabriz'.
 - 34 Mohammadmoradi, Amirkabirian, and Abdi Ardakani, *Revitalisation of Historic Urban Fabrics (a Review of Experiences)*.

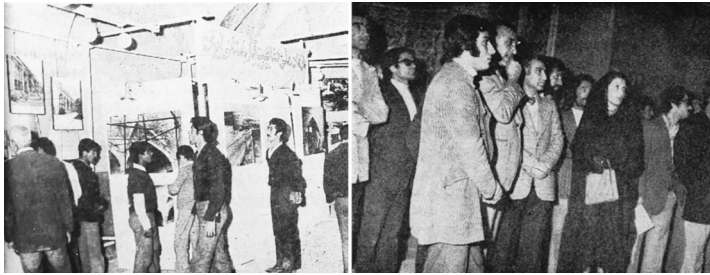
and national media outlets. NOPHM went on to develop programmes in cooperation with schools, municipalities, radio, television, and cinemas to promote conservation awareness among the general public.³⁵

Figure 3: Arg-e Alishah in the Tabriz Master Plan of 1970³⁶



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- 35 Agahinameh, *Agahinameh*, vol. 1, 1 (Tehran, 1975); Agahinameh, 'Mosahebe Ba Rais Bakhsh-e Amoozesh Sazman [An Interview with the Director of the Department of Education]', *Agahinameh*, no. 5 (1976); Agahinameh, 'Tashkilat-e Sazman [The Organisation]', *Agahinameh*, no. 23 (1977): 8–9; Art and Architecture, 'News', *Art and Architecture*, no. 15 (1974): 14–17.
- 36 See: Moghtader-Andreef, 'Master Plan of Tabriz', n.p.

Figure 4: Public exhibitions in Fars (left) and Qazvin (right) on the occasion of the NOPHM's founding anniversary³⁷



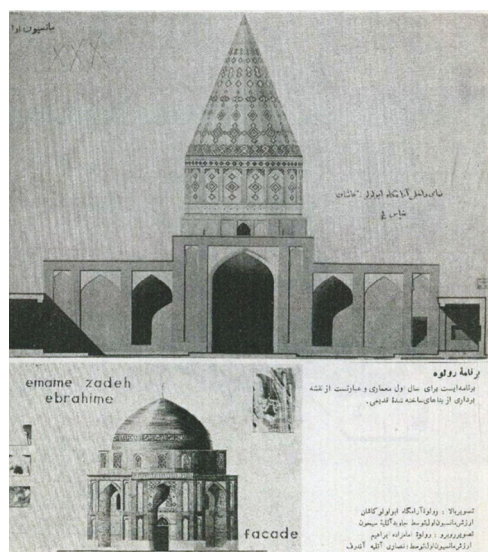
Backed by generous state funding (made possible due to abundant oil revenue), NOPHM invested in its human resources, benefiting from graduates from the University of Tehran, Farabi University in Isfahan, and Melli University in Tehran. The architecture programmes at these institutions already had a disciplinary interest in architectural and planning history. For example, Hooshang Seyhoun, faculty member and Dean of the College of Fine Arts and Architecture at the University of Tehran in the 1960s and member of Iran-ICOMOS,³⁸ facilitated a collaboration between the Institute of Archaeology and Iran-ICOMOS to engage architecture students in mapping historic buildings and field trips to historic sites.³⁹

37 Agahinameh, *Agahinameh*, 1:12–17.

38 The National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in Iran.

39 Mohammad Chari, 'A Conversation with Hooshang Seyhoin', *Abadi*, no. 48 (2005): 130–34.

Figure 5: Monument Relevé programme for undergraduates, University of Tehran⁴⁰



Later generations of architects, like Falamaki, had a deeper interest in conservation and sought to go beyond architectural and urban history by incorporating conservation into architecture curricula and organizing events such as the 'First Seminar on the Existence and Future of Historic Residential Centres' at the University of Tehran in 1971.⁴¹ The proceedings of the aforementioned event were documented in the first book

40 *Nashriyeh-Ye Daneshkadeh-Ye Honarha-Ye Ziba (1341–1343) [Magazine of the College of Fine Arts 1962–64]*, vol. 2 (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1964), 13.

41 M. Mansour Falamaki, ed., *Avalin Seminar-e Maremat-e Banaha va Sharhay-e Tarikhi: Vojud va Ayandeye Marakez-e Maskuni-e Tarikhi* [The First Seminar on the Conservation of Historic Cities and Towns: The Existence and Future of Historical Residential Centres] (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1971); M. Mansour Falamaki, Interview with Mr. Mansour Falamaki, interview by Solmaz Yadollahi, 9 October 2019, Tehran.

on urban conservation in Farsi.⁴² Falamaki's second book, *Revitalization of Historic Buildings and Cities*, went beyond translating international concepts and discussed the cultural, religious, and geographical factors that affected conservation in Iranian cities.⁴³

As the capital, Tehran led the academic discourse on conservation, but Isfahan also played an undeniably crucial discursive-material role in shaping conservation knowledge in Iran. Meidan-e Shah or Naghsh-e Jahan and Chaharbagh Street were the first living urban areas listed as national heritage sites in 1932. Meidan-e Shah in Isfahan was also the first Iranian World Heritage Site listed in 1979 as a well-preserved homogeneous urban complex.⁴⁴ The conservation studios of Isfahan, active since the 1930s, were the best places to learn how to conserve. As places where international and Iranian conservation architects and local craftsmen could collaborate and engage with the tangible and intangible facets of local built heritage, these workshops became repositories of practical conservation know-how in Iran.⁴⁵

With the support of the local institutions mentioned earlier, Farabi University in Isfahan pioneered an independent degree program in conservation. Within its administrative and academic network, international institutions,⁴⁶ universities, as well as experts from both

42 Falamaki, *Avalin Seminar-e Maremat-e Banaha va Sharhay-e Tarikhi: Vojud va Ayandeye Marakez-e Maskuni-e Tarikhi* [The First Seminar on the Conservation of Historic Cities and Towns: The Existence and Future of Historical Residential Centres].

43 *Baz zende sazī-ye banaha ya shahrhaye tarikhi* [Revitalization of Historic Buildings and Cities] (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1977).

44 ICOMOS, 'Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS)' (UNESCO, 1979), Paris, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/115/documents/>.

45 Galdieri and Afsar, 'Conservation and Restoration of Persian Monuments'; Lot-follah Honarfar, 'Meidan-e Naghsh-e Jahan Isfahan', *Honar va Mardom*, no. 104 (1971): 2–28.

46 The first programme of the International Centre for the Study of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) in Isfahan is an example of such collaboration. See: Jukka Jokilehto and Mehr-Azar Soheil, 'Development of ICCROM's Architectural Conservation Training in Reference to Council of Europe Initiatives', *Monumenta* 3 (2015): 104–12, doi:<https://doi.org/10.11588/monu.2015.0.42407>.

administrative and academic realms of conservation collaborated to shape the contemporary academic and professional discourse and technical expertise in conservation within Iran.

Figure 6: Image captured by Walter Mittelholzer in 1925, showing Naqsh-e Jahan Square in Isfahan⁴⁷



47 Obtained from ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv/Stiftung Luftbild Schweiz (<https://doi.org/10.3932/ethz-a-000274599>). This image is in the Public Domain.

Figure 7: An announcement regarding the admission of students to the conservation programme under an agreement between Farabi University and NOPHM.⁴⁸ The third individual from the left is Bagher Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi, who led the NOPHM's Technical Office in Isfahan during that period. Following the 1979 Revolution, he assumed the directorship of NOPHM until its integration into the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization.



- 48 Agahinameh, 'Academic Cooperations between the Farabi University and NOPHM [Hamkarihai Beine Daneshgah-e Farabi va Sazman-e Melli Hefazat-e Asar-e Bastani]', *Agahinameh*, no. 17 (1977): 3; Agahinameh, 'Announcement for Admission of Students for the Program, Conservation of Historic Monuments and Places (Second Phase) for the Academic Year 36-37', *Agahinameh*, no. 18 (1977): 4.

Debating urban heritage planning within the framework of urban renewal

The Fifth National Development Programme (1973–1978), which allocated funds for urban and rural renovation and allowed for private investment in urban renewal, laid the basis for pre- and post-Revolutionary government policies geared toward historic cities. Relying on the overlapping disciplinary boundaries of archaeology, architecture, urban planning, and tourism, the academic and business events of the 1970s raised complex socio-spatial and technical issues related to interventions in historic cities and inadequate synergies in cross-organizational collaboration.⁴⁹ The debates of the era transformed monument conservation into urban heritage planning, where questions around preserving monuments and old neighbourhoods were situated in the context of urban socio-economic and spatial concerns.

Figure 8: The Second Symposium of Iranian Architecture in Tehran (1973)⁵⁰



49 For instance see: Art and Architecture, 'The Declaration of the Second Symposium of Iranian Architecture-Tehran', *Art and Architecture*, no. 15–16 (1973): 64–66; M. Mansour Falamaki, 'Taghir-e Shekl-e Vahed-Hay-e Memari Dar Baft Shahri [The Architectural Units' Change in Urban Fabrics]', *Art and Architecture*, no. 15–16 (1973): 31–36; Behrouz Habibi, 'Ehya va Negahdari-e Shahr-e Ghadim [Revitalisation and Maintenance of the Old City]', *Art and Architecture*, no. 15–16 (1973): 2–22; Bahman Paknia, 'Masael-e Shahri [Urban Issues]', *Art and Architecture*, no. 15–16 (1973): 23–26.

50 Art and Architecture, *Art and Architecture*, 15–16 (Tehran, 1973), 4–5.

The city of Yazd played a crucial role in bringing up issues of urban heritage planning and conservation as concerns involving the materiality of earthen settlements. Iran-ICOMOS organized the first two Terra conferences⁵¹ in Yazd, in 1972 and 1976 respectively, where Iranian and international experts declared that earthen architecture is worth preserving and that earthen settlements could be efficiently preserved using traditional methods and local materials.⁵² At these events, scholars such as Reza Kasai argued that the issue of conservation in urban contexts was multidimensional, encompassing economic, technical-constructional, architectural, and social aspects that needed to be considered in city Master Plans.⁵³ He also stressed that infrastructure deficiencies in old neighbourhoods needed to be addressed through the participation of universities, a broad range of government organizations, and local populations.⁵⁴ As a direct consequence of this public discourse—and owing to its intact historic core—Yazd became one of the first cities where conservation zoning and guidelines for intervention in the historic city were proposed to the municipal authorities.⁵⁵ Those proposals were not implemented,⁵⁶ but looking at the 2017 buffer zone regulations

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- 51 International Conference on the Study and Conservation of Earthen Architecture.
- 52 Agahinameh, 'What Happened During the Second Terra Meeting?', *Agahinameh*, 1976; Art and Architecture, 'News: The First Terra Conference in Yazd', *Art and Architecture*, no. 14 (1972): 78; M Correia et al., 'Terra 2012. 12th SIACOT Proceedings. 11th International Conference on the Study and Conservation of Earthen Architectural Heritage', 2016.
- 53 'Khesht-e Kham [Mud Architecture]', *Art and Architecture*, no. 14 (1973): 33–41; 'Hefazat va Ehyaye Baftahaye Kheshti [Conservation and Revitalisation of Adobe Urban Fabrics]', *Agahinameh*, no. 5 (1976): 3–5.
- 54 Agahinameh, 'The Second Terra Conference in Yazd', *Agahinameh*, no. 3 (1976): 4–5; Agahinameh, 'What Happened During the Second Terra Meeting?'; Kasai, 'Khesht-e Kham [Mud Architecture]'.
- 55 *Revitalisation of Historic Urban Fabrics (a Review of Experiences)*.
- 56 Parviz Varjavand, 'Acknowledge Yazd Before It Is Too Late [Ta Be Afsoos Nanshesteim, Baft-e Yazd, Takhtgah-e Kavir Ra Daryabim]', *Honar va Mardom*, no. 192–191 (1978): 2–17.

for the World Heritage city of Yazd,⁵⁷ traces of the ideas discussed in the 1970s can be seen. Similarly, the notion to create official guidelines for mud brick constructions also had to wait until 2022 to be actualized.⁵⁸

In cities like Tabriz, the government tried to engage the private sector in conservation endeavours. This involved encouraging the economic participation of merchants in conservation projects within the bustling bazaar. The local office of the Ministry of Culture and Art in Tabriz reported submitting a temporary tax programme to the Ministry of Interior to cover the costs of the emergency restoration of the bazaar.⁵⁹ The programme was devised following negotiations between conservation authorities, the city council, and the bazaar merchants. These attempts also failed due to the unstable political conditions in the late 1970s, but they arguably inspired ICHHTO's participatory preservation project in the Tabriz Bazaar during the mid-2000s that received an Aga Khan Award.⁶⁰

In the residential neighbourhoods around the bazaars, which neither benefited from the economic wealth and political power of the merchants,⁶¹ nor considered valuable as cultural heritage, conservation was not an option. In most cities, the emerging property economy and housing policies that followed the urban modernization projects and the growth of urban populations made preserving large urban areas a

57 ICHHTO, 'Historic City of Yazd, World Heritage Nomination Dossier' (ICHHTO, 2017), 13–14, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1544/documents/>.

58 Mehr News Agency, 'Sakht-o-Saz Ba Khesht Baray-e Avalin Bar Dar Keshvar Gha-nooni Mishavad [Construction with Adobe Will Be Legalised in Iran for the First Time]', *Mehr News Agency*, 2022, mehrnews.com/xy53N.

59 Agahinameh, 'Akhbar: Mosharekat-e Bazarian-e Tabriz Darmored-e Maremat-e Bazar-e Tarikhi-e Shar [News: The Participation of Merchants of Tabriz in the Restoration of the Historic Bazaar of the City]', *Agahinameh*, no. 18 (1977): 19.

60 ICHHTO-East Azerbaijan, '2013 Winning Projects: Rehabilitation of Tabriz Bazaar-Tabriz, Iran' (Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 2013). Also, see my interview with Akbar Tahizadeh in 2010 (Yadollahi, 2017, p. 33, Appendix 2)

61 See: Ahmad Ashraf, 'Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 1988, 538–67.

matter of financial impracticality.⁶² After the construction of modern boulevards that cut through the old city, commercial activities traditionally located in the bazaars were drawn to the areas along the new access roads, while the areas behind them lost land value.⁶³ In the new spatial-economic order, the urban gentry and bazaar merchants began to move out of the city centres, settling in modern neighbourhoods and investing in property outside the old city.⁶⁴ As the more prosperous populations moved away from the historic centres, the maintenance and redevelopment of buildings and infrastructure in these areas slowed down. In many cities, including Tabriz⁶⁵ and Tehran,⁶⁶ large parts of residential areas in the old city gradually became the backstage of the bazaar, providing cheap storage and workshop space to serve the bazaar itself, with maintenance efforts limited to serve this utility. This is an indication of the political and economic power of the bazaar merchants, which has always been a decisive factor in conservation and urban planning policies in the bazaar and its surrounding neighbourhoods.

In the case of religious sites, the traditional tendency to prioritize the continuity of religious function over the preservation of material artefacts blended with the ambition to develop and expand sacred

62 See Ehlers, 'Modern Urbanization and Modernization in Persia'; Eckart Ehlers and Willem Floor, 'Urban Change in Iran, 1920–1941', *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3–4 (1 September 1993): 251–75, doi:10.1080/00210869308701802..

63 Ehlers, 'Modern Urbanization and Modernization in Persia'.

64 Ibid.

65 Solmaz Yadollahi, 'The Iranian Bazaar as a Public Place: A Reintegrative Approach and a Method Applied towards the Case Study of the Tabriz Bazaar' (Doctoral thesis, Brandenburg University of Technology, 2017), <https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-btu/frontdoor/index/index/docId/4294>.

66 The socio-economic and spatial interaction between the bazaar and the old city centre is discussed in detail in the chapter, *Assembling urban heritage in Tehran: Collecting heritage fragments here and there*.

places.⁶⁷ The urban renewal plan⁶⁸ for the religious city of Mashhad⁶⁹ in the early 1970s, for example, aimed to transform the Imam Reza shrine into a prominent pilgrimage centre. To achieve this, the plan proposed clearing a large circular area, consisting mainly of residential buildings, around the shrine to show its grandeur. Due to the controversy around the project, three architects were asked to comment on the plan. One of the three, Kamran Diba,⁷⁰ pointed out that, given the religious and political significance of Mashhad, the decision had already been made with the direct support of the Shah. Planning in religious places has always been politically sensitive due to the historical relationships between the clergy and the Iranian states.⁷¹ Mashhad is a telling example of the persistent power relations that have influenced interventions in many historic centres that contain religious sites.

It is worth noting that the aforementioned transformations in major cities like Tehran, Mashhad, and Yazd, and the government policies associated with them triggered the first stirrings of criticism from archaeologists, architects, and planners who argued that the destruction of historic urban fabrics, the erasure of living neighbourhoods, and the clearing of areas around monuments were technocratic, socially unjust, and top-down.⁷² Although the media through which this criticism is car-

67 I have described the philosophical and ideological background behind the aforementioned approach here: Yadollahi, 'Reflections on the Past and Future of Urban Conservation in Iran'.

68 Michel Ecohard, 'Rénovation Du Centre de Mashad, Iran', *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 169 (1973): 58–60; Daryoush Borbor, 'Iran', in *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*, ed. Arnold Whittick, vol. 29 (Mcgraw-hill New York, 1974).

69 An important pilgrimage site and the burial place of the eighth Shia Imam.

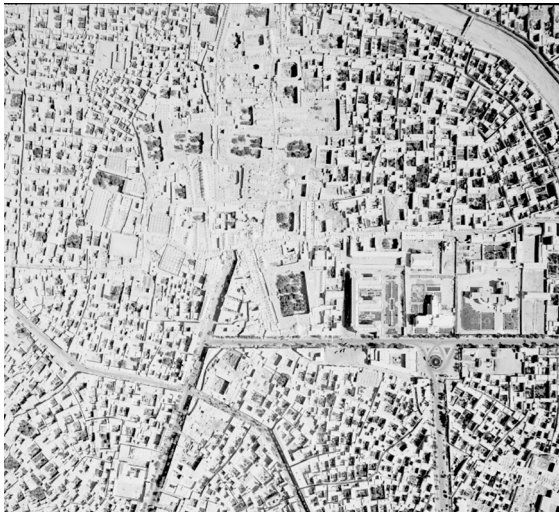
70 Kamran Diba and Reza Daneshvar, *A Garden Between Two Streets* (Paris: Alborz, 2014).

71 For a historical background of the relations of the clergy with the bazaar merchants and the states, see: Ashraf, 'Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions'; Homa Katouzian, *Iranian History and Politics: The Dialectic of State and Society*, RoutledgeCurzon / BIPS Persian Studies Series (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

72 Varjavand, 'Acknowledge Yazd Before It Is Too Late [Ta Be Afsoos Nanshesteim, Baft-e Yazd, Takhtgah-e Kavir Ra Daryabim]'; 'The Boulevard Disease', *Honar va*

ried out has changed over the years, it very much demonstrates the same approach in present day Iran.

Figure 9: An aerial picture of Tabriz Bazaar and its surrounding neighbourhoods



© Iranian Cartography Organization, 1956

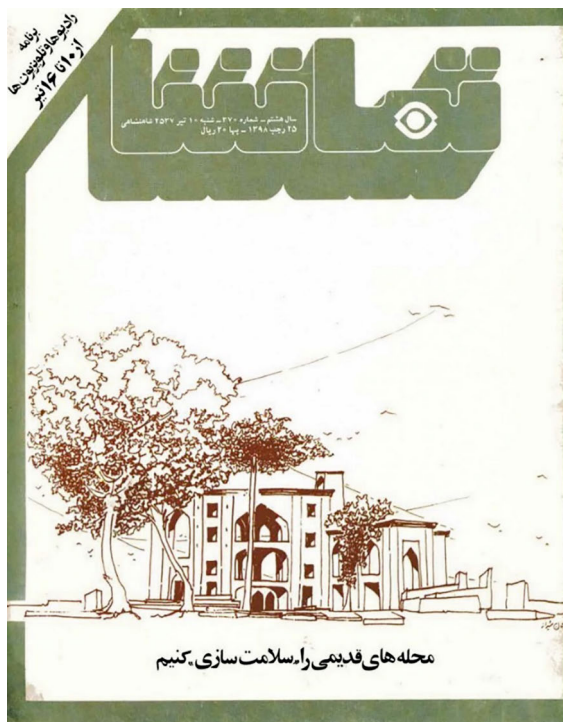
Mardom 2, no. 69 (1968): 39–43; Aliasghar Mohtaj, 'An Interview with Keyvan Khosravani about the Sanitation of the Old Urban Fabric of Tehran', *Tamasha*, 1978; Diba and Daneshvar, *A Garden Between Two Streets*.

Figure 10: Dariush Borbor, Architect and Urban Planner, presenting the Urban Renewal of Mashhad City Centre to the Shah, Alam (Ministry of the Royal Court), Eghbal (Chairman of the National Iranian Oil Company), and Valiyan (Governor of Khorasan and Vice-Regent of the Shrine) in Mashhad (1973)⁷³



73 'Dariush Borbor', in *Wikipedia* (CC BY-SA 4.0, 2023), <https://shorturl.at/jkxj2>.

Figure 11: In 1978, *Tamasha Magazine* published an interview with architect and designer Keyvan Khosravani about protecting Tehran's old neighbourhoods.⁷⁴



74 Mohtaj, 'An Interview with Keyvan Khosravani about the Sanitation of the Old Urban Fabric of Tehran'.

Figure 12: A public exhibition of original sketches by architect, Keyvan Khosravani in the Oudlajan neighbourhood of Tehran in the late 1970s, calling on the government to save the neighbourhood⁷⁵



The emergence of a 'Body Without Organs'

The foundations of urban conservation and urban heritage planning in Iran were laid in the 1960s and 1970s, shaped by a central bureaucratic and legal infrastructure, local conservation sites, universities, and the first generation of conservationists who trained later generations. Through my archival research and extensive interviews with 29 conservation professionals, the majority of whom were born in the 1980s or later, it became evident that the infrastructure established in the 1970s has had a profound influence on their theoretical comprehension and technical expertise. Nearly all the interviewees demonstrated familiarity with the conservation theory and history as documented in publications from the 1970s. Even today, conservation architects continue to employ terminology found in literature from the 1960s and 1970s. This can be observed in both conserved sites and those subject to stylistic restoration,

75 Keyvan Khosravani, 'Saving Oudlajan', accessed 23 May 2022, <https://www.keyvankhosrovani.com/saving-oudlajan/>.

where architectural elements are as described in the aforementioned publications and their associated terminology is employed in discussing recent projects. Furthermore, the vast majority of graduates have completed internships or courses focusing on conservation practices in cities such as Shiraz, Isfahan, Bam, and Yazd.

The translation of conservation concepts and technical methods used in European cities such as Bologna, Rome, and Venice in the 1970s⁷⁶ led to the emergence of the term 'urban conservation' [*maremmat-e shahri*] in Iran.⁷⁷ In this era, conservation and urban heritage planning effected theoretical and technical advancements and geographical expansion to regions far from its governing organs in Tehran and some other influential cities, such as Yazd and Isfahan. However, this transformation failed to make discursive and material-economic connections with a large portion of the Iranian population, many of whom lived in socially and physically declining historic cities.⁷⁸ In 1975, a modernity index was created by sociologists from the University of Tehran in a nationwide survey to examine the prevailing attitudes of Iranians.⁷⁹ The findings unveiled that a notable segment of Iranian society adhered to strong traditional beliefs

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- 76 Keramatollah Afsar, 'Hefz-e Baft Ghadimi Shahrhay-e Tarikhi [Conservation of the Old Fabric of Historic Cities]', *Agahinameh*, no. 34 (1978): 29–30; Falamaki, *Avalin Seminar-e Maremat-e Banaha va Sharhay-e Tarikhi: Vojud va Ayandeye Marakez-e Maskuni-e Tarikhi* [The First Seminar on the Conservation of Historic Cities and Towns: The Existence and Future of Historical Residential Centres]; Falamaki, *Baz-zنده sazi-ye banaha ya shahrhay-e tarikhi* [Revitalization of Historic Buildings and Cities].
- 77 For instance in: Falamaki, *Baz-zنده sazi-ye banaha ya shahrhay-e tarikhi* [Revitalization of Historic Buildings and Cities]; Afsar, 'Hefz-e Baft Ghadimi Shahrhay-e Tarikhi [Conservation of the Old Fabric of Historic Cities]'.
- 78 Grigor, 'Recultivating "Good Taste": The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage'; Talinn Grigor, 'The King's White Walls: Modernism and Bourgeois Architecture', in *Culture and Cultural Politics under Reza Shah* (Routledge, 2013), 109–32.
- 79 Ali Assadi and Marcello L. Vidale, 'SURVEY OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES IN IRAN', *International Review of Modern Sociology* 10, no. 1 (1980): 65–84; Majid Tehranian, 'Communication and Revolution in Iran: The Passing of a Paradigm', *Iranian Studies* 13, no. 1–4 (1980): 5–30.

and did not resonate with the modernization policies implemented by the central government during that period. From the perspective of conservation as an aspect of modernization in Iranian society, I argue that a considerable portion of the Iranian population at that time, as indicated by the aforementioned survey, did not actively embrace conservation initiatives, despite the existence of public awareness-raising campaigns. This assumption is supported by pre-Revolution media coverage, featuring complaints from the public about protracted conservation projects.⁸⁰ Ideologically motivated attacks on historic places and numerous court cases against conservation authorities due to clashes between conservation laws and Islamic traditions after the 1979 Revolution also support this contention.⁸¹

In the tense and unpredictable atmosphere of the late 1970s, urban heritage assemblage, still in its infancy, entered a state of suspense and uncertainty in which progress was slowed or halted altogether. This was due to a major de-territorialization of the academic, legal, and administrative structures established before the Revolution. The diverse entities comprising the urban heritage assemblage, including organizations, laws, individuals, and places, encountered an unpredictable period of transition characterized by what Deleuze and Guattari refer to as a 'Body Without Organs'. Within this state, the assemblage held the inherent capacity to establish new connections and disconnections in response to the socio-political context that unfolded after the Revolution. As the second cycle will explain, cultural heritage and conservation struggled to find its place in the new nexus of ideologies, legislation, and economic forces of post-Revolutionary Iran. In accordance with the emerging order, a new term for territorializing conservation and urban heritage planning had to begin.

80 See, for example, the last issue of NOPHM's official journal, *Agahinameh*, for news and commentary on the organization's conflicts with the general public and local organizations. NOPHM, *Agahinameh*, vol. 36 (Tehran, 1978).

81 See the next section.