



Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Ciências Sociais

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**BUILT HERITAGE AND TOURISM ON
THE SILK ROAD: CARAVANSERAI IN
ISFAHAN, IRAN**

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Uminho | 2017

FCT
Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E CIÊNCIA

POPH PROGRAMA OPERACIONAL POTENCIAL HUMANO

QR QUADRO DE REFERÊNCIA ESTRATÉGICO NACIONAL PORTUGAL 2007.2013


Governo da República Portuguesa


UNIÃO EUROPEIA
Fundo Europeu de Desenvolvimento Regional

janeiro de 2017



Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Ciências Sociais

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THE SILK ROAD: CARAVANSERAIS IN
ISFAHAN, IRAN**

Tese de Doutoramento em Geografia
Especialidade em Geografia Humana

Trabalho efetuado sob a orientação do
Professor Doutor João Sarmento

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Título tese: **Built Heritage and Tourism on the Silk Road: Caravanserais in Isfahan, Iran**

Orientador: **Professor Doutor João Sarmento**

Ano de conclusão: **2016**

Designação do Doutoramento: **Geografia, Especialidade em Geografia Humana**

DE ACORDO COM A LEGISLAÇÃO EM VIGOR, NÃO É PERMITIDA A REPRODUÇÃO DE QUALQUER PARTE DESTA TESE

Universidade do Minho, 27 / Janeiro / 2017

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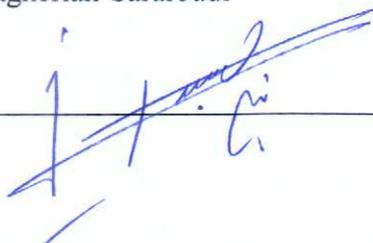
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Dedication

TO MY FATHER,

YOU INSPIRED ME WITH YOUR HARD WORK, PERSISTENCE,
PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND MANY ACHIEVEMENTS.
A PROMISE IS A PROMISE.

AND TO MY SON ARAD,
WHO I HOPE TO INSPIRE ONE DAY TOO.

THANK YOU
MOHAMMAD

Patience is a tree whose root is bitter, but its fruit is very sweet.

(Persian proverb)

Acknowledgements

The writing of a thesis can be challenging and isolating, yet it is clearly not possible without the personal and professional support of numerous people. My deepest gratitude is given to my supervisor Prof. João Sarmiento for his advice, arguments, criticism, encouragement, support and recommendations especially during the hard times when the road became misleading. He has always been supportive and never hesitated to provide me with ideas throughout the course of the research. His multiple trips to Iran to visit the case study areas significantly helped me in better understanding the situation. I'm grateful for having had the opportunity to know him not only as a supervisor but as a friend too. Without his unconditional support the completion of this research would not have been possible. Dr. Marisa Ferreira was also generous and welcoming, and I thank her for this.

My appreciation also goes to FCT (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia) for funding and supporting this thesis (Grant reference# SFRH/BD/89526/2012). I would like to acknowledge academic staff and the administrative staff of the Department of Geography and Institute of Social Sciences at University of Minho who were willingly helpful in providing advice and support. I would like to thank SOAS in London and the staff at the Robarts library of the University of Toronto for allowing me to use their archives and resources.

My great appreciation goes to members of ICHHTO and *Waqf* Organization in Tehran and Isfahan. Without their support and insightful information on Iranian cultural heritage this research would not have been possible. I appreciate the warm welcome received from the owners and the local community and the friendliness of people who shared with me their knowledge of and enthusiasm for the studied caravanserais in Isfahan. Special thanks go to Dr. Noien and Dr. Ghazi at University of Isfahan for providing valuable resources for this research and their ongoing encouragement. It wouldn't be just to end this acknowledgement without making grateful appreciation to all my colleagues in the PhD programme, especially Zahra Kazemi who is not only a colleague but a good friend.

I would also like to thank the loyal team of employees at Safir Hotel who have patiently done their best to keep everything under control during my research period.

A huge thanks goes to my family and friends whose support, patience and love guided me throughout this period. Especially my parents (Shahin Golestan-Parast and Heidar Bagherian) and parents-in-law (Jafar and Karen Karagah), my sisters (Shahla, Shirin, Eimaneh) and brothers-in-law (Karim and Farhad) and my uncle (Hassan) who have believed in and encouraged me along the way.

Last but not least, thanks to my wonderful wife- Anousha, I simply could not have done this without you. You supported me with love, extreme patience and unconditional encouragement. And my son Arad, for accepting and adjusting so easily to all the changes in the first 5 years of his life. I love you both forever.

Abstract

Caravanserais as an inheritance of the movement of people and goods on the Silk Road are considered as one of the major elements of Islamic historic cities. One of the cities that greatly benefited from the movement of people on the Silk Road is the 17th and 18th century capital of Persia (Iran), Isfahan. In the last century, many caravanserais in urban areas of Islamic cities (Isfahan included) were considered a disproportionate element in the idea of a progressive city, and many were demolished and disappeared. Meanwhile, tourism as the major consumer of built heritage can potentially play a significant role in conserving these monuments, particularly, special interested tourists and above all ‘cultural tourism’ and ‘route tourism’ subsets.

This research investigates the contemporary importance of the Silk Road, understood as an historical trade route and a metaphor for the age of information in which we live in, but especially as a route with great tourism potential. The research analyzes the multiple ways in which religion, society, heritage, government and culture are interrelated with each other on the Silk Road and in particular through caravanserais in Islamic cities.

The central premise of the research is to evaluate how caravanserais as a product of the movement of people along the ancient Silk Road are embedded in the socio-cultural structure of Isfahan as an Islamic historic city and how major stakeholders such as *waqf* institution, owners and the Isfahan cultural heritage, handicraft and tourism organization are perceiving and consequently influencing the dynamics in these built heritage. For the purpose of achieving this central premise, qualitative and quantitative methodology is used through archival work, observation, questionnaires and interviews. In this regard, i) questionnaires were distributed among tourists traveling overland on the Silk Road for understanding their motivations, preferences, perceived barriers and spatial distribution on the Silk Road; and ii) a semi structured interview was performed with the major stakeholders involved in the current situation of the caravanserais in Isfahan.

It is the complex manner in which tourists travel the Silk Road that illustrates the interest in using caravanserais as one of the major types of accommodation on the route for better experiencing the Silk Road. However, caravanserais in the urban areas of the Silk Road cities are facing multiple issues, including an opposed perception of built heritage by different stakeholders, which are leading many into a great stage of disrepair and disappearance.

Resumo

Os *caravanserais*, enquanto herança do movimento de pessoas e bens na Rota da Seda, são considerados um dos mais importantes elementos das cidades históricas Islâmicas. Uma das cidades que beneficiou grandemente do movimento de pessoas na Rota da Seda é a cidade que nos séculos XVII e XVIII foi a capital da Pérsia (Irão) – Isfaão. No último século, muitos *caravanserais* das zonas urbanas de cidades Islâmicas (incluindo também Isfaão) foram consideradas um elemento desproporcional da ideia de uma cidade progressista, e como tal muitos foram demolidos e desapareceram. Ao mesmo tempo, o turismo enquanto grande consumidor do património edificado pode potencialmente desempenhar um papel significativo na conservação destes monumentos, particularmente os turistas com interesses especiais, e acima de tudo o "turismo cultural", nomeadamente o “turismo de rotas”.

Esta pesquisa investiga a importância contemporânea da Rota da Seda, entendida como uma rota de comércio histórico e uma metáfora da era da informação em que vivemos, mas sobretudo como uma rota com grande potencial turístico. A pesquisa analisa as múltiplas formas em que a religião, a sociedade, a herança, o governo e a cultura estão inter-relacionados uns com os outros na Rota da Seda, em particular através dos *caravanserais* nas cidades Islâmicas.

A premissa central desta pesquisa é avaliar como é que os *caravanserais*, enquanto produto do movimento de pessoas ao longo da antiga Rota da Seda, são incorporados na estrutura sociocultural de uma cidade histórica Islâmica como Isfaão. Além disso a pesquisa pretende analisar um dos mais importantes *stakeholders* - as instituições *waqf* enquanto proprietários do grande património cultural, do artesanato e do turismo de Isfaão – e verificar de que forma estes *stakeholders* percebem e, conseqüentemente, influenciam a dinâmica deste património edificado. De forma a se conseguir alcançar esta premissa central, é utilizada metodologia qualitativa e quantitativa materializada através de trabalho de arquivo, observação, questionários e entrevistas. Assim, i) os questionários foram distribuídos por turistas que viajam, por terra, na Rota da Seda, de forma a conseguirmos compreender as suas motivações, as suas preferências, as barreiras identificadas, assim como a sua perceção sobre a distribuição espacial da Rota da Seda; ii) as entrevistas semi-estruturadas foram realizadas aos principais atores envolvidos na situação atual dos *caravanserais* em Isfaão.

É a forma complexa como os turistas que viajam através da Rota da Seda que ilustra o interesse em usar os *caravanserais* como um dos principais tipos de alojamento que permitem uma melhor experiência na Rota da Seda. No entanto, os *caravanserais* nas áreas urbanas das cidades da Rota da Seda enfrentam vários problemas, incluindo uma perceção oposta de diversos *stakeholders* relativa a outro tipo de património construído. Em consequência muitos, *caravanserais* estão em avançado estado de abandono e poderão mesmo desaparecer.

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Abbreviations

BCE	Before the Common Era
CBH	Cultural Built Heritage
CE	Common Era
CHHTO	Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization
CHN	Cultural Heritage News
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIIC	International Scientific Committee on Cultural Routes
CoE	Council of Europe
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EU	European Union
FCT	Fundação do Ministério de Ciência e Tecnologia de Portugal
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICHHTO	Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization
ICHO	Iran Cultural Heritage Organization
ICHTO	Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization
ICOM	International Council Of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICR	Istituto Centrale per il Restauro
IFYDP	Iran Five Year Development Plans
IRU	International Road Transport Union
ITDC	Iran Tourism Development Corporation
ITTO	Iran Travel and Tourism Organization
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHK	Japan's national public broadcasting organization
P5+1	The UN Security Council's five permanent members plus Germany
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEMEGA	Iran Cultural Heritage & Tourism Investment Group
SNH	Society for National Heritage
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
TRACECA	Transport Corridor Europe, Caucasus, Asia
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USD	United States Dollars
WCHS	World Cultural Heritage Sites
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WHO	World Health Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WWII	World War II

Chapter One:
Introduction

O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another.

The Holy Qur'an (Surah 49, verse 13)

1.1. Introduction

Over the past decades ‘Heritage’, understood as a ‘discursive construction’, with material consequences (Smith, 2006), has been widely discussed and debated, especially in the west. At the same time, heritage has become a central topic also in the nonwestern societies, especially those with rich cultural heritage, such as China, India and Iran.

Heritage is a part of the cultural tradition of any society (Nuryanti, 1996), and symbolizes everything we believe has been handed over to us from the past (Lowenthal, 2005; Prott & O’Keefe, 1992). It is a present-centered phenomenon (Harvey, 2008). Various studies have dealt with myths, values and inheritances determined and defined by the needs of societies in the present, exploring the connections between memory, identity and heritage through an examination of cultural landscapes (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000; Larkham, 1995; McDowell, 2008).

Heritage has been considered a “sensitive” and “fragile” issue (Rahman, 2012). It is important to recognize built heritage as an architectural object that is a ‘living organism’ which is always subject to a process of change and degeneration, and this must be alleviated by maintenance and when necessary, restoration. Heritage is often cited as a ‘thing’ that is always considered to be threatened and at risk (Harrison, 2013). These threats and risks could result in or from forgetfulness, in demolition and destruction of cultural heritage. Threats and risks in fact transform heritage into a political phenomenon. Heritage is culturally constructed and frequently politically motivated (Aplin, 2002). People recognize and define heritage based on their “personal and collective past” and their “present physical, social and cultural environment” (Aplin, 2002, p. 16).

Heritage is by definition political in the sense that it defines those things we decide to give value to in a certain moment of time, excluding other. It is about decisions and choices, unlike history, which is about what took place during time. The concept of politics in heritage appears ambiguous and the perception of it is varied, depending on the interests involved.

Policy making for conservation, rehabilitation and use of built heritage is one of the key dimensions. On one side we may think of policymakers and central governments which respect and endow values and authenticity and avoid the misuse

and politicizing of heritage, which may result in a strong role in national unity. While on the other side, we may envisage misuses and/or the political use of a country's built heritage which can possibly turn heritage into a partisan issue, with the potential to raise political turmoil for the destruction of it.

While there is evidence that conservation of cultural heritage began in *old* Iran in the Achaemenid period (550-330 BCE), archeological activities and official heritage conservation was carried-out by the hand of Europeans from the beginning of the 19th century (Jokilehto, 1999). The political perception of heritage in Iran occurred at the end of the Qajar dynasty (1789–1925). However, during the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979) conflict arose among nationalists and modernists on one side and religious people and clerics on the other. Generally, Islamic scholars argue that the interpretation of heritage during the Pahlavi dynasty was based on pre-Islamic Iran, western enlightenment and imported culture rather than on Islamic modernism, Muslim enlightenment and Islamic values, which are rooted in people's beliefs, identity and their emotional attachments (Hodjat, 1995). However, after the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, the perception of heritage by the government transformed from nationalistic ideas and pre Islamic values to Islamic and revolutionary values and values accepted by the dominantly religious society of Iran.

Heritage can also be a place of consumption (Nasser, 2003). In the last three decades tourists in general and special interested tourists such as cultural and heritage tourists have effusively and progressively interested in consuming heritage (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). Not only tourism is one of the several practices that mediate the performance of identities, particularly those linked to heritage; but the commercial use of historic assets can promote local socio-economic development (Wang & Bramwell, 2012). Connecting different heritage and thinking of interaction, mobility and fluidity, heritage routes or routing heritage, comprise tangible elements which derive their cultural significance from exchanges and from multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions (ICOMOS, 2008). Thus, 'tangible cultural heritage' may be monuments (i.e. Persepolis), groups of buildings (i.e. Caravanserais) or sites (i.e. Silk Road).

Physical routes as a historical heritage of the past bound ancient civilizations together and have acted as a channel for dialogue and knowledge between people, formation of political power and wealth and as a navigator for discovering new parts

of the world bringing financial benefit for the people of the world as well as witnessed socio-cultural, political, and economical changes on the earth's surface in time and space.

Routes were fundamentally built for humans to move from one point to another for numerous reasons. Therefore, they can also be seen as “something inherited by tourism” (Sarmiento & Henriques, 2009, p. 285). Routes are a form of spatial processes that direct a great number of tourists to visit touristic places. These touristic places include both tangible and intangible attractions that tourists consume during their journeys. These journeys are greatly varied in shape and size and very much depend on their surrounding space. According to Sarmiento (2013) routes are geometries and they can be found in many forms including pedestrian or cyclist paths in a park in urban environments to motorized highways connecting one continent to the other.

Heritage routes are “composed of tangible elements of which the cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time” (UNESCO, 1994, p. 2). The Silk Road fits in this category as the route was an important interactive channel between cultures and people in facilitating the exchange of technology, art, dialogue, religion, as well as ideas. With its abundantly varied cultural built heritage (ex. caravanserais and cities), in addition to the wealth of natural tourism attractions, it spans across approximately 12,000 kilometers of historic routes. The activities related to cultural tourism provide concrete opportunities to encourage genuine dialogue between visitors and hosts, to promote new types of cooperation in order to become more familiar with the heritage of different physical and social environments, and to contribute to economic and human development.

UNESCO's idea that “Tourism would not exist without culture” and culture as “one of the principal motivations for the movement of people” is strongly in harmony with the concept of cultural routes (UNESCO, 1996, p. 7) . In this context the Silk Road can be a good example, as culture in general and built heritage in particular motivate travelers to move along overland journeys to experience and sense different places such as caravanserais in the space of the Silk Road especially in the places (ex. Iran) with high density of cultural built heritage.

Policy making and planning for the preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, reorganization and management of buildings and sites and monitoring the implementation of relevant plans and programs are essential for cultural tourism development. Researchers believe that without the influence (empowerment) of local population, the decision-making process will end in unsustainable tourism development. If development is to be sustainable, then at least functional participation, which includes the forming of groups by local people to meet predetermined objectives related to the development activities, must be achieved (Doh, 2006).

One of the places of heritage in the Islamic world in general and the Iranian world, embedded in the culture and religion of the people is caravanserais. These historical elements of the Islamic world are a production of movement of people and things throughout history. While the concept of caravanserais in Iran is far beyond the Islamic period and according to archeological data belongs to the classical antiquity, with the emergence of Islam, caravanserais flourished all around the Islamic world from the Indian subcontinent to the Central Asia, Persia (*Old Iran*) and the Mediterranean region.

Caravanserais served as places along roads as well as in urban areas where merchants, pilgrims, scholars, and government envoys and generally travelers could stop for limited periods of time. They provided shelter from robbers, protection from harsh weather, a guaranteed source of water for drinking, bathing, and ritual ablution, a place to perform daily prayers, a market place, and, in some instances, a workshop center (Sims, 1978, p. 97). In the geographical context of Islamic civilization, cities are an oasis in an uncultivated or barren land, connected by caravan routes. The need for supporting the flow of travelers and traders in these lands encouraged authorities and later private investors to become engaged in the construction of rest stations (caravanserais) on the major routes. These caravanserais were mostly associated with springs and wells and could separately act “as outposts of urban civilization between cities” (Bianca, 2000, p. 67). While these structures were largely constructed to accommodate travelers between cities, in urban areas the need for both accommodating travelers as well as a place for selling and storing their goods, explains the caravanserais location near bazaars or city gates and in some cases along major streets (O’Gorman & Prentice, 2008). The caravanserais in each of these settings were constructed for different reasons and functionality and were bounded by

different physical variables (Hillenbrand, 2000). According to Muqaddasi (1963) in the first century of the Islamic era there were 1700 caravanserais in the medieval Iranian world. Therefore, it is evident that caravanserais were fully integrated within an urban context of Islamic cities before the 10th century onwards.

Today, Caravanserais continue to exist in an urban fabric of many cities in southern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East. However, they have lost the importance, versatility and ubiquity that they once enjoyed in the late antiquity and middle ages. This in fact was mostly because of the development and regeneration of the cities, which directed these buildings into decay. The conservation and adaptation of these monuments for today's needs of Islamic cities is essential for the continuity of these monuments. In this regard, many caravanserais are today transformed into hotels, museums, art galleries, arcades, libraries and others, not only to protect these relics for decay and destruction but to fulfill needs of both residents and travelers of these cities.

1.2. How the Idea of Research Started?

My doctoral research focuses on caravanserais as cultural built heritage in the Islamic historic city of Isfahan, located on the Silk Road. The reason I chose this theme for my thesis is related to my profession as a hotel manager in Isfahan as well as being a tourism student for more than a decade. It began when I encountered numerous overland tourists/travelers at Safir Hotel in Isfahan, who were traveling individually or in groups on the Silk Road. Consequently, a series of questions developed in my mind, such as what and where is the Silk Road?; why are people traveling on the Silk Road?; what are their motivations?; what type of tourist/traveler are they?.

These questions motivated me to communicate more with the travelers and consequently, I decided to experience some parts of the Iranian Silk Road myself. During my brief study of the Silk Road, I understood that one of the major elements of the Silk Road in the Iranian world is its caravanserais: 'lodging of the past used by travelers visiting the orient'. By reading this in a travelers' itinerary in the hotel I became even more interested, as the concept was related to my profession. On my first visit to the Silk Road, I encountered many caravanserais that are either ruined or in a great stage of disrepair and destruction. I was disappointed. I had expected to see a dignified, well taken care beautiful historical structure embodying history and culture.

Lack of conservation had resulted in many of these monuments becoming useless and almost in ruins. However, the architecture and design of these built heritage told much about the glory of the past of these structures.

The glorious time of construction of caravanserais in Iran was the Safavid Period (1501–1736) when Isfahan was its capital. Therefore, I decided to investigate the situation of caravanserais in the past capital of Persia, as one of the major Islamic cities along the Silk Road with numerous built heritage, and the existing inconsistency between nationalistic and religious heritage conservation plans.

1.3. Research Aims and Objectives

The central premise of this research is to evaluate how caravanserais as a product of the movement of people along the ancient Silk Road are embedded in the socio-cultural structure of Isfahan as an Islamic historic city and how major stakeholders such as *waqf* (endowment) institution, owners and the ICHHTO are perceiving and consequently influencing the dynamics in these built heritage.

In order to achieve the central premise of this thesis, four objectives are proposed.

The first, is to examine and explore the concept of built heritage in the context of the tourist historic city. The second concerns the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage in Iran, and the main factors affecting the development of this concept from the beginning of the 20th century to the present time. The third evaluates these same concerns with respect to the Silk Road as a heritage route and existing patterns that the contemporary special interest tourists visit to pursue their enthusiasm and passion. For the purpose of this analysis a sample of overland travelers traveling the Silk Road were selected as a case study to demonstrate the spatial patterns and the perceived barriers of tourists travelling on the Silk Road with an organized tour. Based on the result of the survey the fourth objective was established, which is examining the situation, perception and understanding of major stakeholder's attitudes towards caravanserais in the city of Isfahan. For the determination of this objective, three urban caravanserais, Shah, Malik, Saru Taqi in the urban fabric of Isfahan city have been selected as case studies to demonstrate the relationship between the stakeholders and caravanserais in the Islamic urban context.

1.4. Methodology

Literature Review:

As part of the process of defining the scope of the study, the research began with an extensive literature review, drawing on a variety of secondary sources including textbooks, maps, scientific journals, historical sources, magazines, local newspapers, International, governmental and private organizations' reports and websites. The aim was to become familiar with previous work and to keep up to date with all relevant material published during the research process. The main areas covered in the literature review were:

- i. The definition of heritage and heritage consumption;
- ii. The stakeholders' perception of built heritage;
- iii. The historical roots of heritage conservation;
- iv. The relationship between tourism, heritage and historic city;
- v. The distinctive nature of Islamic historic cities;
- vi. The chronology of politics of built heritage in Iran;
- vii. The nature of human movement, mobility and route in space and place;
- viii. Tourism and heritage based routes: terminology and approach;
- ix. The Silk Road as a heritage and tourism route in Iran and beyond; and
- x. Caravanserais as a place of heritage.

Some visits were made during this stage to a number of libraries, archives and research centers notably, SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies) library and British museum in London, Robert library at the University of Toronto and Iran national library as well as Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism organization (ICHHTO) archives and document center in Tehran. While resources about the built heritage on the Silk Road in general and caravanserai as a product of movement of people along the Silk Road in particular were limited and sometime difficult to access, it was essential to visit the mentioned libraries and document centers to access the relevant documents. Also, in order to observe the historic environment and gain some understanding of built heritage use and management, several visits were made during this stage to a number of historical places in Britain, Iran, Portugal and Turkey. This stage of the work enabled the development of a theoretical framework for the study, which provided the basis for the research aims and objectives.

The enormity of the subject under research in its three main themes, Iran, the Silk Road and caravanserai made the use of Persian and English sources inevitable. The use of European languages in general and English resources in particular is necessary for study of the Iranian past as most of the researches in the field of Iranian studies are in European languages. Therefore, it is important for an Iranian scholars to know at least one of these languages to take part in the higher level international academic discourse.

In the section on Iran, besides books, articles and reports, a considerable number of historical documents, maps, portraits and images were studied. As many of these documents were in Persian, English translations were carried out by the author. Also in the sections on the Silk Road and caravanserai, besides the mentioned documents, travel narratives left behind by Iranians and non-Iranians were studied; notably, John Chardin (1811), Narir-i Khusraw (trns. 1986), Tavernier (1678) and Ibn Hawqal (trns. 1938).

Designing the Methodology:

First, due to the complexity of sources, actors involved, and theme, it was decided from the start that a mix of research methods would be used, including both quantitative and qualitative surveys.

Second, to understand the situation of built heritage in Iran, it was decided that a qualitative approach would be preferable for this part of the study and consequently multiple interviews were conducted with key individuals in ICHHTO in 2014 and 2015. These interviews were arranged in a semi-structured manner and care was taken to mainly raise general questions, so that all views may be freely presented. The aim of organizing these interviews was not only to reflect the interviewees' opinions in this thesis, but also for me to develop a broader perspective of the subject.

Third, to investigate the spatial patterns of a sample of tourists travelling on the Silk Road with an organized tour, such as their itinerary of travel, mode of transport, type of accommodation and their perceived barriers on the Silk Road in general and the Iranian part of the Silk Road in particular, questionnaires¹ were distributed among tourists travelling the Silk Road in Isfahan.

Forth, it was agreed that the thesis should be pursued through a multi-case

¹ See appendix-2

study approach and caravanserais in the city of Isfahan were selected for this purpose. Isfahan was chosen based on its past significance in trade and travel along the Silk Road especially when the city was the capital of Persia for more than a century during the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. For this purpose, three national registered caravanserais of Shah, Malik and Saru Taqi were chosen in Isfahan. To analyze each case study, major stakeholders were identified and accordingly semi structured interviews were conducted during 2014 and 2015. The reason I chose caravanserais as built heritage for the case studies was the result of the survey responded by the tourists traveling the Silk Road. Travelers were very interested to use caravanserais as a type of accommodation during their Silk Road journey, but the actual type of accommodation they used was different. Three major criteria were involved in the selection of each of the case studies, i) caravanserai registered as a national monument; ii) caravanserai that exhibit an importance in the history of trade and travel in Isfahan; and iii) caravanserai that is an outstanding example of this type of building in Isfahan.

And fifth, field work as a continuous method during the life of the research was considered. This was done over a period of more than four years, from 2011 to 2015. During this stage photographing became particularly useful in order to document various physical and social aspects of the selected caravanserais. Several trips were made along the Silk Road for better understanding of the situation of the route itself in general and the built heritage along the route in particular. Besides, during this period, field work was carried out in the organizations involved in the study, such as *waqf* institution in Isfahan, ICHHTO and Isfahan municipality to observe the organizational structure of these institutions.

1.5. Organization of the Thesis

In order to conduct this study, within the framework already described, this thesis is divided into an introduction, three sections and a conclusion.

Section I, which deals with concepts underlying the research, attempts to find the place of cultural heritage in Iran. This part is divided into two chapters (chapter two and three). Chapter Two presents the view that, from any outlook, the quantity and quality of past values are the main factors which determine the values of cultural heritage. In this chapter the concept of heritage in general and built heritage in

particular will be defined, followed by providing an introductory note on the role of key players in the management and conservation of built heritage. Relationship among tourism as the largest consumer of heritage and historic city will be analyzed which will be continued by providing a general outlook on Islamic historic city and its major elements. Chapter Three, focuses on the politics of heritage in Iran and will evaluate the concept of cultural heritage in the country. The chapter's aim is to answer to two major questions: (a) how politics shaped heritage in Iran and (b) vice versa, that is how heritage shaped politics, also in Iran. The chapter will briefly introduce the city of Isfahan followed by providing two examples.

Section II examines the concept of heritage and tourism routes by presenting comprehensive information on the Silk Road as a route of heritage in general and on the Iranian part of the Silk Road in particular. This section will be continued by providing a case study of tourists traveling the Silk Road. It is divided into two chapters (chapter four and five). Chapter Four, presents the introductory information on the movement of people and the concept of route tourism. In this chapter, the Silk Road will be introduced by presenting comprehensive information about its history as well as its contemporary situation. Chapter Five evaluates the situation of tourism in Iran specially since the Islamic Revolution, it looks at the influence of politics as well as geopolitical pressures on the Iranian tourism industry. The chapter will be followed by a presentation of a case study of tourists traveling the Silk Road, in which information on socio-demographic characteristics of the sample of travelers, travelers' experiences and preferences, organizations of the tours, travelers route and itinerary as well as connectivity and accessibility of overland travel on the Silk Road is provided.

Section III, comprehensively looks at the existence of caravanserais, their architectural elements and functionality throughout the Islamic world. Isfahan as an Islamic city and the capital of Persia during Safavid Dynasty will be the center of this study. The preceding section allows a final focus in this section on how and why caravanserais along the Silk Road, especially those located in Isfahan are reoccupied, abandoned, or curated through time. To peruse the above aims, three caravanserais in Isfahan were selected as case studies. The section, similar to others, is divided into two chapters (chapter six and seven). Chapter Six, begins by providing historical information about Isfahan as an Islamic historic city and will be continued by

presenting preliminary information on the importance of hospitality in Islam and the motives of construction of caravanserais throughout the Islamic world. This chapter will explain the typology, physical features and functionality of caravanserais from the Indian subcontinent to the Mediterranean region. Chapter Seven, examines and evaluates the situation of caravanserais and the perception of the major stakeholders towards the selected case studies. The chapter will begin by providing information on the methodology used for the case studies and will be followed by introducing and discussing each case study separately. Chapter Eight, presents the final findings and the conclusion of the thesis, which mainly focuses on addressing the principal answers to the aims and objectives outlined at the start.

Section I: Built Heritage

[...]indeed it remains a mystery to me how Iranians with their talent and sense to build such monuments would be so inappreciative towards them[...]

Mohammad Ali Foroughi [Founder of the Society for National Heritage],
19 May 1920, Persepolis.

Chapter Two:

Cultural Built Heritage and Islamic Historic Cities

2.1. Introduction

Heritage Studies is a relatively new discipline and area of investigation; it was just in 1980s when it was well defined. Yet, it was right after the World War II that need for emergence of this field of study more than ever felt and required (Carman & Sørensen, 2009). Besides, 19th Century conservation movement also greatly contributed in establishment of this field of study (Glendinning, 2013). However, during history and with the help of other discipline specially geography, history and archeology as well as more recently in the fields of business studies, tourism and marketing, heritage has been defined and its consumption has been under investigation.

Generally, heritage has been defined as anything inherited from the past however, with a simple investigation into the discipline we witness that due to the perception involve, inherited thing's cultural values and related social activities heritage has different definitions. In other words heritage is not every intangible and tangible thing, building or site, but it is the cultural values embedded into these things (Smith, 2006).

The overall aim of this chapter is to examine the general concept of built heritage, its role in urban context and to investigate polices and planning designed and imposed by different authorities and organizations at various levels towards built heritage.

This chapter will first explain the importance, the concept and the definition of heritage and the use of heritage as “a contemporary product shaped from history” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 20). The discussion will be followed up by the concept of power and destruction of these “living organisms” and the role of conservation in the protection of built heritage. Second, the concept of cultural built heritage and its interrelationship with ‘place’, as a multi-faceted and both spatially and temporally variable will be examined. This section will open with a discussion of the

concept, the importance and the definition of key players or stakeholders in producing heritage as well as the conservation and management of it. Third, the importance of conservation of built heritage as a ‘living organism’ will be discussed and followed up by providing comprehensive literature about the international conservation movements in relation to built heritage from 17th to 21st century and will be continued by highlighting the role of World Wars in conservation of built heritage. Theories of modern conservation movement will also be extensively discussed and key theoreticians in conservation movement will be introduced. Forth, the creation and the role of major international and regional organizations in regards to conservation of built heritage will be discussed and their role in development of conservation movement will be highlighted. Fifth, this chapter will shed light on very general issues related to the field of urban spaces and specifically on ‘historic cities and how urban landscape has been created over time and space followed by analyzing the factors that shaped the cities into ‘the most complex of human innovation’. Also, the importance of heritage monuments in historic cities will be identified and effects of urbanization on heritage buildings especially in Islamic cities will be emphasized. Sixth, a broad introduction to tourism will be made as well as a brief discussion of its relationships with heritage in the urban context. Seventh, the formation of Islamic cities in a vast area of the world will be discussed and examined by introducing the main elements that mark a city as an Islamic city. A special emphasis on the role of the Islamic nature of the Islamic cities and in particular of *waqf* institution in regards to cultural heritage in general and the conservation of it in particular, will be discussed and analyzed. And finally, this chapter ends with two short illustrations of heritage destruction and conflict in the Middle East.

2.2. Cultural Heritage, Concepts and Definitions

He [sic] who controls the past controls the future. He [sic] who controls the present controls the past.

George Orwell (2013)

Generally, heritage has been defined as an irreplaceable and non-renewable resources by which people used in the past (Smith, 2006). The term has been widely discussed and debated, especially in the west. While understanding of heritage varies depending on the interests involved, there is a common ground among social sciences

scholars on the meaning of heritage as a precious legacy inherited from the past.

The cultural heritage of each country is one of the most important pillars of identity, consolidation, creativity and national self-sufficiency. Research in different fields of cultural heritage will contribute in a better understanding of the ambiguities of history; a lifelong understanding of community values and participation towards an understanding of sense of place lying in cultural heritage. Various studies have dealt with myths, values and inheritances determined and defined by the needs of societies in the present, exploring the connections between memory, identity and heritage through an examination of cultural landscapes (Graham et al., 2000; Larkham, 1995; McDowell, 2008).

The term heritage has been broadly used since the formation of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 1972, which came to symbolize monuments, sites, and buildings and to protect the world's cultural and natural heritage. According to the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2011, p. 667) heritage is a “property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance [...] valued things such as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations”. In one sentence heritage can be defined as something that which is inherited from the past (Harrison, 2010; Herbert, 1995). According to Lowenthal (1998) depending on how and who looks at heritage the definitions change, even within the same culture or community.

Lowenthal's (1998) idea is very much related to the perception and interpretation of heritage by different people and organizations. However, heritage is a part of the cultural tradition of any society (Nuryanti, 1996) that symbolizes everything we believe has been handed over to us from the past (Lowenthal, 2005; Prott & O'Keefe, 1992) and a present-centered phenomenon (Harvey, 2008), that has always been with us. While it has become very much an instrument of the present (Nolan, 1992), and future (Aplin, 2002; McDowell, 2008) which benefits the community (Aplin, 2002) and a responsibility to pass on to our successors (Prott & O'Keefe, 1992). Aplin (2002, p. 15) defines heritage as “two sets of ideas” and most things that have an historical background such as buildings, landscapes, plant and animal species, and less tangible cultural futures that “represent ideas” and says “who do we think we are” although it simply does not exist. Aplin (2002) believes that Heritage is culturally constructed and frequently politically motivated. He also mentioned that people recognize and define heritage based on their “personal and

collective past” and their “present physical, social and cultural environment” (Aplin, 2002, p. 16). Harrison (2013) has described heritage as everything from the solid such as buildings to cooking styles, songs and personal belongings to the ethereal such as, ethnicity to religion.

UNESCO's definition on cultural heritage in the Draft Medium Term Plan 1990-1995, has been extensively discussed and debated. UNESCO emphasizes on the belonging of cultural heritage to the whole of humankind by defining heritage as “the entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed down by the past to each culture and therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience” (UNESCO, 25 C/4, 1989, p. 57). Referring to this definition the responsibility of conservation of cultural heritage is directly or indirectly the responsibility of all humankind. Therefore, tools approaching to preserve the heritage are fundamental for any cultural policy.

However, to be more specific during the United Nation year for Cultural Heritage in 2002, UNESCO categorized and produced a list of types of cultural heritage (UNESCO n.d, cited in Harrison, 2013, pp. 5–6). UNESCO included the following items on the list:

- *Cultural heritage sites (including archaeological sites, ruins, historic buildings);*
- *Historic cities (urban landscapes and their constituent parts as well as ruined cities);*
- *Cultural landscapes (including parks, gardens and other ‘modified’ landscapes such as pastoral lands and farms);*
- *Natural sacred sites (places that people revere or hold important but that have no evidence of human modification, for example sacred mountains);*
- *Underwater cultural heritage (for example shipwrecks);*
- *Museums (including cultural museums, art galleries and house museums);*
- *Movable cultural heritage (objects as diverse as paintings, tractors, stone tools and cameras – this category covers any form of object that is movable and that is outside of an archaeological context);*
- *Handicrafts;*
- *Documentary and digital heritage (the archives and objects deposited in libraries, including digital archives);*
- *Cinematographic heritage (movies and the ideas they convey);*
- *Oral traditions (stories, histories and traditions that are not written but passed from generation to generation);*
- *Languages;*

- *Festive events (festivals and carnivals and the traditions they embody);*
- *Rites and beliefs (rituals, traditions and religious beliefs);*
- *Music and song the performing arts (theatre, drama, dance and music);*
- *Traditional medicine;*
- *Literature;*
- *Culinary traditions;*
- *[And] Traditional sports and games.*

Harrison (2013) believes that the above list includes an extensively broad range of categories, though this list covers only those things that might be considered as an official cultural heritage by UNESCO and should not reflect a comprehensive list. It also highlights the importance of listing and categorizing in heritage.

Based on the above definition, cultural heritage can be a result of social activities and processes, rather than environmental and biological changes (Aplin, 2002). It is the result of physical and material activities with immaterial activities and other elements such as value and identity. Cultural heritage extends into immovable cultural heritage, movable cultural heritage and non-material heritage.

According to the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) Built heritage has been defined as:

Monuments, buildings, archaeological and other sites, urban areas, cultural landscapes which could be religious or other spiritual buildings or places, vernacular architecture, historic towns, cities, or settlements, parks and gardens and cultural routes although built heritage must be defined and categorized according to the needs and values of the person or groups making the definitions. The built heritage can be found anywhere, in any community, and can be of importance to any one person, group of people, community, nation, or group of nations. There is sometime agreement on the values of the built heritage amongst many persons or groups, but sometimes values are not shared, and may even be contested. The built heritage cannot stand-alone. Built heritage almost always has heritage objects associated with it, as well as intangible heritage in the form of know how, rituals, performances, and specific uses.

(ICCROM, 2010)

But to be more specific researchers such as Tweed and Sutherland (2007) believe that the present definition of built heritage is inadequate and depends on conventional conceptions of architecture and history and issues related to humanity have been remarked as very limited. Therefore, by emphasizing on 'human right code' regarding the definition of built heritage, people can possibly be more engaged in the

safeguarding and conservation of it. According to United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) “every person has a right to engage in the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedom of others”. Therefore, human rights elements are very important to be considered when defining cultural heritage. This consideration will encourage people to acknowledge individual and unified responsibility towards cultural heritage and will provide an opportunity in the creation of peaceful and democratic society and promote cultural diversity (Council of Europe, 2005). While people gain comfort and a sense of security from being able to relate to their past not only from “something trivial as a concept of nostalgia” but in profound ways (Aplin, 2002, p. 16) cultural heritage can be an instrument of conflict between nations if not defined and respected well in the communities.

According to Article 6 in the Nara document on Authenticity “Cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect from other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems. In cases where cultural values appear to be in conflict, respect for cultural diversity demands acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the cultural values of all parties” (ICOMOS, 1994, Article 6). This document added that “the protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development” (ICOMOS, 1994, Article 6). However, one of the main issues is, while cultural heritage in the world and especially in developing countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen and Libya are in great danger, identifying responsible authorities and organizations in protecting and promoting these monuments are essential.

What is arguable is whose heritage are we considering? And who is defining heritage? From UNESCO’s perspective, cultural heritage is “the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations” (UNESCO, 2001b). Therefore, the outcome would be that all ‘things’ are correspondingly (equally) part of ‘world heritage’ at any level such as national and local heritage. But according to Gillman (2010) this could be possible only when we have possession and control of a heritage and UNESCO’s statement that any heritage passed on to us from the past is ‘common heritage of humanity’ and ‘Heritage for all mankind’ is very general and it is not in the context of reality of the world. According to Article 11 section 3 of Council of Europe (CoE) Framework Convention on the

Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, imposing the legal, financial and professional frameworks could be the main aspect for securing respectful environment on cultural heritage and to make possible joint action for protecting cultural heritage by public authorities, experts, owners, investors, businesses, non-governmental organizations and civil society (Council of Europe, 2005).

2.3. Cultural Built Heritage and Conservation

It has been most truly said [...] that these buildings do not belong to us only, that they belong to our forefathers and they will belong to our descendants unless we play them false. They are not in any sense our property, to do as we like with them. We are only trustees for those who come after us.

William Morris (1889)

To understand the concept of heritage it is also very important to define the meaning of place. Place is not just a building, it is more than a physical element; to be more specific cultural built heritage may be monuments (i.e. Persepolis), a group of buildings (i.e. Caravanserais) or sites (i.e. Silk Road). But material heritage sites may comprise no more than empty shells of dubious authenticity since their importance derives from the ideas and values that are projected on or through them (Graham & Howard, 2008).

According to Article 1 of the Burra Charter -Australia's guide of heritage protection- "‘place’, referring to site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works together with pertinent contents and surroundings" (ICOMOS, 1979). Aplin (2002, p. 67) stated that the Burra Charter basically focuses on the importance of 'contents' and 'surroundings' and the "heritage values of historic building" is often included with fittings and furnishing related to earlier use of the heritage which gives a sense to a place. He continued that 'surroundings' are seen as curtilage of a heritage and are significant motives of "aesthetic and visual integrity" as well as for the "protection of the key elements form off-site influences and processes damaging to their heritage value" (Aplin, 2002, p. 68)

According to the World Heritage Convention (WHC), tangible cultural heritage is categorized into three different areas:

- **Monuments:** *architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;*
- **Groups of buildings:** *groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;*
- **Sites:** *works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.*

(WHC, 1972, Article 1)

In ICOMOS Statutes (1978), as well as maintaining monuments and sites they added a group of buildings and defined it in article 3b as “group of buildings: shall include all groups of separate or connected buildings and their surroundings, whether urban or rural, which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of value from the historical, artistic, scientific, social or ethnological point of view.”

Cultural built heritage can be categorized into two relevant ways:

- Religious buildings (Sacred buildings)
- Secular buildings (Non-Sacred Buildings)

According to ICOMOS “Filling the Gaps – an action plan for the future, the term "Religious property" is defined as "any form of property with religious or spiritual associations: churches, monasteries, shrines, sanctuaries, mosques, synagogues, temples, sacred landscapes, sacred groves, and other landscape features, etc.". Therefore, we can define ‘religious buildings’ as buildings that society practice and share their religious beliefs and duties in such as, mosques, temples, shrines, churches, monasteries, synagogues and sanctuaries.

Secular properties can be defined as any buildings that are not connected with religious or spiritual practices and duties such as, castles, forts, railway stations, museums and libraries, town halls, houses, railway stations, universities and other non-religious properties.

Although in both sacred and non-sacred properties, other activities that are not entirely related to religion or secularity might be on the agenda, for instance, schools are secular heritage buildings but teaching and some times practicing religion is part

of their daily activities. Caravanserais (inns of the orient) are also secular buildings as they provide place for travelers and pilgrims to rest during their travels, yet pilgrims and others may use the rooms for religious purposes, such as Muslim travelers who pray in the rooms and read Quran in a group, and also, many people built caravanserais simply because in the Quran and hadiths the importance of hospitality and travel is repeatedly mentioned (Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010) (see chapter 6). It is strongly debated that some buildings such as *hammams* (traditional bath), caravanserais and schools could be both religious and secular buildings.

According to ICCROM Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites it is very important to understand what heritage is and define it clearly as the conservation process is very dependent on understanding all dimensions of heritage (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1998). Therefore, defining immaterial heritage (Intangibles) is also very important because “For everything of material heritage there is also an immaterial heritage that ‘wraps’ around it” (Harrison, 2010). Ritual practices could be a good example of both material heritage and intangible heritage. But as I have stated above what makes a building or site a heritage is not only shaped by objects of heritage such as landscapes, artifacts and buildings, but it is one or more of the following intangible practices of heritage such as (language, culture, knowledge, religion, stories, literature) (Harrison, 2010). Therefore, UNESCO defined intangible heritage as:

The intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation, and is constantly recreated by communities and groups, in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history. It provides people with a sense of identity and continuity, and promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

UNESCO (2003)

Cultural heritage is a largely nonrenewable resource (Aplin, 2002; Lowenthal, 2005) and becoming increasingly rare (Aplin, 2002). Therefore, one of the most important elements in many definitions of cultural built heritage is a focus on preservation (McManus, 1997) and its need of careful attention by owners, managers and the community. The uses of heritage can be economical as a place of consumption (Nasser, 2003) or cultural including political and social (Graham, 2002).

It is important to recognize heritage as an architectural object that is a ‘living organism’ which is always subject to a process of change and degeneration, and this

must be alleviated by maintenance and when necessary, restoration. Furthermore, heritage is often cited as a ‘thing’ that is always considered to be threatened and at risk (Harrison, 2013). These threats and risks could result in the demolition and destruction of cultural heritage.

The potential or real threat leading to the destruction and decay of cultural heritage has led many international organizations, and governments to enforce laws and regulation throughout legislation or listing (Aplin, 2002; Gillman, 2010; Harrison, 2013). Therefore, one of the main aspects of preserving both non-moveable and movable heritage is to adopt a community with enforcing policies and increase the knowledge of people toward cultural heritage. Rooney Harrison in his work, *heritage critical approaches*, categorized heritage into two terms, (i) ‘official heritage’: referring to “a set of professional practices that are authorized by the state and motivated by some form of legislation or written charter”; (ii) ‘unofficial heritage’: referring to “a broad range of practices that are represented using the language of heritage, but are not recognized by an official form of legislation”. He added “[...]building or subject that have significance to individuals or communities, but are not recognized by the state as heritage though legislative protection” (Harrison, 2013, pp. 14–15).

‘Unofficial heritage’ is beyond the scope of this research, therefore, the main focus of this research is on the conservation of ‘built official cultural heritage’.

2.3.1. Stakeholders and Built Heritage

There are a number of key players that have an important role in producing, conserving, protecting and managing built heritage resources. Key players may vary depending on the type, setting, location, ownership and involved activities of built heritage, therefore, the role of national government (policy); local government (elected or appointed); public and private sectors; owners; users and resident communities is vital in the making of built heritage. Freeman (1984) defined a stakeholder as a person or a group of individuals who share interests. However, according to Gray (1986, in Aas et al., 2005), this preliminary idea may be detailed. Ideally a stakeholder is an individual or group of individuals who has or have the privilege and potential to be involved in the decision-making and management process; consequently, any individual or group of people who is affected (local

community and businesses, NGOs, public and private organizations) in this process has a right to be involved. The identification of these stakeholders is critical as the success of a project depends on the involvement of both positive and negative key players.

Conservation and management of built heritage is only possible with proper planning and rational decision making of central governments, which aim to provide a comprehensive framework to the local level authorities and professionals for sustainable conservation and management of listed built heritage properties. This in fact, highlights the importance of the role of the central government authorities and cultural heritage trustees in policy making and planning for built heritage at a nation level. Likewise, presence and cooperation of major key players in order to provide a comprehensive joint action of plan for national monuments on a large scale is inevitable. Thus, in sensitive issues such as heritage conservation and management there are difficulties in identifying the potential stakeholders. For instance, in Britain - which is known as one of the most advanced countries in the conservation of cultural heritage properties - the central government provides the framework and large-scale policies (providing legislation for safeguarding, listing cultural heritage properties, instruction for conservation as well as regulation for protection and rehabilitation) while English Heritage and voluntary groups facilitate professional capabilities as well as labor force to pursue government's legislation and regulations (Ross, 2003). In practice, to a certain extent, the government hands out an important part of their responsibility over heritage to others, which may bring uncertainty, while at the same time it opens up an opportunity for different stakeholders to cooperate over conservation and protection of cultural heritage. Furthermore, it is important to identify if all the major contributors (central government, cultural heritage trustees, local authorities and agencies as well as other key players) are doing enough in safeguarding cultural heritage sites. Besides that, questions of balance between these key players have been one of the major debates between scholars and conservation intellectuals (Ross, 2003).

Heritage has been considered as a "sensitive" and "fragile" issue (Rahman, 2012). Therefore, policy making for conservation, rehabilitation and use of built heritage is a key dimension. On one side we may think of policymakers and central governments which respect and endow values and authenticity and avoid the misuse

and politicizing of heritage, which may result in a strong role in uniting the society, while on the other side, we may envisage misuses and/or the political use of a country's built heritage which can possibly turn the heritage into a partisan issue, with the potential to raise political turmoil for the destruction of it.

In recent years an extensive range of stakeholders has emerged with mostly different interests, aims, and goals. Because of this fact, conflicts also arise between and among stakeholder groups. This generally is related to how each stakeholder perceive built heritage. And in case of conservation and protection about who knows best regarding what criteria and principles should be followed (Cotter et al., 2001; Fowler, 1981).

Fundamentally as I discussed earlier, there are multiple of stakeholder groups involve in the fate of a built heritage. However, depending on their role, responsibility and perception, some have stronger influence than others. This fact is applicable in different extend to all kind of built heritage, from UNESCO world heritage sites to national and local sites. While perception of built heritage by stakeholders are varies depending on their interests, economical situation and religious ideology; legislative arrangement as well as political, economic and social structure of the host location plays a crucial role. The contrasts in perception of built heritage among the stakeholders can potentially threaten the existence of built heritage as we seen in case of *Daesh*² destruction of Syrian built heritage or blown up of the UNESCO world heritage site of Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan.

However, another discussion rise if they really can be considered as stakeholders, due to lack of cultural and social connectivity with these built heritage. In the above cases, it is being evident that destruction of these monuments by Daiesh or Al Qaeda was based on opposing to their ideological beliefs and basically, built heritage was used as of their political and economic interests over other stakeholders. Nonetheless, stakeholders with different cultural, social and historical attachment have totally different perception to these places.

So, it raises a same question once again that whose heritage is it and for whom has the heritage been created? and consequently, answering this question needs an understanding of the link between identity and heritage. So to identify the major

² *Daesh* is the Arabic acronym for Al Dawla al-Islamyia fil Iraq wa'al Sham (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant)

stakeholder's perception of a built heritage, it is significant to first understand the distinctiveness of each stakeholders as an influential power over a built heritage and then, their interpretation of built heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

As its been discussed earlier, heritage is generally ambiguous and vague which interpretation of its values are depended to the stakeholders' perception of the built heritage itself (Graham & Howard, 2008). The stakeholders' perception should be examined based on the socio-demographic background, the value system, interests and their motivations.

2.3.2. Conservation Movement

To recognize the modern official cultural heritage conservation approaches, it is fundamental to highlight the importance of historical roots of heritage conservation. In this section, the most remarkable actors in conservation movement are briefly discussed and their importance in conservation movement are highlighted.

Protecting and conserving cultural built heritage took place since the time of ancient civilizations and western antiquity, such as Greeks who preserved the Hellenic monuments and Roman Emperors and Teutonic chieftains who succeeded in preservation of the monuments of their ancient city (Nour, 2012). The first recognized restoration and preservation activities can be found during the third millennium BCE in Mesopotamia (Stubbs, 2009) and in the temple of Susa in the ancient city of the Persian and Parthian empires of Iran (König, 1965). Nevertheless, with the establishment of Hinduism and Buddhism and the building of temples, synagogue, churches and mosques specially in South-Asian cities, Jerusalem, Paris, Rome and Mecca conservation, maintenance and preservation, restoration and in some cases reconstruction of religious heritage began but it was mainly funded by religious centers and less from officials and governments. However, from the 17th and 18th century when many travelers, who undertook a grand tour to Italy, Greece, Persia and the Near East, and further countries documented the idea of a "common heritage of humanity" (ICCROM, 2009). Therefore, according to Vodopivec et al. (2012) renaissance could be marked as the beginning of modern documentation principles, which with the enlightenment in 18th century France, and the rest of Europe developed. Enlightenment in 18th century established modern ideas and ideologies of conservation and from that moment conservation became a movement in the broad

modern sense just like nationalism and socialism (Glendinning, 2013). The modern policies of heritage conservation came to practice as a part of the “general appreciation of the legacy of the ancestors and as a symbol of national identity” (Nour, 2012, p. XVII); from the formation of Europe and in the violent political, social, economic modernization in Europe and mainly from French revolution of 1789 (Glendinning, 2013; Nour, 2012; Vodopivec et al., 2012). Therefore, conservation as a modern phenomenon only really happened in the late 18th century and the era from the end of the 18th and entire 19th century became vital for modern concepts and principles of conservation.

Official protection of cultural built heritage dates back to the Italian Renaissance, when Pope Pius II (1405-64), issued papal bull *cum aliam nostram urbem* (In connection to our beautiful city) and clearly specified the conservation of ancient remains in their dignity (Jokilehto, 2011; Levi, 2008) and in this note the pope banned destruction or “pulveration [sic] of any ancient building” (Richardson, 2009, p. 180). The second (if not the first one of its kind) documented official protection and conservation of built heritage coming from Sweden when King Karl XI signed ‘antiquities ordinance’ in December 1666, in order to establish the first Swedish regulation on ancient monuments (Stubbs, 2009). Although, from 19th century official legalization of national protection of historic cultural built heritage came to agenda in many countries such as Greece (1834), France (1841), Spain (1844), Turkey (1869), Italy (1872), Hungary and Egypt (1881), The United Kingdom (1882), Bulgaria (1889), Norway (1897), Portugal (1898)³ and Iran (1903).

‘Stylistic restoration movement’ theory of a French master architect, restorer and architectural theorist, Eugene Viollet-Le-Duc (1814-1879) who is considered to be one of the founders of scientific historic preservation (Irwin, 2003) came into practice. He believed that restoration should be carried out with absolute discretion and without any personal judgment. He formulated the first theory of restoration turning France to be the world’s leader in conservation and restoration, his theory was concerned with the recovery of value of a monument which, was made possible by studying the “history of art, the classification of buildings by schools or epochs, and through analogical-comparative analysis” (Martínez, 2008, p. 247). He defined

³ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, various legislation was put in place regarding heritage protection. The Superior Council of National monuments (Conselho Superior de Monumentos Nacionais) was created in 1898, and the first laws were published in 1901, 1909 and 1910.

restoration in his 1866 dictionary, as “The term Restoration and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair it, or rebuild it; it’s to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which could never have existed at any given time”(Le-Duc in Sanders, 2008, pp. 12–13). His main philosophy was based on the fact that historic building had been completed during time and space and this fact has influenced the architecture and style of the historic buildings (Nour, 2012). He believed that most of the buildings built during the Middle Ages have undergone some considerable changes and additions during different times (Hearn, 2003; Nour, 2012). Important monuments that Viollet-le-Duc restored are the Basilica at Vézelay, the walls of Carcassonne and Saint Sernin in Toulouse.

A controversialist and the “foremost and most pugnacious theorists” (Glendinning, 2013, p. 5) intellectual Englishman whose idea and theories were at the opposite end of the spectrum to Viollet-le-Duc was John Ruskin (1819-1900) known as the other founder of scientific historic preservation and the leader of the anti-restoration movement, who believed that old buildings have a ‘life’ of their own. He challenged researchers and especially Viollet-Le-Duc by proclaiming the idea of ‘Restorative Vandalism’ in his master piece *Seven Lamps of Architecture* by stating “neither by the public nor by those who have care of public monuments, meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed” (Ruskin, 1849). He defended his idea by arguing that:

Every human action gains in honor, in grace, in all true magnificence, by its regards to things that are to come.... therefore, when we build, let us think that we built it for ever, let it not be for present delight nor for present use alone; let it be such a work as our descendants will think us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say they look upon the labor and wrought substance of them, see! This our fathers did for us. For, indeed the greatest glory of building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.

(Ruskin, 1849, pp. 171–172)

Researchers such as Wheeler and Whiteley (1992) believe that his idea of living organism in respect to worship of ruins was based on a passion for making controversy with Viollet and not on logic. In year 1877, Ruskin joined the founder of Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), William Morris (1834-1896), an English textile designer, who supported Ruskin “anti-modern utopianism”, “combining his romantic concept of emancipated artistic labour with the historical concept of materialism of Marx” (Glendinning, 2013, pp. 123–124) and became a leader of the late 19th century movement known as “Arts and Crafts” and “Aesthetic Movement”, or “Queen Anne”. Ruskin joined Morris when, Morris established his idea of anti-scrape that all restoration must be condemned on principles and it is not just for poor-quality restoration that must be condemned (Glendinning, 2013) and preservation must be the first priority in conservation. Morris’ preservation ideas and movement resulted indirectly in the formation of the ‘National Trust’ that was established in 1896 (Donovan, 2008).

In the late 19th century conservation practices came to a new phase of critical and scientific understanding, when in Italy a Roman architect and Milan based professor of architecture and designer of new buildings in eclectic style, Camillo Boito (1836-1914) sets the ‘anti-modern utopianism’ and ‘anti scrape’ ideology into practice (Glendinning, 2013), he tried to merge the conflict views of Viollet-le-Duc and John Ruskin in 1883, III *Congreso de Arquitectos de Roma* (Third Congress of Engineers and Architects in Rome) by stating 4 main principles “Monuments have a value not only for architectural study, but as evidence of the history of people and nations. And therefore, must be respected, since any alteration is deceptive and leads to mistaken deductions” he came to an important point that Ruskin and Viollet’s ideology could get close to each other, by adding: “Monuments should be strengthened rather than repaired, repaired rather than restored, and additions and renovation should be avoided”. Another principle argued: “If additions are unavoidable, they should be sympathetic in character and distinguishable in detail and material”. And his 4th principle was “additions to a monument should be respected with changes over time.” (Boito in Stubbs, 2009, p. 209). He later expanded his principles into 8 official conservation practice points, which became the base of first *carta Italiano del restauro* (Italian restoration charter) 1883, his principles and ideas formed the Italian legislation of 1902 (Glendinning, 2013; Jokilehto, 1999),

expanded in 1904 which adapted higher standard in restoration and legalized the handling of historic buildings in private ownership (Stubbs, 2009)

However, Boito did not end the battle of conservation. In Italy, Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947) a planner, engineer, academic and scientific conservation researcher, presented a different meaning of Boito's principles, by emphasizing on preserving the authenticity of historic building (valuing the ancient epochs of the construction) as well as its late additions (Stubbs, 2009). His theories of Scientific philological restoration were built according to minimum intervention and addition and passionately rejected stylistic intervention (Martínez, 2008). Giovannoni presented his theories in the first international congress of architect and technicians of historic monuments, Athens in 1931, organized by 'International Museums office' under the sponsorship of the League of Nations. His work helped to adapt and create the seven-points manifesto of *Carta del Restauro di Atene* (Athens Charter) (Glendinning, 2013; Martínez, 2008; Stubbs, 2009).

After World War II (WWII) (1939-1945) and destruction of hundreds of cities a number of questions came-up regarding bringing theories of Athens charter, Giovanni, Boito and Ruskin into practice (Martínez, 2008) but as these theories were in contrast with the stylistic reconstruction of the lost monuments new solutions and theories were essential and required. In France itself, about 460,000 buildings were destroyed and 15% of listed historical buildings were damaged (Stubbs, 2009).

While the world faced new economic and rapid changes in post-war industrialization and mechanization, the need for conservation of heritage buildings was strongly felt. Therefore, a series of questions were raised such as, how war-torn countries would eventually restore and rebuild their cities?; Should they rebuild or restore the historic buildings?; In case of reconstruction, what form should that reconstruction take?. While post-war economic crises in most countries were pursuing governments to focus on and find the survival necessity of people such as education and food, budget for conservation of cultural heritage was very limited and beside that there was not a practical theory for conservation of severely damaged historic building as most of the theories and studies were based on preservation, and due to the severity of damages to historic building in World War II restoration and reconstruction was needed.

The world was waiting for theories and practices for the restoration of historical buildings, when an Italian group of researchers led by Cesare Brandi (1906–86) first director of *Istituto Centrale per il Restauro (ICR)* of Rome; Giulio Carlo Argan (1909–94) Inspector in the General Directorate of Fine Arts and professor of the history of modern art from Turin; Roberto Pane (1897–1987) critic, conservator, and historian of Italian renaissance and baroque architect; and Renato Bonelli (1911–2004) professor of history of architecture at University of Rome, came to the conclusion on the theory that it was more of a critical act than a technical, which was ‘restauro critico’ (critical restoration) and became an inspiration for the Venice Charter of 1964 and supported by both UNESCO and the International Council of Museums (ICOM), which was a revision of the Athens Charter of 1931; and also the Carta Italiana del Restauro of 1972 (Glendinning, 2013; Jokilehto, 1999). Brandi’s main claim was, without denying the historical and documentary value of a work of art, restoration must be carried on according to aesthetic value (Jokilehto, 1999). He added that when a work of art broke into pieces or some parts are destroyed or in any circumstances damaged we have to look at the objects as a ‘potential unity’ and in that sense we have to make it possible for the viewer to perceive the object as damaged or ruined. Therefore, he believed that in damaged historical buildings, the viewer must feel the process of time and space (in the case of war: the damages and destruction that building faced), meanwhile, in the process of conservation the original material must be respected. Brandi believed that each work of art had its own unique story and restoration or reconstruction of monuments must be considered and analyzed individually by historical elements of that particular monument. In this sense, Brandi defined modern restoration theory, as it is still in use in the last 50 years as a guideline:

Restoration must aim to reestablish the potential unity of the work of art, as long as this is possible without producing an artistic or historical forgery and without erasing every trace of the passage of time left on the work of art.

(Brandi, 1963 in Jokilehto, 2010, p. 46).

In comparison with 19th century thoughts, Brandi added that the main aim of restoration must be to focus on conservation and not the renovation of historic monuments. According to the above statement three main principles were established:

- *Any reintegration should be easily recognizable at close distance but, at the same time, it should not offend the unity that is being*

restored;

- *The part of material that directly results in the images is irreplaceable so far as it forms the aspect and not the structure;*
- *Any restoration should be so made that it will not be an obstacle for necessary future interventions; indeed, these should be facilitated.*

(Brandi, 1963 in Jokilehto, 1999, p. 236)

Table 2.1 Major Contributors in Modern Theories of Heritage Conservation

Date	Contributor	Theories and Ideas
1843	Eugène Emmanuele Viollet-le-Duc	'Stylistic restoration'
1849	John Ruskin	'Anti-restoration movement'
1877	William Morris	'Anti-Scrape'
1883	Camillo Boito,	'Philological restoration'
1932	Gustavo Giovannoni	"Scientific philological restoration"
1963	Cesare Brandi with contribution of Giulio Carlo Argan, Renato Bonelli & Roberto Pane	'Critical restoration'

Source: The Author (2015)

2.3.3. International Principles, Charters and Declarations on Heritage Conservation

The first international action towards heritage conservation came from Brussels in 1874 when Czar Alexander II of Russia assembled a conference to discuss the codification of the post-war conservation by the name of 'Project of an International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War'. (Glendinning, 2013; Jokilehto, 1999). The declaration was agreed upon by delegates from 15 countries stressing that cultural treasures belong to all mankind and therefore, if heritage is destroyed it is not replaceable and culture is 'value of all man [sic]' not only a nation of one country but the whole world. Also, this remarked the beginning of study on identification and documentation of historic building for the purpose of protecting cultural heritage (Glendinning, 2013; Jokilehto, 1999; Stubbs, 2009). Although this did not have International consensus in one of the main points, which was: occupying powers had the rights to administrate cultural heritage yet could not own the heritage. Figure (2.1 -b) is showing the level of destruction during World War I (1914-1918), which transformed the Gothic style *Beffroi et Hôtel de Ville d'Arras* in northern France into ruins. During the war it was used for sheltering soldiers after returning to their home town, whilst they rebuilding their home. In 1931 the reconstruction began based on the engraved painting (fig. 2.1 -a) of E. Rouargue (1845) which is currently being used as the town hall (figure 2.1 -b & c).

Figure 2.1 Hotel De Ville D'Arras: Process of Destruction and Rebuilt

Source: a) Engraved by E. Rouargue 1845 b) *The daily Mail* 5th march 2013 c) Wikipedia (2011)

After World War I and in 1931 *Athens Charter*⁴ as the first international document which introduced important conservation concepts and principles concerning the conservation of monuments was adopted (Glendinning, 2013; Nour, 2012). According to Getty conservation institute (2013) the main conclusion of this charter can be divided into three principles of:

- *The idea of a common world heritage;*
- *The importance of the setting of monuments; and*
- *The principle of integration of new materials.*

There are also other important aspects of this charter such as the 7th resolution of Athens charter “protection of areas surrounding historic sites” which is considered as the first thought on acknowledgement of the urban dimension in heritage conservation.

By end of WWII in 1945 and with the creation of the UN the need for protection, conservation and reconstruction of culture in all aspects came to a new era. Only less than five months after the founding of the UN, representatives of 37 countries signed the constitution of UNESCO. The main reason for the establishment of this specialized agency was to protect culture and heritage of ‘mankind’ as well as prevention of outbreak of another world war. The first objective of UNESCO constitution was to contribute and lead in “(...) peace and security by promoting international collaboration through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and human rights along with fundamental freedom” (UNESCO, 1946).

⁴ See (ICOMOS, 1931) for more detail on Athens Charter.

In 1946 the setup of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), put an end to the presence of the International Museums Office, which had been forced to reduce its actions during war, although, UNESCO's cultural interests remained only limited to the museum until 1951 and the establishment of an International Committee of Monuments (Jokilehto, 1999). At the second meeting of the International Committee on Monuments in Paris, the committee provided comprehensive attention to international collaboration for the restoration of historic monuments as well as proposing the publication of a handbook on its restoration with consideration of legislative and administrative questions at national levels.

In 1957 in the International Meeting of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, the methods for training and collaboration of the various technicians, craftsmen, architects, archaeologists, and urban planners was organized in Paris which marked one of the first multidisciplinary conferences on preservation of cultural heritage. In 1959, the establishment of the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) in Rome was to improve the quality of conservation practice as well as raising awareness about the importance of preserving cultural heritage throughout training, information, research, cooperation and advocacy.

In May 1964, during the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Venice with participation of UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOM and the CoE as well as 61 countries from four continents, 13 resolutions were adopted and became the second international charter named as 'The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Sites' (the *Venice Charter*).

As I have already mentioned the foundation of the Venice charter is based on Brandi's theory of 'Critical restoration', however, its main extension to Brandi's theory was of the concept of "historic monument" which, includes not only single work of art (Historical building) but also "the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event" (The Venice Charter, 1964 Article 1). According to Jokilehto (1999), Venice charter had a greater influence than the Athens charter 1931, and became a major international document in conservation theory and also had been indicated in many countries' legislations; also, it has been a base for many 'regional charters' in different

parts of the world. ICCROM that had a great influence on drafting this document have been using this charter in its training activities. The main aim of this conservation was to highlight the intentions and reasons behind conservation and restoration and provide a comprehensive method and framework for safeguarding 'historic monuments' and surroundings, according to article three of the charter "The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence" (The Venice Charter, 1964 Article 3). Also, according to Nour (2012), another important part of this document is emphasizing the importance of the adaptive reuse of the conserved building, which could be the first document of its kind and became a common tool in 'all conservation policies all over the world'. "The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose" (The Venice Charter, 1964 Article 5). The 'Venice charter' reflects proper procedures for the restoration and conservation of historical buildings and has become globally recognized as a standard in legislation (Stubbs, 2009).

The other important outcome of this charter was the creation of the International Commission on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965 for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage places. This non-government organization (NGO) is the only one of this kind, which is associated with UNESCO, and its work is based on the principles achieved in Venice charter. It consists of a network of experts from architects, historians, archaeologists, art historians, geographers, anthropologists, engineers and town planners. The network of experts contributes to the preservation of heritage, the standards and the techniques for each type of cultural heritage property such as: buildings, historic cities, cultural landscapes and archaeological sites. From 1972 and the creation of world heritage committee, ICOMOS became an advisory body of World Heritage Centre for the operation and implementation of the World Heritage Convention of UNESCO, one of its works is to review the nominations of cultural world heritage.

Since the adaptation of the Venice charter by ICOMOS in 1966, the charter has been amended several time. The charter was criticized several times by different countries specially the United States as they claimed that the charter reflects only European ideas for conservation. They argued that the charter largely considers stone monuments and other types of architectural heritage such as timber relics are ignored.

Therefore, with the companionship of East Asian and Middle Eastern countries, the charter adapted new principals for the preservation of ‘historic timber structures’ (Stubbs, 2009; Sullivan & Mackay, 2012).

Addendum to the Venice charter came to reality from ‘*Florence Charter*’ on the preservation of gardens organized by ICOMOS in May 1981, which was announced a year later as an amendment to the Venice charter covering specific fields of concern (The Florence Charter, 1981). Followed by arguments regarding the efficiency of the Venice charter, in October 1987, ICOMOS adopted the ‘*Washington Charter*’ for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas as a complement to the Venice charter, conclusion of this charter reflected in Article 16 that “Specialized training should be provided for all those professions concerned with conservation” (The Washington Charter, 1987 Article 16). And amendment continued in ICOMOS charters in the Lausanne International charter for Archaeological heritage management in 1990; Principles for the recording of monuments, groups of buildings and sites. In 1996, this document took as its starting point Article 16 of the Venice charter. One of the other international charters adapted by ICOMOS was during its general assembly in 1999 on the ‘*Built Vernacular Heritage*’ a charter on conservation of local community housing or houses that were built by community ” (ICOMOS, 1999). Also, in the year 1999 in Mexico the issue of cultural tourism came into agenda for the third time since an international conference on tourism in 1976 in Brussels and followed by the 7th General assembly of ICOMOS in Rostock, Germany, which participants decided with the ‘Charter of Cultural Tourism’. The charter become recognized by some eighteen international agencies and associations.

Aside from International organizations, regional union organizations have had a strong role in the conservation of regional or even international planning for conservation. One of the strongest organizations in conservation of cultural built heritage is the Council of Europe founded in 1949. This council has been interested in European reconstruction and revitalization of cultural heritage and over the last decades it has been actively involved in conservation of historic architectures in 47 member states. The Council of Europe in 1970 adapted a number of declarations to formalize its principles and guidelines in protection of cultural heritage, and provided a comprehensive amendment to Amsterdam and Granada declarations. One of the main results of this declaration was a directly active involvement of CoE in the

developing of an ‘action plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina’ after its civil war that destroyed most parts of the historic towns and innumerable historic buildings in the country at the beginning of the 1990s. In respect to Bosnia and Herzegovina conflict, the Council of Europe’s Committee on Culture and Education commented “Apart from the obvious human cost in the continued suffering and difficulties of day to day living, there has been serious damage to the urban fabric.... Most buildings are damaged significantly and probably all buildings are damaged to a greater or lesser degree (broken glass etc.). Some buildings also were completely destroyed including ancient monuments” (Council of Europe, 1993).

Figure 2.2 National Library of Sarajevo After the Fire



Source: Photo by Roger Richards (1992) (<http://rogermrichards.photoshelter.com/image/I0000IHxe8DuvAc0>).

National Library of Sarajevo was among those historic relics that had been greatly destroyed during the war (fig. 2.2). The library was one of the largest collections of Islamic and Jewish manuscript texts and Ottoman documents in Southeastern Europe (Riedlmayer, 1995).

Council of Europe was actively involved in providing plan and fund for the conservation of the National Library of Sarajevo and in 1996 the first phase of reconstruction started by urgent works to save the surviving structure of the building. In 1991 the Council of Europe launched a successful program, ‘European Heritage Days’. This initiative became a joint action with European commission since 1999; throughout Europe, during a weekend in September many historic buildings that are normally closed to the public opened their doors intending to mark the importance of their shared cultural heritage and encourage people to be more active in the preservation and protection of their heritage.

There are other regional organizations working towards the conservation of cultural heritage, but there has never been a regional organization that consists of this number of countries and that works solidarity and consistently in the conservation of cultural heritage, other regional organizations are Arab Regional Centre for World Heritage, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Economic Cooperation Organization and etc.

The most important step in safeguarding cultural heritage was marked by the formation of *World Heritage Committee* in November 1972 in Paris, and its implementation in 1975 (Stubbs, 2009). This time the idea did not come from Italy or France but from the United States, during the White House conference in 1965 hosted by President Johnson (1908-1973) and by suggestion of environmentalist Russell Train (Glendinning, 2013).

Governments of UNESCO member states and ‘state parties’ were the only local partners of World Heritage Convention (Glendinning, 2013). As World Heritage Convention was concerned about conservation and protection of outstanding cultural or natural importance of the common heritage of humanity, WHC divided the heritage of humanity into 2 main categories of *Cultural Heritage* and *Natural Heritage* in both tangible and intangible forms. They began nominating different sites that have significance cultural and natural value around the world with the help of collecting advice from ICOMOS, for cultural heritage properties, and International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in the field of natural heritage.

Consequently, the World Heritage Committee consists of twenty-one member states and is responsible for analyzing data and information of properties proposed by member states in their annual meetings. Accepted sites must have an outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten criteria of World Heritage Convention.

As of February 2016, 1031 properties are listed: 802 cultural, 197 natural, and 32 mixed sites and properties (including cultural landscapes), in 163 states parties out of 190 countries while out of these properties about 48 properties are marked as “In Danger” properties (WHC, 2016).

Today in the 21st century, there are other key actors in the conservation of heritage buildings or in general in architectural conservation, that are mostly private and non-profit organizations/institutes such as Getty Conservation Institute, the World Monuments Fund and the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN). The latter is

known as one of the major groups of development agencies focusing on architecture, culture, art, music and the conservation and revitalization of historic cities, especially those with Islamic elements. Many of the AKDN's initiatives specially those related to the historical monuments are managed by 2 of its agencies (the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the Aga Khan Foundation) (Kalman, 2014). There are many programs that the Aga Khan initiative is involved in, including: the prestigious Agha Khan Award for Architecture and the Aga Khan Historic Cities program.

Since 1977 every three years the Award was given to “projects that set new standards of excellence in architecture, planning practices, historic preservation and landscape architecture”. The restoration and the conversion of Rüstem Pasa Caravanserai into a 150 room hotel in Edirne, Turkey; the Restoration of Bukhara Old City; and the restoration of a 19th century merchant home to a boutique hotel and textile center in the historic quarter of Kashan in the province of Isfahan, Iran are among the 116 projects that were granted the award till the end of 2016.

The historic cities program was established to stabilize the fragile historic fabric through processes of mapping, documentation, negotiation and advocacy, conservation and safeguarding. As of this writing in 2016 the program set out urban regeneration projects in nine countries with different settings in the Islamic world: Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Egypt, India, Mali, Pakistan, Syria, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Zanzibar (Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2016).

2.4. Heritage, the Historic City and Tourism

Historic cities are productions of social and cultural activities during time and space and therefore, historic urban conservation for the protection and remembrance of these historical activities has been a major focus for planners, architects and public policy makers in the last century (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012).

These cities have played a significant role in shaping national and local identities, which crystalize in different ways the social values of communities and are a metaphor for the economic growth and creative activity as well as self-sufficiency. Recognition of the role of cultural heritage in the idea of ‘sustainable city’ in the field of urban planning has encouraged many researches to investigate the relationship of socio-cultural and economical values of cultural heritage in the context of urban atmosphere (Luigi Fusco Girard, 2003; Ratna, 2000; Stabler, 1996; David Throsby,

2009). The term historic city does not just denote an old town or city possessing history as fundamentally, all cities have history, culture, people and their associations (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). Therefore, the question is what elements distinguish a historic city from a city?

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) the term historic city refers to two separate phenomena which along the way also overlap. It can refer to a “city as a whole” or “a particular district within a town”. In the first case, the main approach is the weight and values of historical elements in the city in contrast with other urban elements or perhaps in the marketing field it can also refer to branding, such as, “industrial city” or “university town”. For instance, in the case of the historic city of Isfahan in Iran -the city was embellished in the 17th century with new buildings and the older part of the city has either been renovated or demolished. Today the city is enjoying its spread of heritage (mostly Islamic elements) in most of its districts.

While the city has its historic relics extended over a large area of the city, some of the major elements of the city are also located in the *historic center* which also refers to the second phenomena of the term historic city. According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) in the second case, historic relics are mostly located in one district which is in contrast with other more modern districts. For the second case the historic centre of Guimaraes in Portugal is an appropriate example. Due to its considerable universal significance in the transition of the urban development technique, its association with the Portuguese identity in the 12th century as well as its well preserved buildings in the central district of the city, UNESCO selected the central district of the city as a world heritage site.

Socio-cultural values of a historic city have been built through the contribution of various elements during time and space, although intangible and tangible heritage have played a meaningful role in promoting pride, quality of life, community harmony and a sense of place. And therefore, in the urban environment ‘spirit of place’ as a fundamental phenomenon is a product of tangible and intangible heritage, which encourage local and national authorities, international organizations as well as communities to be involved in conservation of *their* cultural heritage (Arsenault & Maclaren, 2012). According to Negussic (2003, p. 1803) “in order to be successful, built heritage management in an urban context has to become integrated with the wider framework of urban planning policies”. Therefore, understanding urban components

and elements shaping the life of communities are essential for the management of cultural built heritage within the context of urban socio-cultural, political and economic framework. Cultural built heritage in the urban context has been widely influenced during time and space by different elements consisting of socio-cultural, political and economic activities, and therefore, to make sustainable conservation it is important to impose innovative policies and planning which could be enforceable and adoptable in different political and economic situations. Communities in historic cities have a very close coherence with their cultural heritage specially in the cases of public spaces (such as schools, bridges, water bridges, forts and castles and religious monuments); bazaars, caravanserais and *hammams* in Islamic historical cities and Lighthouses in coastal cities. Residents of these cities believe that the stories behind these buildings and monuments have shaped their lives, and that their way of life in the urban environment has been influenced by layers of time in relation to place (cultural heritage).

Obviously not all heritage is urban, in both senses of deriving from urban life or being physically located in the urban setting. However, as Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) investigated most of these heritage by either of these senses are located in the urban areas. As discussed earlier historic cities are considered as selected images of the past thus they are not totally preserved artifacts of the past, yet tend to resemble history recreated by upcoming generations. According to Sir Patrick Geddes (1915, p. 269) “A city is more than a place in space, it is drama in time”. Additionally, historical relics had a fundamental role in socio-cultural and day-to-day activities of communities. These fundamental features will provide face-to-face interactions and sociability of communities, an increase in the quality of urban life and sense of national dignity, which will increase the livability of cities (Ramezani et al., 2010) and lead to a constitution of sense of place and social relationship in the urban context (Eyles & Litva, 1998). Hence, heritage has always been threatened by the natural processes of decay and deterioration (Hassan, 2008), but it has never been so threatened as it is today because of the expansion and intensification of human activities harmful to cultural heritage. Therefore one of the main aspects of preserving both non-moveable and movable heritage is to adopt a community with enforcing policies and increase the knowledge of people toward the local and the world cultural heritage. In other words, as cultural heritage and in particular built heritage are vital

segments of urban landscape, implementing an action plan for conservation in a balanced, integrated and sustainable management process is essential.

Many researchers (Hassler et al., 2002; Tweed and Sutherland, 2007) believe that protecting cultural heritage is not a big issue as most countries have imposed legislation for the protection of their cultural heritage. However, in many senses, it could be arguable as legislation in most of the least-developed and developing countries is not comprehensive and in some cases it is improperly implemented due to a lack of power to act for the protection of cultural heritage.

The ownership of cultural built heritage has been an important issue in today's heritage protection, as many privately owned heritage seem to have been destroyed over time by different means. Depending on the country, the control on the protection of cultural heritage is the responsibility of different authorities, from ministerial levels to local municipalities and NGOs. Educating the community and their involvement in the protection process could be a key factor, as they possibly could report any destruction to the authorities and in the case of state destruction, protest and human Shield could be good means for protection as they have been successful on many occasions. In regards, according to Athens Charter 1931, it is acknowledged that the public have the right to extend their control even to privately owned historic relics (Jokilehto, 1986). The charter recommend that countries must provide legislation for providing space for the community to be more involved in protection of cultural heritage, specially at the time of destruction (ibid).

Whereas in the majority of developed countries the main focus is on the conservation process of urban settings such as maintenance, preservation, restoration, reconstruction as well as rehabilitation, in many developing countries' heritage authorities are struggling with the very first issue of conservation, which is listing (inventory) and protection. Listing of heritage, both natural and cultural in national levels is neither new nor unknown. The main purpose is to document and prioritize monuments with significant historical values. Listing is also considered as a stock of old relics survived over time. Listing is generally considered as the first step in the preservation of monuments. It requires a set of criteria for assigning '*things*' that have the potential to be considered as "monuments", however, parallel to these criteria establishing a national inspection system is vital (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). In most countries an office for national administration is responsible for preparing a list

of national relics and sites of national importance. Listing urban heritage is very important in any sense as it can be a starting point of conservation of built heritage but listing itself without tools for implementation could be very fragile and it cannot protect nor restore urban cultural heritage. Listing cultural heritage in the protection process is essential for urban planners as it can guide and help them in the process of decision-making. Furthermore, protection could be a very difficult task for urban planners in most developing or some developed countries as protecting cultural heritage in some cases could be a barrier for urban regeneration and development especially in massive urban plans, such as construction of urban railways or construction of high rising buildings in the surrounding of cultural built heritage.

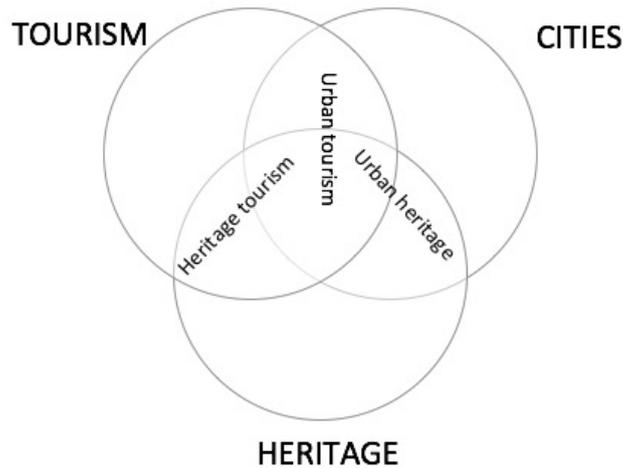
In many developing countries the economic benefit of cultural built heritage has actively been endorsed and by this point of view the first stage of study on any urban development in historic cities is to focus on the protection of cultural heritage. In this case if a new development or construction is harmful to a built heritage in both the actual building and surrounding spaces (skyline), urban planners and developers must find a replacement plan. Rypkema et al. (2011) highlighted the fact that a historic built environment is a cultural resource (asset) and it is also an economic asset. In other words, historic urban areas are seen as “assets, readily transformed into products that are sold to consumers seeking an experience” (Orbasli, 2002, p. 2).

Cities are offering various and a diverse range of social, cultural and economic activities, in which the service industry forms a great margin of them. One of the major contributors in a city's economy is tourism. However, tourism activities in cities are based on the wider regional and national tourism context. Commonly, tourists are attracted to cities because of the diverse and wide variety of facilities and services that a city provides, which is known as tourism resources. These resources are not only created for tourists but the main consumers of these urban elements are residents. However, these elements are also known as a necessity for tourists' experience and need as well as tourism survival (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). These resources can be categorized into two particular levels of primary and secondary resources. While the primary resources are varied between tourists, the secondary resources are mostly similar.

The primary resources are the main pull factor that motivate tourists to visit a destination (heritage, beach, business and scientific activity and etc.) while secondary

resources are facilities and services that support the visitor during their visit (accommodation, shopping, food and beverage). However, it is important to mention that in some cases it is possible that the primary attraction also acts as the secondary resources. For example, heritage monuments transform into tourist attractions. It is certainly true that heritage tourism in historic cities is a major contributor in generating economic activity and revitalization (Rahman, 2012).

Figure 2.3 Tourism, Cities and Heritage



Source: Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, p. 54)

Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), illustrated three elements of heritage, tourism and cities that shape the concept of a tourist-historic city (fig. 2.3). Namely, tourism as an activity, cities as a setting and heritage as a set of resources. While these elements are related, each one when joints with another create a concept, for instance, tourism and heritage create ‘heritage tourism’ as a special interest tourist or city and heritage create ‘urban heritage’ as a special interest place.

Smith (1988) considers tourism as a main consumer of cultural heritage by describing tourism in the eyes of governments as the ‘cornucopia’; the classical horn of plenty (symbol of abundance and nourishment), bringing employment, higher standards of living and much needed foreign exchange in its wake. Likewise, according to Throsby (2001) the economic interpretation of heritage can be seen as a ‘cultural capital’, which can be defined as any types of cultural built heritage with cultural significance and values combined with its economic values. Moreover, Orbasli (2002, p. 2) in his thesis opened this subject by mentioning “It is true that urban heritage has been conserved as a result of tourism interest, but a considerable amount has equally been destroyed because of it”. Moreover, the problematic point is

that besides mutual benefits of economic use of cultural heritage through the commoditization process and the commercial consumption of cultural built heritage, irrecoverable physical harm can happen by tourist use or through transformation of a heritage place to a tourism product as well as underestimation and standardization of built heritage (Ho & McKercher, 2004; Wang & Bramwell, 2012). On the other hand, it is not possible to ignore the importance of economic usage of built heritage. According to Timothy (2007, p. 16) “Without an economic justification, conservation policies and practices in many places would not be established or justified in the minds of community members and leaders”. Therefore, to be successful in the conservation of cultural heritage in the urban context, it is important to establish sufficient legal and administrative means for planning of cultural heritage with consideration of both cultural and economical values of built heritage.

According to Bandarin & van Oers (2012, pp. 75–76) while economic use of heritage is critical for both the heritage and its surrounding environment, there are multiple internal and external changes that greatly effect the conservation of monuments in the urban context of historic cities, which must be considered by all levels of authorities and organization for safeguarding cultural heritage such as:

- *Exponential increase in urbanization on a global scale;*
- *Growing concern for the environment and the sustainability of urban;*
- *The vulnerability of cities in terms of the impact of climate change;*
- *The changing role of cities, with ongoing market liberalization, decentralization and privatization as new drivers of development;*
- *The emergence of tourism as one of the largest industries in the world;*
- *And as an internal force of change came a broader understanding and appreciation of the concept of cultural heritage, including the essence of the ‘urban condition’ in relation to urban heritage values to be protected.*

Cultural and economic segments in urbanism have a very close relationship and are often positively co-related. Yet, according to Rypkema et al. (2011) cultural and economic sectors theoretically can be distinguished based on the view on terms of value that influence conserver thoughts. Moreover, every cultural built heritage has different types of values such as cultural, economic, aesthetic, social, religious, environmental, political and other. These values must be carefully studied by conservationists and authorities for sustainable conservation in urban environments to

avoid trade-offs and the loss of irreplaceable features of our past (Wang & Bramwell, 2012). Often these values are in conflict with each other, in this case the role of the conservator is to minimize the conflict and find a balanced and innovative policy and planning. Additionally, the relationship between economic values and cultural values could be extremely complex and sensitive as cultural values are highly diverse in shaping the viewpoint of both cultural built heritage and the surrounding environment.

Generally values of heritage are varied and often in conflict with each other (Mason, 2002, p. 5). Applying balance and innovative policy must aim to find a breakpoint in cultural values and economic values of heritage in urban environment and not to maximize its economic values or cultural values (Rypkema et al., 2011). Socio-cultural values of heritage (historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious and aesthetic) are significant for people in general and the local community in particular as these values are associated with their past and most importantly with their identity. This association is basically due to heritage's age, beauty, artistry or connotation with significant person or event (Mason, 2002, p. 11).

These values are very sensitive and significantly important specially when planning is undergoing for regenerating cultural heritage and to promote it in the market as a tourism product (Hansen et al. 1998; Kim et al. 2007; Salazar 2012; Tuan and Navrud 2007). These socio-cultural values of cultural heritage in the market by themselves do not have any economical values to become a market driven product both tradable and price-able (Salazar, 2012; Sinclair & Stabler, 2010). In this stage, it is important to identify and characterize all the disciplines and stakeholders that potentially can be involved in the process.

Creating a relaxed atmosphere for both visitors and community is another principle for planning and management of cultural heritage aiming to minimize the conflicts between community and visitors. There are several methods to provide a calm and relaxed atmosphere such as the involvement and empowering of communities in the decision-making process in the planning phase and generally, looking at the community as the owners of these built heritage (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). The second method is to involve them financially by employing local workforce and providing opportunity to open their businesses in the surrounding area (Besculides et al., 2002; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996). In religious societies there are other factors as well, such as involving religious experts in the planning process

aiming to provide a considerably respectful environment that prevents conflicting atmosphere for the worshipers of sacred places (Shepherd, 2013).

The above mentioned methods could be successful by educating tourists and visitors by different means, although, researchers such as Moscardo (1998) and Smith (2006) believe that recommended protection policies for conservation of cultural heritage must be carefully planned aiming to minimize tourists and visitors destructive effects 'conservation ethic'. The role of management principles in this part of planning is crucial. Researchers including Chhabra (2009) and Wang and Bramwell (2012) believe that an economical use of heritage is fundamental in the protection of cultural heritage as it can generate its own cost of protection and conservation. According to Throsby (2009) any form of cultural heritage (built heritage, sites and the atmosphere of historic cities and towns) is an important motive for tourist demands. Data from various countries highlight the fact that during the tourism decision-making process one of the main elements influencing tourist decisions for visiting a destination is its cultural features. Therefore, tourism as a main consumer of cultural built heritage in urban environments has an important role in planning for conservation of cultural heritage but to be successful in its conservation, it is important to investigate and analyze the role of tourism in heritage conservation process in historic cities.

Tourism as a whole can be described as a major movement of commodities, services, facilities and people in human history (Lyon & Wells, 2012). According to Stronza (2001); and Lyon and Wells (2012) tourism became one of the most significant facilitators for economic development and sociopolitical changes. According to David Scowsill, president of World Travel & Tourism Council "Travel & Tourism generated US\$7.6 trillion (10% of global GDP) and 277 million jobs (1 in 11 jobs) for the global economy in 2014. Recent years have seen Travel & Tourism growing at a faster rate than both the wider economy and other significant sectors such as automotive, financial services and health care [...] International tourist arrivals also surged, reaching nearly 1.14 billion [...] visitors from emerging economies now represent a 46% share of these international arrivals (up from 38% in 2000), proving the growth and increased opportunities for travel from those in these new markets" (WTTC, 2015, p. III). Besides frequent shocks of wars (i.e. the American-led Afghanistan and Iraq invasion as well as Arab spring conflicts), terrorism (i.e. the terrorist attacks of September 11), health concerns (i.e. H1N1 Virus in 2009 and SARS

virus) and economical crises (i.e. airlines and banks financial failures and European union member countries economic crises) tourism is becoming one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world and international tourist arrivals (overnight visitors) have shown virtually continuous growth – from 25 million after WWII (1950) generated US\$ 14 billion, to 278 million in 1980 generated US\$ 218 billion, 528 million in 1995 and generated US\$ 503 billion, 940 million in 2010 generated US\$ 919 billion, and 1,035 million in 2012 generated US\$ 1,075 billion (UNWTO, 2006b, 2013b).

According to the world tourism organization, “Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure” (UNWTO, 2014c). Based on the natural and cultural heritage resources and attractions of some cities, regions and nations, tourism acts as an ‘economic savior’, especially in developing countries with narrow economic growth (Khirfan, 2007; Rowe & Stevenson, 1994). Tourism was identified in the *Manila Declaration on World Tourism of 1980* as “an activity essential to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational, and economic sectors of national societies and on their international relations” (UNWTO, 1995, p. 1). Tourism along with the travel sector is the leading job creator with employing more than 98 million people directly, representing over 3% of all employment (WTTC, 2012). The economic benefit of tourism is of course not limited to the creation of jobs and employment opportunities but its also producing multiply effect on local economy by generating income through recycling tourist expenditure as well as increasing in local handicraft and souvenir productivity that leads to generate more tourists by extending tourist destination space (Bosselman et al., 1999; Graham et al., 2000; Khirfan, 2007; Kotler et al., 1993; Middleton & Hawkins, 1998).

According to Butler (2006, p. 11) in the conservation process of cultural heritage in tourism destination it is important to highlight the significance of cultural heritage in the life of society and emphasize on the significance of cultural heritage as a non-renewable and extremely rare source, he stated that “tourist attractions are not infinite and timeless but should be viewed and treated as finite and possibly non-

renewable resources”. A standard mass holiday product was created from the beginning of 1950 and the early 1980s, aimed to provide price sensitive products to tourists (Aguiló et al., 2005; Akis, 2011). The majority of these tourists were looking for sun and sand specially in the Mediterranean region (Akis, 2011), which was accompanied by considerable environmental deterioration (Vella et al., 2009). Hence, during time tourist destinations provided other price-sensitive packages for visiting heritage of the historic cities, although, very soon this model of consumption underwent crisis in the late 20th century when, urban planners in historic cities faced a threat to the environment and culture by expulsion in population and especially destruction of already vulnerable heritage (Aguiló et al., 2005; Vella et al., 2009). The de-industrialization of Western Europe and North America not only changed the economy of the world; it has also changed the socio-cultural understanding of people. This change encouraged both consumers and local communities to look for an alternative to mass tourism, based on different consumers demands, (including new habits, better quality of products, greater degrees of wealth, environmental friendliness, respecting the socio-cultural believes of local communities and others) as well as local communities’ demands (including their concerns about their living natural environment, destruction of cultural heritage, security issues and others) have directed to create “new” kind of tourists (Aguiló et al., 2005; Hughes, 2004; Krippendorf, 1987; Poon, 1993).

The creation of ‘new tourists’ along with the economical transition from industrial to post-industrial time in Europe and North America and concurrency of this change could be an explanation of not only change in the economy but also change in the socio-cultural structure of society, (Featherstone, 2007; Lash & Urry, 1987) which lead to modify not only consumer expectations and demand but ‘composition’ of tourism product consumers that are looking for “authenticity, novelty, spontaneity, and adventure and are keen to learn about the natural environment and new cultures” (Hughes, 2004, p. 499). Poon (1993) distinguished new types of tourists to old style mass tourists and Hughes (2004) adopted table 2.2 to highlight the differentiation of old tourist to new tourist.

Table 2.2 Characteristic of Old and New tourists

Old mass Tourist	New targeted Tourist
Search for the sun	Experiencing something different
Follow the masses	Want to be in change
Here today, gone tomorrow	See and enjoy but do not destroy
Just to show that you have been	Just for the fun of it
Having	Being
Superiority	Understanding
Like attractions	Like sports
Take precautions	Adventurous
Eat in hotel dining room	Try out local fare
Homogeneous	Hybrid

Source: Hughes (2004, p. 500)

The above-mentioned tourist expectations created a different segmentation of the tourism market, which lead to a creation of numerous niche or specialty travel forms of tourism that have emerged over the years. One of these adjectival tourisms is ‘cultural heritage tourism’, which is best defined as “an alternative to mass tourism, offers opportunities for place-based engagement that frames contexts for interaction with the “lived space” and “everyday life” of other peoples as well as sites of global heritage value” (Doganer & Dupont, 2013, p. 15).

According to the world tourism organization, cultural tourism claims to be one of the largest (if not largest) subsets of tourism and represented 40% of international trips in 2004 (Richards, 2011). However, updated data for the portion of cultural tourism trips in international tourism after 2004 is not available. Hence, as culture has a very complex definition, cultural tourism can also be very difficult to explain as it can involve all types of tourism. According to Orbasli & Woodward (2009), most tourists at some stage will be involved in cultural activities of their destination and will visit its [built] cultural heritage.

But cultural heritage tourists may refer to the type of tourist who base their travel specifically on the intention to visit the cultural features of that destination (including tangible and intangible heritage). These tourists are considered to be informed, well educated, and aware of cultural values of the destination as well as the positive and negative impact of tourism in the destination.

Figure 2.4 British Specialty Tourism Advertisement



Source: The daily mail, 22 September 2011

Positive economic impacts of tourism have been extensively recognized and studied and are mainly focused on the GDP growth, increase in employment rate and regional income. Hence, positive socio-cultural effects can be seen as reciprocity, community pride, tolerance, and a stronger sense of ethnic identity (Besculides et al., 2002; Driver et al., 1991). Although, negative socio-cultural potential of tourism has been considered by some researchers as a great danger to the society of a particular location (Akis, 2011; Besculides et al., 2002; Keogh, 1990). The adverse effect of tourism on a socio-cultural scale can be seen by residents as a mean to decrease the local quality of life; a destroyer of their built heritage; a danger to their religious, spiritual and social beliefs; and a risk to the authenticity of local cultural patterns which can effect the cultural and social uniqueness of a particular location (Throsby, 2009). Some pessimistic residents take further steps and consider tourism as a mean of cultural invasion (Aghababaei, 2012; Besculides et al., 2002; Pena, 1998; Pulido, 1996) or ‘detrimental to national security’ especially in the state that its constitution is mixed with a particular religion. Although during time cultural tourists promotes itself as a type of tourist who is aware of the boundaries, a tourist that is respectful to the visiting societies’ sense of place and local identity, a mean for conservation of cultural heritage rather than destruction, which is mutually beneficial in case of cultural exchange (Throsby, 2009) and helps to sustain urban livability (Lynch, 1972; Serageldin et al., 2000; Throsby, 2009).

2.5. Islamic Historic City

The first approach to the term ‘Islamic City’ was presented in the mid 20th century by European orientalist such as William and George Jean Sauvaget and Albert Hourani (Falihat, 2014). Their view on cities in the orient in general and

Islamic cities in particular was based on the construction of the cities, as they believed that Islamic cities are not following the western model of ‘organized’ cities and their characteristics and are different from those located elsewhere (Gharipour, 2012).

The Islamic city has been considered as an ancestor to two different type of cities: oriental despotic city and the Hellenistic-Roman democratic cities (Gaube, 1979). Emergence of Islam as a religion and later culture in a vast area of the Old World from Arabian Peninsula to Roman-Byzantine and Iranian hemisphere shaped a new type of city. The dominant influence of Islam in this area had a great effect of urban forms and design and consequently new common urban elements appeared regardless of the cities original plan and when these cities were founded. Since their formation these cities greatly differentiated with their counterparts in medieval Europe, specially in case of form, design and structure (Gharipour, 2012). The common elements that can be found in most of the Islamic cities or perhaps all include, mosques, bazaars (*souq*), madrassas, *hammams* (bathhouse) and caravanserais.

According to Guabe (1979), the notion of the city in general consists of four major features that form its physical appearance including: center of authority to govern; the center of knowledge and religious life; location of non-agricultural economic activities; and the residential area of a population. These four features of a city also appear in different forms in the Islamic cities, for instance, the center of governance is mostly located in the citadel with security and in the palaces; religious and intellectual life is represented in mosques, shrines and madrassas; while businesses and trade activities are carried out in bazaars where many of Islamic features of a city are located including *hammams* and caravanserais and *mahale* (living quarter) which is a place where the non-agricultural population live.

Generally speaking, a city in the Islamic world can be categorized into two main types of: i) created and spontaneous cities and ii) inherited and remodeled cities.

The first type are the cities that were created since the emergence of Islam and they did not exist before the arrival of Muslims. Also, the spontaneous cities were grown without governmental planning and motivation. According to Kostof (1991, p. 43), spontaneous cities were constructed without any master plan and design, and formed based on “the passage of time, the lay land and the daily life for the citizens”. Created cities are constructed based on the political and military requirement of the central or local governments. One of the famous examples of an Islamic royal

motivated city that was created after the arrival of Islam is the Royal city of Baghdad. This city was constructed based on predefined urban planning (Bianca, 2000). Other cities such as Kufa and Basra in Iraq and Qayrawan in Tunisia and Shiraz and Kerman in Iran are also among those cities founded through government action to provide bases for Muslim settlements (Kennedy, 2008; Nour, 2012).

Many or perhaps most of the Islamic cities are under the second type, as these cities existed in one form or another before the arrival of Muslims. These cities however, were subjected to major changes after Muslim invasions (Kennedy, 2008; Nour, 2012). As most of the inherited cities were comprised of Roman elements, after the arrival of Islam, cities' elements were converted and redesigned for Islamic use or were demolished. Córdoba, Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Isfahan and Bukhara are some of the major examples of inherited cities that have remained as the center of urban life till today. While cities such as Rayy, Merv and Nishapour lost their origin during the antiquity and regained their importance after Islam, due to multiple reasons including urbanization near these cities once again after Islam they lost their significance. On one hand the creation of Mashhad as one of the major religious cities for Shia Muslims close to the city of Nishapour gradually reduced the importance of the city, and on the other hand the emergence of Tehran as the capital city of Persia (Iran) near the city of Rayy also minimized the significance of this city.

Generally, there are many factors that hallmark a city as an Islamic city, these factors include the city's elements, its physical form, its design and layout and its spatial structure. In the case of an Islamic city's characteristics, there are a number of elements which are required for the city to be announced as Islamic. Jami mosque (Friday mosque) and bazaar are among the main physical and social characteristics of the Islamic cities. According to Hakim (1982) the first construction project that a Muslim leader undertakes is the building of a mosque as the center of an urban area. The construction of Jami mosque is a must in both created or inherited type of cities. Also, Habibi (2006) stated that a city without a Friday mosque is not an Islamic city or perhaps at most it is only considered as an Islamic settlement. Friday mosques are mainly located in the center of the old city on the margin of the main axis of the city. The cities' main administrative institutions and at least one major madrassa were mostly located near the 'Grand Mosque' (Gaube, 1979).

Bazaar (Suq in Arabic) is the other main element of an Islamic city. Similar to

Friday mosque the bazaar is a must for a settlement to be considered as a city in the Islamic world as it plays an important role in the social, economic and political structure of the city. The bazaar was considered as a center of public life and the place that main public activities of the residents took-place. According to Gaube (1979, pp. 19–21), “Bazaar is the most distinctive characteristic of the Islamic city. It is the control center of the city’s economy as well as that of the hinterland [...] here wholesale and retail trade, the crafts and industry as well as banking are concentrated. All of this is arranged as a spatial contiguity and an organizational whole”. Kheirabadi (2000) believes that the existence of bazaar in Islamic cities was not only for economic activities but bazaar had noneconomic roots as well such as “religious, educational, sociopolitical, recreational and services”. He also added that the main distinguishing points between Iranian cities and Islamic cities are bazaar and mosque, as in Iranian traditional cities, bazaar is the element that forms the center of the city, while in an Islamic city, Jami mosque is propounded as a main characteristic that shapes the center of the city (Kheirabadi, 2000).

Beside of shops, workshops, storages and warehouses, another important element of bazaar that was actively existent was caravanserai (khan), which was an inseparable element of an Islamic city. The caravanserais were located in different parts of the Islamic world, and based on the requirements and location their activities were different.

According to Nezar Alsayyad (1991, p. 6), there is a general view and imagination about Islamic cities’ elements, physical forms, design and spatial structure as well as its morphology, which he refers to as the ‘stereotype of Islamic city’. He stated:

The Muslim city is a city whose central nodes is [are] a Masjid Jami, or Friday mosque, with a well defined and somewhat central royal quarter and a qasabah or a major spine extending from one main gate to another along which lies the most important buildings scattered along the linear bazaar which branches out into the city forming irregular but functionally well-defined specialized markets. The city also has a citadel or a defensive post on the outskirts and this seems to tie well with its successive walls. Housing was mainly made up of inward oriented core residential quarters, each allocated to a particular group of residents and each is served by a single dead-end street. As for its spatial structure, the Muslim city had no large open public spaces serving its movement and traffic network were narrow, irregular and disorganized paths that do not seem to represent any specific spatial conception.

According to English (1966), one of the major indicators of an Islamic city is its irregular layout and the presence of narrow, twisting streets and cul-de-sacs. He added that due to westernization, this landmark of Islamic cities in many cities lost its originality while other elements of Islamic cities are still in one way or another functioning, specially monuments related to religious practices, such as mosques, shrines and madrassas. Bazaars and most of its elements are also continually functioning in most of the Islamic cities. However, due to economic and social requirement of time, the functionality of many of these elements changed (Falahat, 2014). One of the major attributors in regards to change in the functionality of many of these monuments is industrialization and modernization. Caravanserais and *hammams* are two of these elements that were greatly harmed by modernization. As water was piped into every house, public baths became mostly useless and social interactions of *hammams* occurred instead in cafés and teahouses.⁵ Women were once again limited and lost one of their *private places* for interaction as men rehabilitated teahouses and cafes for their own private spaces. Here women morally were not allowed to enter. Caravanserais, as a place to host the traders and travelers lost their importance due to the modernization of the hospitality industry and construction of different types of hotels. Yet, many of these caravanserais, both urban and road side, continue to exist in South Europe, North Africa and the Near East.

One of the fundamental institutions in conservation and protection of Islamic heritage in urban fabric is *waqf* institution, which constantly protects Islamic heritage, especially those related to religious practices.

2.5.1. Built Heritage and *Waqf*

Islamic cities share many common features (Hillenbrand, 2000). One of them is the dedication or endowment of a property by individuals as charity. These properties are subject to Quran and hadiths rules and regulation. *Awqaf* is the plural of *waqf*, which is an Arabic word and literally means detention, stopping and forbidding movement. In Islamic jurisprudential term, *waqf* is a contract that results in detention of an actual property (whether capital or land) and devotion of its benefits

⁵ *Hammam* was not only a place for bathing, but it was a place for social interaction and recreation of Islamic cities' citizens, specially for women, where due to gender segregation and Islamic law, they were not allowed to be in public unveiled. See (Wasserfall, 1999; Sarmiento and Kazemi, 2012) for women and *hammam*.

for the proposed reason.

According to Dominique and Sordel (1991, p. 849 in Raymond, 2008, p. 786) *waqf* is defined as “a mortmain good that has been declared inalienable by its owner, and the income from which is dedicated to a precise use, specified by the donor, in such a way that his foundation is pleasing to God”. One of the main ideas behind *waqf* practice is to endow property that produces financial benefits to provide ‘social function’, and subsequently “maintains the property” (Khalfan & Ogura, 2012, p. 591). There are many properties in Islamic countries that are still functioning under the *waqf* system. However, many of them, because of a lack of proper management, unsustainable conservation and inattentiveness of the *waqf* institutes in some of those countries made the *waqf* system less effective (Khalfan & Ogura, 2012). *Waqf* widely relates to non-perishable (immovable) properties such as land and buildings. Yet, there are *waqf* of movable historical works of art, books, cash, cattle, stocks and other.

In both pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran endowment and dedication of properties for religious beliefs played an important role in communities social and economic life. One example of pre Islamic endowment is Zoroastrians temples in Yazd and Kerman that are protected and maintained under endowments by Iranian Zoroastrians.

Today, when talking about cultural heritage in the Islamic world, most of the Islamic historical buildings are *waqf* properties (Shafaghi, 2006). There are a number of public buildings including mosques, hospitals, bazaars, *madrasas*, caravanserais and *hammams* that played an important role in defining the characteristic architecture of the Islamic cities. According to the *Waqf* tradition *Mowqufeh* (endowed property) must be preserved and protected based on the conditions and settings that are defined by the *Waqif* or bequester (a person who donated and dedicated the property) in the *Waqf-nameh* or *Waqf*'s deed (is a written instruction by *Waqif* about the details, specification and mode of management, expenses and other details). The responsibility of administration of *Mowqufeh* is with one or more persons designated in the *Waqf-nameh* by the *Waqif*, which refers to them as the *Waqf* responsible (*mutawalli-e Waqf*).

There are generally two types of *Waqf* (general endowments and particular endowments). In this research, general endowments (*Waqf Amm*), which are defined as properties that are endowed for the benefit of the public, are the relevant ones. Particular endowments (*Waqf khass*), which mean endowed for the benefit of a

particular individual, group or guild are not so applicable. The main reason is because this type of *waqf* is mostly donated to the donor's relatives and offspring.

Waqf is a lasting and eternal charity as Prophet Mohammad specified:

When a human being dies, his work for God comes to an end except for three: a lasting charity, knowledge that benefits others, and a good child who calls on God for his favor.

(Payandeh, 1947, p. 182, *Nahj-al feṣāḥa*)

In most *waqf-nameh* one of the main elements is to maintain the *mowqufeh* to benefit the public for the mentioned purpose. Therefore, in regards to this approach, maintenance and conservation of these buildings is essential as in most of *waqf* deeds the remaining of the building in “good condition until on the resurrection day” is clearly specified (Khalfan & Ogura, 2012, p. 591). This approach is also in the context of heritage conservation, as during time these buildings become old and based on their values, authenticity and significance they have potential to become a material heritage. In this regard, *mutawalli-e Waqf* is responsible for repair and maintenance of the building itself from revenues earned. Also, *mutawalli-e Waqf* is responsible to ensure that maximum income is earned from the endowed properties. It is also important to specify that if restoration and maintenance is not fulfilled in many cases the salary of *mutawalli* must be withheld until the property is maintained and restored completely (Gorshenina, 2014). However, conservation and maintenance of properties except religious function properties, does not correspond to today's definition and understanding of protection and conservation of cultural heritage (Gorshenina, 2014). Therefore, in many Islamic countries, *waqf* properties that become part of national heritage sites can be a place of conflict between national heritage authorities and *waqf* organizations especially in the case of who conserves the heritage. Furthermore, misinterpretation of “maintenance” and “renovation” by *waqif* and *Waqf* institute is often considered as “reconstruction” and often in many cases complete destruction of the buildings and replacement of new structure (Gorshenina, 2014, p. 249).

According to Bonine (1987), *waqf* was fundamental for supporting the cultural and social institution of the traditional Islamic city. He added powerful people especially wealthy ones, rulers and governors, who were in a position to endow significant properties in a city, looking for buying honor and reputation with endowing

properties for public affairs and to become part of city's elite class. In the Safavid as well as Ottoman Islamic cities such as Isfahan and Cairo local elites not only supported religious buildings such as mosques and madrasas but they were actively involved in endowing other public facilities such as caravanserais, *hammams*, libraries warehouses, mystics and poets. According to Bonine (1987), *waqf* contributed greatly in the evolution of bazaars and also had a great influence in the traditional urban economy and social structure of Islamic cities.

2.5.2. Heritage, Memory and Conflict

Since the 1960s conservation of heritage buildings became an important issue for urban planners and architects in most historic cities. Yet, the level of concern varied in the eyes of urban policy makers in different countries. There are different factors that can limit the concern about imposing legislation and policies for conservation of heritage buildings in different countries, especially in least-developed and developing countries, such as financial instabilities (including politically imposed economic sanctions), geo-political conflicts, civil wars as well as state religious and ideological beliefs (Campbell, 2015). Thus, these factors could not be complete, as there are other factors that can seriously harm the conservation process and taking the built heritage into state of decay and destruction specially at the time of political changes in a society and in particular at the time of revolutions; for instance, elimination of signs, sculptures, tombs, schools and religious or secular buildings related to previous regimes or social and religious beliefs of minority or even majority at the time of political change has reputedly happened especially in the Middle East.

This act could be rooted in the hostility of a new government, flaunt of invaders or people's hatefulness towards the previous governments. In this regard, an example from Afghanistan is an evident to the friability of built heritage during conflict:

Systematic Annihilation of Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan

The Minister of Information and Culture of Taliban on 3rd of March 2001 in an interview with New York Times argued that systematic annihilation of Bamiyan Buddhas "is not a big issue. The statues are objects only made of mud or stone.... Our soldiers are working hard to demolish the remaining parts. They will come down soon" (Bearak, 2001). While

this is a good example of involvement of responsible authorities in the destruction of built heritage, it also raises the question again that who is responsible for protecting cultural heritage. Hence, when trustees of culture and heritage of a nation act as a means of destruction of cultural heritage of that particular nation and consequently cultural heritage of mankind, perhaps the followers of that regime would take part in greater destruction. The issue of Bamiyan Buddhas became even more problematic when foreign minister of Taliban, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, commented that “This decision was not against anyone. It was totally a domestic matter of Afghanistan”. One of the results of the terrifying act of Taliban was the UNESCO’s resolution in June 2001 that strongly condemned these acts as its Special Envoy, Pierre Lafrancein described it as “crimes against culture” (UNESCO, 2001a). But the question is are these noble sentiments helping to protect “common heritage of humanity” by people who don’t believe in a common heritage? Gillman (2010, p. 15) believes that “calling on the heritage of mankind is certainly useful if we want to stop destruction, looting, decay or being neglectful, and where we want to signal to the agents of such change that they should think about values other than their own.” He added that “although claims to preserve important cultural things on behalf of all mankind may be noble and worthy of our support in principles, they frequently conflict with two other potentially competing social factors: that many things are claimed by particular cultures, and that many things are privately owned” (ibid).

A reaction to the awful saga of destruction of Bamiyan Buddhas was operated at a fairly remote political level. There was only little attention to the social affects on local people, or importance of Buddhas for Buddhist’s religion. Although according to Sayed Rahmatullah Hashimi the former envoy of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (2001) the main reason behind destruction of Buddhas was more to do with a humanitarian act. Hashimi in his interview with New York Times published on 19th March 2001, stated that: "When your children are dying in front of you, then you don't care about a piece of art." He added, “[Afghani] scholars told them [UNESCO investigators] that instead of spending money on statues, why didn’t they help our children who are dying of malnutrition? They [UNESCO] rejected that, saying, ‘This money is only for statues’. And so they [Afghani scholars] decided that these statues must be destroyed ... If we had wanted to destroy those statues, we could have done it three years ago. So why didn’t we? In our religion, if anything is harmless, we just leave it. If money is going to statues while children are dying of malnutrition next door, then that makes it harmful, and we destroy it ”(Crossette, 2001).

Figure 2.5 Taliban Fighter During Destruction of Bamiyan Buddhas



Source: The Associated Press 03 March, 2001, <http://www.cais-soas.com/News/especial.htm>

The cultural heritage of each society is closely knitted with the political, cultural and social life of people in that area. It could be a priority for UNESCO to conserve and protect the world cultural heritage, while perhaps for the living society in that area other priorities are more significant such as food and health. Due to their irrational decision-making (Baer & Snickars, 2001) regarding the destruction of world heritage, Taliban couldn't solve any political and economical issues with the world community, and destruction helped ease the decision for US-led coalition to attack and invade Afghanistan, leading to the collapse of Taliban regime in October 2001.

The abuses against 'World Heritage' were one of a series of issues (including alleged links with terrorism and human rights abuses) that can be seen to have lent to the subsequent NATO military operation of October 2001 a position of 'global moral fairness'. It is arguable that these appeals against the destruction of the common heritage of humanity facilitated the political position which allowed the coalition team to invade and remove the Taliban from power.

(Harrison, 2010, p. 161)

2.6. Summary

As previously discussed in this chapter, defining heritage is generally problematic as based on different key factors, values, requirements, importance, goals, motivations and objectives the meaning changes. While there are defined terms by

major world organizations for safeguarding cultural heritage, these definitions often reflect a general view on the conservation of heritage monuments and therefore, this complexity and generalization in definition, produce conflicts and challenges between key factors in the management and conservation of heritage in general and in urban context in particular.

At a first glance, policies, charters and declarations in regards to the conservation of cultural heritage may look comprehensive, but, there are multiple loopholes and contradictions between different statements that participated one way or another in the annihilation of many historical monuments during history. However, while policies and declarations are not comprehensive, it is important to mention that without these policies the number of destroyed monuments would have been much higher than what we see today (Ashworth et al., 2002). The protection of heritage specially in urban space became inevitable when authorities and the public perceived the economical and socio-cultural values of these monuments. And consequently, urban planners and policy makers became more and more interested in the conservation of built heritage and interpret heritage as a cultural capital which can greatly contribute in the economy on different scales (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012).

Though protection and conservation of built heritage dates back to ancient civilization and western antiquity, today cultural heritage is in great danger in different regions mostly because of human intervention, biological and natural forces (Glendinning, 2013; Jokilehto, 1999). This danger multiplies in countries on one hand affected by war and on the other hand affected by mismanagement, urban modernization and regeneration, socio-cultural and political changes, misuses and disutility of heritage and a lack of educating people on the importance of heritage resources (Orbasli, 2002). While tourism is seen as a main consumer of cultural heritage, it can also be seen as one of the major factors in destruction of heritage both physically and culturally (Hughes, 2004; Orbasli, 2002; Smith, 1988). Therefore, as heritage must be used economically to generate its cost, it should also consequently be consumed based on sufficient legal and administrative means (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Rahman, 2012). Islamic historic cities suffer from the similar problems that other historic cities face (Falahat, 2014). However, while Islamic cities have been supported by a strong institution called *waqf*-which played a major role in the conservation of the historic Islamic city from the 7th until the 20th century-

currently they are struggling to perform conservation due to both external and internal forces of change that are affecting urban heritage conservation. External forces, such as ongoing wars in the Islamic countries (Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Yemen), presence of terrorism (Daesh and Al Qaeda) and political changes (Iran revolution, Egyptian Revolution). Internal forces, such as growing income gaps and social inequalities, rapid and unmanaged urban development and regeneration processes, sewerage and solid-waste management, pollution and land consumption and of course population growth (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012) .

The next chapter will discuss the politics of heritage in Iran and how the heritage institution throughout history in Iran was formed especially from the 19th century onwards.

Chapter Three:

The Politics of Built Heritage in Iran

3.1. Introduction

The importance of Iranian built heritage and its role in world culture has attracted many researchers to make in depth investigations into the role of people, central government, religion, capitalism and imperialism over the country's built heritage and vice versa.

Heritage is by definition political, in the sense that it is those things we decide to give value to in a certain moment of time, and excludes whatever we decide is not valuable. It is about decisions, unlike history, which is about what took place during time. The concept of politics in heritage appears ambiguous and the perception of it is varied, depending on the interests involved, for instance, those of policy makers, conservationists, heritage managers, the private sector, local communities and local authorities. To understand heritage today in Iran, the policies and attitudes towards it, we must go back to at least the nineteenth century, when European archeologists arrived in Iran. Conservation of cultural heritage in Iran in a scientific and organized way began with the arrival of Europeans and later Americans. Nevertheless, before the arrival of the Europeans, constrained and scattered activities in regards to safeguarding built heritage existed, which mostly focused on preserving buildings for continuous use, especially those abandoned buildings with religious values such as mosques, sanctuaries and madrassas by locals and or sometimes by various authorities.

The aim of this chapter is not to investigate and emphasize the importance of Iranian cultural heritage nor its significance in world culture but to examine the role of politics in built heritage in the country. The chapter will examine six key moments of the relationship between politics and built heritage. Firstly, it will focus on the moment of European excavations during the Qajar dynasty, enveloped in imperialistic and capitalist enterprises of the west. Secondly it will look at the role of cultural heritage trustees during the Pahlavi era and the perception of heritage in that time

especially during Reza Shah's doctrine of "progressive Iran". This analysis is supported by two interviews conducted in the summer of 2014 and 2015 with Mohsen Moslehi, the former head of Isfahan's cultural heritage, handicraft and tourism organization as well as Mehdi Hodjat the founder of Iran's cultural heritage organization. The interviews focused on the impacts of Pahlavi's decisions on built heritage and the idea of progressive Iran on cultural heritage of the country. Thirdly it will concentrate on the impacts and relationships of the Islamic Revolution (1979) on built heritage and the reasons behind the attempts to de-politicize heritage after the revolution, a process which has continued for several decades. Fourthly it will present the impacts of the eight-year war of Iran-Iraq on Iranian heritage conservation, planning and policies. Fifthly the chapter takes a moment to reflect upon the organizational changes of Iran's cultural heritage trustees that took place in the mid-1980s, that changed Iran Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO) into Iran Cultural Heritage Handicraft Tourism Organization (ICHHTO). Finally, it will proceed with analyzing the subsequent impacts of the post-war "Period of Construction" on the cultural heritage properties as well as the doctrine of "Dialogue among Civilizations". Its impact on cultural heritage will be analyzed and the role of municipalities in urban development will also be examined. This will be followed by an example from Isfahan municipality and its role in Iran's cultural heritage. The analysis of this chapter is based on the bibliography, archival work and interviews that I conducted in 2014 and 2015.

3.2. Politics of heritage in Iran

Today, conservation and safeguarding of built heritage have become one of the major issues for developing countries, especially those countries with a high density of cultural heritage resources in their national boundaries. Limited financial budget, deficiency of professional human resources, ownership of monuments, corruption in key heritage authority positions and lack of comprehensive conservation and management framework are some of the major issues that these countries are currently facing.

National government's role in cultural heritage is basically to focus on two fundamental aspects of policy and finance; establishing a legal and legislative framework, contribution towards international conventions as well as implementation

and the monitoring of policies and legislations on conservation and safeguarding of the country's built heritage (Orbasli, 2002). Policy and law relating to urban built heritage are mostly guided by a number of different governmental departments or ministries including those related to tourism, environment, culture and antiquities, housing and transportation (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000; Graham & Howard, 2008; Graham, 2002; Orbasli, 2002; Smith, 1988; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). Conservation policies and planning in different countries may vary depending on the power and value of cultural heritage in their legislation as well as the government's power to act on a different scale of that particular country.

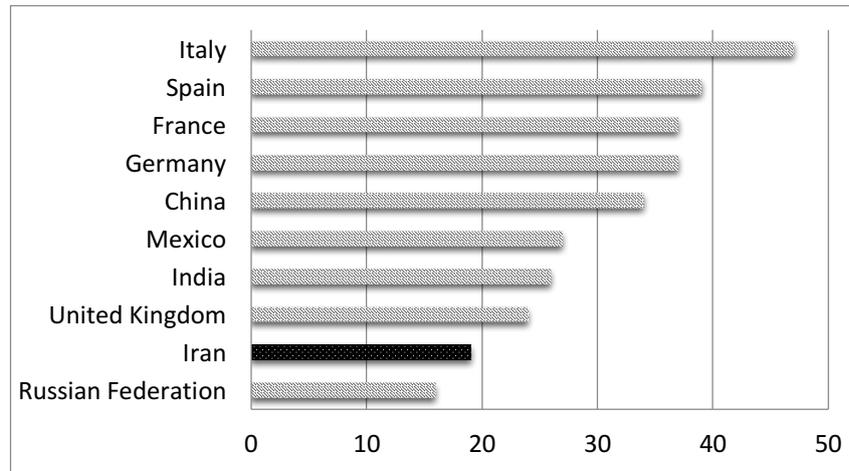
Present day Iran was known to the world till 1935 as Persia. It is 1,636,163 square kilometers and has 2,440 kilometers of coastline and 5,440 kilometers of land borders. That makes Iran the second largest country in the Middle East. Iran is bounded by the Persian Gulf and the sea of Oman in the south, Iraq and Turkey in the west, the Caspian Sea in the north, Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan in the northwest, Republic of Turkmenistan in the northeast and Afghanistan and Pakistan in the east. The physical characteristics of Iran are comprised of rugged mountainous surroundings and most part of the Iranian Plateau is more than 1500 meters above sea level. The basin consists of desert plains and two relatively smaller mountain ranges. Besides natural elements shaping the boundaries of Iran, its unique geography and strategic location in the center of civilizations (such as the Mesopotamia and Nile valley civilization in the west and Chinese and Indus Valley civilization in the east) played an important role in today's geographical and geopolitical borders of Iran which have been the center of attention of medieval travelers till today.

Being in the center of civilizations is one of the main reasons that led Iran to become one of the countries with a high number of cultural attractions in the world. According to UNESCO World heritage list, Iran has nineteen registered World Cultural Heritage Sites (WCHS)⁶. Also, Iran is a major contributor in the Islamic world and in the Middle East holds the highest number of WCHS and in Asia as one of the main contributors to the world civilization ranked third, after China and India

⁶ After Italy 47, Spain 39, France 37, Germany 37, China 34, Mexico 27, India 26, United Kingdom 24 and just before Russian Federation with 16 sites.

(fig. 3.1). Iran has also ten World Intangible Cultural Heritage⁷.

Figure 3.1 Top Ten Countries with Major Concentration of World Heritage Sites



Source: WHC (2016)

In Iran the origin of archaeological activities, excavations and consequently the official conservation of monuments were marked by Europeans, which will be presented in this chapter. However, heritage restoration or perhaps maintenance can be traced back to 330 BCE when Alexander of Macedonia burnt down Persepolis to destroy Persian identity and in an attempt to show respect to the Persian King Cyrus, took action in repairing his tomb. After the emergence of Islam a major step was taken by Ferdowsi (935-1020/6) in his master piece *shahname* (Book of Kings) to protect the Persian language (Farsi), which consequently became the second language of Islam (Jokilehto, 1999).

The first recorded archaeological activities started in *Naqsh-e Rostam* in 1811 led by British Ambassador to Persia, Sir Gore Ouseley (Jokilehto, 1999). French archeologists participated from late 1840s onward. However, their heavy presence in Iranian cultural heritage began with the concession of the French monopoly on Iran's archeological excavations in 1900 signed by Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah (1896–1907) of Qajar Dynasty, which allowed the transfer of all artifacts to France (Goode, 2007; Perrot, 2013). In the convention, the French archaeologist Jacques de Morgan (1857-1924) who was the head of *Délégation archéologique française en Iran*, proposed that “the government of his Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia grants France exclusive

⁷ The Radif of Iranian music, Nowroz (reg. 2009), traditional skills of carpet weaving in Kashan, traditional skills of carpet weaving in Fars, ritual dramatic art of Ta'zīye, Pahlevani and Zoorkhaneh rituals, music of the Bakhshis of Khorasan (reg.2010), traditional skills of building and sailing Iranian Lenj boats in the Persian Gulf, Naqqāli, Iranian dramatic story-telling (reg. 2011) and Qālišuyān rituals of Mašhad-e Ardehāl in Kašān (reg.2012) (UNESCO, 2014).

and perpetual right to excavate over the whole of the Persian Empire” (Memories of Morgan in Perrot, 2013, p. 49). During the time when Egypt and Syria were suffering from free expedition, exportation and sale of their antiques by mandate colonial western powers (approx. between 1900–1940), Iran with the acceptance of the French monopoly on the excavation on Iranian soil, opened the door for imperialist and capitalist powers over its cultural heritage and consequently, French, Germans, British and later Americans conflicted with one another to have the upper hand on Iranian archeology and heritage as well as strongly undermining Iran’s cultural heritage by imposing their own (Goode, 2007).

By the Persian constitution revolution in 1906 and the creation of the Iranian parliament, the monarch power of Shah was reduced and the public could limitedly express their thoughts and feelings and consequently, experts started to question the French monopoly in national heritage. However, the main movement against the French monopoly started when Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969), an American scholar and publicist who traveled to Tehran in 1925, was invited to deliver a speech to the government leaders on the subject of the glory of Iranian art and architecture and its contributions to the world (Kazimee, 2012; Nasiri-Moghaddam, 2014). Reza Khan (the prime minister who soon became the first shah of Pahlavi dynasty), cabinet member and representative of U.S. Charge d’Affaires attended his speech, yet the French were not invited (Goode, 2007). According to Goode (2007, p. 133), the first visit of Pope to Iran and his presentation on the significance of Iranian cultural heritage “helped to crystallize thinking among influential Iranians and seal the fate of the French monopoly”. Isa Saiq, a young Iranian educationalist who later became the minister of education, translated Pope’s speech and stated that "Pope’s statements about the significance of our culture and its influence upon other culture kindled fires within us like magic. We became proud of ourselves” (in Goode, 2007, p. 133). Just a few days after Pope’s speech the first conservation action funded by Reza Khan (Prime minister) took place in Isfahan, in Sheikh Lutfullah Mosque, located in *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square.

In 1927 the Iranian government appointed Ernst Herzfeld of the University of Berlin as director of antiquities. This act of the Iranian government to appoint a German national as head of Iranian Antiquates after World War I insulted the French, as they could not tolerate a loss of such an important ground to Germans (Goode,

2007; Grigor, 2004). The French ambassador to Tehran met with Iran's court minister Taymurtash and requested Herzfeld not to be appointed as head of antiquities. Taymurtash, who was expecting this request by the government of France, proposed to appoint a French national as director of Iran's Antiquities as long as the French monopoly ceased. The Government of France accepted the proposal and the agreement was signed in October 1927. French archaeologist and architect Andre Godard (1881-1965) was appointed as a director-general of the Department of Antiquities, arriving in Tehran on January 1929. Remaining in his post for twenty-five years, helped to build the foundation of the cultural heritage organization. Conservation and protection of cultural heritage in Iran officially began in 1930⁸ with the approval of National heritage protection act (Antiquities Act of 1930) proposed in autumn of 1928. These 20 articles' law basically marked the end of the French monopoly concession for excavating antiquities in Iran and gave significant right and power to Iranian government to list, control and protect its significant cultural heritage before Zand Dynasty (1794). The proposal and approval of this law was simultaneous by the public reform and modernization of Iran in the beginning of Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-1979). According to Hodjat (1995) and Nasiri-Moghaddam (2014), some parts of the Antiquities Act of 1930 on conservation of cultural heritage were translated from Austrian cultural heritage act and today this law is still valid in Iran.

3.2.1. The Society for National Heritage (SNH)^{9,10}

The construction of the modern nation anchored in Iran's long rich heritage and consequently highlighting heritage of the past monarchical powers especially those from pre-Islamic period -Achaemenid and Sassanid- became one of the priorities of the government. The SNH was established in 1922 by key people such as the Prime Minister Reza Khan, Mohammad Ali Foroughi (a politician, scholar and Reza Khan's minister of Foreign Affairs before his reign and at the time of his Prime ministry) and other "intensely patriotic" scholars (Grigor, 2004, p. 17). The SNH reconstructed and constructed about forty mausoleum complexes, sixty conservation

⁸ See Hodjat (1995) for translation of Antiquity Act of 1930.

⁹ Various sources translate the name of the Society in different ways: National Heritage Foundation, Society for National Heritage, Institute of National Heritage, Institute for the Protection of National Heritage, Society for the Protection of National Monuments, Institute for National Masterpieces, and Committee for the Preservation of National Heritage.

¹⁰ For more in-depth analysis of Society for National Heritage SNH see M. Marefat PhD Thesis (1988) or Talinn Grigor (2004).

projects, and built the Iran National Museum - *Iran-eBastan museum* ('very ancient' museum of Iran) as well as Tehran public library (Grigor, 2004, p. 18). The SNH worked for roughly 50 years (there was a 10-year interruption), until the Islamic revolution in 1979. Some scholars and politicians, including Mehdi Hodjat (1995, p. 176) in his thesis *Cultural heritage in Iran (Politics for an Islamic Country)*, argue that the SNH was mainly focused on the conservation and reconstruction of Pre-Islamic monuments, and the design of the monuments was basically ignoring "fourteen centuries of impressive Islamic cultural heritage".

The SNH as the first and sole semi-governmental organization active in the field of cultural heritage was chosen to reconstruct the Mausoleum of Ferdowsi as one of its first activities towards the conservation of Iranian cultural heritage¹¹. The reconstruction and design of Ferdowsi Mausoleum, which is inspired in the Cyrus tomb and was proposed by Herzfeld and Godard to the SNH according to Islamic scholars, was considered as a political act of Reza Shah towards cultural heritage and de-Islamization of the Iranian society (Hodjat, 1995). The SNH was also very much involved in delivering lectures in different Iranian institutes by western scholars including Herzfeld, Pope, Hannibal, Godard and Siroux¹². Lectures by westerners organized by the SNH also considered being problematic by Islamic scholars as Hodjat (1995) describes, since western scholars were mainly attracted by pre-Islamic heritage and cogently they preferred to admire that period of Iran's cultural heritage.

Furthermore, the dual approach of the SNH towards cultural heritage on the revival of pre-Islamic icons on one hand and the dismissal of Post-Islamic heritage on the other hand have been considered as one of the main reasons for the closure of the SNH after the Islamic revolution. In other words, According to Goode (2007, p. 178) one of the main objectives of the SNH was to build a museum and library to "house treasures from the pre-Islamic centuries". The completion of this task became a sign of pride for the SNH members.

¹¹ Ferdowsi was a founder of Modern Persian language and one of the five important literary figures of Iran. He is the author of the *Shāhnāme* which enjoys worldwide respect and fame. His book relates to the history of Iranian kings before Islam. See *Shahnameh* (2006): *The Persian Book of Kings by Abolqasem Ferdowsi*, translated by Dick Davis, Penguin, 2006.

¹² Maxime Siroux was a Parisian architect and archaeologist, whose major work on caravanserais of Isfahan had a great contribution in studies on caravanserais. For more information about Siroux, see Chahriyar Adle, "Maxime Siroux," *Le monde iranien et l'islam III* (1975), pp. 127–29.

3.2.2. Iranian Cultural Heritage and the Idea of Progressive Iran

Everything had to be started over again [... we] longed for Persia to progress along modern lines, without discipline there was no hope.

Iranian Court Minister, Abdolhossein Teymurtash 28 August 1927

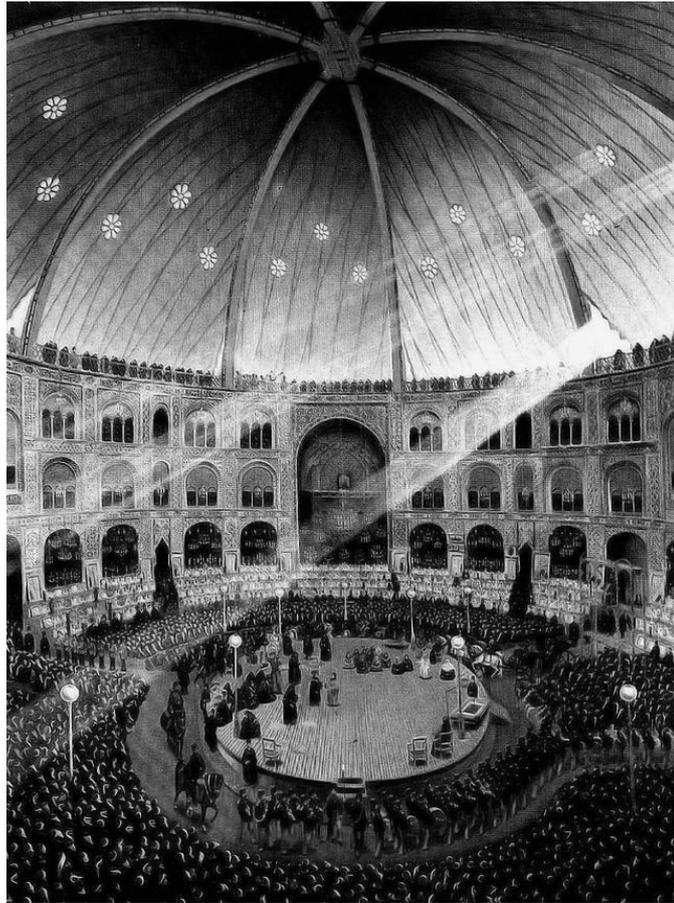
After the constitution revolution, modernization became one of the most important elements for development in Qajari Iran. However, the development strengthened when it merged with nationalism and patriotism during Reza Shah's reign (1925-1941). While the main concern was to preserve ancient cultural heritage, historic centers became a victim of urban development programs. For example, during urban modernization and development, Tehran lost its historic gates and fortification (1932) that gave way for the construction of new wide roads catering the recently imported cars.

According to Makki (1945) many Iranian cities' central cores were also victim of this development, which fragmented the integrity of their central cores with the construction of wide and long buildings and roads.

Modernization in Isfahan also greatly damaged the integrity of the urban core and the oldest historic square of the city. Old *Maidan* was divided into two parts by the new and modern streets. Since then, the square lost its importance and played a minor role in the city's life, until its recent reconstruction in 2010, which aimed at reproducing the integrity of the historic city center. It is now named Imam Ali Square, popularly known as Atiq Square. The historical integrity of city centers and the lives of local habitants were greatly influenced by Reza Shah's idea of "progressive country" and many buildings and cultural heritage built during the Qajar period were destroyed. Perhaps Reza Shah's hostility towards Qajar did not allow the national monuments of that era to become part of the Antiquities Act of 1930. Therefore, according to Karimi (2014) urban planners and municipalities used the opportunity to systematically destroy numerous buildings of the Qajar period during modernization, such as Topkhaneh square and Tekiyeh-Dowlat building (fig. 3.2) in Tehran).

This was not the first time that the destruction of cultural heritage became part of political change in the country. Not too long before this incident, Mass'oud Mirza Zell al-Sultan (1848-1917), a powerful prince of the Qajar dynasty and ruler of Isfahan, destroyed about one hundred Safavid palaces and buildings such as *Aynekhaneh* pavilion (fig. 3.3) to erase the memory of Safavid era.

Figure 3.2 Gathering in Tekyeh-Dowlat painted by Kamal Al Molk (1845 – 1940)



Source: (unknown date)

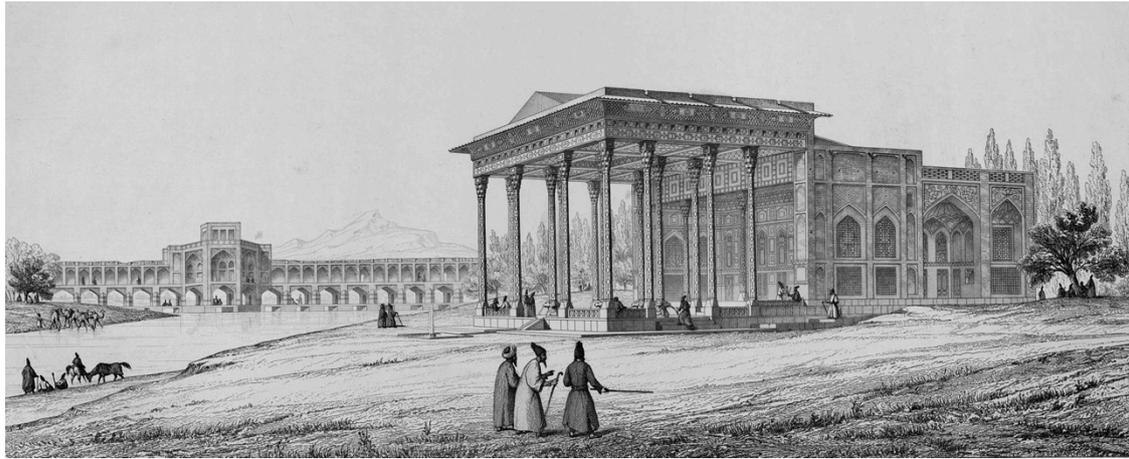
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tekyeh_Dowlat#/media/File:Tekiyeh_Dowlat_by_Kamalolmolk.jpg

According to the 19th century German photograph Ernest Hoeltzer¹³ (in British Library, 2014)

The culture of Persia and Isfahan is about to change drastically and already in the last few years many foreign and European styles and luxuries have been introduced. The old buildings and customs (even the clothing) are gradually disappearing with the result that all those things that have been described by Chardin and Tavernier will simply no longer exist. In fact people will begin to doubt and reject what they have described. Furthermore, I have had time and opportunity to photograph several of the most interesting landscapes, buildings and squares during the last years of my stay – which pleased me all the more since many of the buildings which I had photographed were destroyed shortly after.

¹³ For his pictures see *Thousand Sights of Life. Photographs of Ernst Hoeltzer from Naser al-Din Shah's Age.* (ICHHTO), Tehran, 2004.

Figure 3.3 Pavilion Mirrors (Aynekhane) in Isfahan by Pascal Coste (1867)



Source: (Coste, 1867)

One of the few or perhaps the only Safavid places that have been conserved by Zell al-Sultan is Sultani caravanserai in Isfahan, which I will extensively explain in the next chapter. Reza Shah’s modality of modernity was based on placing the influence of power over the physical and conceptual heritage to enable him to erase the immediate past to construct the “progressive” future (Goode, 2007) . This transformation in fact, affected most of the historic centers of Iranian large cities and consequently numerous historical relics including *hammams*, which have been demolished towards forgetfulness (Sarmiento & Kazemi, 2012).

Modernization of Iran also provided power and legislation on the demolition of most of what had given major cities their traditional appearance. In the case of Tehran, the idea of “progressive city” became the most important phenomena for the development of the city. As I have already mentioned Tehran’s fortification was totally in contrast with Reza Shah’s modality of progressive Iran. For the modernist the gateways, wall and moat of the city was in conflict with the image of a developed city they believed like Paris and Vienna, as the capital city should grow naturally beyond its limits¹⁴. On the other hand, modernists believed that the walls and the gates were neither historic nor monumental but a “symbol of Islamic belief” and their justification was that the walls around the city were a symbol of “the old regime ... power over [the] citizens” (Marefat, 1988, p. 75). Consequently, similar to modernists in ‘European private Cities’ (see Warner, 1987) such as Paris, walls were seen as an obstacle against growth.

¹⁴ Urban fortification and limitless city is not in the context of this study. See Gillham, O. (2002). *The limitless city: a primer on the urban sprawl debate*. Washington: Island Press. for further details on this subject.

According to Goode (2007, p. 42) “These explicitly visible elements of Tehran’s public architecture often caused embracement in Iran’s secular elite, especially during visits by European diplomats and tourists, because they were seen by both parties as signs of backwardness and lack of modernity”. Unlike British India and French Morocco that were inspired by colonial power and rule the modernization and social reform policy of Reza Shah in Iran, were modeled from Parisian city planner Haussmann and Turkish reformer Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Clawson & Rubin, 2005; Sarmiento & Kazemi, 2012). Reza Shah’s social reforms erected sweeping cultural changes in the traditional religious society of Iran especially after his one and only state visit to Turkey in 1934. His social reforms targeted every aspect of social living of people in Iran, including establishing secular education and judicial systems (1928), formally establishing the largest university in the Middle East -Tehran University- (1931), radical reform of woman and men dress code by imposing forceful use of European dress and ban of *Hijab* (veil) (1933), and allowing women to enter schools, universities and the work force (1937). However, women were not allowed to vote till 1963.

According to Islamic cultural heritage scholars such as Hodjat (1995), politics of cultural heritage in Iran during Reza Shah’s reign were geared towards two main approaches of de-Islamization and westernization of its cultural heritage. Modern Iranian nationalist in that time interpreted Islam as a major barrier for development and progress and their major focus was to replace Islam with an overvalued pre-Islamic Iran and Zoroastrianism. Western scholars who were in charge of Iran’s cultural heritage were also focusing on very ancient heritage of Iran. As already mentioned, this idea was reflected in the name of the first national museum of Iran - “very ancient” - particularly meaning prior to Islam (Hodjat, 1995).

In an interview, Mohsen Moslehi, Head of Isfahan Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism organization highlighted the relationship of Islam and cultural heritage:

From an Islamic perspective, protecting cultural heritage of humanity [both Pre-Islamic and Islamic] is the responsibility of every Muslim, and the Holy Quran repeatedly asks the Islamic community to value and appreciate the past. Contribution of Islam in the culture and civilization of humanity in the last 1400 years has brought us significant cultural heritage.

(Interview, 25 June 2014)

In an interview in Tehran, Mehdi Hodjat, known as the father and founder of the Cultural heritage organization and deputy of the organization, highlighted that:

Reza Shah's policy towards cultural heritage was focused on three main elements of nationalism, de-Islamization of the society and consequently its cultural heritage and tendency to the west. Reza Shah and his modernist deputies used the exhaustion of Iranian people from incapability of Qajar dynasty and stimulated their national feelings by paying extensive courtesy to pre-Islamic heritage. Reza Shah's regime also, used secularism or better to say de-Islamization as a main progressive view for the development of cultural heritage and the ignorance of fourteen-century contribution of Islamic heritage became one of his fundamental aims. Reza Shah's idea of progressive Iran and his interest in eighteen and nineteenth century western ideas of nationalism, modernism and constitutionalism produced a great conflict between the traditional society of Iran and the idea of modern and western style Iran. This conflict is evident in Reza Shah's law on Hijab ban. Which in this case many women did not leave their homes for years.

(Interview, 12 July 2014)

During the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran in 1941, Britain sent an "honorable way-out" letter to Reza Shah directing him to renounce the throne to his twenty-two-years old son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi¹⁵ (reign: 1941-1979), who became the second and last monarch of the Pahlavi dynasty of the Iranian monarchy. The letter, which was later considered by many Iranians as an ultimatum, stated:

Would His Highness kindly abdicate in favor of his son, the heir to the throne? We have a high opinion of him and will ensure his position. But His Highness should not think there is any other solution.

(in Kapuscinski, 1985, p. 25, my underlining)

One of the first and most important movements towards the conservation of cultural heritage during the second Pahlavi period was manifested by the parliament in 1944. In a ratified bill, the parliament gave the full authority to the Ministry of Culture and Endowment to protect and control public built cultural heritage built after Qajar period:

All the public places including industrial and building monuments built during the Qajar era till the beginning of the constitutional revolution are subject to article one of the law of antiquities (1930).¹⁶

With the approval of this law, looting and destruction of cultural heritage of Qajar period decreased dramatically and cultural heritage of this era was placed under

¹⁵ For more information about the Mohammad Reza Shah see Milani (2011)

¹⁶ Translated from the Iranian government's rules and regulation website www.dastour.ir [Accessed 22 Jan 2015] under the authority of Judicial system of Islamic Republic of Iran.

the umbrella of law. Also, the particular attention toward pre-Islamic monuments shifted to a more general view on Iranian built heritage from both Pre-Islamic and Islamic heritage and consequently protection and conservation of Islamic architectural heritage gained more attention.

Ignorance of nearly one and a half centuries of Iranian cultural heritage and categorizing Built Heritage of this period as less valuable, had a great impact on the manipulation and demolition of Qajari monuments in the historic core of the main cities. In the new law, conservation of cultural heritage not only includes individual built cultural heritage but it includes any art work with significance historical background till 1906. However, in the new Antiquities Act of 1944 again the main factor that distinguishes the significance of cultural heritage was “*time*” just like ‘Antiquities Act of 1930’. During this period and from the endowment law of 1936, conservation and repair of cultural heritage was basically funded from two major sources of endowments and from the Ministry of culture.

In Accordance with article 55 of Endowment law of 1936, conservation of cultural built heritage can also be funded from revenues of endowments supervision:

The revenue from endowments monitoring after deduction of expenses, which should not be more than 10% of total revenue and must be in accordance with the approved budget plan by ministry of culture will be used for building and repairing historical monuments and the restoration of old schools and religious historical monuments. The cabinet must approve the expense budget.

-Note: the priority is with endowed monuments.¹⁷

According to 1955 Mostafavi’s report (cited in Hodjat (1995)), the total expenditure for repair of monuments in the entire country was about half a million Tomans (Approx. USD 62,500)¹⁸. Mostafavi’s report argues that despite limited budget for conservation of cultural heritage many significant cultural heritage monuments in this period were conserved.

In 1951, reform in the Department of Antiquities was marked by the resignation of Andre Godard, after 25 years. His successor, Mohammad Taqi Mostafavi, who was a member of the Antiquities services and worked with Godard for 25 years, was one of the few Iranian archeological and conservation activities specialists. One of

¹⁷ Translated by the author from www.dastour.ir [Accessed 25 Jan 2015]

¹⁸ Every USD in May 1955 was about 80.00 Rials, see Bahmani- Oskooee (2005) for History of the Rial and Foreign Exchange Policy in Iran, in Iranian Economic Review. Tehran, Economics faculty of Tehran university.

Mostafavi's first attempts was to transform the organization into a research and development center for conservation of cultural heritage. This reform played an important role in establishing the Institute of Archeology in Tehran University, which marked the beginning of archeological activities of Iranian archeologists.

In 1953, in the middle of the Cold War, imperialistic views of the US and Britain towards the Middle East and in particular Iran, resulted in an instability in the country (Barrett, 2007) and consequently, similar to other businesses and governmental activities, conservation of cultural heritage in Iran was overshadowed. The 19th August 1953 coup d'état backed by CIA and MI6 that overthrew the democratically elected Prime Minister of Iran, Mohammad Mosaddegh¹⁹, had a great impact on Iranian political structure of the country till present time (Painter, 2013; Yaghoubian, 2014). Shah, who saw his authoritarian monarchy saved by the overthrow of his nationalist and democratic opponent, told CIA official Kermit Roosevelt - the grandson of US former president Franklin Roosevelt - in Tehran:

I owe my throne to God, my people, my army and to you [!]

K. Roosevelt (1979, p. 199)

Iranians, especially the younger generation, could not tolerate and accept the way that Mohammad Reza Shah had overthrown Mosaddegh with the help of western intelligence services (Painter, 2013; Yaghoubian, 2014). Therefore, many Iranians became against the influence of "cultural imperialism" from the west and the continuity of the Shah's idea of progressive Iran as well as against the ignorance of the Islamic context of the Iranian society (Abrahamian, 2008). This anger was shown by hauling down the statue of Reza Shah by Mossaddegh supporters (fig 3.4). Mohammad Reza Shah who considered himself a follower and the inheritor of his father's idea of progressive Iran, continued to widespread cultural reform in the country and again like his father ignored the persistence and strength of Islam in Iranian life.

¹⁹ For further details on Mossaddegh nationalization of the Iranian oil industry and in particular the 1953 coup d'état see (Rahnema, 2014).

Figure 3.4 Mossaddegh Supporters Hauled Down a Statue of Reza Shah.



Source: The Associated Press August 17, 1953.

It is important to mention that during Mohammad Reza Shah's reign and particularly after the 1953 coup d'état, attention increased towards the cultural heritage of the Islamic period. Yet, it did not reflect the government's attitude towards the Islamic cultural heritage. Rather, it was echoing the view of western scholars and researchers (Americans in particular) to the physical and symbolic significance of movable and immovable post-Islamic cultural heritage, instead of archeological significance only (Hodjat, 1995). This attitude was strongly reflected in conservation of Isfahan's post-Islamic cultural heritage, specially Safavid monuments such as Sheikh Lutfolah Mosque.

In regards to progressive Iran, which continued during Mohammad Reza Shah, Blunt (1966, p. 193) in his book *Isfahan Pearl of Persia* stated:

Yet in this there is cause of thankfulness. Shiraz has lost much of its charm in its efforts to become a second Tehran. Isfahan, guardian of the greatest collection of national monuments in all Iran, could so easily have been ruined in the cause of "progress". It is just because she has become something of a backwater, has been content to live on the heritage of her glorious past, that so relatively little of her beauty has perished. Had the Qajar or Pahlavi dynasties made her once more the capital city, Isfahan would have been ruined.

As I have already mentioned, after the resignation of Godard, his successor Mostfavi believed that the Department of Antiquities was not efficient enough to control and protect cultural heritage. Therefore, he started to make changes in its

structure and human resources. In 1964, the ministry of culture and endowment was divided into three ministries of Education, Culture and Art, and Information. The main objective of the new ministry of culture and art was “to provide the ground for development and progress of culture and art; and identification of ancient Iranian civilization and heritage” (Satari, 2000 in Fazeli, 2006).

Five main departments from the former ministry of culture were attached to the new Ministry of Culture and Art: General office of Fine Arts, General office of Archaeology, National Library, Department of Cultural Attaches, and Department of Authorship and Translation. In 1965, under the General office of Archaeology, the national organization for preservation of historic monuments of Iran was established. This was a booming period with the 1960s and 1970s increase in oil prices on one hand, and the rapid interest of western travelers to Iran, specially Americans, on the other hand. The provincial offices of the organization dedicated significant and valuable work²⁰ on conservation of cultural heritage, specially that in Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabriz and Kerman.

Roughly two years after the establishment of the organization, one other source of income for repair and conservation of built cultural heritage was approved by the National Consultative Assembly, which allowed the Society for Cultural Heritage to benefit 20 Rials from the sale of each ton of cement. While this law is still valid, after the Islamic revolution and the modification of the Society for Cultural Heritage the sum was never paid and spent for conservation of cultural heritage.

Mehdi Hodjat, in an interview with New Holidays weekly on 12 July 2014²¹, stated:

After the Islamic revolution the Society for Cultural Heritage dissolved and conservation of cultural heritage became the responsibility of Iran’s cultural heritage organization, at that time, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance believed that because Society for Cultural Works and Luminaries is under the authority of this ministry, therefore, income from this amount must be transferred to the ministry’s account. This claim from the ministry of Culture and Islamic guidance was totally rejected by the Cultural Heritage Organization, as since the Islamic revolution the ministry did not have any authority in conservation of cultural heritage.

²⁰ See report on restoration work of the organization in *Farhang Memari-ye Iran* (1975), published by National organization for preservation of the historic monuments of Iran.

²¹ See <http://www.newholidays.ir/print/10539> for the full interview (translated by the author). [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

He added,

I believe this law was based on the right thoughts, because it built a logical relationship and balance between modernization of the country and conservation of cultural heritage.

On December 17 1968, the National Consultative Assembly passed a law permitting the Ministry of Culture and Art to purchase land, buildings and sites for the purpose of the protection and conservation of historic monuments as well as excavation and archeological activities.

Revealing this interest in a country that was opening up to tourism and travel, the American magazine *Vogue* published an interesting article in 1969 connecting fashion and heritage and showing the chic boutique environment in Tehran²². The fashion photographer Henri Clark went to Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz and Persepolis and photographed models in colorful garments against antiquities and landmarks such as Isfahan bridges and mosques (fig. 3.5 & 3.6). Islamic and Pre-Islamic heritage was stylish for the global fashion market. Iran was the trendy hotspot of the Middle East.

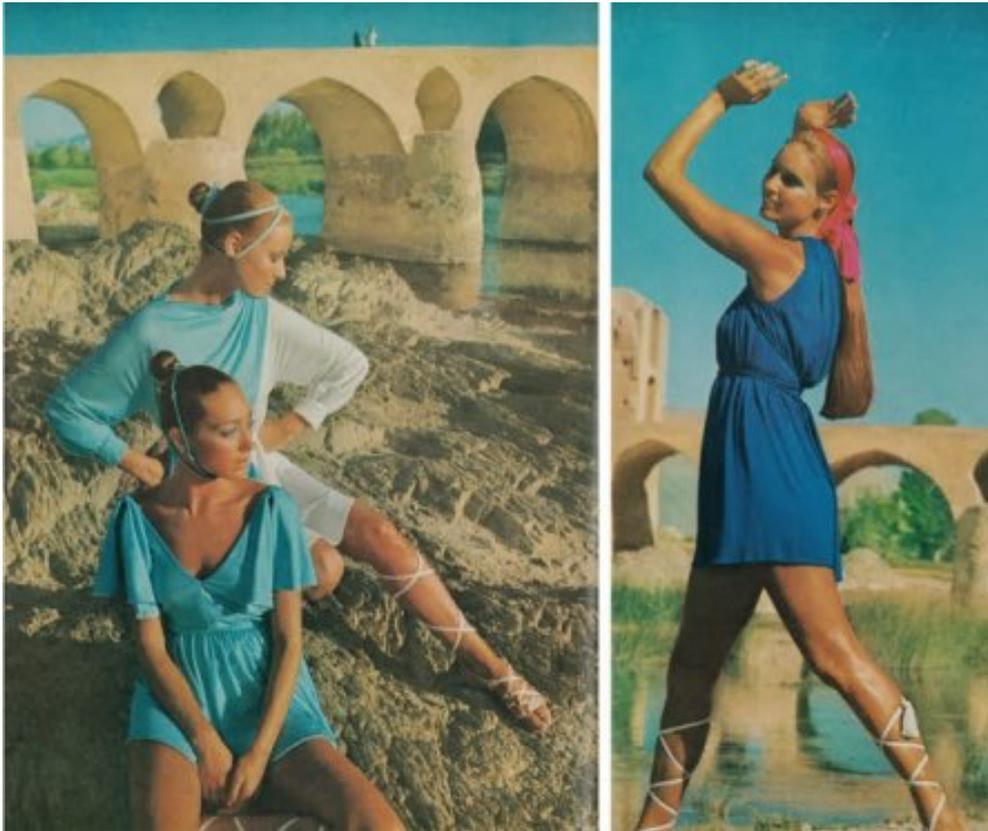
Figure 3.5 Gender, Fashion and Heritage: Presenting Built Heritage Before the Revolution by Henry Clarke



Source: Photographed by Henry Clarke, *Vogue*, December (1969).

²² *Vogue in Iran* (1969)

Figure 3.6 Gender, Fashion and Heritage: Presenting Built Heritage Before the Revolution by Henry Clarke



Source: Photographed by Henry Clarke, *Vogue*, December (1969).

On the 30th anniversary of his kingship, Mohammad Reza Shah used Iranian cultural heritage as a political means to show off the monarchal power to the world as well as to his own people by celebrating 2500th years of the Persian Empire (fig. 3.7, 3.8 & 3.9) in the ruins of Persepolis and Pasargadae (Abrahamian, 2008; Axworthy, 2013; Brysac & Meyer, 2009; Goldberg, 1994; Milani, 2011; Painter, 2013; Sciolino, 2000; Wright, 2001, 2010). The sumptuous ceremony was named later as “one of the biggest bashes in all history”²³ with the attendance of an emperor, sixteen presidents, ten sheikhs, nine kings, five queens, thirteen princes, eight princesses, two sultans, four vice presidents, three premiers and other high level delegates from all over the world (Goldberg, 1994; Sciolino, 2000; Wright, 2001). Maxim’s of Paris catered premiere French wine and food along with caviar and in many ways, the result was more French than Persian (Sciolino, 2000). As France’s president was aware of the spirit of the event, he did not attend the celebration, while he privately noted “if I did

²³ Time Magazine - Volume 98, p. 290.

go, they would probably make me the headwaiter”²⁴. The cost of this celebration was later estimated between \$100 and \$200 million (Goldberg, 1994; Wright, 2010). The government however, officially announced the cost of this extravagant gathering was about \$30 million.

Figure 3.7 Areal View of the Tent City of Persepolis, 50 Luxury Tents and a Large Dining Tent was Constructed Among the Ruins of Persepolis to House Delegates from Around the World.



source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)

Ayatollah (Imam) Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic Revolution was very distraught that such an event had been organized at Persepolis and issued a statement on October 31, 1971 from exile (Najaf, Iraq):

Islam is fundamentally opposed to the whole notion of monarchy. Anyone who studies the manner in which the Prophet established the government of Islam will realize that Islam came in order to destroy these places of tyranny. Monarchy is one of the most shameful and disgraceful reactionary manifestation. Are millions of tumans the people’s wealth to be spent on these frivolous and absurd celebrations?²⁵

Dramatically these celebrations changed the attitude of some Iranians towards historic relics (Hodjat, 1995). Especially after Ayatollah (Imam) Khomeini’s statement many people became disappointed with the Shah’s rule of Iran, specifically his ties with the west and foolish expenses for the ongoing celebrations. The misuse and political use of cultural heritage and in particular Persepolis during Reza Shah and

²⁴ Time Magazine, - Volume 98, p 153.

²⁵ in (Dareini, 1999, p. 108)

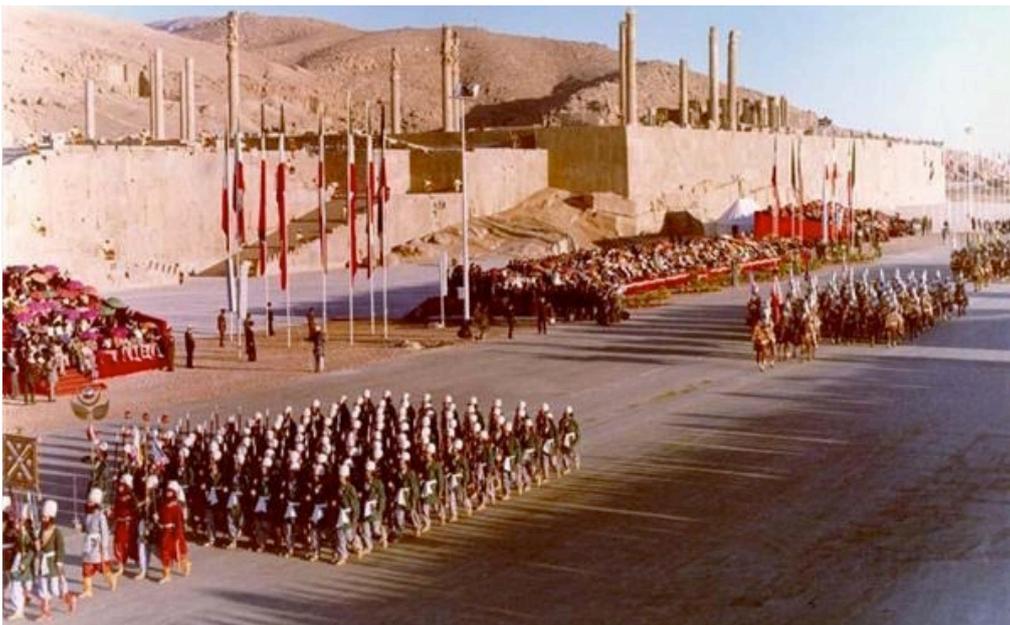
Mohammad Reza Shah's reign, and especially after the 2500th years of monarch celebration constructed Persepolis in the mind of conservative clerics and Islamic revolutionaries as not only a symbol of Iranian past identity and pre-Islamic Iran, but also as a symbol of anti-Islamism and monarchical dynasties. Besides, since these celebrations were rooted in Iran's pre-Islamic Zoroastrian elements, Shah also intentionally or unintentionally could have paved the way for sectarian and religious conflict between Iran's Muslims and Zoroastrians.

Figure 3.8 Dining at Persepolis During the Celebration



Source: Life Magazine 29 Oct 1971, Vol. 71, No. 18.

Figure 3.9 March of Soldiers During the Ground Parade among the Ruins of Persepolis and in the Presence of the Guests



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)

3.2.3. Islamic Republic Heritage Policy

Islamist revolutionists scholars including Hodjat (1995, p. 162) believe that Pahlavi's policy towards cultural heritage was basically focused on three elements: nationalism, de-Islamization, and westernization. These policies were principally imposed under the name of progressive Iran and modernization. He added that the interpretation of heritage during Pahlavi was based on pre-Islamic Iran, western enlightenment and imported culture rather than Islamic modernism, Muslim enlightenments and Islamic values, which are rooted in people's beliefs, identity and their emotional attachments. According to Mozaffari (2014), the main aim of revolutionaries was to redefine the extent of heritage in relation to Karbala tradition²⁶. As Hodjat (1995, p.263) describes, one of the major aims of the 1979 Revolution was the reversion of cultural heritage values from "negative, upside-down image" to "values acceptable to the society". After the arrival of Ayatollah (Imam) Khomeini in February 1979, and consequently the succession of the Islamic Revolution on the 11th February 1979, one of the major changes was the protection of built cultural heritage from angry crowds.

Persepolis was one of those cultural relics that was saved from angry people who excluded it from their respectful relics. Just a few days after the revolution, Sadegh Khalkhali went to Shiraz and in his blistering speech invited people to destroy Persepolis. However, many Shirazis managed to disperse Khalkhali.

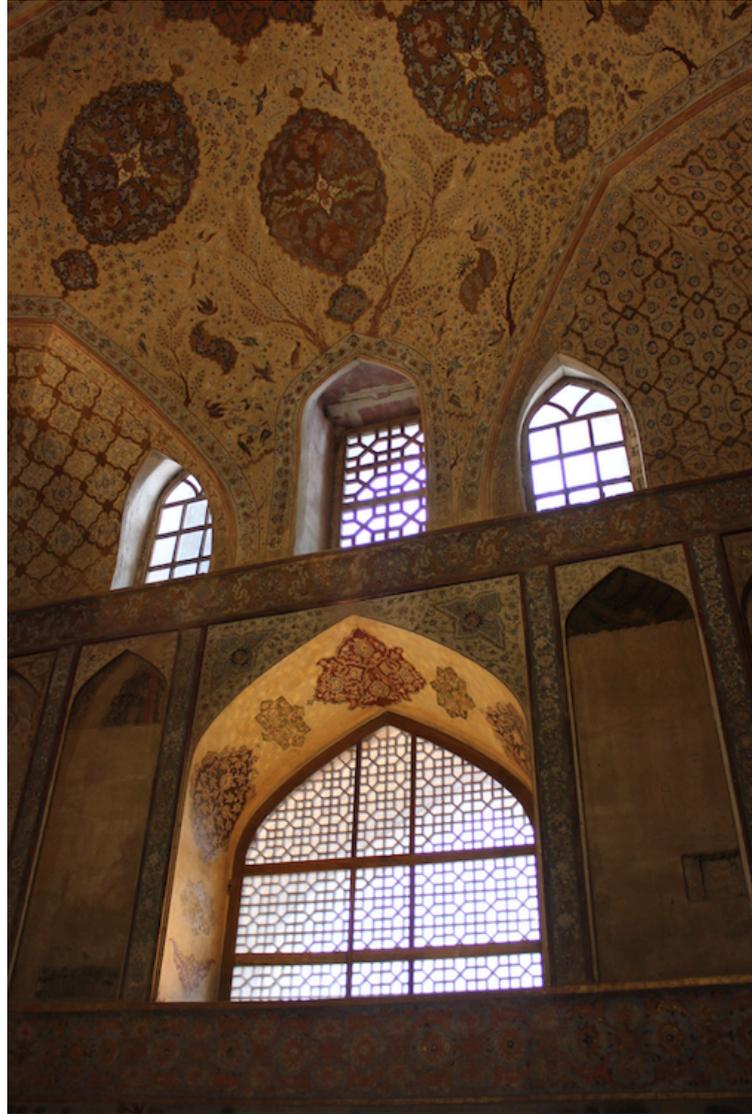
In the beginning of the revolution, everybody was trying to run his own show. Everybody had weapons. Prisoners were freed. There was no law and order. My father, who was grand ayatollah, and I stopped people from killing, looting, and taking money out of the country until, thank God, order was restored. Some people wanted to destroy historical places. We had to stop them. I heard the news that Sadegh Khalkhali wanted to set fire to Persepolis. So people went after him with stone...yes, [he escaped] with stone thrown at him and shouts for him to go away...it's [Persepolis] the oldest, strongest symbol we have.

Ayatollah Majdeddin Mahalati (in Sciolino, 2000, p. 168)

According to Youssef Ibrahim's article published in the New York Times on June 18, 1991, Isfahan palaces were also among those endangered places during the revolution.

²⁶ For further details on Karbala tradition and Iran's cultural heritage see Ali Mozaffari (2014).

Figure 3.10 Plastered on the Paintings of Aliqapu Palace, Isfahan



Source: The Author (2014)

During the first days of the revolution, Isfahan's Safavid palaces (Chehel-Sotun and Aliqapu) were stormed by angry youths who wanted to paint or change the magnificent paintings of the palaces that were considered immoral. Yet, Isfahan authorities covered all paintings with cloth and closed the palaces. The covers were removed some 12 years later (Ibrahim, 1991). However, covering Isfahan paintings dates back to late 19th century and early 20th century, when Zell al-Sultan ordered to cover (fig. 3.10) the paintings with plaster or paint over by Qajari painters (Ghani, 2009). Fortunately, in the last couple of years, conservation of these paintings is in progress with the work of Iranian artists along with cultural heritage professionals. There is no particular evidence that during the revolution any museum, cultural relics or archeological sites were vandalized or robbed. However, there are rare exceptions,

including Reza Shah mausoleum. Following the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Reza Shah's mausoleum located in the town of Ray, about 10 Kilometer south of Tehran and next to the Shah Abdul-Azim shrine (the fifth generation descendant of Hasan-ibn Ali who was the second Imam of Shia Islam) was demolished under the supervision of chief justice of the revolutionary courts Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali. The main purpose was to erase memory and eliminate all the signs of *Shah's* government, as according to Marashi (2008) Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali was generally against culture and heritage of pre-Islamic Iran (Marashi, 2008). In his speech before the destruction of Reza Shah's tomb he highlighted that "the duration of placement of ugly and beautiful monuments next to each other after the Islamic revolution has ended and Muslim people of Iran cannot endure the presence of the tomb of a criminal such as Reza Shah next to the graves of martyrs and brilliant figures in the history of Islam..." (Kavoshi, 2009).

Just a few days after the revolution, Ayatollah Taleghani – a religious leader- publicized a statement that:

Contents of palaces belong to the people and exhorted [sic] the population to refrain from causing any destruction therein.

Ayatollah Taleghani in (Hodjat, 1995, p. 215)

Researchers including Hodjat believe, that reading the statement of Ayatollah Taleghani, who was an influential cleric, stopped the destruction of Persepolis and many other cultural heritage sites during the revolution, and for example, some stolen artifacts that were taken by people from Golestan Palace were returned the day after Ayatollah Taleghani's statement. The cause or outcomes of the revolution are not in the scope of this study, however, it is important to mention that in the contemporary history of Iran, no occasion has transformed the political structure of the country as profoundly as this revolution (Abidi, 1979). This has clear impacts on heritage, its interpretation and value.

After the revolution all signs of monarchy were despised. Any names containing the noun 'shah' were changed and replaced by nouns such as "Islam" or "Imam". Modifications occurred not only in the names of cities such as Bandar-e-Shah to Bandar-e-Imam but also in historical monuments, including Shah Square to Imam Square or Shah Mosque to Imam Mosque. In some cases, the name totally changed, for example Shah Abbas Hotel in Isfahan was renamed as Abbasi Hotel.

However, this phenomenon is neither new nor exotic as many places across the world faced name change after a political change or revolution²⁷.

Just a few days after the revolution, the Revolutionary Council decided to redesign the cultural system of the country, with the title "Cultural Revolution". One of their first attempts was to merge the Ministry of Culture and Art and the Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education to a Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. One of the first efforts of the new ministry was to stop the plundering and the export of cultural heritage, which practically abolished all commercial excavations (the law was approved on May 1979). Also, it is important to mention that (almost) all foreigners involved in archeological excavations and activities similar to those active in other industries such as oil and gas, had left the country before the revolution.

According to Hodjat (1995, p. 218) at the beginning of the revolution one of the main challenges for safeguarding cultural heritage was to inform the appointed key national and provincial positioned revolutionaries including governors, provincial administrators, office directors, judges, police commanders, and others about the previous regimes' laws, vis-à-vis the conservation of cultural heritage.

A major issue in the conservation of cultural heritage just began several months after the revolution; this time with the invasion of Iranian soil by Iraqi Ba'ath regime which took place in September 1980 and lasted for about 8 years. The war with Iraq focused the government attention towards war and essential necessities of the people. During the first years, cultural heritage conservation became a hidden layer in the eyes of authorities and people, as the government and people were suffering from the destruction of houses and casualties. However, this war "inspired strong national sentiment and patriotism" among Iranians (Fazeli, 2006, p. 190). It did not take long, as after the bombardment of some of Iran's most important cultural heritage including Chogha-zanbil Ziggurats (Iran's first UNESCO world heritage site appointed in 1979) in Khuzestan and Jame Mosque in Isfahan along with many others mostly in Khuzestan province, cultural heritage once again gained more attention.

²⁷ Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar Bridge in Lisbon, Portugal built in 1966 received a new name -25 of April- following the end of the long authoritarian regime in 1974. Moreover, the city of Saint Petersburg in Russia has faced multiple name changes during history, first time was after the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and decade later in 1924 after death of Vladimir Lenin the Soviet Union changed the city's name to Leningrad along with some streets and other toponyms places, however, it was not the last time that he city faced name change as in 1991 it reverted to Saint Petersburg.

On the 30th January 1986, Iranian parliament (*Majlis*) approved a law for the establishment of Iran's Cultural Heritage Organization (hereafter ICHO or the organization). According to this law²⁸, the Ministry of culture and higher education were allowed to form a general organization with the integration of 11 sub-organizations as mentioned below in order to: a) Research and development on cultural heritage, b) Research on archeology, anthropology and traditional art; c) Survey, identification, registration and protection of movable and immovable cultural heritage of the country; d) Preparation and implementation of projects in order to repair and the restoration of the country's valuable artifacts, monuments and ensembles.

1. The Iranian Archaeological Centre;
2. The General Office for Traditional Arts;
3. The Centre for Ethnology (social and cultural anthropology);
4. The Office for Historical Monuments;
5. Iran e Bastan Museum;
6. The Office for Conservation of Cultural Heritage;
7. The General Office for Museums;
8. The General Office for Historical Buildings;
9. The General Office for Palaces;
10. Iranian National Organization for Conservation of Historical Relics;
11. [*And*] the General Office for Court Palaces (Golestan Palace).

²⁸ For more details, please see Law of Establishment of Cultural Heritage organization, File# 2/899, single article approved on 30th January 1986, *Majlis* Research Centre, published on 23th Feb 1986.

Figure 3.11 Ruins of Jame Mosque in Isfahan After the Iraqi Forces Bombardment of 1960



Source: Athar Archaeological and Heritage Journal [cover page], February 1986.

3.2.4. From ICHO to ICHHTO:

The organization was first directed by Mehdi Hodjat (President) and Baqer Shirazi (vice president). One of the critical decisions that before the establishment of the organization must have been made was the structure of this entity in the Iranian administrative system.

According to Hodjat (1995, p. 229) the independence of the organization was fundamental for the activities related to cultural heritage and therefore, as financial and administrative freedom could be seen well in the structural system of an organization, the best administrative entity arrangement was ‘organization’. He added, the term “organization” in the “Iranian administrative jargon” has a nature of independence, since the director might be either “deputy of the President or a Minister”. This independence could provide enough power to establish “an administrative relationship with other institutes”, as well as from the budget point of view it is directly ratified by the *Majlis*. However, one of the major issues for cultural heritage professionals after the revolution was the negative perception of the revolutionaries and the clerics towards cultural heritage. Therefore, redefining cultural heritage was essential for the new organization. As I have already mentioned during the Pahlavi era, cultural heritage was based mostly on pre-Islamic elements and their misuse of heritage for its political legitimacy and monarchical propaganda made the topic of cultural heritage extremely controversial in the eyes of the revolutionaries and conservative hardliners. Therefore, depoliticizing heritage (see Fazeli (2006) and McCann (1999)) was one of the major responsibilities of cultural heritage activists. Built heritage by its very nature and definition is a political and ideological phenomena of the past, and most buildings falling under this category were constructed under the political will of various rulers, authorities, revolutionaries and colonial sovereigns. Consequently, based on the definition of ‘legacy inherited from the past’, “Images and symbols from the past play a conspicuous and powerful role in the political present”(Knapp & Antoniadou, 1998, p. 14). Depoliticizing heritage is practically unattainable, yet central government authorities and heritage activists with political will and rational decision-making can restrain sectarian, ideological, ethnical and political tensions from built heritage.

Hodjat (1995, p. 171) describes that in one of his meetings with a provincial governor concerning the significance of the conservation of cultural heritage the term conservation of cultural heritage was not well digested for the governor as he mentioned: "But these are the same words we used to hear from the Shah and Farah." Meaning, we had a revolution to stop arguing about these issues that were important in the Shah regime. According to Fazeli (2006, p. 190) depoliticizing heritage was vital for the conservation of cultural heritage in the post-revolution era as he describes:

In view of the political use of cultural heritage by the Pahlavi regime, the newly established Islamic state could not attempt to protect and revitalize the cultural heritage of the pre-Islamic period as it would be politically conceived as antithetical to the ideology of the revolution. On the other hand, it could not totally abandon historical relics and cultural heritage. So, as a first step, the government tried to depoliticize the concept by defining Iranian cultural heritage as a scholarly and scientific issue, and arguing that the Pahlavi regime had abused it politically.

After the establishment of the organization, providing new meaning for cultural heritage was vital for conservation and research projects. The term must have been related to Islamic and religious perception of cultural heritage in order to be accepted by the revolutionaries and conservative clerics. Therefore, according to Article one of Law of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization Charter No. 3487 - dated 19th July 1988, cultural heritage was defined as:

...Comprised of relics from the past which indicate man's [*sic*] motion in the course of history and the knowledge of which form the ground for learning about his identity and culture line of development, thus providing for man's admonition.

According to Mozaffari (2014, p. 177), this definition was to provide "religious and revolutionary legitimacy" for preserving cultural heritage. He interpreted the new definition as "heritage was underpinned by religious interpretation of history as the movement of creation – humanity – towards God."

Also, in the ratified law for establishing the organization no objective was in place. In fact, no plan for conservation was proposed and therefore, it was essential for the organization to provide a guideline and a charter that would lead the organization.

While the war ended in 1988, physical, economic and social devastation remained for years, and as Mashayekhi (1992, p. 58) describes, one of the main elements that kept Iranians united and adapted to a new situation during and after these invasions, and in particular Iraqi invasion, was the country's "rich cultural heritage". He added, the war right after the revolution helped Iranians to reconstruct their sense of nationalism and patriotism mixed with a strong sense of 'Shi'ite fervor' (Mashayekhi, 1992, p. 72). And therefore, the heads of the Islamic Republic recognized the past cultural heritage as the basis of "Iran's strength and identity" (Dorraj, 1999, p. 160). This mixed sense of Islamic identity and Iranian culture was expressed as 'Islam-Iranian' culture and identity.

In his speech in Shiraz on the 7th of May 2008, the current Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei, denoted that heritage could be seen from two distinct perspectives. The first one refers to monuments especially those belonging to pre-Islamic history including Persepolis, which are from the “tyrants of history” and therefore, they are disgraceful and should not be attractive to the eyes of people who hate dictatorship. The second perspective is to see these monuments as a result of “Iranians creative minds” which should be a “source of pride for a nation”. He noted that these two perspectives are not only applicable to those of pre-historic monuments but also applicable to monuments in Isfahan (such as Safavid palaces) and other parts of the country. In his speech the supreme leader highlighted that heritage should be “introduced to the world” based on the second perspective, which is a positive result of these monuments. Ayatollah Khamenei, in his speech clearly outlined how the government must preserve the heritage and he effectively, found a symbiotic relation between Islamic and Iranian heritage and consequently he embedded it profoundly with religion. The definition of cultural heritage by the Supreme Leader can also be traced to the definition of cultural heritage in the ICHO charter no. 3487, as the charter clearly defined Cultural heritage as relics of the past that provided certain ‘moral cautions’ to humankind.

Among the duties of the cultural heritage organization, which are reflected in the Charter Act of 1988, articles 10, 11 and 12 are important in case of conservation of cultural heritage. Article 10 focuses on preparing and implementing projects in order to preserve, protect, repair, restore and rehabilitate the monuments, historic buildings and artifacts with significant cultural values; article 11 highlights the importance of the involvement of the organization and provides opinion on all master and detailed development plans in cultural and historic areas. And article 12 states the role of the organization in determining the perimeter and buffer zone of recorded historic monuments and focuses on the architectural and design standards of the monuments in its buffer zone. However, for the first few years, the organization was mainly focusing on its inter-organizational policies and programs to strengthen and improve its position in administrative, organizational, legal, research, human resources and financial aspects of the organization. With the end of the war, the establishment of the organization, as well as with the enforcing of the first five-year development plan, some scattered steps on conservation of cultural heritage began.

One of those steps was taken in 1990 by the Urban development office of Ministry of Housing and Urban Development in four cities: Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabriz and Kerman. Together with Hamedan in 1991, they were announced as cities with cultural and historical significance. Based on this announcement, revitalization and rehabilitation projects started under the term 'Cultural-historical axis'. One of the major projects in Isfahan was the revitalization and rehabilitation of *Jubareh* quarter (Jewish quarter of the city), which is located in the city of *Yahuddye*²⁹.

According to Hodjat (1995), one decade after the revolution and after the formation of the organization, the main concerns were to a) raise cultural heritage issues for the society and reduce the tension about the cultural heritage which was produced before the revolution; b) stabilizing the newly formed Organization on different terms including physical, organizational, financial and man-power; and c) establishing law and order for the above mentioned matters. Therefore, in this period and before the last decade of 20th century significant action in regards to conservation of cultural heritage for the organization was not seen.

From the formation of the 5th Islamic Republic presidential cabinet (3rd August 1989), the country's first priority became the reconstruction and longer-term economic modernization in the context of Islamic values. In this period known as the Period of Construction several measures to address the urban physical issues and destruction of the war took place. One of the main subjects in the conservation of cultural heritage in this period was looking at the conservation based on multidisciplinary aspects of cultural heritage. This included introducing conservation projects for urban and rural areas as a multicultural heritage complex as well as establishing buffer zones for individual buildings and historical sites. In 1990, the government ordered that all historical properties were to be confiscated by different organizations and ministries should be evacuated and delivered to the organization. However, the success of this law is greatly arguable. In this regard, the ministry of Education instructed all schools and educational institutes to take sufficient care in regards to cultural relics in their custody. The minister of Road and transportation instructed his colleagues to undertake all the necessary steps and standards in order to preserve the roadside cultural heritage (ex. Caravanserais).

²⁹ See chapter 6 for more details on the city of *Yahuddye* and the formation of Isfahan city.

The organization ratified a charter to establish a cultural heritage education center to cater for human resources. Today, the center is one of the major cultural heritage educating centers in the country, capable of training experts in large scale in the field of cultural heritage.

On the 14th April 1993, one of the most important events occurred which undermined the future of the organization, as the State Supreme Administrative Council in Tehran they transferred the organization from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education (with all its funds, personnel, assets, properties and obligations) to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. As the name indicates, the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education was a trustee for higher-level research and education in the country thus, the Ministry of Islamic Guidance was responsible for tourism as well as public cultural affairs.

The transfer however, was criticized by many cultural heritage scholars, including Hodjat (1995, p. 258), as he stated that the aim of this transformation was based on “the lucrative aspects of cultural heritage” and “study, research and cognition of values” were replaced by “presenting and introducing” cultural heritage to visitors (tourist) both international and national. The reasons behind this shift to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, which was a trustee for tourism in the country, can be traced to economic aspects of heritage, which have a great potential in attracting tourists and can be used as a tourism product. As I have already mentioned in chapter 2, the transformation of cultural heritage into tourist products for financial benefits is justifiable and impossible to ignore. However, it needs sufficient research, planning and consequently professional conservation in order to a) be safe for consumption; b) minimize the physical harm by visitors; c) minimize socio-cultural conflicts that could be produced by both visitors and community; d) find a breakpoint in cultural values and economic values of heritage; and e) avoid transformation into goods exclusively to be visited by tourists.

Opponents of this transfer and juxtaposition of cultural heritage activities with tourism, believed that the transformation of cultural heritage into a tourist product could gradually be influenced by economic revenues and due to its financial advantages the cultural-scientific policies of the organization could lose their impact and weight and become of little effect against the touristic-economic policies of the organization.

In 1995, with the establishment of a unit named “texture” (*baft*) in the conservation and revitalization section of the organization and consequently the establishment of the historical and cultural axis research center, a broader view of cultural heritage was taken, focusing on historical complexes and urban settings and departing from cultural heritage as an individual structure. This view was very important at that time, as after the war and with urban population growth, many historical centers were in great danger and needed urgent protection and conservation, including listing.

As previously mentioned, the destruction of cultural heritage for the sake of modernization has a long history in Iran. However, there is a great difference between the organizational structure of cultural heritage of the late 19th century and early 20th century to the end of 20th century and the present days. From 1993 onwards modernization became the main element for urban development, therefore, municipalities had to consider many individual relics as “urban troublesome spots” that should be removed from urban settings. For example, the destruction of Khosro Agha *Hammam* and Tahdid caravanserai are two of many cultural heritage relics that were demolished by Isfahan municipality after war for the sake of reconstruction and modernization (see section 3.3).

During his presidency (1997-2005), Sayed Mohammad Khatami tried to highlight the importance of Iranian cultural heritage and open a door for foreign researchers and archeologists to the country. As reflected in his 2000 proposal of “Dialogue among Civilizations” to the UN General Assembly, one of his main concerns was to safeguard cultural heritage and use ancient cultural heritage and the history of Iran to open a dialogue with the world. In his doctrine, politicizing cultural heritage again about 25 years after the 2500th monarchical celebrations, publicly became part of the Iranian government agenda. Khatami in his 2000 UN visit, presented a Prehistoric mud-brick from Tepe Ozbaki to the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. In addressing the UN convention³⁰ Khatami stated:

I take this opportunity as the representative of one of the most ancient human civilizations to present to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as a token of friendship, one of the most ancient artifacts found in the world.

³⁰ Round Table: Dialogue among Civilizations. United Nations, New York, 5 September 2000 www.unesco.org/dialogue/en/khatami.htm [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

Khatami's doctrine confronted two frontlines from both conservatives in Iran and the West. The conservatives in Iran, which justifiably in the last 20 years were considering the West as an agent of cultural imperialism and decadent governments that repeatedly threatened Iran with military attack (specially Americans and Israelis) and supported and equipped the Iraqi regime during war, were one front. The other front were hardliners in the West who repeatedly accused Iran of supporting terrorism and pursuing regime change in the country. However, it was very important for Khatami to find a balance between these two frontlines and establish a dialogue among them. Khatami's strategy on using Cultural heritage and civilization in this regard was an intelligent option. Between cultural heritage and tourism intellectuals, Khatami's doctrine on politicizing cultural heritage was a trigger point for merging ICHO with the Iran Touring and Tourism Organization (ITTO) in 2004, under the auspices of Iran's President by title of Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization (hereafter ICHTO).

As a consequence of Khatami's cultural diplomacy, many foreign researchers and scholars from Germany, Italy, Australia, Japan, the United Kingdom and even the United States, once again engaged in archaeological and cultural heritage projects in Iran (Darogheh-Nokhodcheri, 2014). Following this appeal one of the most important events regarding international cooperation on conservation of cultural heritage after the revolution occurred in 2002. The Cultural Institute of Iranian ICOMOS was established to a) promote and extend culture of research and study as well as to present Iranian monuments and historic sites; and b) encourage to preserve, protect, conserve, restore and repair historical buildings, monuments and sites and promoting its culture on a national level³¹.

With the formation of ICHTO, cultural heritage became a vital part of tourism and consequently, it became a principal motivating factor for tourism development in Iran. This integration can be traced back to UNESCO's idea of "Tourism would not exist without culture" and accordingly culture rated as "one of the principal motivations for the movement of people".³² This principle is also strongly in harmony with the concept of cultural routes. In this context the Silk Road can be a good example, as culture in general and material heritage in particular motivate travelers to

³¹ See http://www.iranicomos.org/?page_id=42, in Farsi [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

³² Proceedings of a Round Table on Culture, Tourism and Development: crucial issues for the XXIst century, p. 7, Paris, UNESCO, 26–27 June 1996.

move long overland journeys to experience and sense different places such as caravanserais in the space of the Silk Road. Khatami's strategy was to use "collective heritage of humankind" and its cultural heritage of "the past" as a common ground and a major contributor for establishing "interaction among cultures and civilizations" of all humankind.³³ With the proposal of the establishment of ICHTO his government believed that one of the main factors for succession of this strategy is to determine a stronger connection between tourism and cultural heritage as it is reflected in ICHTO charter.

About one year after the establishment of ICHTO, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was elected as the sixth president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and his presidency may be considered as one of strong political interference in cultural heritage affairs. Soon after the formation of his government financial deficiencies, mismanagement, international isolation and irrational decision-making, dominated his government and major duties of ICHTO, which consisted of conservation and protection of cultural heritage as well as promoting tourism were placed on the sidelines.

On April 5th 2006, the third structural change occurred since 1993, and the handicraft organization (with all its duties, powers, responsibilities, legal, assets, liabilities, funds, facilities and personnel) was transferred from the Ministry of Industries and Mines to ICHTO. According to the State Supreme Administrative Council the main aim of this transfer was to strengthen and coordinate the development of handicrafts and tourism development in the country. Therefore, with this integration ICHHTO was shaped.

In a telephone interview on the 17th February 2015, with Mohsen Moslehi³⁴, former head of Isfahan Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism organization he noted that:

This merge should have never occurred. In the International models cultural heritage and handicrafts are subdivisions of UNESCO and tourism is in the subdivision of UNWTO or World Trade Organization because tourism has a nature of trade and export thus Heritage has a nature of absolute cultural activity and research. However, in our country the government normally pursues the unification of organizations and ministries without any research and study. Authorities who dealt with these

³³ Resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly, 60th plenary meeting, 13 November 2000

³⁴ He was the Tourism Deputy of Isfahan Cultural Heritage and Tourism organization for 10 years and he became head of ICHHTO (2011-2014). He is conducting his PhD on Tourism and Urban regeneration at the department of Geography - Isfahan University.

During my research I visited the document center in Tehran and I was told by one of the staff there that the documents had been moved to Shiraz: “is not possible to access any document” and “it will take years to re-organize the documents as a place has still not been assigned for the library and documents”. In 2013, when visiting Shiraz, Gulshan found out that documents were stored in a very bad condition⁴⁰ (fig. 3.12 & 3.13). Seyed Mohammad Beheshti, head of ICHTO during the Khatami presidency, described the condition of ICHHTO as “a ruin that needs to be re-established”.

Figure 3.12 Condition of Documents in Shiraz



Source: Cultural Heritage News Agency,
<http://www.chn.ir/NSite/FullStory/News/?Id=107858&Serv=0&SGr=0> [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

⁴⁰ Hamshahri Online, 19 October 2013, <http://www.hamshahronline.ir/details/235446/Culture/iranheritage>, in Farsi [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

Figure 3.13 Storage of Books and Documents in a Warehouse in Shiraz



Source: Hamshahri Newspaper online, accessed on <http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/details/235446/Culture/iranheritage> [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

In August 2013, right after the election of Hassan Rouhani as President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the formation of his cabinet, the new head of ICHHTO Mohammad-Ali Najafi (17 August 2013 – 30 January 2014) who is known as a reformist technocrat, ordered the return of the document center and library to Tehran. In his inauguration day, he described⁴¹ the situation of ICHHTO as:

Only a frail body of the cultural heritage Organization [ICHHTO] remains which unfortunately has fallen on the ground and is unfairly being stamped on. We must lift it, dust it and place it in its right place and then expect this new organization to work. This is a very tough job.

Najafi appointed Mehdi Hodjat as his deputy and also chose Mohammad Beheshti as his advisor in ICHHTO. However, according to professor of archaeology, Kamyar Abdi, Hodjat was mainly running the organization⁴². After just five months however, Najafi resigned, and he was quickly followed by Hodjat's resignation too. Al-monitor stated that many felt "that Najafi's health reason was an excuse to leave the organization, and that there were other political reasons for his resignation" which could be rooted in Ahmadinejad's Chief of Staff Esfandiar Rahim Mashaei (head of ICHHTO from 2005-2009) and Hamid Baqai's private company 'SEMEGA'. Allegedly, during their time in office, they sold some of the "historical buildings and

⁴¹ His Inauguration day, 20 Aug 2013,

⁴² Al-Monitor, February 10, 2014,

<http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/en/contents/articles/originals/2014/02/reformist-resigns-iran-culture-heritage-organization.html> [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

assets of the organization to this company. In essence, they were both the seller and the buyer in the transaction”.⁴³ After the resignation of Najafi, Masoud Soltanifar (January, 2014 - present) was assigned by the president as the head of ICHHTO. Just a few months after his appointment, he highlighted that he “received something worse than ruin”⁴⁴. According to Soltanifar, ICHHTO became a backyard for political and economical purposes of some people. As Mashaie and Baqai were the heads of ICHHTO for almost six years during Ahmadinejad presidency, most probably Soltanifar’s purpose of using ‘some people’ was alleged by Iranian conservatives and clerics called ‘deviant current’.

During Ahmadinejad’s second term and roughly 30 years after the revolution, Ahmadinejad with the help of Rahim Mashaie, brought up the term nationalism and cultural heritage as a political tool for his political propaganda. In 2009, during Ahmadinejad presidency, UNESCO recognized Nowruz as a global day and consequently, gatherings held in countries where Nowruz is celebrated. Ahmadinejad announced that Nowruz celebration would be held in Persepolis, and he invited 12 regional head of states including Jordan’s king to the ceremony. Visiting Shiraz before Nowruz he spoke about Iran having had a great civilization both in pre and post-Islamic times (Hunter, 2013). As I have already mentioned, in the last 30 years pre-Islamic heritage and civilization was criticized by many clerics as “places of tyranny”. The announcement of this celebration in Persepolis was accompanied by a strong reaction from the conservatives in the *majlis* and the clerics in Qom, Tehran and Shiraz. They urged Ahmadinejad to cancel the ceremony as it is reminiscent to celebrations of 2500 years of monarchy by Pahlavi and criticized Ahmadinejad and his chief of staff Mashaie for “reviving nationalistic tendencies”⁴⁵ as well as perusing “backwardness from genuine Islamic culture”⁴⁶. Ahmadinejad, who saw himself in great pressure from conservatives relocated the ceremony and held it in Tehran.

⁴³ Al-Monitor, February 10, 2014,

<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/en/contents/articles/originals/2014/02/reformist-resigns-iran-culture-heritage-organization.html> [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

⁴⁴ Interview with the website Alef (belonging to the conservative Member of Parliament Ahmad Tavakkoli) in April 2014, <http://alef.ir/vdcb58b5grhb5zp.uur.html?221720>, [accessed 6th April 2015].

⁴⁵ (Hunter, 2013)

⁴⁶ BBC Persian, 27 March 2011,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/mobile/iran/2011/03/110327_i21_norouz_ahmadinejad.shtml in Farsi, [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

Ahmadinejad, was once referred to by Hamid Baqai, a former head of ICHHTO, as “today’s Cyrus the Great”⁴⁷. Mashaie’s controversial statements on “Islam’s glory depended on Iran”, “friends of all people in the world [...] even Israelis” and “ideology of Iran, rather than Iran’s state religion of Shia Islam, should be promoted to the world” put his main duties as a head of ICHHTO on the sidelines as his political view and ideological perspective on nationalism and pre-Islamic tendencies used and dominated the culture and heritage of the country as a tool for the populist political and ideological affairs of some people in the government (Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri, 2014).

3.3. Cultural Heritage vis-à-vis Modernization: a brief illustration from Isfahan

The idea of progressive Iran was not limited to the Reza Shah doctrine of progressive Iran that extensively impacted the socio-political structure of the nation; thus, after the revolution and at the end of the eight years of war with Iraq expectedly once again was reengaged in different ways in urban integrity of the major cities.

Isfahan city, with approximately 2500 years of history, has various types of historical relics, from UNESCO world heritage sites, including Safavid Naghshe Jahan Square (inscribed as World Heritage Site in 1979) with its elements (Ali Qapu Palace, Imam Mosque, Shaikh Lutfolah Mosque and Qaysaierh Bazaar); Chehel Sotun Garden (part of collection of nine gardens inscribed as World Heritage Site in 2011); and Seljuk Jameh Mosque (one of the major and oldest mosques in Iran, inscribed as World Heritage Site in 2012); to about 500 national registered heritage sites such as palaces, gardens, caravanserais, *hammams*, houses, mosques, quarters, bazaars, pigeon towers and other). Isfahan city with an altitude of 1575 meters from the sea level is located in the center of the county and Isfahan province; the city with area of 550 sq. km and population of 1,908,968 is located in the foothills of Zagros Mountain range and on the bank of *Zayande Rood* River. Qahjavarestan and Gavart in the east, Baharestan in the south, Dolatabad, Gaz and Shahin Shahr in the north and Khomainyshahr and Dorcheh in the west, bound the city (fig. 3.14). The aerial distance to capital Tehran is 414 km.

⁴⁷ Khabar online, cited from Panjereh weekly, 18 september 2010, <http://www.khabaronline.ir/detail/93429/> in Farsi [Accessed on 15 February 2015]

According to ICHHTO national registered heritage list in 2012, there were about 1500 cultural built heritage registered as national monuments in Isfahan province⁴⁸, which out of this number 464 are located in the city of Isfahan. About 66% (308) of these monuments are located in the municipality administrative division 3 and the rest are located in the other 14 divisions (table 3.1).

Historically, Isfahan contains two historical cores, one belongs to the 8th century Seljuk Isfahan which is located in the north of division 3 and consists of ⁴⁹Jame mosque and old *maiden*; and the other is the 17th century Safavid imperial *dowlat* quarter that is made up of *maidan* (Naghshe Jahan sq.) royal palaces, mosques and bazaar and is located in the center of the division 3 (fig. 3.15).

Figure 3.14 Isfahan City and City's Municipal Administrative Divisions



Source: The Author (2015)

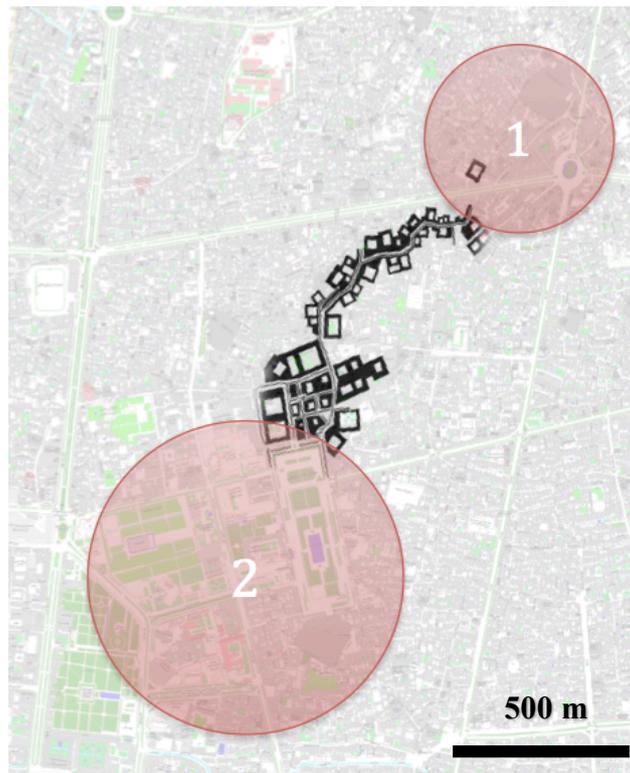
Table 3.1 Spatial Distribution of Registered Cultural Heritage in Isfahan

Adm. Division	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Number of CBH	55	2	308	7	44	32	0	0	6	2	2	1	0	0	5

These two historical cores of the city are connected with a covered liner bazaar and consists of the most built heritage of this division, also there are multiple narrow streets that connect other surrounding built heritage to the bazaar.

⁴⁸ ICHHTO, National registered heritage list 2012.

⁴⁹ See chapter 6 for more details about Isfahan.

Figure 3.15 Isfahan Historical Cores

Source: The Author (2015)

Similar to many other large Iranian cities, Isfahan experienced dramatic socio-spatial transformation during the Pahlavi period as well as in the Islamic Republic. The idea of Reza Shah's progressive Iran gave a modern-looking face to the city's historical texture (Makki, 1945). Radical modernism placed many of the historical buildings in danger and consequently built up a conflict between tradition and modernity. Unlike Reza Shah's urban development, during Safavid era and in particular at the time of Shah Abbas I, for the development and construction of a new city the old city did not need to be demolished (Jabbari, 2003), and therefore, today Isfahan has two historical cores in the city. As a result, many physical patterns of the city that had been built up for centuries were demolished just in a few decades and the integrity of the historical core of the city with the construction of straight streets, modern commercial complexes and housing development were greatly affected. Similar situations were seen in the 1960s and later in many European cities, when housing projects greatly affected the socio-cultural, economical and environmental integrity of many historical cores of the cities aimed at making open spaces for new construction (Goodman, 1999). What follows are two examples of urban creative destruction in the historical cores of Isfahan, from 1930s till today.

3.3.1. Maqsud Assar Caravanserai

The first example relates to the late 1930s or 1940s demolishing of the 17th century Maqsud Assar caravanserai, which was built by Maqsud Assar and with direct recommendations of Shah Abbas I. The caravanserai was known as one of the most ‘luxurious’⁵⁰, ‘royal’⁵¹, “unique”⁵² and ‘largest’⁵³ caravanserais of Iran (fig. 3.16). According to the anonymous author of a text known as *Dar danistan-i caravansara-yi Isfahan*⁵⁴ (“On Knowing the Caravanserai of Isfahan”), this caravanserai was built by Maqsud Assar and offered to the Shah and later it became part of royal properties; in describing the caravanserai he highlighted that it is the best caravanserai in the city or even the whole country and it survives in good condition; In it merchants from Lar, Hurmuz, and Bihbahan were lodged, people who supplied different kinds of spices including coffee and tobacco. The destruction of this caravanserai was simultaneous with the beginning of Reza Shah’s idea of progressive Iran, when the idea greatly distinguished between major historic urban relics such as large mosques, bazaar, palaces and *maidans* to less notable historical elements in the city, such as caravanserais and *hammams*.

Figure 3.16 Maqsud Assar Caravanserai



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (Unknown date)

⁵⁰ Den Garcia Travelodge P. 209

⁵¹ Den Garcia Travelodge P. 209

⁵² Vernacular of Isfahan caravanserais in British Museum

⁵³ John Chardin Travelodge, Volume 7, P.96

⁵⁴ British Library MS Sloane 4094; the text is reproduced in its original Persian, with German translation, in Gaube and Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, 263 ff.; for the Maqsud Assar Caravanserai, see 274.

In an interview with Isfahan University urban and human geography professor Behroz Noein in 15 July 2014, he noted:

Reza Shah's development plan was greatly based on favouring major urban historical elements to the minor ones. On one hand he conserved Shaikh lutf Alah mosque in the new maidan, yet on the other hand during his reign one of the major caravanserais in Isfahan [Maqsud baik] was destroyed, this in fact was at the time when Isfahan mayor Mr. Shahandeh ordered to use adjoining bazaar breaks for construction of other buildings in the city. Also, as the caravanserai had occupied significant amount of land the government decided to sell its land for construction of new houses." He added: this in fact reflects the hostility of the municipality and the government at that time towards caravanserais, as they believed that caravanserais were not needed any longer and the development of urban environment must be shaped by automobilization of the roads and caravanserais as a place for donkeys and camels must give its space to modern roads, commercial and housing complexes. However, comparing to the destruction of Tehran historical relics, Isfahan is far less affected with the idea of Reza Shah progressive Iran, as many of the caravanserais and historical relics survived.

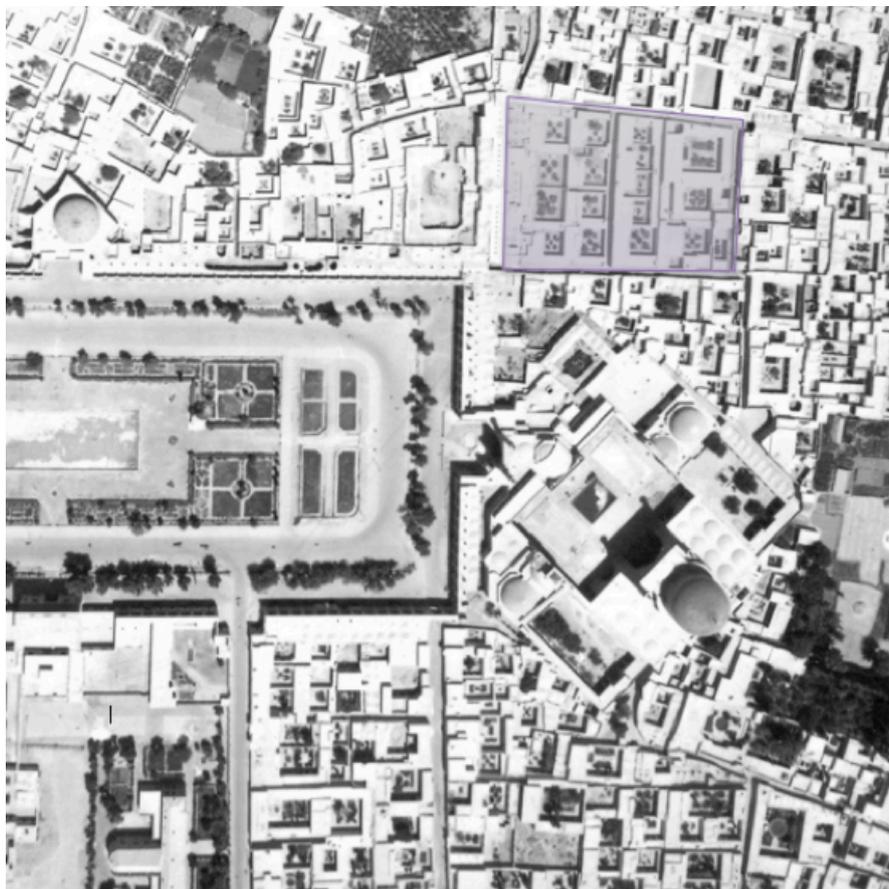
The first aerial photos of Isfahan in 1937 by Erich F. Schmidt recorded the caravanserai, which from an altitude of 200 meters seems to be in good condition (fig. 3.17). A later aerial survey, done by the Tehran Archaeological institute in 1950, shows no sign of a caravanserai in that location, as it was replaced by about 15 houses (fig. 3.18). Keyvani (1980, p. 170) in his PhD thesis indicated that the caravanserai "still exists to the north east of the Maidan-I Shah in Isfahan and (...) still called by its name". However, Keyvani (1980) by mistake located the caravanserai in the north east of the *maidan*, whereas it was actually located in the south east.

Figure 3.17 Maqsud Assar Caravanserai, Aerial Survey of Erich F. Schmidt (1937)



Source: Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Figure 3.18 Erection of Houses in the Location of Vanished Caravanserai (1950)



Source: Aerial Survey of Tehran Archaeological institute, Tehran University

Hillenbrand (2000) argues that according to historical sources Isfahan in its golden age had more than 2000 inner city caravanseries, which had the same ill fate as the 2700 mosques in Rayy or the 300 mosques of Palermo, in Sicily, Italy. While he notes that these numbers are likely exaggerated, they still illustrate the wholesale destruction of historical relics throughout history.

As I have already mentioned, after the revolution, the combination of Tourism with Heritage organization and the establishment of ICHHTO financial benefit of tourism dominated the organization. Also municipality as a main arm for development and modernization of the urban system, launched various programs aiming to “enrich” distressed urban areas with ICHHTO. One of those projects is the “enriching historical texture of the south of Naghsh-e Jahan square” launched in 2005 by the municipality of Isfahan with the cooperation of ICHHTO and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning (fig. 3.19 -left). The program aims at attracting private investors to 110 projects for tourism, cultural, residential and commercial purposes in 16 hectares of already occupied land. One of the projects is to reconstruct Maqsud Assar caravanserai in its previous location (9630 sq. meters) by Maskan Sazan Company, an affiliated organization of Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning (fig. 3.19 - right). However, there are multiple questions that must be addressed in regards to this project, such as a) as there are about 15 households in its location, how do they want to move these families from their homes? And if their attempt is successful, b) what are the social impacts that these families might face after abandoning their daily living environment? c) At a time when many caravanserais in this area (for example, Shah Caravanserai in the north of Naghsh-e Jahan square) are in the great stage of decay and destruction why not conserve those caravanserais?

Figure 3.19 Schematic 3D Model of the Project – the Location of the Caravanserai is Shown in the Upper Right (left). Schematic 3D Model of the New Caravanserai (Right).



Source: Project Brochure (2012)

3.3.2. Khosro Agha *Hammam*

The second example refers to one of the most hostile actions in about 100 years towards built heritage in Isfahan, which took place in 1995 (Sepanta, 2000). Considered by late Dr. Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi⁵⁵ (1995) as “a symptom of cultural illness of some people”, the municipality annihilation of a major Safavid *hammam* (*Khosro Agha*) at 2 a.m. has once again, after the destruction of Isfahan historical properties by Zell al Sultan, raised the issue of the ambiguous role of local authorities in the protection of cultural significance of the urban fabric (fig. 3.20 & 3.21). Since then, this particular *hammam* became the center of attention of cultural heritage activists and professionals (Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi, 1995; Jahanbakhsh, 2009; Sarmiento & Kazemi, 2012; Sepanta, 2000).

In an interview with Mr. Khajoie head of listing and buffer zone of Isfahan cultural heritage organization, in his office in Isfahan on the 28th August 2014, he highlighted:

Absence of critical cultural thought in the municipality has placed most of the registered cultural heritage in danger. The idea of modernization in the eyes of many managers in the municipality has a great conflict with values of material heritage therefore, the best idea for them was to remove these urban troublesome spots from the city.

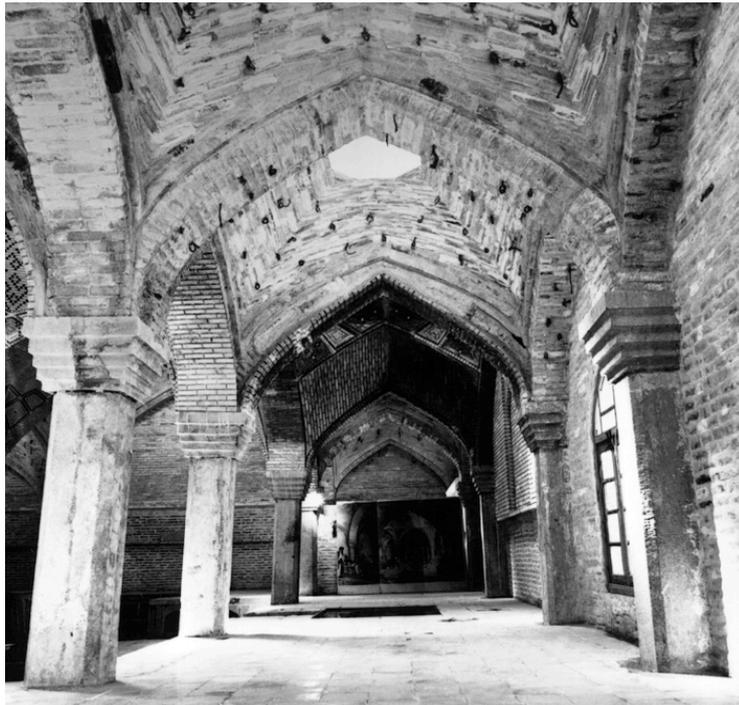
He added the idea of destruction of cultural heritage was well developed in the mind of 1990s urban development authorities, when they decided to destroy Khosro Agha *hammam*. He continued:

It is an interesting topic, because after the revolution whenever the municipality or other organizations wanted to destroy a cultural heritage it would suddenly be labelled as a place for depravity, sexual immorality and perversion which must be destroyed. In case of Khosro agha *hammam*⁵⁶, the municipality for years labelled this *hammam* with such names and dispersed the community's positive perspective on *hammam* as a significant material heritage to a negative and dark heritage and by naming it a house of deviance they destroyed the building to reach their goals which was to construct a new road.

⁵⁵ Dr. Bagher Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi was the former coordinator deputy of ICHO, former Editor-in Chief of Athar Scientific and Research Journal as well as holder of Aga Khan Foundation Award for Architecture for the restoration of the historic monuments in Isfahan, 1980.

⁵⁶ For more details on history and destruction of this *hammam* see Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi (1995); Sepanta (2000) and Jahanbakhsh (2009), all in Farsi.

Figure 3.20 Khosro Agha *Hamam* Before Destruction



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO

Figure 3.21 Khosro Agha *Hamam*'s Position to the Construction of New Road



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)

Therefore, as he described, the authorities used people's cultural and religious beliefs and sensitivity for the demolition of their cultural heritage. This way of destruction was neither new nor strange to the professionals in ICHHTO as they had experienced these types of issues in Persepolis and Reza Shah mausoleum in the

beginning of the revolution. However, the destruction of a registered 400 years old *hammam* in the center of the city for the construction of a new road was not acceptable as till today there is a lawsuit against the municipality in a court.

3.4. Summary

At the start of this chapter I emphasized the ambiguity of heritage. As a subjective construction it is malleable to different ideas and concepts. As we have seen throughout this chapter, people relate to built heritage according to the meaning ascribed to them, from tearing down statues with anger and graffiti painting, the decisions of planners and politicians to demolish various buildings and quarters, to attaching glory and grandeur to other monuments or parts of cities. Like many countries in the world, Iranian built heritage has faced many ups and downs. Organized annihilation and harm to relics began under Qajar rule which led to the loss of many sites and monuments. This serious harm was mostly based on the actions of people due to unawareness of the value of these monuments as well as rulers ignorance and cupidity along with the appearance of Europeans specially French and British interest in the orient relics and in this case Iranian treasures. While Europeans at first were mostly interested in Iran's politics and military, shortly they became fascinated in Iran's historical and cultural relics and consequently, intrigued to impose their imperialist ideas in the society. The concession of Iran's archeological excavation to the French in 1900, which lasted about 27 years, is the best example in expressing the situation of that period.

With the formation of Society for National Heritage and the establishment of the Pahlavi Dynasty and consequently public reform and modernisation movement, attention towards Iranian built heritage increased and some of Iran's key monuments were conserved and reconstructed. Iran's national museum was constructed and people became more aware about their national monuments. However, with Reza Shah's idea of progressive Iran, many cities lost their traditional appearance and many historical relics lost their importance. In this period, the policy was based mostly on attentiveness towards pre-Islamic monuments and modernists of that time who interpreted Islam as an obstacle for development. Basically, politics of cultural heritage in the first Pahlavi period were mostly focused on de-Islamization and westernization of the cultural heritage. In the second period of Pahlavi Dynasty,

attention towards Islamic built heritage increased and a more sustainable situation in regards to conservation of monuments appeared. However, factors such as the omnipresence of the United States of America in Iran, the spread of western values in the society, the overthrow of Mohammad Mosaddegh by CIA and MI6 and the celebration of 2,500th anniversary of the Iranian Empire increased the distance between the monarch power and the society. This distance became more visible when the American-imperial cultural ideas were promoted in cinemas, dance festivals and theatres, after which the values resulted in the society's rejection of historic relics.

With the succession of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, some of Iran's major cultural heritage were saved from angry crowds who considered pre-Islamic monuments as immoral monuments. However, after the revolution all signs of monarchy despised and all the palaces closed down. At the beginning of the revolution conservation totally stopped and very limited laws in regards to the protection of cultural heritage were ratified. The main aim in the beginning of the revolution was to protect the monuments from destruction and not preservation. Just a few months after the revolution, the 8-year war with Iraq dispersed the attention of the government towards essential needs of the people. During the war some of Iran's important monuments were greatly harmed. Just after the revolution and with the formation of period of reconstruction, conservation of historical monuments became part of Iran's budget. While many of Iran's historical monuments were placed under the umbrella of law, many were destroyed or not conserved.

The next chapter will examine the situation of the Silk Road as a heritage and tourism route by analyzing the history and geopolitics of the route and the key elements in revival of the Silk Road.

Section II: The Silk Road

[The Silk Road] was a network of overland routes that wove through the otherwise impenetrable physical barriers... This system of trails carried more than simply items for trade: it was the Internet of its time, a superhighway along which goods, ideas, language and people thronged. It meant globalizations many centuries before anyone came up with the concept.

(Middleton, 2005, p. 3)

Chapter Four:

Heritage Route: The Great Silk Road

4.1. Introduction

With the development of tourism in the contemporary world and eagerness to travel to unknown destinations, once again historical routes became the center of attention for many travelers. Consequently, organizations such as UNESCO and UNWTO began to provide an environment for both travelers and authorities and on one hand, conserve the Silk Road and on the other promote it for tourism purposes. In this regard, the Silk Road became once again an important tourism and heritage phenomena in many member states. The countries along the Silk Road in cooperation with UNESCO and UNWTO and other international players started to cooperate with each other to use this potential for sustainable tourism development as well as its great potential in bringing economic benefits along the route. However, as tourism in the modern world has a close interdependency with government policies and their long-term development plans, the industry cannot survive without political stability yet currently, many countries along the Silk Road are suffering from insecurity, war and other geopolitical issues and conflicts.

The overall aim of this chapter is to provide a general view on the reason behind the movement of people and the transport aided mobility and to present comprehensive literature on how tourism and heritage routes including the Silk Road are involved in the contemporary movement of special interested people through time and space.

First, the chapter will begin by describing literature on movement of people in geographical thought and disciplines including spatial science and transport geography. In this part the theory of ‘transport-aided movement’ and its relationships with time, space and place will be investigated. Second, the chapter will continue by providing information on tourism based routes, and its role in securing sustainability in travel and tourism as the pull factor in promoting less developed areas. This section will also investigate on how some themed routes can potentially be considered as

heritage (cultural) routes. For better understanding of the concept of heritage route an example from Camino de Santiago will be presented. Third, The Silk Road as one of the paramount routes in the history of humanity and a significant medium for trade and travel connecting the ancient empires of Rome, Persia and China will be introduced. This part will provide literature on how the Silk Road was created, and who the major consumers of the route were. Followed by providing information on the religion, faith and wars along the route and the reasons behind the decline of the Silk Road in the medieval time. Fourth, this part of the chapter deals with the geopolitics on the Silk Road and issues affecting the tourism development on the route will be presented. And last, contemporary tourism on the Silk Road as a route of dialogue and exchange of culture will be discussed; also the role of international players such as UNESCO and UNWTO as well as member states in the development of tourism on the Silk Road will be considered. Visa policies as essential governmental formalities that have a direct impact on international tourism will be discussed followed by factors working towards the revival of the Silk Road as an overland tourism route.

4.2. Human Movement, Mobility and Route in Space and Place

One of the central aspects of human geography similar to other social science disciplines' such as sociology and anthropology has been focusing on mobility (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011) or according to Crown (1938, p. 14) "men [sic] and things moving".

Crown (1938) described the study of movement of things by stating that the movement of objects could be essential to help things and people to step along the right path. He explained movement by expressing three essentials, 'origin', 'destination' and 'an effective will to move'. He raised an arguable note stating that 'movement does not take place in a vacuum, it is effected upon the surface of the earth' (ibid, 1938 p.14) which is largely based on human geographical moves rather than factors that provide the physical infrastructure for these moves. Geographer William Bunge believed that in theoretical geography both pattern and movement are fully interdependent and both operate on the other just "like the chicken and the egg" (Bunge, 1966, p. xvi). According to Harvey (1969) at the time when spatial scientists

were working on the physics and mathematics of space and time, Bunge described the movement of people similar to the movement of electricity or flows of fluids, that both gain their directions from the existing patterns. The study of the movement of people came to a new era in 1960s and 1970s with the development of transport geography, which urged to produce and quantify 'laws' by using both gravity models and spatial interaction theory which later introduced "transport-aided movement" (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011, p. 2). Transport as an essential human activity became a fundamental part of geographical methods and studies. The methods that are consistently looking for solutions related to problems of transport industry activities.

One of the main objectives of inventing the transport-aided movement was to fill the spatial gaps, which compromises distance, cost and time.

A means that humans and objects can move from one place to another in shorter periods of time for greater benefits, goods can be sold at a higher price and people can have a higher standard of living or simply go on holiday (White & Senior, 1983). Yet, today there are many other factors that encourage people to move. According to Sheller and Urry (2006) it seems that the entire world is on the move. These movements are for many reasons, they could be part of mobility for the assessment and comparison of one location to another mostly taking place to seek for a better life (i.e. immigrant, asylum seeker, international student, refugee), mobility for its own sake (i.e. the leisure motorist, cruise ship passenger, train spotter), mobility for crime and war (i.e. terrorist, armed force, exile and fugitive), mobility for the tourism or business purposes (i.e. holidaymaker, backpacker, business people, commuter), mobility for sacred practices (i.e. Hajj, promoting religion) and many other reasons that fill the world's airplanes, automobiles, trains and ships.

Since 1965 the world encountered a sudden increase in population mobility across international geopolitical boundaries looking for a better future. Apart from international tourism, in 2015, the total number of international [legal] migrants in the world is about 243.7 million people, or 3.3 per cent of the world's population, – up from 172.7 million in 2000 and 152.2 million in 1990 (UN DESA, 2015). This dramatic movement of people require space and facility for both population and means of mobility. There has been sufficient qualitative and quantitative studies in the geographical discipline considering infrastructure of all forms of mobility (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011; Graham & Marvin, 2001; Jackson, 1997). These studies basically

consider few facts such as how trains need stations as well as railways, aircrafts need airports and the air, cars need spaces to park and refuel as well as roads and bridges, ships need ports and the sea and people need a moment and spaces to rest, move and in general, live. According to Cresswell and Merriman (2011) these spaces are undergoing changes every day and very much in relation with the act of movement and requirements, although they can very much limit the mobility and give limited directions.

In the 'new mobilities paradigm' these movements not only changed and co-produced local public places but helped to bring these places together by, "at least thin networks of connections that stretch beyond each such place and mean that nowhere can be an island" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 209). These networks according to Urry (2003) and Larsen et al. (2006) established routes for people to shift from little spatially compact boxes and 'socially overlapping networks' to networks where connections are spatially detached and being a member of one does not necessarily effect with that of others. Hence with the availability of different types of transportation and communication technologies these social networks are beyond the cities, regions and the geopolitical boundaries that make people mobile wherever they are at the time of physical-bodily distance.

These networks can easily establish a connection between remote people with friends and family members 'back home'. This phenomenon can connect people who are far 'geographically' and near 'emotionally' (Larsen et al., 2006). Although, 1970s humanistic geographers such as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) believed that mobility in a form of modernity because of its outward nature can harm and demolish the sense of place. According to Larsen et al. (2006, p. 11) humanistic geographers arguing that "mobility destroys authentic senses of place by turning them into 'placeless' sites of speed and superficial consumption.". Therefore, being 'in-place' has been the key factor of being human (Cresswell, 2002). According to Edward Casey "to live is to live locally, and know is first of all to know the place one is in" (Cited in Cresswell, 2014, p. 38). Tuan (1977, p. 179) argues in a similar way and says "if we see the world as process, constantly changing, we would not be able to develop any sense of place". Thus, humanistic geographers such as Relph (1976) do not consider placelessness as a primary problem but a potential problem, as people can establish roots in a very short period of time on the earth surface and consider it 'home'. Although there are

factors that are significant in the establishment of a place as home, which includes secureness, involvement, attachment and commitment (Cresswell, 2002).

Getting back to the concept of mobility in relation to space and place, Tuan has defined it very well by saying:

What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.... The ideas 'space' and 'place' require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.

(Tuan, 1977, p. 6)

Therefore, to be more specific, when mobility is in the stage of meaningfulness it can be a mean to transform a location into a place. For a better understanding of the concept of movement, it is important to also define what is place. As Agnew (2011) argues, place can be everywhere. Any anonymous space that carries a history could have been a place for someone. Cresswell (2002) introduced a strategy that possibly can make a space into someone's place. He simply explains that any favorable changes 'within the limit of the space' can make a location into a specific place for someone and turn it into his/her place. Hence, apart from formation of a space into a place individually, location can be a place for a group of known people as well, like a family (their home [place] and coworkers [their work place]) or for a group of anonymous people, who personally don't know each other and they might be living physically thousands of kilometers apart but they might have common places in some spaces. It could even be a place of past conflicts between them, like a battlefield, or a place of common history and beliefs that provides a sense of place individually, and not necessarily in a similar form. These people could simply find their identity, history and authenticity in a common location. These locations can be a space for sadness for some and happiness for others, but all these emotional thoughts and experiences can convert a space into a common place. Apart from people being physically connected to a place, some people without physically being in a location at a particular time, have imaginarily turned these spaces into their place, therefore in reality it has become their place. According to Sarmiento (2001, p. 18), time has been an important element in people's manners in relation with understanding and experiencing places. "[...] all places are imaginary, as they exist in the mind as well as on the ground". Place in a

physical form can be demolished and destroyed and people's attachment (experience, memory and intention) towards place could stay infinitive by becoming a form of written and/or portrait, however, the development of sense of place in demolished places can be stopped in its actual physical location if not restored. Therefore, besides the memorial of demolished places in an imaginative thought, building memorial plaques or statues in a physical form is an important element for keeping a sense of place alive, as it is also strongly applicable for humans after death by building grave stones.

4.3. Tourism and Heritage Based Routes

When we take a look at history books we acknowledge that the movement of people was one of the most important elements of living in the past. However, humans genetically have not been guided to a particular travel route as they have to experiment more (Gosch & Stearns, 2008).

According to Black (2004, p. 13) "geography is the field of science concerned with the distribution of phenomena at or near the earth surface". Therefore, according to Urry's forms of travels, the connections of these geographical phenomena are built throughout the overlapping networks of physical, imaginative, virtual and communicative routes. Hence, physical routes as a historical heritage of the past bound ancient civilizations together and have acted as a channel for dialogue and knowledge between people, formation of political power and wealth, a navigator for discovering new parts of the world and brought financial benefit for the people of the world as well as witnessed socio-cultural, political, and economical changes on the earth's surface in time and space.

According to Sarmiento and Henriques (2009, p. 285), routes were fundamentally built for humans to move from one point to another for numerous reasons and therefore, they can also be seen as "something inherited by tourism". Routes are a form of spatial processes that direct a great number of tourists to visit touristic places. These touristic places include both tangible and intangible attractions that tourists consume during their journeys.

These journeys are greatly varied in shape and size and very much depend on their surrounding space. According to Sarmiento (2013) routes are geometries and they can be found in many forms, ranging from pedestrian or cyclist paths in a park in

urban environments to motorized highways connecting one continent to the other.

Meyer (2004) generally argues that the majority of tourism based routes begin with one or more of the below goals in mind. i) to scatter visitors and distribute tourism revenue; ii) to introduce obscure attractions and elements into the tourism business/product; iii) to magnify the general interest of a destination; iv) to expand the period that tourists stayed and spent; v) to allure new tourists and to compel the interest of previous visitors; and vi) to raise the sustainability of the tourism product.

Tourism based-routes pledge to connect a variety of activities and attractions in a coordinated manner in order to induce entre-neutral possibility through the improvement of ancillary products and services (Grefe, 1994; Page & Getz, 1997). Meyer (2004) stated that other than the attractiveness of any route we could perceive distance in 4 different categories:

- Geographical distance between the generating region and the tourism destination
- Travel time needed to cover the geographical distance
- amount of money needed by the tourist to cover the distance
- cognitive distance between the generating region and the destination

Between the origin and the destination, we have actual travel distance that needs to be covered with a minimum of time for the traveler. To cover a distance, we have to see if the routes offer value for money and if any sufficient attractions exist that would entice visitors. The cognitive distance between the generating region and the destination must also be considered.

The eagerness to travel across these distances depends on many factors, one being the particular areas, which are to be visited. A large number of cultural and landscape routes are visited mainly by domestic visitors. For example, the cognitive distance is related to a person's insight of the distance (as opposed to the physical distance). The distance may seem longer because of geographical features such as winding mountain roads to vineyards. In addition, major differences in culture and lifestyle between the origin and the destination may also encourage the belief that the distance is more than it actually is.

In the past two decades tourism routes have boomed all around the world, especially in the so called developed world (Meyer, 2004). Developing tourism trends

have drifted from interchangeable mass tourism towards a more individual structure in which extraordinary adjustability and purposeful experience have earned notability (Hummelbrunner & Miglbauer, 1994).

In developed countries the potential of tourism routes was acknowledged long ago. For example, Thomas Cook in the summer of 1841 began coordinating leisure trips. As the founder, he named his company after himself and successfully organized one-day rail trips from Leicester to Loughborough for a fee of one shilling per person. Throughout the next three summers, Cook projected a series of trips, taking passengers to the midland towns of Leicester, Nottingham, Derby and Birmingham. It was four years later that he arranged his first overseas trip, which involved taking a group from Leicester to Calais for the Paris exhibition. Thomas Cook began with a modest approach, yet over the years it grew firmly offering more destinations and holidays. Today with 33 tour operating brands, 2,400 travel agencies, 66 aircrafts and 19,775 full time staff it is known as the second largest European travel group in the world.

Development of transportation industry in the last centuries resulted in ease of travel. Today, people travel from one point to another point of the world without stopovers, they can attend their business lunch in Istanbul and be back home 2500 km to attend their family gathering in London in the evening of the same day. While physically traveling from Istanbul to London, he/she can also travel virtually to New York and attend another meeting via Internet and at the same time he/she by looking at in-flight entertainment screens possibly enjoys multiple imaginative travels. However, besides a great positive impact of transport development on many destinations, some rural and urban areas faced great negative impact of this development and became basically remote. This decline can be seen in many Silk Road cities that not very long ago were the center of trade and attention in the world. However, this decline opened new horizons for the development of cultural tourism based routes. As Sarmiento and Henriques (2009) stated route-based tourism potentially can restore the 'forgotten spaces' on the tourist map. And therefore, tourism based routes can be seen as one of the best strategies for achieving sustainability in less developed areas with valuable cultural capitals, especially for special interest tourists who spend more money to pursue their precise interest (Meyer, 2004).

Tourism based-routes construct a unified theme by joining a selection of activities and attractions aiming to develop local, regional and international economies as well as highlighting the importance of their cultural and natural resources for the world residents on any scale (Grefe, 1994; Gunn & Var, 2002; Lew, 1991; Meyer, 2004; Page & Getz, 1997). In the other words, routes attract a range of consumers and connecting a series of attractions so that local tourism can be promoted by motivating visitors to travel from one destination to the next. According to Meyer (2004) one of the main goals these routes have, other than the intention to entice tourists to a specific region, is to entangle various attractions that simply don't have the potential to engage visitors in spending time and money singly. This collaboration may create a stronger appeal and disperses money brought by visitors among a greater number of recipients (Meyer, 2004). Therefore, route tourism can be defined as a market driven approach to tourism destination development.

In developed countries the potential of tourism routes was acknowledged long ago. The idea of a chain of European cultural routes with the main goal of familiarizing European culture through travel was mulled over by a council of Europe (CoE) working group in 1964, establishing a network of cultural tourism and employing European cultural heritage as a way to accelerate social, economic and cultural development in line with improving the quality of local people's lives. This idea of establishment of the first European cultural route was created in between 1984 to 1987 which led to the establishment of Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage way in 1987. Since that time a cultural route was recognized by CoE as a mean for understanding the history, memory and culture of Europe in a continental scale extending from the Atlantic to the Southern Caucasus and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean to contribute to a shared cultural heritage. Currently, the Cultural Routes programme of the Council of Europe CoE consists of 29 defined Routes that cover 70 countries (Council of Europe, 2015).

An extra advantage of such developments can be seen in the installation of teamwork and partnership between various local areas, regions and also across borders (Hill & Gibbons, 1994). One of the major factors in route development is the configuration of co-operative networks amid a mass of very different tourism suppliers. When a route is being established, a good structure for an area is to increase and maintain collaboration agreements between the government and the local council,

private enterprises and associations, the tourism industry and local communities. Cooperation is here seen as the productive factor that is necessary and able to harness the energies of all involved with regional development, for the benefit of creating jobs and economic and cultural development. Such cooperative organizations can best be portrayed as route networks, distinguished by parties being equally contingent on resources managed by others, not forgetting there are benefits to be achieved by sharing the resources together (Hall et al., 2003). The different types of arrangement among tour operators and the food industry, not to mention the wine route states emphasize the importance of horizontal and vertical connections within the network.

Cultural tourism route defined by CoE (Council of Europe, 2000), as “a route crossing one or two countries or regions, organized around a scheme whose historical, artistic or social interest is patently European. The route must be based on a number of highlights, with places particularly rich in historical association”.

The CoE routes focuses on compelling coherence on assorted and divided manifestations of modern European heritage by generating economic, cultural and historical connections amid individual cities, smaller towns, historical tourist attractions and regions. As the range of experiences enhances tourist consumption, programs offer specific benefits in the promotion of tourism as a spatial development strategy, which diffuse demand and expenditure instead of concentrating on certain nodes of attraction.

Routes have a wide choice of functions and draw various clienteles with a variety of leisure incentives, and this is usually revealed in the routes theme. Based on geographers' views we can analyze the aspects of tourist route in the 3 below categories:

- a) Geo-metric: as an unbroken system made up of monotonous conditions: segments and nodes.
- b) Geo-ecological: as a system put together of a tourist, natural and anthropogenic possessions, tourist infrastructure and locals. The correspondence between these factors originally consists in a landscape being sensed by the tourist during a recreational incursion.
- c) Product: a route can be described as a certain kind of tourist product. Mixed, zonal or linear, it is composed of a number of places or sites affiliated with a theme and creating a route.

In contrast to other tourism products, which are wholly aimed at visitors wishing to stay for longer periods (such as resorts) routes intrigue an array of visitors, some of which are international visitors staying overnight visiting the route as a section of a special interest vacation, those staying visitors that explore the route on day outings, the urban domestic day visitors and other types of long stay visitors.

Routes differ in length and scale as much as they do in the chosen theme and number of attracted visitors. Routes that are developed especially for the domestic tourism market are often based in areas that do not appeal to international tourists but attract those domestic visitors keen on learning more about their own culture. The soul of routes can be found in the route itself, which is a crucial part of the product. The route can operate as a regional definition, a theme that exceeds geographical diversity and distance in the hope that it can supply a special yet incorporated, marketable theme. Individual road-based travel also corresponds with European travel behavior, as the private car is the most vital transportation mode.

Fundamentally, the concept of tourism-based route can be seen as an effective technique of tourism distribution. Especially overland tourists whose physical movements potentially are considered adventurous (Sarmiento & Henriques, 2009). This distribution directly depends on the route and the traveler's itineraries directing travelers from origin to either a single destination or multi-destination areas.

Tourism based routes can be a fundamental means for developing less developed areas (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2009; Timothy & Boyd, 2014). However, in order to achieve this development, there are a series of objectives that have to be considered which include: providing a framework for the protection and conservation of smaller heritage sites that have generally carried local cultural significance, dispersing tourists towards these areas using advanced marketing strategies, providing itineraries in the promotion of tourism as a spatial development strategy and increasing the sustainability of tourism products (Meyer, 2004; Snowball & Courtney, 2010; Stoddart & Rogerson, 2009).

Cultural route terms have been defined by different national and international organizations aiming to simplify the concept for the public. Among those organizations, The CoE, ICOMOS, UNESCO and UNWTO have been actively working on promoting and developing the idea. Since the formation of the first cultural routes programme in Europe and with development of these routes across the

European continent, the Council of Europe established three main objectives for the Cultural Route programme respectively:

- *To make Europe citizens aware of a real European cultural identity;*
- *To preserve and enhance European cultural heritage as a means for improving the surroundings in which people live and as a source of social, economic and cultural development;*
- *To accord a special place to cultural tourism among European leisure activities.*

(Council of Europe, 2015, p. 14)

Aspects of the term 'European cultural route' were initially defined by the Council for Cultural Co-operation of COE as:

[...]a route crossing one or two more countries or regions, organised around themes whose historical, artistic or social interest is patently European, either by virtue of the geographical route followed or because of the nature and/or scope of its range and significance. Application of the term 'European' to a route must imply a significance and cultural dimension which is more than merely local. The route must be based on a number of highlights, with places particularly rich in historical associations, which are also representative of European culture as a whole.

(Council of Europe, 2015, p. 14)

In 1993, Spain requested to organize an expert meeting to discuss the idea of cultural routes in more depth. Accordingly, in November 1994 experts gathered in Madrid on "Routes as a Part of our Cultural Heritage" and noted a wide range of initiatives and brought to attention the idea by highlighting two major elements of route, which consist of movement and dialogue.

Consequently, they proposed the definition for 'heritage route' as "composed of tangible elements of which the cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time" (UNESCO, 1994, p. 2).

However, in another meeting of experts on Cultural Routes which was held on 30th and 31st May in Madrid, ICOMOS, UNESCO World heritage center and ICOMOS-CIIC decided to provide a more comprehensive definition of cultural heritage route based on the doctrinal development accepted by the ICOMOS-CIIC International Scientific Committee on Cultural Routes (1997-2002). Consequently, they changed the term heritage route to 'cultural route' and defined it as:

- *A land, water, mixed or other type of route, which is physically determined and characterized by having its own specific and historic dynamics and functionality, which is reflected both in its tangible and intangible heritage.*
- *Taken into account the cultural richness and variety of both the relationship and cultural properties which may exist in a cultural route, cultural routes are a suitable instrument for highlighting the fact that cultural reality is a multi-faceted evidence, which requires a multi-disciplinary approach.*
- *Being the historic result of peaceful encounters or disputes, cultural routes currently present a number of shared dimension which transcend their primitive function, offering an exceptional setting for a plural approach to history and a culture of peace and mutual understanding based on cooperation among nations.*

(ICOMOS-CIIC, 2004, p. 3)

ICOMOS International Committee (2004) described Cultural Routes based on five geographical and cultural parameters:

- i. Geographical and territorial space: International or national;
- ii. Common Cultural Scope of the route: within a given cultural region or across different cultural areas;
- iii. Original purpose of the route (prime) or its current purpose (e.g. social, economic, commercial, administrative, cultural and spiritual) or multidimensional purpose;
- iv. Usage of the route: no longer used but there is significant archaeological evidence, still used and will continue socio-economic, administrative, spiritual and cultural exchanges;
- v. As per routes ancient physical frame: land, aquatic, mixed or other type.

One of the main common aspects of all the above definitions on cultural heritage is conservation and protection of cultural heritage on the heritage route. Therefore, we can say conservation of minor cultural heritage in remote areas can work as a pull factor mechanism in promoting tourism in less travelled region. This mechanism can boost urban and rural areas' local employment, financial stability, regional security, economic development and mutual community understanding which potentially can bring a sense of pride in regional level leading to prevent sectarianism and extremism along the route. However, the above sentence can be considered very optimistic, as there could be some fundamental historical issues including, religious, social, financial and cultural between rural area residents.

Policies and planning towards promotion and implementation of heritage

routes are extensively diverse, as policy and planning for urban heritage routes (trails) can be taken locally in city halls as well as municipalities but for international heritage based routes often decisions must be decided in ministerial committees.

Throughout history traders, nomadic warriors, prophets, immigrants and adventurers have undertaken a variety of different types of routes and itineraries for different reasons. Roman routes, Silk Road, Spice Route, Santiago de Compostela Route, Grand tour of Europe, Kii Mountain Routes, Architecture without Frontiers Route, Parks and Gardens Route, Amber Route, Iron Route in the Pyrenees, St Martin of Tours and many others are among those ancient routes that famous and unknown people have undertaken during history and today many visitors are travelling these routes to visit the legacy of their ancestors. Recently, there are a variety of cultural route programs all over the world.

There are about 29 cultural routes that have been nominated from 26 countries and have been waiting for evaluation since 1996 in the tentative list of UNESCO world heritage (table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Cultural Routes in the ‘Tentative List’ of UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Date of proposal	Cultural Routes	Country
1996-10-31	La ville d'Ouidah : quartiers anciens et Route de l'Esclave	Benin
1998-06-26	The Silver Route	Spain
2000-01-17	Trade Pilgrimage Routes of North-Western Ghana	Ghana
2000-02-25	Seljuk Caravanserais on the route from Denizli to Dogubeyazit	Turkey
2000-06-30	The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles	Israel
2001-03-29	Route de l'esclave en Afrique segment de Timbo au Rio Pongo	Guinea
2002-01-23	Iron Trail with Erzberg and the old town of Steyr	Austria
2002-09-23	Route of the Agroindustry and the Architecture Victoriana	Guatemala
2002-09-23	Route of the Franciscan Evangelisation	Guatemala
2002-09-23	Route of the Peace and National Identity	Guatemala
2002-09-23	Route of the to Dominique Evangelisation	Guatemala
2003-07-28	The An-Nakhl fortress, a stage on the pilgrimage route to Mecca	Egypt
2004-01-04	Phimai, its Cultural Route and the Associated Temples of Phanomroong and Muangtam	Thailand
2004-06-12	Huichol Route through the sacred sites to Huiricuta (Tatehuari Huajuje)	Mexico
2004-08-01	Gold Route in Parati and its landscape	Brazil
2005-11-25	The Matheran Light Railway (extension to the Mountain Railways of India)	India
2006-02-20	The Central Slave and Ivory Trade Route	Tanzania
2006-05-26	Itinéraires Culturels du Désert du Sahara : Route du sel	Niger
2007-04-27	Roman Ways. Itineraries of the Roman Empire	Spain
2007-09-08	Ghaznavi- Seljukian Axis in Khorasan	Iran
2008-05-02	Silk Route (Also as Silk Road)	Iran
2009-01-28	The Kangra Valley Railway - Extension to the Mountain Railways of India	India
2009-08-07	Liberation Heritage Route	South Africa
2010-01-03	Silk Roads Sites in Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan
2010-01-20	Silk Road Sites in India	India
2010-02-19	Silk Roads Sites in Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan
2010-04-29	Seruwila to Sri Pada (Sacred Foot Print Shrine), Ancient pilgrim route along the Mahaweli river	Sri Lanka
2010-09-16	Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes. From the Mediterranean to the Black Sea	Ukraine
2011-01-02	Malawi Slave Routes and Dr. David Livingstone Trail	Malawi
2013-01-15	Silk Roads Sites in Tajikistan	Tajikistan
2013-04-15	Trading Posts and Fortifications on Genoese Trade Routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea	Turkey
2015-04-08	Egyptian Hajj Road	Saudi Arabia
2015-04-08	Darb Zubayda (Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Makkah)	Saudi Arabia
2015-04-08	Syrian Hajj Road	Saudi Arabia
2015-04-15	Grand Trunk Road	India

Source: UNESCO World Heritage Tentative Lists (January 2016)

Out of these twenty-five UNESCO member states, eight countries have nominated the great Silk Road to be part of the UNESCO world heritage, including: China in (2008); Iran in (2008); Turkmenistan in (2010); India in (2010); Kyrgyzstan in (2010); Uzbekistan in (2010); Kazakhstan in (2012) and Tajikistan in (2013). However, only three of these countries (Iran, China, and Turkmenistan) have nominated the actual route to be part of UNESCO world heritage and the rest have proposed a list of numerous sites along the route, which shows the importance of heritage buildings along it. In this regard Chinese, Kazakhstani and Kyrgyzstani part of the Silk Road accepted by UNESCO world heritage committee to be part of the World Heritage Sites in 2014 (table 4.2) (See chapter 5 for more details).

Table 4.2 World Cultural Heritage Routes by UNESCO

Date of Inscription	World heritage Routes		Type	Covered area	Location	Approximate length	Country	Criteria
1993	Route of Santiago de Compostela		Religious	National	North Spain from France border to Santiago de compostela city	853 km	Spain	(ii)(iv)(vi)
Extension 2015	Routes of Santiago de Compostela: Camino Francés and Routes of Northern Spain					1500 km		
1996	Canal du Midi (Waterway)		Secular	National	Region of Midi-Pyrénées and	360 km	France	(i)(ii)(iv)(vi)
1998	Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France	Chemin du Puy (the Le Puy route)	Religious	National	Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées	17 km	France	(ii)(iv)(vi)
					Saint-Côme-d'Olt and Estaing	17 km		
					Montredon and Figeac	18 km		
					Faycelles and Cajarc	22.5 km		
					Bach and Cahors	26 km		
					Lectoure and Condom	35 km		
Aroue and Ostabat	22 km							
1999	Mountain Railways of India	Darjeeling Himalayan Railway	Secular	National	The Darjeeling Himalayan	78 km	India	(ii)(iv)
		Nilgiri Mountain Railway			Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu State	45.88 km		
		Kalka Shimla Railway			States of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh	96.6 km		
2002	Quebrada de Humahuaca	Part of Camino Inca	Trade route (secular)	Local	Valley of the Rio Grande	150 km	Argentina	(ii)(iv)(v)
2004	Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range	Omine Okugakemichi	Religious	National	Wakayama, Nara and Mie Prefectures	86.9 km	Japan	(ii)(iii)(iv)(vi)
		Kumano Sankeimichi				196.7 km		
		Kôyasan Chôishimichi				24 km		
2005	Incense Route - Desert Cities in the Negev		Trade route (secular)	National	Moa to Haluza	150 km	Israel	(iii)(v)
2010	Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (Silver Route)		Trade route (secular)	National	Mexico city to Valle de Allende	1400 km	Mexico	(ii)(iv)
2012	Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route		Religious	Local	Jerusalem to Bethlehem	7 km	Palestine	(iv)(vi)
2014	Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor (Joint programm between 3 countries of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan)	Trade routes, Intellectual route and other	Regional	Site of Weiyang Palace in Chang'an City of the Western Han Dynasty (China)	5000 km	China	(ii)(iii)(v)(vi)	
				City of Suyab (Site of Ak-Beshim) (Kyrgyzstan)		Kyrgyzstan		
				Site of Kayalyk (Kazakhstan)		Kazakhstan		

Source: UNESCO World Heritage Center (January 2016)

Today there are nine routes that are part of UNESCO world cultural heritage list and located in three continents. These cultural routes became part of world heritage sites for a number of reasons and criteria set by UNESCO world heritage committee.

To be part of the world cultural heritage list every site must meet at least one out of six of the selection of cultural criteria:

Selection criteria:

- to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world...
- to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural ... [and] significant stage(s) in human history;
- to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment...

- *to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance...*

(UNESCO, 2014b)

Camino de Santiago

The Santiago de Compostela route (Saint James' Way) was the first route nominated to be part of UNESCO world heritage list. ICOMOS considered the project in 1998 as the most successful cultural route project in the world. This world heritage route is the only route that till today its extension is also added as part of WHS. This network of routes crosses numerous countries and connects the city of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia to another part of Europe. This route has been nominated to be part of UNESCO world heritage by multiple countries, (Spain and France) and both nominations have been granted the title of 'world heritage'. As a living organism this route had a significant influence on the formation of culture in Europe and has been in continuous use from the Middle Ages till today. The western and the northern routes contains immensely rich built cultural heritage, which is, estimated at about 3800 elements indicated in the inventory proposed to UNESCO World Heritage Committee (ICOMOS, 1993, 2015). According to ICOMOS report on Camino de Santiago (ICOMOS, 1993) only ten percent of the designated route was demolished. As this route is now parallel to modern routes with the exception of 10% the rest is in very good condition.

In 1993, the Santiago de Compostela route was approved as a world first heritage route by UNESCO world heritage committee (table 4.2) in Spain. This route became part of UNESCO world heritage because of its importance in a two-way interchange of human values over a span of time between Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe during the Middle Age; its outstanding landscape and buildings, which illustrates significant stages in human history and its outstanding preservation during time as ICOMOS stated "preserved the most complete material record in the form of ecclesiastical and secular buildings, settlements both large and small, and civil engineering structures" (ICOMOS, 1993, p. 63); as well as its direct association to religious beliefs and ideas of Europeans with artistic and legendary works of outstanding universal significance during the Middle Ages till today. In the thirteenth century and at the time of European medieval pilgrimage about five hundred thousand pilgrims every year traveled both terrestrial and maritime medieval pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela for visiting the shrine of Saint James in Galicia, Spain (Chairatudomkul, 2008; Graham & Murray, 1997). These intricate webs of connections were connecting all of Europe including Britain and Ireland to northwest Spain.

About seven hundred years later and after the route became part of world cultural heritage, Santiago de Compostela hosted about five million people who had visited the city and its cathedral and a record of 241,697 travelers (religious and cultural) as well as 20,818 used the route for non-religious purposes in 2015 (Catedral de Santiago, 2015). However, Stoddard (1997) questions if all these visitors were tourists or not and he concluded that “Whether or not all these visitors were “trisque” pilgrims undertaking religious devotions is unknown” (In Digance, 2003, p. 143). In the year 2010 the number of unaided travelers to Santiago de Compostela who obtained Compostela reached 272,703 people which is about four hundred times more than year 1985 and three times more from 1993. However, there are many factors except being part of UNESCO world heritage involved in this rapid increase in number of travelers including: 1995 establishment of Europe's borderless Schengen area, people awareness of the importance of cultural heritage, the rapid increase in people's sense of excursion and adventure, availability of facilities and services on the route and availability of information and tourist guide books for travelers.

Today there are 9 major ways (Portuguese way; French Way; Aragonese Way; North Way; Primitive Way; English Way; Silver Way; Finisterre Way; Arousa Sea and Ulla River Jacobean Itinerary) connecting Europe to Santiago de Compostela. In 1993 the western part of the Spanish route obtained the world heritage title and five years later some parts of the French route of Santiago de Compostela also became part of the world heritage list (table 4.2). In 2007 Spain proposed an extension of the Route of Santiago de Compostella to UNESCO world heritage center, which in 2015 this part of the route was also listed as a World Heritage (table 4.1).

4.4. The Great Silk Road

The Silk Road, or the Silk Roads, has been travelled for centuries by conquerors, traders, missionaries, geographers, and more recently, tourists. It served as a fundamental link between the East and West, exchanging cultures, crafts, ideas, technologies, beliefs and people (UNWTO, 2005). The route had a tremendous importance in Eurasian history, which not always has been fully appreciated (Christian, 2000). The route crosses numerous environments and stretches its way through the civilizations of Asia, Europe and Africa, from the Han Dynasty to the Kingdom of Egypt, from Mongolians to Persians and Ottomans, from Alexander to Marco Polo. The huge deserts, harshest terrains, endless steppes and towering mountains were part of the physical barriers that the intrepid travelers had to surmount (Barfield, 2001; Kauz, 2010).

The first users of the road must have lived in the first half of the first millennium BCE (Marco Polo lived 1200 years later). However, according to Kuzmina (2008, p. 64), by tracing the origin of the Asian caravan routes, the procurement of the Silk Road must have “begun as far as the Bronze Age”. The Silk Road was an important interaction channel between cultures and people in facilitating the exchange of technology, art, dialogue, religion, as well as ideas. With its abundantly varied cultural heritage, in addition to its richness of natural tourism attractions it spanned across approximately 12,000 kilometers of historic routes.

The German phrase (*Die SeidenstraÙ*) 'Silk road' seems to have been first used at the end of nineteenth century and after German geographer Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833-1905) geo-morphological exploration in 1870 to 1872 in Central Asia and China (Christian, 2000; Waugh, 2007). He used the term in his famous book ‘*china*’ in 1877. However, Richthofen term ‘Silk Road’ must have been inspired by the work of Roman Geographer Pomponius Mela (43 CE) *De situ orbis libri* who used the term *Seres* (derived from the Chinese word for silk) calling Chinese people as people of “the Silk Country”.

And the word ‘Great’ must have appeared in fourth century CE and based on the 23rd book of Ammianus Marcellinus ‘*history*’ that specifically mentioned “a great trading route which is used for promoting relations with *Seres*” (cited in Zonn et al., 2010, p. 199).

The Silk Road was not only used as a route for economic activity (Barfield, 2001; Fewkes, 2009) it also served as a venue for religious interactions (Foltz, 2010; Ratliff, 2010; Showalter & Showalter, 2009; Wriggins, 2008), conquest (Knobloch, 2012; Zonn et al., 2010) as well as cultural exchange (Foltz, 2010; Yamauchi et al., 2007).

4.4.1. History of the Great Silk Road

The origin of the Great Silk Road has always been in dispute among academics, from Chinese chronicles and other Chinese evidence speculates the route has originated from the province of Kansu and probably from the Chinese capital of Chang’an near modern Xi’an. Middleton (2005) believes that the origin of the Silk Road is unclear as there is no written record that highlights the beginning of the Silk

Road. Therefore, many western scholars and historians as well as Arabs and Persians believe, that China has confiscated the Great Silk Road as the origin of the *caravan* route goes back to an earlier time. They believe that trade was very well established in 2000 BCE Mesopotamia and particularly between Assur, Anatolia and Zagros region as merchants for crossing these trade routes must have paid taxes (fig. 4.2). Consequently, Kuzmina (2008, p. 3) stated, “At present no doubt remains that some parts of the [Silk] Road began functioning as early as the Bronze age”.

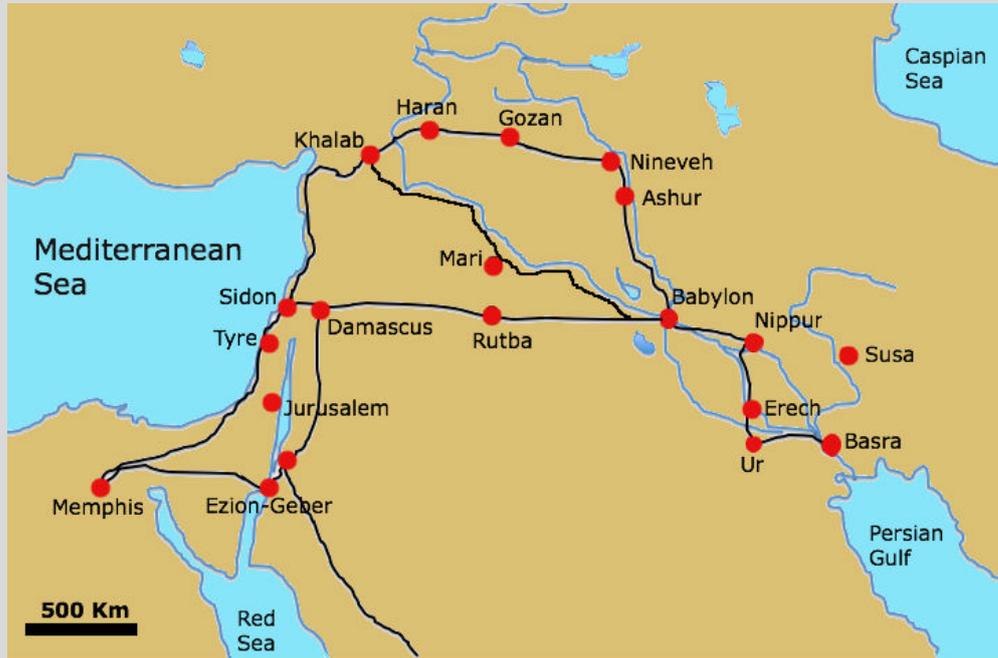
Mesopotamian Urbanization, Settlement and Routes

There is some scientific evidence that shows the origin of routes going back to 6000 to 4000 BCE when in the Sahara, people were trading animals from Asia (Wendorf & Schild, 2001). Although, archeological evidence shows that trade and travel dates back to 25000 BCE or perhaps more, when small sculptures called "Venus figurines" in the approximate size of between 4 cm to 25 cm were found in vast land (mostly in Europe) in the upper Paleolithic, stretching from Irkutsk Oblast, Siberia to western Europe. These sculptures might have some differences but similarities suggest that these artifacts (perhaps the idea of common artistic style) have been spread by homo sapiens (the modern human) during their travels (Gosch & Stearns, 2008).

Cities appeared about seven thousand years ago by Sumerians between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates and were extended to the Persian Gulf, in Mesopotamia, in today's Iraq (Smith, 2012; Southall, 1998) and after the formation of settlements and invention of agriculture in three areas of: ‘walled oasis town’ of Jericho, in Palestine; ‘Hacilar’ and ‘Catal Huyuk’ in the Konya plain of south central Anatolia; and ‘Jarmo’ in the foothills east of the Tigris river. In 2000 BCE about 90% of Sumerians were living in cities such as Ur, Eridu, Assur and Susa as they whispered and believed that the city is the place that their dreams will come true. Humans from different settlements travelled during time and space and shaped the cities and therefore a sense of well being which they think they deserved became a need. Merchants from Assyrian capital of Assur started regular journeys to the east of Anatolia 600 miles to the northwest by large donkey caravans (often composed of two hundred or so donkeys) to sell their productions such as wool and linen cloth to the Anatolia commercial center (Gosch & Stearns, 2008). With the rise of ritual leaders, communities in the cities became more united and by that time each city established a small, dominated physically and non-particularly politically controlled city-state. Although by building a temple as a place for unity and ritual practices for worshiping the ritual leaders, political movements became inevitable during time and space, religio-political symbolism

became a central power.

Figure 4.1 Map of Ancient Trade Routes from Mesopotamia



Source: The Author (2014)

With the establishment of cities, economical activities and trade became important and financial stability became a necessity for stronger city-states. Ruling by temples and merchants became an unavoidable component of all towns and cities, and according to Smith (2012) the city's existence depended on merchants. Therefore, a need for protection of caravans between cities encouraged merchants to pay tax to the authorities and in return they protected the caravans on the routes.

Some cities grew faster in wealth depending on different factors such as, their geographical location, oversees trade, agriculture, labour force and hunting, but the most important elements were its holy temples that during time became holy shrines which had strong influence on local people and with recognition of these holy shrines by communities, became stronger and started to develop and influence other cities and communities by sending agents of the temples to invite other city-states for unity. For the blessing of gods and temple residents, people had to build more and more temples and work force became more important and therefore, migration from undeveloped cities and rural areas were the beginning of construction of large cities. During time and space, power and wealth formed competition between city-states, tribes and settlements and a need for protection became essential for each city. Armies consisting of professional soldiers were established and rule of law became important for governing the cities.

With the invention of the wall a new idea immersed for the protection of the urban

area, which separated public from private and shaped the urban communities around the world. According to Yevgeny Zamyatin (1924 in Smith, 2012, p. 60) “the wall is, probably, the greatest of all inventions” and therefore, fortified city walls became essential for each and every city and from the earliest time till the eighth century became the most noticeable and visible component of a city. The city wall gave the community a sense of belonging to a place, a place that belonged to them, a physical structure that held their identity and protected and secured them from outside elements, but on the other hand, it brought suspicious and rivalry between cities and turned them into a military basecamp with watchtowers around it. People inside the fortified walls were unfamiliar with the outside world and the wall became a barrier between urban and rural culture; a dialogue between people from different city-states in most cases became prohibited by rulers and many men forcibly became warriors to protect the power and wealth of the rulers. Invasion between cities emerged and therefore, wealthier cities became wealthier and war became an annual feature of life in the region. Development of city-state around the world was quick, and different cities emerged in Egypt (fourth millennium BCE, in the form of Neolithic villages directly into kingdom, known as old kingdom and the capital was Memphis), China (fourth millennium BCE, in the form of city-state) and the Andes and Mexico (third millennium BCE, constructing large scale monuments in Peru and city of Cuzco emerged in first millennium BCE), although, urban development in Greece and Rome dates back to third millennium BCE when urbanization spread from Asia to Europe and developed many ethnic groups, culture and language that created impressive cultural urban areas such as the island of Cretans (Crete) which, became strategic for maritime trade between urban areas in the mainland of east, north and south. Although, urbanization in Europe could never have been established successfully till the late Bronze Age.

In about 500 BCE Darius the Great commanded that splendid paved routes of ‘Persian Royal Road’ be built to control the empire and minimize the time of travel between all the *satrapies* (provinces). He simultaneously built a network of routes stretched from Persepolis up to another Persian city named Susa and then fifteen hundred miles to the west to Sardis and Ephesus on the Mediterranean. Roads also went east to Central Asia satrapies and India and south to Egypt (fig. 4.2).

who referred to many ancient authors and Chinese chronicles stated that some part of the northern route of the Silk Road must have been established far beyond first century BCE and “as early as the Bronze Age”. He illustrated the route as follow: from Lop Nor through Kucha and Karashar along the Tian Shan Mountains and by the Tarim River to Kashgar, through the Tersakdyvan Pass to Ferghana and further along the Syr Darya across the Steppe to the Southern Urals and on the Lower Volga and the Black Sea North Littoral; or from Ferghana to Samarkand and, crossing the Amu Darya, to Iran and western Asia. Kuzmina continued his research by mapping the southern route by stating that, from Lop Nor along northern side of the Kunlun range, along the Yarkand darya to Tushkurghan, and further to Wakhan in the Pamirs, and either through passes to Merv or southward to India through Gilgit and Kashmir to Gandhara, ending at the mouth of the Indus.

Figure 4.3 The Silk Road



Source: (Gosch & Stearns, 2008, p. 57)

During the classic period, Indian merchants reached southeast Asia and Romans travelled to India via the sea. However, undoubtedly the clearest travel accounts involved overland travel movements (Gosch & Stearns, 2008). Route development in China basically began with the reign of Qin Shi Huang (260–210 BCE) who, conquered most of the today China except Tibet and the west of Xianjiang in 221 BCE. One of his major achievements in unifying the vast region of China was the construction of five great three-lined ‘fast roads’ that started from Qin Shi Huang capital Xianyang connecting the city to different parts of the empire (two roads to

south, one to north, one to east and small road to west). This network of routes was over 6500 kilometres with the width of about fifteen meters compared to roman routes, which were about four to five meters wide (Gosch & Stearns, 2008).

After Qin dynasty (221 to 206 BCE) the need for controlling a 3,880,000 square kilometre empire as well as ruling 50 million people and most importantly dispatching their soldiers to various outlying regions (similar to the earlier Persian system) urged Han emperors to develop their routes, and at the end of the second century CE, China had a network of about 36,000 kilometres of paved routes, compared to the Roman Empire who at the same time had about 78,000 kilometres of routes. The first documented travel of the Chinese to Central Asia, could have been based on the implementation of the 'Peace and Friendship' agreement between Xiongnu nomads of the grasslands in the north of China (today's Mongolia and some part of central Asia) and Emperor Gaozu (256 or 247 BCE –195 BCE) of Han dynasty (221–207 BCE) after the Gaozu's lost to the Xiongnu in the Battle of Baideng in 200 BCE.

Creation of the Silk Road

The Chinese 'grand historian' Sima Qian (145 to 135 BCE – 86 BCE) provides us with a distinctively Chinese account on the connection between east and west and the creation of the Great Silk Road. He highlighted the crucial period of Han dynasty and the importance of the risky decision made by emperor Wudi (reigned 140–87 BCE) by sending diplomatic mission to anti-Xiongnu nomads located in Sogdia (today's Uzbekistan and Persian empire satrapies) in Central Asia, led by official Zhang Qian (200-114 BCE) who was well-known for his 'great strength, determination, and generosity'. Convoyed by more than a hundred men, he was determined to change the hostility direction of two groups to his favor. As I have mentioned earlier the Chinese 'fast roads' built by Qin Shi Huang were mainly leading to the south and east and the only route towards the west according to Gosch and Stearns (2008) was probably just a trail. As Sima Qian did not clearly mention the main travel route that Zhang Qian and his followers had taken to Central Asia it is very difficult to identify the route that they traveled, however, Gosch and Stearns are 'confident' that the route they had taken in China is the same route that travellers today take from Xian to west. According to Strathern (1993, p. 15) they traveled to the western end of the Great Wall that had been built to defend the Chinese Empire from the northern barbarians and then they continued their journey towards the *Taklamakan* desert (meaning those who enter do not return or 'Go into this place and you won't come out alive'). They eventually found a way out of the

desert and reached the high passes of Tian Shan Mountains to Ferghana Valley. During his journey he was held captive for ten years by Xiongnu, but after he escaped from prison along with his wife (who was brought to Zhang Qian during his captivity) and their son Ganfu and probably other group members they continued their journey west. However, Strathern (1993) believes that Zhang Qian was not the first person to cross these mountains and certainly there were traders that had passed before him.

In the markets of Balkh in the Ferghana Valley and about 3500 kilometers from the Chinese capital, Zhang Qian saw bamboo canes and fabric from southwestern China. When he asked about how these Chinese goods reached here, they replied: 'Our merchants go to buy them in Shen-tu [India].' Therefore, it is the earliest evidence that shows a trade route leading from southwest China to India, and then on to Central Asia (Gosch & Stearns, 2008, p. 60). Zhang Qian returned to Han capital in 126 BCE and his reports brought firsthand information about military, politics, society and the economic situation of Central Asia to the Chinese Empire therefore, his expedition can be considered as a first step in formalization of trade and an exchange of ideas between east and west and eventually can be seen as the beginning of the Great Silk Road.

Central Asian oases (cities) such as Bactra (Balkh), Giaurkala (Merv), Ancient Samarkand and Shurbashat in Gerghana valley are well known from pre-Alexanderian times and these cities were connected to each other using the Persian Royal Road system. Therefore, according to Knobloch (2012) the opening time of trade between Persia, China and particularly India with Persia is unknown.

4.4.2. Religion, War and Faith along the Silk Road

This research is not about the history of the Silk Road as many social science scholars have distinctively written about the historical aspects of the Silk Road including religions, wars, conquests, trades and travels. However, without history, the Silk Road does not mean anything. It is history that kept the Silk Road alive for travelers so significantly that they begin their journeys these days on foot or bicycle in order not to miss any part of it. To place their feet on the footprints of the travelers of that time. Such as Buddhist monks (100 BCE), Arabs who conquered Persia (637-642 CE), China and Central Asia (751 CE), Alexander of Macedonia (331 BCE), warriors of the battle of Carrhae (53 CE), the Genghis Khan conquests (1220-1227) and finally famous travelers and missionaries such as Marco Polo who travelled to Asia (1260-1295).

One of the main results of the early movement on the Great Silk Road was the arrival of Buddhism, that was brought to China from India, Central Asia and Persia in about 50 BCE. And about two hundred years later monks in the capital of Han Dynasty Luoyang (25-220 A.D) originated from Persia, India and some parts of the Central Asia and established a center for translating Buddhist text into Chinese headed by Persian 'An Shigao'. This center basically became very successful from 200 CE in promoting Buddhism and was widely accepted by the majority of Chinese. Buddhism was not the only important religious commodity on the Silk Road, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and others were spread along the Silk Road too. In about 432 A.D and during a time when Romans Catholic Church banned Nestorianism in Europe, the idea was slightly transmitted along the Silk Road towards the east and Nestorian Stele found in 1625 is evidence of the establishment of the first Nestorian sect church in 638 A.D in Chang'an (Wintle, 2002). Furthermore, the message of Jesus was brought to China in about 635 A.D, when many parts of the world including large parts of Europe did not yet acknowledge it (ibid).

With the creation of the religion of Islam and the invasion of Persia by Arab Muslims (637-642 A.D) the heart of the Silk Road witnessed the greatest watershed in the history of the land and its people till that time. The fall of the Madaen (Capital of Sasanian dynasty) five years after the death of Prophet Mohammad and the defeat of the Persians in Nehavand five years later in 642 A.D which Arabs named *Fath al-Futuh* 'the supreme victory,' was the end of an era for the last Sasanian dynasty's king Yazdekhost III who escaped to the east with a large amount of treasure and gold and was killed soon after in 651 A.D.

With the fall of the Sasanian dynasty conversion began very quickly and Zoroastrian⁵⁷ temples were turned into Mosques (ex. Congregational Mosque of Isfahan, Iran) and *Allah* replaced *Ahura Mazda* as the creator of the world, while Satan assumed the role of *Ahriman* as the Arch-tempter (Yarshater, 2009, p. 5). Yarshater (2009, p. 6) explained the Sasanian dynasty's fall not only because of its weak state but because of social and cultural exhaustion and disappearance by stating:

[.....] not only dynasties, like plants or individuals, grow old and wither and die, but culture and societies, too, put on years, lose their vigour and become exhausted and disappear or else drift along as servile followers or

⁵⁷ Zoroastrianism was an ancient religion of Persians and the state religion of the Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sasanian empires.

clients of a younger, rising power or culture that establishes its domination and ascendance.

With the invasion of Persia, Arabs eventually reached the hearth land of Asia (Central Asia) and east of China. Buddhists who until that day were freely and strongly advertising and pursuing their faith saw their religion in frontier with a stronger religion that like a wave moving from west to east destroyed and damaged their symbols (including: paintings, stupas, monasteries and artworks). Therefore, the Chinese government in the tenth century placed a ban on all foreign religions (Irvin & Sunquist, 2001).

However, in the tenth century, Islam strongly reached the far northwestern province of China 'Xinjiang' the largest province-level unit in China and the crossroad of the Silk Road, which for centuries was the meeting point of various Eurasian people and cultures (Millward, 2007). According to the office of the state Council of China, in 2000 there were about 8.1 million religious believers in Xinjiang to which the majority of these people were Muslim with about 20,000 mosques and 29,000 religious personnel (in Mackerras, 2003, p. 118). However, the reason behind the acceptance of Islam so widely in Eurasian heathland is very much in relation to the trade, diplomatic missions, religious pilgrimage and missionary activities on the Great Silk Road that diverted the ideas of Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Manicheans, and Buddhists to one of the most thoroughly homogenized cultures in the world (Xinru, 2010).

According to Richard Foltz (2010), there are three major reasons behind the Islamification of Central Asia, which in concept is very much similar to Romanization of the west, these three reasons are (i) Political: as governments were supporting Islam it was easier for residents and traders to accept the government rules rather than being against it. (ii) Economic: the "Muslim dominance of commercial activity" had a great influence on the diversion to Islam. After Islam spread on the Silk Road, it was easier to get in contact with other traders if you were a Muslim rather than a Buddhist. (iii) Islamic law (Muslim assimilation): the newborn child of mixed marriages was raised as a Muslim based on Islamic law.

The nomadic people of the East 'Mongols', made significant socio-cultural, political, and economic changes in the thirteenth century in China, Russia, Central Asia, Persia, as well as eastern Europe such that the devastation of their invasion can

still be seen in the region. These archery and horsemanship warriors dominated over much of Asia led by Genghis Khan (1162 –1227). The Mongol invasion of Islamic states and the establishment of the Mongol Empire was also very much related to the trade on the Great Silk Road. However, the Mongol invasion (1218 – 1221) of Khwarezmid Dynasty (1077 to 1231) of Persia was not intentional in the first place. The incident began, when Genghis Khan sent a message seeking trade on the Silk Road. After reaching Europe and greeting the ruler of the Khwarezmid Empire, Genghis Khan in a letter to Ala ad-Din Muhammad stated that "I am master of the lands of the rising sun while you rule those of the setting sun. Let us conclude a firm treaty of friendship and peace" (Ratchnevsky, 1993, p. 120). In reply Ala ad-Din Muhammad of Khawarazmid Empire unenthusiastically accepted Ghangis khan's peace treaty. However, it did not last more than a year, when the first Mongol caravan reached the Khawarazmian great oasis of Otrar in 1218 along the Silk Road in south of today's Kazakhstan, Shah Muhammad ordered Inalchik Kair-khan the governor of the Otrar to execute the Mongol's Ambassador because he thought that spies were accompanying the Mongol caravan. Shah of Persia sent a package to Ghangis khan; a package that changed the course of history along the Silk Road and further, it was the head of Ghangis khan's Ambassador. Therefore, Ghangis khan sent an army of two hundred thousand warriors to invade Persia; it was a campaign of extreme sabotage, he ordered to burn every Persian town that did not submit into the ground including great and beautiful cities of Samarqand, Bokhara, Naishabour. When they had finished over a million men, women and children were dead and he built an empire four times the size of alexander's empire.

This incident marked the beginning of a great invasion and the largest bloodshed in the history of Persia. According to Edward Teller (1998) "More than half the population of the defeated country was killed, and Persia, the present-day Iran, has never recovered its great historic importance". During the Mongol Empire and their invasion, trade and travel was manipulated only by Mongols from China to Europe.

4.4.3. Decline of the Silk Road

The end of Mongol dominance of the Silk Road coincided with the end of the prosperity of this trade route, especially after the creation of the Ming dynasty and the collapse of the Mongol led Yuan dynasty in China. During the 1330s, a lack of coordination between the Mongolian rulers of Inner-Asia and China and their disability in addressing the damage of devastated famines and floods in China marked the end of the Mongol empire, which resulted in directing them into the steppes of northern China and Central Asia (Xinru, 2010).

At the same time Europeans were dealing with devastation of Plague (the Black death) that according to “most of scholars” emigrated by travelers, merchants, and armies along the Silk Road from steppe lands of Central Asia and China...” (Byrne, 2004, p. 7). Therefore, the fear that plague, had spread from the Silk Road all around Europe encouraged European powers to find an alternative route to import the required commodities from Asia.

Around the fifteenth century western navigators such as Ferdinand Magellan and Christopher Columbus began searching for an alternative sea route to ease the trade from South and South-East Asia. Simultaneously, on one hand, Ming dynasties in China did nothing to encourage traders to use the overland Silk Road; and on the other hand the instability in Persia and Central Asia was evidence for Europeans to find a reliable route. Also, the exchange of culture between Persians and Chinese was interrupted deeply as the Chinese became suspicious of Persians, Arabs and Muslims who collaborated with Mongol invaders (Olimat, 2013, p. 60).

However, one of the main factors involved in the decline of the Silk Road was the discovery of the sea routes by the Portuguese Vasco da Gama in 1479 that sailed from Europe to Africa and Indian Ocean in a voyage that took him about two years (Tagwerker, 2009). The emergence of the sea route was not only marked the dramatic decline of the trade on the overland Silk Road but it a starting point for Portuguese, Dutch, French and English to colonize Asia and Africa. The great oasis of the Silk Road such as Samarkand, which was known as a crossroad of the Silk Road, deteriorated in its importance and became uninhabited from 1720s for about sixteen years.

4.5. Geopolitics on the Silk Road

Despite being linked by the historic, culturally rich Silk Road, Asian and European countries along the great routes are divided by geopolitical barriers, economic conditions, sectarianism, cultural and religious differences, and ethnic conflicts. Today trade still plays a vital role in increasing traffic on the road, as Europe and Asia continue to strengthen their political and economic relations. For this reason, countries along the Silk Road should establish multilateral economic ties and that Central Asian states should be integrated into the global economic system (Yongnian, 2014).

In reality global and regional economic players, such as China, Iran, Turkey, the European Union and the United States, including global bodies like the UN, have been for years forging multilateral economic treaties and agreements to increase economic and political cooperation within and beyond the Silk Road (Karrar, 2010). That is, for major global economic players like China, the Silk Road plays an important role in boosting its ties with other Asian countries, and these ties, both political and economic, affect its international prestige and internal stability (Karrar, 2010). The same is true for Iran, which has been exerting efforts to expand its influence in the Middle East; these efforts have been established in multiple fronts, including resolving the tension over current nuclear issue with the permanent five members of the UN Security Council and Germany; Iran's presence in Syria and claim of victory over the sectarian proxy war funded by Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the west on one side and axes of Syria, Iran and Russia on the other side; and signals from United State on cooperation with Iran over current security situation in Iraq.

With its attractive geopolitical attributes, the Silk Road should be seen as an indispensable vehicle for power and economic expansion. In this regard both Europe and the United States have been trying to map their respective Silk Road strategies in accordance with their foreign policies (Fedorenko, 2013). For instance, the 'New Silk Road Strategy' for Central Asia developed by the United States carries political dimensions and components that are in line with the U.S. foreign policy, such as promoting democratic values and human rights (Fedorenko, 2013). However unlike Iran, which is within the boundaries of the Silk Road, the United States is located very far from the region and does not possess a substantial economic benefit from trade partnerships with Silk Road states (Fedorenko, 2013). Thus, the US-made New Silk

Road strategy could be seen as an attempt to exert its political and economic interests in the continent in order to counter Russia's ambition or China's increasing influence.

Current political tensions between the United States, China, Russia and Iran can potentially lessen traffic on the Silk Road or even cause military conflict in the future (Ruan, 2014). Like the United States, China also presented its own Silk Road plan aimed at boosting regional investment and trade along the Silk Road regions. However, China's initiative currently confronts serious threats due to geopolitical insecurity (Ruan, 2014). The on-going Ukraine-Russia conflict and other inter-state conflicts in the Middle East potentially undermine China's own plan. These geopolitical insecurities could hamper China's influence along the Silk Road. However, comparing to other initiatives, The Silk Road Economic Belt proposed by China has been the most effective development plan. For instance, in February 2016 the first cargo train completed 10339 km journey from East China to Tehran within 14 days, which is about 30 days less than a typical sea voyage between Shanghai and the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas. This development happened in only less than a month after the state visit of the President of China to Iran.

In 2008, Turkey, which is also determined to revive its old power, also came up with its own "Silk Road Project" that sought to simplify and combine customs formalities and to rebuild the traditional route as a bridge between Asia and Europe (Fedorenko, 2013). Turkey's own plan emphasizes the importance of logistics, security, transportation, and border control and custom procedures. However, Turkey's plan is being hampered by an on-going uprising, which emerged as a reaction to the Arab Spring that started in 2011 (Fosshagen, 2014).

According to Fedorenko (2013), while Russia did not produce its own Silk Road plan, the Russian Federation in the past worked to establish the Eurasian Union that sought to unite former Soviet territories such as Russia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. He added the U.S.-made 'New Silk Road' plan and Russia's dream of regional cooperation are at odds with each other. For the U.S. government, the Russia's plan aims to 're-Sovietize' former Soviet countries. This suggests that the Silk Road is too important an issue for the global powers in that it could potentially ignite political and military tension in the future.

As for Europe, its own Silk Road plan is covered by TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia), a global transport project that links the European

Union and 14 member countries (Iran, Romania, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Turkey, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan) (Fedorenko, 2013). This TRACECA initiative seeks to support and boost regional economy by building and offering effective transatlantic links between Asia and Europe.

It is evident that the Silk Road initiatives produced by global economic powers (e.g., the United States, Russia and Europe) were intended mainly to protect and serve their economic interests while ignoring the voice and interests of the traditional Silk Road countries. However, on a positive note, these ambitious and often conflicting Silk Road plans show that both regional players and outsiders are interested in increasing traffic on the historic route by developing transport and communication infrastructures and promoting economic integration, and Landlocked countries of the Central Asia are among those countries that will benefit greatly from this initiatives, specially China's Economic Belt initiative.

4.6. Revival of the Silk Road

In the past, ancient traders built interlinked overland caravan routes that served as one of the most significant achievements of the ancient civilizations in Asia, connecting east with west, and linking significant trading regions such as South Asia and Europe. Through this trading path, ancient Asian empires such as China and Persia established early trade and political ties with Europe. However, the term Silk Road is confusing, as early traders from China, Persia, Iraq and Central Asian territories exchanged many types of goods like perfumes, silk, spices, medicines, gold, cotton, precious stones, artistic items, tea and coffee, among many others. As early as 100 BCE China's Han dynasty and the Sassanids of Persia entered into a commercial treaty to facilitate trade and to strengthen cultural and customs ties (Olimat, 2013).

The ancient Sino-Iranian trading relations evolved into mutual political ties during the early 20th century. In 1911, the Persian government recognized the statehood of the newly established Republic of China, and in 1922 forged a diplomatic agreement with the Chinese government (Olimat, 2013). The Silk Road greatly evolved over the past centuries, as geopolitics in Asia and the rest of the world drastically changed particularly in the 20th century (Bonine et al., 2012). According to historians, the fall of the Ottoman Empire that led to the creation of many political

units and territories in the Middle East splintered cultural, trade and ecological ties that once united the regions (Bonine et al., 2012). Overland tourism along the Silk Road can reconnect East and West and facilitate free movements of tourists from Europe to Egypt and Africa, Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Caucasus, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, Bangladesh, Vietnam and China. In the past, the Silk Road facilitated overland tourism because, historically, it linked the Mediterranean with China and Persia. However today, the route pertains to overland travel between Europe and China, touching either in three paths (fig. 4.4)— the southern road (brown path), which links Turkey (Mediterranean), Iran, Pakistan, India and Nepal; the Trans-Siberian road (red path), which connects Russia and Kazakhstan (Hansen, 2012); and famous Central Asian path (gray path) which connects Mediterranean and Iran via Central Asia to China. The third path which is considered to be the main Silk Route has also been used as an alternative to the southern route (Spice route) due to drug trafficking, boarder conflict between Pakistan and India in Kashmir and presence of terrorists in Pakistan.

Figure 4.4 The Trans-Siberian Road, Central Asian Path and the Spice Route



Source: Google Map- The Author (2016)

As described earlier in the past the traffic on the road was affected by three major factors— 1) the religious conflict between Muslims and Christians, 2) wars and invasions specially by Mongols and Afghans, and 3) the advent of cheaper mode of transport via sea route around Africa that brought European ships. Over the past decades activities on the road were affected by global conflicts (the two World Wars and the Cold War) and regional events (Ferguson, 2002). Today’s globalization and multi-economic cooperation between the Silk Road countries could revive the great road, and one of the best revival methods is overland tourism. Overland tourism is a

very promising and feasible idea, as there are now a growing number of tour operators that offer competitive travel packages to tourists.

In its effort to promote tourism in Asia, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2014a) conducted an in-depth research into the Silk Road's historical sites and routes, and launched a major undertaking in 2013 that sought to offer policy guidance to tourist operators and destinations. However, there are issues and challenges that could affect overland tourism across the Silk Road, including, geopolitical barriers (border control, visa issues, accessibility and connectivity, transport, communications and other factors); and regional conflicts (e.g., the on-going 'War on Terror', 'Arab Spring', uprising in Turkey, the Syrian civil war, and the war in Iraq and presence of Salafist terrorists and anti-Shiasm unauthorized Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant or *Daesh* in Iraq and Syria), among others.

Despite geopolitical changes over the past two millennia, the Silk Road remains the most important road in mankind's history because it serves as the link between East and West. Also, the Silk Road served as the:

- Vital network of routes— both maritime and overland— dating back to 200 BCE.
- Centre of exchange of ideas, art, dialogue, and technology.
- Centre of ancient and even modern trade. In the past early traders used the road to trade spices, silk, furs, livestock, perfume, and glass as well as other goods.
- Meeting point of different religions— Zoroastrianism, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

According to the UNWTO (2014a), the growing economies in the Central Asia and the Middle East as well as increased outbound travel are two important factors that contribute to the growth of Silk Road overland tourism. Recent technological and infrastructure developments in these regions increased accessibility and connectivity, while some countries along the Silk Road built new destinations to entice global tourists. In partnership with the private sector and governments, the UNWTO (2014a) seeks to build the Silk Road brand as an effective tool for ensuring:

- Sustainable development
- Foreign direct investment
- International integration and economic cooperation

- Cultural exchange and understanding
- Poverty alleviation
- Promotion and protection of World Heritage sites

4.7. Tourism on the Silk Road

The Silk Road was not just a network of trade routes since it also represented the manifold benefits that emanated from cultural exchange. Consequently, a myriad of cultural, as well as historic sites remain along the length of the network of legendary routes (Swarbrooke & Horner, 2001). According to UNESCO (2014a), nowadays these routes are also referred to as heritage corridors, bear the potential to present diverse economic gains to the local communities, as well as cross-cultural interaction and trade by means of tourism development. In this context, the Silk Road's outstanding living and cultural heritage generates unique prospects for tourism.

It is therefore evident that the Member States along the Silk Road are in a distinctive situation to leverage from one another through work in partnership in several areas, for instance, product development, marketing, tourism routes and destination development, facilitation for travel and cross-border programs. Several international bodies and organizations including UN agencies, educational institutes, NGO's, UNWTO affiliate members and private sector stakeholders have in recent years embarked on the Silk Road heritage corridors project in order to advance contemporary tourism on the Silk Road. The program aims to develop a sustainable tourism scheme for the heritage corridors along the Silk Road. This is evident in the recent 2014/2015 Silk Road Action Plan. This action plan is designed to be a platform to promote the Silk Road as an established brand to facilitate and enhance the visitors' length of stay, to encourage tourism cooperation across the Silk Road regions and destinations, to increase tourism direct and indirect employment, to promote cultural pluralism and intercultural dialogue as well as intercultural cooperation aiming to strengthen social cohesion, solidarity and peace among member states.

Consequently, this program is neither new nor crude. The launch of the program dates back to 1993 and was conducted by 19 countries aiming to achieve three main long term objectives in areas of marketing and promotion, destination management and travel facilitation. The development of the Silk Road tourism programme continued with the adaptation of five official Silk Road declarations in

Samarkand (1994), Khiva (1999), Bukhara (2002), Astana (2009) and Shiraz (2010) based on three main principals:

- Regional cooperation among member states aiming for regional stability and prosperity;
- Promotion of a strong tourism brand by gathering key stakeholders from all levels;
- And development of a tourism in the region by focusing on Silk Road cultural and natural prosperity.

Since 2011 UNWTO advanced the Silk Road program to a number of Silk Road Action Plans (2010/2011, 2012/2013, 2014/15) aimed to drive “collaborative framework for marketing and capacity building, raising the profile of Silk Road tourism and driving development that is sustainable, responsible and internationally competitive.” (UNWTO, 2011, p. 3)

As the “Silk Road” was not a single road but many (network of routes) generally going from (East China Sea) to west (Adriatic Sea), it includes branches into southern Iran, the northern Eurasian and Mongolian steppe, and south over the Hindu Kush to the Indian subcontinent and China Sea. The participation of these countries in the program was important for development of the Silk Road tourism aiming to demonstrate the cultural and natural diversity of the Silk Road ‘region’^{58,59}.

Since Richthofen called this trade route the Silk Road, the name charmed and fascinated the Western imagination. Imagination that has created an image of the imperial cities, colourful people, endless steps and deserts, untouched nature and magnificent monuments and long distance travel. Based on this imagination many books, music and film festivals, video games, conferences, summits and exhibitions all around the world are planned and organized using a common theme “The Silk Road”. Exhibitions using a unified theme of ‘Traveling the Silk Road’ in different parts of the world, including American Museum of Natural History (New York, 2009-

⁵⁸ According to the above member states affiliated by UNWTO Silk Road Action Plan, many of the above countries did not exist at the time of the trade on the Silk Road; however, at that time these countries were part of the territories of Silk Road empires. Some parts of countries such as Albania, Croatia, Italy and Greece were part of the Republic of Venice and later countries such as Bulgaria and Saudi Arabia as well as Venice states became part of Ottoman Empire which were actively involved in the trade throughout sea and land routes. South and East Asian countries of Bangladesh, Republic of Korea, DPR Korea, Japan, and Indonesia were also part of the Maritime Silk Route connecting Europe to East China Sea.

⁵⁹For further details on Maritime Silk Road see: Kauz, R. (Ed.). (2010). Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea And, Li, Q. (2006). Maritime silk road.

2010), Natural History Museum (Los Angeles, 2013-2014); Cleveland Museum of Natural History in (Ohio, 2014); and National Museum of Australia (Canberra, 2012) was part of this imagination movement.

Music and dance festivals also performed greatly with the same theme “The Silk Road”. The most famous event in this regard is *The Silk Road Ensemble* by renowned cellist Yo-Yo Ma in collaboration with Aga Khan Music Initiative. Film and multimedia industries were also not apart from this movement; they have been greatly active in promoting the Silk Road since 1980s. For instance, documentary by NHK (National public Japanese television)⁶⁰; the Iranian movie industry was not apart from this movement. Iranian film maker Mohammad Bozorgnia directed a movie *The Maritime Silk Road*⁶¹ casted in the Persian Gulf and continued in Kanchanaburi Thailand and China. In this regard, the last attempt for promoting the Silk Road was carried out by David Baddiel of Discovery Channel in 2016⁶².

However, participation of direct international players in the development of tourism on the Silk Road dates back to the mid 1980s, when UNESCO developed the idea of restoring the Silk Road. In 1987, in the 24th General Conference of UNESCO a resolution was approved on a large-scale project entitled ‘Complex Research of the Silk Road: The Routes of the Dialog’ for the 1980s and 1990s, within a framework of the world decade of cultural development (1988-1997). The project included several large-scale land and marine international expeditions along the ancient trade route, seminars and symposiums, exhibitions, festivals, scholarly and popular publications, TV programs, films, etc. Russia, the Central Asian republics, Iran, Turkey, Italy and other countries hosted numerous events. In 1993, the UNWTO at a general assembly in Indonesia decided to create a long-term tourism project that would promote a special Silk Road tourism concept, which has been the centre of tourism development on the Silk Road till today.

Currently, international organizations and institutes in different fields are coordinating with each other to promote and sustainable tourism on the Silk Road,

⁶⁰ NHK produced a documentary series of *The Silk Road* in 38 countries in Asia and Europe, which took about 17 years for the planning, shooting and production.

⁶¹ The movie is based on the accounts of Persian sailor ‘Suleiman’ who was the first Persian sailor that written his maritime travel accounts and observations to China and India in compiled book, about his journey in ‘Pars Sea’, Indian Ocean, and China Sea in the mid ninth century (A. Wilson, 1927), however the movie displays that the Suleiman voyage happened in the eleventh century.

⁶² He traveled about 6500 km, for producing this documentary.

including natural, environmental and ecological organizations (UNEP), heritage conservation and protection organizations (ICOMOS and ICCROM), tourism organizations and institutes (UNWTO and WTTC), Educational cultural and research organizations and institutes (UNESCO and The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute) as well as economic and financial organizations (World Bank).

According to the United Nations, the mounting concern for social, environment, as well as resource equity resulted in the surfacing of the sustainable development concept. This may be described as development that fulfills the current needs without jeopardizing the capacity of upcoming generations to fulfill their needs (UN, 2001). Hence, one of the significant roles of international organizations is to provide comprehensive and regular workshops and training courses for member states tourism and security related authorities aiming to improve and develop tourism on the Silk Road and to provide an outstanding tourism experience for visitors. The training courses must carry on in different organizational levels, from ministerial to local, encompassing technical training, customer service focus, team building and international tourism characteristics (UNWTO, 2014a).

It is evident that tourism has developed into one of the highly vibrant economic sectors across the globe. In 2012 tourism represented approximately nine percent of the world's GDP, thirty percent of service exports and nearly one in eleven jobs (WTTC, 2012). According to UNESCO (2014a), a historic landmark for international tourism was attained in 2012 where approximately one billion tourists toured the globe in one year. Estimates project that by 2030, this number may increase to approximately 1.8 billion tourists. In order to advance product development, marketing, tourism routes and destination development, facilitation for travel and cross-border programs, state governments of the Silk Road Member States⁶³ have embarked on a visa facilitation policy. Despite the significant steps accomplished in recent decades towards facilitating tourist travel, there are yet several key opportunity areas towards improving visa procedures. The 2014 World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) report on tourism visa openness for the Silk Road countries offer a global strategy for travel facilitation across the world. This global strategy is complemented

⁶³ 33 Member States currently participate in the UNWTO Silk Road Programme: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, DPR Korea, Rep. Korea, Egypt, Georgia, Greece, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Romania, Russia, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan (as of July 2015).

with a detailed analysis of this significant theme along the Silk Road. Taking into consideration the size and sophistication of this topical route, encompassing a broad diversity of allies in different continents, it is essential to note that the facilitation of travel along the route through enhanced visa measures denotes a noteworthy challenge, and also a substantial opportunity to advance tourism development. According to UNESCO (2014a), the 2014 UNWTO report is a significant step towards creating a collaborative approach in regard to the Silk Road's travel facilitation. This contributes to the efforts that were initiated in 1994 when nineteen nations put into practice the Samarkand Declaration on Silk Road Tourism. The Samarkand Declaration advocated for the implementation of facilitation measures towards reducing travel barriers, in addition to stimulating the flow of tourist along the Silk Road.

4.7.1. Contemporary Visa Policies along the Silk Road

In order to effectively acquire the socio-economic benefits, that international tourism can potentially bring into a nation, it is essential to establish an environment that makes the nation competitive (UNWTO, 2013a). This would principally entail an environment that makes it uncomplicated to visit the country. In this perspective, visa policies continue being among the essential governmental formalities that have a direct impact on international tourism. It consequently follows that, the development of visa policies, as well as procedures, and other significant travel documents, for instance passports, are directly linked to the advancement of tourism. Taking into consideration the swift progress of international tourism during the past few decades, the functionality, quality, and reliability of visas, as well as other relevant travel documents have substantially evolved. While about half a century ago, international travel was profoundly impacted by currency exchange restrictions, customs regulations, as well as visa formalities, it is now evident that substantial progress has taken place in regard to travel facilitation. This has consequently led to a remarkable progress in the global tourism sector. In this context, noteworthy progress has been made in regard to the multilateral agreements, which reciprocally exempt all or some classifications of travelers or tourists from the visa requirement. On the other hand, in spite of the progress that has taken place in recent years, contemporary visa policies continue to be usually inefficient and insufficient, and are as a result acknowledged to

be an impediment to the growth of tourism.

According to the UNWTO (2014b), in the year 2013, approximately 73% of the globe's population required a visa before touring the Silk Road nations. A further 4% was allowed to request for eVisa, while approximately 11% could request a visa upon arrival into the Silk Road countries. The remaining 12% did not need a visa in order to travel to the Silk Road states (table. 4.3). In comparison to the global average, it is evident that the Silk Road states are increasingly inclined towards favoring the conventional paper visas, at 9% points higher than the global average. It is also apparent that Silk Road states are also inclined towards offering a lesser extent of visa exception, as well as fewer visas upon arrival to the countries than the global average. On the other hand, they are moderately higher than the average of the issuance of eVisas, at 1% above the international trend. The openness index of Silk Road states in 2013 stood at twenty-one points below the global average. However, positive transforms have been recorded over the years and in agreement with global trends, the up-and-coming economies of the Silk Road improved their openness index that stood at ten in 2008, to twenty one in 2013 (UNWTO, 2013a).

Table 4.3 World Population Affected by Visa Policies of the Silk Road (%)

World population affected by visa policies		Openness ^a	No visa	Visa on arrival	eVisa	Visa required ^b
		% of world population affected by visa policies				
2013	World	30	18	15	3	64
	Advanced economies ^c	26	24	1	3	72
	Emerging economies ^c	31	17	19	3	62
	Silk Road	21	12	11	4	73
	Advanced Silk Road Economies	25	25	0	0	75
	Emerging Silk Road Economies	21	9	14	4	73
2008	World	20	17	6	-	77
	Advanced economies	24	24	0	-	76
	Emerging economies	19	15	8	-	77
	Silk Road	11	9	4	-	87
	Advanced Silk Road Economies	24	24	0	-	76
	Emerging Silk Road Economies	10	7	5	-	88

Source: World Tourism Organization (2014)

According to the UNWTO (2014b), a look into the contemporary progression of visa formalities demonstrates that the strong international inclination towards the facilitation of visa can also be experienced within the Silk Road nations. Throughout 2008 to 2013, the proportion of the global population that needed a visa before travelling to Silk Road nations reduced from 87% to 73%, which is a significant improvement that corresponds to the worldwide average. This important development

in the facilitation of visas was for the most part a result of the improved acceptance of visa on arrivals. Taking this into account as a policy progress that exceeds the international average, the visa on arrival improvement accounted for roughly 90% of all changes that accrued in the course of that period, which was 20% above the global average in the same period. Upgrading of visa policies throughout this period along the Silk Road had a tendency to be led by its up-and-coming economies. From 2010 to 2013, 28 of the 31 Silk Road states upgraded their policies regarding visa facilitation. As table (4.3) demonstrates, in this period, the Silk Road nations upgraded a sum of 724 visa policies for residents of other Silk Road nations, as well as the rest of the globe. Nine Silk Road nations substantially facilitated travelling for tourists from fifteen or more source markets from 2010 to 2013 through transforming their conventional visa procedures, paper visas to visas on arrival, eVisa, or through absolute eradication of visa requirements. These nine nations introduced 650 policy improvements, in addition to contributing the 724 overall improvements executed along the Silk Road in that period. In this perspective table (4.3) represents about fourteen percent all improvements executed globally.

Table 4.4 Accessibility Matrix for Movement on the Silk Road States Based on Visa Freedom

		Member State Nationals Freedom of Movement														
		Afghanistan	Armenia	Azerbaijan	China	Georgia	Iran	Iraq	Kyrgyzstan	Mongolia	Syria	Tajikistan	Turkey	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	
Member States Openness	Afghanistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Armenia	0	0	3	0	3	2	0	3	2	0	3	2	2	3	23
	Azerbaijan	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	3	2	0	3	20
	China	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	5
	Georgia	0	3	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3	3	3	24
	Iran	0	2	3	2	2	0	0	0	2	3	0	3	0	0	17
	Iraq	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	5
	Kyrgyzstan	0	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	0	3	21
	Mongolia	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	Syria	0	2	2	0	2	2	1	2	2	0	2	3	2	2	22
	Tajikistan	0	3	3	2	3	2	0	3	2	2	0	2	2	3	27
	Turkey	0	3	3	0	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	0	3	3	32
	Turkmenistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Uzbekistan	0	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	10
		0	19	24	7	26	11	6	20	18	8	18	21	13	21	
		Visa Before dep.		0		Visa on Arrival		2								
		Conditionally accepted		1		No visa		3								

Source: The Author (2014)⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Data from <http://www.iatatravelcentre.com/passport-visa-health-travel-document-requirements.htm> [Accessed on 15th January 2014].

Besides, according to visa requirement and passport regulations from IATA Travel Information Manual ⁶⁵, among the nationals of 14 Silk Road states located on the Central Asian Path of the Silk Road⁶⁶, Turkish and Uzbek nationals have the most freedom of travel for visiting other Silk Road states, while nationals of Afghanistan have the least freedom to travel for visiting other Silk Road member states. On the other hand, result of the matrix (table 4.4) suggest that the most open Silk Road state in case of visa requirement (on the Central Asian path) is Turkey and Tajikistan for passports of other Silk Road states, while Afghanistan and Turkmenistan are the least open states on the path (table 4.4).

4.8. Summary

The Silk Road is considered as one of the oldest overland trade routes or perhaps the oldest in the world. The establishment of the main route which stretches from Xian in China to Central and western Asia to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean dates back to 126 BCE, when the first Chinese caravan traveled over the Pamirs to sell their gold and silk to the people in the west (Elisseeff, 2000). However, the formation of the route or perhaps some part of the route dates back far beyond the first century BCE. As according to Kuzmina (2008) the procurement of the Silk Road began as far as the Bronze Age as trade was well established in 2000 BCE Mesopotamia. All part of the Silk Road were not established at the same time, as the route was connected to the Persian Royal Road (est. about 500 BCE) when it reached the Persian Empire territories.

While the route had its ups and downs, it continued its existence not only for trade, but it became an intellectual and religious passage way for Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Islam. The route also became a great mean for conquests and wars, from Alexander of Macedonia conquests of Persia to Mongol invasions and consequently the first usage of biological warfare and spread of Black death in Europe.

These movements during time and space created material and immaterial products that encouraged people to visit these ‘forgotten spaces’. In case of the Silk

⁶⁵ <http://www.iatatravelcentre.com/passport-visa-health-travel-document-requirements.htm> [Accessed on 15th January 2014].

⁶⁶ Among UNWTO Silk Road States Programme, 14 of them are located on the ‘Central Asian path’. These countries also historically were on the main Silk Road see Figure (4.5).

Road, many different type of heritage, in vairous scales (from urban spaces (Samarkand, Isfahan) to individual heritage (caravanserais)) that once were the centers for political, social and economic interactions lots their importance and became either abandoned or deteriorated in their importance. This deterioration was mostly due to establishment of maritime trade, wars, diseases and urban modernization and regeneration. One of the major consumers of heritage is tourism in general and special interest tourists in particular, and tourism based routes are introduced as a mean that can potentially direct these special interest tourists to these forgotten space. And therefore, tourism based routes, can achieve sustainability in less developed areas with valuable cultural capitals, especially for special interest tourists who spend more money to pursue their precise interest (Lourens, 2007; Meyer, 2004).

However, the concept of tourism based routes for promoting tourism in remote areas with cultural significance not only needs internally planning, but when the route crosses several geopolitical boundaries, the planning must have carried out by diplomatic negotiations between governments and international bodies.

The modern Silk Road, which reconnected Asia and Europe, currently confronts a number of geopolitical challenges. While countries like Iran relaxed their visa polices (citizens of a large number of nationalities can obtain visa on arrival) and heavily invested in tourism infrastructures the on-going civil wars in the Middle East that engulfed countries along the Silk Routes like Syria and Iraq might hold up trade and tourism developments in the connected regions. For instance, China already felt that the continuing conflict between Russia and Ukraine over Kremlin's controversial annexation of Crimea could pose a serious threat to its new Silk Road plan (Ruan, 2014).

Indeed, geopolitical instability in countries along the Silk Road could potentially hamper the plans to rebuild the historic routes that facilitated trade between eastern and western traders in the ancient era. China's goal is to establish a railway reviving the old Silk Road, connecting east to Europe overland once again. However, with the enduring geopolitical challenges, particularly the civil wars in Syria and Iraq, confronting the Silk Road, Iran, China and other countries must continue working bilaterally to encounter and address the current situation of the region as any ethnic or political violence or even possible regime change in any country along the Silk Road could hamper inter-state trade and important developments. Thus, to increase trade

and tourism activities on the Silk Road, concerned countries like Russia, China, Iran, Turkey and Central Asian countries need to establish multilateral economic cooperation specially after Iran's nuclear deal with 5+1 (see next chapter) and help resolve enduring geopolitical challenges, particularly the presence of *Daesh* in the region and consequently the movement of immigrants from the region towards Europe which currently is extending the security issue beyond the Middle East itself.

Chapter Five:

Route Tourism and Iran

5.1. Introduction

Because of its vast area, long history and diverse culture Iran has numerous tourist attractions. Many of these attractions are located in the most remote areas of the country. The use of these attractions has greatly been affected by economic, political and security challenges that the country have has faced in the last four decades or so. These challenges and issues were not only produced internally, but, being the largest Shia country in the Islamic world bounded by mostly Sunni countries in one of the most highly militarized region in the world⁶⁷, Iran has been greatly affected by geopolitical instability executed by neighboring countries as well as trans-regional powers along with Iran's foreign policy towards the region and the world.

During the last three decades, Iran's tourism industry has experienced unstable times. The Islamic revolution in 1979; the imposed eight years' war with Iraq (1980-1988); war in Iran's neighboring countries of Kuwait and Iraq; "War on Terror" in Afghanistan and Iraq; Iran's nuclear issue; the story of unilateral US-imposed sanctions, United Nation Security Council and European Union sanctions and the current Israeli perception of Iranian threat 'Iranophobia' are among remarkable political issues that have greatly affected the Iranian tourism industry.

Iran as a combination of Persia (rooted from Zoroastrianism) and Islam is considered as a complex and often a country that was shaped from an opposed yet integrated ideologies. This contrasting yet integrated image on one hand produces an image of 'Persia', a country with rich pre and post Islamic built heritage, poetry, literature, art and the great culture. However, on the other hand Iran in the eyes of many, projects a country with deep Islamic ideological beliefs, theocratic system, strong identity narratives of Shi'ism, anti-western culture and generally a country with dominant Islamic ideology in the official and public spheres (Mozaffari, 2014). Before the Islamic revolution, the major focus of the officials was to project the Persian image to promote Iran, especially for the tourism purposes. After the revolution the image of

⁶⁷ See Global Militarization Index 2013 by Bonn International Center for Conversion.

Persia was mostly interpreted by the officials as a sign of pre-Islamic Iran and the sign of tyranny of the past governments specially Pahlavi dynasty (see chapter 3). Also, propaganda from the western media produced an imaginative picture of Iran as a country which pursues the construction of a nuclear bomb and poses a great threat to the world.

While this propaganda did not emerge on its own, some contradictory official speeches, from both Iran and the West, especially during Ahmadinejad presidency, sparked a negative image of Iran.

However, this interaction and contention between these two images has formed Iran as one of the highly intensive countries in case of number of cultural heritage attractions. Some of these attractions are located in the remote areas of the countries or en-route between cities, such as caravanserais. Many of these built heritage are products of the movement of people of 16th and 17th century, which were constructed relatively in equal distances between cities to shelter travelers and traders. While lack of conservation greatly harmed many of these monuments and transformed them into ruins, some of them still remain in acceptable (perhaps usable) condition. Today, tourism based routes in Iran can greatly benefit the country's economy as a whole by directing tourists visiting remote and countryside area's monuments. Iran as one of the main contributors in world civilization in the center of the ancient trade route known as the Silk Road can play an important role in sustaining tourism on this ancient cultural exchange route (UNWTO, 2014). Therefore, Iran tourism industry with the help of UNWTO and UNESCO can promote tourism on the Iranian part of the Silk Road and therefore, on one hand built heritage in the remote area can gain attention of the authorities and tourism trustees of the country for conservation and rehabilitation and on the other hand it can greatly contribute to the economy of less developed areas of the country.

First, the chapter investigates the current status of the Iranian tourism industry by analyzing current political and geopolitical issues followed by unfolding the country's international tourist arrivals before and after the Islamic revolution 1979. Second, Iran's current status in developing route tourism and in particular heritage route for attracting tourism will be extensively discussed. This section will centrally have focused on the role Iranian government in general and ICHHTO and its subdivisions such as 'The Fund for Cultural Heritage' for establishing and promoting

heritage routes in Iran. Third, Iran's role and involvement in promoting tourism on the Silk Road will extensively be examined; this section will be followed by analyzing different aspects of international Silk Road initiatives in regards to Iranian participation on the Silk Road. Last, in this section modeling movement of tourists on the Silk Road will be examined. In this part a case study of special patterns of sample of 175 tourists traveling the Silk Road with an organized tour will be investigated which is including tourists' itinerary of travel, mode of transportation, type of accommodation and their perceived barriers on the Silk Road.

5.2. Tourism in Iran

Despite the high potential to attract tourism and the rich features that Iran holds in 2012, this country only contributed 0.35% of International tourism world arrivals (The World Bank, 2014). This in itself is an indication on how Iran's tourism industry is behind in terms of achieving such potential. The gap between reality of Iran's tourist arrival and its potential can illustrate in many factors including, country's current political situation, poor tourism infrastructure to facilitate travelers, nonexistence of efficient tourism policy (Alavi & Yasin, 2000), lack of information and systematic advertising and marketing as well as state religious and ideological restrictions for non-Muslim travelers including Islamic dress code and prohibition of alcoholic beverages after the Islamic Revolution.

As Weidenfeld and Ron (2008) stated, religion has a great influence on tourist decision-making process to choose a destination. Therefore, beside of security and geopolitical issues, one of the main elements that became an obstacle in reducing the gap is potentially Iran's theocratic structure. After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, "Islam became an inseparable element of the country's socio political structure" and *Shariah* law became the civil and criminal legal system of the country which directly and indirectly influenced daily life of Iranians (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012, p. 805). Therefore, it can be argued that based on the limitations, restrictions and single-dimensional state view on culture as an Islamic dominance, minimizing the gap between potentials and realities in tourism is hard to achieve.

However, it is also important to mention that Shia clerics in general and Iranian people supporting theocracy in the country believe that the state religion is not a restriction but it is considering faith, bliss and the eternal life of the people. This is far

beyond the materialistic view of secular governments while, some Iranians are eager to ease the restrictions as it was reflected in green movement after 2009 election (Addis & Katzman, 2009).

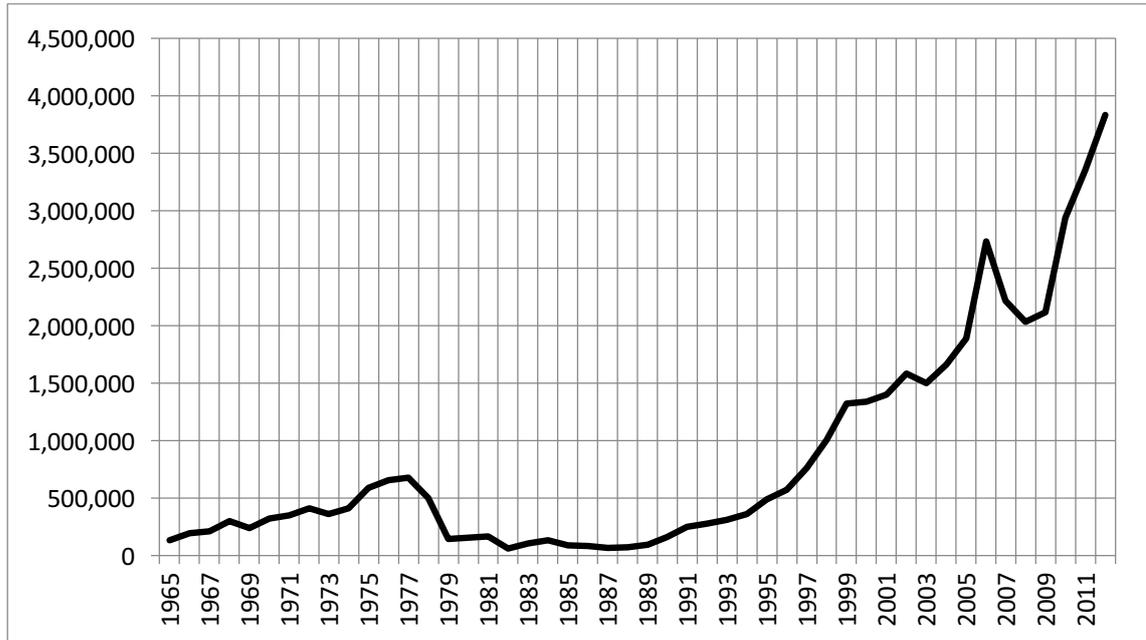
The country's tourism has faced many ups and downs regarding the number of international visitors in the past four decades (fig. 5.1). Before the Islamic revolution, Iran was among the leading countries in the region in attracting international tourists and witnessed rapid growth in its tourism sector. However, after the Islamic revolution the country's tourism development hampered by several factors including the revolution itself, Iran-Iraq war, security issues in the Middle East as well as state preferences on economic use of oil and gas instead of promoting tourism (Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010).

Table 5.1 International Visitor Arrivals to Iran (1977-1990)

Year	Number of Arrivals	Change growth rate %
1977	657,930	-
1978	678,157	3.1
1979	502,278	-25.9
1980	147,532	-70.6
1981	153,612	4.1
1982	167,473	9.0
1983	68,595	-59.0
1984	107,473	56.7
1985	131,308	22.2
1986	89,425	-31.9
1987	85,801	-4.1
1988	68,426	-20.3
1989	70,740	3.4
1990	93,950	32.8

Source: Iran Touring and Tourism Organization (ITTO) (2002) in Alipour and Heydari (2005)

According to UNWTO (2006a) just before the Islamic revolution in 1978 the number of International visitors hit 695,000 almost tripling the 243,000 international visitors in 1970. However, this growth did not last long as in 1983 just three years after the Islamic revolution and at the beginning of the eight years war with ba'ath regime of Iraq the number of tourist arrival declined dramatically and reordered an all-time low of just 62,373 tourists (table 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Iran International Tourism Arrival from 1965-2012

Source: From 1965-1994 UNWTO (1995) and from 1995-2012 World Bank (2014)

After one of the deadliest and longest conventional wars recorded between regular armies of developing countries in the twentieth century (Hiro, 1991), both countries accepted the ceasefire on the 20th October 1988, and the government of Iran moved towards the reconstruction of the country. The first tourism development act after the establishment of the Islamic republic of Iran was adopted about three years after the war in 1991 enforcing the government to focus on promoting Iran's historic and cultural heritage, with emphasis on its Islamic-Iranian values aiming to achieve unity among Islamic nations over tourism. Also, in order to attract international tourists, embassies and diplomatic missions were advised to facilitate visa process; another factor that was highlighted in this act was to encourage investors to participate in tourism development by providing bank loans and other facilities. This development act successfully aided improvement to tourism arrivals to 488,908 in 1995 and 1,320,905 by 1999. However, the number of tourist arrivals to Iran in 1999 was only 1,320,905 thousand, which is less than one fifth of one percent of the total global tourism market (UNWTO, 2013b).

Referring to the Islamic Republic of Iran's Five-Year Development Plans (IFYDP) the major priority of governments was socio-cultural, ideological and economic reform in the country. However, promoting Iran's rich touristic attractions that could potentially generate significant revenue was not an immediate

priority. As in the first, second and third IFYDP, tourism development was not considered as an economic and industrial activity.

Iranian Youth generation (about 66% of Iran's 60 million people were under 30 years old (Census, 1996) needs for reform in country's economy, foreign policy, civil activities and better standard of living directed Iranian people towards ballot boxes, which resulted in massive victory of Saied Mohammad Khatami (1997 – 2005). His movement became a symbol of reform in Iran and tourism as one of the main economic and cultural activities also benefited from this movement.

In 1998 Khatami introduced the idea of 'Dialogue Among Civilizations' at the United Nation General Assembly. His main aim was to respond to the post Cold War theory, 'Clash of civilizations' and challenge the theory of Huntington's by using 'dialogue' as opposed to 'clash' (Holliday, 2013, p. 111). Later in 2001, the United Nation named this year the Year of Dialogue Among Civilizations.

By the end of the twentieth century and after the announcement of 'Dialogue Among Civilizations' by former President Khatami, Iran's image as a hostile, unwelcoming country gradually moved towards a country that now talked about "the exchange of professors, writers, scholars, artists, journalists and tourists" to break down what he called "the wall of mistrust" between the United States and Iran. (Khatami, January 7, 1998). He also invited Iranian migrants and the diaspora to be reconnected to their motherland and revisit their country as well as highlighting Iranians as a median between Iran and western civilization as well as "preserving the Iranian nation" (Holliday, 2013, p. 111).

Iran is connected to all Iranians... One of the important ways of expansion of the Iranian-Islamic culture and civilization was these very emigrants through Iranian trade and tourism, which has travelled to different points of the world, has truly brought our cultural heritage to other nations.

(Khatami, 1997 in Holliday, 2013, p. 111)

During Khatami's presidency restrictions for U.S travelers wanting to visit Iran eased and the number of western tour operators working with Iran as well as the number of western tourists planning to visit Iran in the year 2000 and 2001 increased dramatically. However, this growth once again did not last long as after September 11, 2001, the attack on the United States and consequently the start of the 'War on Terror', tourism throughout the world faced a huge decline, especially in the Iranian neighboring countries -Iraq and Afghanistan. This is known as 'neighborhood effects'

(Steiner, 2010).

According to UNWTO (2002), the Middle East faced 30% decline on western tourist arrivals and Iran was not an exception. As war on terror was happening, George W. Bush in his State of the Union on 29th January 2002, called Iran along with Syria and North Korea an “Axis of Evil”. The use of this term had a tremendous impact on Iran tourism as well as all the efforts that Khatami made to reestablish the connection between Iran and the West.

It also stopped Iran cooperation with United States over Afghanistan. According to Leverett and Leverett (2013) a senior fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, at the Brookings Institution in his interview with Bernard Gwertzman from Council on Foreign policy highlighted “I think at least some Iranian officials were hoping could get leveraged into a broader strategic dialogue, but that channel was effectively foreclosed when President Bush in his 2002 State of the Union address labeled Iran as part of the ‘Axis of Evil.’”

Khatami faced great pressure from Iranian conservatives to stop the negotiation on Iran’s nuclear activities with three European powers. However, as the tourism sector in Iran provides 9% of total-employment in its young highly demanded society the importance of keeping this sector functional and alive was critical for the government (Vafadari & Cooper, 2010). Therefore, in 2004 to promote tourism as a major contributor in Iran’s economy as well as highlighting the importance of Cultural heritage attractions, Iran touring and tourism organization (ITTO) combined with Iran cultural heritage organization (ICHO) resulted in the establishment of Iran cultural heritage and Tourism organization (ICHTO) directed by the vice president of Iran. However, the problems that Iranian tourism development face are neither new nor simply related to Iran’s current tourism policies, but have close coherence with the political environment and foreign policies (Euromonitor, 2013). The external sanctions placed and the propaganda campaign launched on Iran on one hand and a lack of knowledge on modality of policy-making in tourism and harmful attitude of some local officials on the other hand are issues that Iran’s tourism sector currently faces (Morakabati, 2011).

These elements not only negatively affected the tourism industry but also affected the reform movements in Iran, which resulted in the victory of ‘hardliner’ Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as the 6th president of the Islamic republic of Iran. In his first

attempt on foreign policy he revoked the seals of Iran's nuclear facilities which caused a rise in the tension with the west. His idea of 'the world without Zionism', called for 'move' of Israel from Palestinian territories to Europe where they 'belong' and his controversial statements on the 'Holocaust' resulted in strong condemnations of the European Union, the United States and the United Nations.

His controversial speeches in the United Nation and other international bodies and forums provided space for stronger propaganda and redeveloped the idea of Anti-Iranianism which is rooted from the Hellenistic approach of barbarians and early Islamic approach of '*Ajam*' and, current Israeli perception of Iranian threat of 'Iranophobia' (Ram, 2009). On another front, Iran faced the toughest sanctions that has been imposed on any country for "breach of non-proliferation norms" led by 1979 unilateral US-imposed sanctions and continued by the United Nation Security Council and the European Union (Kerr & Xu, 2014, p. 87). Also, after the 2009 presidential election protests and expulsion of foreign journalists from Iran, the closing of Iranian embassies in the United Kingdom and Canada and in return in Iran and with the travel warnings issued by different countries mostly western to use caution to visit Iran, the country's tourism sector faced great decline in the number of international tourist arrival in general and western tourist arrival in particular.

Therefore, based on political issues of Iran, propaganda and Iranophobia, lack of infrastructure needed to support and facilitate tourism activities and the absence of systematic tourism policies, despite its rich cultural heritage, Iran has not been so successful in attracting international tourism into its soil. The accuracy of the number of International tourists who visited Iran during Ahmadinejad's presidency is an issue, feeding debate between tourism scholars and Iran's tourism related organizations. They basically argue that besides new ideas and plans from scholars and practitioners in the field of tourism, the lack of comprehensive system and satellite data for international tourist arrivals is obvious. ICHHTO and Iran's statistic center has not yet been able to provide comprehensive statistical data regarding the position of tourism receipt in Iranian GDP as well as 'income distribution' and 'generating income for local communities' in case of Iran's international tourist receipt (According to Morteza Rahmani-Movahed, deputy of the ICHHTO, 2014 in his interview with Iran student agency, 21 July 2014). It is important to mention that with consideration of accuracy in statistics published by ICHHTO and Iran's statistic center

during that particular period, the number of international tourist arrival is far behind Iran's '20-Year Vision' document that targets 20 million international tourists by 2025.

Once again need for change in Iran took Iranian to the ballout boxes on the 14th June 2013, which resulted in victory of moderate Dr. Syaed Hassan Rouhani as the seventh president of Iran. Rouhani, in his press conference one day after Election Day, “reiterated his promise to recalibrate Iran’s relations with the world. He promised greater openness and to repair the country’s international standing, offering greater nuclear transparency in order to restore international trust ” (Cited in Solana, 2013). He appointed Javad Zarif as the country’s foreign minister (Former Iranian ambassador to the UN and a PhD in International Relations from the University of Denver) as a chief nuclear negotiator. Just about two months after Zarif began his ministerial work, on the September 2013, he met with U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and marked the first direct contact between the highest diplomats of United States and Iran after the Islamic revolution. Their tense negotiations along with highest level diplomats of the P5+1 and the European Union for more than a year and a half resulted in an international agreement (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) on the nuclear program of Iran signed in Vienna on 14 July 2015. As with the establishment of the agreement war teats were fading, and tourism as a sensitive industry to security and stability issues began finding its place again in Iran as according to Iran’s vice-president for tourism, Masoud Soltanifar “bright days lie ahead for the country’s tourism industry [...] no other industry in Iran will see a bigger boost than tourism as the result of this deal” (Cited from Dehghan, 2015). According to Euromonitor (2015), currently number of tourists and visitors is increasing steadily and there is rising interest from international tourists to visit Iran. beside, international hotel chains are also opening their hotels in Iran after about 37 years (ibid).

On the other front, just days after the agreement on the 25 July 2015 the British Government changed travel advice to Iran and have declared almost all of Iran safe for travel. Less than a month later both the embassy of Iran in London and the British Embassy in Tehran reopened.

However, while Soltanifar in an interview with Associated press highlighted that a “tsunami of tourists” is on the way, and called for preparation and considered tourism in post-sanction era as a “driving engine” that pushes the country out of recession (Ali Akbar Dareini, 2015), there are many geopolitical issues in the region

including presence of *Daesh* in Iraq and Syria, Turkey–PKK conflict, insecurity in Pakistan, ongoing war in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the Iran-Saudi proxy war in Yemen and Syria which are considered greatly as an obstacle to tourism growth in the region in general and in Iran in Particular.

I would like to start the next section by examining the role of Iranian ICHHTO in relation to the tourism routes in general and Pardisan project in particular. This project is related to promoting tourism in the country using heritage and several sites along the Iranian Silk Road as well as other Iranian heritage (fig. 5.2).

5.3. Iran Route tourism, Heritage and ICHHTO

As it has been described earlier, the high number of heritage attractions of Iran has encouraged the government to provide a strategy for protecting these monuments and to enhance tourism capability in the country by privatizing heritage. One of the key steps in regards to this strategy was taken in 2005 with the establishment of the Revitalization and Utilization Fund for Cultural Heritage. The fund was established in accordance to Article 114 of Iran’s fourth five Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (2004-2009) (See Appendix-1 for Article 114).

With the establishment of the Fund, a variety of issues related to policy making, technical and financial in an administrative system that has been basically centralized and dominated by the government and public sector organizations changed its direction towards privatization. However, the first efforts in privatization of cultural heritage were taken into practice in the year 2000, by introducing a project for supervision and rehabilitation and adaptation of cultural heritage sites to new uses and function. The project was later named as *Pardisan*. The project was backed by national budget law (Clause 36, sub-clause ‘H’) and under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. The aim of establishment of *Pardisan* project was:

to buy or rent caravanserais, old mansions and other historical buildings, and cooperate with legal (private companies) and private entities (persons) to rehabilitate and convert the above mentioned structure to accommodate a variety of facilities for hospitality and tourism ... with a view to promoting and supporting domestic and foreign tourism.

(in Misra, 2009, p. 264)

However, this project was inspired by the idea of adaptive reuse of Madar-e

Shah Caravanserai in Isfahan in the summer of 1958. This caravanserai, which was associated with the 17th century madrasa, was transformed into a luxury hotel⁶⁸.

According to Ardalan (1986) in 1973 there were 600 major historical sites on the preservation list and out of these sites 50% were actively under repair. Although, the head of the *Pardisan* project in an interview⁶⁹ stated that before the Islamic revolution there was only one building that was conserved for another function and could continue its life; and that is the *Ghavam* house in Tehran, which now functions as a museum. Other buildings and sites were conserved for the sake of protection and not rehabilitation.

The main purpose of the project was to revitalize the historic monuments rather than just restoring them. By 2002 *Pardisan* project had 36 houses, 5 *hammams*, 8 caravanserais, 3 garden pavilions, 2 *timche*⁷⁰, 8 edifices and historical gardens transferred under its ownership and authority (Misra, 2009). However, according to the *Pardisan* Map (unknown date) only 33 *Pardis* historical properties are identified. For the project to enrich its objectives, according to Misra (2009), four major criteria were followed:

- 1) Identifying the important historical regions and the correct selection of current tourist destinations based on geographical location.
- 2) The accessibility of the properties in regards to the main road.
- 3) Natural advantages.
- 4) Existence of important infrastructure.

The main aim of this project was to rehabilitate and revitalize urban and roadside historical monuments and sites including caravanserais, *hammams*, teahouses, mosques, forts and other historic relics to use as accommodation, restaurants, prayer rooms, spa services, tourist information offices, clinics, handicraft shops and other facilities to cater tourists along the major Iranian Silk Roads. In this regard, five tourist corridor routes were identified and prioritized based on the importance of the monuments along the route as well as tourist traffic on the route (fig. 5.2). The priorities were as below:

⁶⁸ See chapter 5 and 6 for more details on this caravanserai.

⁶⁹ Interview held with www.Memarnet.com, an Iranian specialist architectural website. <http://www.memarnet.com/node/2951#> (in Farsi) retrieved on March 3rd 2015.

⁷⁰ Meaning 'small caravanserai using only for trade and there is no space for accommodating travelers, generally associated with grand bazaars of Iranian cities.

- Route 1) *North to South Route*,

Begins at the Bazargan border with Turkey, in Western Azarbaijan province and passing through Maku, Tabriz, Zanjan, Ghazvin, Tehran and Qom, where the route is divided. The first route goes towards Isfahan, Shiraz and ends in Bushehr (Persian Gulf). The second route leads to Kashan, Ardestan, Nain, Ardekan, Yazd and ends in the city of Kerman in Kerman province.

- Route 2) *East to West Route*,

Begins at the Khosravi border point from Iraq and the border town of Qasr-e-Shirin in Kermanshah Province, passing through the cities of Kermanshah, Hamedan, Qazvin, Tehran, Garmsar, Semnan, Shahrud, Sabzvar to the religious city of Mashhad, and onward to Sarakhs, the border access point is from Turkmenistan and about 105 km north of Iranian border to Afghanistan.

- Route (3) *Caspian Coastal Route*,

Starts in Ardebil and follows the Aras River (the border with Azerbaijan) and crosses the Aras Free Zone, to Astara, Bandar Anzali, Lahijan, Chalous, Babol, Bandar Turkeman, Gorgan, Gombad, Bojnurd and ends in the holy city of Mashhad.

- Route (4) *Persian Gulf Route*,

The route begins at the end of the north south route in the city of Bushehr and ends in the most important port of the country (Bandar Abbas).

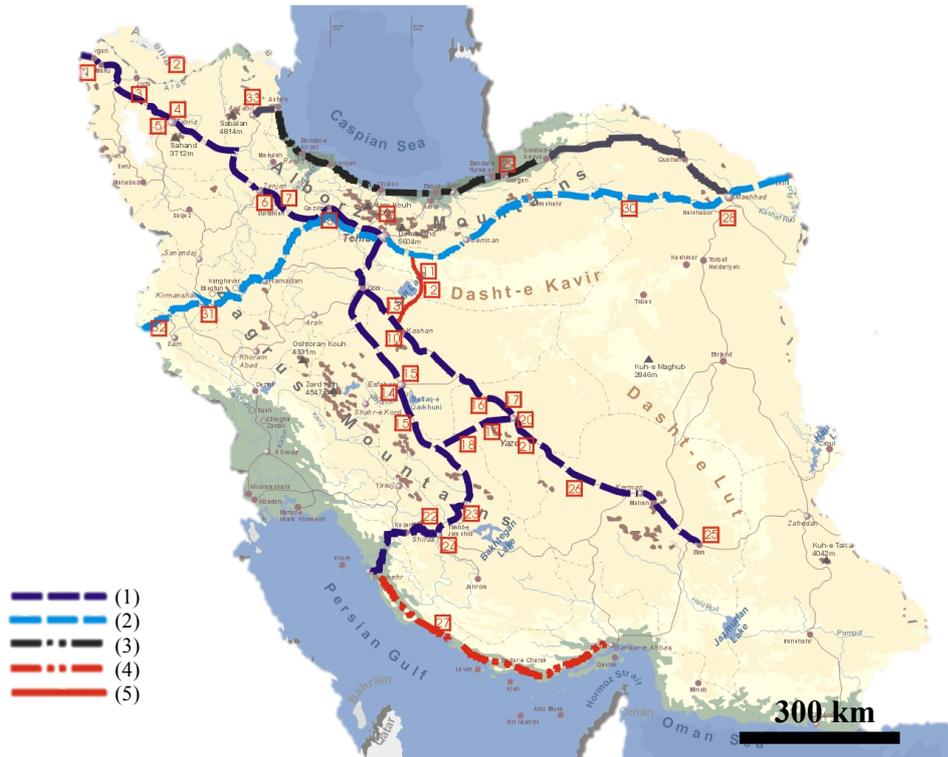
- Route (5) *Northern Desert Route*,

The route follows the Safavid-paved Silk Road, Begins in Tehran and ends in Kashan, the significance of this route is the existence of invaluable caravanserais along the route; Shah Abbas used the route in his 1601 pilgrimage to Mashhad⁷¹.

In the first month of 2014 and with the establishment of ICHTO the *Pardisan* project was transferred under the authority of ICHHTO implementation arm, -Iran Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC)-, however, ITDC was responsible for the development of tourism infrastructures in the country and basically the conservation and protection of cultural heritage monuments and sites were not its specialized area. Therefore, in that period no significant development occurred in *Pardisan* project.

⁷¹ See chapter 6 for more details on Shah Abbas pilgrimage route to Mashhad.

Figure 5.2 *Pardisan* Project Routes and its primary Built Heritage Properties



Source: Modified after The Fund (No Date)

The *Pardisan* project integrated with the fund formed in 2005 and simultaneously became the fund's main priority. As I have already mentioned, the objective of Article 114 of the Fourth Development Plan was to identify, preserve, research, repair, revitalize, utilize and introduce cultural heritage to generate national income and job opportunities through Iran's high tourist potential. In this perspective, *Pardisan* project's objectives had an adjacent objective with the major duties of the fund.

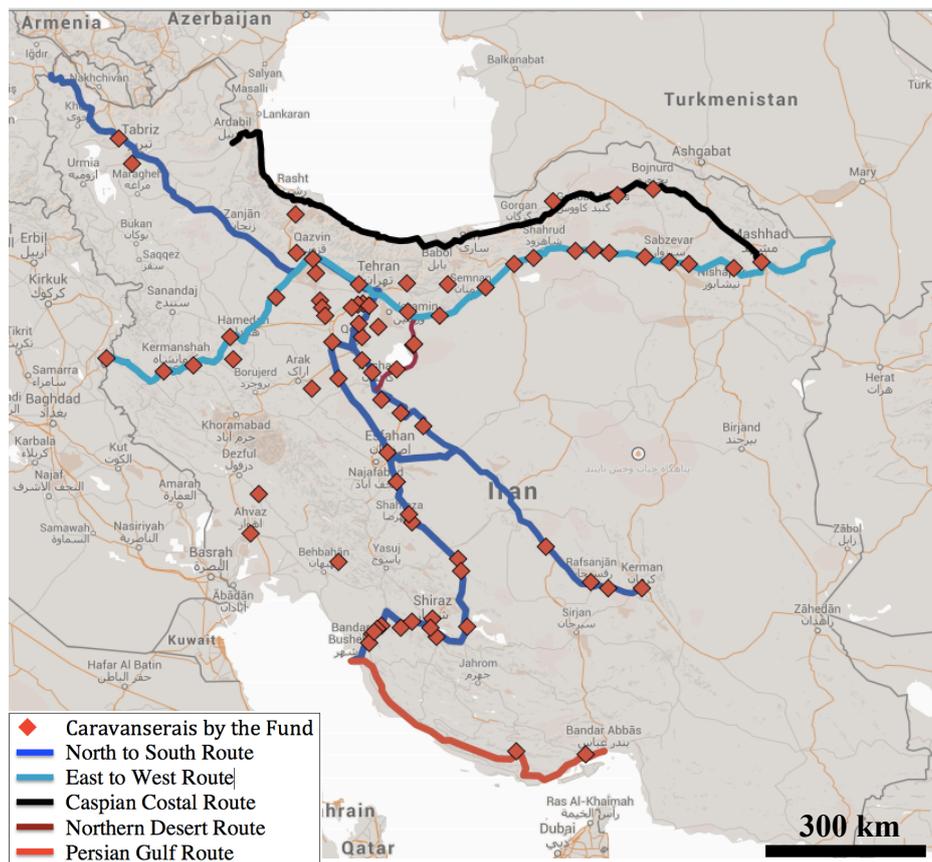
According to the statute of the fund, duties and authorities of this Non-profit organization are as follows:

- a. to provide guidance and support for the legal activities of the investors.
- b. to determine and grant permission to exploit and the re-use of cultural heritage monuments within a specified regulatory framework;
- c. to support natural and legal specialized entities and individuals associated with conservation of cultural heritage aiming to develop potentials of technical and engineering issues related to cultural heritage;
- d. to grant facilities to investors interested in revitalization and rehabilitation of cultural heritage (financial, legal and technical);

e. and to perform other issues related to development and reinforcement of conservation of cultural heritage within a specified regulatory framework.

According to Iran’s cabinet approval on 6th March 2010, 151 government-owned built heritage properties⁷² in 24 provinces were handed over to the Fund. These properties included 78 traditional houses, 34 caravanserais, 13 *hammams*, 6 forts, 5 mansions, 4 *madrasa* , 2 palaces, 1 water reservoir, 1 hotel and 7 other buildings that were assigned for investors aiming to conserve and consequently rehabilitate these properties. In October 2012 the number of caravanserais ready for revitalization and utilization nearly tripled and reached to 84 caravanserais and 2 *sarais* and the total number of cultural heritage properties increased to 270.⁷³

Figure 5.3 Distribution of Caravanserais Along the Proposed Silk Road by the Fund (Pardisan Project).



Source: Google Map- The Author (2015)

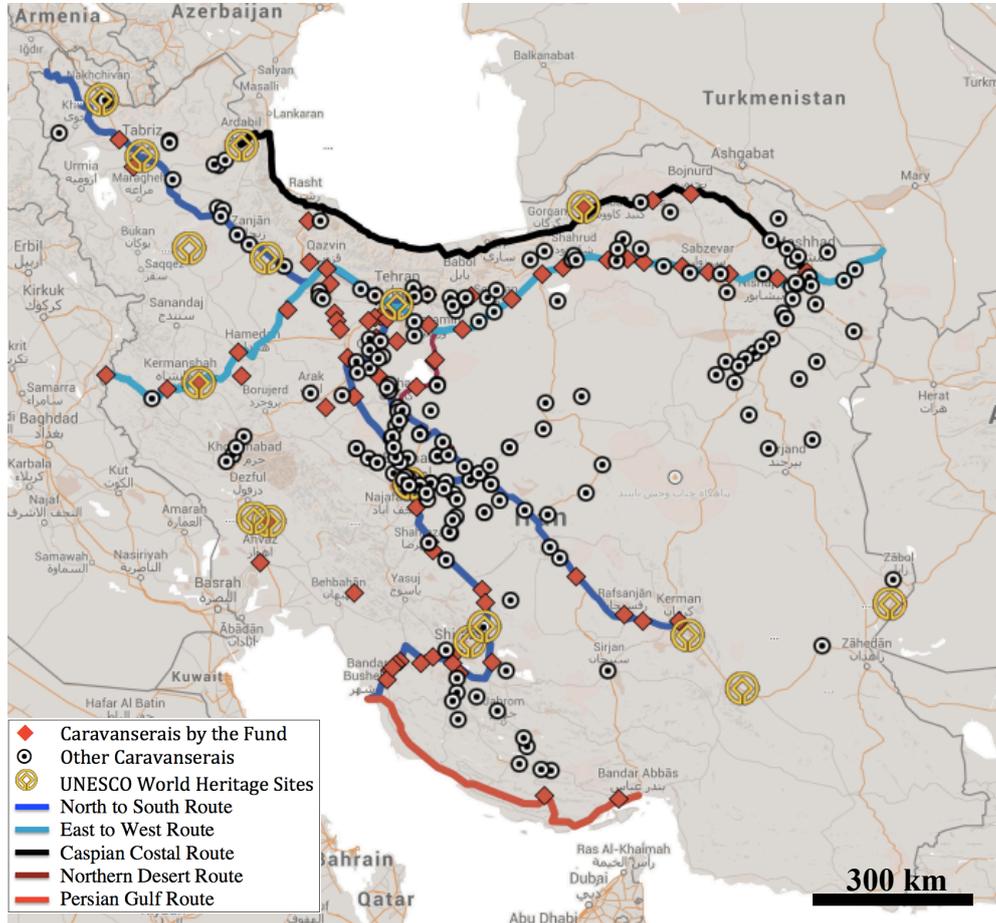
Allocation of caravanserais identified by the fund in accordance to Pardisan project has shown that except for three caravanserais located in the south west of Iran the rest are located along the five established heritage routes (Fig. 5.3). However, the

⁷² 12 of these properties assigned by government to the Fund.

⁷³ See List of ‘available properties for utilization and their ownership status’, autumn 2012, The Fund.

most intensive part of Iran in regards to location of identified caravanserais by the Funds are located in the center of Iran (Isfahan, Qom, Tehran and Semnan Provinces).

Figure 5.4 Location of UNESCO World Heritage Sites and Caravanserais Identified by the Fund and Other Iranian Caravanserais



Source: Google Map- The Author (2015)

In figure (5.3) the caravanserais, which were identified for privatization by the Fund are marked, while in figure (5.4) those caravanserais recognized as national monuments by ICHHTO as well as monuments inscribed by UNESCO are shown. However, caravanserais recognized by ICHHTO as national monuments are widely spread-out and many of them are not en-routes specially those located in the east and south of Iran. Besides, these routes are crossing most of the UNESCO world heritage sites except one located in Baluchistan province (near Pakistani border), Bam Citadel (greatly demolished by an earthquake in 2003), 3 sites in Khuzestan province and Takht-e Suleiman site in West-Azerbaijan province.

However, Pardisan project did not last long, as the main element of the project (heritage routes) was suspended in 2011. In an interview with anonymous staff of the fund in August 2014, she highlighted that “lack of common ground among the

shareholders inside the fund and the single dementia view of the managerial team of the fund for financial purposes” led the project to become unsuccessful. It was perhaps because, the managerial team was only focused on transferring the built heritage in to individual investors and did not have any appropriate and studied plan for developing route and heritage tourism routes.

5.3.1. Tourism on the Iranian Silk Road

Promoting overland tourism in Iran and especially on the Silk Road at an official level can be traced back to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This in fact was due to multiple sea and land border issues between the two states and travelers mostly had to the spice route as an alternative. Since that time researchers and scholars and government organizations intended to become more acquainted with the newly formed Central Asian countries and their geopolitical space. Most of these studies were focused on unfinished studies that had been conducted before the formation of these countries and basically tourism did not have any position in these studies as most were mainly focused on energy and security issues. However, most of these studies are focused on energy and security issues and tourism is not central issue for these studies.

The development of tourism at a national level is not just the responsibility of the tourism trustee in a country, as it requires participation of many national institutes and governmental ministries and private sector organizations to be involved in the planning and decision-making. Likewise, in Iran for macro level tourism development and planning it requires multiple key stakeholders from a national level to be involved in the process. These entities include security agencies, cultural entities, research institutes, infrastructure trustees, foreign affair and health ministries, parliament and others.

After the first successful International Silk Road Meeting in 1994 hosted in Samarkand and the adaptation of the Samarkand Declaration on Silk Road Tourism the Second International Silk Road Meeting in 1997 was held in Tehran. The meeting is considered as the first movement towards promoting overland tourism in Iran. The outcomes of this meeting can be categorized into three recommendations of: i) to setup a Silk Road website; ii) to establish an annual Silk Road Tourism Day and a Motor Rally event; and iii) to adopt a Silk Road anthem.

In case of motor rally events there are few rallies that take place and cross Iran. However, there is no sign of association of these rallies with UNWTO or UNESCO and basically most of them are either charity entities (Mongolia Rally) or non-profit organization (The Silk Road Race). Although the recommendations on the meeting persuaded governments to provide facilities such as custom, visa, accommodation, free petrol as well as insurance to the competitors. This in fact was a pull factor for competitors to choose the southern route and cross Iran. However, because of insurance issue (because of western sanctions on Iran, International insurance companies do not insure vehicles while they are in Iran), instability in the Middle East as well as border bureaucracies drove many drivers to use alternative routes in the recent years⁷⁴.

Figure 5.5 The Silk Road Race Logo



Source: <http://www.silkroadrace.com> [Accessed on 5th March, 2016]

In accordance to the international conferences on the Silk Road, the 5th Silk Road Mayors Forum was hosted by the municipality of Shiraz and ICHHTO in 2010 and concluded with the adaptation of the Shiraz declaration. Representatives of over 48 cities from 26 countries attended the Forum with support from UNWTO, UNESCO, and the Silk Road Global Alliance. The main objective of the forum was to investigate the possibilities of involving local level stakeholders in promoting new opportunities for the stakeholders from regional, national and international levels. According to UNWTO Silk ROAD Programme (2011, p. 8) in this forum 13 actions were declared which can be summarized into 4 major aims:

⁷⁴ For more details, see <http://www.chnpress.ir/NSite/FullStory/News/?Id=105623&Serv=0&SGr=0>.

- a) *promotion of peace, unity and cooperation through the Silk Road;*
- b) *the development of transit networks including air, sea, rail and highways;*
- c) *the establishment of a committee to examine the feasibility of a Silk Road airline;*
- d) *the establishment of Silk Road parks and boulevards in all Silk Road Member States.*

Beside the above international conferences and forums there was no any other international event accord in Iran till today. However, there have been some scattered events organized by different academic, public and governmental organizations, Including Silk Road International Festival in Tehran in 2010, supported by the Ministry of Road and Transportation, ICHHTO, Iran's Islamic Culture and Relations Organization and Caucasus Studies Institute. However, counterparts from other countries did not offer an appropriate welcoming and failed to attend the conference⁷⁵ and a festival on the Silk Road scheduled to be in Tehran in 2012 was postponed to an unknown date, which can indicate that the festival did not reach its main goals.

Just a year after the establishment of the fund and simultaneous with the transfer of the handicraft organization to ICHTO and the formation of ICHHTO, movements in regards to the establishment of a center for the Silk Road began. In the several meetings held by ICHHTO the structural formation of the Silk Road office was discussed and the outcome of these meetings were categorized into 3 options as indicated below and for decision-making it was presented to the head of ICHHTO.

- 1) Establishment of a "Permanent Headquarter of the Silk Road" in ICHHTO research center aiming to align the various institutions involved in research on the Silk Road and the higher education institutes, which are prepared to cooperate.
- 2) Creating a "National Committee" under the authority of head of ICHHTO and with the secretary of head of ICHHTO research centres, Composed of the head of parliament research centre and other high-level security and foreign affairs authority.
- 3) Establishing "The Silk Road Supreme Consul" under the authority of the president of the nation and undersecretary of head of ICHHTO composed of head of parliament, head of Expediency Discernment Council and ministers.

⁷⁵ See Jamejam online for more details on the conference, (In Farsi).
<http://www1.jamejamonline.ir/newstext.aspx?newsnum=100926628909>

However, after examining the proposal by head of ICHHTO, Hamid Baghai the head of the organization limited the authority to only establishing ‘the Silk Road research center’ under authority of director of ICHHTO’s research centers. The Silk Road initiatives can potentially contribute in different ways to the formation of regional cooperation, political flexibility, improving economic growth and can provide trade diversification and investment in tourism and heritage conservation which requires decision making in high governmental level. However, Baghai’s approach on establishing just a research center not even under his own direct authority greatly reduce the influence of Iran in the above matters in the region which is out of context of this study. The next section will briefly review regional and international Silk Road initiatives with respect to Iranian policy.

5.3.2. Iran and the Silk Road International Initiatives

There are strong new Silk Road initiatives and strategies that Iran is partially participating in such as: Europe, Turkey, China, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan along with UNDP, UNWTO, UNESCO, TRACECA, CAREC, SPECA and INOGATE that consist of political, economic, security, cultural and tourism mid and long term strategies. However, “for political reasons”, Iran, despite its strategic and geopolitical location, convenient routes and its “political influence in the region” was left out of US new Silk Road initiatives (Fedorenko, 2013, p. 8).

With the presence of these strategies from both regional states and economic, political and security interest of world powers in the Central Asia and the Middle East, presence of high-level decision making and planning of every country wishing to be involved in the New Silk Road affairs is highly required (Fedorenko, 2013).

However, Iran rather than building an administrative structure to investigate and research on geopolitical, economical, energy and security issues on the ‘New Silk Road’ decided to pursue its interest with the existing organizations such as ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization), SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) and be involved in other regional New Silk Road initiatives, as well as bilateral and multilateral relationships with Silk Road member states.

Besides that, Iran’s interest in contributing towards the Chinese Silk Road Economic Belt and its active presence in Turkey’s New Silk Road initiative as well as central Asian New Silk Road initiatives specially from Kazakhstan reduced the

priority and necessity of launching its own initiative on the New Silk Road.

In regards to China's Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road initiatives, President Rouhani on 16th February 2015, during Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi's visit to Tehran, highlighted that:

Iran will actively take part in China's Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road initiatives and expand cooperation in sectors such as infrastructure, energy, manufacturing, agriculture, and tourism ⁷⁶.

On the other front, since the launch of Turkey's Silk Road initiative in 2008, aiming to "revive the Silk Road via an extensive railway network, transportation lines, customs gates, energy corridors and natural gas pipelines, making this area a major player in the world economy"⁷⁷, Iran has been an active member of the initiative and attended multiple New Silk Road Forums.

The first Forum was in Antalya in 2008 that produced *Antalya declaration* which emphasizes the "simplification of border crossing procedures and trade facilitation" (Fedorenko, 2013, p. 10). Also, in 2009, Baku hosted the forum that produced *Caravanserai project* which was focused on "increasing the efficiency of the Silk Road routes and particularly the border crossing points" (ibid, p.10).

Taking the name 'caravanserai' for this project is based on similar roles and functions of border cross points to caravanserais, that beside being places for rest and recovery are places for exchange of ideas and built new business relationships as well as being places for supporting flows of commerce on routes. Later in 2010, another forum held in Tehran that produced *Tehran declaration*. The outcome of this declaration was creation of 'the Silk Road Truck Caravan' a "driving program from Islamabad to Istanbul" with support of International Road Transport Union (IRU), aiming to "develop Euro-Asian road transport and strengthen trade and economic cooperation within the region and with the rest of the world with the ultimate objective to help landlocked economies on the Eurasian landmass to reap the full benefits of

⁷⁶ Xinhua New Agency, 16th February 2015, Retrieved from: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2015-02/16/c_134000664.htm. [Accessed on March 7th 2015].

⁷⁷ 15 Abdullah Bozkurt, "Turkish minister says reviving Silk Road trade route remains Turkey's goal," Today's Zaman, December 2012, available at http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?newsId=299947 [Accessed on 15 April 2013].

globalization, hence driving progress and prosperity”⁷⁸.

Iran, by organizing regional symposium on “Iran & The Silk Road: Context for Cultural Interaction and Common Values” on 22 October 2014 with presence of UNESCO once again emphasized on its willingness to work towards “Silk Road World Heritage Transnational Nomination”. Iran beside of all its economical and geopolitical activities and interests, with the establishment of the Silk Road Research Centre (hereafter Research Centre) within ICHHTO structure decided to emphasise more cultural, heritage and tourism dimensions of the Silk Road. This vision is clearly reflected in the nomination of the Iranian Silk Road and its sites along the Silk Roads to the UNESCO’s tentative list for registration as World Heritage sites.

However, despite Iran being the first country that submitted its proposal to the UNESCO and consequently, Iranian part of the Silk Road listed in UNESCO’s tentative list in 05th February 2008, till today, the responsible authorities did not succeed in pursuing their goal. China (Submitted 28th March 2008), Kazakhstan (Submitted 05th March 2012) and Kyrgyzstan (19th February 2012) part of the Silk Road was designated by UNESCO WHC as world heritage site and a transnational heritage route.⁷⁹ The route begins in Central China crosses north of Kyrgyzstan and ends in the east of Kazakhstan, consisting of 33 sites⁸⁰ (fig. 5.6).

Including capital cities palace complexes of various empires and Khan Kingdoms, trading settlements, Buddhist cave temples, ancient paths, posthouses, passes, beacon towers, sections of the Great Wall, fortifications, tombs and religious buildings that were nominated by China, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. The corridor inscribed by UNESCO based on four criteria of (ii)(iii)(v)(vi)⁸¹.

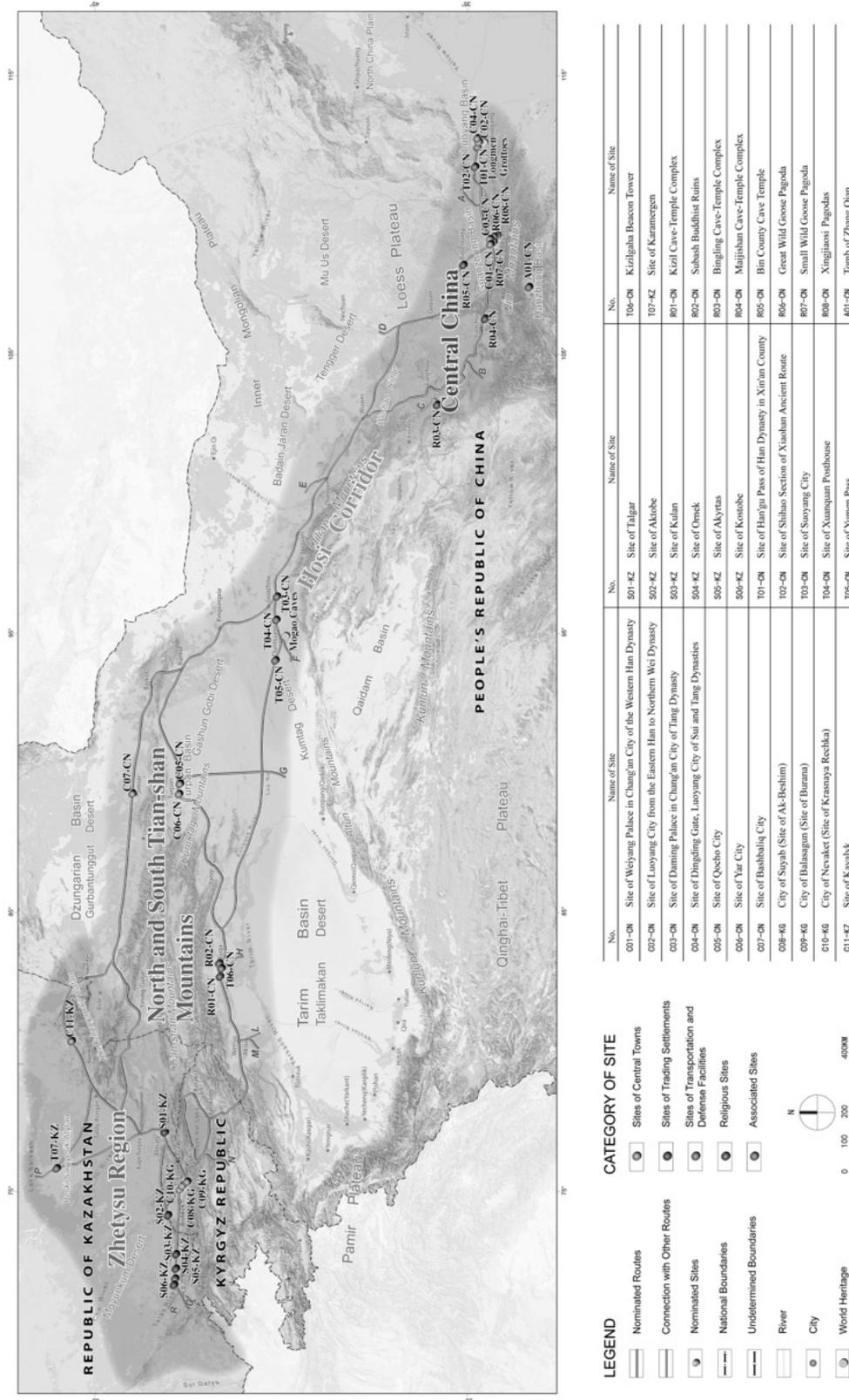
⁷⁸ “Tehran Declaration,” Republic of Turkey Ministry of Customs and Trade, 2010, available at (<http://www.silkroadcaravan.org>) [Accessed on 15 April 2013].

⁷⁹ This transnational 5,000 km stretch route, from central China to Zhetyysu Region of Kazakhstan, named ‘Silk Roads: The Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor’.

⁸⁰ See UNESCO’s Maps of inscribed property - Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor, available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/132728>, [Accessed on 9th March 2015]

⁸¹ See chapter 4 for more details for UNESCO WHS criteria.

Figure 5.6 Map Showing Geographical Distribution and Categories of Nominated Sites of the “Silk Roads: Initial Section of the Silk Roads, the Routes Network of Tian-shan Corridor”



Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/132728> [Accessed on 5th March 2016]

As I have already mentioned, in Iran with the formation of the Research Centre, the designation of the Iranian part of the Silk Road became one of the priorities of ICHHTO, therefore, the director of ICHHTO's research centers signed an agreement with the director of China's State Administration of Cultural Heritage in 2010 to cooperate in the designation of Silk Road as a transnational world heritage site⁸². However, it seems that Iran stood back as part of the Chinese Silk Road was accepted as a world heritage site in 2014. Since 2008, when the program was launched, Iran did not submit a detailed request regarding its nomination.

During my first two visits to the research center in Tehran, in the summer of 2010 and the autumn of 2012, the director there Mr. Hadi Ahmadi, could not cooperate fully with my research and therefore, sufficient information was not collected regarding the project. He consecutively mentioned that "it is an unpublished project and we cannot provide any information". In my first visit he mentioned that the research will be ready by the end of 2010 and will be sent to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee for evaluation. Meanwhile, in 2012 he only specified that "the project is ready to be sent but there are some issues that we are considering and will be ready soon". Yet, in another visit in summer 2014, when I insisted he became more clear about the delay and mentioned:

We were supposed to deliver the documents with the Chinese but they did it with two other countries, this in fact delayed our research and it was kind of a shock for us...also, another problem is the name, we believe that trade routes in Iran have a longer history than the Silk Road and Silk Road adjoined the Persian Royal Road⁸³, beside that, Silk Road is a relatively new name, therefore, we were always considering nominating the Iranian part of the Silk Road as Great Khorasan Road [the part of the route in Khorasan Province in Iran that is already nominated by Iran to become WHS] or Iranian Caravan routes, however, there are some other political decisions that were made within the organization and disturbed our research on a great scale, for instance, the transfer of the research centres to Shiraz was a disaster for this research as we did not have access to many of the necessary documents and books.

In my last visit in summer 2015, there was no sign of the research center in the organization, however, with follow-ups I found Mr. Ahmadi in another department and he just highlighted that "because of some political decisions, lack of financial

⁸² (CHN news agency, 2007, <http://www.chn.ir/NSite/FullStory/News/?Id=55384&Serv=3&SGr=22>) [Accessed on 15 February 2014].

⁸³ See chapter 4 for Persian Royal Road.

support and interest from higher level of authorities inside the organization the project is now suspended”.

5.4. A Case Study of Tourists on the Iranian Silk Road

Tour operators play an important role in bringing tourists to certain sites and destinations. Overland tourism on the Silk Road requires the services of efficient and resourceful tour operators since the tour covers a number of cities, destinations and stopovers. One of the main destinations for a typical overland tour from China to Turkey, or vice versa, is Isfahan, Iran’s historical city that features numerous cultural and natural attractions (Seifolddini et al., 2009).

This case study aims at investigating the spatial patterns of a sample of tourists travelling on the Silk Road with an organized tour, such as their itinerary of travel, mode of transport, type of accommodation and their perceived barriers on the Silk Road in general and the Iranian part of the Silk Road in particular. This case study will focus specifically on the Silk Road with central attention of Iranian part of the Silk Road as one of the major Silk Road destinations (historically, economically and politically) along the route. This route can be understood as a long distance cultural itinerary. The route itself has a great potential to establish coherence on diverse and separated manifestations of contemporary Eurasian heritage in general and Middle Eastern, Central Asian and Asian heritage in particular. This can be done by creating historical, economic and cultural linkages between individual sites, smaller towns, tourist-historic cities and regions.

The research engages in an analysis of (260) questionnaires⁸⁴ distributed in Isfahan and Shiraz. Because the itineraries of individual travelers are varying one by one this study only focus on (175) of the travelers chosen organized tours for their journey.

5.4.1. Methodology

This case study in the sense of goal and objective is categorized as an applied research and in terms of nature and method is a descriptive survey. Data collection for this case study is based on the survey distributed to the tourists traveling the Silk Road

⁸⁴ See appendix-2 for a sample of the questionnaire

as well as empirical data consisting of trip itineraries of tour operators providing overland tours on the Silk Road. An online resources methodology was employed to gather and analyze these trip itineraries. Based on the conducted questionnaires as well as the gathered secondary data the research managed to adopt and experiment three main mobility models, namely, 1) space-time path model, 2) accessibility and connectivity models, and 3) tourist movement patterns.

5.4.2. Validity

To assess the validity of the questionnaire, interviews with the supervisor as well as other university experts was used which is known as the most reliable method for assessing validity. Once opinion of the experts gathered amendments were carried out and some questions were deleted and some added.

5.4.3. Survey of Reliability

In order to measure the reliability of the questionnaire the Cronbach’s alpha coefficient was used, the method was used to calculate internal alignment and consistency. SPSS software was used to calculate variance s of the subsets and total variance of the questionnaire. Cronbach's alpha values of all the components of the questionnaire is above (0.750) and total value of the questionnaire is (0.875) which is a good indicator that the questionnaire is reliable. (table 5.2)

Table 5.2 Questionnaire Components and Cronbach’s Alpha Values

Main Components of the questionnaire	Cronbach’s Alpha value
Preferences and experiences of the travelers	0.905
Organized tour	0.877
Barriers and difficulties along the route	0.753
Total	0.875

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

5.4.4. The Population

To identify the barriers and to measure the experience of travellers on the Silk Road, it was necessary to identify travellers visiting more than two countries. For identifying Silk Road overland travellers traveling with an organized tour along with those whose itineraries are consisted of more than two countries, in a single itinerary I had to either interview the travellers in person or their tour guide or access their itineraries (if available) from the hotels front desk. A convenience sample of 320

tourists traveling on the Silk Road was selected for the survey. The response rate was 81% (260 surveys) (table 5.3).

Of those, (175) travellers used organized tour and the rest used individual itineraries for their travel. As this study is only based on the travellers experiencing the Silk Road with an organized tour, individual travellers were not considered.

Table 5.3 Population of the Survey and the Respond Rate

Total Questionnaire distributed	Respond rate (%)	Frequency (travelers)	Part of organized tour (travelers)
320	81%	260	175

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

5.4.5. The Sample

In this study random-classified sampling with proportional allocation was used. The total sample size was calculated based on the Kockran Formula and the size of each class is determined by proportional allocation.

Questionnaires were administered in two hotels (Safir Hotel (4 star) and Abbasi Hotel (5 star)) located in the centre of Isfahan (known as one of the major Silk Road cities in Iran (Guabe, 2008; Siro, 1965)) and also distributed by two tour guides based in Iran (Mr. Farhadi and Mr. Hossaini) during the spring of 2013 until the summer of 2014. Out of total of the convenient samples, (130) questionnaires were distributed in the Safir hotel with response rate of (80%); (100) questionnaires were distributed in Abbasi Hotel with response rate of (66%); and (90) questionnaires were distributed by the tour guides with response rate of (100%) (table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Locations where the Questionnaires were Administered

No	Location	No of surveys	Response rate %	Frequency
1	Safir Hotel	130	80	104
2	Abbasi Hotel	100	66	66
3	By Tour guides (Shiraz)	90	100	90
Total respondents				260

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

5.4.6. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Sample Travellers

The majority of the respondents were male (69.23%) (table 5.5). The sample presented a high diversity of ages and the majority (59.61%) of travellers who replied to questionnaires were classified between the ages of 26 and 45 years. The sample suggests that about (47.69%) of the travelers held passport for Australia and New Zealand, (42.69%) are from the European Union (Great Britain, Germany, France,

Italy, Ireland and Holland), the only Asian travelers were Chinese (5.77%), 10 Canadians (3.85%) and no participant was identified from Africa. While the majority of travelers are originally from Oceania, the majority of respondents are residing in Europe (50.38%). The result also illustrates that the majority of travelers are involved in activities such as Education -university professor, high school teacher, librarian and student- (29%), Finance (13%) and travel and tourism (10%) (table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Socio-Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Socio-demographic profile		Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	180	69.2
	Female	80	30.7
Age	16-25	45	17.3
	26-35	85	32.7
	36-45	70	26.9
	46-55	30	11.5
	56-65	20	7.7
	65+	10	3.8
Nationality	Europe	111	42.7
	Asia	15	5.8
	America	10	3.8
	Oceania	124	47.7
	Africa	0	0
Resident	Europe	131	50.4
	Asia	31	11.9
	America	10	3.8
	Oceania	88	33.8
	Africa	0	0
Profession	Artist	6	2.3
	Business	19	7.3
	Diplomat	3	1.1
	Driver	12	4.6
	Education	75	28.8
	Engineer	19	7.3
	Farmer	5	1.9
	Finance	33	12.7
	Health	7	2.7
	Journalist	6	2.3
	Lawyer	7	2.7
	Office work	18	6.9
	Police Officer	1	0.4
	Retired	23	8.8
Travel and Tourism	26	10	

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

5.4.7. Travellers' Experiences and Preferences

To assess travel experience of the respondents, the survey asked about the

number of countries visited so far, and 110 travelers stated that they have traveled to more than 31 countries and 10 travelers stated that they only visited 5 or less countries so far. These figures in fact are a good indicator that travelers, traveling the Silk Road are mostly experienced travelers (table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Travel Experience of the Respondents

Countries visited	Frequency	Percentage
0-5	10	3.8 %
6-10	30	11.5 %
11-20	35	13.5 %
21-25	35	13.5 %
26-30	40	15.4 %
31-40	50	19.2 %
41 +	60	23.1 %
Total	260	100 %

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

Beside, one of the major indicators to assess experience of travelers is to investigate the time that travelers spent on international travel, in this research travelers were questioned about their duration of time spending on international travel in a year before fill out the questionnaire.

Table 5.7 Weeks Spent on International Travel (Previous Year)

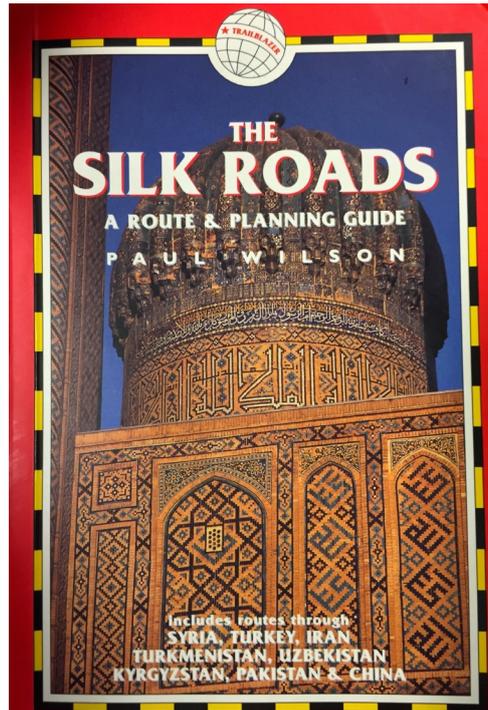
Weeks on intl. travel	Frequency	Percentage
Less than a week	0	0 %
1-3 weeks	10	3.8 %
3-6 weeks	45	17.3 %
6-9 weeks	40	15.4 %
9-12 weeks	60	23.1 %
More than 12 weeks	105	40.4 %
Total	260	100%

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

In this regard, 105 travelers indicated that they spent more than 12 weeks in international travel per year and none spent less than a week in international travel, these figures also helped to enhance the validity of the research (table 5.7).

On one hand major sources of information for the travelers to travel the Silk Road are travel guide books such as Lonely Planet, Insight Guide and Fodor's travel guide (25.7 %) as well as the internet (25.2 %). On the other hand newspapers (2.3 %) due to their lack of specialization in tourism on the Silk Road was identified as the least source of information.

Figure 5.7 The Special Silk Road Travel planning Guide Book



Source: (Wilson, 2007, bk. The cover page)

As I already described in chapter 4, for more than a thousand years' merchants and travelers moved along the Silk Road either all the way from East Asia to the Mediterranean and vice versa or on other branches and segments of the route. The route was not only a single route but many branches existed. However, during history subject to political and economic situation of the region many of these branches fall and emerged. Many travelers from east and the west traveled these route overland for centuries, however, the route faced great decline specially from 11th century as trade were carried out through maritime Silk Road (see chapter 4).

However, what remained along the route was the memory of the Silk Road and travelers of 17th century onward travel these routes to walk on footsteps of Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, Nasir Khusrow and other famous travelers of the past.

While with invention of airplane and consequently with change in lifestyle from the mid nineteenth century onward people preferred to travel faster to save time, travelers traveling the Silk Road choose to experience the Silk Road overland as perhaps this type of travel provides better sense of place and develop better understanding of surrounding environment. This type of tourist can be considered as adventure type of tourists but they are at the same time categorize under cultural tourism niche market which has become the platform for cultural consumption.

According to the survey, about 59% of travelers travel the Silk Road by bus and specifically prepared truck and only 12.74% of travelers choose to fly some part of their journey (table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Modes of Travel

Modes	Frequency	Percentage
Train	72	17.6 %
Bus	103	25.2 %
Truck	137	33.5 %
Car	25	6.1 %
Motorbike	16	3.9 %
Bike	3	0.1 %
Airplane	52	12.7 %
Total	-	100 %

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

Figure 5.8 General Layout of an Overland Truck



Source: Oasis Overland Adventure Travel corporate site⁸⁵

Beside, among the travelers, (142) defined that Silk road journey as a cultural type of travel as well as (92) travelers specified that it is also an adventurous niche, while only 1 person indicated that this is a luxury travel (table 5.9). Also, about (221) travelers specified that their major motivation for traveling the Silk Road is culture and history (table 5.9). In this regard according to Lew and McKercher (2006), special interest tourists are more focused and directed in their actions and are more concerned

⁸⁵ Available at: http://www.oasisoverland.co.uk/overland_adventure_trucks_africa_and_middle_east/ [Accessed on 15 December 2015].

to visit ‘lower order attractions’ than those general mainstream tourists.

Table 5.9 Type and Motivation of the Travel

	Niche Tourism	Frequency	Percentage
Type of the Silk Road Journey	Cultural	142	41.9 %
	Adventurous	92	27.1 %
	Pleasurable	7	2.1 %
	Family	15	4.4 %
	Luxurious	1	0.2 %
	Educational	82	24.2 %
	Total	-	100%
Motivation of Traveling on the Silk Road	Culture	121	25.8 %
	History	110	23.4 %
	Nature	68	14.5 %
	People	79	16.8 %
	Adventure	52	11.1 %
	Religion	39	8.3 %
	Total	-	100%

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

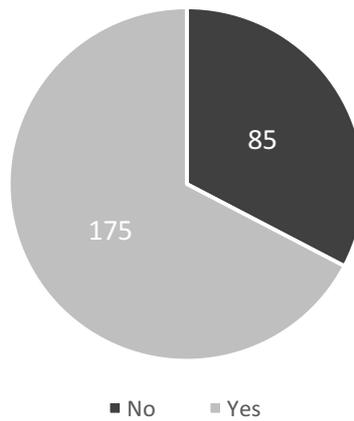
5.4.8. Organized Tour

One of the major decision making stages in the tourist generating region is ‘how to travel?’ This in fact impacts all aspects of the travel from the transit route to the destination region, and is a major variation among travelers.

There are many aspects that fully independent travelers think that are important during their travel such as freedom of movement and independent decision making without interruption from other travel companions. They consider traveling with an organized tour limits them in transportation mode, destination visited, accommodation and expression of interest both and most importantly time (Hyde, 2008; Shoval & Isaacson, 2010). While travelers in an organized tour think differently, they consider traveling with tour more secure and well-structured specially in long distance journeys with multiple destinations and stopovers (ibid). Besides, they also think that it is more cost effective as they do not need to carry large amounts of money with them all the time as they already paid for accommodation, transportation and in some cases food and beverage in the traveler generating region (all-inclusive tours) (Hyde, 2008; Shoval & Isaacson, 2010).

In the survey travelers were asked if they were part of an organized tour or not. Most of the travelers (2/3) confirmed that they were traveling with an organized tour and the rest of the travelers stated that they were traveling the Silk Road independently.

Figure 5.9 Part of an Organized Tour



Source: The Questionnaire surveys

The respondents who identified themselves as group travelers also specified their tour operator company’s name. In this regards all the travelers traveling the Silk Road with an organized tour are from four specialized tour operator company based in Europe, Oceania and America including: *Oasis Overland* (based in the United Kingdom), *Sundowners Overland* (based in the United kingdom, Australia and New Zealand), *World Expedition* (based in several countries including Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, New Zealand and the United State) and *Endeavour Overland* (based in the United Kingdom) focused on overland adventure travel, covering 6 different types of itineraries both on distance and travel time.

Based on the data collected, majority of the travelers (85 respondents) used Endeavor Overland’s as their tour operator company and World Expeditions tour operator company contained the least participant in this research. Beside, most of the travelers (53 travelers) choose fifteen weeks Oasis Overland tour for their journey and only (10 travelers) are traveling with Grand Asian Caravan tour from Sundowners Overland company (table 5.10).

Table 5.10 Tour's Name

Company	Tour's Name	Frequency
Oasis Overland	15 Weeks	53
Sundowners Overland	Persian Caravan	12
	Grand Asian Caravan	10
World Expeditions'	Tashkent to Isfahan	15
Endeavour Overland's	Classic 15 Weeks	46
	Ultimate 21 Weeks	39

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

According to the survey most of the tours are large and inclusive, for instance more than 48 participant indicated that their tour was consisting of 13-20 travel companion which suggests that the result of the survey may covers much higher population as perhaps their travel companion’s opinions that did not participated in the research might be similar to the participants (table 5.11).

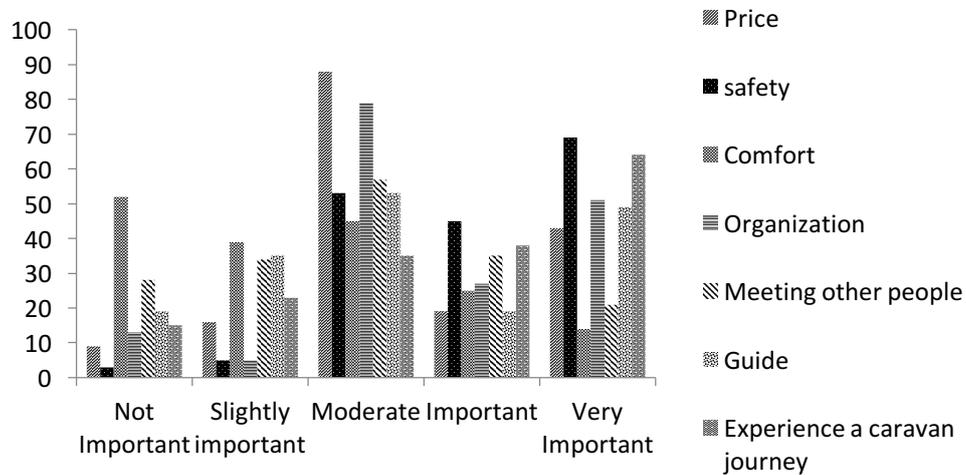
Table 5.11 Size of Groups

Group size	Frequency	Percentage
2-8	22	12.6 %
9-12	31	17.7 %
13-20	48	27.4 %
21-26	19	10.9 %
27-35	37	21.1 %
36+	18	10.3 %

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

Travelers stated that safety is the most important element of being part of the tour (114 participants). Besides, they also indicated that experiencing caravan travel (102 participants) is another important reason to travel with a tour. However, the least important reason for the travelers to be part of the tour is comfort, as (91 travelers) stated that is either not important or slightly important (fig. 5.10).

Figure 5.10 Reasons to be Part of a Tour



Source: The Questionnaire surveys

One of the major questions is related to accommodation. While most of the travelers indicated that the most frequent type of accommodation used during their journey are hotels (133 travelers) and hostels (103 travelers), about (155) of the travelers stated that caravanserais were the least (very rarely) type of accommodation used during their journey (table 5.12).

Table 5.12 The Most and the Least Type of Accommodation Used

Type of Accommodation	Very Frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Very Rarely
Tent (camping)	11	3	0	86	75
Local houses	14	3	33	61	64
Hotels	133	15	15	9	3
Hostels	103	22	44	4	2
Caravanserai	1	5	2	12	155
Bed and Breakfast	47	35	58	21	14

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

Table 5.13 The Most and the Least Interested Type of Accommodation to Use

	Very Interested	interested	Moderately interested	Slightly interested	Not interested
Tent (camping)	42	31	53	32	17
Local houses	58	43	39	25	10
Hotels	41	39	41	39	15
Hostels	5	11	49	63	47
Caravanserai	92	23	33	26	1
Bed and Breakfast	7	12	58	35	63

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

On the other front, participants were asked about the most interested and least interested place of stay and result shows that about (115 travelers) stated that they are very interested or interested to stay in caravanserai and only 27 of the travelers stated that are slightly interested or not interested to use caravanserai as a place of stay during their Silk Road journey. Caravanserais are products of long distance journeys which built en-route or inside cities by mostly authorities and wealthy people to host the travelers in general and caravans in particular. According to Hillenbrand (2004, p.331) “caravanserais is the largest of the standard Islamic building types”. Most of the Iranian caravanserais are currently in ruin and many of them because of various factors such as ignorance and lack of maintenance are in the stage of disappearance (see chapter 6 and 7 for more details on caravanserais). However, according to Mr. Pourhossain travel agent located in Shiraz who is specialized on overland travel, Zain-al-din caravanserai is the only caravanserai that they offer to their travelers to use during their journey in Iran, as others are either in “bad condition or are not located en-route”⁸⁶. While John Chardin (1811), stated that in the boundaries of the city of Isfahan there are 1802 caravanserais (it seems Chardin either exaggerated or perhaps the correct figure is 182 caravanserais) located, excluding the Abbasi Hotel (Madar

⁸⁶ Interview 10 May 2014 at Safir hotel.

Shah Caravanserai) which was mostly rebuilt and not restored, a functioning caravanserai accommodating travelers in the city currently does not exist. This was also reflected in the questionnaire, as about (1/3) of the respondents who stayed at Abbasi Hotel, which according to the general manager of Mr. Hadadi “is the oldest hotel in Iran... and was ‘conserved’ about 60 years ago” did not recognize this hotel as an old caravanserai. The reason is perhaps related to the high intervention in the structure and design of the building which led to lose its authenticity. Figure (5.11) shows a level of destruction during reconstruction of Abbasi Hotel. Issues related to caravanserais as well as their use will be discussed extensively in the chapter 6 and 7.

Figure 5.11 Abbasi Hotel During Construction, Madar-Shah Caravanserai was at least Partially Demolished and Rebuilt



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (Pictures taken: 5 March 1959)

Figure 5.12 Madar Shah Caravanserai by Pascal Coste (1840)



Source: Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits* (1867)

5.4.9. Route and Travel Itineraries

With modernization in mobility and 21st century lifestyle, many people expect to travel faster in order to minimize the transit time. They follow the most direct routes and catch the fastest mode of transportation to avoid long transit time. These tourists are ‘outcome’ oriented that are looking to exploit time spent at destination by minimizing transit time. They see greater transit time as an obstacle for available time they have to visit the destination. Yet, there are other types of tourists that see transit time as an opportunity to follow their interest such as ‘route tourists’. They generally do not see transit route as a mean for traveling from generating region to destination. But they see route as an attraction itself, they are more likely to engage in sightseeing, take indirect routes and travel to outlying areas to explore a destination widely. These tourists transform the transit route into a destination region and most likely traveling overland (road, rail and maritime) and they are mostly ‘process’ oriented⁸⁷. These special interest tourists consume a destination differently, they spent more time at a destination (ibid). They are also more direct in their objectives that they traveled for than those generalist tourists (Fennell, 1996). As represented in table (5.9), most of the sample of tourists traveling the Silk Road identified themselves as cultural interested tourists. This type of tourists spends more money, tend to stay longer at the destination, travel more frequently, and contribute in more activities than other tourists (Isaac, 2008; Keefe, 2002).

⁸⁷ For Outcome and Process oriented tourists see Lew and Mckercher (2006).

Table 5.14 Origin, Final Destination of Travel and Duration of Stay in each Silk Road Member States

		15 Weeks	Persian Caravan	Grand Asian Caravan	Tashkent to Isfahan	(Classic) 15 Weeks	(Ultimate) 21 Weeks	
		Oasis Overland	Sundowners Overland		World Expeditions'	Endeavour Overland's		
Origin	Beijing			X				
	Istanbul	X				X	X	
	Tashkent				X			
	Masqat		X					
Final Destination	Beijing	X				X		
	Istanbul			X				
	Tbilisi		X					
	Tehran				X			
	Katmandu						X	Mean
Duration of stay in Each Silk Road State	Armenia	-	4	5	-	-	-	4,5
	China	26	-	10	-	7	35	19,5
	Georgia	-	4	5	-	-	-	4,5
	Iran	18	11	8	11	15	15	13
	Kazakhstan	2	-	-	-	3	3	2,66
	Kyrgyzstan	17	-	4	-	20	20	15,25
	Mongolia	-	-	-	-	29	29	29
	Nepal	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
	Oman	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
	Russia	-	-	-	-	3	3	3
	Tibet	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
	Turkey	27	-	2	-	16	16	15,25
	Turkmenistan	6	-	2	3	3	3	3,4
UAE	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	
Uzbekistan	10	-	5	7	8	8	7,6	
Duration of the Travel Itinerary		106	25	41	21	104	147	
No. of Travelers		53	12	10	15	46	39	

Source: The Questionnaire surveys and the Itineraries of the Tour Operators

As shown in table (5.14), duration of travel of more than (87%) of the travelers is more than (100 days) and mean of duration of stay in Mongolia is (29 days), China (19.5 days), Kyrgyzstan and Turkey (15.2 days) and Iran (13 days) and least duration of stays is in Kazakhstan with (2.7 days) and Oman, Russia and UAE, each with (3 days) of stay. These figures are also a good indicator that the size of a country is not necessarily key in the duration of overland travel as mean of stay in Kyrgyzstan with 199,900 km² is (12 days) more than duration of travelers stayed in Russia with 17.1 million km². This in fact is more related to the itinerary's details and objectives of the travel.

Figure 5.13 Route Map of 6 Identified Itinerates of the Travelers

Source: The Author (2015)

The correlation between transport and tourism is well-established and self-evident, but has not yet been thoroughly investigated within space-time context (Rodrigue et al., 2013). One of the main concerns of geographers in the last decades was to analyze how much space can be covered in a specific available time. Transportation as the main means of physical travel helped individuals to cover larger distance within a shorter period of time. Factors such as an increase in efficiency of trading time for space, encouraged industries to develop transportation that allow individuals to increase their movement capabilities in space and time (Rodrigue et al., 2013). Today, the use of modern transportation can significantly reduce the amount of time it takes to travel to certain destinations. The Silk Road overland travels being investigated in this research involve multiple destinations and stopovers in different geographical location and boundaries. Although there is a strong correlation between geographical distance and travel time, long travel time is often affected by a number of factors, such as the number of destinations and stop overs, duration of stay in each destination, as well as geopolitical barriers during a journey. According to the survey, *Ultimate 21-Weeks* (18,200 km) Silk Road Journey from Endeavour Overland's crosses highest number of countries and have an utmost number of destinations among others and accordingly time spent during this journey is higher than others with (147 days). However, *Grand Asian Caravan* itinerary from Sundowners Overland with slightly different itinerary (5 countries of Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Russia, Nepal and Tibet taken from the itinerary and instead 2 countries of Armenia and Georgia added) than *Ultimate 21-Weeks* itinerary reduced the time of travel to 41 days.

Meanwhile, *Grand Asian Caravan* itinerary (13,130 km) from Sundowners Overland with selection of 2 countries (Armenia and Georgia) close to each other, reduction of 5 countries, using overnight trains as the main mode of transportation (7 nights' sleepover in train) and with the selection of relatively direct route reduced about 4,100 km distance and (101 days) from *Ultimate 21-Weeks* itinerary of Endeavour Overland's. however, this itinerary has less stopovers, secondary destinations and daytrip visits due to limitation of time.

5.4.10. Connectivity and Accessibility of Overland Travel on the Silk Road

In terms of network-based accessibility and connectivity, Iran is perhaps one of the most accessible destinations in Western Asia due to its strategic location. Bordered on the northwest by Turkey and northeast by Turkmenistan and on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan and on the south by the Persian Gulf, Iran serves as the gateway to China and Europe as well as connects central Asian's landlocked states to the high seas through Persian Gulf. Iran is geographically accessible to its neighbors, particularly Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkmenistan as well as the Persian Gulf states. However, because of political issues such as unilateral or bilateral sanctions and the US, the UK and the EU travel alerts to Iran over its nuclear program, Iran has been avoided by some of tour operator companies. Specially in case of overland travel, for instance some of international travel insurance companies specially those based in the UK and the EU are not insuring trucks or buses while they are in Iran⁸⁸. However, Following Iran's nuclear deal and consequently lifting of sanctions in the beginning of the 2016 this issue will be settled down⁸⁹.

Figure (5.14) illustrates Intrepid Travel Company's Silk Road itinerary before imposing insurance sanctions and The UK travel alert on Iran (2012) which crosses Iran with multiple stopovers and destinations. While figure (5.15) illustrates current Silk Road itinerary from the same company which crosses the Caspian Sea from Azerbaijan to Turkmenistan by ferry to avoid Iran.

⁸⁸ Interview with intrepid representative in Iran Mr. Pourhosain, 10 May 2014.

⁸⁹ See <http://www.insurancejournal.com/topics/iran-sanctions/> for Iran insurance sanctions.

Figure 5.14 Intrepid Travel Silk Road Itinerary in 2011 and 2012



Source: Intrepid travel Website, Xi'an to Istanbul tour (2013)⁹⁰

Figure 5.15 Intrepid Travel Silk Road Itinerary in 2015



Source: Intrepid travel website, Beijing to Istanbul tour (2015)⁹¹

However, one of the major issues effecting connectivity and accessibility between nodes (places) in a single itinerary is geopolitical and security issues, for instance overland Spice Route as one of the main branches of the Silk Road which connects India and Nepal to Europe and vice versa have been avoided for decades by the travelers. (this is also reflected in the itinerary of the tour operators). The route was one of the main routes that overland travelers of 1960s and 1970s were traveling by the name of ‘Hippies Trail’ or the Overland Trail (Hampton, 2013). however, in 1979, after the Islamic revolution in Iran and civil war in Afghanistan the number of travelers traveling this route greatly declined (ibid). One of the major overland tour operators that because of security issues as well as geopolitical issues (war in Afghanistan, travel alert for traveling Pakistan and the territorial conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir region) stopped its operation on this route is *Topdeck* travel (fig. 5.16). However, the above issues did not stop the travelers from visiting Kathmandu overland from Europe as alternative routes established and recently

⁹⁰ <http://www.intrepidtravel.com/search/trip/%2522silk%2520road%2522> [Accessed on 10 June 2013]

⁹¹ <http://www.intrepidtravel.com/search/trip/%2522silk%2520road%2522> [Accessed on 15 December 2015]

operating limited by overland tour operator companies such as Endeavour Overland's. However, this alternative route is much longer than the original 'Hippies Trail' as travelers instead of going to Nepal from south of Iran and crossing Pakistan and North of India most cross Central Asia, China and Tibet to reach to Nepal.

Figure 5.16 Topdeck travel Bus, London-Kathmandu Tour



Source: Topdeck travel website (2013)

This in fact makes Kathmandu the least accessible place in this journey as travelers must bypass more space and consequently will have to spend more time and money.

In order to evaluate accessibility connections between locations (nodes) of Endeavour Overland's ultimate 21 weeks itinerary, determined Silk Road cities (nodes) for this experiment are as follows: Istanbul, Turkey (as it is the origin of the tour); Isfahan, Iran (as a place where the data was collected); Ashgabat, Turkmenistan (capital), Tashkent, Uzbekistan (capital); Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (capital); Almaty, Kazakhstan (the major Kazakh city in the itinerary); Tashanta, Russia, (the major Russian city in the itinerary); Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia (Capital); Xian, China (as the starting point of the Silk Road); and Kathmandu (final destination and capital). According to Rodrigue et al. (2013) to measures geographical accessibility of each location, the total of all distance between other locations must be divided by the number of locations. To measures geographical accessibility of each location, the total of all distance between other locations must be divided by the number of locations.

$$A(G) = \sum_i^n \left(\sum_j^n d_{ij} \right) / n$$

- A(G) = geographical accessibility matrix.
- d_{ij} = minimum route distance between location i and j.
- n = number of locations

In table (5.15) geographical accessibility between nodes are calculated based on the minimum distance between each location in the Endeavor Overland’s itinerary. According to the result of the equation, the most accessible node is Bishkek with A(G) of 2,412.1 km and the most remote locations of the itinerary is Istanbul with A(G) of 5,256.9. The Central Asian cities because of their close distance with each other are the most accessible places in the geographical accessibility matrix.

While Kathmandu because of its distance from the origin in the itinerary seen as as the least accessible location, in the equation with geographical accessibility matrix of 3,858.5 is the 3rd least accessible location. It is perhaps related to absence of geopolitical and security measurements in the equation. For instance, from Isfahan the shortest route to Kathmandu is 4,463 km, however, travelers must travel about 10,000 km more in Endower Itinerary to reach to Kathmandu.

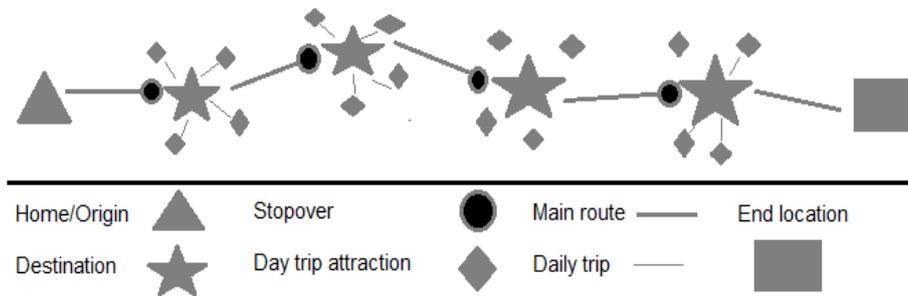
Table 5.15 Accessibility Matrix of Endeavour Overland’s ‘Ultimate 21 Weeks Itinerary’

	Turkey (Istanbul)	Iran (Isfahan)	Turkmenistan (Ashgabat)	Uzbekistan (Tashkent)	Kyrgyzstan (Bishkek)	Kazakhstan (Almaty)	Russia (Tashanta)	Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	China (Xi'an)	Nepal (Kathmandu)	dij	A(G)	Most Accessible
Turkey (Istanbul)	0	2718	3399	4611	5245	5479	6320	7959	9140	7698	52569	5256,9	10
Iran (Isfahan)	2718	0	1037	2517	3097	3331	5244	6873	6933	4463	36213	3621,3	6
Turkmenistan (Ashgabat)	3399	1037	0	1326	1962	2497	4053	5682	5828	3949	29733	2973,3	4
Uzbekistan (Tashkent)	4611	2517	1326	0	632	1167	2723	4352	3700	3390	24418	2441,8	2
Kyrgyzstan (Bishkek)	5245	3097	1962	632	0	234	2092	3721	4183	2955	24121	2412,1	1
Kazakhstan (Almaty)	5479	3331	2497	1167	234	0	1856	1629	3156	4384	23733	2373,3	3
Russia (Tashanta)	6320	5244	4053	2723	2092	1856	0	1629	3614	3972	31503	3150,3	5
Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar)	6873	6933	5682	4352	3721	1629	1629	0	1998	4197	37014	3701,4	7
China (Xi'an)	9140	6933	5828	3700	4183	3156	3614	1998	0	3577	42129	4212,9	9
Nepal (Katmandu)	7698	4463	3949	3390	2955	4384	3972	4197	3577	0	38585	3858,5	8

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

According to the questionnaires, (148) of the travelers either started their journey from Istanbul or Beijing. An overland caravan travel between these two points spanning a distance of more than 10,000 km, will take an average of 12 weeks' journey. It is understood that cultural overland travels are usually multi-destination routes, crossing various historical and natural attractions in particular region or countries. The Silk Road is fundamentally a multi-destination route as it covers various countries and regions from Europe to West Asia, Central Asia and China and vice versa. Silk Road overland travel itinerary covers a number of destinations, stopovers and day trip attractions. Silk Road itinerary is not multiple-destination areas loop by nature introduced by Oppermann (1995), but as the traveler might be involved in different travel patterns at any given stop and possibly can participate in any or all of the patterns at different destinations, the Silk Road itineraries are potentially can be considered as one of the most complex itineraries. Yet, the movement pattern of this type of travel is liner complex, as it characterizes destination region loop and complex neighborhood (fig. 5.17). However, the origin of this type of travel is also considered as a primary destination, which travelers from their home town travel by different modes of transportation to rich to the origin point of the itinerary.

Figure 5.17 Movement Patterns- Multi Destination Loop



Source: The Author (2015)

Table 5.16 Crucial Barriers on Traveling the Silk Road and the Iranian Part of the Silk Road

Crucial Barriers	The Silk Road States (Percentage)	Iran (Percentage)
Visa	44%	23%
Health	19%	3%
Road safety	39%	57%
Financial safety	11%	5%
Physical safety	21%	8%
Religious practices	18%	20%
Cultural / Social Practices	8%	4%
Political and geopolitical issues	52%	17%
Border Controls	26%	31%
Length of the routes	18%	7%
Tourism Infrastructure	38%	20%

Source: The Questionnaire surveys

The modern Silk Road, which reconnected Asia and Europe, currently confronts a number of geopolitical challenges. According to the questionnaire, while countries like Iran relax its visa requirements and invests on health and physical safety as well as tourism infrastructure, the ongoing wars in the region specially presence of *Daesh* and in Syria and Iraq and ongoing war in Afghanistan has made political and geopolitical issues (52%) as the main obstacle for travel to the Silk Road. Respondents also stated that Visa for visiting the Silk Road countries is another important barrier (44%). However, least barriers for visiting the Silk Road are Cultural and social practices (8%) and financial safety (11%), this in fact is applicable for traveling the Silk road as respondents stated that cultural and social practices (4%) and financial safety (5%) along with health (3%) is the least barrier to visit Iranian part of the Silk Road.

The most important barrier for traveling in Iranian part of the Silk Road is road safety (57%), this in fact also reflects in World Health Organization's Status Report on Road Safety as estimated death of 24,896 people reported in 2015.⁹² Also, border control (31%) and visa (23%) are another least important barrier for visiting Iranian part of the Silk Road; high rate for border control is possibly because of geopolitical situation of the region and Visa issue are mostly related to citizens of the UK, the US and Canada as along with 8 other countries they have to obtain visa before arrival.

5.5. Summary

The promising effects of heritage routes in fulfilling economic development in the less developed areas have encouraged governments to impose operative tourism strategies to facilitate travelers to visit monuments and building in remote areas of a country. While protecting cultural heritage is a challenge for developing countries, these strategies can greatly help the country to spread economic benefit of tourism to rural and less developed areas and consequently use the economic benefit of this movement of tourists in conservation of built heritage located in remote areas. Iran as a country located in the center of the Silk Road with a high number of built heritage, both UNESCO and national monuments, has a great potential to use heritage route as a tool for sustaining local economic development of some of the most remote areas of

⁹² See WHO Global Status Report on Road Safety 2015, http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/road_traffic/en/ [Accessed on 10 February 2016]

the country. However, geopolitically, Iran is located in between more than four ongoing wars in the region and as some countries such as the US, the UK and other EU states are suggesting not to travel to some remote areas of the country, these phenomena can be more challenging for the Iranian authorities to urge tourists to visit these areas.

The richness of monuments in different parts of the country, especially those related to route tourism such as caravanserai, has pulled investment in these types of monuments in some of the most remote areas of the country. While the Fund for Cultural Heritage in Iran has developed the idea of heritage route in the country (ex. Pardisan Project), lack of integrated management in ICHHTO has brought these projects into stage of failure. The abolishment of the Silk Road research center was one of those projects that Iran launched for establishing heritage route in the Iranian part of the Silk Road. However, as Mr. Ahmadi, former head of the center stated “lack of will and incentive in the highest level of the organization has brought the project into failure”. And this in fact put off Iran from designating the Iranian part of the Silk Road as a UNESCO world heritage.

To investigate the spatial patterns, itinerary, mode of transport, type of accommodation and perceived barriers of a sample of tourists traveling on the Iranian part of the Silk Road, 320 questionnaires were distributed in Isfahan and Shiraz with a response rate of 82%. Due to various itineraries of individual travellers, this study only focused on 175 of the travellers that visited the Silk Road with an organized tour. For a better understanding of the tour operators' itineraries, empirical data consisting of trip itineraries for tour operators providing overland tours on the Silk Road was also studied. The majority of respondents were male (59.6%) between the age of 26 and 45 years and residents of the European Union. The results illustrated that most travellers are experienced as about 42% of the travellers spent more than 30 days per annum on international travel. These travellers also indicated that their main motivation for traveling the Silk Road was culture and history and considered the Silk Road journey as cultural (41.9 %) and adventurous (27.1 %). The most used mode of travel was specifically prepared truck, while only 12.7 % indicated that they used airplane for some part of their journey. As the survey was only focused on a group of travellers, 4 major tour operators identified with 6 different tours varying in size from 2 people to more than 36 people in each group. The travellers stated that their main

reason for being part of a tour was safety (114 participants) as well as experiencing caravan travel (102 participants), while they indicated that the least important reason was comfort (91 participants).

According to the questionnaire most of the travelers were unhappy with the type of accommodation used during their journey. Most travelers stayed in hotels (133 travelers) and hostels (103 travelers). Paradoxically, while the least type of accommodation used was caravanserais (155 travelers), the most mentioned 'interesting type of accommodation throughout their journey' was caravanserais (115 travelers). About one third of the travelers stayed at Abbasi hotel (former Madar Shah Caravanserai), yet as a result of a high intervention in the structure and design of the building, most travelers did not recognize this building as a former caravanserai. In this respect, the next two chapters investigate 'why caravanserais are not used as one of the major types of accommodation on the Iranian part of the Silk Road'.

Based on the routes of overland group travelers, 6 itineraries were identified. Almost all of them are affected by the geopolitical and political situation of the Silk Road region, from war in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan to conflict over Kashmir between Pakistan and India. In this regard, travelers indicated that the major crucial barriers for traveling the Silk Road are political and geopolitical (52%) and visa permission (44%). The major issues in traveling on the Iranian part of the Silk Road are road safety (57%) and border control (31%).

Section III: Caravanserais

*Think, in this batter'd Caravanserai
Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp
Abode his Hour or two, and went his way.*

*(Rubaiyat Omar Khayyam, XVI-
translated into English verse by Edward
Fitzgerald)*

Chapter Six:

Isfahan and Caravanserais

6.1. Introduction

Indeed, receiving strangers and hosting guests is an essential notion in the world's major religions and spiritual traditions. As Prophet Mohammad stated, "There is no good in one who is not hospitable"⁹³. This phenomena in Islam along with financial motives encouraged *umma*⁹⁴ and the Islamic rulers to construct lodging spaces to host travelers traveling to their home or to use while traveling to other places. These lodging spaces are known by different names around the world. However, the most broadly used name for these spaces in the Iranian world⁹⁵ and beyond is caravanserai. While the presence of these structures after the emergence of Islam became an inevitable characteristic of the Islamic cities, their existence dates back to Achaemenid Empire of Persia in about 500 BCE. Most of the caravanserais were constructed during the 9th till the end of the 19th century from the Mediterranean region to the Indian subcontinent. Isfahan, similar to its counterparts throughout the Islamic world greatly benefited from the construction of these structures. This was specially in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, when the city was enjoying a great traffic of travelers and traders visiting the capital of Persia. In this chapter, my aim is to comprehensively look at the existence of caravanserais, their architectural elements and functionality throughout the Islamic world. Isfahan as an Islamic city and the capital of Persia during the Safavid Dynasty will be the center of this study.

First, in this chapter hospitality as a major motive for construction of caravanserai will be discussed and caravanserai as a product of movement of caravans and people along the Silk Road will be analyzed. Second, types and architectural features of caravanserais as a roadside and urban place for facilitating travel and trade will be identified. Third, this part of the chapter will look at the existence and importance of caravanserais throughout the Islamic world in general and Isfahan as an Islamic city. This section will be continued by discussing examples mostly from

⁹³ Ahmad b. Hanbal, Musnad, *Hadith* 16778.

⁹⁴ Commonly refer to the collective community of Islamic people in the holy Quran and *hadith*

⁹⁵ Generally refers to Iran, regions of the Caucasus, West Asia, Central Asia, and parts of South Asia that have significant Iranian cultural influence (Rubanovich, 2015).

Isfahan on the functionality of caravanserais in the scope of history. Forth, Isfahan as one of the past's major focal points between east and west will be introduced. Emergence and the major physical historical elements of the city till the end of the 19th century will also be examined. And last but not least, the current situation of caravanserais in Isfahan will be investigated with providing comprehensive information about Isfahan's national registered caravanserais.

6.2. Isfahan as an Islamic Historic City

In Chapter 3 I have briefly introduced the city of Isfahan. Here I would like to describe Isfahan within the context of an Islamic city along the Silk Road, from emergence to modernization. In this section, I will focus on one major question of 'how the city transformed from a mixture of two distinct ideological satellite villages to an Islamic city and maintained?'

Isfahan is situated in an oasis known for its natural and human richness. The city has been the center of attention for countries' politicians and managers, especially since the tenth century, which marks the city as one of the most historical, authentic places in the Islamic world. The location of Iranian cities has been determined by factors such as physical geography, presence of trade routes with consideration of its military, cultural, political and religious factors (Kheirabadi, 2000, p. 43). Similar to many other cities in the world, specially those located in desert areas, in Iran cities are chosen to be built in areas with available water resources and relatively 'arable hinterland' (ibid).

Beaumont et al. (1976), points to three elements - water, trade routes and political and military power- for a city to come in to being (in order of importance) in Iranian highland. Other scholars including Aubin (1970); Gaube (1979); Kheirabadi (2000) highlighted the profound importance of water in the establishment of cities in the Iranian highlands, which is also an important issue throughout Western Asia. This was particularly true in the case of Isfahan. Based on the Beaumont et al. (1976) categories, elements involved in the establishment of Isfahan can be traced in all of the above elements.

Golombek (1974, p. 20) classified Isfahan into three urban development stages from Pre-Islamic era to the contemporary era I) late Sasanian-early Islamic (to 772): the satellite villages; II) early Abbasid to Safavid: the amalgamated and eventually

walled town; and III) Safavid to Qajar: the metropolis. During history the nature of this city helped it (presence of Zayandeh Rood River) to become the center for the government and the capital for two empires, Seljuks (1037-1157) and Safavids (1502-1736).

The political role of Isfahan in these two periods strengthened. Its geopolitical location in the center of the country and far from borders of neighboring countries made Isfahan safer for trade, which marked Isfahan as an important economical junction of east to west and south to north. Its midway location between the empires of Samarkand and Bukhara in the east and Damascus and Aleppo in the west of the Islamic world was another reason for the city to become distinct from other Iranian cities. According to Gaube (1979) and Shafaghi (2006), there is not enough archeological data available for pre-Islamic Isfahan, which was known as a city of Gabae and Aspadana. Therefore, most researchers can only speculate about the shape and location of the city. There is little evidence showing Isfahan as one of the Iranian key cities in the Sasanian dynasty. One is the appearance of the abbreviation AS on coins from the fourth century onward.

Throughout history the city was known by different names Aspadana (Greek), Aspahan (Pahlavi), Asbahan/اصبهان (Arabic) and Isfahan/اصفهان (Farsi). The etymological data suggests that the name Aspahan is thought to be derived from the middle Persian (Pahlavi) 'Sipahan' meaning 'the house of army' (Fodor & Curtis, 1975). It can also be said that in other parts of Iran locals believed that the name Aspahan was taken from Asbahan meaning a 'dog'. However, Yāqūt al-Hamawī (1179-1229) a famous Arab geographer named Isfahan as a city of riders which is derived from 'Asb' (Horse) and 'han' seems to be from the Persian plural noun of 'ha' ها meaning riders. The city's strategic location at the crossroad of the Persian Royal Road to Susa and Persepolis and simultaneously the Silk Road can be evident to this etymology.

The city's complex history is still in large context under investigation, specially its history before the Battle of Isfahan in 642 which resulted in Muslim victory and marked the Islamification of the twin cities of Javy and Yahudiyya⁹⁶ located in the north of Zayandeh Rood River lying about four kilometers apart (Blunt,

⁹⁶Farsi : *Yahudiyya* meaning the Jewish city.

1966). After the victory of Arabs and the extinction of the Sasanian dynasty the Arabs named the city Jayy جى which is equal to the Persian name *Gayy* گى and is probably rooted from Gabae. Old Isfahan or Jayy in the Sasanian era was one of the political and military centers of the country and the division's name was *Sharestan* or *Shahrestan*⁹⁷. Today in the east of Isfahan there is a bridge (fig. 6.1) named after this division 'Shahrestan Bridge', which had an important role in connecting Jayy by four gates to other parts of Iran specially to the south of Iran (Fars and Persian Gulf).

Figure 6.1 Caravan of Camels on *Shahrestan* Bridge Entering the City of Isfahan



Source: Internet (unknown date)

The city of Jayy can be described as an important example of Zoroastrian city, which was divided into four parts by its two main axes, and four gates, which was determined by the astronomical orientation and seasonal position of the sun (Rafiei Mehrabadi, 1973). This type of urban setting can be seen in other Sasanian cities such as Firuzabad in Fars province (fig. 6.2.).

Figure 6.2 Firuzabad Urban Setting



Source: photo by George Gerster, 2011

⁹⁷ Farsi: Shahrestan meaning The Province.

The use of the bridge was a monopoly to Jayy and other residents and visitors could not use the bridge to connect to other places including Yahudiyya (New Isfahan). Today Jayy is one of the divisions of the city. According to Gaube (1979) Sasanian Jayy was not only a secure refuge for the neighboring unfortified settlements but acted as an administrative center of its hinterland.

There has been great discussion between scholars about the origin of Yahudiyya. However, Yahudiyya is presently proven as an ancestor of today's Isfahan. Most of the scholars believe that the Jewish wife of Sasanian king Yazdgird requested a town be built to accommodate Jewish refugees who were expatriated by Nebuchadnezzar II and a close by location to Jayy was selected to accommodate the refugee Jews (Pourshariati, 2014). However, another myth is from Ibn Hawqal, a Jewish community who as expelled by Nebuchadnezzar II took the soil of Jerusalem and went on search for a place that had similar soil. On their search they found similar soil in Isfahan region and therefore, decided to reside there (Rafiei Mehrabadi, 1973) and called it Ashkahan meaning 'we stop here' (Falahat, 2014, p. 89).

According to Falahat (2014) the first emergence of Isfahan's city was shaped by political decisions of the 8th century, when political stability during that period reduced the necessity of living in walled cities. Therefore, Abbasid governor Ayyub b. Ziyad set up residence in the village of Khusinan laying between Jayy and Yahudiyya in 767-68 that led to move the political Centre from Jayy to Khusinan. One of the main reasons to build a new city in Khusinan was to provoke the wane of the existing Sasanian city. It was common in early Islamic period to move the political centers of old cities (that during that period became more like a military station and camp) to gather dwellers around the new governmental focal point (Habibi, 2006). There are also three other kinds of Islamic cities that emerged during the early Islamic period. First, are the old cities that admitted Islamic governments by minimum spatial physical changes; these cities were transformed into Islamic cities by construction of new key elements including Friday mosque, bazaar and other key elements. Second, Islamic Power-cities that already were the center of Islamic governments; and third: religious-cities where people would gather around the graves of a holy man (see chapter 2 for more details on Islamic historic cities) (ibid).

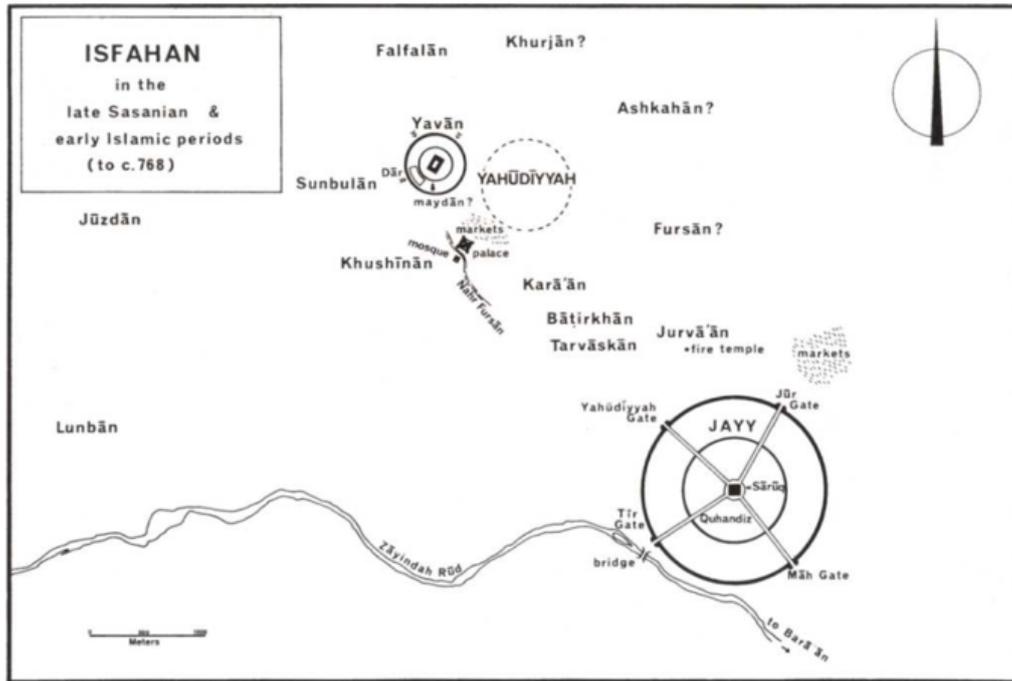
The governor of Isfahan ordered that a palace and mosque be built in front of the bank of no longer existing Fursan Canal and a large bazaar on the outskirts of

Kushinan facing in the direction of Yahuddeah as well as other government and private buildings which according to Gaube (1979) are the main elements –Mosque, Palace and Bazaar- of 9th and 10th century Islamic cities. According to a local and reliable historian Abu Nu`iam soon after the development, construction of housing in between Yahuddeah and Kushinan led to connect these places. The main factor involved in the connection of these two places is the construction of a Friday mosque -today known as Old Jame Mosque- in Yahudiyya. The construction of the mosque and consequently the *maidan* [Square] in Yahudiyya absorbed Khusinan and made the Yahuddiyya –combination of both settlements- by the 8th century as the most important center in the region which was called, wholly, Yahudiyya (Falahat, 2014; Gaube, 1979). In the accounts of Arab geographers of the 10th century who visited the region, Yahudiyya was revealed as the most important center of the region crowded by visitors and merchants of different kingdoms while Jayy was described as a small village (Gaube, 1979).

To sum up, in the region of today's Isfahan -at the time of the Arab conquest- consisted of two main satellite villages. One was a geometric type of settlement with walls around it which was the main center of power and politics in the region and the other was an immigrant minorities land built-up by the beliefs and ideas of religious minorities. In figure (6.3) the location of these satellite villages in relation to the Old *Maidan* and Zayandeh Rood River is shown.

Therefore, after the emergence of Islam in the region, the governor decided not to settle in any of these lands, but in a place (Khusinan) close to both settlements. This political decision is traceable in ideological beliefs rooted in Islamic beliefs of Abbasid rulers that considered Jayy as a symbol of heresy (Zoroastrianism) and Yahudiyya as a Jewish village (Golombek, 1974).

Figure 6.3 The Amalgamation and Circumvallation Period of Isfahan Region



Source: (Golombek, 1974)

The governor's order to build three main early Islamic urban elements - mosque, palace and bazaar- had a great influence on the residents decision to move from satellite villages to a new urban space which fulfilled their daily life needs.

From the mid 8th century to the beginning of the 10th century, the urbanization in Isfahan and in general in Iran has had little improvement and development (Falahat, 2014). During these two centuries no city emerged which was the result of long lasting political instability until the arrival of the Buyids (ibid). However, in the 10th century, which is known to be one of the greatest periods of Iran's social and cultural structure, Islamic urban civilization was formed (Beaumont et al., 1976). Isfahan, which was ruled and governed by weak princes for about two centuries, remained as a village-style settlement. However, under the rule of a strong Iranian governing force, called Al-Buyed (932-1055 CE) Isfahan became stronger and marked the next stage of its development.

A citadel was built in the southwest quarter of the city fortifying it. It contained four quarters –Jubara, Karan, dardasht and Kushk (which later in Safavid era the south of the quarter became the *Dowlat* quarter). Friday mosque and the Old *Maidan* in the center of this walled city remained as a main element and a center for commerce, administration and religious activity of the people.

In the 11th century, with mass construction in the city the Old *Maidan* remained as the main religious, administrative and commercial center and this prosperity remained up to the 16th century when the new *maidan* was built in the *Dowlat* quarter. Al-Maqdisi⁹⁸, who visited Isfahan in the late 10th century, described Yahuddiya as a large emporium with professional artists and wealthy merchants who export goods to faraway places. Iranian geographer, Mafrukhi Isfahani⁹⁹, described Isfahan during Buyyed time as the city that was built by fine buildings, beautiful gardens, stables, *hammams* and plentiful marketplaces.

According to Nasir –I Khusraw: “I noticed many bazaars and in one of these, which was that of the money changers, there were 200 men of this profession. Each bazaar has its wall and its gate, as has every quarter and street. There are clean and well-kept caravanserais. The caravan of which we formed part had brought 1,300 *Kharvars*¹⁰⁰ [*donkey load*] of goods. When we entered the city no one noticed our arrival; there was so much room that there was no difficulty in obtaining lodging and food. I have never seen, in any place where Persian is spoken, a finer, larger and more prosperous city than Isfahan.” (cited in Lockhart, 1950, pp. 251–252). He also reported that in the city there are fine caravanserais, beautiful buildings and fresh running water in canals all around the city and axial roads running between different gates (Falihat, 2014, p. 23)

The above description can provide an overall image of the city in the beginning of the Seljuk dynasty. During the Seljuk period and when Isfahan was chosen as the capital of the Seljuk Empire (1073-1092) trade and movement shaped the structure of the city, more caravanserais were built and the Old *Maidan* became one of the most important political, economic and religious centers of Persia.

Based on the strategic location of Isfahan in the center of Iran, merchandise and traders became very interested in doing business in this well-defined wall and gated city. The fortification of cities was one of the main elements of urban security and stability at the end of 11th and 12th century. This prosperity did not last long due to a great battle against Mongol invaders. After long resistance the city was captured

⁹⁸ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī or al-Maqdisī, Arab geographer and traveler lived in 945/946 – 991 CE. His famous book is Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma’rifat al-aqālīm (The Best Divisions in the Knowledge of the Regions).

⁹⁹ Mafzal bin Saad Mafrukhi Isfahan, Persian historian from Isfahan. His noticeable work on describing Isfahan is *Mahasin* Isfahan (The merits of Isfahan).

¹⁰⁰ Conventional measure of weight: 1 *Kharvar* is equal to 300 kg (Shirazi *kharvar*) to 330 kgs (Tabrizi *Kharvar*),

in 1386 and many people died. The center of Islamic urban development moved from the west of Iran to cities of Samarkand, Bokhara, Balkh, Harat and Mashhad which greatly participated in the decline of the city for about 2 centuries.

At the end of the fifteenth century the first truly Persian dynasty after centuries appeared in the north-west of Persia. Shah Ismail (1487-1524) who seized Tabriz in 1499 was proclaimed the first Shah of Safavid dynasty. During the reign of the first two Safavid shahs, Shah Ismail I and his son Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) revitalization around the Old *Maidan* was performed. However, the main urban development emerged when Shah Abbas the Great (1571–1629) decided to move the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in 1597.

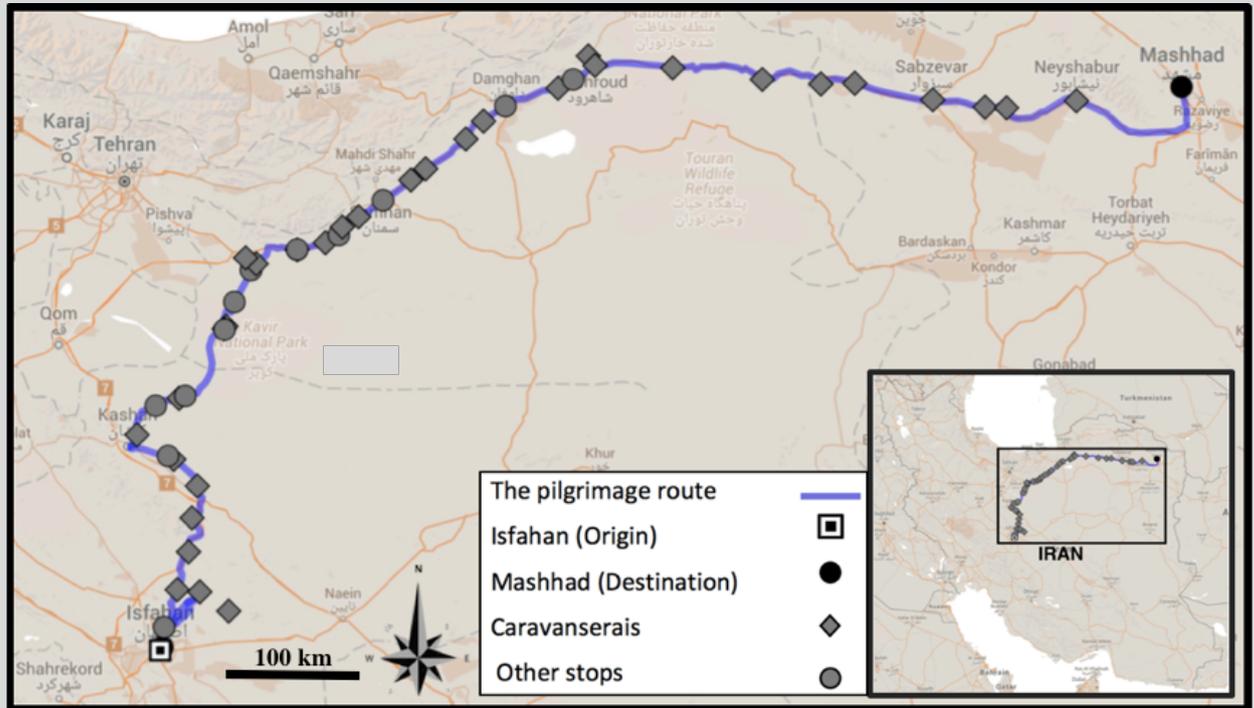
Shah Abbas the Great and his Pilgrimage to Mashhad

Shah Abbas I who ruled Persia from (1587 to 1629) was the fifth ruler of Safavid Dynasty. He stabilized Iran's relationship with Europe through trade, investment and diplomacy. According to David Blow (2009), Shah Abbas revived Persia's failing economy by stipulating security, a strong currency and a great improvement in the country's infrastructure. He was a great builder and restored many historical buildings across the country which had fallen into disrepair. With his guidance Persia experienced the golden age of art and architecture (Canby, 2000). Abbas's successes in establishing a strong country (politically, Socio-culturally and economically) 'fully justifies the epithet of 'the Great'' (Blow, 2009, p. xi). The only other king who carried out this epithet in Iran is Cyrus the Great (ibid). In his first visit to Isfahan, he was attracted to the beauty of this city and replaced his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan. In 1590 on his way to the south he ordered building work to be carried out in the city. This mainly involved the renovation and restoration of bazaars and caravanserais around the Old *Maidan*, which was then the center of the city. As his favorite game was Polo and horse racing, he ordered a great square (*Maidan Naghsh-e Jahan* -Pattern of the world Square-) to be constructed to the south of the Old *Maidan* and to be covered with sand from the river (Blow, 2009). The new maidan became the focal point of a new administrative, commercial and religious center of the city.

Abbas invested a lot of time to visit his kingdom and to suppress rebellions; he traveled to many cities of Persia for the first time. One of his major expeditions occurred in 1601 when he pilgrimage to Mashhad on foot. His pilgrimage to Mashhad has been an important step for increasing pilgrimage travel and construction of caravanserais along the trade and pilgrimage routes. With this trip he encouraged Iranian people to make pilgrimages to Mashhad as an alternative to the pilgrimage centers abroad – Mecca and the Shi'ite shrines in Iraq – all of which were in the hands of his Ottoman enemy. It can also be seen as an economic decision as "he was anxious to reduce the loss of valuable bullion in the form of gold and silver coins that the pilgrimages to Iraq and Arabia entailed" (Newman, 2006, p. 184). Also, Shah Abbas

was credited with the construction of many caravanserais on this route (fig. 6.4). Two important travelers were following Shah Abbas, Iskandar beg Munshi¹⁰¹ and Jalal al-Din Muhammad Munajjim Yazdi¹⁰².

Figure 6.4 Shah Abbas Pilgrimage to Mashhad 1601 CE



Source: The Author (2016) based on accounts of Iskandar Beg Munshi and Jalal al-Din Muhammad Munajjim Yazdi in (Melville, 1996)

According to Iskandar Beg Munshi, the main reason of his travel to Mashhad, is to remark the importance of Imam Reza's shrine to pilgrims, and claims travel from Isfahan to Mashhad took Shah and his campaign 28 days¹⁰³ (in Melville, 1996). Yet he did not mention the date of travels or other details to map his stop places. It took Shah Abbas and his campaign 41 days to arrive at Imam Reza (8th Shia Imam) Shrine, and that he had altogether travelled 199 Farsang¹⁰⁴ and listed 36 locations in this route. As Munajjim Yazdi's job was to calculate and measure the distance between cities and days, in this work he located all the stops and caravanserais according to Ruznameh-yi Mulla Jalal and Iskandar Beg Munshi (Melville, 1996). Many of these caravanserais were not constructed on his outbound journey and by his order during his visit in Mashhad, these caravanserais were constructed and therefore, he could stay in these caravanserais on the way back (Melville, 1996).

¹⁰¹ The court historian of the Safavid emperor Shah Abbas I and privileged secretary of the Shah. He wrote one of the greatest works of Persian historiography "*Tarikh-i Alam-ārā-yi Abbāsi*"

¹⁰² An analytical writer of Shah Abbas, a court astrologer and sometime ambassador. He is an author of "*Ruznameh-yi Mulla Jalal*".

¹⁰³ According to Charles Melville (1996) this account is adequate, so far as it goes, but 28 days seems an extraordinarily rapid time for such a journey. He also, added that even the shah's express messengers took 11 days to ride from Isfahan to Mashhad (ibid).

¹⁰⁴ Each Farsang is about 6.23 km, Therefore, he traveled about 1239.77 km

During his reign Isfahan became a great metropolis and due to its security and stability -especially on its roads- travelers and traders became interested in visiting the city and accordingly, political representatives and ambassadors of western countries arrived in the city (Savory, 2007). Due to political and commercial development in the world, and an interest of foreigners to invest in and visit the Persian capital, Shah turned the city into an intercontinental imperial capital. This in fact, made Isfahan one of the major trading cities in the region which became an inevitable visiting place for traders as well as travelers. The city also became one of the most important cities along the Silk Road, competing with its older counterparts in the Eurasian subcontinent cities of Bukhara and Samarkand as well as famous Arab cities of Cairo, Baghdad and Aleppo.

Shah Abbas policies have opened the country's door for trade and travel and transformed a village style city into a great metropolis in the Islamic world or perhaps the world. This was simultaneous with imperial development of the city. New bazaars, mosques, *hammams* and caravanserais were constructed by the Shah and wealthy people. All of these constructions were part of a greater development of the city which in fact, moved the center of the city to the new quarter.

The Shah decided to develop new paths and not to live in the Old *Maidan* and therefore he built his court in the southwestern edge of the city, in *Dowlat* quarter. Lockhart (1967, p. 219) stated "Shah felt it essential to carry out drastic changes in Isfahan in order to make it a fitting metropolis". Shah basically came to the conclusion that the existing focal center is not harmonious with the growth and needs of the Persian capital.

Figure 6.5 Naghsh-e Jahan Square



Source: The Author (September 2015)

The nucleus of the new Isfahan *Naghsh-e-Jahan* square along with Shah's palace (Ali-Qapu) and *Chahar-Bagh*¹⁰⁵ Avenue with Alah verdi-khan bridge was the first phase of construction of the city which took place from 1598 till 1606. The second phase of major urban construction began in 1611 and it was basically focusing on the buildings around the *Naghsh-e-Jahan* square including the Royal Mosque and the *Qaisariyya*¹⁰⁶ (Royal or Imperial Bazaar) (Falihat, 2014; Lockhart, 1967). The city was founded by Abbas I in 1602 however the construction began about 3 years before it became the capital. During that time construction continued in different parts of the city including the South of Zayandeh Rood river and the city obtained its ultimate form in about 1722 (Blake, 1999).

Two hundred years after the establishment of Samarkand, Shah Abbas I of Persia laid down the foundation of this imperial city. He was charmed by the mild climate of the Isfahan plain, situated at the center of the Iranian plateau, and undertook the planning of the city assisted by scholars and philosophers, such as the legendary Sheikh Bahai (1547–1621). Jean Chardin, reported that the long boulevard called *Chahar-Bagh* is “definitely a novelty”... “this is to my knowledge the most beautiful alley... Spacious promenades are shadowed by several ranks of plane trees; the boulevard is flanked at both sides by a suite of gardens linked to each other by pools and watercourses in cascade” (cited in Hensel & Gharleghi, 2012, p. 42).

According to Ehlers (1992, p. 160) who described Isfahan at the beginning of the 17th century with impressive architectural features:

Isfahan's urban growth and economic upswing from 1600 onwards is documented by an impressive sequence of architectural as well as industrial / manufactural developments: the construction of the royal quarters, the embellishment often central square with its mosques, Madrasas and caravanserais, the design of *Chahar-Bagh* or of a new bazaar, shops and caravanserais of which were the private property of the ruler.

Various 17th century western observers such as Schillinger claimed that 17th-century Isfahan was the largest city in all of Safavid Persia (Schillinger, 1707, p. 228). According to Jean Chardin (1811, p. 134), Isfahan had 162 mosques, 48 madrasas, 1802 caravansaries, 273 public baths, and 12 cemeteries within its walls (for an

¹⁰⁵ Farsi: *Chahar-Bagh* meaning four gardens

¹⁰⁶ The name *qaisariyya* is rooted from “the imperial hall of the Roman and Byzantine markets *Caesaria*” a guarded element of bazaar that accommodates the most precious objects such as jewelry, silk and gold (Bianca, 2000, p. 125).

overview of the city's caravansaries, see a list of Isfahan caravanserais in the British museum- MS Sloane 4094).

The exact number of its population is not known, but clearly raised over time, especially after the city gained the status of capital (Haneda & Matthee, 2006). Thomas Herbert's visit in 1627-29, calculated 70,000 households and a total of 200,000 people (Herbert, 1928). Adam Olearius in 1637 gives a figure of 500,000 inhabitants (Olearius, 1669). Chardin confirms this by telling that in the late 17th century the population of Isfahan was almost as numerous as that of London, the biggest city in Europe with an estimated population of 500,000 (Chardin, 1811).

According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the total length of the city wall was three and half Farsangs [over 12 miles], which is the main source for the length of the city-wall (cited in Lockhart, 1950, p. 251). Generally information about Isfahan city wall is very limited (ibid). Blake (1999) stated that the city wall has been reconstructed several times and the last reconstruction was in 17th century.

Among numerous dynasties that ruled from Isfahan as their capital, the Safavid has proved to be the most important one, deeply marking the physical pattern and the architecture of the city (Hooshangi, 2000). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Safavid notified the image of the town by applying wonderful, ordered town planning in the south of the existing city. The new plan followed the doctrines of the old town, but consisted of an ordered, geometric plan, with applications of numerous walled gardens in the south (ibid). According to Shirazi (1974), the new layout contained two applications: the great public square, Naghsh-e-Jahan Sq. surrounded by mosques, palaces and shops and a linear promenade, the Chahar-Bagh Avenue, sided by gardens and pavilions. On a longitudinal axis, Chahar-Bagh Avenue symbolically links the country's north to south, and the imperial city joins the medieval town via a geometrical detour, carefully oriented according to the summer solstice.

As I have already mentioned, by choosing Isfahan as the capital of Safavid Dynasty a new *Qaisariyya* in the new *maidan* and subsequently the commercial core of the city shifted from the old maiden to the new bazaar in the north of Naghsh-e-Jahan Square. This transformation occurred by a liner growth of the bazaar from the Old *Maidan* to the new bazaar by the construction of shops, caravanserais, *hammams*, religious buildings and other public facilities by people and especially wealthy

members of the community. With the growth of the bazaar along the axes between these two focal points of the city, latitudinal growth also accords to facilitate and fulfill the needs of people and facilities in the latitude axes of the bazaar (Falahat, 2014). The latitudinal growth of bazaar basically occurred during the reign of the third king of Safavid dynasty (Shah Abbas II) and accordingly new micro-cores emerged in different parts of the city.

With the growth of the long covered bazaar (main bazaar) the fundamental and main backbone of the city developed and consequently the vital organs of the city such as caravanserais, *hammams*, schools, bakeries, granaries, teahouses and shops evolved. The development of the city's backbone resulted in expansion of the urban pedestrian streets around the bazaar connecting different parts of urban organs to the cores of the city. Moreover, the main urban commercial route connected both focal points of the city and was stretched to the city gates connecting the national trade routes (Falahat, 2014, p. 114)

The prosperity of the city did not last any longer, as in 1722 Ghilzai Afghans sieged Isfahan for about 7 months. During the siege hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives to famine or pestilence. The population of the city decreased dramatically, as over nine-tenths of the inhabitants had died and large areas of the city were totally demolished (Lockhart, 1950). The siege ended with the abdication of the last shah of Safavid Empire Shah Sultan Hossain and Mahmud Afghan by killing the shah marked the end of Safavid Dynasty (ibid). About 7 years after the Siege, Nadir Shah came to power and drove Afghans out of Isfahan and subsequently made his former city Mashhad as the Capital of Persia in 1736.

Since then, for at least two centuries or perhaps till today, Isfahan never returned to its past prosperity. James Morier (1835, p. 139), who visited Isfahan early in the nineteenth century, found the city much smaller than its former size ". . . one might suppose that God's curse had extended over parts of the city, as it did over Babylon. Houses, bazaars, mosques, palaces, whole streets are to be seen in total abandonment; and I have rode [sic] for miles among its ruins without meeting with any living creature, except perhaps a jackal peeping over a wall, or a fox running to his home." Lockhart (1950, p. 260) states that the city partially recovered since Morier's time as the population in 1950s reached about one-third of what it was in its great time. In the beginning of the 18th century and during the Qajar Era, the city turned

to a large provincial center, similar to Mashhad, Tabriz and Shiraz. However, due to a lack of modern infrastructure in the region, merchandise was still transported by caravans well into the 20th century and because of strategic location of the city, Isfahan once again in the lower grade gained its importance as a focal point in international and national trade. The north-south trade routes from Isfahan to India, Java, Ottoman Arabia, and Egypt followed the road via Shiraz to Bushehr and the east-west route connected Baghdad to central Asia.

The destruction of the city did not stop even in the 19th century as many of historical monuments including palaces were destroyed by the Qajari governor of Isfahan philistine Zill al-Sultan in order to erase the memory of Safavid Era (see chapter 3). However, due to the continued importance of travel and trade in Isfahan as a focal point along the Silk Road, wealthy people and elites continued the construction of caravanserais, *sarais* and *timche* in and around the Isfahan bazaar. *Sarai* Haj Karim, *Sarai* Mohammad Sadigh Khan and *Timche* Malik in the city and Caravanserai Ghale-Shour outside the city are relevant examples.

The most profound changes in the socio-cultural structure of Isfahan after Safavid Dynasty occurred during Pahlavi period. Rapid urbanization was not only carried out in Tehran but on a smaller scale implemented in Isfahan too, which changed the old layout of the city. Modernization in mobility and unthinkable constriction of new roads in this era invaded the organic texture of the old town by uncompromisingly passing through the adobe structures and twisting alleys of the city. The construction of new roads crossing the Old *Maidan* is an example (see chapter 3). In this period, new buildings were constructed and Chahar-Bagh Avenue expanded northward to demonstrate the city as a metropolitan city. The factory quarter expanded, textile mills revived on the modern basis and in contrast to this modernization, handcrafters in the bazaar continued producing good quality products similar to what their ancestors used to do (Lockhart, 1950). Fortunately, unlike Tehran, Reza Shah was less drastic in Isfahan, as perhaps his advisors, including Arthur Upham Pope, André Godard and Mohammad Ali Foroughi had repeatedly informed him about the values of Iranian cultural heritage specially those located in Isfahan (see chapter 3). Conservation of historical monuments in *Maidan-e Naghshe Jahan* that had greatly suffered from decades of neglect are such examples. However, with the construction of new roads and modernization of transportation in this era,

many built heritage specially those located along the routes became haunted and many in the city were destroyed for the sake of modernization (see chapter 3).

6.3. Sources for the Study of Caravanserais

Since most of the urban, rural and roadside caravanserais have been destroyed, many for the sake of modernization and many because of careless of restoration, at present, an accurate study on caravanserais is very challenging.

The first known reference from caravanserai or resting places dates back to 5th BCE from famous ancient Greek historian Herodotus (circa 484 – 425 BCE). Generally, most of the available sources on caravanserais are written from the 11th century onwards. Nāsir-i- Khusraw Qubādiyānī (1004-1088) a Persian famous traveler and one of the greatest writers in Persian literature with a valuable travel book who presents the first comprehensive image of Isfahan in the 11th century described Isfahan caravanserais in that time. From the Arab world famous traveler and Berber Muslim Moroccan explorer, Abd Allāh al-Lawātī al-Ṭanjī ibn Baṭūṭah (1304–1368 or 1369) wrote about the importance of caravanserais in the life of residents and travelers in the 14th century Persia and Arab world. From the 17th century, the well-known *Tarikh-I Alem Aray-yi Abbasi* written by Iskandar Beg-Mounshi the Shah Abbas` s chronicler is the main historical Persian text for Safavid studies. However, most available sources about Isfahan caravanserais are the writings of historians, travelers and missionaries who visited Isfahan from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The most prolific, perceptive, and informative ones are Pascal Coste, Antonio de Gouvea, Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, Eugène Flandin, Pietro della Valle, Sir Thomas Herbert, Adam Olearius, Cornelis Speelman, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Raphael du Mans, Jean Thevenot, John Fryer, Jean Chardin, Engelbert Kaempfer, François Sanson, Cornelis de Bruyn, and Artemii Petrovich Volynskii.

For instance, Tavernier (1678) and Thevenot (1686) stated that caravanserais in Iran are more comfortable and elegant than their counterparts in the Ottoman Empire. Italian adventurer and traveler Gemelli-Careri (1708) considered Iranian caravanserais so magnificent, “uniform and well-proportioned that they are not inferior to the best structures in Europe” (MacMillan, 1993 p.5). John Chardin (1811) comprehensively described Isfahan’s caravanserais in his travel book. And Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste (1867; 1851), presented about 200 valuable paintings, maps

and plots of Iranian architectural monuments in their books, including some caravanserais of Isfahan.

Recent sources include the various Persian and European sources, Maxime Siroux in his books about routes and caravanserais looked at the architectural dimension of caravanserais in Iran and in particular Isfahan`s roadside caravanserais in 1944 and 1963.

Mohammad Yusef Kiani`s thesis (1970) *‘The Iranian caravanserais [sic] during the Safavid period’* located in SOAS library was a comprehensive work on the Iranian caravanserais focusing on roadside caravanserais. Kleiss and Kiani (1995) in their book *‘Fehrest-e kārīvānsarāhā-ye Īrān’* listed about 680 caravanserais mostly roadside. Kleiss (1996, 2002) worked on the location of caravanserais in the series of books of *‘Karawanenbauten in Iran’*. To categorize the studies on caravanserais according to time, four major dynasties have been studied: Seljuk (Önge, 2007; Tükel, 1969; Yavuz, 1997), Ottoman (Hillenbrand, 2000; Sauvaget, 1937, 1939, 1940, Unal, 1973, 1978), Safavid (Hillenbrand, 2000; Housego, 1974; Kleiss, 1996, 2002; Kleiss & Kiani, 1995; Sims, 1978; Siroux, 1949, 1971, 1974) and Mughal (Begley, 1983; Campbell, 2011; Khan, 1990).

6.4. Hospitality and Caravanserai

Hospitality has a long history throughout human history, especially in Islamic tradition where there has always been a strong sense for hospitality. The Quran and hadiths repeatedly mention the importance of hospitality and travel (Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). Hospitality has developed as a benchmark for civilization (O’Gorman, 2010b). Only once the origin and place of hospitality in human nature is achieved, can one expect to discover what hospitality really means (O’Connor, 2005). Commercial hospitality dates back to about 2000 BCE, when strangers were welcomed by supplying drink, women and accommodation (O’Gorman, 2008, 2010a). Hospitality was respected as an asset and advantage in all three monotheistic religions, and often associated with the prophet Ibrahim, who was the first person to provide hospitality to a guest and the host for the visiting angels (Constable, 2004).

In the Islamic tradition, travel is an important aspect of life specially for religious purposes. As for Muslims, travel to *Kaaba*¹⁰⁷ is one of the five pillars of

¹⁰⁷ Known as the house of God located in Mecca.

Islam. This basic obligation for a Muslim has greatly contributed to the development of hospitality in the Islamic world. Besides, according to the Islamic tradition, one of the ways to reach paradise is to show hospitality to travelers and guests, as prophet Mohammad “commanded that he who believes in Allah and the judgment of the last day should be hospitable to guests” (Switzer, 2008, p. 316). While Hajj was the main motivation of Muslims to pilgrimage, other religious motivated journeys also encouraged Muslims to travel, such as visiting holy places and sites of religiosity (shrines and mosques) as well as meeting religious leaders and scholars or participating in religious activities which mostly occur in *Shia* tradition. However, pilgrimage was not only denoted to the Muslim world but pilgrimage was also a central aspect of various religions and traditions such as Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Hinduism as well as Zoroastrianism (see heritage routes in chapter 4). While routes played a great role in pilgrims visiting their place of religiosity, these routes were not particularly constructed for religious reasons, but mostly for the economical and the political motives (see the Silk Road in chapter 4). In the Islamic world the existence of routes was also associated with construction of resting stages on the routes for providing accommodation and food for both travelers and beast. The construction of a high number of these vernacular architecture facilities in the large area of the Islamic world is a reflection to the conformity of the Muslims to the concept of hospitality commanded by the Islamic tradition.

Routes as the first and most natural way of communication greatly participated in the expansion of Islam. Generally, routes and their affiliated buildings in the Middle East and North Africa were constructed far before the 7th century. For instance, as described in chapter 4, Cyrus the Great, the king of Achaemenid dynasty in the 5th Century BCE ordered a network of highways to be built between different parts of his empire named “the Persian Royal Road” to control the empire. These politically (military, postal) motivated routes was described by Herodotus in his fifth book as a safe route:

Everywhere there are royal stations with excellent resting places, and the whole road runs through country which is inhabited and safe . . . [111] is the number of stages with resting- places, as one goes up from Sardis to Susa.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Herodotus, Histories, V: 52–3

These resting stations were mostly equipped with grooms, veterinarians, carpenters, accountants, and other necessary facilities, and were used generally by diplomats and people holding permits (Silverstein, 2007). However, there is no evidence of these resting stations today (Kiani, 1970). Which, according to Siroux (1949) can be explained by the adobe material used for construction. With the development of trade and the establishment of large caravans and the limitation in travel distance by caravans each day, routes had to be divided into stages. In the Iranian world these rest-stations was called caravanserais.

The caravanserai is a combination of ‘caravan’ meaning a group of passengers derived from Persian *karban* ‘one who protects trade’ and ‘*serai or sarai*’ meaning ‘a house or a place with enclosed walls’. Both words are derived from Sassanid Pahlavi language.

6.5. Typology of Caravanserai

Generally, “a caravanserai is a building to house caravan” (Hillenbrand, 2000, p. 331). Caravanserai is “a building, the inn of the Orient providing accommodation for commercial, pilgrim, postal, and especially official travelers” (Kiani & Kleiss, 1990, p. 799) specially those traveling the Silk Road. The oxford English Dictionary (2011, p. 211) defined caravanserai as a historical “inn with a central courtyard for travelers in the desert regions of Asia or North Africa”.

The architecture of caravanserai is believed to have Persian origins and likely developed out of the form of Roman forts sometime around first century (Campbell, 2015; Sims, 1978, p. 98), and its central courtyard form is rooted in Chinese military posts and Buddhist monasteries (Wirth, 2000). Most caravanserais are located in Iran, Turkey, Syria and some parts of North Africa such as Morocco and Egypt to support the flow of commerce and trade on the great Silk Road and other caravan routes as well as providing a place of rest for pilgrims and travelers. According to O’Gorman (2010a) Shah Abbas I of Persia, king of the Safavid Dynasty, established a comprehensive system of caravanserais all across his empire and throughout the Islamic world, offering hospitality and care for travelers, pilgrims (Petersen, 1994), strangers (Yavuz, 1997) and alike. O’Gorman (2010a) added that Shah Abbas I is often credited for constructing a network of 999 caravanserais in Persia in the first half of 1600 CE. However, according to Worrall (2011) and Matthee (2000), by

commanding the construction of 999 caravanserais and not 1000 Shah Abbas wanted to highlight the importance of the construction of these buildings, hence, the number seems to be exaggerated. The English traveler and explorer, Ernest Floyer in his book *Unexplored Baluchistan* (1882, p. 429) stated:

I strolled over to a fine large caravanserai, close by which were some fifty huge camels being fed with large balls of barley, slightly bruised and soaked, in water. I found the keeper of this place a chatty old gentleman, who had been in Kirman when our troops took Bushire, and who had plenty to say about the matter. I asked who built the caravanserai, and, as I expected, "Shah Abbas." "Shah Abbas," he resumed, "built 999 caravansarai [*sic*]." "and why," said I innocently, "didn't he make it a thousand while he was about it?" He was greatly pleased. "Because he wished people to ask just the question you ask!."

The distance between each roadside caravanserai in Iran was approximately 20 km (Siroux, 1949), 20-30 km (Kiani, 1970; Kleiss, 2002) and 30-50 km (Blake, 1999). Some have been restored and are used as hotels, others still operate like the caravanserais of the past, Unfortunately many suffer from unsuitable conservation and are now in an advanced state of deterioration and disrepair (O’Gorman, 2010a).

Dayr-E Gacin Caravanserai¹⁰⁹ is entitled as one of the oldest Iranian caravanserai existing today, and dates back to the 3rd century is an example of a place that has suffered from inappropriate restoration (Shokoohy, 1983). This caravanserai and is now in an advanced state of decay (O’Gorman & Prentice, 2008)

Traditionally, travelers could stay up to 3 nights for free, while most of the travelers used to stay just for one night. Generally, roadside caravanserais were free, however, in some occurrences fees were charged to the travelers who wanted to make use of the more private cells around the courtyard (Begley, 1983; Khan, 1990).

Shah Abbas I ordered caravanserais to be built and that hosts welcome the travelers to the caravan for free for as long as they wish to stay, especially in roadside caravanserais (Parsadoost, 2009). However, in many Islamic historic cities, caravanserais were not entirely free. As John Fryer (1698, p. 264) who visited Isfahan in 1677 stated "Here they rent the warehouses and apartments, not let them out at free-cost, as upon the roads: [*sic*] the king and queen, as they have built royal ones receive from them a great annuity".

¹⁰⁹ See (Shokoohy, 1983) for more details on this caravanserai.

Caravanserais are referred to by various names such as *Khan*, *Fundūq*, *Ribat*, *Pandocheion* and *Sarai*, the most common term used in the Arab world is *Khan*. However, in the North African region the term used for calling this type of Islamic architecture is varied, for instance ‘*wakalla*’ in Egypt and ‘*Fundūq*’ in Greater Maghreb. On the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, especially in Venice this type of building is called ‘*Fundaco*’ and in Spain it’s named ‘*Alhóndiga*’. In Turkish speaking areas *Han* is the main term used for calling caravanserai, in Yemen it is called *Samsara* and in Bangali the term used for these buildings is ‘*Katra*’. However according to Constable (2004), the evolution of *pandocheion*, *fundūq*, *Alhóndiga* and *fondaco* is deeper and more multifaceted, since it can be traced back from Greek and was used first in about the fifth century BCE and later into Arabic, and then moved from Arabic into Latin and consequently other western European languages throughout many centuries. In both Persian and Arabic language, it means house, a place to stay and rest (table 6.1).

In some other Islamic cities bazaar and caravanserai are known as a ‘*Khan*’. According to Robert Hillenbrand (2000, p. 332), “Conveniently in the Arab world the word *khan* is often used for small inns situated in or near settlements and offer a wider range of facilities”. The word *Khan* was widely used in the west of Islamic civilization, and today many of the caravanserais in Iraq, Palestine and Syria are called *Khan*. According to Robert Hillenbrand the fundamental sense of the word *khan* in both Arabic and Persian is house. “Thus the etymological indications are that at least some early structures that served the needs of travelers were like houses - compared to the Arabic word *Manzil* meaning both 'house' and ‘way-station’” (Hillenbrand, 2000, p. 332). According to Kiani, the word *Robat*, has lent itself to a variety of uses, from “a frontier post against the infidel” to “a Sufi community house”; he also, stated, “gradually the meaning enlarged to include post stations, caravanserais and places of refuge” (Kiani, 1970, pt. Historical Background). *Robat* also used by Nasir -i-Khusraw in his *Safar Name* to refer to rest houses that had no religious significance.

While there are various terms used to identify these structures in different regional vocabularies, the characteristics of these types of buildings are mostly similar as the terms imply to a wide range of functions and types (table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Usage of Different Terms for Caravanserai in Different Regions and Territories

Language	Terms	Uses in various locations
Persian	Caravanserai / Karwansaray	Iran, Central Asia, Caucasus and Indian subcontinent (Lingered in English usage and today is the most common name used to refer to this type of building)
	<i>Sarai</i>	Iran, Central Asia, Indian Subcontinent
	<i>Robot</i>	Iran, Central Asia, Caucasus
Arabic	<i>Khan</i>	Most Arabic speaking countries (primary name)
	<i>Funduq</i>	Greater Maghreb and the Mediterranean region
	<i>Qasr</i>	Syria, Iraq and very limited in Iran
	<i>Ribat</i>	Syria, Iraq and some times in the greater Maghreb
	<i>wakalla</i>	Egypt
	<i>Samsara</i>	Yemen
Turkish	<i>Han</i>	Turkish Speaking world
Greek	<i>Stathmos</i>	Old Greek and Roman territories
	<i>pandocheion</i>	Mediterranean region
Spanish	<i>Alhóndiga</i>	Spain

Source: The Author (2016)¹¹⁰

According to Pirnia and Afsar (1974), we cannot find in any other language than farsi such wide varieties of words for caravanserai such as *roas*, *carevanbat*, *caravanserai*, *sarai*, *barid* and this fact marks the importance of transportation and communication in past Iran (ibid). Herodotus used “*Stathmos*” in his book to refer to stages and resting stations on the royal road of Achaemenid Empire. According to Purves (2010) in his book *Space and time in ancient Greek narrative*, The “*stathmos*” was a “stage” perhaps symbolized by stopping places en-route, but also used by Greeks as a measurement of distance. *Carbat* was another pre-Islam name for caravanserai and it could be the oldest name of caravanserai and most probably is an abbreviation of *caravanbat* meaning a Caravan House.

According to Robert Hillenbrand (2000, p. 332) *Sarai* “means a house though the term implies large size and is often used for palaces”. Mostly, based on the location of a caravanserai there are few differences between the terms *sarai* and *caravanserai*.

In the Indian subcontinent generally *sarai* refers to caravanserai. However, the term *sarai* by Iranians refers to a marketplace (fig. 6.6). In this regard, in October 2013, in Isfahan bazaar, I met a chatty old man who had an antique shop in the corner of ‘*Sarai Mokhles*’. I asked if this is the caravanserai of Mokhles and suddenly he became upset and replied, “caravanserai is a place for donkeys and camels”, he added

¹¹⁰ Complied from various sources.

here is *Sarai* “a place for business and trade”.

Figure 6.6 *Sarai (Timche) Malik in the Isfahan Bazaar*



Source: The Author (February, 2014)

Most scholars did not give enough attention to the differences between *sarai* and caravanserais and positioned both in the same categories. However, there are fundamental differences between these two places which are critical specially in the conservation of these buildings for tourism and hospitality purposes (Kiani, 1970), such as i) the history of caravanserais date back to Achaemenid empire, but *sarais* are relatively new formed from 7th to 8th century CE; ii) caravanserais are larger in size and provide accommodation for travelers iii) Caravanserais unlike *sarais* are external and an adjacent element of the bazaar, though, *sarais* are an inner element and considered as one of the main elements of Iranian bazaars; iv) one of the main architectural features of caravanserais is providing a stable for caravans, while *sarais* do not contain stables; v) because of security reasons it was not possible to stay overnight in *sarais* while, caravanserais were built profoundly as a place to stay; vi) the major purpose of caravanserais was to lodge and host travelers, locals and foreign traders, and *sarais* usually served as commercial complexes; and vii) caravanserais can be built in any location, including (roadsides and urban areas) but *sarais* are mostly associated with the grand bazaars of Islamic cities.

In order to identify caravanserais, different factors were also involved such as location, people, religion and architecture. Depending on the location of caravanserais, and in some cases on who built and use them as well as their architectural features, caravanserais are referred to by various names. Many caravanserais were named after the person who founded a caravanserai, for instance, caravanserais commanded to be built by Shah Abbas I were named after him ‘Shah Abbasi Caravanserais’ or ‘Saru Taqi Caravanserai’ built by Saru Taqi. Often, caravanserai was named after the origin of the merchants, ‘Nakhichevani-ha Caravanserai’ or ‘Hindu-ha Caravanserai’ in Isfahan city are such examples. Normally these caravanserais were used by traders and travelers coming from that specific city or region. For instance, if someone was looking for a person from Nakhichevan, it was very likely to find that person in Nakhichevani-ha Caravanserai or to perhaps find out where that person is. Some of these caravanserais were decorated with specific materials that were used in the area where the name of the caravanserai came from.

According to German traveler Max von Albrecht who visited Bokhara in 1880s, the Indian caravanserai in Bukhara was decorated with paintings and materials specifically Indian in character (in Levi, 2002, p. 126). In these caravanserais merchandises were mostly from the origin, in the above case, Indian.

Some caravanserais were named due to the specific materials that was traded: *Dokhaniat*¹¹¹ Caravanserai and *Zoghal*¹¹² Caravanserai in Isfahan are such examples. Caravanserais were also named after the site where the caravanserai was located, such as Dehnamak caravanserais (Fig. 6.8). In this case the caravanserai is located near the village of Dehnamak or Maranjab Caravanserai (Fig. 6.7) refers to a caravanserai in the desert of *Maranjab*.

¹¹¹ Farsi: *Dokhaniat* meaning tobacco.

¹¹² Farsi: *Zoghal* meaning coal or charcoal.

Figure 6.7 Maranjab Caravanserai (left), Aerial View of the Caravanserai and the Surrounding Area (right)



Source: (left) The Author (July, 2010), (right) Google Earth (July, 2010)

Figure 6.8 Dehnamak Caravanserai (left), A Bird View of Dehnamak Caravanserai in Relation to the Village and the Main Road (right)



Source: Source: (left) the Author (September, 2010), (right) Google Earth (September, 2010)

In the medieval Iranian literature and poems, the word ‘caravanserai’ was translated as the ‘world’. The use of caravanserai instead of the word world is reflected in poems of some of the greatest Persian poets such as Hafez, Sa’adi and Nasir-i-Khusraw. They particularly identified the world as a caravanserai and people are the travelers that visit the caravanserai for a short time (Kiani, 1970).

*What is the world? A caravanserai,
A pied pavilion of night and day;
A feast whereat a thousand Jamshids sat,
A couch whereon a thousand Bahrams lay.*

(Rubaiyat Omar Khayyam, 70.- translated into English verse by Edward Fitzgerald)

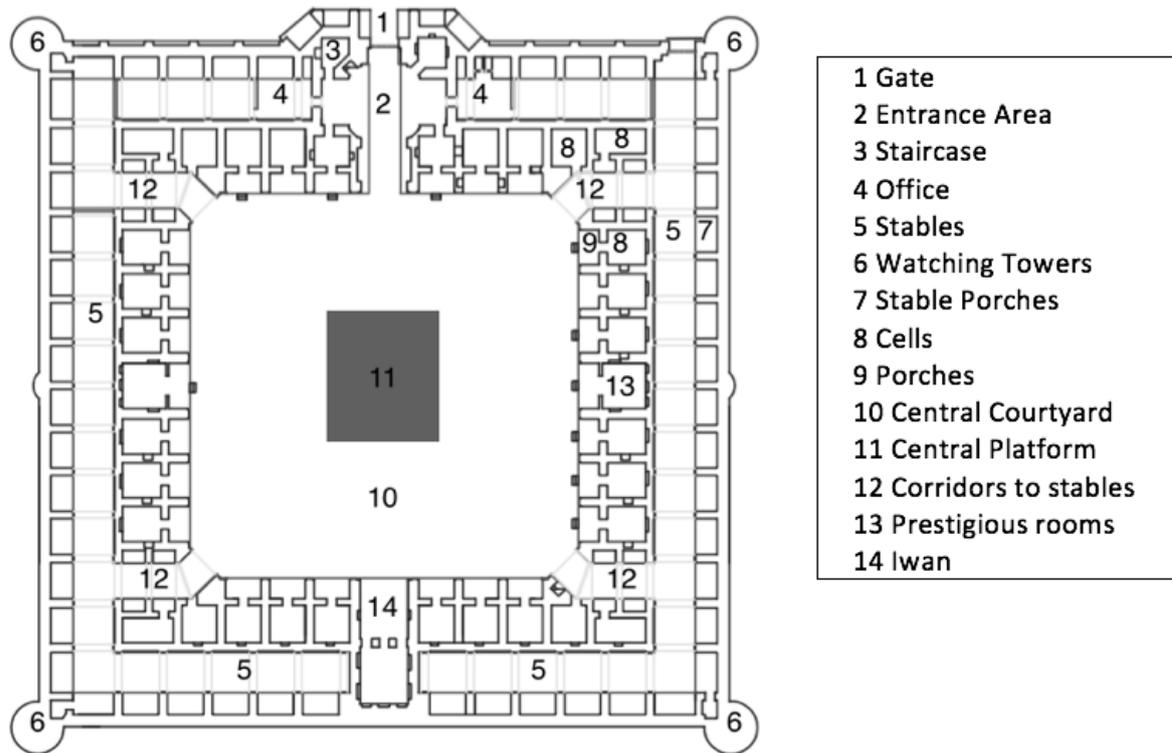
Depending on the approach and the area of interest, scholars categorized caravanserais in several ways. Siroux (1949) characterized caravanserais based on the source of the founding: royal, private and *waqf* caravanserais. Campbel (2011) categorized caravanserais based on the imperial periods in which these monuments were constructed, such as Mughal, Safavid, Seljuk and Ottoman caravanserais. Hillenbrand (2000) grouped caravanserais based on the architectural features such as medieval Iranian caravanserais, Seljuk caravanserais in Anatolia, Medieval Syrian caravanserais and Ottoman caravanserais. And Kiani & Kleiss (1990), categorized them based on their layout and plan including four-porch (four-*iwani*), two-porch (two-*iwani*), octagon and circle caravanserais (Kiani & Kleiss, 1990). On the other hand, historian Bastani-Palizi (1984) believe that having two porches or four porches caravanserais is not important in typology. What is important is if the caravanserai is equipped with defensive towers or not. However, what is common in most of the researches is categorizing caravanserais based on the location which is generally urban and countryside caravanserais or in some cases, urban, rural and roadside caravanserais.

6.5.1. Physical Features of Caravanserais

Caravanserais are usually square or rectangular with a long and wide entrance with walls that sometimes hold wind-catchers¹¹³. Caravanserais can also be found in octagonal (Amin Abad Caravanserai near Shahreza and khankhoreh in Fars province), round (Qajari caravanserai of Zizeh near Kashan and Zein-o-Din Caravanserai near Yazd) or oval (Shahi Caravanserai near Isfahan) shapes. These buildings are the largest type of standard Islamic structure (Hillenbrand, 1994). Standard types of caravanserais in the Islamic world and Western Asia are generally square shaped consisting of a central courtyard with a single monumental entrance (Hillenbrand, 2000; Kiani & Kleiss, 1990; Koch, 2001). These fortified enclosed structures generally consist of a place for loading and offloading goods, stables for animals, a place for storing goods and if necessary defense towers and arrangement (Ahmad & Chase, 2004; Bryce, et al., 2013) (fig. 6.9).

¹¹³ Wind-catcher, which in Farsi is *Badgir*, is a type of Persian architectural structure to create natural ventilation in buildings.

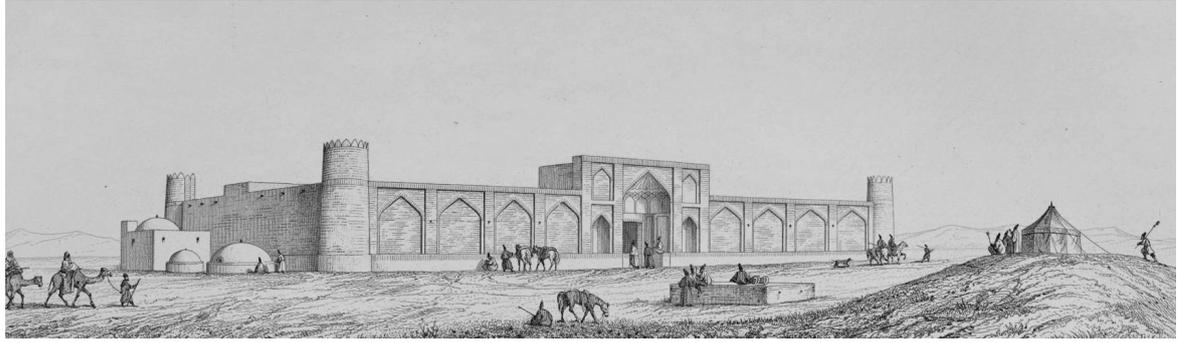
Figure 6.9 Typical Layout of Safavid Caravanserai



Source: The Author (2016)

Caravanserais generally consist of blank exterior façade walls mostly with drainage or air holes (Hillenbrand 2000). The plain exterior façade of the caravanserais is in contrast to their interior designed with brickworks and arches (Gaubé, 1979). However, in some caravanserais, specially those located near the city gates or on the trade routes, the exterior façade is decorated by arches and underneath the arches there are porches to accommodate travelers when the entrance is closed. These exterior porches are also used for social interactions among people in the neighboring area as well as the travelers.

Most of these concentric natured structures located outside urban areas hold round interval bastions or towers at the angles. According to Bastani Palizi (1984) all the roadside caravanserais due to their fortified structures and interval bastions have military and guidance characteristic. For instance, constructing towers at the corners of roadside caravanserais is to guide caravans and travelers in the vast deserts similar to lighthouse towers (fig. 6.9, 6.10 & 6.11 -left). Caravanserais inside the cities being a center of trade and storing goods were equipped with military arms and defense, and the towers were designed to protect the caravanserais from theft and chaos in cities.

Figure 6.10 Pasangan Caravanserais

Source: Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits* (1867)

Caravanserais inside the cities were also equipped with military arms and defense, and the towers were designed to protect the caravanserais from theft and chaos in cities. Besides the primary reason for constructing these watching towers as security and guidance, in some caravanserais bastions have been used to accommodate special guests or to store goods or beasts (Khan, 1990). Moreover, at some caravanserais a bastion is combined into a *hammam*, such as the Mughal caravanserai of Doraha in Punjab. Likewise, in Safavid caravanserais of medieval Iran, bastions are incorporated with toilets as the Ali-Abbad Caravanserai, between Tehran and Qom or Kohpayeh Caravanserai in Isfahan Province. However, in most caravanserais, specially those located in Iran, *hammam*, toilets and water cisterns are located on the outside (fig. 6.10, on the left the water cistern is located outside the caravanserai).

Figure 6.11 Water Cistern located on the outside of Kohpayeh Caravanserai

Source: The Author (October 2014)

Some were connected through a corridor such as the Madar-Shah Caravanserai, 45 km from Isfahan and some are entirely separated from the caravanserai building. A *hammam* located outside of the main structure of Mahyar Caravanserai is as such an example. In some cases, toilets were also situated in the thickness of the caravanserais walls and the water cistern is located outside the

fortified walls as in Pasangan Caravanserai in Qom province (fig. 6.10) and Kohpayeh Caravanserai (fig. 6.11).

Generally roadside caravanserais constructed during Safavid period consist of a single entrance, as Mahyar, Kohpayeh, Toor, Behjat-Abad, Dombi and Madar Shah Caravanserais in Isfahan province. Mughal caravanserais in the Indian sub-continent in contrast to Safavid caravanserais in Iran normally have two gateways, each one located in front of the other on the other façade of the caravanserais (Campbell, 2011; Elisseeff, 2000) such as *Sarai Jahanabad* in Peshawar, and *Sarai Nurmahal* in Punjab. Safavid Caravanserais' gateways are normally wide and high, for the easy access of camels and goods. The monumental high piercing gateways are also found in other caravanserais, especially those located in the Indian sub-continent for easy passage of elephants (Campbell, 2011). Unlike the Safavid roadside caravanserais, urban caravanserais constructed in this period mostly consist of two gateways located in front of each other. Saru Taqi Caravanserai in Isfahan city is an example. These caravanserais are mostly connected to bazaar through one entrance and the other door connects the caravanserais with the adjacent road (see chapter 7 for Saru Taqi Caravanserai).

The bazaar entrance is the main passageway of the caravanserais spatially connecting people to other facilities such as mosques and *hammams* outside the fortified walls as most of the urban caravanserais are less likely to have an internal mosque and *hammam* (Campbell, 2011). However, most of the urban caravanserais especially those located near or inside bazaars are associated with a nearby *hammam*, Shah Caravanserai and *Hammam* in Isfahan is such an example (see chapter 7 for Shah Caravanserai).

Generally, in both Mughal and medieval Iranian caravanserais, the most decorative elements are the gateways. Architects mostly decorated the portals magnificently by using their utmost expertise and imagination (Parihar, 1985, p. 18). The gates and the entrance passage worked as administrative and managerial spaces, controlling entry to the central courtyard and other caravanserai's spaces (Campbell, 2011). However, once access is granted, the control inside the fortified structure is normally very limited and the users can move freely in almost all the spaces (ibid). As Sims (1978) describes, rooms at the entrance gates and other larger rooms were often used to accommodate important guests and frequently used by caravan masters.

Figure 6.12 Kouhpayeh Caravanserai Exterior (left) and the Entrance from the Interior (right) Special Rooms are Located on the Upper Floor.



Source: (left) Courtesy of João Sarmiento (October, 2014); (right) The Author (October, 2014)

These rooms are located on the top of the gate mirrored by similar rooms on the other side of the high dome of the passageway. The upper gate rooms of most of the Safavid caravanserais similar to some of their Mughal counterparts (ex. east gate of the *Sarai* Jahanabad in Peshawar) have an arched doorway leading to a small balcony that overlooks the gate and the exterior of the caravanserais (fig. 6.12 -left). Furthermore, these rooms were also connected by porches to another balcony overlooking the central courtyard (fig. 6.12 -right), which could be proof that these rooms were used mostly for an administrative purpose. The upper floor, was accessed via a staircase in the main gateway or by staircases near the corner towers. One of the major features of the passageway in Safavid caravanserais is the high dome decorated mostly by bricks and the high arch in the interior side of the caravanserai. At the entrance hallway, rooms in the ground floor most likely were used for administrative purposes and functioned as a reception area for the coming travelers. These rooms in the urban caravanserais were mostly used by the traders for exchanging their goods with local traders and other merchants.

The most diverse and largest space of the caravanserai is the central courtyard as most of the activities inside the fortified walls were performed in this area (Hillenbrand, 2000; Kleiss & Kiani, 1995). Most of the caravanserais courtyards are either square or rectangular in shape often with a raised platform in the center for loading and offloading goods. In some caravanserais water sources, often wells, were located in the center of the courtyard (see chapter 7 for Malik Caravanserai) (Hillenbrand, 2000). Also the central courtyard was used to tether the animals. Moreover, the courtyard was used for social interaction between traders, travelers and sometimes locals, functioning in a similar fashion to quarters in the Islamic cities (see

chapter 2 for urban quarters). Most of the Safavid caravanserais are articulated by four *iwans* in a cruciform position. These high arched porches are constructed in a mirror position, used for gathering or as a praying space (fig. 6.13). In some large caravanserais, larger rooms for special guests were constructed behind these porches.

Figure 6.13 Position of Various Elements of Madard Shah Caravanserai, Isfahan.



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

In most Safavid caravanserais the central courtyard is surrounded by raised small porches leading into narrow individual equally sized cells used mostly to accommodate travelers (Petersen, 1996; Sims, 1978). Most of the two-storied caravanserais in the Islamic cities were located in the urban areas and were associated with bazars (Shah Caravanserai and Madar-Shah Caravanserai (Abbasi hotel) in Isfahan). In these caravanserais, mainly the ground floor was used to store merchandise, while travelers were resided on the upper floor (Hillenbrand, 2000; Sims, 1978).

Cells usually had no windows as they were only used at night and for sleeping. These rooms often had no wooden doors and instead in some rooms curtains were hung (Siroux, 1971). However, caravanserais constructed during the Safavid era and later mostly contained very simple wooden doors (ibid), especially royal caravanserais constructed by Shah's direct order, such as the Madar-Shah Caravanserai outside of Isfahan city. Safavid caravanserais mostly contained a covered stable extended along a roofed lane, between the back wall of the cells and *iwans* and the main fortified wall. However, in many caravanserais, livestock was often stabled in the corners of the courtyard.

6.5.2. Functionality of Caravanserai in the Urban Context

Remote caravanserais are constructed for travelers and traders to rest during their journey. However, the functionalities of caravanserais in an urban area are different and defining them deserves great consideration and study of each one of them separately, according to the needs and requirements of the social and geographical areas where these structures are located. These structures serve not only as a lodging place, but also as commercial depots, warehouses, emporiums, residences, offices, prisons, cantonments, taverns, narcotics dens, and even at times as brothels¹¹⁴. While there is no time and space to address each caravanserai existed in Islamic cities, here I will discuss the functionality of caravanserais mostly located in Isfahan. The primary priority in selection of the caravanserais in this section was based on their past functionality and their location was the secondary priority.

Commercial depot and warehousing goods was one of the major functions of many caravanserais in the Islamic world. In fact, caravanserai naturally has this functionality within its space, stables and loading and offloading spaces are evidence of this functionality. Because of the fortified nature of caravanserais, many of these buildings were transformed into storage spaces. It was perhaps due to modernization in mobility and construction of modern types of accommodation facilities within cities. Saru Taqi Caravanserai is an example of such in Isfahan city (see chapter 7).

Emporium as large retail shop and store, is another functionality of urban caravanserais. For instance, in Isfahan bazaar most of the caravanserais were functioning as an emporium, Shah Caravanserai and *Sarai Golshan* in Isfahan and Khan el-Khalili in Cairo are such examples. However in Iran, caravanserais that were functioning as emporiums were mostly called *sarai* or *timche*. *Timche* Malik in the Isfahan bazaar is an example.

Using caravanserai for residential purposes is another functionality that mostly occurred after modernization in hospitality facilities. Many urban caravanserais were transformed into temporary residential facilities mostly for low income citizens immigrating to major cities seeking for new life or the homeless population looking for shelter. Boualam Funduq and Rehba El Kedima Funduq in Fez are such

¹¹⁴ See Floor (2015).

examples¹¹⁵. According to Noien (1970), in 1970 the cost of living in Isfahan caravanserais for a family was about 100 Rials which was equivalent to about USD 1.250.

Historically caravanserais served as trading offices, premises and warehouses for visiting merchants. During time and due to modernization and to protect and conserve the Islamic cities old towns and their narrow alleys and streets, warehouses moved to suburbs and offices and small shops inside the caravanserais retained their position as an organizing center and focal points of trade. A good example of this type of caravanserai is khan al-'Olabiyye in Aleppo with about fifty offices operating mostly in the textile business (Anderson, 2014).

One of the major characteristics of caravanserai is their high fortified walls and watching towers with a single gate to control the flow of people in the most secure way. These characteristics in many aspects are similar to a prison structure. Many caravanserais during history were transformed into prisons. For example, Mehmed Reshid the 35th Ottoman Sultan ordered to evacuate Deliller Han Caravanserai in Diyarbekir in 1915 to use the caravanserai as a prison since the city prison was overfilled with prisoners (Ungor, 2011). The caravanserai after restoration in the 1990s was converted into a 5 Star Hotel Buyuk Kervansaray. The transformation of caravanserais into prisons continued to the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, as in Iran many caravanserais transformed into detention centers, especially from the end of Pahlavi dynasty. Mahyar caravanserai (fig. 6.8) about 40 km south of Isfahan and Moshir Al-Malik in Borazjan in the south east of Iran are such examples. Today both caravanserais have been emptied with the efforts of ICHHTO, and are in the stage of restoration.

There is also one example of a caravanserai that functions as a camp for illegal immigrants. In Isfahan today, Anoshirvan Caravanserai is used as a temporary detention center for illegal Afghan immigrants. The caravanserai is now bounded by another exterior wall and barbed wires secures the interior and exterior walls. Because of maximum use of space as well as security reasons, some physical intervention occurred in the cells and *iwans* while, stables and the entrance hallway were kept in its original shape with minimum intervention (fig. 6.15 -a & b).

¹¹⁵ See D'Ayala, D., & Copping, A. G. (2007). Holistic approach to the rehabilitation of Foundouks in Morocco. *APT Bulletin*, 38(2/3), 39-46. For more details on these Caravanserais

Figure 6.14 (left) the Caravanserai is Secured by an Exterior Wall, the Prison Sign is Still Visible, (right) View of the Caravanserai after the Evacuation



Source: the Author (2013)

Figure 6.15 (a,b) Anoshirvan Caravanserai in the North of Isfahan City, is Currently Used as an Immigrant Camp



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

Caravanserais also functioned as a military camp for centuries, perhaps because of their large central courtyards as well as its sufficient space to accommodate a high number of military personnel. Madar-Shah Caravanserai (now known as Abbasi Hotel) in Isfahan is an example. The caravanserai was constructed at the beginning of the 18th century by the mother of Shah Sultan Hossain, the last king of Safavid dynasty and it is part of a larger complex of madrasa and a bazaar. Governor of Isfahan, Zell al Sultan during his 35 years of governance (1872 to 1907) ordered that the Sultani caravanserai be restored for military purpose. The conservation of this caravanserai was one of the few conservations or perhaps the only heritage conservation that he carried out during his governance. His aim was to erase Safavid memory therefore as a result, as its been described in chapter 3, about one hundred major historical relics of Isfahan during his governance were destroyed. Most probably, because of its large central courtyard and its strategic location (in the center of the city) the caravanserai was chosen by him to be transformed into a cantonment.

After major restoration (1958-1966) the caravanserai was transformed into the only 5-star hotel in Isfahan.

These unique Near Eastern or perhaps Middle Eastern establishments, could also include, a mosque or in some, prayer rooms for Abrahamic religions in general and Islam in particular, especially in those caravanserais known as pilgrimage caravanserais (Harrison, 2004).

Some caravanserais were also used for pleasure and marginal activities. Floor (2015) stated that, Isfahan Red-light district was comprised of three streets and seven caravanserais known as 'unveiled caravanserais'. These caravanserais were mostly active in providing pleasure and entertainment services to travelers and traders. In 1666 about 14,000 public brothels¹¹⁶ were active in Isfahan which were protected by the authorities as they had to pay a high amount of tax (Chardin, 1811). Similar to Isfahan, Aleppo was another focal point in international trade along the Silk Road which greatly benefited from international merchants visiting the city. In this city providing services, entertainment and pleasure for travelers, was mostly carried on in about sixty caravanserais located in the center (Semerdjian, 2008, p. 103).

In some caravanserais, prostitutes were not only active but they were in charge, as in the Caravanserai Shah Hossain in Jahrom and a caravanserai in the village of Myrgascun near Persepolis (Floor, 2015, p. 201). However, from time to time, some merchants and travelers were forbidden to drink alcohol or bring women for pleasure into the caravanserais while locals and residents could freely participate in such activities (ibid). The order of the governor of Isfahan in 1734 for prohibition of Banyan traders and travelers for such activities is such an example (Floor, 2015, p. 233). On the other hand, in some caravanserais of Central Asia and Indian subcontinent, only travelers were allowed to consume alcohol and narcotics in the caravanserais. In these caravanserais, religious festivities were also permitted. An Indian caravanserai in Bokhara is such an example, where travelers from India could consume alcohol and narcotics during Diwali and Holi festivals, while locals were forbidden to be involved in such activities (Levi, 2016).

Because of their functionality caravanserais generated another important space within urban context where people could interact with each other. As these structures

¹¹⁶ It seems Chardin (1811) highly exaggerated the number of brothels in Isfahan.

were mostly associated with commerce in the cities, often caravanserais were credited as a means for livelihood of the Islamic cities (Keshani, 2012). In sum, it can be concluded that caravanserai can be considered as one of the few Islamic elements that due to time, its functionality changes to suit the need of that particular time. However, with existence of new methods for conservation, it is important to conserve and rehabilitate these monuments with consideration of their socio cultural values.

6.6. Caravanserai and Islamic City

In the geographical context of Islamic civilization, cities are an oasis in an uncultivated or barren land, connected by caravan routes. The need for supporting the flow of travelers and traders in these lands encouraged authorities and later public investors to become engaged in the construction of rest stations (caravanserais) on the major routes. These caravanserais were mostly associated with springs and wells and could separately act “as outposts of urban civilization between cities” (Bianca, 2000, p. 67). While these structures were largely constructed to accommodate travelers between cities, in urban areas the need for both accommodating travelers as well as a place for selling and storing their goods, explains the erected caravanserais mostly near Islamic city’s bazaars or city gates and in some cases along major streets. According to O’Gorman & Prentice (2008) caravanserais as well as being located on the trade routes and pilgrimage routes, were also commonly found associated with the grand bazaars of Iranian cities. This in fact makes the functionality of caravanserais in contrast to the medieval western monasteries, since caravanserais could also be used as commercial centers for merchants. Furthermore, roadside caravanserais mostly acted as free accommodation and a spiritual and religious stop, while those in the cities were charging travelers/traders for lodging and doing commercial business as well as storing their goods. This in fact made caravanserais an indispensable part of Islamic cities and many geographers and travelers considered the greatness and vastness of the cities based on the number and size of their caravanserais.

As discussed earlier, the Islamic Sharia and holy Quran stress on hospitality as a heavenly reward, therefore the construction of the caravanserais became one of the major activities for wealthy people to support Muslim travelers and traders. For example, the governor of Samarkand in 719 CE was ordered to establish caravanserais

to support the travelers:

Establish inns in your lands so that whenever a Muslim passes by, you will put him up for a day, and a night and take care of his animals; if he is sick, provide him with hospitality for two days and two nights; and if he has used up all of his provisions and is unable to continue, supply him with whatever he needs to reach his hometown.

(Al-Tabari, translated into English by Powers, 1989)

Generally speaking, information on urban caravanserais is very limited. In contrast to roadside caravanserais, urban caravanserais present multiple identity (Hillenbrand, 2000). This perhaps is related to their wider functionality in urban areas. Due to their enclosed structure they are known as isolated buildings that can stand on their own and actively integrate into an urban fabric (Bianca, 2000). Hillenbrand (2000) states that caravanserais can be regarded as a ‘miniature city’, providing shelter and accommodation as well as other facilities fulfilling travelers’ needs.

These commercial and lodging spaces in cities were ubiquitous through the Islamic world from China to the northern and southern Mediterranean region both in Europe and Africa for nearly two millennia (Constable, 2004). While in Islamic cities most caravanserais are located in the bazaar areas, many of them are also situated in different parts of the cities. Along with Iranian, Othman and Mughal caravanserais which in the late European medieval age and Renaissance period were basically located in most Iranian and Middle Eastern cities, many travelers of that period also encountered caravanserai (in some form) in most cities around the Mediterranean Sea such as Barcelona, Damascus, Granada, Malaga, Marseille, Naples, Pisa, Ragusa, Valencia, Venice or elsewhere. The spread of caravanserais in European Mediterranean cities and ports¹¹⁷ was mostly because these cities were not well adapted to providing for the need of non-Christian trade and travelers. Therefore, the construction of these structures in European cities was mainly to facilitate a comfortable situation for Muslim travelers of the 11th to 16th century (Constable, 2004). Caravanserais became a characteristic element in geographical descriptions of prosperous cities, frequently with other urban amenities such as baths, mosques and markets. Geographers and travelers of late 10th and 11th century made casual references to caravanserais in different Muslim cities, in both the Mediterranean

¹¹⁷ For *funduq* and caravanserais in Mediterranean Europe see Constable (2004).

region and the Near East. Persian traveler Nasir-e Khusraw for example, described caravanserais in Isfahan as exceptionally clean, and that in only one neighborhood there were about fifty caravanserais, some of which them very large in size. He also described Cairo as a city with no fewer than 20,000 shops and plentiful caravanserais, *hammams*, other public buildings as well as 8,000 residential buildings, all owned by the ‘sultan’ and rented out¹¹⁸. Ibn Hawqal¹¹⁹ reported that in many cities of the Near East and the Mediterranean such as Córdoba in Spain, Mosul in Iraq and Sousse in Tunisia there were markets, caravanserais and bathhouses (in Constable, 2004, p. 42). According to Muqaddasi (1963) in the first century of the Islamic era there were 1700 caravanserais in the medieval Iranian world. Therefore, it is evident that caravanserais were fully integrated within urban context of Islamic cities from 10th century onwards. Similar to Isfahan in Iran, other major cities not only in Near East but even in Mediterranean ports might have had dozens of caravanserais within the boundaries of cities, according to geographer Al-Idrisi. In 1150 only in Almeria in Spain did 970 caravanserais (in some form) existed. (Constable, 2004). Caravanserais also served as accommodation and commercial centers not only for wealthy traders but also less wealthier merchants, as well as providing working, living, and sales space for craftsmen. As the control over income in caravanserais were relatively easier compared to other places for collecting taxes, Shahs and Sultans became extremely interested in constructing more royal caravanserais to earn additional revenue other than the income from lodging, rent, food and storage.

As I described in chapter 2, one of major elements that contributed to the prosperity and development of Islamic cities is *waqf* Institution. Caravanserais as one of the major characteristics of Islamic cities has benefited greatly from this institution.

In the prestigious Islamic cities such as Isfahan in 17th and 18th century, the city’s local elite not only supported mosques, religious schools, and hospitals, but also provided endowments for bathhouses, caravanserais and bazaars. According to Tavernier (1678, pp. 122–123) in contrast to Istanbul where there was no *waqf* caravanserais, in Iran most of the caravanserais were *waqf* properties.

¹¹⁸ See Narir-i Khusraw, *Nasir-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnameh)*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Persian Heritage Series -36. New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986, pp. 44–51.

¹¹⁹ Mohammed Abul-Kassem ibn Hawqal was a 10th century Arab geographer, and writer who travelled between 943-969 CE. His major work is called *Surat al-Ardh* (The face of the Earth) written in 977.

For instance, the rapid development of Isfahan, in line with the center's effort to project its military, political and spiritual authority, had concrete economic dimensions. According to Newman (2006) by 1599, just a decade into Abbas' reign, the residential areas of Isfahan "were said" to have 600 *sarais*, many serving as centers for precise professions or for traders from a specific region, and the landlords of many of which, like other urban *sarais*, constituted the revenues there from *waqf* to schools, mosques and hospitals. According to narratives of Chardin (1811) and Tavernier (1678) in the 17th century most of the caravanserais and *sarais* were *waqf* establishments. Shafaghi (2006) believes that *waqf* in Isfahan has a long history of about 1000 years; he added that most of Isfahan's large public and social properties are *waqf* properties and Isfahan as an Islamic city greatly benefited financially and socially from *waqf* system.

In respect to this matter, repair and maintenance of *waqf* properties in general and caravanserais in particular benefited the society by creating job opportunities and economic growth. John Chardin (1811, p. 134) in 1674 enumerates 1802 caravanserais¹²⁰ within the walls of Isfahan, which is evidence of vibrant commercial centrality of Isfahan. Restoration and maintenance of these caravanserais in Isfahan played an important role in the social quality of life of the community as well as economic growth for middle class and low-income members of the society. As in most of the *waqf*-names restoration and maintenance of *Mowqufeh* is a priority to the main purpose of the *waqf*, this principal of *waqf* should have played an important role in the existence of caravanserais in the course of history. However, as Mir Sayyed Ali Jenab (1992) in his comprehensive study about Isfahan in 1924 indicated, only 144 caravanserais and *sarais* and 22 *timches*¹²¹ remained at that time, which in fact shows a great decline from what Chardin mentioned. This in fact was due to two major reasons, one was due to Qajari's attempts of erasing memory of Safavid era and other was due to modernization doctrine of Reza Shah in general and Pahlavi dynasty in particular. For instance, during Qajar period, philistine Zill al-Sultan –governor of Isfahan- destroyed many historical palaces and caravanserais of Isfahan in order to erase the memory of Safavid era (see chapter 3). However, due to the continued

¹²⁰ I similar to some other scholars including Babaie (2004) and Shafaghi (2006) believe that the number of caravanserais in 17th century Isfahan was much less than what Chardin describes, he either exaggerated the number or it is miswritten.

¹²¹ in his study he did not distinguish between caravanserais and *sarais* in the city of Isfahan.

importance of travel and trade in Isfahan as a focal point along the Silk Road, wealthy people and elites continued the construction of caravanserais, *sarais* and *timche* in and around the Isfahan bazaar. *Sarai* Haj Karim, *Sarai* Mohammad Sadigh Khan and *Timche* Malik in the city and Caravanserai Ghale-Shour outside the city are relevant examples. Yet, these constructions were not comparable with the level of destructions carried out during this era. Meanwhile, there are some caravanserais that Jenab (1992) did not name such as *Tahdid* caravanserais which were destroyed by the municipality in 1993. Besides that, it is important to mention that the publication of Jenab's book was simultaneous with the reign of Reza Shah and therefore it can be said that many of these caravanserais were sacrificed for the sake of the modernization doctrine of Reza Shah (see chapter 3 for Maqsd Assar Caravanserai).

Today, Caravanserais continue to exist in an urban fabric of many cities in southern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East. However, they have lost the importance, versatility and the ubiquity that they once enjoyed in the late antiquity and middle ages. Conservation and adaptation of these monuments for today's needs of Islamic cities is essential for the continuity of these monuments. In this regard, many caravanserais are today transformed into hotels, museums, art galleries, arcades, libraries, etc., not only to protect these relics from decay and destruction, but to fulfill needs of both residents and travelers of these cities.

According to Noien (1970), there were about 49 caravanserais, *sarais* and *timches* in 1970s in the Isfahan Grand Bazaar which were mostly active in storing goods, workshops and shops. Many of these caravanserais were active in the textile business such as *Sarai* Paderakht and *Sarai* Fakhr and very few were a place of accommodation, such as *Sarai* Dalan Deraz. According to Shafaghi (2006), in 2006, 74 caravanserais, *sarais* and *timche* were located in the city of Isfahan, however, he did not specify the name of the caravanserais and *sarais* in his book. Today, according to the inventory of ICHHTO, 4 caravanserais, 21 *sarais* and 5 *timches* are registered in the municipality of Isfahan as national monuments (table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Registered CBH, Caravanserais, *Sarais* and *Timches* in Iran and Isfahan

	World Heritage	National Heritage	Caravanserai	Sarai	<i>Timche</i>
IRAN	19	27,002	432	63	26
ISFAHAN PROVINCE	3	1,702	49	25	11
ISFAHAN CITY	3	512	4	21	5

Source: ICHHTO (2013)

Besides, there are some caravanserais and *sarais* that are located in the city of

Isfahan which are not registered as a national heritage, Caravanserais Dardasht is of such. As its been described earlier, most of urban caravanserais during time due to change in their functionality are called *Sarai*. Caravanserai Dalan Deraz, Caravanserai Sefid and Caravanserai Agha are such examples. Names and adjectives of the caravanserais and *sarais* in the table (6.3) are written based on the registration file and documents of these monuments published by ICHHTO (see appendices 3 and 4 for the location of each of the below caravanserais on the maps of Isfahan Grand Bazaar and the city of Isfahan). In appendix (3) I have shown other *sarais* which some are still exist but not listed as a national heritage. Most of the *sarais* not listed as a national monument have greatly lost their importance and many of them were ruined in the last decades, such as Chitsaz-Ha *Sarai*.

Table 6.3 List of Isfahan Registered Caravanserais, Serais and Timches

TYPE	NO. ON THE MAPS	NAME	REG. NO.	ORIGIN
SARAI	46	Agha	10221	Safavid
	39	Dallan-Deraz	10219	Early-Qajar
	25	Fakhr	10235	Safavid
	43	Ghahrodiha	12103	Safavid
	24	Golshan	7631	Safavid
	32	Haj-Karim	7633	Qajar
	12	Haj-Mirza	18103	Safavid-Qajar
	9	Jahangiri	12097	Safavid
	27	Jarchi	7634	Safavid
	33	Khansariha	7632	Safavid
	41	Mir-Ismail	10209	Safavid
	37	Mirza Kochak	10215	Safavid
	23	Mohammad Sadegh Khan	9064	Qajar
	4	Mokhles	7635	Safavid
	18	Monajim Bashi	10218	Safavid
	19	Noo-Monajim	10214	Safavid
	45	Paderakht Sokhteh	10223	Qajar
	40	Sefid	12310	Qajar
	42	Shamaieha	10234	Qajar
2	Sholeh	10230	Qajar	
36	Tallar	9089	Qajar	
CARAVAN-SERAI	(5) ¹²²	Anoshirvan	12101	Safavid
	(2) ¹²³	Malik ¹²⁴	5884	Safavid
	20	Saru-Taqi ¹²⁵	903	Safavid
	1	Shah ¹²⁶	7642	Safavid
TIMCHE	11	Arbaab	10220	Early-Qajar
	38	Atigheh Forosh-Ha	10210	Safavid
	17	Malik	9065	Qajar
	26	Nakhchian	12100	Safavid
	30	Qazviniha	10217	Late-Qajar

Source: ICHHTO, 2015

¹²² See Appendix 4 for the caravanserai location

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ For Malik Caravanserai, see chapter 7 case study two

¹²⁵ For Saru Taqi Caravanserai, see chapter 7 case study three

¹²⁶ For Shah Caravanserai, see chapter 7 case study one

Today, decline in the number of caravanserais in most Islamic cities in general and Isfahan in particular is also related to the financial resources that were mostly directed at the religious monuments. For instance, Isfahan with its rich Islamic architectural resources, religious monuments and buildings have greatly benefited and enjoyed restoration and conservation especially after the Islamic revolution. In this regard, unlike most secular buildings such as caravanserais¹²⁷ and *hammams* in the Isfahan bazaar, Islamic monuments benefited from continuous restoration and good management. For example, on one hand Qajari Sadr Madrassa in the bazaar with its four *iwans* architecture along with many other Islamic monuments enjoyed the financial and professional human resources from various religious institutes such as *waqf* and seminaries. On the other hand, caravanserais such as Shah and Saru-Tagi in the same bazaar have been through a great stage of decay and destruction. However, it is important to mention unlike religious buildings which are mostly public properties, the majority of urban caravanserais and *hammams* are owned by individuals and in many cases multiple owners and tenants are a great barrier for rational decision making on conservation of these monuments which I will discuss in the next chapter. This dual approach towards built heritage is not only limited to Islamic cities as for example, in the west many monuments benefit from financial resources related to the Church.

6.7. Summary

Today, there is no doubt about the antiquity of the caravanserais throughout the Iranian world. However, these structures have almost always been under pressure from various elements of geographical, political, economic, military and religious forces. These forces contributed to the shaping of architecture as well as functionality of these structures. Needs, events and requirements of every historical period have significantly influenced both style and location of these edifices. For example, war turned caravanserais into bastions for protecting authorities; the emergence of religious cities have shaped them as a resting place to serve pilgrims; and commerce directed these structures as safe places on the hazardous roads (Kiani, 1970).

¹²⁷ Scholars such as Hillenbrand and Babaie categorized caravanserais as secular buildings, however religion was one of the major motives for construction of these monuments.

With the emergence of Islam, the construction of these monuments have increased considerably, mainly because of the repetitive endorsement of hospitality in the Islamic tradition in general and the holy Quran in particular. However, financial and economical motives also participated in the construction of these edifices throughout the Islamic world. For instance, governments built or encouraged people to construct caravanserais and saris in the urban areas to involve travelers into an economic arrangement that reinforce the tax-based system of a country (Campbell, 2011). These edifices have also been known under many different names (caravanserai, *khan*, *robat*, *funduq* and other.) However, it is doubtful that they ever echoed differing aspects. Archeological and historical data suggest that the earliest caravanserais were the Achaemenian rest stations. However, there are no traces of them as they constructed in adobe (Siroux, 1949). Today, there are some ruined examples of pre-Islamic caravanserais, such as Dayr-E Gacin caravanserai. The typical caravanserai is generally a fortified square or rectangular shape, with a central courtyard bounded by cells situated in one or two stories and consist of *iwans* overlooking the courtyard, halls situated behind the first floor cells for stabling. The most impressive monumental elements of caravanserais are the entrance, dome and the *iwans* (Kiani, 1970). Caravanserais are generally erected in urban areas or along the trade and pilgrimage routes. Urban caravanserais also can be divided into two categories: those located in the bazaar and quarters and those located near the city gates. In the first category are those that beside of being places for accommodating travelers were a place for commerce and economic activities. Most of these are two stories. The upper floor was used for accommodation and the ground floor was for shops and offices. In the other category are mostly one story caravanserais. These are used mostly to store large goods, such as firewood and coal. However, these caravanserais were also used to accommodate travelers.

Urban caravanserais are established in most of the Islamic cities, specially those located along the Silk Road. Isfahan as the capital of Safavid in the 17th and the 18th century enjoyed a high number of travelers and traders visiting the city. Development of the city was simultaneous with the construction of numerous caravanserais in the urban fabric of the city to fulfill the needs of travellers and traders visiting the city. Besides, the government was enjoying the financial benefits that these caravanserais were providing. While the number of caravanserais in the city of

Isfahan was high during the Safavid dynasty, it decreased dramatically after the fall of Safavid and in particular following the siege of Isfahan by Afghans. Consequently, overland travel and trade due to insecurity shifted once again towards maritime trade routes.

With the establishment of faster transportation during the 20th century and the establishment of rail cargo and warehouses on one hand and the erection of new types of accommodation in the cities on the other hand, many caravanserais became unused. An unused portion of caravanserais continued to fall into disrepair eventually becoming a safe haven for the poor, drug addicts, and petty thieves in the urban fabric. This in fact was not unique to caravanserais but also occurred in many secular buildings. Therefore, governments instead of conserving these monuments, destroyed many of them for the sake of modernization. Tahdid and Maqsud Assar Caravanserais are such examples. Today, in the city of Isfahan, there are only five caravanserais and about 35 *sarais* and *timches* remain, mostly in the Grand Bazaar. Out of 5 caravanserais and 35 *sarais* and *timches*, 4 caravanserais and 26 *sarais* and *timches* are registered as national monuments. In the next chapter, I will investigate and examine the perception of major stakeholders of three registered caravanserais in the city of Isfahan to understand the current status of caravanserais in the city.

Chapter Seven:

A Multi-Case Study of Three Caravanserais in Isfahan, Iran

7.1. Introduction

As discussed in previous chapters, in the last decades and particularly since modernization in the movement of people and goods, many caravanserais in Islamic cities fell apart, perished or disappeared. Perhaps first at the hands of careless renovation, addition and alternation and then from neglect, misuse and disuse. Isfahan caravanserais were not different. In fact, Isfahan's secular built heritage in general and caravanserais in particular underwent changes and alterations sometimes beyond the scope and original layouts. There are multiple causes affecting these changes and alterations which are rooted in the phenomenon of cultural built heritage perceived by stakeholders. At a national level as it has been described in chapter 3, understanding heritage in Iran has been bounded by two major phenomena of nationalism and religion. For instance, before the Islamic Revolution heritage with prominent nationalistic elements were appreciated more than their religious counterparts; while in contrast, today heritage with religious importance have attracted more attention, specially financially. This idea can potentially be argued as there are certainly secular buildings that are enjoying proper conservation (Khaju and Siose-Pool Bridges in Isfahan) however, in case of monuments in the Isfahan bazaar as its been observed in the last couple of years by the author, religious monuments are enjoying continuous conservation (Sadr Madrassa) compared to those secular monuments that are almost transformed into ruins (Shah Caravanserai). However, at a local level, private and multiple ownership of secular monuments as well as overabundance of registered cultural heritage could be considered as other major reasons for the current situation in Isfahan.

The culmination of the research presented in the preceding chapters allows a final focus in this chapter on how and why caravanserais along the Silk Road, especially those located in Isfahan are reoccupied, abandoned, or curated through time. The chapter will present three caravanserais registered as national monuments

in Isfahan as a case study for this research. In this regard, three major criteria were involved for the selection of the case studies:

- i) Caravanserai registered as a national monument.
- ii) Caravanserai that exhibit an importance in the history of trade and travel in Isfahan.
- iii) Caravanserai that is an outstanding example of this type of building in Isfahan.

While currently four caravanserais are registered as national monuments in Isfahan, only three were selected for this study and the other (Anushirvan Caravanserai) due to inconsistency with the above criteria as well as limitation in primary information and restriction when visiting the site (Afghan camp, controlled by immigration police) was not selected to be part of the study.

First, the chapter will discuss the methodology used for the case studies to address the research aims and objectives. In this section besides of general methodology covering all the case studies, individual methodology for each case study will also be presented. Second, in the first case study, Shah Caravanserai as one of the major urban caravanserais located next to UNESCO world heritage site will be discussed. In this section location, historical significance, physical features and dilapidation, affiliation to the bazaar and finally the general condition of the caravanserai will be deliberated. The case study will be analyzed based on primary information, observation as well as interviews with key stakeholders. Third, in the second case study, Malik Caravanserai as one of the only remaining urban caravanserais outside the bazaar and on the main route to the south of Iran will be discussed. In this section, location, historical background, description, role of *waqf* institution and ICHHTO towards this caravanserai will be deliberated. The discussion will be focused on the ownership disputes as well as conservation issues among the major stakeholders. And third, the last case study -Saru Taqi Caravanserai- the only urban caravanserai in Isfahan or perhaps Iran with 3 courtyards. The case study will proceed by providing information on caravanserai's historical background, physical description, dependency on the bazaar and ownership issues. The case will carry on by analyzing attitudes of users towards built heritage in the Islamic historic cities that are collapsing or at least are not well taken care of.

7.2. Methodology

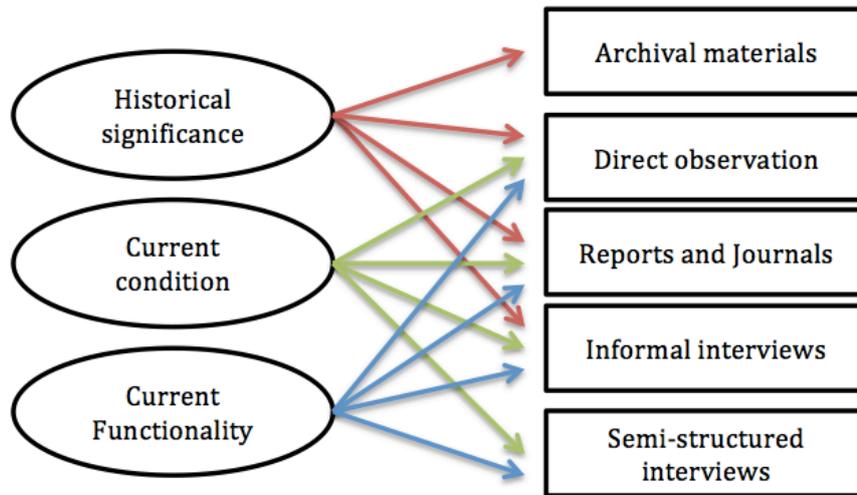
Case study normally involves the detailed and concentrated analysis of a single case, although multi-case studies are often used for a better understanding of a situation in a larger context or perhaps for comparative studies. A multi-case study consists of two or more single cases that must be addressed individually. In this regards, generally a researcher must consider two major responsibilities during the multi-case study research. First is to direct and coordinate the research as a multi-case study with consideration of the research as a whole; and second is to fieldwork and gather data as if the research is a single case study (Stake, 2006).

In a multi-case study, there must be common ground between each case study, perhaps a set of function, activity or relationship. Generally, 'case' are normally easy to picture but difficult to understand. Therefore, a case study carries on when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly apparent and when compound sources of evidence are available (Rahman, 2012). This research opted for multi-case study in the setting of urban caravanserais, to investigate the impacts of stakeholders on the phenomenon of cultural built heritage in the Islamic historic cities.

Empirical inquiry obtained primary data from the respondents, from observations of real-life situations, and from interviews with identified stakeholders; and used supporting reports and documents relating to the case of caravanserais in Islamic historic cities.

In these case studies several data collection methods are used (fig. 7.1) to explore and examine the 3 main themes of the research: archival materials; direct observation; reports and journals; informal interviews; and semi structure interview.

Figure 7.1 Research Themes and Data Collection Methods



Basically, there has been a relative lack of research on the core issue of the current condition of registered built heritage in general and urban caravanserais in particular from the point of view of key stakeholders. According to Orbasli (2002) and as discussed in Chapter 2, the six main key players involved in the decision-making process and consequently conservation and protection of built heritage are national government (policy); local government (elected or appointed); public and private sectors; owners; users and resident communities.

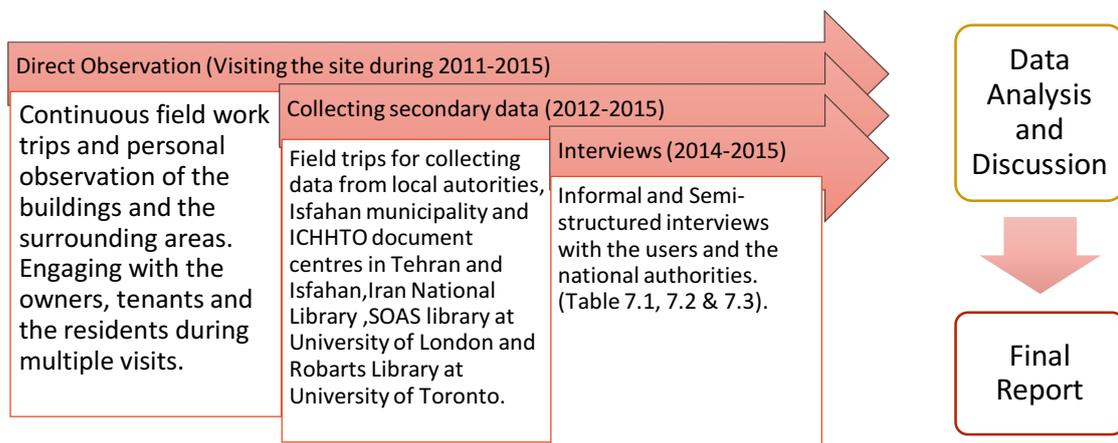
In developing a strategy for the present case studies, it was decided not to include local residents as a major target for the research. This was partly because the research focuses on the conflict between the users and the national and local government; and partly because the current condition of caravanserai is a result of the attitudes of owners and the local community and residents had none or minimal impact on the current situation. However, informal contact with shop owners in the bazaar in case of Shah and Saru Taqi Caravanserais and the neighbors in case of Malik Caravanserai was made. The two main groups selected as targets for this case studies were: users (owners and tenants) and appointed officials and heritage authority.

The research for these case studies was divided into three main stages and often there was overlap between them. For instance, while the review of historical documents, archival works and official documents are vital in starting the research, it remains as a continuous method through the whole process of the research. It produces secondary data and does not normally become involved in the fieldwork process. This stage was carried out in various libraries and archives, from the internet to Iran's

National Library and ICHHTO's document center; from School of Oriental & African Studies of university of London to the British Museum; and from the University of Minho library to Robarts Library at the University of Toronto.

Another continuous method during the life of the research; at least until the writing-up period, was to visit each case study area regularly. This was done often over a period of more than four years, from 2011 to 2015 (fig. 7.2). During this stage photographing became particularly useful in order to document various physical and social aspects of the caravanserais and the last stage before the data analysis and the writing-up phase was to collect the primary data, in this case, research is based on qualitative approach, which was carried out in 2014 and 2015. Interviews played a key role in the data gathering due to limited availability of relevant documents and literature in both English and Persian for each of the case studies.

Figure 7.2 Process of Data Collection analysis of the Case Studies



The main reason for using a qualitative approach for these case studies was to further explore and analyze the issues emerged from observation and secondary data stages. Also, it was felt that with open-ended and in-depth interviews and discussion more critical data could be gained. Discussions were planned as 'semi structured' interviews, using topic guides developed for the purpose.

7.2.1. Shah Caravanserai

The first interviews were conducted in May 2014 more than 3 years after visiting the place for the first time for the purpose of study, while allowing time for the observation data and secondary data to be analyzed and for some preliminary conclusions to be drawn from them.

For this caravanserai 15 semi-structured interviews were carried out with key stakeholders (table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Summary of Informal and Semi Structured Interviews for Shah Caravanserai (2014-2015)

Stakeholders	Name	Position	Date
Owners and tenants	Mr. Borhani	Owner	May, 2014
	Mr. Morakabian (a)	Owner	May, 2014
	Mr. Morakabian (b)	Owner	June, 2014
	Mr. Meshkat	Owner	June, 2014
	Mr. Haj Ali	Tenant	September, 2014
	Anonymous (a)	Owner	June, 2014
	Anonymous (b)	Tenant	September, 2014
	Mr. Zabolian	Owner	June, 2014
Waqf Organization	Mr. Janatian	Tenant	June, 2014
	Mr. Ismailipour	Productivity deputy	September, 2014
ICHHTO	Mr. Entezari	Staff	August, 2014
	Mr. Moslehi	Former head of Isfahan CHHTO	February, 2015
	Ms. Shamei	Listing staff	August, 2014
Former tenants	Mr. Khajoie	Head of listing and buffer zone of Isfahan CHHTO	August, 2014
	Mr. Taheri	Caravanserai neighbor and former tenant	June, 2014

In May 2014, two owners were selected as the most experienced (age wise) users (owners) in the caravanserai. Identifying the two most experienced owners was possible with informal discussions with shopkeepers of the caravanserai and consequently receiving confirmation from the respondents themselves. In June 2014, five other owners, a tenant and a former tenant and current neighbor of the caravanserai who owns a shop next to the caravanserai, in the bazaar randomly were chosen for the discussion. The Owners and the tenants were chosen based on the location of their shops and the availability of the owners at the time of the visits: one owner from the western part of the caravanserai, two owners and one tenant from the upper floor in the eastern side and one from the northern part of the caravanserai. In August 2014, three interviews were conducted with major governmental organization stakeholders, one from *waqf* organization and two from Isfahan CHHTO, in their offices in Isfahan. And for more sufficient information in September 2014, three more interviews were conducted for this case study: one with Isfahan's productivity deputy of *Waqf* organization in his office and two other interviews with an owner and a tenant in the southern side of the caravanserai. And finally in February 2015, one phone call interview conducted with the former head of Isfahan CHHTO (table 7.1).

7.2.2. Malik Caravanserai

The first interviews were conducted in April 2014, more than 2 years after visiting the place for the first time for the purpose of study, while allowing time for

the observation data and secondary data to be analyzed and for some preliminary conclusions to be drawn from them.

For this caravanserai 9 semi-structured interviews were carried out with key stakeholders (table 7.2). Four semi-structured interviews were administered with the occupants. During my multiple visits in September and October 2014, most of the shops, warehouses and workshops were closed and an average of 4 businesses were active during my visits.

Table 7.2 Summary of Informal and Semi Structured Interviews for Malik Caravanserai (2014-2015)

Stakeholders	Name	Position	Present for (years)	Date
Occupants (Out of 11)	Mr. Mahmoudi	Tenant	50+	September, 2014
	Mr. Dalalbashi	Tenant	63+	September, 2014
	Mr Haj Ali (b)	Tenant	63+	October, 2014
	Mr. Omrani (a)	Tenant	30+	October, 2014
Waqf Organization	Mr. Entezari	Staff	-	October, 2014 June, 2015
	Mr. Moslehi	Former head of Isfahan CHHTO	-	February, 2015
ICHHTO	Ms. Shamei	Listing staff	-	October, 2014
	Anonymous	Staff	-	October, 2014
Mutowali-e Waqf	Mr. Najafi	Mutawalli-e <i>waqf</i>	-	November, 2014
Users	Woman-a	<i>Attari</i> client -32 and 40 years old-housewife.	-	November, 2014
	Woman-b			

In September 2014, two occupants were selected, one of them the most experienced (age wise) and the other an occupier of a shop outside the caravanserai. Identifying the most experienced person was possible by informal discussions with shopkeepers of the caravanserai and consequently receiving confirmation from the respondent himself. In October 2014, two other tenants were chosen for the discussion; one known as the main tenant who rented the caravanserai in 1954 and the other known as an active tenant in the caravanserai for more than 30 years. The tenants were chosen based on their experience and availability at the time of the visits. In October 2014, three other interviews were conducted with other major stakeholders, one from *waqf* organization and two from Isfahan CHHTO, in their offices in Isfahan. And for more sufficient information in November 2014, one interview was conducted with current *mutuwali-e waqf* about the current ownership and the future of the caravanserai as well as two female *Attari* store clients. Also, in February 2015, one phone call interview was conducted with the former head of Isfahan CHHTO and finally in June 2015, one phone call interview was conducted with Mr. Entezari, one of the staff of Isfahan *Waqf* Organization.

7.2.3. Saru Taqi Caravanserai

The first interviews were conducted in September 2014, about two and half years after visiting the place for the first time for the purpose of study, while allowing time for the observation data and secondary data to be analyzed and for some preliminary conclusions to be drawn from them. For this caravanserai 8 semi-structured interviews were carried out with key stakeholders (table 7.3). Two semi-structured interviews were administrated to the owners (other owners were not available during the 5 times I visited the caravanserai and it was not possible to make an appointment with them).

Table 7.3 Summary of the Informal and Semi Structured Interviews for Saru Taqi Caravanserai (2014-2015)

Stakeholders	Name	Position	Present for (years)	Date
Owners (Out of 5)	Morteza Shaikhi	Tenant	50+	September, 2014
	Ismail Shaikhi	Tenant	63+	July, 2015
Users	Visitor-1	Trader	-	July, 2015
	Visitor-2	Shop Owner		July, 2015
	Visitor-3	Porter		July, 2015
ICHHTO	Moslehi	Former head of Isfahan CHHTO	-	February, 2015
Waqf Organization	Entezari	Staff	-	October, 2014

In September 2014, the main owner of the caravanserai with two shareholders was selected for the interview; he is the oldest brother and has the highest share compared to the others. Identifying this owner was only possible through informal discussions with the watchman of the caravanserai and consequently receiving confirmation from the respondent himself. In July 2014, another owner was interviewed, on my 4th visit to the caravanserai. Also, in July 2015, three visitors (users) were chosen based on the availability of visitors coming to the caravanserai at the time of my two visits in July 2015 (each visit took about 5 hours) as well as their interest in engaging in conversation with me.

In October 2014, one interview was conducted with one member of staff from the *Waqf* organization in his offices in Isfahan. And to investigate ICHHTO's perspective on conservation of this caravanserai one phone call interview was conducted with the former head of Isfahan CHHTO.

7.3. Case Study one: Shah Caravanserai

Figure 7.3 Naghshe-e Jahan Square and Shah Caravanserai (the Caravanserai is shown at the bottom)



Source: (picture taken sometimes between 1975 and 1985) <http://www.memarnet.com/fa/comment/reply/1149>
[Accessed 22 Jan 2015]

As described in chapter 6, urban caravanserais were originally used as a place for commerce and the exchange of goods while at the same time this type of caravanserai was also known as a place for accommodating travelers and traders (Siroux, 1949). Shah Caravanserai is one of the urban caravanserais that was greatly active in commerce and trade during Safavid era. However, this urban royal caravanserai throughout history and with the siege of Isfahan by Afghans (1722) and consequently with the displacement of the capital and the lack of safety and security, like other urban caravanserais in Isfahan, lost its importance. With changes in the needs of travelers and traders during time and consequently modernization and industrialization of movement and mobility this caravanserai lost its original functionality and turned into a forgotten part of the bazaar. Thus, after the ratification of antiquity law in 1930 and the establishment of cultural heritage trusties in the country and subsequently registration of this 17th century monument as a national heritage on 8th March, 2003 (registration# 7642) the condition of the caravanserai remained unknown and no conservation plan was introduced. Shah Caravanserai was selected as one of the case studies of this research for the below reasons, namely:

- a) Registered as a national monument.
- b) Unique location beside UNESCO world heritage site of *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square and the Imperial Bazaar).
- c) One of the largest Iranian urban caravanserais.
- d) Historical significance in trade and commerce along the Silk Road specially, at the time Isfahan was the Safavid capital.

The main objective of this study is to illustrate today's condition of the caravanserai, its functionality, its ownership and its abandonment to the daily life of the users.

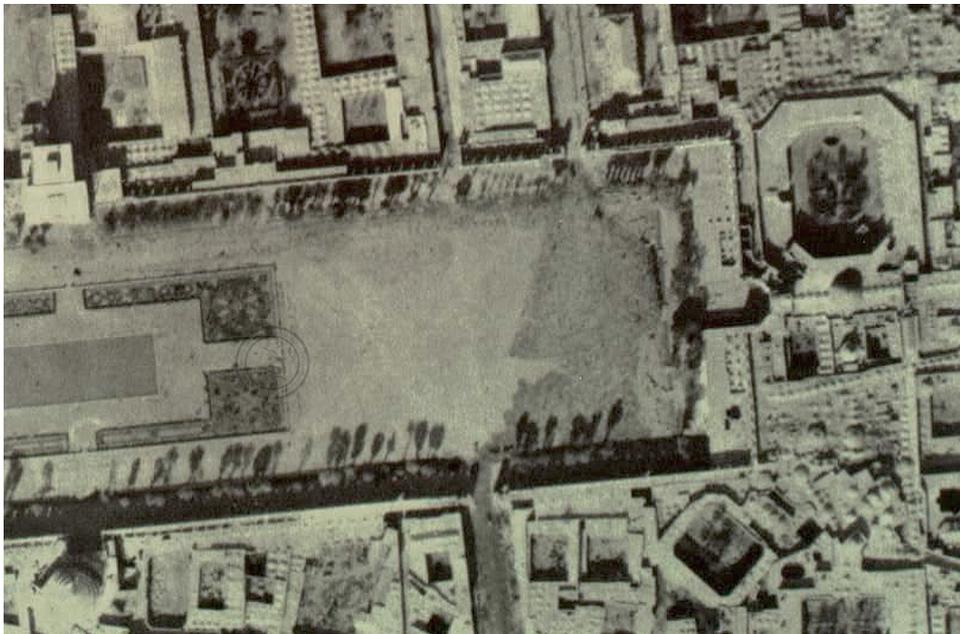
To clarify the above issues, this study looks at caravanserai's geographical location and contextualizes its historical significance in accommodating travelers and traders. Second, it provides sufficient information and description about its current condition in general and its current functionality in particular based on personal observation, archival materials (travelogues, historical books and a museum manuscript) as well as interviews with key stakeholders. To clarify its ownership condition, interviews were carried out with investment and productivity deputy of

Isfahan province *Waqf* organization as well as with caravanserais owners. And at last, to identify the role and policies of major stakeholders in general and ICHHTO in particular and consequently their attitudes towards private owned built heritage, multiple interviews were carried out with the owners and the tenants of the caravanserais as well as with the head of Isfahan cultural heritage organization at that time and staff of CHHTO's heritage registration and listing.

7.3.1. Location

Shah Caravanserai (Royal caravanserai) or *Malek al-Tojar* Caravanserai is located ($32^{\circ}39'37.90''\text{N}$ - $51^{\circ}40'34.27''\text{E}$) in the 17th century historical core of Isfahan, in the north of the world heritage site (No. 119 inscribed in 1979) of *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square. This caravanserai is one of the main elements of the two-storied royal monopoly market lane of *Qaisariyya* complex¹²⁸ (Imperial Bazaar). In the middle of the Imperial Bazaar lane and underneath the high dome of *Qaisariyya* to the right of *chahār-su* and in front of the royal mint this 140 room (cell) caravanserai is located. This caravanserai is known as the largest urban caravanserai in Isfahan (Gaube, 1979).

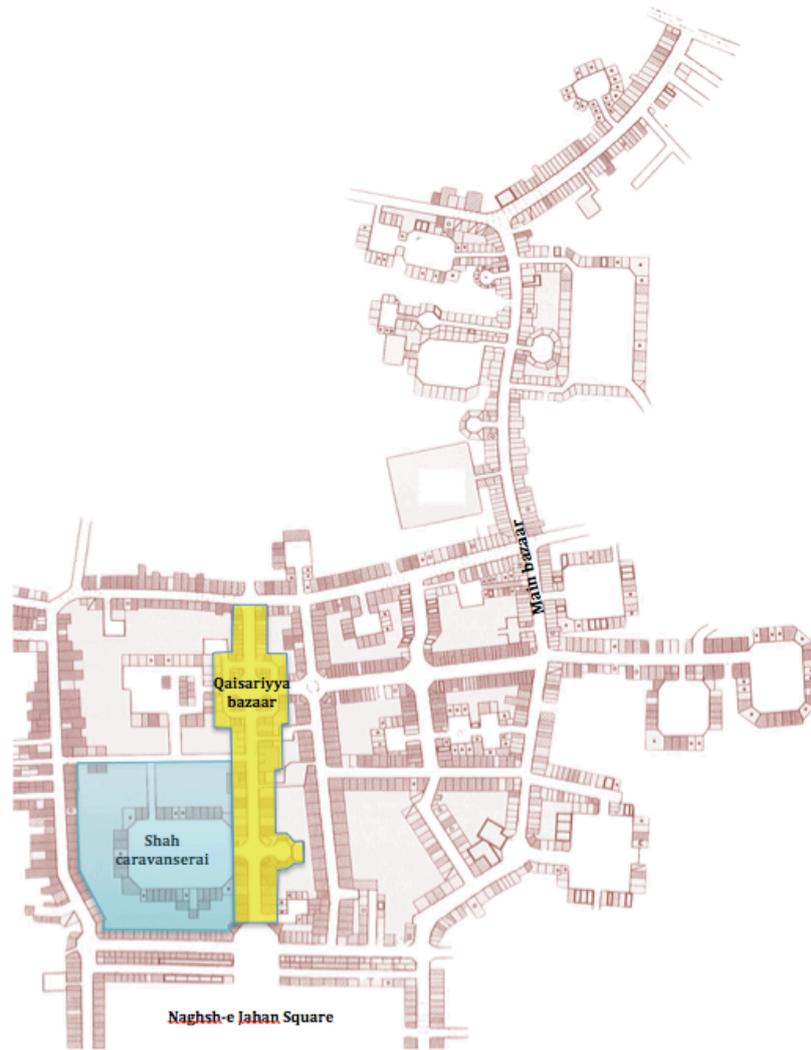
Figure 7.4 Location of Shah Caravanserai in Relation to the Square (to the right of the photo), Aerial Survey of Erich F. Schmidt (1937)



Source: Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (2014)

¹²⁸ Sir John Fryer from The East India Company who visited Isfahan in 1677, found the Imperial bazaar of Isfahan very similar to London "Westminster Hall". He stated in his book "*A New Account of East India and Persia*" that London markets were but "*Snaps of Buildings*" compared to this "*Lofty-Ceiled and Stately-Erected*" market in Isfahan (Fryer, 1698, p. 260).

Figure 7.5 Location of the Caravanserai in Relation to UNESCO World Heritage Site of *Naghsh-e Jahan Square* and the *Qaisariyya Bazaar*



Source: The Author (2014) after Shafaghi (2006)

7.3.2. Historical Significance

According to travelers and ambassadors' accounts including Don García de Silva Figueroa (1550 –1624) the ambassador of the king of Spain at the court of Shah Abbas I and Pietro della Valle (1586 –1652) the Italian famous traveler and a Chronicle of the Carmelites Royal Caravanserai was one of the most magnificent caravanserais of that time with a gilded dome at the entrance. This caravanserai was built by Shah Abbasi the great, however, there is no exact date of construction. Blake (1999) believes that the caravanserai was constructed in 1603 as part of the *Naghsh-e Jahan Square* and during the construction of the *Qaisariyya Bazaar* (1558-1602). According to John Charden (1811) the reason behind naming this 'great caravanserai' as royal (Shah) was because it was part of the shah's properties. In the manuscript

located at the British museum among about 40 caravanserais built by Shah Abbas, his successor and family the Royal caravanserai is described as a “principle caravanserai” in the Grand Bazaar and a home to “King of the Merchants” (Bryce et al., 2013, p. 218). Mohammad Kiani in his *PhD thesis* translated the manuscript as:

This caravanserai was built by Shah Abbas and is at the crossing of the Qaisariyeh, (Royal Bazaar), opposite the mint house. It has approximately one hundred upper and lower chambers. The upper chambers are occupied mostly by goldsmiths, enamellers and jewel engravers. Craftwork from Tabriz and rugs and hand woven goods from Ardabil are bought and silk there as well as a great variety of other goods. Some Isfahani merchants have chambers there and I is frequently by the Malik-Al-Tojar (very rich merchants). In the yard in the middle of the caravanserai wealthy Indian dealers gather. Every night four men keep watch over the caravanserai.

Adam Olearius (1599 –1671) a German scholar and geographer who became secretary to the ambassador sent by Frederick III, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, to Shah Abbas I, noted that the country’s most expensive fabrics and goods were supplied in this “great caravanserai”. Jalal al-din also described this caravanserai as “the very large caravanserai” (Blake, 1999, p. 119).

Shah Abbas I sometimes arranged to go out with women of his harems mostly to *Qaisariyya* Complex and the Grand Bazaar. According to James Justinian Morier (1780 –1849) a British diplomat and author noted for his novels about Qajar dynasty, the “(...) Royal Caravanserai, the largest and most frequented in the city, was the common resort of the foreign, as well as of the resident, merchants” (Morier, 1835, p. 16). Browne (1976, p. 273) described the Royal Caravanserai as a place to “house important guests of the Shah and linked to a suite of rooms above the bazaar gateway and overlooking the great square.” However, based on the narratives of western travelers and comparison with today’s situation this caravanserai has been changed and transformed greatly during history. According to Nikzad Amir-Hossaini “In the center of the Bazaar [Qaisariyya] there is a circular shape enclosure that is covered by a beautiful tall dome and in the west there is a glorious caravanserai that contains about 150 chambers in two floors” (Rafiei Mehrabadi, 1973, p. 814).

Some famous historians such as Lutfollah Honarfar (1967, pp. 115–116) called this caravanserai *Lelah Beg* caravanserai that later changed its name to Shah Caravanserai, however, in the manuscript of the list of Isfahan caravanserais in the British Museum, the author distinguished between these two caravanserais. Rafiei-

Mehrabadi (1973, p. 109) stated that “there is no sign of the aforementioned [*Lelah Beg*] caravanserai any more”. Though, so far it is not clear if Shah Caravanserai is the same caravanserai as *Lelah Beg*. However, Spanish Ambassador to Isfahan García de Silva Figueroa stated that the Shah with his women frequently visited *lelah beg* caravanserai for a night out, and as there is no trace of any other royal caravanserai in the city, perhaps García de Silva Figueroa’s meant Shah Caravanserai. Gaube (1979, p. 88) in his book *Iranian cities* only noted that the Shah Caravanserai is now in “poor condition”. However, he added “This large caravanserai of the city had 140 rooms of different sizes on two floors. At the end of the seventeenth-century cloth merchants from Tabriz, Qazvin, Ardebil and India used the ground floor rooms. On the upper floor jewelers, goldsmiths, and engravers had their shops and workshops” (ibid). According to the account of historians such as Bastani-Palizi (1984) and McChesney (1981) most of Shah’s properties in general and bazaars and the shops around the *Naghsh-e-Jahan* Square in particular were all *waqf* properties.

According to Bonine (2009, p. 635) Shah Abbasi I, endowed all his properties:

In the winter of 1607-1608, Abbas placed into waqf all of his personal estates-which he had acquired legally over the years-as an endowment for the Fourteen Immaculate Ones (i.e., the Twelve Imams, plus Muhammad and Fatima). In Isfahan, Shah Abbas sponsored considerable construction, much of which was endowed as waqf. This included the major, huge square, the Maydan-i Shah, as well as a caravanserai, a qaysariya (enclosed bazaar), the entire bazaar around the maydan, and a large public bath (hammam).

However, during time many of these properties privatized and ownership deeds were issued for them. This in fact can also be applicable for the Shah Caravanserai. Sipanta (1981, in Blake, 1999, p. 117) describes “Shah Abbas gave the income from the caravanserai-yi Shah (...) to male and female *Husaini Sayyids* in Medina and Najaf”.

The rental income from this waqf was endowed to support stipends and living allowance for Hussain (i.e. Shi`I sayyids and sayyidas living in medina or in najaf. However, before any of the funds were given to the specified beneficiaries, the “maintenance and capital needs of the income-producing properties had to be met.”

Bonine (2009, p. 635)

In an interview Mr. Ismailipour, investment and productivity deputy of Isfahan province *waqf* organization, stated that transformation of the ownership of shah’s

properties has roots in the invasion of Isfahan by Afghans:

After the downfall of the Safavid dynasty and disintegration of the court order, the endowment of Qaisariyya bazaar in which Shah Abbas ordered was forgotten. This in fact was simultaneous with the domination of Afghan's in Isfahan and the destruction of waqf deeds was one miserable consequence of their presence in that time. This in fact included the waqf deeds of Qaisariyya bazaar.

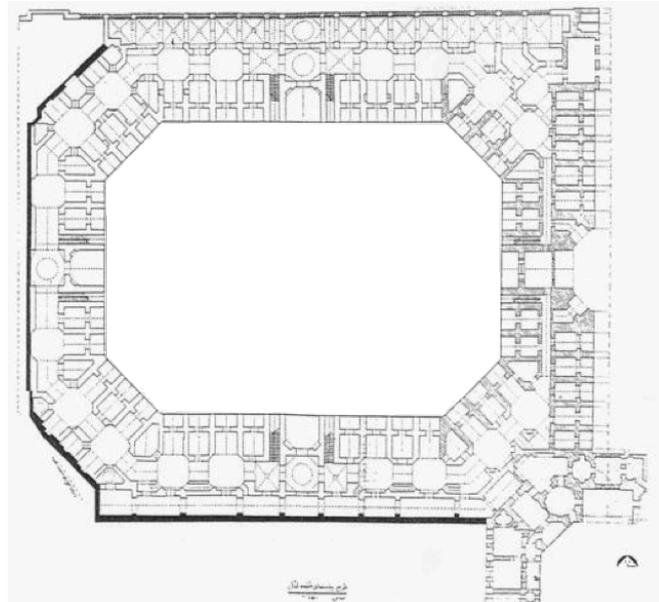
Interview (September, 2014)

According to Bastani-Parizi (1984), many of the shah's documents and deeds that had been kept protected in *Chehel-Sotun* palace were thrown into the *Zayandeh* Rood river by Sunni Afghans to remove the memory of court orders that had been established based on *Shia* tradition.

7.3.3. Physical Dilapidation

This 17th century caravanserai with its equal hexagonal sides was known as the largest caravanserai in Isfahan city. However, today only 67 of these rooms exist and the rest have either been destroyed or merged with other rooms.

Figure 7.6 Original Layout of Shah Caravanserai



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2014)

This building, including its central courtyard, is about 85-meter long and 65-meter wide. And the courtyard, which is about 62 x 45.50 meters, is in the center of the building. According to the original layout, the caravanserai was surrounded by four *īwāns* (fig. 7.6). In the eastern side of the caravanserai there is a doorway that connects the building to the *Qaisariyya* Bazaar. Each bay of these *iwans* was

comprised a fairly high blank pointed arch, with a further low open arch within it, however, today except the doorway arch in the eastern *iwan* there is no trace of other *iwan* arches (fig. 7.7).

Figure 7.7 Eastern Side of the Caravanserai and the Existence of the Upper Floor in this Side



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Figure 7.8 Northern Side of the Caravanserai and the Absence of a Upper Floor

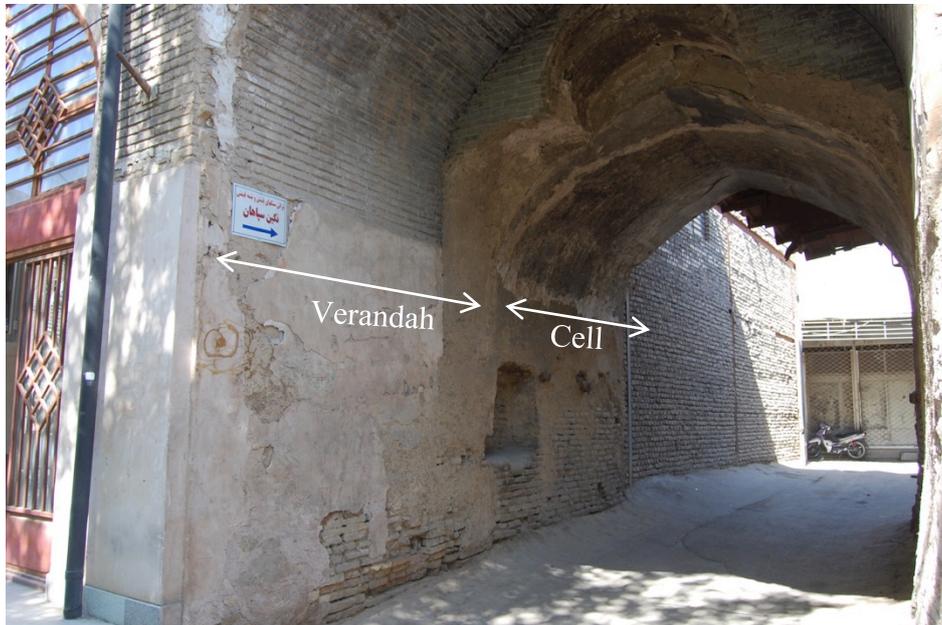


Source: The Author (October, 2014)

According to the original layout of the caravanserai in front of each room of the caravanserai there was a verandah and the doorway to each room was located between the verandah and the room. However, today except for one of the rooms that is now being used as a northern entrance to the building on the ground floor there is

no other trace of the verandah (fig. 7.9). And in the upper floor of the caravanserais also rooms overlooking the courtyard contained a verandah, which is evident in the shops of Mr. Meshkat (Cotton Printing) in the northern side of the building (fig. 7.10).

Figure 7.9 Destruction of a Cell in the Northern Side for Opening an Automobile Entrance to the Caravanserai. Location of the Verandah and the Cell is Visible



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Figure 7.10 Upper Floor Cell in the Northern Side, Added Verandah to the Room to Increase the Size



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Adding a verandah to the rooms occurred before nominating this building as a registered heritage and according to the tenants and the owners the main aim was to “expand the size of the shops”. According to Siroux (1949) originally caravanserais cells had small doors and mostly were without windows, this in fact was to control the room temperature. However, in this urban type of caravanserai as it is visible in figures 7.9 and 7.10 there was a window at the top of each door. Also, most of the Verandahs and rooms of Safavid caravanserais are about 50 cm higher than the courtyard, but in this caravanserai the ground floor rooms are almost at the same elevation to the central courtyard.

Figure 7.11 Using Space of Verandahs in Both Floors to Expand the Area of the Shops



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

The building consists of dense clay brick masonry structure and the floors and roof are constructed of timber joists in the round overlaid with solid timber boarding. Except the upper floor of the eastern side of the building that is attached to the *Qaisariyya* and the dome, the rest of the upper floor has been demolished and today there is no remaining of it. The western side of the caravanserai has vanished, perhaps in Qajar period and there is no evidence of the date of destruction. The western side architecture is different from other sides and has been re-constructed with different material and design, which is known as Qajari architecture with timber columns covered with plaster and the head of the columns was designed with Qajari plasterworks. According to one of the former tenants of the caravanserai Mr. Taheri, who has a shop in the *Qaisariyya* bazaar just right before the entrance of the caravanserai, “this part of the caravanserai was built by Russians, who had a great influence in the bazaar and in the location of the royal mint there was the Bank of Russia, in the caravanserai they were involved in businesses such as Metal, zinc,

copper, leather and skin of Russian sable”.

Figure 7.12 Current Situation of Western Side of the Caravanserai, there is no Trace of the Original Structure



Source: The Author (May, 2014)

However, according to Mr. Morakabian as well as my personal observation the new part that was built by Russians during Qajar era was built on top of the foundation of ruins of the original structure. According to Mr. Morakabian, the upper floor was used by Russians for their trade offices and the below floor was used for their petroleum warehouses. Today the upper floor of this side consists of a large verandah with columns and the current rooms are located at the *verandah*'s depth and are accessed by a pair of stairs located in the center of *iwan*.

Figure 7.13 The Original Wall of the Caravanserai is Behind the New Structure



Source: The Author (May, 2014)

And the lower floor is located in the basement, which is accessible by central stairs. The rooms in the northern side of the building have changed in shape greatly

as they are now merged with the back stable and some of them are even deeper and are now connected to the stores in the adjacent alley known as *Kaleh Pazha* (literally, Sheep's head cooking). Also, beside these changes in the northern side, there is a doorway that connects *Kaleh Pazha* ally to the caravanserai, which today is a way for cars to enter and exit to and from the caravanserai central courtyard. The rooms in the southern side of the caravanserai, which are adjacent to the bazaar along the *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square, have faced great intervention in its design and structure.

Figure 7.14 Condition of the Western Part and the Central Courtyard of the Caravanserai in 1977



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)

Figure 7.15 Condition of the Eastern Part, the Entrance and the Central Courtyard of the Caravanserai in 1977



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)

According to two of the owners (Mr. Borhani and Mr. Morakabian) originally the caravanserai was consisting of four entrances. Hosseini and Poornaderi (2013) in their study also agree with the owners, as they stated, originally there were two main entrances in the eastern and northern side and two entrances in the corner of the western side of the caravanserai (fig. 7.16). However, except for the main entrance in the *Qaisariyya* bazaar which is still in use, currently there is no trace of the other three entrances. Meanwhile, according to my personal observation and archival documents, it is possible that the caravanserai contained another doorway in the western side, although two entrances in the corners of the caravanserai is far-fetched.

Figure 7.16 Shah Caravanserai Original Entrances Marked by Dark Orange and Added Subsidiary Entrance is Marked with light Orange



Source: Hosseini and Poornaderi (2013, p. 90)

7.3.4. On the Margins of the Bazaar

Shah Caravanserai, located in urban administrative division 3. This division holds the highest density of cultural built heritage in the city (308 registered built heritage in an area of 1152 hectares)¹²⁹. While the caravanserai as an integral part of the bazaar remained unpreserved, the imperial bazaar is recognized as one of the best-conserved “examples of the kind of large, enclosed, and covered bazaar complex” in the Muslim world (Floor, 2007, p. 43). New conservation is undergoing in the bazaar today. This contrast between the bazaar and the caravanserai is observable by tourists and locals just with a simple gaze. Though, in the last 60 years or so with modernization and industrialization of mobility and movement on one hand most of wholesale, import and export businesses moved from the bazaar to other parts of the

¹²⁹ See chapter 3 for more details (section 3.3).

city and perhaps to Tehran or Bandar Abbas. On the other hand, while modern western style shops and supermarkets opened in the southern part of the city (ex. City Center Shopping Mall) or in the Armenian quarter, the bazaar developed and gained new commercial functions as one of the major tourist attractions of Isfahan.

Tourists are often amazed with the high number of tourist attractions in this administrative division from the time they enter the square.¹³⁰ Perhaps when arriving they will consider the bazaar as the main place for buying Iranian handicrafts (ex. Carpet, Metal works and painting) and see it in general as an object of tourist gaze. While the bazaar remained as one of the main attractions of tourists visiting the next-door UNESCO world heritage site, Shah Caravanserai remained local. Tourists are often just two steps from the caravanserai, but walk away from it, without knowing or realizing its historical significance. Possibly when they look inside from underneath the high dome of Qaisariyya, they imagine the gates of the caravanserai as a boundary between locals and tourists. This in fact can be an example of how time can change the perception of place. While this caravanserai was a place for travelers as their temporary home during their visit, today travelers see this place as local and/or private and see its gates, which were used for protecting them and their properties, as an obstacle between tourism and locality.

At the same time in the caravanserai when some of the users (owners, tenants and sometimes clients) hear the call to prayer from the magnificent Imam mosque in the southern side of the *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square and begin performing ablution followed by praying underneath a seasonal open air tent set-up in the center of the courtyard of the caravanserai to protect the prayers from wind and rain in winter, others are still working in their shops and some are coming and going, delivering or picking up goods with their bicycles, motorbikes, carts and cars. Yet this is still a quiet place. Today many people working here are predominantly men or perhaps all the workers are men. Functionality of this caravanserai is mostly limited to warehouses, workshops and shops for manufacturing and selling *Samavar*¹³¹ or its accessories. According to the owners this activity can be traced back to the time when the Russians were present in this caravanserai (interview, May 2014). However, besides *Samavar*

¹³⁰ See tripadvisor.com for traveler's reviews on *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square.

¹³¹ Samavar is a heated metal container traditionally used to heat and boil water. Originally from Russia and it has been used broadly in the Middle East and Central Asia as well as Central, South-Eastern, Eastern European countries.

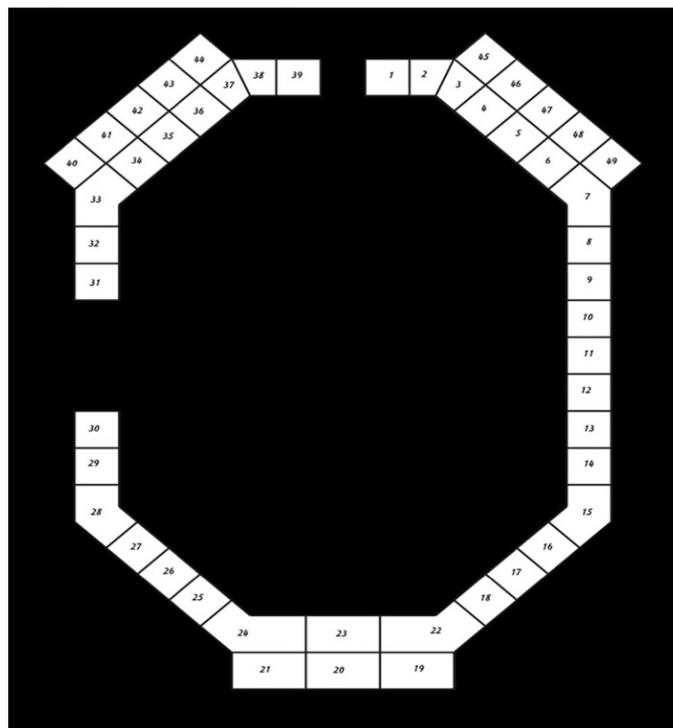
related activities based on my observation there are other activities, which are listed with the name of the owners as well as its type of activity in table (7.4).

Table 7.4 Activities and Names of the Owners and the Tenants in the Caravanserai

No	Name	Activity	Type	Current status	No	Name	Activity	Type	Current status
1	Meshkat	Cotton Printing	Workshop	Active	26	Samavati	Carpet	Shop	Inactive
2	Sharif	Copper sheet	Shop	Active	27	Haghighat	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active
3	Safir Zade	Household	Shop	Active	28	Ejdani	Shoe	Shop	Active
4	Toran	Shoe	Shop	Inactive	29	Haghighat	Storage room	Warehouse	Active
5	Sajadifar	Attar (aromatherapy)	Shop	Active	30	Mohamadian	Storage room	Warehouse	Active
6	Arshi	Shoe	Shop	Active	31	Talaie Pour	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active
7	Jalaie Pour	Turning	Workshop	Active	32	Sarami	Carpet	Shop	Active
8	Felfelian	Attar (aromatherapy)	Shop	Active	33	Kohestani	Samovar maker	Workshop	Inactive
9	Taghi Zadeh	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active	34	Borhani	Samovar	Shop	Active
10	Panahi	Cotton Printing	Workshop	Active	35	Borhani	Storage room	Warehouse	Active
11	Kochakian	Shoe	Shop	Active	36	Meshkat	Cotton Printing	Workshop	Active
12	Shoraka	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active	37	Talebi Pour	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active
13	Hekmatpour	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active	38	Meshkat	Cotton Printing	Workshop	Active
14	Felfelian	Attar (aromatherapy)	Warehouse	Active	39	Arefi	Silver Maker	Workshop	Active
15	Khairi	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active	40	Janatian	Silver Maker	Workshop	Active
16	Jelvani	Samovar maker	Workshop	Inactive	41	Angabini	Antique	Shop	Active
17	Haj Asghar	Samovar maker	Workshop	Inactive	42	Zabolian	Cotton Printing	Workshop	Active
18	Jelvani	Samovar maker	Workshop	Inactive	43	Ali Kafash	Shoe	Workshop	Active
19	Mosavi	Turning	Workshop	Active	44	Kamochian	Cotton Printing	Workshop	Active
20	Kaberian	Luggage maker	Workshop	Active	45	--	Goldsmith	Workshop	Inactive
21	Ajdani	Shoe	Shop	Active	46	--	Goldsmith	Workshop	Inactive
22	Bahman Pour	Darning	Workshop	Inactive	47	--	Goldsmith	Workshop	Inactive
23	Jalali Nejad	Samovar maker	Workshop	Active	48	--	Goldsmith	Workshop	Inactive
24	Morakabian	Turning	Workshop	Active	49	--	Goldsmith	Workshop	Inactive
25	Sefid Zade	Household	Shop	Active					

Source: The Author (2015)

Figure 7.17 Current Shops are Identified in the Caravanserai



Source: The Author (2015)

7.3.5. Falling into Ruins

The caravanserai is now at an advanced state of disrepair. There are several areas of the caravanserai that are now uninhabitable due to floor and roof collapses caused by deterioration of water as well as reckless use of the building. Most of the walls have lost their rendering, and the mud mortar is extensively cracked and eroded where the walls have been subjected to water ingress. Generally, very limited maintenance has been carried out throughout history, however, in some parts of the caravanserais (ex. on the second floor of the eastern side and to its right side) in recent years more stable maintenance has been carried out. There are three flush toilets for a population of about 70 people. The caravanserai has a legal electricity supply with a separate power meter for every room as well as a common point of access for water. The caravanserai suffered greatly from water ingress from the roof due to failure of the old insulation and from dampness, however, with the new isolation of the roof about 8 years ago and onward the owners and tenants slightly solved this issue, which can be known as one of the major steps taken for the protection of the building (fig. 7.18).

Figure 7.18 Insulation of the Roof by the Owners



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

I conducted an informal interview with Mr. Borhani (75 years old), who together with his brother, owns 3 shops, and is known as one of the most experienced (age wise) person in this caravanserai. I asked if the owners received authorization from ICHHTO for the insulation job. Also, in general if they inform the ICHHTO about any physical repair and maintenance in the building. And he replied:

No, of course not, we don't have time for informing any event happening to the building, it is their duty to protect the building and when they don't pay, what do you expect from us. In regards to the insulation, it has nothing to do with them, if they don't authorize us to install the insulation and the roof collapses on our head and damages our goods who will answer, will they!? Also they do not pay anything, they don't have money to do so, they don't have a budget for these types of projects. So, there is no point in asking them, because we know that they cannot help us(....)

Interview (May, 2014)

According to Article 6 annex C of Antiquity Act of 1930, for the repair, restoration of the national registered properties, "owners may only be undertaken [any repair and maintenance] with the authorization of the State and under its supervision. Any infringement is punishable [by law]"¹³².

In this regard, and in accordance with article 3 of the antiquity law the legal notification signed by the general director of Isfahan's cultural heritage organization dated 6th October 2002 (Appendix 4) for registering the Shah Caravanserai as a national monument was sent to the owners asking them if they have any objection on registering this building as a national monument to notify the organization within one month after this proclamation. In the same legal notification, the organization also informed the owners and the occupants that properties that become part of national monuments will be benefited in four aspects and will be supported and protected by law, including:

- a) Exemption from income tax
- b) Exemption from municipality tax
- c) Providing technical assistance and expertise in conservation and maintenance as well as providing financial assistance for the mentioned purpose.
- d) The owners and properties are entitled to hold their ownership rights and possessions.

One of the major duties of ICHHTO in regards to cultural heritage is to control and protect the registered built heritage. Therefore, I asked Mr. Borhani if later anyone had come from the organization and if they had what it was they said. He stated:

They normally don't come here, but about 6 months after they came and they asked why we did not apply for authorization and in reply we said, if we would inform you, what would you have done about it, would you pay the cost?, and in reply they said maybe, and we said that there are many

¹³² See Hodjat (1995) for full translation of Antiquity Act of 1930.

other parts of this caravanserai that is in an urgent need for repair, therefore we would like to ask you kindly to pay for the repair. They left and no one returned. They have a team in the square [*Naghshe-Jahan*] and they come to the bazaar every day but like many other residents and tourists they just ignore this part of the bazaar and pass without paying any attention.

Interview (May, 2014)

According to Mr. Moslehi, former head of Isfahan cultural heritage and handicraft organization about the current status of the caravanserai and the cooperation of the owners and tenants with the organization he stated:

Shah Caravanserai is totally a different story, we have had problems with the owners from the beginning. There are some people in the caravanserai that don't cooperate with us and the main problem here is an ownership multiplicity of the caravanserai. There are more than 20 owners in the building and communicating with them is very difficult as there is no building management system in the caravanserais, also there are some owners that have been here for more than 150 years - of course if we add their ancestors age - and they don't accept any pause in their businesses for even a short period of time for conservation process.

Interview (February, 2015)

In January 2005 the Unit for the Protection of Cultural Heritage was set up in order to protect the immense value of the Iranian Cultural Heritage; however, it should be noted that the unit was established about 35 years after the creation of the unit for the protection of Cultural Heritage in Italy. In this regard, in an interview with Ms. Shamei, a member of staff of listing of cultural heritage in Isfahan CHHTO, I asked about the control and protection of cultural heritage and in particular about the role of the Protection Unit in case of Shah Caravanserai and in reply she emphasized:

We have different ways to control listed built heritage, one of our major forces is the 'Protection Unit' of cultural heritage which is responsible for protecting cultural heritage and preventing occurrence of any intervention and crime against listed cultural heritage, however, as the number of registered cultural heritage in Isfahan is very high it is practically not possible to hire staff for every building, therefore, we try to get in touch with the owners and watchmen to report any incident. Although, in the case of this caravanserai, they fired the watchman and no one reported this to us and we just found out days after this incident. We can say that the insulation of a roof was a good step taken by the owners but it could have been done by informing the organization first.

Interview (May, 2014)

Since the level of intervention in the physical structure of historical monuments by the owners as well as occupiers in most of private owned historical monuments is high. Isfahan CHHTO considered insulation of the roof a good step by

the owners in protecting the building even though their permission was not granted.

Figure 7.19 Condition of One of the Cells and Expansion of it by Opening a Way to the Next Cell



Source: The Author (May, 2014)

In this case as I have already mentioned, the intervention in the caravanserai has a long history, which is evident in the disappearance of the *iwans* on both floors, wholesale destruction of the western side, opening an automobile entrance to the caravanserai in the northern side, changes in the structure of the cells, changing the style and flooring of the central courtyard as well as the disappearance of the stable. Therefore, according to Shamei, “insulation of the roof was a help and we hope the owners and occupiers respect the caravanserai more and do not destroy the cells' walls for connecting their shops to the next shop”.

The mistrust between governmental organizations and the caravanserai owners also has a long history and it dates back to the beginning of the revolution, when Mr. Salamatian former member of the parliament purchased the caravanserai and by using his influence he intended to demolish the caravanserai and build a new shopping complex. However, in the political turmoil of the beginning of the revolution, he was discharged from the Iranian politics and went to Paris. After this incident, tenants who felt that the caravanserai was in their control again proposed to Mr. Salamatian’s attorney and son in law Mr. Sajadi that they were interested to buy the caravanserai, and therefore, caravanserai was divided into 72 *hab* (shares) and bought by 24 of the tenants.

The conservation of heritage sites and buildings is the duty of the owners or managers of monuments, while, the protection and preservation and commodification of the national heritage sites must be conducted for the nation (Rahman, 2012).

According to Mr. Taheri, “the future of the caravanserai with each passing day will be more complicated, vague and ambiguous. It can become very problematic for the government to make a deal with them, as today there are 24 owners for the caravanserai and each owner has about 5 or 6 heirs”. He added representatives of the ICHHTO, the mayor and the governor-general came here a few years ago with a proposal for conservation. They proposed that the owners must pay 5,000,000 *Tomans* (today, 150,00 Euros) for research and development and pay for conservation in three installments but the proposal was never accepted by the owners. About three years later they came with another proposal that the government will pay for the research and development; and conservation and construction will carry on based on the joint venture investment. In this proposal, ICHHTO suggested that after the conservation and construction process, one floor will be for the owners to continue their business and the other floor will be for the organization. However, after a few months of negotiation they couldn't reach an agreement and according to an anonymous owner “the owners did not want to pay for conservation also, they were happy with the present condition”. On the other front, ten respondents stated that the main reason for not accepting ICHHTO's proposal was “lack of trust” and “lack of motivation”.

Mr. Borhani explained the reason by stating that about 10 years ago ICHHTO decided to conserve the caravanserai, they visited the place with a proposal but they wanted the caravanserai to be evacuated for 2 years for conservation process. The owners did not accept, as they were not sure if they would get their properties back:

Most of these stores are workshops and warehouses, and if they conserve this building, then there won't be a space for workshop and warehouses, and as most of these people don't know any other profession they are scared of changing the functionality of this caravanserai. Also their children don't want to work in the bazaar, for example, my children if they were to receive a million *Tomans* every day wouldn't want to come and work here, they are university professors: one of them teaches physics in Tehran university; and the other is a professor at Isfahan university, they don't even come here once a year. So, why should I cut my hand from my work in the last years of my life? Here is my life. Every Friday evening although it is closed I must come here, at least for one hour.

Interview (October, 2014)

Also, another owner, Mr. Morakabian (79 years old), who owns a tuning workshop for *Samavar* parts agreed with Mr. Borhani. He stated that he is happy with the present condition and does not want to transform the current known situation to an unknown situation. He claimed:

We can not trust an organization that has all the power in their hands. What if they break their promise? What if they don't return our space? Also, we have a workshop here for *Samavar* and if we evacuate this place where should we go, what should we do? Cutting my hand from my life [*coming to caravanserai everyday*] is not an option. Of course, I like this place to return to its past glory but I personally can not *evacuate [this place]* and it is not because of the income that we have from this store but it is because of the attachment that I have to this place, to the people, to the rusty walls of this caravanserai. I have to come to this caravanserai every day. I have been with this caravanserai more than I have been with my family.

One of the owners who shared information only in case of anonymity stated that, "the problem is with both the owners and the ICHHTO". He added "on one hand most of the owners have passed their 60s and therefore, their level of risk taking is less and also, they don't have any motivation in conserving the caravanserai as most of their progenies are not interested in continuing their father's business and on the other hand, ICHHTO is busy with their internal issues and struggling with the multiple financial issues and they basically don't care about this type of built heritage".

According to Rahman (2012), ownership of heritage is generally referring to someone or group of people being the guardian of the heritage. While in this case lack of motivation and mistrust between them and ICHHTO has led them to ignore the conservation of this built heritage.

Mr. Morakabian's son who works in the caravanserai in his father's workshop stated that the organization did not take any steps towards the conservation of this caravanserai. "When the owners intended to make some steps for the conservation of the building they did not let them do so. As once owners wanted to macadamize the courtyard but when we asked them they did not allow us to do so as they [Isfahan CHHTO] said that 'we want to bring heavy machinery here for construction of the upper floor, and if you make an agreement with us we will do all these things', but two years of evacuation was not possible at all for the owners".

Another issue affecting owners approach towards management of heritage is the varied motivations of owners (Rahman, 2012). In this regard Mr. Morakabian stated, that about one year ago a representative from ICHHTO came again with a new

“fair” proposal. Based on the new proposal and according to Mr. Morakabian, ICHHTO suggested to the owners that “the organization will provide technical support and layouts and also based on the amount of investment they will help the owners to receive financial support from the banks. In the new proposal ownership of the caravanserai will remain the same, however, so far this proposal has not been accepted by some of the owners, while other was strongly supporting the proposal”.

7.4. Case Study Two: Malik Caravanserai

Figure 7.20 The Exterior Façade of Malik Caravanserai



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Figure 7.21 Interior of the Caravanserai and its Surrounding Area



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

As specified in chapter 6, caravanserais were built throughout the Iranian plateau; however, there are different types of caravanserais, which may be categorized based on their location. Caravanserais located outside the city-walls on the main routes are one of those types. These caravanserais were mostly constructed for the travelers who arrived late at night and at a time when the city-gates were closed. Therefore, these travelers stayed overnight and entered the city the next day.

Malik Caravanserai falls into this category; its location next to the cemetery can perhaps suggest that the caravanserai was used for people who came from other cities to visit the graves of their loved ones, however, there is no evidence supporting this. The caravanserai is also conveniently located on the route to Shiraz and the south (fig. 7.22). There are four principal stakeholders involved in the ownership, management and conservation of this caravanserai, including a) *mutawalli-e waqf* and *waqf* organization; b) ICHHTO; c) municipality; and d) occupants. As the caravanserai was a *waqf* property, its responsibility was under the *mutawalli-e waqf* and *waqf* organization. However, since the caravanserai was gazetted as a national monument in 2002, ICHHTO is another responsible stakeholder for the protection of the caravanserai. The location of the caravanserai in the buffer zone of the Cultural, Religious and Historical Complex of *Takht-i Fulad* (managed by the municipality), also brought another stakeholder. However, while the municipality does not hold any direct responsibility for this caravanserai, its interest in the caravanserai as well as its main duty as a major responsible authority for urban beautification and order has encouraged them to establish several meetings between the stakeholders and corresponding with them about the current condition of the caravanserai and the future ahead of it. Other principal stakeholders in this caravanserai (perhaps because of their noticeable influence in the current condition and the faith of the caravanserai that can be categorized as the main stakeholder) are the tenants or in other word the occupants. They have been engaged in various businesses in the caravanserais since the beginning of 1950s onward.

Since the 1990s there have been several investment opportunities for conservation and the re-use of the building, however, since the caravanserai has been occupied by multiple tenants and in some cases due to a contradiction of the proposed uses with its historical values, so far an investment in this building never occurred.

Malik Caravanserai was selected as one of the case studies of this research for the below reasons:

- e) Registered as a national monument.
- f) The only existing caravanserai in the south of Isfahan city.
- g) Being a *waqf* property.
- h) Caravanserai's important location on the ancient trade route to Shiraz and at the end-tail of Northern-Southern axis of Isfahan (fig. 7.22)

7.4.1. Location

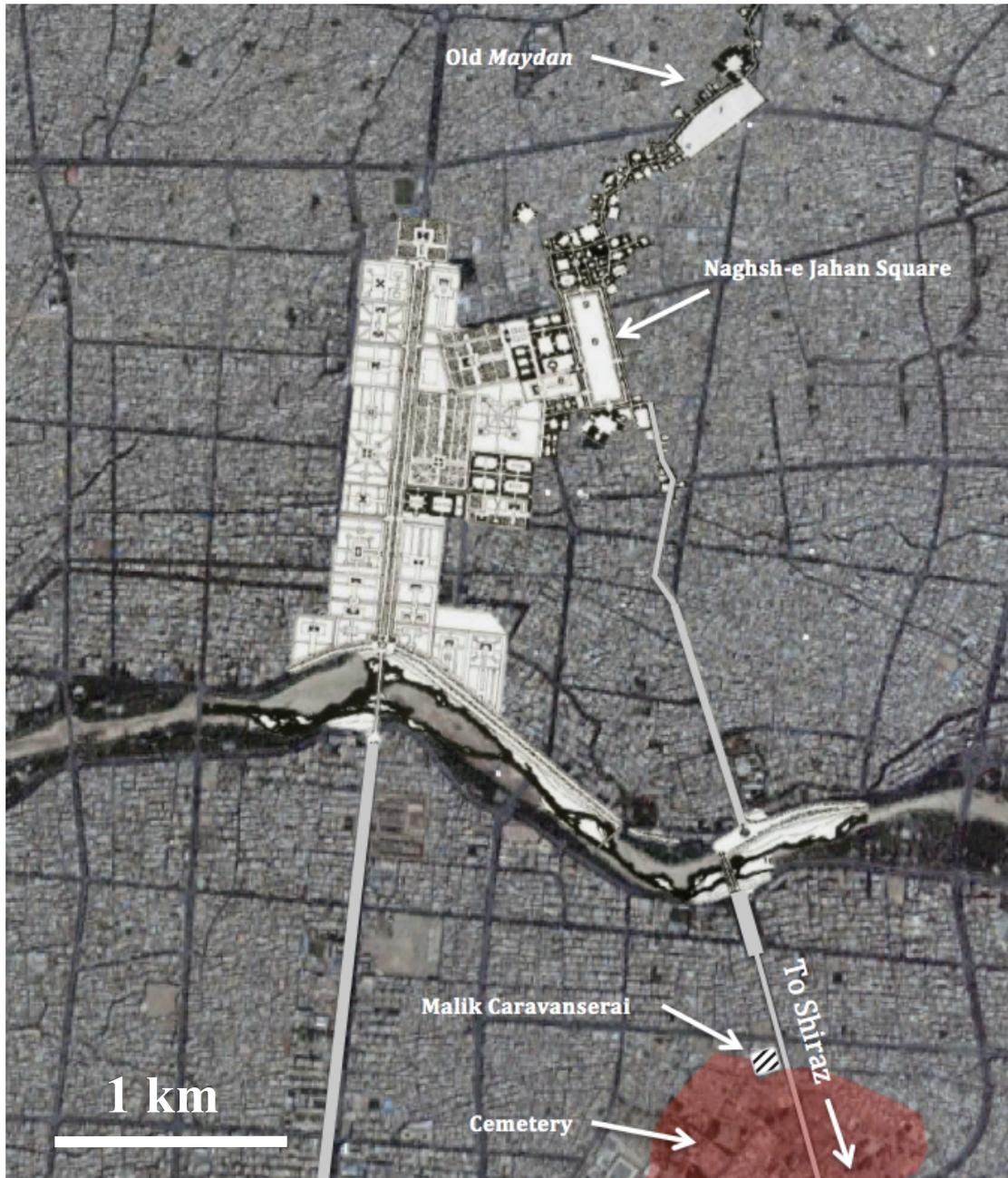
Malik Caravanserai or *Takht-i Pulad/Fulad* caravanserai is located (32°37'42.20"N- 51°41'6.19"E) in the complex of tombs and mausoleum of various Islamic periods in the south of Isfahan. The caravanserai is located on the ancient trade route to Shiraz and at the end-tail of Northern-Southern axis of Isfahan. Riahi and Montazer-alghaem in an interview with Iran student news agency¹³³ stated that the cemetery is one of the oldest and richest cemeteries in the Islamic world. This caravanserai is situated in Faiz Street and in the buffer zone of Religious, Cultural and Historical Complex of *Takht-i Fulad* in the southern margin of *Zayande Rood* River.

The caravanserai was situated near the gate of *Takht-i Fulad*, Hassanabad, or *Saadetabad* gardens gate; however, today there are no traces of this gate.

There is no sufficient information about the past use of the caravanserai. However, according to its location and account of Sir John Chardin (1811) and the time of construction of the caravanserai, it must have been a place for accommodating travelers and merchants of the 17th to early 19th century coming from the south and vice versa to/from Isfahan (fig. 7.22).

¹³³<http://isna.ir/fa/news/94030301456/>- است- اصفهان- هویت- سند- فولاد- تخت- [Accessed on 10th June 2015] in Farsi.

Figure 7.22 Location of Malik Caravanserai in Relation to the 17th Century Urban Development of Isfahan and the Route to Shiraz

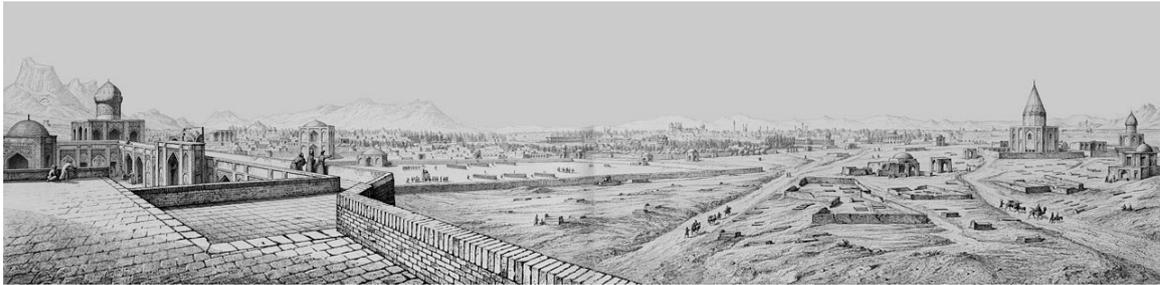


Source: after Ardalan & Bakhtiar (1979) - Google Earth (2015)

Chardin (1811) in his book specified that the largest Isfahan cemetery was located on the way to Shiraz and in it lay the graves of various important elites, including one of the greatest and most famous Persian *Dervish* (Baba Rokn Aldin). He added, next to Baba Rokn Aldin polyhedral dome mausoleum, caravanserais, *Hammams*, a bazaar and a mosque are situated. He added, perhaps one of Shah Abbas's commanders – *Esfandiar Baik*- built these properties in a very short period of time. Chardin stated that when Shah Abbas acknowledged that the commander had

not been contributing to the construction of the city, he asked him to participate in the development of the city and therefore, the commander built these properties in a very short period of time (Chardin, 1811). Also, Shah Abbas II named a bridge that connected the northern-southern trade route of Isfahan after Baba Rokn Aldin, which perhaps was because of its close location to his tomb (today the bridge is known as Khaju Bridge).

Figure 7.23 Panoramic View of Isfahan (Baba Rokn Aldin Mausoleum and *Takht-i Pulad* is Located on the top right of the Picture)



Source: Pascal Coste (1867)

Figure 7.24 Khaju Bridge and the Route to Shiraz (1938)- Malik Caravanserai is located on the right side of the Route



Source: Picture taken on (1937), IMNA news (2012)¹³⁴

Floor (1999, p. 70) in describing the routes from Isfahan to Shiraz, mentioned

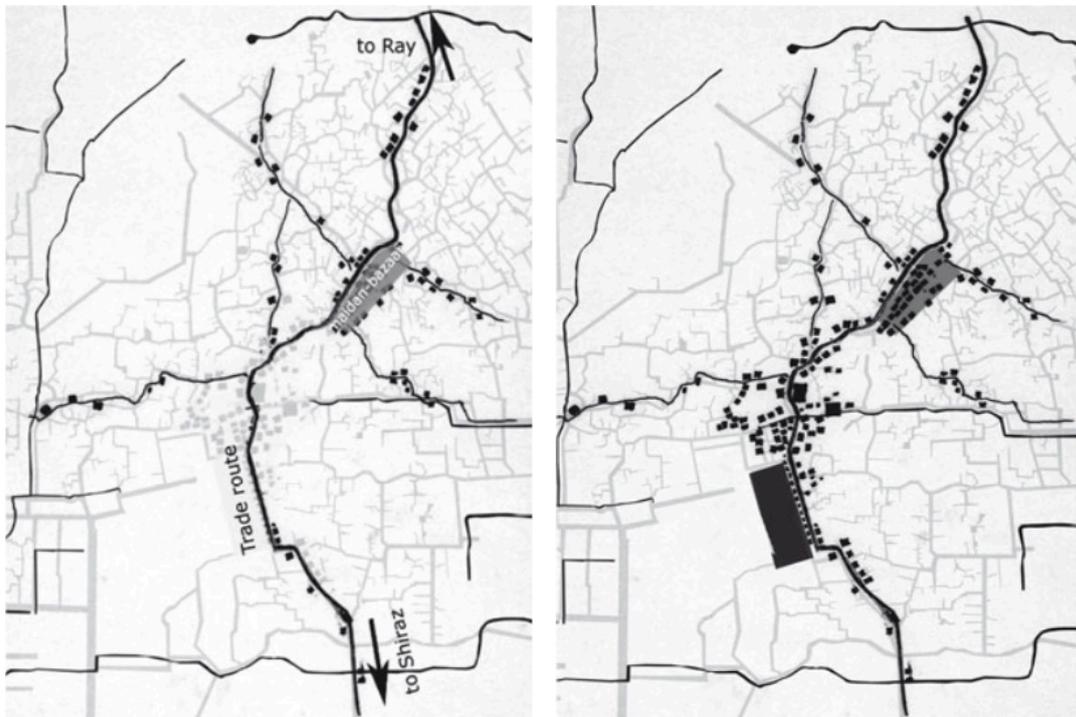
Takht-i Fulad caravanserai as:

Some went via Lalibeek direct to Mahyar, whilst others road to Isfahanak, which was as miserable a village as its Karavansaray called Takht-i Pulad or Barabaruk, and then via the Karavansaray of Mirza Ali Reza.

¹³⁴ <http://www.imna.ir/fa/doc/news/83582/خواجه-پل-عکس-سال-۱۳۱۶-یض-ف-فلکه-خواجو-پل-عکس> [Accessed on 10th May 2016]

Perhaps Floor (1999, p. 70) by naming this caravanserai as “Barabaruk”, meant Baba Rukn as an abbreviation of Baba Rukn Al-din whose mausoleum is close by this caravanserai. The pattern and geometry of the trade routes before and after Safavid era did not change much, however, as the figures (7.25 -left & right) illustrates *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square was built on the main southern and northern axis. The northern route is a route to Ray and the southern route is the main route to Shiraz in which Malik Caravanserai is located.

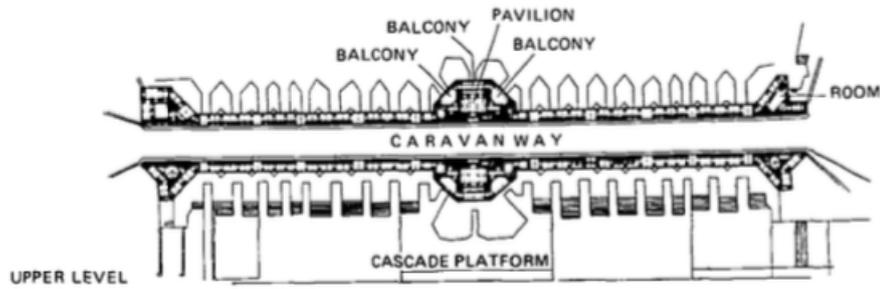
Figure 7.25 The Structure of the Urban Trade Routes and its Elements with Centrality of the Old *Maidan* During Seljuqids Era (left); and the Structure of the Urban Trade Routes and its Elements with Centrality of the new *Maidan*, *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square During Safavid Era (right).



Source: Falahat (2014, p. 144)

According to Babaie (2008, p. 76) Safavid’s urban development of Isfahan was based on “an area that medieval Isfahan had left undeveloped”. The pre-safavid north south axis of the city, which was the busiest axis, was part of this development that held the fellow of travelers and traders to and from the south, especially from Shiraz (Falahat, 2014). As Kheirabadi (2000) describes, this route is one of the main ancient routes stretching from north to south connecting the city of Ray to Isfahan and continuing up to the Persian Gulf. Besides, Robert Hillenbrand (1986) identified the Khaju bridge as a caravan way connecting the *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square and the city to the old road to Shiraz.

Figure 7.26 Khaju Bridge Used as a Caravan Way Connecting to the Old Shiraz Route



Source: Hillenbrand (1986, p. 802)

Therefore, it can be concluded that this axis was part of north south Iranian caravan route (Silk Road) and the caravanserai -being outside of the southern city gate- is a good indicator that this caravanserai was the last stop for travelers traveling on the Iranian caravan route coming to Isfahan.

This caravanserai is part of the endowments of Haj Mohammad Ebrahim Malik ul-Tujar, endowed by him during Qajar era in 1921. In an interview, the *mutawalli-e waqf* of Haj Mohammad Ebrahim Malik ul-Tujjar -Mr. Najafi-, stated that:

When Qajari authority threatened to destroy the caravanserai, Haj Mohammad Ebrahim purchased the property and endows its income for Imam Husayn ibn Ali rituals (Soaz¹³⁵), pilgrims to Imam Hussein shrine and Shia poor population.

Interview (November, 2014)

However, in the first article of the his *waqf-name*, the priority is to conserve and protect the property from the rental income of the caravanserai.¹³⁶

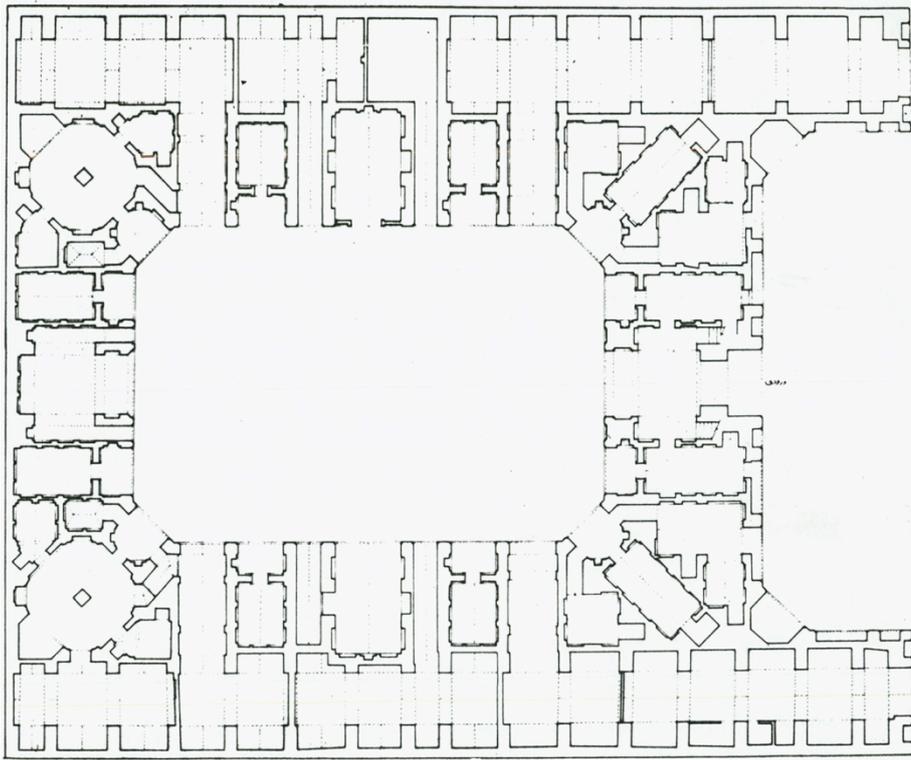
7.4.2. Description

Malik Caravanserai is a fortified enclosure with 4 *iwans* with an area of 2721.69 square meters (fig. 7.27).

¹³⁵ Is an elegiac poem written to commemorate the martyrdom and velour of Imam Husain and his comrades of the Karbala.

¹³⁶ See Malik *Waqf-name* for more details.

Figure 7.27 Current Layout of the Caravanserai



Source: courtesy of ICHHTO

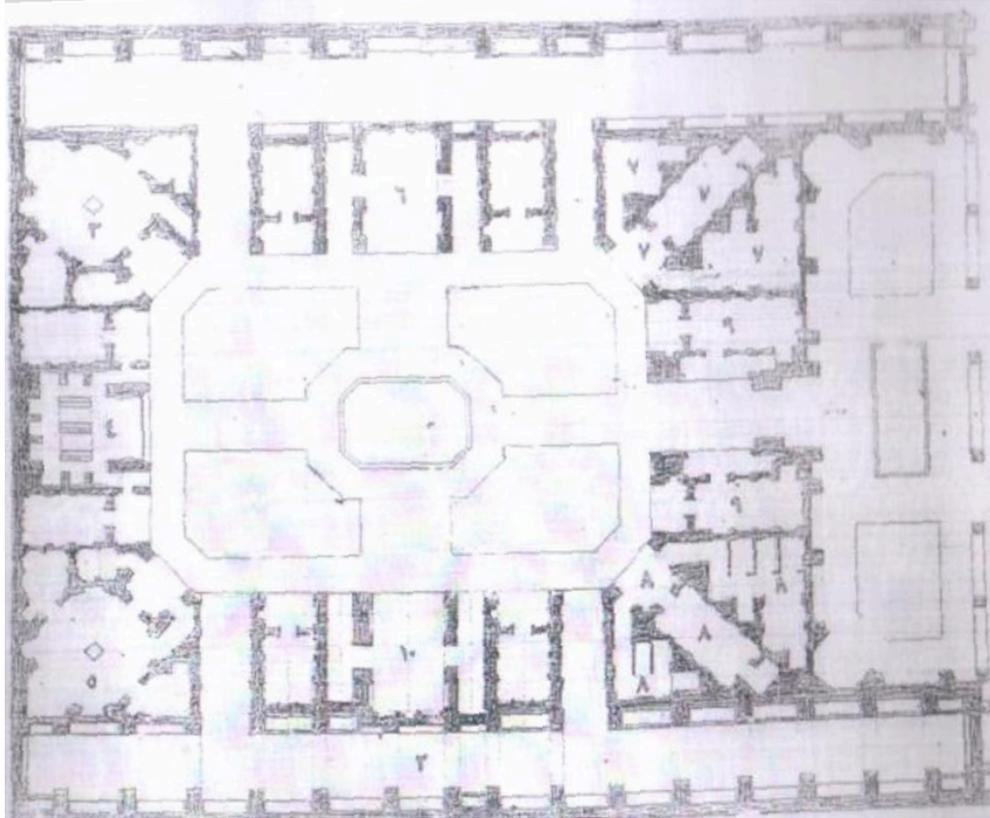
Unlike most caravanserais, which are usually square or octagonal in shape from the outside, the stables of this caravanserai are located in the northern and the southern side and have longer tails which in the eastern façade of the building illustrate a U shape structure. However, the interior space is similar to most caravanserais, which is an octagonal shape with rooms all around the central courtyard (fig. 7.27).

Figure 7.28 Malik Caravanserai is Situated to the right of the Picture



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (no specific date available -Qajar era).

Figure 7.29 Original Layout of Malik Caravanserai



Source: Courtesy of Isfahan *Waqf* Organization (2015)

Based on the only historical photograph available for this caravanserai (fig. 7.28) and the original layout (fig. 7.29) the caravanserai, similar to almost all other caravanserais, had only one entrance. However, due to the tenants' intervention during time, multiple doorways have been opened in the eastern side (fig. 7.31).

Currently there are five doorways open in the eastern side. One is located at the beginning of the northern tail of the stable and is for stone carving workshop mainly making gravestones (fig. 7.30).

Figure 7.30 Stone Carving Workshop in the Southern Stable of the Caravanserai. Hand Crane is Shown in the Center of the Workshop Supported by the Ceiling and the Walls of the Stable.



Source: Courtesy of João Sarmiento (October, 2014)

The next door is for the other stone workshop which is closed at the moment but was active in stone carving. The door to the immediate left side of the main entrance is for a shop renting out *Taft* or *Hejleh*¹³⁷ (fig. 7.31).

¹³⁷ *Hejleh* is a box to put in the streets to inform others for the dead of some one.

Figure 7.31 Several Entrances Were Opened from the Rooms in the Eastern Side of the Caravanserai



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

To the right side of the entrance, there is a window that perhaps as Haj Ali (Watchman of the caravanserai) in an interview (October, 2014) stated, was for safety reasons: “Here we put this window for security reasons and especially at night when the doors are locked, we can control outside.” In the next arch, there is an auto-tuning shop and workshop and on the far right of the entrance, at the beginning of the northern tale of the stable, there is an *Atari* (grocery and perfumery) store. However, Mr. Mahmodian, who has a *Hejleh* rental shop in the eastern side of the caravanserai, stated that except for those doors at the beginning of the northern and the southern tale of the stables the other doors are open:

I have been here for 15 years, my father rented the shop about 60 years ago. The outside door was here from the day my father came to do business in the caravanserai. Before my father came here the shop was for repairing shoes and the person who rented this place to us, had already opened the door from the outside, and since then we are in this business. *Except for the grocery shop and the stone carving workshop, on the corners of the eastern side of the caravanserai, the tenants open the other doors.*

Interview (September, 2014)

Haj Ali who is the caravanserai’s watchman and has lived in the caravanserai for about 70 years also agrees with Mr. Mahmodian, as he stated:

There were two wooden doors on the eastern side of the stables but the tenants changed the door. The Attari changed it to a glass door and the

stone carver replaced it with a roll up metal gate.

Interview (September, 2014)

Meanwhile, the original layout and the only historical photograph (fig. 7.28 & 7.29) demonstrates that there were no doors at the beginning of the stables. However, the photograph is not clear and the layout might have been changed during time.

The entrance of the caravanserai is comprised of a fairly high and empty pointed arch, with a further low open arch within it, decorated with brickworks and a border of turquoise ceramics (fig. 7.32). Above the entrance, there is an adobe ruin tower built for the security watch. The material as well as its design does not have any congruity with the other parts of the caravanserai. Therefore, the tower must have been built later (fig. 7.32). The entrance hallway consists of a Safavid style high dome dense clay brick masonry structure with brickwork niches all around it on the walls. On every side of the entrance there is small verandah and door that connects the ground floor to the roof by narrow stairs (fig. 7.33).

Inside the enclosure is a central courtyard. The central courtyard of this caravanserai is about 700 square meters and the structure around the central courtyard is about 2021 square meters. Based on the original layout, the caravanserai was surrounded by 14 rooms. In the western corners of the enclosure, there are two small complexes. Each complex contains a small yard, with two rooms, interior verandah and perhaps a place for a toilet. Also, there are 4 hallways connecting the courtyard to the stable. The galleries, which served as stables, are located behind the residential units of the northern and the southern side. Each opens into the courtyard by means of two entrances on each side (northern and southern). About 30 raised niches are provided inside the stables as sleeping platforms and 15 brick domes cover each stable. Today some parts of the stable are occupied by shops.

Figure 7.32 The Main Entrance of Malik Caravanserai, and the Watch-Tower on the Right Side



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Figure 7.33 The Entrance Dome and the Hallway of Malik Caravanserai



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Each room has its own verandah. The verandah's walls consist of 4 niches and a central doorway to the room. In each of these residential units one fireplace is provided; as no chimney is constructed for the fireplace, a layer of soot has blackened all the rooms. Except for the *iwān* connecting the doorway, the remaining three are now covered by adobe, bricks and mud in apparel to the main structure and small doors have been placed in the center (fig. 7.34). The *iwāns* appear to have served as accommodation. The *iwān* in the western side and in front of the entrance is larger than those in the northern and southern sides. In the center of the caravanserai there is a well, which according to the tenants, has had no water for a couple of years.

Figure 7.34 The Central Courtyard; the *Iwāns* are Covered with Adobe Structure and the Well is in the Center Next to the Road Construction Machineries.



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

7.4.3. *Waqf* Institution and the Caravanserai

According to the principal element of *waqf*, *mutawalli-e waqf* is responsible to spend part of the caravanserai's rent income on repairs. Generally, during history in the Islamic cities, *waqf* contributed greatly in providing and facilitating financial aid for building, management, and maintenance of numerous civic buildings and institutions. As it has been described in chapter 2, *waqf* properties must remain in "good condition until the resurrection day" (Khalfan & Ogura, 2012, p. 591).

While *waqf* properties must be saved, protected and repaired according to the conditions mentioned in the *waqf-name* defined by the *waqif*, it is the *mutawalli's*

responsibility to insure the maximum income is earned from the property and if its not fulfilled, the salary of *mutawalli* must be withheld until the property is maintained and restored completely (Gorshenina, 2014). According to Bonine (2009) the *mutawalli*'s income for administrative and maintenance purposes depending on the *waqf-name* is between 5 to 20 percent of the income.

In this regard I asked Mr. Najafi about the income of the caravanserai and performing this principal of the *waqf-name*, in reply, he stated:

Yes, one of the principals of Malik ul-Tujar *waqf-name* is for repairing the building from its income, but we do not receive any money from the tenants, they simply don't pay and if they pay, they want to pay the rental amount of 30 to 50 years ago, which is nothing. So, when there is no income for the caravanserai we can not repair the building, besides that the caravanserai is registered as a national heritage therefore, ICHHTO is responsible for conserving it.

Interview (November, 2014)

On the other front, Mr. Moslehi, former head of Isfahan cultural heritage origination stated:

It is not our responsibility to invest in the conservation of non public owned national monuments, we do not have that budget, we have to provide the facility for the investors to conserve these buildings. Unfortunately, most of the owners think that as soon as a built heritage is registered as a national monument they should not invest in the protection and conservation and basically, many of them wait for us to invest, but as I said, we do not have that budget as well as the legislation for doing that.

Interview (February, 2015)

When there is no income from *non-public* registered built heritage, who pays for maintenance and restoration? This issue in fact is a source of conflict between many property owners and ICHHTO. While in the case of Malik Caravanserai, *mutawalli-e waqf* consider ICHHTO as a responsible authority to conserve this registered built heritage, ICHHTO argues that their organization is only responsible for non-public owned national monument.

In the study of Khalfan and Ogura (2012) about a caravanserai in Zanzibar, Tanzanian, occupants believe that they can live in a caravanserai as long as they want to stay for free, just because the property is *waqf*. While restoration and maintenance of the caravanserai was minimal and in most stages non-existence, many members of the community consider the *mutuwalli-e waqf* as being very sympathetic towards the

people (Yahya, 2008). However, Khalfan and Ogura (2012) concluded that in the case of a caravanserai in Zanzibar the situation reflects the mismanagement of the *mutuwalli-e waqf*.

This case can potentially be applicable in the case of Malik Caravanserai. As *mutuwalli-e waqf* in an interview repeatedly highlighted the rights of the occupants; he barely mentioned anything about collecting rent and maintenance of the property, which are the principal elements of the *waqf-name* and is a metaphor for the idea of maintaining *waqf* property ‘until the resurrection day’. Therefore, while he can be considered sympathetic towards the occupants, his carelessness about two principal elements of *waqf-name* can greatly damage this built heritage.

7.4.4. ICHHTO and the Caravanserai

Except for the time when Malik ul-Tujar purchased, repaired and endowed the caravanserai, it recently went through another conservation process by ICHHTO. The recent conservation process took place in the southern and western side of the caravanserai at the beginning of 2012 and it was terminated at the end of the same year without completion.

Figure 7.35 Repaired Part of the Building by ICHHTO



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Conservation was mainly focused on two parts of the caravanserai: the small yard and the rooms of in the southwest complex, and the roof and insulation.

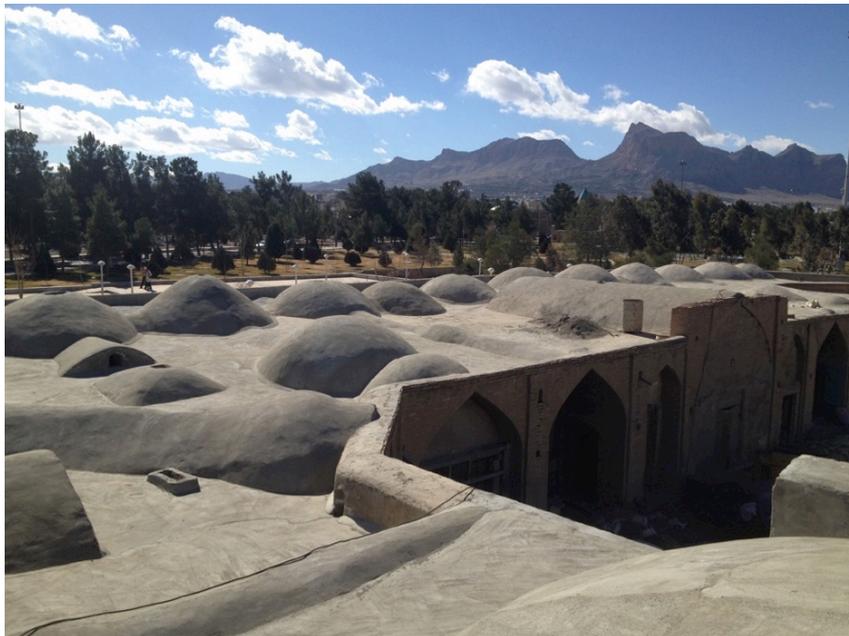
As explained in chapter 2, Giovannini introduced an interesting idea for restoration: “It would be best if restoration were not visible and that this could be achieved with modern methods and technology” (in Jokilehto, 1999, p. 222). The restoration process in the caravanserai was carried out by totally ignoring his idea. However, this restoration can be reflected in the SPAB guidelines for restoration: “Repair should be carried out in a simple way with combinations of new and old materials being honestly shown; no attempts should be made to artificially age materials and to replace features which are missing”^{138,139} (fig. 7.35).

Mr. Moslehi in an interview explained the reasons behind terminating the process:

Why should we invest hundreds of millions of Tomans for a place of unknown ownership status? The caravanserai has significant value, but we cannot invest in a place when we don't see any cooperation from the owners and tenants. The caravanserai has turned into a heavy machinery workshop, from the stone-carvers with their hand push cranes supported by the building to an autobody repair and paint workshop and the presence of heavy road construction machinery.... Therefore, we have decided to wait for the owners and tenants to sort out their problems and then if mutuwali waqf was able to find an investor for the caravanserai we will provide an expert consultant.

Interview (February, 2015)

Figure 7.36 Inappropriate Material Used for Insulation



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

¹³⁸ See Hejazi and Mehdizadeh Saradj (2014)

¹³⁹ See Chapter 2 for more details on restoration theories and ideas.

Insulation of the roof was carried out only with plastering cement and proper insulation materials were not used (fig. 7.35), therefore, the tenants in the south and southeast side of the caravanserai have been affected by water ingress in their shops. The water is currently harming the joints, ceiling and the walls. Meanwhile, in the northeast of the caravanserai, the tenants insulated the roof with proper insulation material, without receiving permission from ICHHTO for the installation. In an interview with Mr. Mahmodi and Mr. Omrani, both were very distraught about the bad insulation of the roof, as Mr. Mahmoudi stated:

About two years ago ICHHTO decided to fix the ceiling, they said that we want to insulate the roof, so, they removed the adobe from the roof in the western side until they reached the bricks, and then they plastered the roof, they were supposed to insulate the roof but they never came back. Since then because of the deterioration of water the ceilings are damaged greatly. I wish they would never have come here to fix the ceiling, they destroyed the previous insulation system. We didn't have any problems prior to their arrival and it was not necessary to do so, and since then whenever it rains water easily comes inside the building.

Interview (September, 2014)

One of the most important elements in conservation is using skilled workmanship for preventing poor maintenance and repair, which can cause massive damage to a built heritage (Hejazi & Mehdizadeh Saradj, 2014). According to Article 9 of Venice Charter, the operation on conservation is “highly specialized”¹⁴⁰. ICHHTO as a main specialized trustee in conservation of built heritage carried-out this operation. However, the conservation process was greatly in contrast with the principals of this charter and damaged the building in great scale because of using inappropriate methods (inappropriate insulation and a lack of using original materials) during their short operation. In this regard Article 9 of Venice Charter stated:

The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historical value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

The Venice Charter (1964)

¹⁴⁰ See chapter 2 for more details on Venice Charter.

Figure 7.37 Grocery (*attari*) Store Conserved by the Tenant



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Moreover, in 2005 another conservation was carried-out in the *attari*'s shop by the tenant and likely, can be considered as the only complete repair that was carried out in the caravanserai in the last decades. However, this repair contrasts with the idea of stylistic restoration introduced by Viollet-le Duc and on the other hand with the anti-restoration movement introduced by John Ruskin (see chapter 2). "Every building and every part of building should be restored in its own style, not only as regard appearance but also structure" (In Jokilehto, 1999, p. 151).

John Ruskin's idea of anti-restoration was also greatly ignored in the process of repair in this part of the caravanserai. The flooring and the walls were covered with new materials and values and authenticity of the building were greatly undermined:

Indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold.
Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern

watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.

John Ruskin (1849)

There is no single answer to how to restore a building, as it is greatly dependent on the circumstances and the type of building. For instance, in the conservation process of the fortification of the city of Padua, “which led to satisfactory results”, bricks used had the following features: “[a] color similar to that of original; [b] dimensions and surface similar to originals; [c] Strength of the same level with the sound bricks of old masonry; (....)” (Hejazi & Mehdizadeh Saradj, 2014, p. 19).

7.4.5. Ownership Dispute and its Current Condition

Currently the functionality of the caravanserai is a combination of different activities, from stone carving and auto body repair and painter workshops, warehouses, mirror and glass workshop, grocery and *Hejleh* renting to the residence of an old man, Haj Ali. The courtyard which was once a place for traders to negotiate during the day and to relax at night has been turned into a place for heavy machinery and sometimes a parking lot for the neighboring businesses and martyrs’ cemetery by Haj Ali who has lived here for more than 63 years (fig. 7.38).

Figure 7.38 Heavy Machineries and Wrecked Cars in the Central Courtyard of the Caravanserai



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Table 7.5 The Tenants and the Activities in the Caravanserai

Occupant Name (tenant)	Size of the area occupied (m ²)	Activity
Mr. Darab	32	Warehouse
Mr. Omrani	106.20	Stone carving and stone grave workshop (a)
Mr. Eimani	33.50	Stone carving (b)
Mr. Mehdi Zafarghandi	16.50	Warehouse
Mr. Dalalbashi	515	Warehouses
Mr. Ghalamkarian	177.10	<i>Attari</i> (grocery)
Mr. Mahmodian	52	<i>Hejleh</i> rental
Mr. Mohammad Reza Yazdani	62.40	Warehouse
Mr. Ali Yazdani	33.60	Resident
Mr. Hajagha-Turab	66.40	Mirror and glass work
Mr. Izhagh Rushanaie (Isfandyar Salehi)	31.60	Auto Repair workshop

Source: Tenants' agreements, Courtesy of the *mutawalli-e waqf* (2015)

Generally the caravanserai is a quiet place. While there are 11 tenants involved in different activities in the caravanserai, most days there are only 5 to 6 people working in the caravanserai and rarely are there clients coming and going to order mirror or glass from the glass workshop or to repair their car in the auto car workshop. The stone carving workshop and *attari* shop are the busiest, located outside of the caravanserai. Generally, all the workers and the tenants (except. Mrs. *Dalalbashi* who along with his brother inherited their share from his father) are male. While I haven't seen any women coming and going inside the caravanserai for any reason, the *attari* because of the nature of its work (natural beauty products, herbal and traditional medicine including weight loss herbs and aromatic and spice products) is very feminine. Women coming from different parts of the city to shop their desirable products "feel safe as the entrance of the *attari* is from outside" the fortified walls of the caravanserai (Interview, two women -32 and 40 years old- housewife, November 2014). Haj Ali who is the watchman of the caravanserai, bounded his self-proclaimed territory with gates and wreckages, which potentially present an unsecure feeling to the visitors. Meanwhile, it is not only Haj Ali's fence that creates this feeling but large rusty padlocks on the doors of the warehouses and scrap cars visible in different parts of the caravanserai are also accelerating this feeling (fig. 7.38).

Haj Ali creatively made his self-proclaimed territory by pairing off some parts of the courtyard and some of the rooms with wreckage and scrap in the northwest side of the caravanserai (fig. 7.39).

Figure 7.39 Haj Ali Praying on the Verandah of His Residence



Source: The Author (October, 2014)

Since the endowment of the building by Malik ul-Tujar the caravanserai was rented to several people. The last person who rented the caravanserai was Mr. Dalalbashi in 1950s. Although in his rental agreement he was only allowed to use the caravanserai as a warehouse for forage (rental agreement, 1954), during time he rented the building to several people for different purposes.

According to the occupant, the ownership condition of the caravanserai is not clear as it should be for any *waqf* property, since the property has been handed over to many people during time and many of the current occupants do not hold any official rental agreement. According to Iranian law it is not possible to evacuate the caravanserai without paying the right of business and goodwill to the tenants and occupiers, especially those who are doing business there for decades.

As Mr. Mahmoudi stated:

No one pays any rent in this caravanserai, here is mainly occupied by people based on a simple letter (agreement) between the current occupiers and the previous ones, but no official deeds exist. Actually, my father purchased this shop and we own it, however, we don't have a deed for this place. For instance, a person who had a shoe repair shop here purchased

this shop from Ali Sadaie who was a tenant of the whole caravanserai about 70 years ago, and my father when he purchased the shop received all the papers of the previous tenants. Beside that, no one comes here to collect the rent and if they come no one will pay anything... in fact my father purchased this shop and now we are the owners.

Interview (September, 2014)

“We have asked *waqf* organization, ICHHTO and the *mutawalli-e waqf* to do something about this building, but none of them listen to us” said Mr. Dalalbashi. He added that in the last couple of years and in particular from 1990 we have had several investment opportunities but none of them have succeeded:

As I remember the first investor was from Isfahan Department of Telecommunications. We agreed on the amount for goodwill as well as our right of business, they wanted the caravanserai for a communication center but as soon as ICHHTO found out about this, they did not let them buy the property. The second investor was from the municipality of Isfahan; they wanted to convert this place into either a museum, guesthouse or for Ta'zieh khaneh for the 400th year anniversary of Isfahan as the capital of Safavid, although this time Majlis did not let the Isfahan municipality organize such an event. Third time the proposal came from ICHHTO, my father signed an agreement with Isfahan cultural heritage organization to sell the goodwill and in return ICHHTO would conserve the building but then after a change of the head of the organization, the new head stated that there is no budget. Fourth investor was an individual investor, who came here about 10 years ago, he wanted to buy the caravanserai for Ta'zieh khaneh¹⁴¹ Mr. Omrani (one of the tenants) and some other tenants also attended. But we could not agree on the amount.

Interview (September, 2014)

Mutawalli-e waqf Mr. Najafi stated, that Mr. Dalalbashi was the person who kept the caravanserai alive, otherwise the caravanserai would have been destroyed several years ago. He did some scattered maintenance here and there, but his main concern was to protect the building. On the other hand, Mrs. Shamaie agrees with Mr. Najafi, by stating that because of the high number of built heritage in Isfahan many historical places with significant value are in the state of disappearance. This in fact is because people are all waiting for ICHHTO to invest in these monuments, but we cannot conserve all the buildings (interview, October 2014). She added that the case of Malik Caravanserai is different from public buildings, “Malik Caravanserai is a *waqf* property not public so, if we want to do any conservation we have to have in depth communication with the *mutawalli-e waqf* and *Waqf* Organization, therefore,

¹⁴¹ It is a condolence theater for mourning for Imam Husain and his comrades of the Karbala, symbolizing epic spirit and resistance.

we can not just go and conserve the building and then claim that because we conserved the building we can benefit from its income.

One member of staff in Isfahan CHHTO who was willing to share information only if kept anonymous stated, “we received several reports including two letters from the municipality for this caravanserai, highlighting that it is in great danger. Therefore, after analysis and receiving budget we started to work but then after a few months we received an executive order that we have to suspend any conservation activities imidiately in the caravanserai” (Interview, October 2014).

According to Mr. Entezari (interview, June 2015) currently municipality is negotiating with the tenants and the *mutawalli-e waqf* to invest in this caravanserai, however, the main aim of the investment has not yet been revealed. While this caravanserai was built on the main caravan route (Silk Road), during time and with urban growth and construction of new wide roads (Chahar Bagh Bala and Shaikh Sadough Streets) today the caravanserais is dislocated from the main route to the south. Yet, location of the caravanserai in a religious part of the city (close to Isfahan Mosalla mosque, Cultural, Religious and Historical Complex of *Takht-i Fuland* and Martyrs cemetery) has given a great potential for the caravanserai to participate in religious activities for promoting religious and heritage tourism such as performing *Ritual dramatic art of Ta‘zīye* (inscribed in 2010 on the Representative List of the World Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity) which has a prominent role in Iranian culture, literature and art. Besides that, the caravanserai also can be used as a biographical museum for deceased people buried in the next-door cemetery or perhaps use as a tombstone museum similar to Hafttanan stone museum in Shiraz (fig. 7.40).

Figure 7.40 Hafttanan Museum.



Source: Courtesy of Zahra Kazemi (March, 2015)

7.5. Case Study Three: Saru Taqi Caravanserai

Figure 7.41 The Main Courtyard of the Caravanserai.



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

Figure 7.42 A Porter Moving Goods Inside the Caravanserai.



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

As Bryce et al. (2013, p. 207) describes, caravanserais are not solely located in the desert or rural areas for long-distance trade and travel but, “caravanserai can be seen in the heart of urban contexts, including inland and port cities, across the breadth of the Islamic world in various periods”. Caravanserais near bazaars in the Islamic urban context, besides of being places for travelers and traders to rest, were more importantly a place for them to sell/wholesale their goods. These types of caravanserais are mostly located next to the main bazaars and some of the major traders and caravans had their own businesses inside these types of caravanserai.

Saru Taqi Caravanserai falls into this category. This caravanserai was constructed by one of the grand viziers of Shah Abbas II and is part of a greater complex of a bazaar and a mosque. Significant location and the vast area of this caravanserai turned it into an important place for traders of the 17th and 18th century. Meanwhile, this place still has an important role in the social and financial structure of the Isfahan Grand Bazaar. As Inalcık (1990) describes, one of the main features of Islamic urban planning is the existence of a place for storage of bulk goods. And indeed caravanserais as a place for travelers to rest were one of the priorities for traders to keep their goods in a place where they stay overnight during their visit. Furthermore, as Bryce et al. (2013, p.219) describes one of the main functions of bazaar caravanserais “was to facilitate the transition from wholesale to retail” and this functionality was a great help for the traders to use the space for different uses such as trade, loading, unloading, storage and stabling.

In this regard, while Saru Taqi Caravanserai was being used as a place for accommodating traders for centuries during time and with reduction in the number of traders the place was turned into a warehouse and currently functions as a warehouse for shops and businesses in the area. The presence of a warehouse is not out of place, in fact it can be rooted in the caravanserai’s main function. As Bryce et al. (2013, p. 217) stated, “When traders arrived, the goods they were carrying would be counted and stored. On their departure, the goods would be recounted and the difference would be taxed based on the items that had been sold”.

The convenient location of the caravanserai next to Isfahan north-south axis had supported this change in its functionality as cars and pickups can easily enter the caravanserai. The caravanserai with its irregular plan is one the largest bazaar caravanserai consisting of three courtyards, located in the heart of the city and between

the old and the new *maidan*. This caravanserai unlike Malik and Shah Caravanserais is privately owned and shared between 5 brothers who inherited it from their father. Except for the owners who are the major stakeholders, there are other stakeholders such as users that are engaged in the daily life of the caravanserai, ICHHTO as the responsible authority for protecting national monuments, and the municipality as a major urban authority for providing services and facilities as well as developing and maintaining safe and viable communities.

The caravanserai along with the bazaar was gazetted as a national monument by national organization for the preservation of historic monuments on 30th November 1970 and the caravanserai became one of the first 10 caravanserais to be registered as a national monument till that time.

The location of the caravanserai in the most concentrated urban division in case of built cultural heritage (see table 3.1) as well as its strong connection to the Grand Bazaar has kept its importance since 17th century. Since this caravanserai is the property of multiple owners, lack of decision making on restoration of the building, absence of trust towards ICHHTO and other authorities as well as the owner's interest to sell the caravanserai has brought the building to a great stage of disrepair and destruction.

Saru Taqi Caravanserai was selected as one of the case studies of this research for the following reasons:

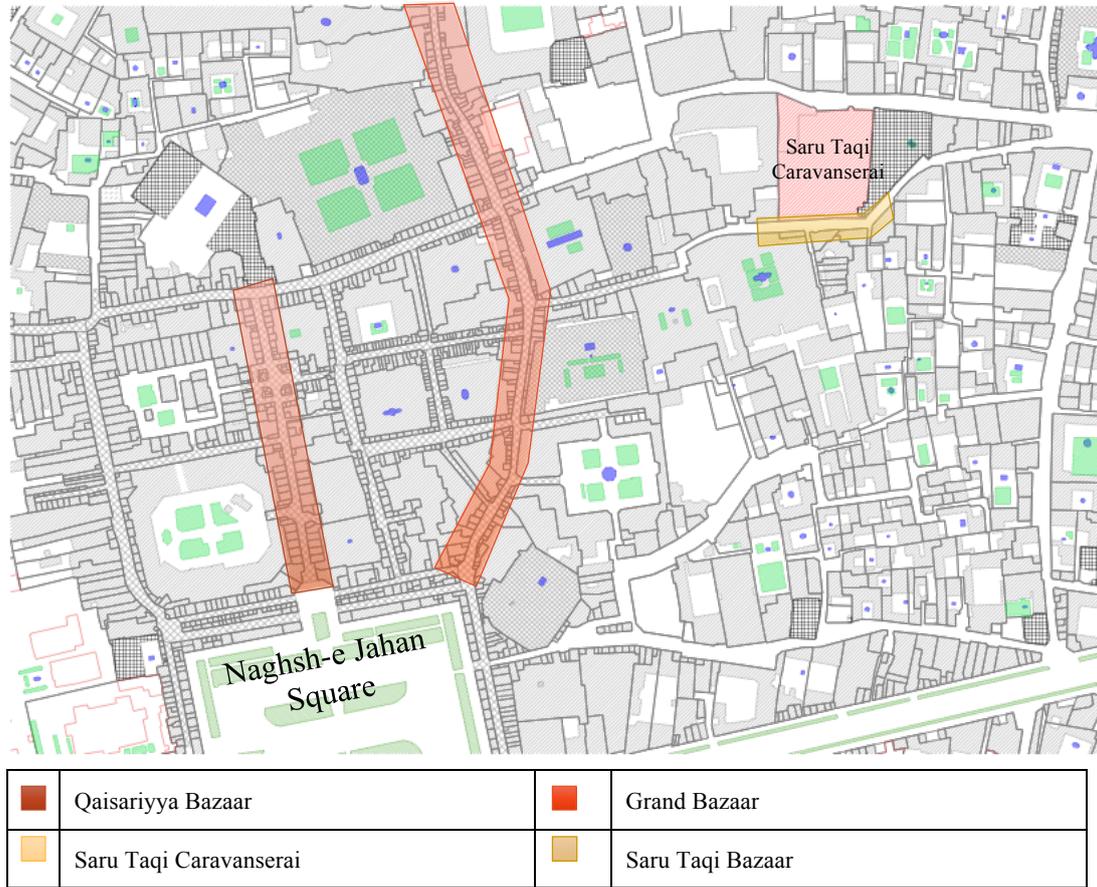
- i) Registered as a national monument.
- j) Single Urban caravanserai with three courtyards in Isfahan.
- k) Important location and historical significance during Safavid era.
- l) Connection to the physical and social structure of the bazaar.

7.5.1. Location

Saru Taqi Caravanserai is situated (32°39'45.10"N- 51°40'47.77"E) in Saru Taqi Bazaar in the east section of Isfahan Grand Bazaar in the administrative division 3 and in the north-east of the *Naghsh-e Jahan* Square (fig. 7.43). Saru Taqi Complex originally consisted of *chahār-su*, bazaar, *hammam* and caravanserai built by Mirza Muhammad Taqi known as Saru Taqi 'Taqi the blond' on account of his blond hair. However, today there is no trace of the *hammam*. The caravanserai is known as one of the largest caravanserais in Isfahan and is the largest element of the complex.

Besides, according to Chardin (1811, p. 407) the caravanserai was the largest caravanserai of that time.

Figure 7.43 Location of Saru Taqi Caravanserai in Relation to the Square and the Main Bazaars



Source: The Author (2015)-Map base by Isfahan municipality (2015)

7.5.2. Historical background

This unusual caravanserai plan was completed in 1646 about one year after the assassination of Saru Taqi at the time of Shah Abbas II (inscription bands on the facing facades of the caravanserai marked 1646 as the date of completion of the construction). Also according to Dar Al Saltaneh Map the caravanserai was known as Malik Al Tujar Caravanserai (fig. 7.44). Perhaps during that time, it was known as Malik Al Tujar caravanserai because the owner of the caravanserai at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century was Mohammad Malik al Tujar (Interview, Ismail Shaikhi, August 2015). Haj Mohammad Malik Al Tujar at that time also owned many other caravanserais in Isfahan, including Malik Caravanserai, however, Malik al Tujar endowed most of his properties but some of his properties such as Saru Taqi Caravanserai were sold during his lifetime and not endowed by him.

According to Ismail Shaikhi (interview, August 2015) Haj Reza Shaikhi (his father) was working in the caravanserai and purchased this property from Mailk al Tujar; the main reason he purchased this caravanserai was because “he was sure that this property is not a *Waqf* property”. However, according to Mr. Entezari a member of staff at the *Waqf* Organization, southern shops of the bazaar as well as Saru Taqi mosque are part of the endowment of Haj Mohammad Mailk ald Tujar (Interview, October 2014).

The area where the caravanserai is located in Dar Al Saltaneh Map (1942) is written as Saru Taqi neighborhood and perhaps to respect his engagement in the construction of the city the name of the complex remained as Saru Taqi till today (Caravanserai is Marked by red in fig. 7.44).

Saru Taqi was a eunuch Muslim from Tabriz who was castrated under Shah Abbas I as punishment for engaging in sodomy (Babaie et al., 2004). Nonetheless, his father was a baker, Saru Taqi in pursuing a better life moved to Isfahan during Shah Abbas the great reign and engaged in military services. As the shah was satisfied with his performance he appointed him as the governor of Mazandaran. While Saru Taqi was the governor of Mazandaran, he greatly engaged in the construction of roads, bridges, bazaars and caravanserais for providing better infrastructure to support the flow of revenue from travelers and merchants. Mazandaran was an important place for the Shah as it was one of the main areas for producing Silk and it had a great tie with the Shah’s mother (Babaie, 2003)¹⁴².

After the death of Shah Abbas I, in 1634 Shah Safi, appointed him as a grand *vizier*¹⁴³ and this title has remained with him till today. His assassination took place when he was at the age of 80 by the head of the tribal guards Jani Khan.

¹⁴² In 1631 Saru Taqi was appointed for the reconstruction of Imam Ali Shrine in Najaf, which took about 2 years. Accomplishments of the project opened the door of Haram to Saru Taqi and strengthened its position in Shah’s court (Babaie, 2003).

¹⁴³ Sadre Azam, Etemadodoleh or Prime minister

Figure 7.44 Part of Dar Al Saltana Map



Source: Isfahan map, drawn by Sultan Seyyed Reza Khan (1924)

As Shah Abbas II was a child when appointed Shah, his mother and Saru Taqi were in charge of governing the country (Babaie et al., 2004). John Chardin (1811) in his travel account mentioned the relationship between Saru Taqi and Abbas II's mother, Anna Khanum as he stated:

The power of mothers of Persian kings looms large when they [shahs] are at a young age. Abbas II's mother had much influence, which was absolute. They [queen-mothers] were in close contact with the prime minister and would help each other mutually...Saru Taqi was the agent and confidant of the queen-mother; he would gather immense fortunes for her. She governed Persia at her will through her minister.¹⁴⁴

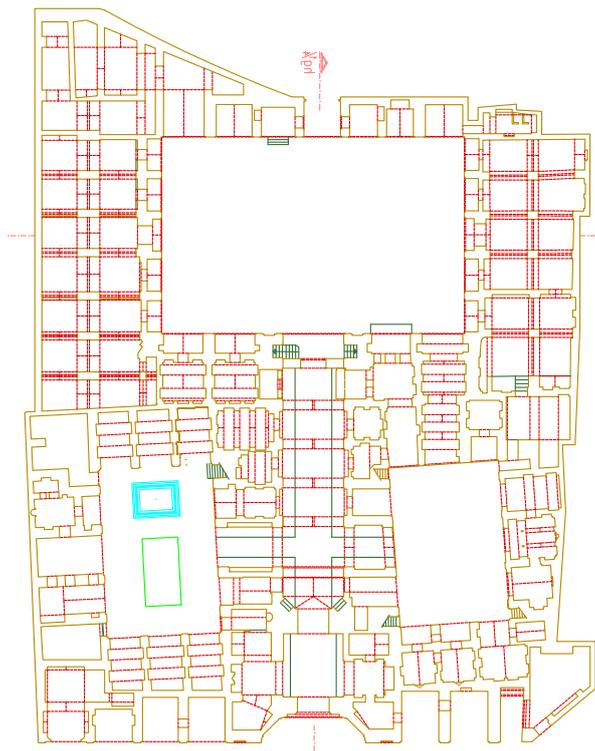
While Saru Taqi was a grand *vazir*, beside construction of the complex, he was engaged in the construction of other major buildings in the northeast of *Naghsh e-Jahan* Square including a palace and madrasa.

¹⁴⁴ Chardin, *Les Voyages*, vol. 7, 306–7, and 314.

7.5.3. Description

Currently this mid 17th century caravanserai is in a stage of great disrepair and to a large extent has been ignored by both the owners and the responsible authorities including ICHHTO and the Municipality. While currently 5 brothers (Shaikhi Brothers) have this property in their possession, they do not have any plan for its conservation and restoration. Their main aim is to continue using the caravanserai as a warehouse for the Grand Bazaar next door, until they find a suitable investor for the caravanserai and consequently transfer the ownership (Morteza Shaikhi, interview, September 2014). The asking price for the caravanserai is 110,000,000,000 Iranian Rials (about 2,800,000 Euros). According to the Iranian land and property law every property consists of 6 equal shares (*dang*) and while this caravanserai is divided between 5 brothers, one of the brothers claims 2 *dang* of the caravanserai whilst the others have one equal share each.

Figure 7.45 General Layout of the Caravanserai



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)- (Acquisition date 1997).

Generally the caravanserai consists of dense clay brick masonry structure and the floors and roof are constructed of timber joists in the round overlay. Similar to most of other bazaar caravanserais (ex. Maddar Shah Caravanserai in Isfahan) it consists of two main entrances, one is located in the Gol-Bahhar Alley and the other

in the center of Saru Taqi Bazaar. The caravanserai occupies about 3300 square meters of land, which is about 62-meter long and 51-meter wide. The main courtyard is located in the south of the caravanserai and is about 19 x 27 meters (fig. 7.45).

Unlike typical caravanserais, except for the main courtyard, this caravanserai also consists of two equal courtyards with a dimension of 11 x 15 meters each.

Figure 7.46 Southwest *Timche*, courtesy of ICHHTO 1968 (left); Use of heavy machineries in the Southwest *Timche* (right).



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (1968)

Figure 7.47 Current Condition of the Southwest *Timche* (left); Covered Roof of Southwest *Timche* (right).



Source: The Author (July, 2015)

These courtyards are known as *timche*, therefore, Saru Taqi Caravanserai can be considered as one of the most unique caravanserais in Iran, which holds two smaller caravanserais within it. However, in Dar Al Saltaneh Map western and eastern *timches* to the south of the caravanserai are not marked as part of the caravanserai and therefore

it can be considered that these courtyards and the rooms around it were built later. Material used for the construction of these *timches* as well as their design are also different from the main caravanserai marked in Dar al Saltaneh Map (fig. 7.48 & 7.49).

Figure 7.48 Southeast *Timche* (left); Courtyard of Southeast *Timche* (right)



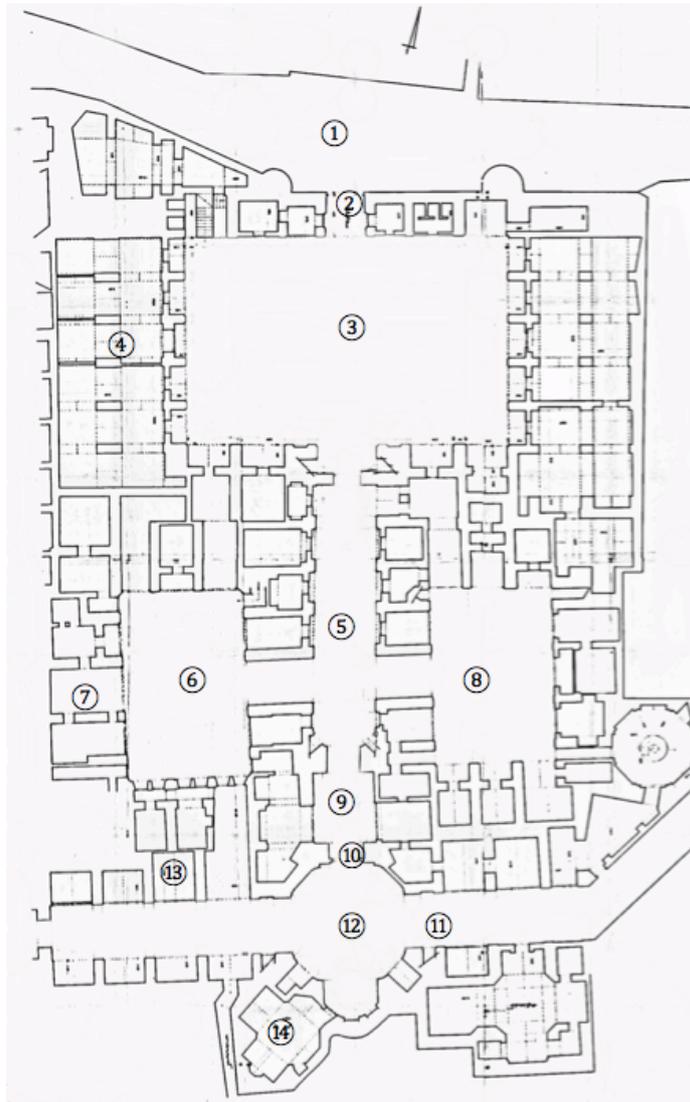
Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (1968)

Figure 7.49 Current Condition of the Southeast *Timche*



Source: The Author (July, 2015)

Figure 7.50 Saru Taqi Caravanserai and the Bazaar

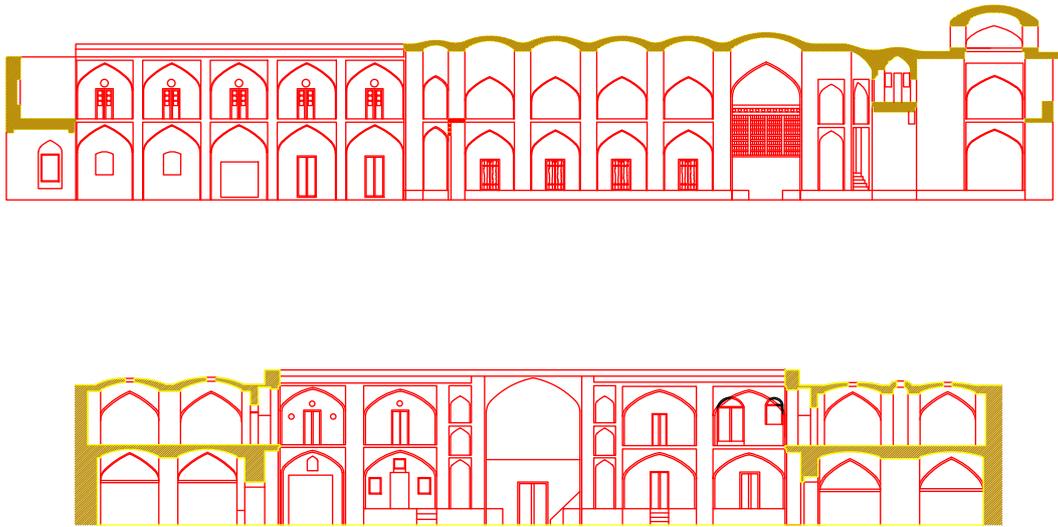


①	Golbahar Street	⑧	Eastern Timche
②	Entrance	⑨	Entrance Hall
③	Main Courtyard	⑩	Entrance from the Bazaar
④	Rooms around the main courtyard	⑪	Saru Taqi Bazaar
⑤	Main Hallway	⑫	<i>chahār-su</i>
⑥	Western Timche	⑬	Bazaar Shops belong to the caravanserai
⑦	Western Timche Rooms	⑭	Saru Taqi Mosque

Source: After ICHHTO (2015)

These courtyards are connected to the main courtyard and the bazaar entrance with a 37 meters long arch roofed hallway. While different sized rooms and halls surrounded all three courtyards and the hallway, the rooms in the eastern side of the main courtyard on the second floor are totally ruined (fig 7.50).

Figure 7.51 Interior Façade of the Caravanserai



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO (2015)- (Acquisition date 1997).

The caravanserai entrance in the bazaar is comprised of a fairly high blank pointed arch, with a further low frame for the doorway (fig. 7.52). The original wooden door is still located in its place. Just steps inside the caravanserai from the bazaar door and before the hallway, there is a high triplet dome positioned on the top of the second floor and just below it on the walls and above the second floor, there is magnificent Persian tile work as well as brickwork (fig. 7.53). The hallway is separated with a beautiful high clay brick blank arch. Immediately after this arch there is a *Chahārsū* that connects the side courtyards (*timches*), the main courtyard and the entrance to the bazaar. The south of the *Chahārsū* is designed by bricks and is comprised of a pair of staircases to the upper floor. The hallway also consists of four high brick domes and arches as well as woodenware windows of rooms in the upper floor.

Just stepping inside the main courtyard and under each side of the high blank arch there is a pair of staircases to the upper floor. The main courtyard comprises of a room and halls all around it on two floors. Each Room on the ground floor is separated with a verandah from the courtyard. According to the original layout of the caravanserai, the ground floor comprises of twenty verandahs. Currently except for four verandahs that are now covered with metal doorways the rest still exist in their original shape. To the south of the main courtyard the rooms in the upper floor have been demolished and today there is no trace of these rooms. Some decades ago [60 to 80 years ago] the main courtyard was covered by metal and other heterogeneous

materials by the owners to protect the goods in the courtyard, the roof still exists (interview, Morteza Shaikhi, July 2015).

Figure 7.52 Bazaar Entrance and the Hallway



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

Figure 7.53 Magnificent Persian Tilework, which are Covered by Dust



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

7.5.4. Life at the Caravanserai

Saru Taqi Caravanserai similar to Shah Caravanserai is located in the administrative division 3 (See fig. 3.15 and table 3.1 for Isfahan administrative divisions); however, unlike Shah Caravanserai, Saru Taqi Caravanserai is located in a quiet bazaar where most of the shops are unused and vacant, especially those in the

southern side of the bazaar that is adjoined by the caravanserai. While at pray time no call to prayer (*athan*) sound is heard from the mosque in Saru Taqi Bazaar, the mosque at the other side of the caravanserai (in the Gol-Bahhar Alley) is loud, covering the whole area and shopkeepers will start to close their shops to perform their prays. Meanwhile, in the caravanserai no particular changes are visible at this time, workers and shopkeepers are coming and going to move their goods. Though the caravanserai was a place for travelers and traders of the past, today the caravanserai is solely a place for storing goods of the surrounding shops as well as a well-known place for the shopkeepers and traders of the Grand Bazaar, specially those working in textile trade and home appliances. To a large degree its function ceased, although one in which commerce of goods is still in place.

According to Ismaili Shaikhi, the warehouse was established based on trust between the shopkeepers/traders and the owners and is still working based on trust, “the shopkeepers and traders store their goods here without asking for a receipt and a few days later they will come and take some or all of their goods, in return they pay little amount of money for protecting and keeping their goods in our property. But the amount they pay is virtually nothing and as we are 5 shareholders and each one of us have children nothing will remain for our daily expenses never mind spending some for the building itself” (interview, July 2015).

Figure 7.54 Various Types of Pickups are Entering inside the Caravanserai to Transport Goods



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

While the caravanserai is a place for storing goods, it is also a lively place, there are traders coming and going inside the caravanserai but perhaps the majority of

them only see and think about activities related to their own business (fig. 7.54). During an interview (August, 2015) with one of the traders in the caravanserai- who was there to checkout his goods from the warehouse- he totally ignored the beauty, history and legend of the building as he stated “It is located in a very good place, but it is a shame that they cannot build a shopping center instead, it has a great land” and then his mobile rang and he went to speak on his phone about the issues he had with the municipality for construction of a building. Not only did this visitor neglect the history and importance of this built heritage in this neighborhood he also recommended to destroy the caravanserai to build a modern shopping center. Perhaps in his view the caravanserai is a place for donkeys and currently with modernization there is no urge for these types of buildings to exist. Meanwhile, as his phone conversation demonstrated, he just looked at the caravanserai based on his profession.

On the other hand, another visitor who owns a shop in the bazaar looked at the caravanserai solely as a place to store his goods. As in an interview (August, 2015), I asked about his feelings towards this place and in reply he mentioned, “It is a nice place but the good thing about here are the owners, they are very reliable”. While this visitor at least pointed out the beauty of the building, his main concern was the reliability of the owners in keeping his goods in a good and safe condition. But on the other front I asked the same question to a porter who simply does not own anything in the caravanserai and visits this built heritage regularly to transfer traders and shop owner’s goods. While he had a letter for Mr. Shaikhi in his hand from a shop owner in the *Qaisariyya* Bazaar, he stated, “since I was a kid I was coming and going in this caravanserai with my father, I cannot see a major change in the caravanserai but I miss my father around. This place is a place of memory for me and I wish someone would come and restore this place. It is a very nice building, sometimes when I feel lonely and tired I sit here to get some peace, it is simply stunning”.

Figure 7.55 Some of the Users were Ignoring the Significant of the Caravanserai and Busy with their Own Business



Source: The Author (July, 2014)

Whereas the interviews with three visitors suggest that the business owners and traders perceive this building solely as a place for fulfilling their occupational needs with minimal or nonexistent degrees of general and social attachment, the porter who does not have any physical belongings in the caravanserai thinks differently. He feels this place is a place of peace, a place of memory, and a place connected to his past and hopes to see this building be restored and returned to its past glory (fig. 7.42). However, the question is if the porter is looking at this place as a place of memory and prominence, if he becomes a shop owner or a trader like the other two visitors, would he still think the same?

The inattentiveness of the visitors towards this caravanserai is perhaps related to the immunity of people towards built heritage. People in Isfahan, similar to those living in other Islamic cities (in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, etc.) live and make their lives among historic buildings, some of which are collapsing or at least are not well taken care of. This urban condition is totally different from cities in North America, where historical buildings do not abound. Also, it is related to the perception of heritage as a sign of backwardness and an obstacle to the idea of a progressive and developing city. In this case, many built heritage will be left alone to become a ruin and consequently be destroyed by the owners or the authorities, for the financial purposes and land use. For example, Tahdid and Maghsud Assar caravanserais and

Khosro Agha *hammam* were destroyed for the sake of modernization, land use and financial benefit of the owners and the authorities. Yet, another factor affecting the caravanserais in the Islamic cities, is the excess of built heritage whereas there are not enough financial resources available for the conservation of these monuments.

7.5.5. 'If having a Partner was Good, God would also have a Partner'¹⁴⁵

Ismail Shaikhi stated that the caravanserai is just a magnificent place that has potential to become a great hotel or bazaar, however, the brothers do not have money to restore the building. As the five brothers do not have common perspectives and ideas about this caravanserai they think the best step is to sell this building and discontinue their partnership. He continued, "If having a partner was good, God would also have a partner". The conservation of heritage sites and buildings is the duty of the owners or managers of monuments, while the protection and preservation and commodification of the national heritage sites must be conducted for the nation (Rahman, 2012). However, varied motivation of owners have a great effect on conservation and management of historic sites.

As Ismail Shaikhi was suggesting that I should invest in this caravanserai he grabbed my hand and took me to the street to show a shopping center in front of the caravanserai, he stated "come and invest in the caravanserai and build something like this shopping center". He knew this caravanserai is a registered built heritage and as he reputedly mentioned he had great memories in the caravanserai but his suggestion of destroying the caravanserai and building a shopping center demonstrates how economic pressure on a person can disrupt his attachment to a place. Everyday life and daily experiences of people are playing a great role in disruptions in place attachment (Cresswell, 2002). Therefore, in the case of this caravanserai, one of the owners, Ismail Shaikhi (Interview, August 2015) believes that economic pressure from his kids and family are a key element in losing his attachment to the caravanserai, also, being a partner with 4 other shareholders is another factor for "getting rid of this place". However, his brother (the main shareholder) has a different idea about the future of the building, as he suggested that the priority is to continue this business but he also stated that "If we find a good investor that can meet our terms and condition

¹⁴⁵ Persian Proverb

we will sell the property”. However, both of them have common ground in restoration, as they stated that they will not let ICHHTO invest and restore the building as they both highlighted that they have enough partners in this building and in any case adding another partner would be a big mistake, specially a “chaotic organization like ICHHTO”.

7.5.6. Conservation

While the bazaar had gone through conservation and repair twice (1968 and 2015) the caravanserai remained untouched. In 1968 the first conservation in the bazaar was carried out by the Department of Antiquities with the cooperation of the Society for National Heritage.

According to a report from Isfahan office of department of national organization for preservation of historic monuments in 1968, restoration of the bazaar and the *chahārsu* is the most interesting restoration carried out this year by the department with cooperation with the Society for National Heritage. The report describes the condition of the building before and after the restoration, however, it emphasizes that the caravanserai, which is the key element of the complex, is in bad condition and needs immediate restoration. Yet, because of its ownership condition (private) the department did not proceed with any repairs in the caravanserai. The report emphasized the importance of the caravanserai and encouraged conservation of the building. Besides this, the report which is the only written document explaining the condition of the caravanserai 60 years ago, clearly stated that the owner of the caravanserai (Haj Reza) has exploited the caravanserai. While the owners univocal are against conservation of the caravanserai I asked Mr. Moslehi, Former head of Isfahan cultural heritage organization about the restoration of this built heritage and in reply he stated,

The situation is very simple, they don't let us go inside the caravanserai to visit and observe the current condition. They have blocked one part of the building with masonry materials, besides, the organization have many issues in relation to the destruction of public built heritage such as bridges, squares, bazaars and quarters therefore, the only option left in this situation is to leave this property and occasionally just visit the place to protect the building from mankind [*sic*] destruction.

Interview (February, 2015)

The report describes the activities inside the caravanserai in 1960s and highlights misuses of the caravanserai as a built heritage. According to the report one of the major activities that is harming the building was the dyeing and textile machinery that vibrate the whole building and has already harmed the caravanserai greatly.

Figure 7.56 Restoration Work on the *Chahārsu* and the Bazaar in 1968 (left); Restoration of the *Chahārsu* and the Bazaar in 2015 (right)



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO 1968 (left); the Author (July, 2015)

Figure 7.57 Textile Machinery at the Caravanserai



Source: Courtesy of ICHHTO, 1968.

Also, in describing the activities inside the building, the report stated that the southwest *timche* is now covered and used as a storage facility (fig. 7.47). Based on the report, the caravanserai and specially both of the *timches* have changed greatly during time and have been used for decades carelessly. The cracks on the walls and the collapse of the second floor wall in the western side is evidence to the missuses and exploitations of the caravanserai (Fig. 7.57)

Figure 7.58 Ruins of the Caravanserai, Located in the Upperfloor of the Northeast of the Building.



Source: The Author (July, 2015)

While current design and structure of the *timches* and corridors are suggesting that there has been some restoration in the past, reports of the national organization for preservation of historic monuments in the bazaar and the caravanserai do not mention anything about it. Perhaps the only author referring to this restoration is Al-Isfahani (1961, pp. 75–76), in his account he stated that, “Saru Taqi caravanserai is a caravanserai outside the bazaar, built by Etemad Aldoleh, the prime minister of Shah Safi, the great caravanserai consists of corridors, *timches* and a large courtyard and was built with optimum strength. A fortified wall [fig. 7.58] which was constructed in the middle of the caravanserai was removed by Ashraf Afghan [died 1730] and the caravanserai [northern] wall became the cities wall, and at that time 2 *timches*, corridors and remaining parts of the caravanserai was restored and built up [.] Currently traders are living here and it has great credit [among merchants and traders] and the population of traders and residents are higher and more reliable than most of the other *sarais*”¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁶ Translated to English by the author.

Figure 7.59 Caravanserai's Fortified Wall



Source: The Author (July, 2015)

Therefore, at the time when Alisfahani was writing his book the caravanserai was very active and was in good shape, and most of the destruction and ignorance to the caravanserai was marked in the last six decades.

7.6. Summary

In chapter 7 three caravanserais in the urban areas of Isfahan city were studied. Two caravanserais were located in the bazaar and one caravanserai outside the urban core of the city. While all of the studied caravanserais hold a distinct ownership and physical characteristics, perceptions of them are generally similar by the major stakeholders, Stakeholder's perceptions in each of the studied caravanserais are normally opposed. which, have greatly affected the physical, social and economic structure of them regardless of their importance and location.

Shah caravanserai is one of the largest urban caravanserais in Iran which is located next to a world heritage site (Naghsh-e Jahan Square; one of the major tourist attractions in the city). The caravanserai also has a direct entry to the Royal Bazaar. Shah caravanserai which was once a center of social and trade activities is now isolated by both tourists and locals. While due to desultory and an untidy situation of the caravanserai, most of the local buyers visiting the Royal Bazaar hesitate to go inside, tourists perceive the place as a local territory, which with a quick gaze inside they will walk away.

Today, due to several reasons the caravanserai is in a state of disrepair and destruction. Such as, lack of a central building management system, lack of

conservation and control by ICHHTO and the owners, absence of common goal and understanding by the owners.

On one hand due to abundance of built heritage in the city in general and in the central core of the city in particular, ICHHTO has not yet been able to provide sufficient financial recourses for conservation of many built heritage. Specially, those owned by a private sector and individuals. On the other hand, lack of common ground among 24 owners for conservation or partnership with ICHHTO or perhaps transferring (selling) the caravanserai to an investor made the situation very complicated.

This situation in a different way is also visible in Malik Caravanserai, however, with the difference that the caravanserais is a *waqf* property. Generally, according to the *waqf* institution and the *waqf-name*, the caravanserai must be maintained from its income till the resurrection day. But lack of control of *motowali-waqf* as well as the major tenant (Mr. Morakabian) have led multiple interventions inside the caravanserai. From destruction of the physical elements of the caravanserai to occupying some parts of the caravanserai by the watchman and some of the tenants. Never the less, construction of multiple doorways on the exterior façade of the caravanserai changed the physical appearance and authenticity of it. While some unfinished and limited conservation has been carried out by ICHHTO, due to inappropriate material used specially for insulation, the building is in state of collapse, which is dangerous for the people working there. Besides that, due to the existence of a direct entrance from the main gate to the adjacent street other activities inside the caravanserai emerged, such as a parking lot for cars for the adjacent cemetery and a place for auto body repair. The situation, together with the existence of vibrations from stone carving and road construction machineries as well as cars looking for a parking lot in the caravanserai is even more complex. Since the 1990s, several investors have announced their readiness for investing in this caravanserai, however, due to a disagreement with the occupants on financial matters and change in the management of key organizations such as Isfahan CHTTO, these investments never occurred. Currently, Isfahan municipality is negotiating with the occupants for the conservation of the building.

Unlike Malik and Shah Caravanserais Saru Taqi Caravanserai is privately owned and shared by 5 brothers who inherited it from their father. The caravanserai

is the only caravanserai in the city of Isfahan with three courtyards. It comprises two *timches* and a central courtyard. The caravanserai is part of a complex built by the prime minister of Shah Abbas II. This two story caravanserai has been mainly used as a warehouse, however, during time *timches* were also used for textile manufacturing. The caravanserai similar to the other two studied caravanserais is in a state of disrepair. Scattered repairs have been carried out by the owners, however, these repairs were mostly for protection of the goods from rain and destruction. Unprofessional and false interventions are visible in many part of the caravanserais, including construction of a heterogeneous metal roof on the central courtyard. However, comparing to Shah and Malik Caravanserais, level of false intervention is less. But similar to those properties, there is a great debate and argument between the shareholders in this caravanserai for conservation and other use of the caravanserai but lack of financial resources by two shareholders on one hand and lack of trust towards ICHHTO brought all of them to the conclusion of selling the caravanserai.

Isfahan, similar to most of the Islamic historic cities with abundance of cultural heritage, is facing an inattentiveness towards built heritage by local communities. It is perhaps related to the immunity of people towards built heritage. However, there are multiple other issues including lack of financial resources for the conservation of built heritage due to their abundance as well as prioritization of built heritage in the Islamic cities. Built heritage with religious significance gains more attention than that with less or non-religious values. Also, the only single monumental Islamic heritage with multiple ownership is caravanserais. In this regard, due to a lack of common ground among the owners for protection and conservation and absence of a strong role by cultural heritage authorities in protecting these private and *waqf* owned properties -regardless of them being nationally registered or not- this type of Islamic heritage is facing great decline in number in most of the Islamic cities.

Chapter Eight:

Conclusion: Towards a Story without an End

8.1. Overview

The central premise of this study has been to evaluate, examine and explore how caravanserais as a product of the movement of people along the ancient Silk Road are embedded in the socio-cultural structure of an Islamic historic city and how major stakeholders are perceiving and consequently influencing these built heritages.

A five phase process was adopted to achieve this central premise as well as the aims of the research identified in the preamble chapter. The first phase opened with a review of pertinent literature, which recognizes issues for the study and facilitates the definition of objectives, for investigation and an essential step to progress the research.

Accordingly, the second phase which is a methodological approach was developed to enable the research aims to be pursued, and was divided into two, of a quantitative and qualitative nature. Firstly, (a) a quantitative method was used to understand the spatial distribution, motivation and intention of tourists visiting the Silk Road. For this purpose, questionnaire surveys were used and distributed in Iran, and later analyzed. Secondly, (b) a qualitative approach was taken to evaluate the role of stakeholders in the current situation of caravanserais in Isfahan; here open-ended discussions with a small but important group of stakeholders were carried out. The qualitative approach was established based on the result of the questionnaire surveys in stage (a).

The third phase of the study involved extensive periods of field work in Iran, and particularly in Isfahan. During the life of this research, major work was carried out to understand the condition of cultural heritage - conservation, management of heritage resources including heritage routes and the singular built heritage in the urban context of Islamic cities. Since the aims of the research and objectives focused on Iranian cities, Iranian heritage was central in this phase of research.

The fourth phase was an analyses and discussion of the results gathered in the previous phases of the study. As the thesis is divided into three sections and each section comprises two chapters, the analysis process is generally performed in the second chapter of each section, which was established based on the discussions in the same section; in the first section, politics of heritage in Iran was discussed; in the second section, I focused on heritage and tourism routes in Iran; and in the third section, a case study of three caravanserais in Isfahan was investigated.

While the process of analysis was done in the preceding chapters, in the present chapter a discussion of the findings as the last and the fifth phase of the research will be presented.

According to the organization of this research, this chapter will also be divided into three sections; the first concerns the politics of heritage in Iran; the second, route tourism in Iran; and the last, caravanserais in Isfahan. These sections are integrated and interrelated with each other and are linked to the methods used in this research.

8.2. Politics of Heritage in Iran

- ***Politics, Heritage and the Historic city***

As it has been identified in the preamble chapter, the first aim of the thesis is *to examine and explore the concept of built heritage in the context of the tourist historic city*, this aim is generally associated with the literature review presented in chapter two.

While many believe that heritage is of intrinsic importance to everyone, the results in the preceding chapters show that there are multiple factors that can potentially question and challenge this idea. Mostly because heritage is generally defined based on the perception, motivation, interest and sometimes by the ideological beliefs of people. Based on these perceptions heritage has always been threatened and many places and sites are today in a stage of neglect and disrepair because of forgetfulness, carelessness, various economic interests as well as real estate and ownership issues and policies. Nevertheless, heritage has also been considered by some as a place of idolatry or perhaps a place of deviation without values. In different ways these perceptions question UNESCO's definition of heritage as a 'common heritage of mankind [sic]'. Also, this antithetical interpretation of heritage is evident to the concept of politics embedded in the intrinsic values of heritage. These values transform heritage into a symbol of culture, nationalism, religion and class. And therefore, this transformation acknowledges a symbolic power of heritage in which destruction not only removes an object, place or practice but it is the beginning of a process of creating a new collective memory (for example, the destruction of pre-Islamic monuments -UNESCO world heritage sites included- in Afghanistan, Iraq and

Syria by radical Islamic groups for the purpose of creating a new collective memory by the absence of a pre-Islamic past). Continuous destruction of world heritage sites is evidence of ineffectual efforts of UNESCO to promote greater understanding and preservation of the world's common heritage of humankind. Politically, the destruction of heritage is not only a sign of the removal of memory (destruction of Reza Shah Tomb, in Ray, Iran) or the creation of new collective memory or a sign of confrontation among two ideologies (in the case of Bamiyan Buddhas: Islam and Buddhism). It could also be seen as a tool to show power and influence over a particular territory: the invasion of countries and removing statues of the past icons are well known examples.

The concept of heritage is integrated in various cultures and it has become a major element in national identity and is a symbol of pride and considered as significant economic resources (See Graham & Howard, 2008; Mozaffari, 2014). The acknowledgement of its significance has directed our society to establish legal, managerial and scientific mechanisms to ensure its existence when handing it over to the future generation. Since the beginning of the 19th century and the idea of 'Stylistic restoration movement' significant theoretical literature has developed in relation to heritage and its conservation and restoration (Jokilehto, 1999). Since then, the conservation movement in Europe passed through numerous evolutionary phases, which reached to the mid 20th century's idea of urban restoration and protection of historic districts.

While the conservation movement succeeded in salvaging and enhancing some of the historical relics of the major European historic cities, new issues were presented, such as gentrification of the historical centers and mass tourism (Martínez, 2008). Nevertheless, in practice we also witness fraudulent interventions, plunder, destruction and often the removal of heritage for the sake of modernization. Also, interventions were carried out in the name of restoration with minimum respect to the aesthetic and historic values of the built heritage which dangerously facilitates irreversible transformations. These autocratically dominant behaviors towards built heritage -which till today are visible not only in individually built heritage conservation but on a greater scale as of historic cities and environment management- are dominantly established based on political, economic and social criteria which should direct its limitations to more of historic and culturally significance principles

of heritage. While conservation is important to preserve the values of heritage for humankind, it is also a recognition of the necessity of preservation of memory and culture (Orbasli & Woodward, 2009).

In the historic cities, western principles for conservation have been adopted not only to preserve aesthetic and historic values of heritage for the next generation but also for commodification of heritage in context of economical use. During the conservation and commodification process, it is important to acknowledge that culture is not nostalgia or sentimentality of the past but an inseparable and innate part of human life inside a city. The commodification of heritage and its contribution in the economic development of historic cities can potentially pose as a threat to its integrity, due to unnecessary commercialization of historic cores and transformation of traditional residential areas to a more market oriented region within a city. Nevertheless it can inevitably lose its authenticity of the *old town* (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000).

One of the major or perhaps the largest consumer of heritage is tourism, which provides most of economic motivation and justification and consequently finance for conservation of heritage in the historic cities. The economic advantage of built heritage in the urban context is certain and is the key answer to why so many touristic destinations seek to conserve, manage, and promote their built heritage (Orbasli, 2002). Transforming a historic city into a tourist-historic city not only comes with financial cost but may bear with irreparable cultural costs. The change can potentially transform the place into a socio-cultural confrontation zone among the residents and tourists and damage the physical and cultural values of urban historic relics if not properly managed, especially in the case of mass tourism. Often, the historic city is part of a greater city which in this case, attention of urban managers and conservationists may only be towards that part of the city and the rest of the city's relics left carelessly. In this case, tourism activities will mainly be focused on a historical part of the city and as I mentioned earlier might potentially damage the socio-cultural integrity of the *old town* (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000). By contrast, if managed well, this type of city can develop a new source of identity and civic pride among the residents and managers. Also, it can provide new economic benefits and possibilities in the inner part of the urban area, especially in case of conserving unused historical buildings for services related to tourism activities. There is a growing

awareness towards the heritage conservation in the so-called Islamic historic cities later after the establishment of this consciousness in the west (Orbasli, 2007). This recognition was mostly associated with the developing historic *mahales*, *maidans* and traditional settlements for tourism. Similar to other historic cities, changes in the urban form of Islamic historic cities became part of the natural development process. However, unlike most of American and in some extended European cities, in the majority of Islamic cities a considerable number of residents are living in the *old* town of the cities. These residents are mostly considered as the most traditional population and their perception of tourism might be different from urban developers, investors and policy makers. This difference in perception can pave the route to confrontation among tourists and the resident community, especially in case of Islamic dress code, consumption of alcohol and other contradictory behaviors. Also, similar to many historic cities around the world, Islamic historic cities have also lost many of their built heritage, most of them due to the below reasons of (a) lack of available financial resources or investment in new prestigious projects within the city or other parts of the country; (b) urbanization, modernization and development pressure which, have led to the extensive destruction of the historic relics; and (c) prioritization in conservation of historical heritage with religious values and significance to those with less or non-religious significance. While the first two reasons are applicable to most historic cities, the third reason (c) is largely applicable to religious cities or to countries with dominant power of religion in the society and governance. Nevertheless, one of the major issues concerning built heritage in the urban fabric of Islamic historic cities, is people's immunity towards built heritage which could be a result of abundance of cultural heritage. This immunity can potentially affect the attentiveness of local community towards built heritage. Meanwhile today, with increase in number of cultural tourists in these cities, local community and authorities are realizing the importance of these monuments, special their financial values.

- ***Politics of Heritage in Iran***

The second aim of this research is to *to evaluate the concept of cultural heritage in Iran, and the main factors affecting the development of this concept from the beginning of the 20th century to the present time*. This aim is generally associated with the literature review, discussions and the interviews conducted with key people in ICHHTO presented in chapter 2 and 3. Chapter 2 discussed the literature

on heritage, the perception of heritage by stakeholders, heritage conservation, heritage tourism and the concept of the tourist-historic city and Islamic city. These are the main concerns of the research themes in this study. The literature review in chapter 3 provided a basic understanding of the politics of heritage in Iran.

Iran is amongst the countries with a high number of cultural built heritage both UNESCO and national monuments, which as of this writing in 2016, Iran had 19 UNESCO world heritage sites and more than 27000 registered national monuments in 2012. While the first archeological activities began in the beginning of the 19th century and the first official conservation was carried out in 1930, today the country's built heritage is suffering from neglect, disrepair and destruction. Part of the explanation is in the changes in national policies produced by changing administrations, along with the changing values and priorities over the last century. These policies were mostly constructed based on the periodical but recurrent shifts in perception of culture, religion as well as a dominant presence of autocratic governance in cultural affairs. Nevertheless, imperialistic and capitalist enterprise of the west, especially during Qajar period had a great impact in plundering Iranian heritage (Hodjat, 1995). Generally, in Iran heritage has been part of confrontation between religion and secularism as well as tradition and modernity. While heritage was seen as a symbol of backwardness by some modernist during Pahlavi period, at the beginning of the Islamic revolution, it was perceived by the revolutionaries as a sign of tyranny. The justification for this understanding after the Islamic revolution in Iran is associated with the perception of pre-revolution's heritage policy of the autocratic governments. In Iran, perception of heritage during Pahlavi period was mostly accompanied by the pre-Islamic elements of Iran which were seen in the 2500th monarch celebrations. In this period most of the budget for conservation of built heritage was towards nationalistic relics such as Iran-e Bastan Museum and Ferdowsi Tomb. Furthermore, many historic relics, such as city walls, were considered as an obstacle to progressive Iran. The construction of roads without consideration of urban integrity became routine in urban development. Pahlavi's cultural policy in general was towards three elements: modernization, westernization as well as de-Islamization of the society (Hodjat, 1995). With this policy, many historical relics became unused, demolished and perished (ibid). New housing developments in the urban fabric became an element of progressive Iran. Caravanserais, which were once known as a

symbol of progress in the Iranian world and beyond were now perceived as a backwardness and many were destroyed. During the second Pahlavi era this 'progress' continued but at a slower pace, perhaps due to stronger heritage conservation entities within the government, as well as the acknowledgement of the importance of heritage by the society and authorities. In contrast, after the Islamic revolution, and establishment of the theocratic republic in Iran, religious elements gained more attention and conservation of these monuments became a priority. Nevertheless, other pre-Islamic or non-Islamic elements to a less extent were also taken into account. Generally, it was due to the sense of nationalism which could be considered as one of the 'only senses that can make Iranians united' (Mozaffari, 2014; Yaghoubian, 2014). In the beginning of the revolution, heritage protection and conservation faced great decline due to various reasons including the revolution itself, ignorance of the government towards built heritage especially pre-Islamic relics as well as the 8 year war with the Ba'ath regime of Iraq. During this time many historical relics were in danger, notably Persepolis, palaces of Isfahan and Tehran as well as museums. However, with the wisdom of some eminent patriotic and religious figures most of the historic relics were rescued (Hodjat, 1995). People's anger towards built heritage was mostly based on the politicization of heritage by the monarchical governments before the revolution. As I mentioned in chapter 3, perception of heritage before the revolution was mostly based on the interest of a portion of the residents and was mainly used as a tool for de-Islamization of the society. Therefore, it is comprehensible if we witnessed anger towards built heritage after the succession of Islamic theocracy in the country where de-Islamization policies especially towards culture were implemented at different scales. Heritage administrative changes after the Islamic revolution also forced organizations to change their structures, including closure of SNH, which was mostly active in the revival of pre-Islamic relics and the dismissal of Post-Islamic heritage. While after the revolution all the commercial excavations and archeological activities paused, the 8 year war also greatly affected the protection and conservation of monuments, as the government and people were suffering from the destruction of houses and casualties. From the formation of ICHO one of the major policies for protection of cultural heritage was to depoliticize heritage. This in fact, began with policies towards reducing tension constructed before the revolution, which in the wake of the revolution reached its peak. Then, it continued

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through defining heritage by highlighting importance of heritage in the context of Islamic values, and finally by presenting heritage as a creation of Iranian minds and not as a place of tyrants of history or power of the past over the nation. However, by defining the above policies, politicization of heritage changed its direction from nationalistic perception to more of religious oriented thoughts. These policies which till today continuously exist, direct most of the budget for the conservation of national registered monuments to religious monuments and seldom to the non-religious monuments. In fact, this definition, also clearly produced conflict within the organization, among nationalistic and religious personnel in case of prioritizing heritage (Mozaffari, 2014). And the questions raised again were ‘which, what and whose heritage should be conserved’?

With the relocation of ICHO from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance- the structure of the organization from an educational and research institution converted to more of an economic oriented institution (tourism was part of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance). While this step can be seen as positive or perhaps justifiable from economic aspects of heritage of a country, it is impossible to ignore the transformation of cultural heritage into a tourist product which could gradually be influenced by economic revenues. Due to its financial advantages the cultural-scientific policies of the Organization could lose their impact and weight and become of little effect against the touristic-economic policies of the Organization. The creation of ICHTO as an organization under direct auspices of Iran’s President aimed at determining a stronger connection between tourism and cultural heritage. However, during this time and especially with political influence of the former president Mahmood Ahmadinejad, heritage conservation and protection of monuments once again was placed on the sideline, especially when the handicraft organization merged with ICHTO and resulted in the creation of ICHHTO. In this regard, the most contradictory act of the president and the head of the ICHHTO was the forceful relocation of certain structures of the organization to different cities. These changes in the organization not only affected the conservation and management of historical relics of the country but also tourism and handicraft affairs.

8.3. Heritage and Tourism Routes in Iran

The third objective of this thesis is to *evaluate the concept of heritage on the Silk Road as a heritage route and the existing patterns that the contemporary special interest tourists visit to pursue their enthusiasm and passion*. This aim is basically associated with the literature review presented in chapter 4 and the questionnaire surveys distributed in Iran among tourists visiting the Silk Road.

Route as the first mode of communication was not only used for exchanging goods but acted as a mean for exchanging culture, ideas and knowledge. Therefore, heritage route can be defined as a historical heritage of the past bounding ancient civilizations together. It acts as a channel for dialogue and knowledge between people, forming political power and wealth and as a navigator for discovering new parts of the world. Also bringing financial benefit for the people of the world as well as witnessed socio-cultural, political, and economical changes on the earth's surface in time and space.

The Silk Road can be recognized as a heritage route and remained as one of the most if not the most important route in mankind history mostly due to:

- i. Its contribution to the world's culture and language (presence of Persian language and celebration of *Nowruz* in the western Chinese province of Xinjiang is such an example)
- ii. Its involvement in the spread of the world's major religions (Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism and others)
- iii. Its role in exchange of ideas and knowledge from the east to west and vice versa (the route was acting as the internet of its time)
- iv. Its contribution to the power and political influence (Alexander of Macedonia conquests of Persia and India or invasion of Mongols are such examples)
- v. Its involvement in movement of goods and trade (Silk was one of the trading materials)

The Silk Road was a mean for globalization centuries before anyone came up with the concept (Middleton 2005). Today, because of many factors including modern mode of communication and transportation the Silk Road lost its importance. Recently international tourism organizations in general and UNWTO (2014a) in particular

introduced the silk road as a tourism route as well as an effective route ensuring sustainable development, forging direct investment, international integration and economic cooperation. The Silk Road was also presented by UNWTO (2014a) as the route for cultural exchange and understanding, poverty alleviation and means for promotion and protection of world heritage sites. While UNWTO's goals for the development of tourism on the Silk Road is promising tourism development on the Silk Road in general and the member states in particular, there are multiple challenges that the Silk Road tourism development currently faces, including geopolitical, regional conflicts, drug trafficking as well as visa issues. Besides, the presence of multiple economic or security initiatives from world and regional powers have made the situation more complex. On one hand these initiatives can produce agreements to increase economic and political cooperation within and beyond the Silk Road (Karrar, 2010), while on the other hand, different initiatives that were constructed based on their political influence and national interest can provide a new conflict zone among the influential parties. In this case US-making new Silk Road initiatives could be seen as an attempt to exert its political and economic interests in the continent in order to counter Russia's ambition, increase China's influence and Iran's expansion of power in the region.

Iran's role and its policies in the development of the Silk Road have been extensively discussed in the proceeding chapters, from the contribution to construction of the network of routes and the erection of caravanserais along the road to the establishment of a comprehensive tax system on the route. The effectiveness of its policies can also be seen today in the distribution of caravanserais as an Iranian creation in the Middle East, Indian subcontinent and Mediterranean region. Despite its historical contribution in the development of the Silk Road, Iran's first route tourism policy was introduced in 2000. It was mostly focused on the conservation and rehabilitation of built heritage especially caravanserais on the 5 identified routes, 3 of them were part of the ancient Iranian caravan routes (the Silk Road). The proposed tourism routes were covering most of the world heritage sites in Iran as well as the country's major tourist attractions. However, due to a lack of initial studies and a one dimensional view of the project based on mere financial profitability and not national tourism interest the project was stopped and provided only a map as well as a list of monuments (Misra, 2009). The project was entirely focused on attracting investors for

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rehabilitation of the built heritage along the identified routes, while, improvement of the roads and transportation, adequate signage, environmental studies, roadside facilities was not part of the project. Generally, lack of an overall national tourism policy has to be observed as an initial problem before introducing any long-term policy of tourism routes in Iran. The absence of tourism planning on heritage and tourism route as well as organizational issues within the ICHHTO became an obstacle in inscribing the Iranian part of the Silk Road as a world heritage site.

The results of a descriptive analysis of questionnaires as well as tour operators' itineraries will be presented in four areas: socio-demographic and travel experience; organized tour; travel preferences; and route and travel itinerary.

First, tourists who responded to the questionnaire are generally experienced travelers, as 57.7 % of the travelers visited more than 26 countries before beginning their Silk Road journey. Also, the majority of them (63.5 %) have spent more than 9 weeks on international travel in the previous year. However, these travelers are mostly male (69.3), young (59.6 %) between the age of 26-45. Most are residents of Europe (50.4 %) and Oceania (33.8 %). None came from Africa.

Second, on an organized tour, the survey indicated that the majority of the travelers on the Silk Road are using overland types of transportation (special modified trucks (33.5 %) and bus (25.2 %)) and more than 2/3 of the travelers are part of an organized tour mostly because of safety (114 out of 175 participant). Beside, their travel motivation (experiencing caravans travel) had a great impact on their decision making process of being part of the tour, while comfort was the least important reason. Duration of travel of 78.8 % of the tourists on the Silk Road was between 104 to 147 days. China with an average of 19.5 nights, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey 15.25 nights and Iran with 13 nights have the highest duration of stay among other Silk Road states.

Third, on travel preferences, one of the major questions of this case study was performed for the accommodation used during their journey to Iran. In this regard, most of the respondents indicated that during their journey the most frequent type of accommodation was hotel and hostel while the least frequent type of accommodation was caravanserai. Yet, the response to the most interesting type of accommodation during their journey shows cornerwise answers. Tourists indicated that they were very interested to use caravanserai as a frequent type of accommodation, and hostel as the least interested type of accommodation (table. 5.12 & 5.13). This is perhaps related to

their travel motivations, expectations and experience. According to Throsby (2009) cultural tourists are generally informed about the destination they are visiting and well educated, they are concerned about the values of the destination and many of them aim to learn new experiences related to the culture and heritage of the destination. As caravanserais are a product of travel on the Silk Road, adoptive reuse of these *old* type of accommodation would greatly contribute in tourist satisfaction when visiting the Silk Road. However, the way the heritage site was conserved and managed is another factor that contributes in cultural tourist's satisfaction (Riganti, 2009). This idea was also reflected in the responses of the participants, as about 1/3 of the participants were staying at Abbasi Hotel, some false interventions in conservation or perhaps the rebuilding of this old caravanserai pursued tourists to not recognize this rebuilt caravanserai as an old caravanserai holding authentic historical values. This finding greatly contributed to the existence of chapter 7, to evaluate the condition of caravanserais in Iran.

Forth, on route and travel itinerary, there are various issues that must carefully be addressed for organizing an overland tour, specially for itineraries crossing various geographical and political areas, including, visa, health and financial safety, road and physical safety, political and geopolitical instability and conflicts, length of routes and transit times, type of transportation as well as tourism infrastructure. Accordingly, the most important barrier for travel on the Silk Road for the tourists was political and geopolitical issues as well as difficulty obtaining a visa. However, in case of Iran road safety and boarder control were the major barriers for the travelers traveling the Iranian part of the Silk road. Also, geopolitical issues greatly affected the planning of almost all the 6 different itineraries. In regards to the ultimate 21 weeks' journey from Endeavour Overland's, while Kathmandu is the last destination of the journey, it is not the least accessible destination. However, it is the least connected destination, which is due to the insecurity in Pakistan and conflict over Kashmir between Pakistan and India (fig.5.13).

The overwhelming impression, however, from the findings of the questionnaires and tour operator's itineraries is that while there are multiple geopolitical and political barriers in the region affecting the number of travelers visiting the Silk Road, today, travelers are still flowing on the Silk Road especially with the support of overland tour operators to revive this heritage corridor. Their

perception on the concept of Silk Road heritage, especially caravanserais, can provide a better understanding of conservation of historical monuments for rehabilitation and adoptive reuse. But at the same time it is a niche tourism product and very special tourists.

8.4. Isfahan Caravanserais

The last objective of this thesis is to *examine the situation, perception and understanding of major stakeholders' attitudes towards caravanserais in the city of Isfahan*. This aim is associated with the primary and secondary data presented in chapter 6 and the historical data, interviews and fieldworks for three national registered caravanserais namely, Shah, Malik and Saru Taqi provided in chapter 7.

Caravanserais exist throughout the Islamic world (Constable, 2004; Hillenbrand, 2000). These multifunctional Islamic institutions are found in both roadside (rural) and urban areas. While existence, functionality and architecture of roadside caravanserais in the Iranian world have been extensively studied (Kiani, 1970; Kiani & Kleiss, 1990; Siroux, 1971), urban caravanserais located in the Iranian cities have gained less attention among scholars. Especially in case of the understanding of perceptions of these built heritage by major stakeholders in the main Iranian cities. Isfahan as the capital of Persia in the 17th and 18th century was often credited by its numerous caravanserais. However, due to urban regeneration and modernization as well as a lack of knowledge on the importance of built heritage on one hand and absence of sufficient fund for protection and conservation, an excessive number of registered built heritage as well as heritage policy implemented based on distinction between registered built heritage (prioritization) on the other hand, many caravanserais in Isfahan lost their importance and consequently were transformed into a disproportionate element of the idea of a progressive city. This is reflected in the number of existent *sarais* and caravanserais in Isfahan, as according to the travelers and historian narratives (see Chardin, 1811; Tavernier, 1678), Isfahan held a high number of caravanserais in the 17th and the 18th centuries. This was mostly due to the city's importance in trade and travel, while today there are only 4 caravanserais registered as national heritage and 1 unregistered caravanserai inside the boundaries of the city. As presented in chapter 7, while Shah, Malik and Saru Taqi Caravanserais were all constructed in the same historical period in the city, there were fundamental

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differences in social-cultural, architectural and functional aspects of these caravanserais. However, the most common aspect of these caravanserais is abandonment and demolition over the scope of time.

Generally, there are four key causes involved in the situation of endangered cultural built heritage: natural causes, economic causes, human (social) causes and institutional weakness (Cernea, 2001).

Natural causes have threatened built heritage in general and caravanserais in particular throughout history. While these caravanserais survived centuries from sudden risks such as earthquakes, floods, major storms and so on, the main risk factor currently arises from a regular and natural process such as rainfall, particularly from an unstable and unspecialized process of restoration, mostly on the roof. In this regard, all caravanserais are suffering from lack of proper insulation. Malik caravanserai is in danger of collapse due to usage of cement instead of proper insulation materials. In the case of Shah Caravanserai, due to lack of control over the built heritage by ICHHTO, used materials are not compatible with the historical and cultural values of the monuments. And in case of Saru Taqi Caravanserai because of total neglect a great part of the caravanserai today has collapsed and is destroyed. In case of all three caravanserais, lack of control by ICHHTO over the registered built heritage, lack of interaction among the major stakeholders and most importantly, absence of strong management system in each caravanserai caused these false interventions and neglect.

Economic causes have also greatly affected these caravanserais during history, especially in the case of economic growth and technology changes. While it is obvious that the economic causes are associated with human activities, in this part I have categorized human (social) causes in a separate category. In this regard, while these caravanserais were constructed to host humans and beast, today all three caravanserais are open to cars; Malik as a parking lot for the next door cemetery and road construction machineries; Shah as a parking for the tenants and owners; and Saru Taqi to pickup and drop-off goods which are normally carried out with heavy vehicles. Also, air pollution produced by these vehicles has caused damage to the caravanserai. However, the major economic cause is related to the reckless use of the caravanserais, especially heavy machineries used in the workshops: lathing and turnery workshops in Shah Caravanserai; Stone carving and auto repair workshops in Malik Caravanserai; and usage of lifts and cranes in Saru Taqi Caravanserai.

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Human causes are known as one the major risk factor in all the caravanserais. They are related to the perception of the place by users and activities performed in the caravanserais, and cover a great range of issues from lack of awareness to the vibrations and physical interventions caused by human actions. While according to the interviews all owners and users have acknowledged the importance of built heritage, a great level of interventions is visible in most part of the caravanserais; including, physical extension of the cells (merge of two or more cells, addition of *iwans* to the cells for bigger shops are such examples), destruction of a cell for another entrance (Shah Caravanserai), usage of improper and unsuitable materials incompatible with the original materials (all three caravanserais). While these false interventions in the caravanserais are produced by human activities, these activities are greatly associated with the institutional causes.

Institutional causes are perhaps the most important sources for dilapidation, dereliction and ignorance of caravanserais in Isfahan. Lack of strong institutional and managerial control over the caravanserais have turned them into dangerous places to work and live. This is related to a lack of conservation, absence of integrated management system, use of the caravanserai for a purpose for which they are no longer well equipped and presence of ownership dispute among the owners and tenants. While caravanserais of the past were mostly owned by a single family or government, today ownership conditions are different. These conditions have transformed these monuments into places of conflict over 'who owns these inheritances'. Today's dispute over ownership of these monuments is a result of multiple ownership transfers, lack of integrated managements and absence of control of the owners over the built heritage. For instance, in the case of Malik Caravanserai, a lack of control of the *waqf* institution or perhaps the Motowali *waqf*'s over the caravanserai as well as an absence of interaction among the *waqf* institution, the Motowali *waqf* and the tenants (in particular the main tenant, Mr. Dalalbashi) has created current ownership disagreements. On the one hand, tenants that have been working in this caravanserai for decades are now asking for a large amount of money to leave their shops and on the other hand they do not financially contribute for conservation. Ownership dispute is also visible in another way at Saru Taqi Caravanserai. As the ownership of this caravanserai is divided between five brothers with different financial abilities, demands and understanding the situation is very similar to Malik Caravanserai, as

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owners are not united in conserving or selling this caravanserai. This dispute at a much larger scale can also be seen in Shah Caravanserai. It is mostly due to lack a united understanding among the owners, some would like to conserve the building and others are not well motivated to conserve mostly due to family issues and their age.

ICHHTO, as a main trustee for protection of cultural heritage of the country, due to various reasons, among which deficiency of financial resources and lack of 'trust between the organization and the owners' (see case study three: Saru Taqi Caravanserai) do as not play a significant role in finding a single ground for these disputes. Nevertheless, the existence of high number of registered cultural heritage has forced the organization to prioritize built heritage, focusing especially on those with religious values. Likewise, the high number of caravanserais in Iran possibly has shifted the attention of ICHHTO towards other monuments. However, it is important to mention that most of the caravanserai in Isfahan are fragmented and destroyed due to modernization, urban heritage policies and ownership disputes. It is hard to visualize a solution without involvement of ICHHTO and city's authorities.

In contrast to the ownership issues, the physical aspects of conservation and repairs to a certain extent are changing less as the physical issues are mostly due to an extended lack of maintenance than from key deficiencies. However, exposure to hazards must be stopped as vibration of machineries in the caravanserais are potentially harming the foundation and the structure. Besides, presence of information and documentation about the physical structure in ICHHTO and the proficiency of Iranian conservators in the material used for construction of these buildings make the conservation process less challenging. However, the techniques required to implement traditional skills in conservation are gradually disappearing, mostly due to absence of demand. It is important to mention that interventions and conservation of these caravanserais must be carried on with modest levels of alteration and complying with ICOMOS charters and guidelines. One of the major steps in reviving the Silk Road is to protect and conserve the monuments belonging to this route. However, what is suggested today is that Isfahan as an Islamic city due to modernization, lack of financial resources for conservation and maintenance is losing the last remaining signs of movement of people and trade in the city.

8.5. The Contribution of the Research

Unlike many other tourism studies, this study of the Silk Road contains two surveys of overland tourists and key stakeholders of urban caravanserais along the Silk Road. No difficulties were faced when gathering the necessary sample numbers during data collection.

There have been other surveys carried out in Isfahan about caravanserais. However, they were mainly conducted by heritage conservation students, and factors such as the *waqf* institution, the role of ICHHTO and ownership disputes were not taken into consideration. This is also the first study targeting the Silk Road overland travelers traveling in Iran.

However, there were multiple limitations and difficulties in identifying the 'true or genuine' Silk Road overland travelers, as many of the travelers are only visiting the cities along the Silk Road and mostly fly between the cities. In this study only 52 travelers travelled by plane and for very limited distances while others travelled entirely overland. As the questionnaire was handed out and collected during the middle of their trip, many of the travelers responded to the questions prior to the end of the journey, meaning there could possibly be a change of opinion on their comments and status after reaching their final destination.

The surveys for this thesis were thought out and presented as a sequence making them different from other researches. The results of the first one were used as a background for the less formal interviews with the caravanserais' main stakeholders. This method was helpful and could be used in future studies.

Another challenging part of this research was being distant from the case study locations for long periods of time. Three conclusions from this research are suggested as evidence of an original contribution to knowledge: First, it has been established that the concept of built heritage is a very broad subject, and perception of it varies depending on the culture, ideology, identity, influence and financial interest of stakeholders. These perceptions can deeply undermine the fate of a built heritage. Finding a common ground among the stakeholders can ease the process of conserving heritage values; not only physical but also cultural. In Iran one of the major issues similar to many countries in the world is that undermining the fate of cultural heritage is the ideological and political view of the country's cultural heritage trustees towards built heritage. These political perceptions of heritage have in many ways affected the

cultural and physical situation of the Iranian national built heritage. Second, it has been shown that routes are not only for traveling from an origin to a final destination, but with consideration of route's cultural and natural values, they can be transformed into destinations as a whole. The Silk Road, having a long historical background, is comprised of numerous urban areas with great and outstanding cultural heritage values and diverse culture, and it has a great potential to become a sustainable tourism product. However, geopolitical issues and challenges as well as conflicts in the Middle East are undermining this possibility. Meanwhile, due to the uncertainties in the region and for reviving the Silk Road for tourism purposes, Iran must first establish its own tourism route policy by identifying Iranian cultural heritage routes with consideration of UNWTO Silk Road initiative and then, when conditions are favorable, connect these routes to the other neighboring countries tourism route for establishing the tourism Silk Road. Third, caravanserais as a major inheritance of the Silk Road have existed for centuries in the Iranian world and beyond. Whereas registration of these monuments as a national heritage makes the chance of wholesale destruction of these monuments less likely, with time and absence of will by the owners and ICHHTO, these monuments, especially those located in the cities will mostly turn into ruins. In many cases they will lose their authenticity due to continuous false interventions. Therefore, national and urban authorities must step in and first find a solution for the ownership disputes and then look for financial solutions, for investors, first from the owners and then from the outside.

8.6. Recommendation for Future Research

'Built heritage and tourism on the Silk Road', although important, remains largely under investigated. This research represents a first attempt at operationalizing the theoretical concept of route tourism into measurable elements of tourism on the Silk Road. Also, the research analyzes the issues affecting the current conditions of the caravanserais in Isfahan, most importantly the ownership issues. Therefore, several other possibilities exist for future study to further explore the relationship between heritage policy, heritage and tourism route development and the perception of route based built heritage. For example, it would be interesting to try a different set of research methodologies to investigate various aspects of tourism on the Silk Road. Such methodologies could include spatial tools like geographic information systems

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that trace the routes taken by tourists on the Silk Road and compare them to the identified tourism routes by the tourism authorities. When combined with other approaches (e.g. in-depth interviews), this would allow tourism authorities on the one hand and tour operators on the other hand to recognize tourists' preferences on the Silk Road. This will also help conservationists and heritage authority to determine the condition of built heritage along the route. This understanding will help tourism planners and heritage authorities to establish the most interesting heritage routes based on the view of travelers. Also, it can help the investors to identify the locations that require adequate tourism-related services and tourism infrastructures.

Additionally, it would also be important to investigate the rehabilitation of caravanserais in the urban fabric of Islamic touristic cities for tourism purposes. To this end, a comparative study of rehabilitation of caravanserais in two Islamic cities can be used. Also a comparative study between two Islamic cities could be carried out for the perception of the major stakeholders towards caravanserais in Islamic historic cities.

Finally, it would be interesting to investigate the perception of tourists towards conservation of caravanserais that have already been rehabilitated for tourism purposes, especially those caravanserais that have been transformed into accommodation facilities in general and boutique hotels in particular.

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Appendices

Appendix-1: Article 114 of Iran's fourth five Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (2004-2009)

Appendix-2: The Questionnaire of Tourists Traveling the Silk Road

Appendix-3: Isfahan Grand Bazaar and its Main Elements

Appendix-4: Isfahan Map

Appendix-5: Shah Caravanserai Registration Documents

Appendix-6: Malik Caravanserai Registration Documents

Appendix-7: Saru Taqi Caravanserai Registration Documents

Appendix-1

Article 114 of Iran's fourth five Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan (2004-2009)

In a national effort to identify, preserve, research, repair, revive, utilize and introduce the country's cultural heritage, and to enhance tourism capability, to generate wealth and employment, and to promote cultural exchange in the country, the government is responsible for carrying-out the following measures during the fourth development plan period:

- a) To prepare and implement plans concerning "protection of the owners";
- b) To establish and develop specialized research museums affiliated with the executive agencies;
- c) To identify and document the historical-cultural relics;
- d) To set up and equip ICHTO base at the country's important historical sites;
- e) To identify and to protect the existing Iranian cultural-historical relics and monuments in the neighboring countries and regions, giving recognition to them as a shared cultural heritage;
- f) Permitting the establishment of private and cooperative firms in order to attract more participants in cultural heritage conservation;
- g) ICHHTO is a granted authorization to set up a fund for reviving and utilizing cultural-historical buildings and places in order to grant permit for proper use and exploitation of revivable historical buildings and places aiming to attract investment by domestic and foreign private sector. The revivable historical buildings and sites except the exquisite national relics (properties and assets) as defined by the said organization are exempted from provision of article (115) of the 'Law of the country's Public Accountings, enacted on 22/08/1987';
- h) To facilitate and support domestic and foreign private firms participating in Iran's tourism industry;
- i) To create a center for the preservation of the tribal relics and culture in the country's provinces and counties. According to paragraph (g) of the above Article, on 15th September 2005 the cabinet ratified the statute of establishment of Revitalization and Utilization Fund for Cultural Heritage (hereafter the Fund) with an initial capital of 200 billion Rials (approximately a little over US\$20).

(in Misra, 2009)

Appendix-2

The Questionnaire of Tourists Traveling the Silk Road



Department of Geography, University of Minho, Portugal

Spatial Patterns and Motivations of Tourists on the Silk Road



Many thanks in advance for taking a few minutes from your busy schedule to complete the questionnaire, your responses are considered strictly confidential.

This Questionnaire is part of a doctorate thesis research

Mohammad Bagherian Sararoudi

1 Which age group do you belong to:

<input type="checkbox"/>	16-25
<input type="checkbox"/>	26-35
<input type="checkbox"/>	36-45
<input type="checkbox"/>	46-55
<input type="checkbox"/>	56-65
<input type="checkbox"/>	65+

2 What is your gender:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Male
<input type="checkbox"/>	Female

3 What is your nationality:

4 What is your country of residence:

5 What is your profession:

6 How many countries have you visited till today:

<input type="checkbox"/>	-5
<input type="checkbox"/>	6-10
<input type="checkbox"/>	11-20
<input type="checkbox"/>	20-25
<input type="checkbox"/>	26-30
<input type="checkbox"/>	31-40
<input type="checkbox"/>	40 +

7 How many weeks per year do you spend on international travel:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Less than a week
<input type="checkbox"/>	1-3 weeks
<input type="checkbox"/>	3-6 weeks
<input type="checkbox"/>	6-9 weeks
<input type="checkbox"/>	9-12 weeks
<input type="checkbox"/>	More than 12 weeks

8 What modes of travel do you use: (You can choose more than one)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Train
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bus
<input type="checkbox"/>	Truck
<input type="checkbox"/>	Car
<input type="checkbox"/>	Motorbike
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bike
<input type="checkbox"/>	Airplane

9 What are your main sources of information: (You can choose more than one)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Internet	<input type="checkbox"/>	Guide books/Travel guides
<input type="checkbox"/>	Magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>	Travel literature
<input type="checkbox"/>	Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	History books
<input type="checkbox"/>	Educational background	<input type="checkbox"/>	Family and friends
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (Please Specify)		

10 Are you traveling with an organized tour:

<input type="checkbox"/>	No
<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes

11 How many people are in your group (Tour):

<input type="checkbox"/>	2-8
<input type="checkbox"/>	9-12
<input type="checkbox"/>	13-20
<input type="checkbox"/>	21-26
<input type="checkbox"/>	27-35
<input type="checkbox"/>	36+

12 What age group are your travel companions in:

<input type="checkbox"/>	-16
<input type="checkbox"/>	16-25
<input type="checkbox"/>	26-35
<input type="checkbox"/>	36-45
<input type="checkbox"/>	46-55
<input type="checkbox"/>	56-65
<input type="checkbox"/>	65+

13 What were your most and least important reasons for choosing to be part of a tour:

	1	2	3	4	5
	Not Important	Slightly Imp	Moderate	Important	Very Important
Price					
safety					
Comfort					
Organization					
Meeting other people					
Guide					
Experience a caravan journey					
Other (Please specify)					

14 Please specify your tour operator company (Tour)

Tour Operator's Name	Tour's Name

15 In which Silk Road country / city did you begin your journey:

Country Name	City name
China	
Turkey	
Caucasian countries <small>Country name:</small>	
Central Asian countries <small>Country Name:</small>	
Iran	
India	
Nepal	
Other (Please indicate)	

16 What is your final destination on your Silk Road journey:

Country Name	City name
China	
Turkey	
Caucasian countries <small>Country name:</small>	
Central Asian countries <small>Country Name:</small>	
Iran	
India	
Nepal	
Other (Please indicate)	

17 Please write down the number of days and the name the cities on your Silk Road journey itinerary:

Silk Road Countries	No of days	City names
Armenia		
Afghanistan		
China		
Georgia		
India		
Iran		
Kazakhstan		
Kyrgyzstan		
Mongolia		
Nepal		
Oman		
Pakistan		
Russia		
Syria		
Tibet		
Turkey		
Turkmenistan		
UAE		
Uzbekistan		
Others		

18 How many days is your journey:

- Less than 10 days
- 10-20 Days
- 21-30 Days
- 31-40 Days
- 41-50 Days
- 51-60 Days
- More than 60 Days

19 Please specify the most and lest frequent type of accommodation used during your journey:

Type of Accommodation	Very Frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Very Rarely
Hotels					
Hostels					
Bed and Breakfast					
Caravanserai					
Local Flats					
Tent (camping)					
Other (Please indicate)					

20 Please specify the most and the least preferred type of accommodation you would like to use during your Silk Road Journey:

Type of Accommodation	Very Interested	interested	Moderately interested	Slightly interested	Not interested
Hotels					
Hostels					
Bed and Breakfast					
Caravanserai					
Local Flats					
Tent (camping)					
Other (Please indicate)					

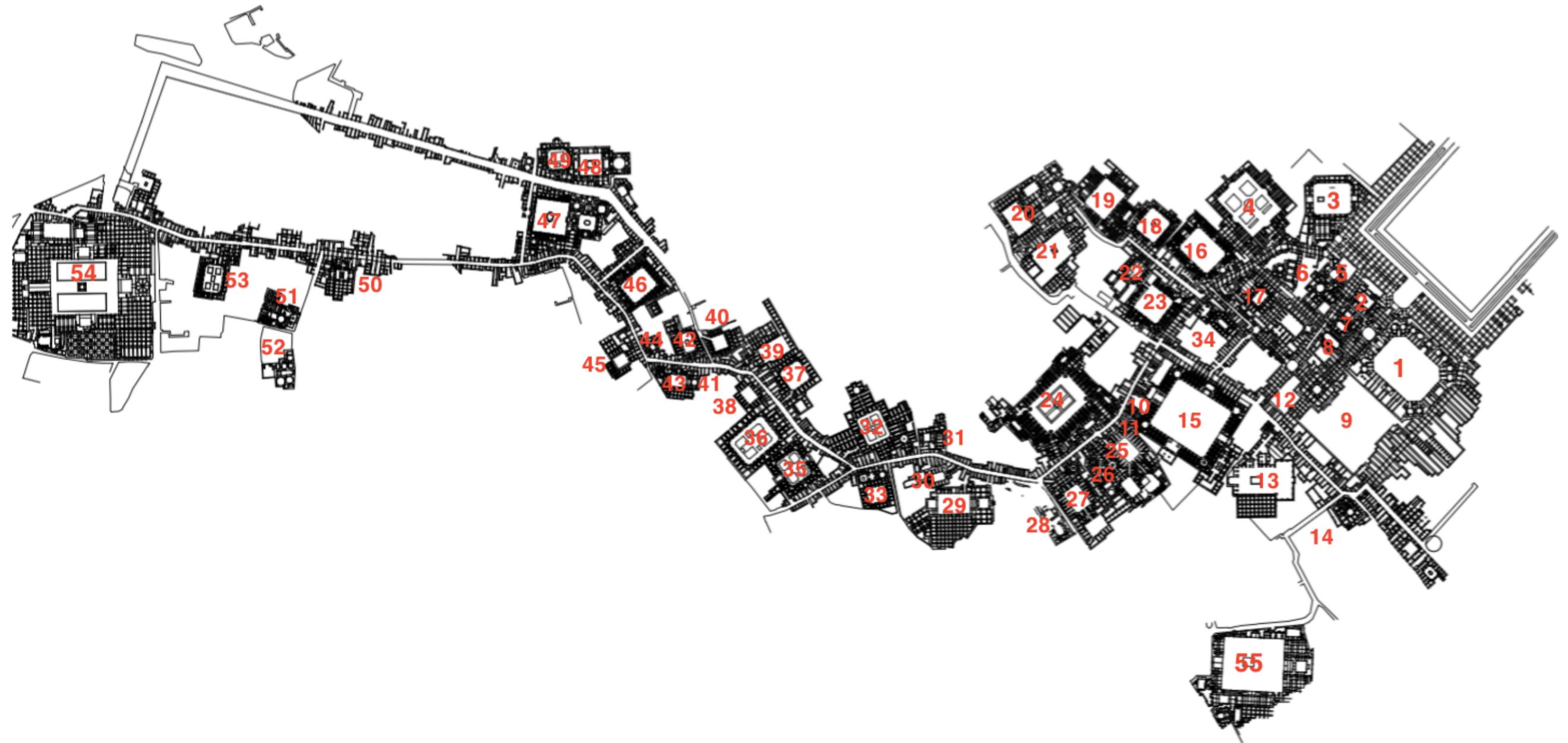
21 In your opinion what are the most crucial barriers in travelling on the Silk Road :
(Please specify up to 3 points)

- Visa
- Health
- Road safety
- Financial safety
- Physical safety
- Religious practices
- Cultural / Social Practices
- Political situation
- Border Controls
- Length of the routes

22 In your opinion what are the most crucial barriers in travelling on Iran's part of the Silk Road
(Please specify up to 3 points)

- Visa
- Health
- Road safety
- Financial safety
- Physical safety
- Religious practices
- Cultural / Social Practices
- Political situation
- Border controls
- Length of the routes

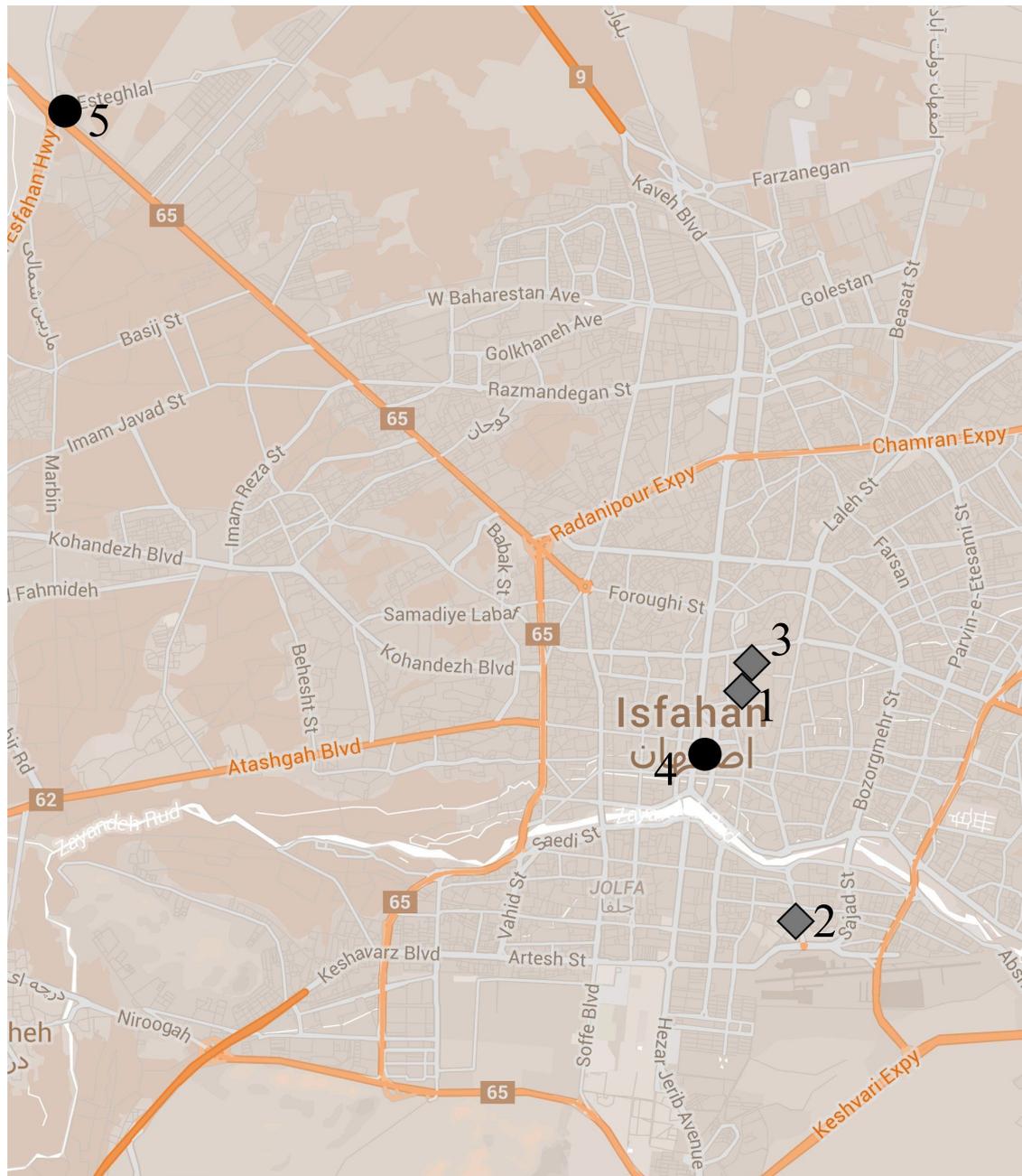
Appendix-3 Isfahan Grand Bazaar and its Main Elements



- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1) Shah Caravanserai | 12) Haj Mirza Sarai | 24) Golshan Sarai | 36) Tallar Sarai | 48) Ali Mosque |
| 2) Sholeh Sarai | 13) Darolshafa Hospital | 25) Fakhr Sarai | 37) Mirza Kochak Sarai | 49) Mirza- Hassan Madrassa |
| 3) Mola-Abdolah Madrassa | 14) Shahzade-ha Hammam | 26) Jarchi Mosque | 38) Ateghesh Forosh-Ha Timche | 50) Shirepazha Mosque |
| 4) Mokhles Sarai | 15) Sadr Madrassa | 27) Jarchi Sarai | 39) Dallan-Deraz Sarai | 51) Shaikh Bahai <i>Hammam</i> |
| 5) Shah Hammam | 16) Jadeh Bozorg Madrassa | 28) Shesheh Mosque and Sarai | 40) Sefid Sarai | 52) Shaikh Oil Extracting workshop |
| 6) Shah Oil Extracting workshop | 17) Malik Timche | 29) No Bazaar Mosque | 41) Mir-Ismail Sarai | 53) Toryeah Mosque |
| 7) Royal Mint | 18) Monajim Bashi Sarai | 30) Qazvini-Ha Timche | 42) Shamaie-Ha Sarai | 54) Jame Mosque |
| 8) Jahangiri Sarai | 19) Noo-Monajim Sarai | 31) Zolfaghar Mosque | 43) Ghahrodi-Ha Sarai | 55) Hakim Mosque |
| 9) Chitsaz-ha Sarai | 20) Saru-Taqi Caravanserai | 32) Haj Karim Sarai | 44) Paderakht Sokhteh Mosque | |
| 10) Nakhchian Timche | 21) Hendoha Sarai | 33) Khansariha Sarai | 45) Paderakht Sokhteh Sarai | |
| 11) Arbbab Timche | 22) Jadeh-Bozorg Madrassa | 34) Ghahve Kashi-Ha Sarai | 46) Agha Sarai | |
| | 23) Haj-Mohammad Sadegh Khan Sarai | 35) Nim Avard Madresa | 47) Haronyeah Tomb | |

Appendix-4

Isfahan City Map and Location of the Registered Caravanserais



- 1) Shah Caravanserai
- 2) Malik Caravanserai
- 3) Saru Taqi Caravanserai
- 4) Madar Shah Caravanserai (Now Abbasi Hotel) (Not part of the study)
- 5) Anoshirvan Caravanserai (Not part of the study)

Appendix-5 Shah Caravanserai Registration Documents



جمهوری اسلامی ایران



سازمان اسناد و کتابخانه ملی

باسمه تعالی

نظریه بند ج، از ماده واحده قانون تشکیل سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور مصوب ۱۰ بهمن ۱۳۶۴ شمسی و بند ششم
از ماده دوم قانون اساسنامه سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور مصوب ۲۸ تیر ۱۳۶۷ شمسی فصل اول قانون
راجع به حفظ آثار ملی مصوب ۱۲ آبان ۱۳۰۹ شمسی و نظام نامه اجرایی آن و بنا بر پیشنهاد معاون پژوهشی
سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور.

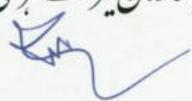
اثر فرهنگی، تاریخی «کاروانسرای شاه» که مشخصات آن بقرار زیر است:

موقعیت جغرافیایی: استان اصفهان، شهرستان اصفهان، میدان امام (نقش جهان)، بازار قیصریه، چهارسوق ضرابخانه
قدمت: صفوی

ممیزات

به شماره ۷۶۴۲ در تاریخ ۱۷/۱۲/۱۳۸۱ دفهرست آثار ملی ثبت گردید.

سید محمدجنتی
رئیس سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور



حلیل کلشن
معاون پژوهشی



تاریخ
 شماره
 پیوست



بسمه تعالی
 شورای ثبت منطقه اصفهان

براساس صورتجلسه شورای ثبت منطقه اصفهان مورخ ۸۱/۰۷/۰۳ پرونده اثر تاریخی کاروانسرای شاه واقع در استان اصفهان مربوط به دوره صفوی به مالکیت خصوصی که موقعیت فعلی بنا در میدان نقش جهان - بازار قیصریه - چهارسوی ضرابخانه واقع گردیده و توسط اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان جهت ثبت در فهرست آثار ملی پیشنهاد گردید که توسط اعضای شورای ثبت مورد تصویب و جهت طی مراحل بعدی به شورای ثبت سازمان ارسال می گردد .

معاون حفظ و احیاء اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
 عبدالله جیل عاملی

معاون پژوهشی اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
 ناصر ترکی

معاون معرفی و آموزشی اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
 مرتضی فرشته نژاد

مدیر کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
 رئیس شورای ثبت منطقه - سیف الله امینیان

مدیر میراث فرهنگی استان چهارمحال و بختیاری
 عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - اردشیر آخوندی

مدیر کل میراث فرهنگی استان یزد
 عضو شورای ثبت منطقه حسن خادم زاده

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - مجید ستاری

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - علی اسفندیار

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - محمد رضا کارگر

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - مهدی زاهدی پور

عضو و دبیر شورای ثبت منطقه - علیرضا خواجهویی

۷۴۴

تاریخ: ۱۴/۷/۸۱

شماره: ۱۳۱۳۱۶۰۱۵

پیوست:



جمهوری اسلامی ایران
وزارت فرهنگ و ارشاد اسلامی

بیتالی

سرکار خانم / جناب آقای مالک یا مالکین
مالک محترم اثر تاریخی چهارباغ آینه در استان اصفهان واقع در پلاک ۱۳۱۳۱۶۰۱۵

با عنایت به مطالعات کارشناسی اداره کل / مدیریت میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان اثر تاریخی فوق از نظر ویژگیهای تاریخی و هنری، معماری و فرهنگی واجد شرایط ثبت در فهرست آثار ملی ایران می باشد.

بدینوسیله در اجرای ماده ۵ آئین نامه اجرایی قانون راجع به حفظ آثار ملی مصوب ۱۳۰۹ شمسی موضوع به جنابعالی ابلاغ می شود تا چنانچه به تصمیم این اداره کل اعتراض دارید، خواهشمند است ظرف یکماه از تاریخ رویت این نامه اعتراض خود را مستنداً و به صورت مکتوب به این اداره کل / مدیریت اعلام فرمائید تا مورد رسیدگی قرار گیرد. ضمناً مالکین و متصرفین قانونی آثاری که در فهرست آثار ملی به ثبت می رسد از حمایتهای قانونی ذیل برخوردار می شوند.

الف: بنا و اماکن ثبت شده از پرداخت مالیات متعلق به درآمدهای حاصل از آنها معاف می شوند.

ب: بناها و اماکنی که در فهرست آثار ملی ثبت می شوند، از پرداخت هرگونه عوارض شهرداری معاف می شوند.

ج: در صورت ثبت اماکن در فهرست آثار ملی این اداره کل علاوه بر مساعدت فنی و کارشناسی در حفاظت و تعمیرات بناها قسمتی از هزینه های مربوطه را متقبل خواهد شد.

د: متصرف و مالک قانونی بنا یا اثری که در فهرست آثار ملی ثبت می شود می تواند حق مالکیت یا تصرف خود را حفظ کنند.

سیف الله امینیان
مدیر کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان

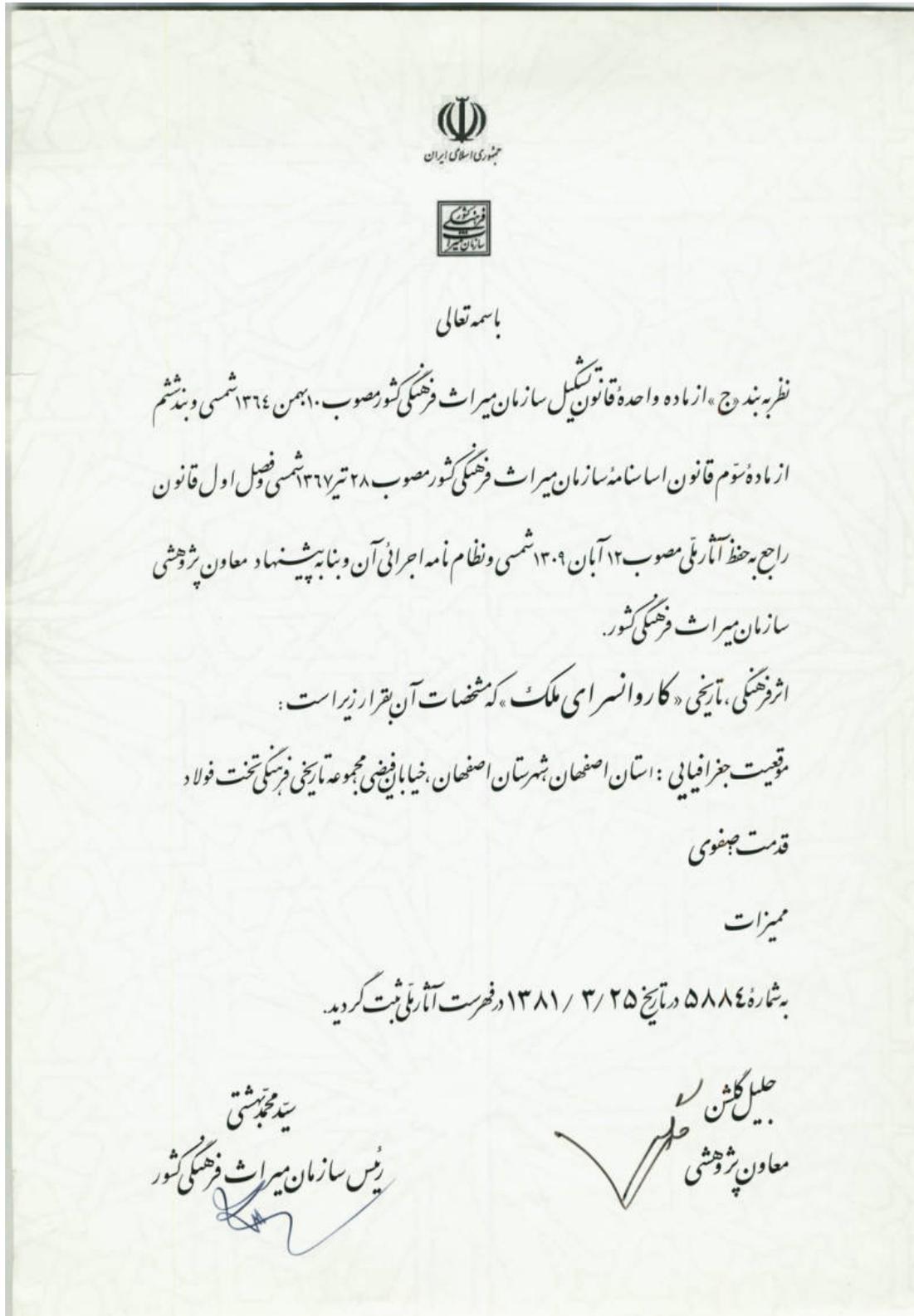
۷۶۴۲

اربع اطلاعیه به ضرر (بلاغ قانونی) به مالک میسر شد

نشانی:

Appendix-6

Malik Caravanserai Registration Documents



نام بنا : کاروانسرای ملک

موقعیت : اصفهان - خیابان فیض - مجموعه تاریخی فرهنگی

تخت فولاد

دوره : صفوی

مشخصات بنا : کاروانسرای ملک متعلق به دوره صفویه و با مساحتی حدود ۹۰۰ متر مربع به صورت یک اشکوبه بنا شده . تنها ورودی بنا در جبهه شرقی است و با جلو نشستن شترخوان از فرم منظم پلان در دو جبهه شمال و جنوب دارای جلوخان می باشد . کاروانسرا دارای تعدادی حجره و ایوان ، شاه نشین و دو حیاط کوچک هشت ضلعی در طرفین شاه نشین و یک برج دیده بانی است . ورودی شترخوان و اصطبل در چهار گوشه داخلی بنا جای گرفته است . خشت ، آجر و سنگ از عمده مصالح به کار رفته در بنا می باشند .

مالکیت : اداره کل اوقاف استان اصفهان

تاریخ
شماره
پیوست
.....



بسمه تعالی
شورای ثبت منطقه اصفهان

براساس صورتجلسه شورای ثبت منطقه اصفهان مورخ ۲۰/۱۱/۸۰ پرونده اثر تاریخی ^{ی. نیک} ^{۱۰۰۰} واقع در استان اصفهان مربوط به دوره صفوی به مالکیت اره من که موقعیت فعلی بنا در واقع گردیده و توسط اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان جهت ثبت در فهرست آثار ملی پیشنهاد گردید که توسط اعضای شورای ثبت مورد تصویب و جهت طی مراحل بعدی به شورای ثبت سازمان ارسال می گردد.
حیا بن فیهن - مسجد فرشته تا زمین تخت فولاد

معاون حفظ و احیاء اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
عبدالله جبل عاملی

معاون پژوهشی اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
ناصر ترکی

معاون معرفی و آموزش اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
مرتضی فرشته نژاد

کارشناس میراث فرهنگی شهرستان کاشان
ناصر امامیان

۵۸۸۴

سرپرست اداره کل میراث فرهنگی استان اصفهان
رئیس شورای ثبت منطقه - سیف الله امینیان

مدیر میراث فرهنگی استان چهارمحال و بختیاری
عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - اردشیر آخوندی

مدیرکل میراث فرهنگی استان یزد
عضو شورای ثبت منطقه حسن خادم زاده

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - مجید ستاری

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - علی اصغر نیروزی

عضو شورای ثبت منطقه - محمد رضا کارگر

عضو و دبیر شورای ثبت منطقه - علیرضا خواجویی

Appendix-7

Saru Taqi Caravanserai Registration Document



دولت شاهنشاهی ایران

وزارت فرهنگ و هنر
اداره کل حفاظت آثار باستان و بناهای تاریخی

نظر فصل اول قانون عتیقات مصوبه ۱۲ آبان ۱۳۰۹ خورشیدی
نظر فصل اول آئین نامه اجرای قانون عتیقات مصوبه ۲۸ آبان ۱۳۱۱ خورشیدی
نظر پیشنهاد مدیر کل حفاظت آثار باستان و بناهای تاریخی

وزیر فرهنگ و هنر مقرر می‌دارد:

محل باستانی مجموعه بازار و کاروانسار واقع در کوشکات آن بقره زیارت

موقعیت جغرافیایی در محل محل بهار کهر صهیون

تاریخ و قدمت صفحه عهدش عباس دوم ۱۰۵۶ هـ ق

نمیزات کلیه ساختمانها مجموعه در اسکوپ پیاست

ملاحظات و نکاتین جزئی بازارچه و بجهت تعیین اوقاف است

به شماره ۹۰۳ جزو آثار ملی به ثبت برسد

تاریخ ثبت ۴۹۹۹۹

مدیر کل حفاظت آثار باستان و بناهای تاریخی

وزیر فرهنگ و هنر



شماره ثبت ۹۰۳

وزارت فرهنگ و هنر

اداره کل حفاظت آثار باستانی و بناهای تاریخی ایران

پیشنهاد ثبت آثار باستانی

پیشنهاد کننده	اداره کل فرهنگ و هنر اصفهان
طی نامه شماره	۴۹ / ۱ / ۸ مورخ ۵ / ۱۲۲۸۴
اثر باستانی	مجموعه بازار و کاروانسرای ساروتقی
موقعیت جغرافیائی	اصفهان
وضع فعلی	
قدمت	صفویه (۱۰۵۶ هجری قمری)
تاریخ بررسی و کشف	سال ۱۳۴۷
نام بانی و سازنده اثر در عهد	شاه عباس دوم توسط ساروتقی صدر اعظم زمان
وضع مالکیت	در نطق آقای حاجی رضا و اداره اوقاف میباشد
ملاحظات	

