



Urbanization Through a Cultural Heritage Lens: The Case of Tehran (1785–2017)

Najmeh H. Viki & Howayda Al-Harithy

To cite this article: Najmeh H. Viki & Howayda Al-Harithy (2019) Urbanization Through a Cultural Heritage Lens: The Case of Tehran (1785–2017), *Heritage & Society*, 12:1, 57-75, DOI: [10.1080/2159032X.2021.1878989](https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2021.1878989)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2021.1878989>



Published online: 09 Feb 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 237



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)




Citing articles: 3 View citing articles [↗](#)

RESEARCH ARTICLE



Urbanization Through a Cultural Heritage Lens: The Case of Tehran (1785–2017)

Najmeh H. Viki and Howayda Al-Harithy 

Department of Architecture and Design, Maroun Semaan Faculty of Engineering and Architecture, American University of Beirut (AUB), Beirut, Lebanon

ABSTRACT

Scholars have argued that the annex of several villages has formed the current urban fabric of the metropolis of Tehran since becoming the capital in 1785. Three primary historic nuclei of Ray, the city center, and Tajrish have chronologically configured the growth and urbanization pattern of the city. The historic nuclei are the main identity generators and constitute the urban narrative of the metropolis of Tehran. In the process of the urbanization of Tehran, three political power shifts have affected the cultural heritage layers of the historic nuclei. The governing states have transformed Tehran village into a metropolis and in the process eradicated the rich layers of cultural heritage. The transformation of the village of Tehran to the metropolis has not been critically examined from a cultural heritage perspective. This paper investigates the urbanization process of the metropolis of Tehran through three historic nuclei as sites of cultural heritage and examines how cultural heritage was interpreted by the state and implemented into the different urban planning and policy-making practices.

KEYWORDS

Urbanization; cultural heritage; historic nuclei; village; metropolis of Tehran; Ray; city center; Tajrish

1. Introduction

The metropolis of Tehran occupies an area of 720 km² (Habibi and Horrid 2006) that is divided into 22 municipal zones. It is located between the Alborz Mountains to the north and the Kavir-e-Namak desert to the south. The annexes of several villages in the Tehran region, including Vanak, Gheydariyeh, Darband, Darakeh, Golab Dareh, and Zargandeh formed the current shape of the metropolis of Tehran (Madanipour 1998; Behzadfar 2005). However, three primary historic nuclei configured the growth and urbanization patterns of the city. Tehran's primary historic nuclei chronologically are Ray in zone 20, the city center in zones 11 and 12, and Tajrish in zone 1 (Figure 1).

Ray was annexed to Tehran in 1973 and is the oldest historic nucleus in the metropolis of Tehran with a history that dates back to more than 6,000 years ago (Kariman, [1971], 2002). Like most ancient cities, Ray houses several archeological sites including the famous Gebri castle dating back to the Sassanid Empire (224–651). At present, it is mostly celebrated for its religious sites such as the Shah Abdul Azim shrine, a Twelver

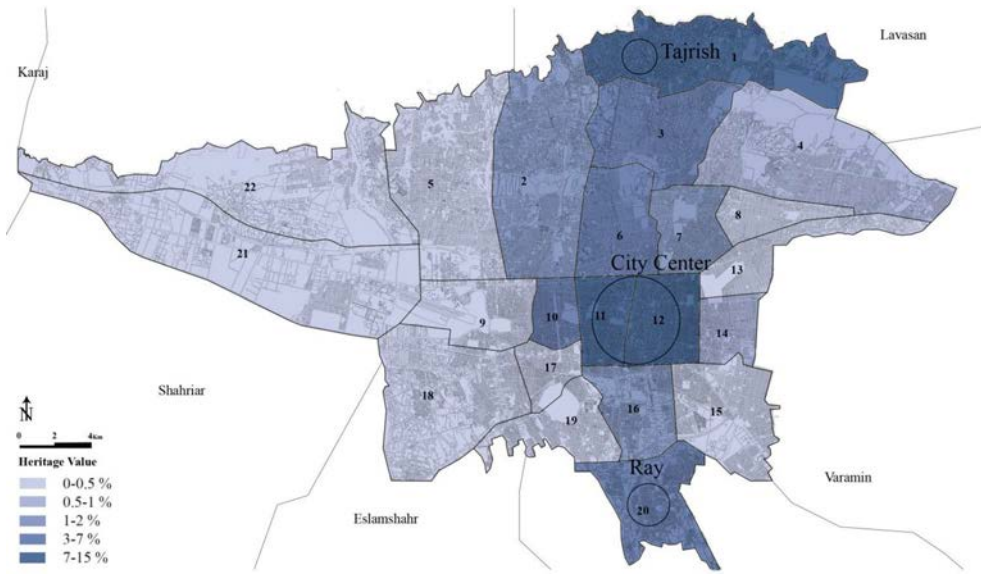


Figure 1. The 22 municipal zones of Tehran (data from the Municipality of Tehran drawn by Najmeh H. Viki, 2018).

Shia scholar in the 9th century that attracts national and international pilgrims. Despite the several historic sites, the identity of the cultural heritage of Ray is currently limited to its religious image (Kariman, [1971], 2002).

Tehran city center is the second oldest historic nucleus. It was developed at the time of the Safavid Shah Tahmasb (1514-76) in the 16th century. The most valuable cultural heritage buildings of Tehran are located within this area and contribute to the identity of the city. The historic nucleus consists of a bazaar and sites of pilgrimage that were initially constructed in the 16th century. At present, the cultural heritage of this historic nucleus is mostly characterized by the economic value of the Grand Bazaar of Tehran and the historic buildings that have become touristic destinations (Behzadfar 2005).

Located in the Shemiranat district, Tajrish is the third historic nucleus of the metropolis of Tehran and was annexed in 1973. The mild climate and natural beauty of the mountainous landscape have attracted middle to upper-class residents from Tehran and Ray throughout history (Behzadfar 2005; Bayat 2010). However, the religious site of Imamzadeh Saleh, a descendant of the seventh Shia Imam (Emamzadegan 2018), also played a significant role in the growth and urbanization of Tajrish. At present, Tajrish is celebrated for its religious cultural heritage and economic value of the Tajrish bazaar (Behzadfar 2005; Azadarmaki 2012).

The transformation of the village of Tehran to a metropolis has not been critically examined through a cultural heritage lens. This paper investigates the urbanization process of the metropolis of Tehran through its three historic nuclei as sites of cultural heritage, while examining how cultural heritage operates as a political construct that unfolds through different planning and policy-making practices of the governing state. Research for this paper is based on original fieldwork and empirical data that was collected by the authors during the summers of 2017 and 2018. The paper will argue that

heritage is a political construct that is practiced differently by successive political regimes based on their agendas for identity construction and nation-building processes.

2. Framing the Concept of Cultural Heritage in the Literature

The concept of heritage was primarily focused on artifacts and antiquities for continuous use and aesthetic reasons (Pye 2001), and preservation of heritage was equated to museumification before the 1970s (Merriman 1996). The term cultural heritage was not coined as a technical competence until the establishment of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965. In 1972, the “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage” was a milestone that defined cultural heritage (Batisse and Bolla 2005). Towards the end of the twentieth century, different definitions of cultural heritage were propagated.

According to Hewison (1987), cultural heritage is relatively new and lacks a coherent definition. Authors such as Wright (1995) define cultural heritage as a manifestation of the past in the realm of the public, which is used for commercial consumption. Others such as Samuel (1994) define cultural heritage as a manifestation of the past by the public for generating identity through tangible and intangible elements. Edson (2004) explains cultural heritage as an omnipresent phenomenon with socio-psychological constructs that reflect the dissimilarities that separate individuals or groups from others. He also believes that the “psychological continuity” of cultural heritage plays an important role in the notion of heritage and identity. According to Lowenthal (2005), heritage represents evidence of past human activity accumulated through multiple ages and designates what has been handed down to us from the past. He argues that heritage is not the past but rather the reinterpretation of the past and not a concept that can be captured but rather a social construct that defines itself (Lowenthal 1985).

Scholars have also defined cultural heritage as the “contemporary usage of a past” which is “consciously shaped from history, its survivals and memories, in response to current needs for it” (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999, 105). As part of human activity, cultural heritage produces tangible and intangible representations that contain these visible traces from antiquity to the present. Built cultural heritage is defined as, but not limited to, antiquities, archeological sites, architectural works, groups of buildings and their environment, natural settings, and physical and biological formations that have an outstanding universal value from an aesthetic or scientific point of view. Intangible cultural heritage is comprised of memorial traces of all forms of tradition and folk culture, rituals, and practices. Intangible cultural heritage is most frequently transferred orally and altered over time through collective recreation (Khirfan 2010; Steinberg 1996).

It becomes clear that the definition of heritage, identity, and culture, even within a single society, is plural and not definite (Ashworth, Tunbridge, and Graham 2007). Ashworth, Tunbridge, and Graham (2007) explain cultural heritage as a “present-centered” practice manifested by the demands and needs of an individual or a group. From a present-centered perspective, cultural heritage is a social construct that is defined according to memory, identity, and ownership and is open to change, reinterpretation, and conflict. The criteria and interpretation of cultural heritage vary from one locality to another (Al-Harithy 2005; Edson 2004). The inscription of new identities and the manner in which the past is quoted or represented through sites of cultural significance

is key to defining the dialectic relation between memory, identity, and ownership (Al-Harithy 2010). Therefore, it is necessary to understand cultural heritage and its evolutions in the context of Iran and its effect on the historic nuclei of the metropolis of Tehran.

3. Historic Nuclei of the Metropolis of Tehran

3.1. Ray the Southern Historic Nucleus

Dating back to 6,000 years ago, Ray is one of the primary cultural heritage nuclei that forms the metropolis of Tehran. The initial formation of the city dates back to the Median Dynasty (6th-8th century B.C.). This historic nucleus has experienced many transformations over time. During the Parthian period (3rd century B.C.-3rd century), it was designated as a capital for the first time and received much attention due to its location on the ancient Persian Royal Road and later the Silk Road (Kariman, [1971] 2002; Ghareh Chanlu 1978). The city grew immensely after its capture by Muslim Arabs in 643 and new layers and building types such as mosques, religious sites, bazaar, and residential neighborhoods were implemented. Later on, during the 9th century, Ray started urbanizing around the holy shrine of Shah Abdul Azim. The holy shrine became the initial core of the city and the center for religious, socio-economic, and cultural activities (Kariman, [1971] 2002), while the bazaar formed the urban link from the shrine to the residential neighborhoods and agricultural lands (Kariman, [1971] 2002; Khaniki, Darabi, and Irani-Behbahani 2015).

In the 10th century, Estakhri a travel-author, and geographer described Ray as the largest city in the east with famous gates, markets, neighborhoods, and several holy shrines (Estakhri: Afshar 1962). The Mongol invasion in 1220 and the massacre of its inhabitants left Ray in ruins. The survivors took refuge in nearby villages such as Tehran, Tajrish, Doulab, and Vanak. Ray was rebuilt and became prosperous again under the Safavid rule (1501–1736) in the 15th century, with the religious sites as the foci of livability (Ghareh Chanlu 1978).

The concept of heritage was first adopted by the Qajar Dynasty (1789–1925), the succeeding dynasty after the Safavid, specifically Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar (1848–96). The French influence in the Qajar courts led to the monopoly of excavations in ancient historic sites of Iran and the authentication of ancient artifacts as heritage (Morady 2003; Mozaffari 2014). The Qajars did not promote Ray's heritage mostly due to its affiliation to the Safavid Dynasty and the lack of interest by the French. This attitude negatively impacted the archeological sites and opened the door to artifact thieves and the speculation of historic artifacts. This inadvertence towards the heritage sites of Ray mostly targeted its natural landscape. The most precious natural heritage sites of Ray, such as the ancient gardens, perished and no concrete evidence remains (Memarian 2001). One of the few heritage sites that was protected during the reign of Naser Al-Din Shah was the 6,000 year-old Cheshmeh Ali hill and water spring that held artifacts from the early men who lived in this area. Nonetheless, the Qajars sustained their religious practices, mostly to legitimize their state, by upgrading the infrastructure of Shah Abdul Azim shrine and providing ease of access to the religious sites in Ray. For example, during the reign of Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar (1848–96), Iran's first railway from Tehran to Ray was constructed (Ghareh Chanlu 1978). This road was the first infrastructure that connected the capital

to Ray and paved the path for the urbanization between Ray and Tehran. The foreign concept of heritage held sway until the end of the reign of the Qajar Dynasty and was adopted during and after the Constitutional Revolution (1906–11), and even after the establishment of the Department of Antiquates (اداره عتیقات) in 1918. This concept did not encompass a broader definition of heritage or a locally-informed opinion (Hodjat 1995; Morady 2003). Although the monopoly of the French over local heritage was eventually abolished in the 1920s, the lack of local expertise kept heritage a foreign discourse (Hodjat 1995; Mozaffari 2014).

During the early years of the twentieth century, a power shift from the Qajar Dynasty to the secular state of Pahlavi (1925–79) initiated a new phase for heritage (Hodjat 1995). Reza Shah Pahlavi (1925–41), the first Pahlavi king, paid great attention to ancient Persian archeological sites and their preservation (Rouhani 2009). During Reza Shah's reign, archeology, research, and the conservation of monuments received considerable attention (Hodjat 1995; Rouhani 2009; Mozaffari 2014) and heritage was defined through "nationalism, de-Islamization, and westernization" (Hodjat 1995, 162). During this period, the government executed one of the main milestone steps to identifying tangible cultural heritage which was known as "national property" (اثار ملی). As such, the four laws for conservation were legislated by the parliament in 1930. These laws imported the popular western model of historic preservation that focused on artifacts and historic monuments (Hodjat 1995). In light of this framework, non-Islamic archeological sites of Ray from before the Safavid Empire were identified by the state as valuable heritage. These sites included the 3000-year-old Gebri crypt, the 6000-year-old Cheshmeh Ali, and the 1000-year-old Bibi Shahr Banu tomb. During this period, Ray's archeological sites became a destination for tourism, and religious sites such as the Shah Abdul Azim shrine were considered as hubs for lower-class citizens.

During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1941–79), the second Pahlavi king, the suppression of Islamic and Qajar monuments as heritage sites were less observed. This was due to the fact that Iran joined the member states of UNESCO in 1948 and adopted a heritage framework according to international laws (Mirzadegi 2016). From 1948 until the Islamic Revolution in 1979, heritage was adopted according to international laws and definitions such as the one by UNESCO. "National property" in Iran was redefined according to the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) established in 1965 and the "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" in 1972 (Hodjat 1995). The Pahlavi Dynasty adopted the two distinct definitions that the Convention provided for cultural heritage (میراث فرهنگی) and natural heritage (میراث طبیعی). Cultural heritage was defined as monuments, a group of buildings, and sites with an outstanding universal value from historic, artistic, or scientific points of view. Natural heritage was defined as natural features, natural sites, or geological and physiographical structures that have an outstanding universal value from historic, artistic, to scientific points of view (UNESCO 1972). During this period, the parliament ratified the preservation of historic sites from the Qajar period that had public functions (Sadiq Alam 1974), however, non-Islamic sites such as the Shah Abdul Azim shrine were not considered.

After the Revolution and the ideological shift to an Islamic state, Ray's religious value was once more celebrated. The religious sites, especially the Shah Abdul Azim shrine, underwent significant expansion, particularly after 1990, to the point that Ray became a holy city. The lack of a framework for a secular cultural heritage led to the loss and

destruction of non-religious sites. For example, cultural heritage sites such as the Gebri castle were destroyed and became part of the expansion project of the Shah Abdul Azim shrine.

At present, Ray is considered as part of the metropolis of Tehran. Despite several registered non-religious cultural heritage sites, Ray attributes its significance to religious sites such as the Shah Abdul Azim shrine (9th century), the Imamzadeh Taher shrine (8th century), and the Imamzadeh Hamzeh shrine (8th century)(Emamzadegan 2018). Ray is flooded with local and international tourists that attend ceremonies and visit pilgrimage sites during Islamic religious events, particularly those celebrated in the Shia calendar. Although the archeological heritage sites of Ray and their role in the formation of the metropolis of Tehran and its identity are of great importance, there is a lack of value given to non-religious sites by the state. This lack of worth, thus preservation, has reduced the identity of Ray to a pilgrimage site that does not reflect its diverse and rich history or connectivity to the historic nuclei of the metropolis of Tehran.

3.2. The Growth of Tehran from a Village to a Capital

Tehran village became the capital of the Qajar Dynasty in 1785 (Abdollah Khan Gorji 1997; Madanipour 1998; Behzadfar 2005). Prior to the eighteenth century, Tehran was a fertile village with several tombs of Shia saints (Imamzadeh). After the invasion of Ray by the Mongols in the 13th century, Tehran became a hideout for refugees. Tehran village started experiencing a new dynamic of pilgrimages after the 15th century when the first Safavid King Ismail I (1501–1524) announced Shia Islam as the main state religion in 1501 (Abdollah Khan Gorji 1997). The village grew more popular after the king started urbanizing it into a fortress (Abdollah Khan Gorji 1997; Madanipour 1998) and restoring and regularly maintaining the Imamzadeh shrines (Kariman, [1971] 2002). The village flourished and urbanized around the holy shrines during the reign of Shah Abbas Safavid I (1588–1629) through the construction of the bazaars, mosques, and schools inside Tehran (Motamedi 2002; Habibi and Horrid 2006). Until the end of the Safavid Dynasty in 1736, Tehran consisted of five neighborhoods: the Royal District (Ark), the Commercial District (bazaar), and three residential neighborhoods. The neighborhoods were built around the nucleus of the village with the bazaar and the Imamzadeh shrines as the main foci (Rezazadeh 2010).

Eventually, Tehran became the capital of Iran in 1785 when the Qajar king Agha Mohammad Khan (1742–97) was crowned in the city. Agha Mohammad Khan tried to attract people to Tehran and turn it into a center for trade by expanding and adding new commercial areas (Behzadfar 2005). Some of the buildings that remain in the city center from that period include the bazaar, the Shah Soltani mosque (1810–25), the Marvi school and mosque (1816), and the Sepahsalar mosque (1879–84). The expansion of Tehran continued and reached its peak during the rule of Naser Al-Din Shah (1848–96) when the second fortification and new neighborhoods were built (Rezazadeh 2010). The first census of the city in this period showed that Tehran had five quarters. Each quarter included mostly religious sites such as traditional schools, Imamzadeh shrines, seminaries, and Tekyeh for performing religious ceremonies particularly mourning for Shia Imams. As explained, during this period, Tehran's connection with the religious nuclei such as Ray and Tajrish became of great importance for legitimizing the

Islamic character of the state. Naser Al-Din Shah ordered the reconstruction of the religious sites and cemeteries of Ray, as well as implemented a rail-road to connect Tehran to Ray (Ghareh Chanlu 1978). In addition, he constructed the Jadeh Ghadim Street (جاده قدیم), currently known as Shariati Street, to connect the capital to the northern districts and Tajrish. This road was the first planned infrastructural connection between Tajrish and Tehran and paved the way for the urbanization and future annex of Tajrish to the metropolis of Tehran. Naser Al-Din Shah was also infatuated by western modernization schemes (Madanipour 1998). Tehran underwent transformations after the 1850s, altering the traditional layout by widening the streets and constructing a new typology of architecture. As Tehran expanded from all sides, upper-class neighborhoods emerged in the northern parts of the city, creating a north–south polarity and socio-spatial divide (Abdollah Khan Gorji 1997; Madanipour 1998).

During the early years of the twentieth century after the Constitutional Revolution, a shift of power from the Qajar Dynasty to the secular state of Pahlavi (1925–79) initiated a new phase in the history of Tehran. As explained before, modernism and nationalism were two important guiding ideologies for Reza Shah Pahlavi (1925–41) (Rouhani 2009). As a result, Tehran experienced a rift between traditional and western secular values (Madanipour 1998), and although preservation of ancient heritage was carried out during this period, Tehran lost its historic identity (Rouhani 2009).

Initially, Tehran's layout since its formation as a village was responsive to local cultural practices and climatic conditions (Chavardi et al. 2017). This introspective and centralized morphology since the Safavid Dynasty was abruptly transformed by ancient architectural styles introduced to public buildings which are currently known as the first Pahlavi style (Rouhani 2009). In the process of modernizing the city, narrow streets such as Ark and Saran Street were demolished (Behzadfar 2005) and western-style entertainment hubs, such as clubs, bars, and cinemas, were constructed. As an example, by the end of the first Pahlavi (1925–41), 15 western-style entertainment hubs were constructed on Lalehzar Street (Behzadfar 2005; Jeddy 2012). As a result, a modern urban texture emerged in the heart of the old fabric in a manner that was inconsistent (Jeddy 2012). To accommodate the new modernized culture, and in the absence of a non-ancient preservation strategy, the state destroyed remnants (Abdollah Khan Gorji 1997) of what we understand today to be cultural heritage. Many of the iconic monuments of Tehran such as the twelve gates of Tehran (Qajar Dynasty), the Baharestan palace (Qajar Dynasty), and Tehran Arg (Safavid Dynasty) were demolished, while the construction of wide boulevards affected the historic nuclei and their identity (Makki 1945; Pir-Nia 1968; Jeddy 2012). One of the few significant projects on the outskirts of Tehran between 1922 and 1927 was Pahlavi Street, currently known as Valiasr Street. Valiasr Street provided easy access to Tajrish, urbanizing, and expanding Tajrish beyond its limits (Madanipour 1998). This famous promenade that reflected the modern and wealthy state of the Pahlavi Dynasty was initially designed to connect Tehran to the royal palaces in its northern district and replace the existing Jadeh Ghadim Street from the Qajar Dynasty (Figure 2) (Behzadfar 2005).

From an intangible perspective, Reza Shah who was influenced by the cultural and social policies of Atatürk (1881–1938) established a shift from traditional and intangible cultural values to western and modernized dynamics (Asgharzadeh 2007). One of the reforms that took place during his reign was the Military action against the Islamic traditions that were part of the cultural heritage and socio-spatial practices of the public,

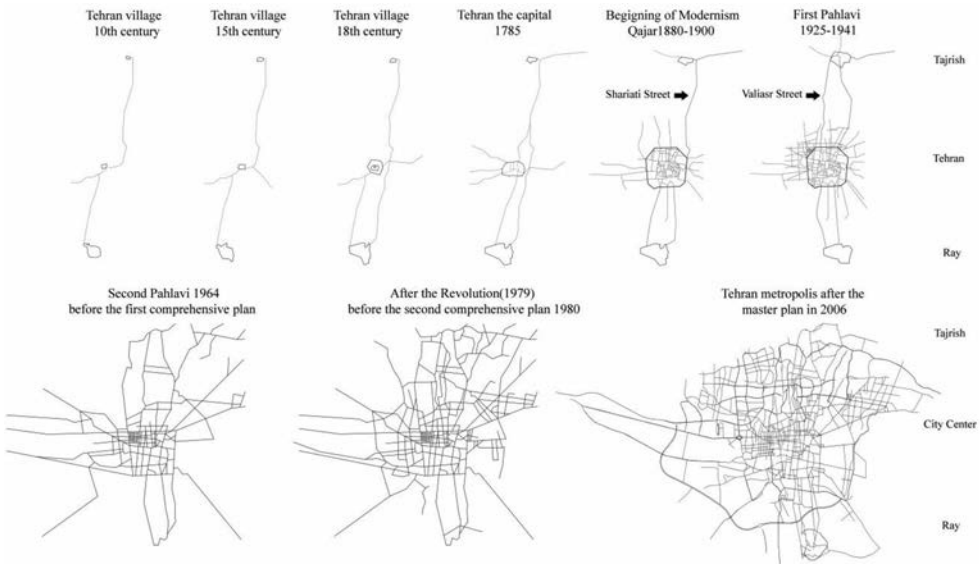


Figure 2. The relation between the urbanization of Ray, Tajrish, and Tehran throughout history (Najmeh H. Viki, 2017).

in particular, the mourning for the second Shia Imam and women's *hijab* (Asnad Melli 1999; Jafari, Esmael Zadeh, and Farshchi 2005; Asgharzadeh 2007). Between 1936–1941, the hijabs of women were forcedly removed if worn in public spaces. This extremist act became limited after 1941 with the rule of the second Pahlavi king, Mohamad Reza Pahlavi. However, being veiled was considered as an indicator of lower-class citizenship. Women wearing the hijab were discriminated against in governmental institutions and even in public or leisurely spaces (Asnad Melli 1999; Jafari, Esmael Zadeh, and Farshchi 2005). This also affected the socio-economic dynamics of the city, forcing the religious and underprivileged families to reside in the southern and traditional parts of the city, and the aristocracy in the northern and modern parts, which further contributed to the northern-southern socio-economic fragmentation (Madanipour 1998).

3.3. *Tajrish the Northern Historic Nucleus*

Tajrish, located in the Shemiran district, is another historic nucleus that has affected the urbanization of the metropolis of Tehran. Tajrish village, also known as Tajrian, was considered an essential suburb of Ray before Tehran became the capital. According to Rawandi, a scholar from the 11th century Tajrish was a village in the 10th century where people could escape Ray's hot climate and enjoy the natural beauty, water springs, and the *qanáts*. In addition, the holy shrine of Imamzadeh Saleh that dates back to the 7th century (Waqf 2018) was a religious asset for Tajrish. According to the archival documents of Imamzadeh Saleh, the original shrine of Imamzadeh Saleh was built in the 7th century by the residents of Tajrish. After the invasion of the Mongols, although Tajrish faced mild destructions that impacted the shrine of Imamzadeh Saleh, it was yet a haven due to its strategic location and a fair distance from Ray. The Imamzadeh building was reconstructed after the Ilkhanate Dynasty (1295–1335) converted to

Islam in 1300. In the following centuries, the Shemiran district began to flourish, particularly around Tajrish village and the urbanization and growth of Tajrish were concentrated around the holy shrine as its nucleus (Mostafavi 1981). Tajrish became the center of the Shemiran district, and Imamzadeh Saleh became the center of Tajrish throughout its urban history.

The first expansion of the Imamzadeh site occurred under the Safavid reign in the 15th century. The first local bazaar also started developing close to the Imamzadeh where farmers and residents would sell their products, attracting trade and commerce to Tajrish. At the same time, the fair-weather of Tajrish during the summer season attracted the residents of Ray, who, as a result, formed strong connections with the area. These connections increased after Tehran became the capital of the Qajar Dynasty in the eighteenth century (Mostafavi 1981; Sotudeh 1992). As explained, the Qajars tried to legitimize their Islamic state through the promotion of religious sites. According to the Imamzadeh documents, large proportions of land were given as *Waqf* to the Imamzadeh site during the Qajar Dynasty, especially by Fath Al Shah's (1772–1832) children. A bath, the bazaar axis, a mosque, and the major Tajrish Tekyeh were constructed on those lands. These additions further urbanized Tajrish until Jadeh Ghadim Street was constructed during the reign of Naser Al-Din Shah (Figure 2) and the Qajar court built many gardens around Tajrish, transforming the village into a summer residence for the king and noble families (Figure 3). At present, this street is one of the oldest infrastructures of the city and is considered a cultural heritage route (Tehran Municipality 2006).

The main growth of Tajrish occurred after the construction of Pahlavi Street which facilitated access and further urbanized Tajrish (Behzadfar 2005). This urbanization and growth eventually led to Tajrish being annexed to the metropolis of Tehran in 1973. As explained, the concept of heritage during the Pahlavi reign was focused on non-Islamic archeological sites. As such, religious sites did not have any legal heritage value (Asgharzadeh 2007). The



Figure 3. Bagh Ferdows is the only surviving Qajar garden in the vicinity of Tajrish (Najmeh H. Viki, 2017).

religious site of Tajrish was not well preserved or even acknowledged (Archival material of Imamzadeh Saleh; Mostafavi 1981; Sotudeh 1992). In fact, after the construction of the Pahlavi Street, Tajrish's natural landscape became more celebrated. The street turned the entire historic nucleus into a green node that connected the city of Tehran to the mountains, ski sites, and summer royal palaces of Niyavaran and Saad Abad.

Until the 1970s, Tajrish was best known by the residents of Tehran for its natural landscape and non-religious built heritage. The natural landscape of Tajrish included the *qanáts*, rivers, and the thick green canopy, particularly sycamore trees around Imamzadeh Saleh, and the built heritage included several Qajar gardens. The only remaining gardens near Tajrish are the Bagh Ferdos complex and the entrance to the Razaviyeh garden (Figure 3). According to the interviews of the older residents of Bagh Ferdos and Darband in summer 2018, the main *qanáts* that passed through Tajrish were: Qanat-e-Sar-e-Pol (قنات سر پل), Qanat-e- Maqsood Beyk (قنات مقصود بیگ), Qanat-e-Paparian (قنات پاپاریان), Ghanat-e-Jafar Abad (قنات آباد جعفر), Qanat-e- Bagh-e-Ferdos (قنات فردوس باغ), Qanat-e-Kahriz (قنات کهریز), and Qanat-e-Dikio (دیکو قنات). According to the discussions with the caretakers of Imamzadeh Saleh in summer 2018, the water from the *qanáts*, especially the volume passing through the Imamzadeh, had great reverence. At present, none of these *qanáts* exist.

After the Islamic Revolution (1979), the concept of cultural heritage was being reconstructed with an Islamic ideology. One of the main slogans after the Revolution was 'No East no West, Islamic Republic,' meaning that it rejected conformity with western and eastern models and focused on an Islamic national identity. Although Iran was part of UNESCO, cultural heritage and natural heritage were no longer defined through the Convention. Many historic sites were demolished or subjected to the patrons of anti-monarchist ideologies particularly during the first years after the revolution (Mirzadegi 2016). In light of this agenda, natural heritage was not considered as valuable to be preserved. As a result, the majority of the natural landscape and the dense green fabric of Tajrish, particularly between 1980 and 1990, were replaced by ad-hoc development schemes. Issuing building permits with a Floor-to-Area-Ratio that is higher than the legal frame, known as "selling extra building density", was a trend in the 1990s in Tehran. The policy was to sell density to increase revenues for the municipality (Madanipour 1998). Such an act fostered a trend of (de)construction mostly on the northern parts of the city with high land values. Several gardens, particularly from the Qajar Dynasty, were confiscated and sold for development. The newly constructed sites and inappropriate use of the *qanáts* led to the subsidence of land (Behzadfar 2005). According to the municipality, in most cases, the water drainage system for buildings in zone 1 was directly connected to the *qanáts*, causing water contamination. In other cases, the personal abuse of the *qanáts* for either private swimming pools or household watersheds caused the *qanáts* to dry out. Due to the lack of will by the state and a system that identified the *qanáts* as natural heritage worthy of preservation, the *qanáts* in Tajrish faced extinction.

The other natural landscape elements of Tajrish, which are still present, are the Darband and Golabdareh rivers (Figure 4). Historically, Tehran's rivers had a narrow natural limit that contributed to their preservation. After the Revolution and the extreme increase in property values, particularly in the northern district, river basins lost their limits and no juridical law protected their ecology. After the flood of the Golab Dareh and Darband river in 1987 which extended to Tajrish, the river basins were



Figure 4. The junction of the Darband and Golabdarreh river in Tajrish close to the Imamzadeh site (Najmeh H. Viki, 2017).

turned into infrastructural breaks and sewage canals with no efforts to preserve their original heritage. The dense sycamore trees of Tajrish were also another natural landscape feature that was never considered as natural heritage, and they, therefore, faced the same route to destruction. The most notable natural feature of Tajrish was the dense concentration of sycamore trees around the Imamzadeh site, particularly the famous ancient Tajrish Sycamore tree which had aged over 400 years (Waqf 2018). This tree with its thick trunk had sparked wonders for travelers and residents for centuries and housed an old cobbler until 1995. Due to mostly deliberate political acts, such as expanding the religious sites of Tehran including the Imamzadeh Saleh site, the natural landscape around the Imamzadeh site faded. Eventually, the 400-year-old sycamore tree, which was the last old sycamore tree around the Imamzadeh, withered and was cut down in 1997.

Tajrish's cultural heritage value was not identified until the late 1990s. The masterplan of zone 1 suggested turning Tajrish into a transportation and cultural hub that serviced the entire city. Although the preservation of religious and economic sites of Tajrish were omnipresent in all the strategies, the documents did not suggest or point at the natural landscape of Tajrish, particularly regenerating the river basins or the *qanāts*. The cultural heritage of Tajrish, particularly what we know today as natural heritage, has suffered from the lack of legislative laws that could have preserved and protected it. Since 2006 and up to this day, the preservation and regeneration of the cultural heritage sites of Tajrish are regulated through state cultural policies leading to the expansion of the religious site and the regeneration of the bazaar (Figure 5).

4. The Metropolis of Tehran

4.1. The Annex of the Three Historic Nuclei: The First Comprehensive Plan in 1964

Up until the second Pahlavi period (1941–79), Tehran had developed within its limits without a heritage framework for preserving the old fabric. At the beginning of the second Pahlavi period, the city underwent several developments that expanded beyond its limits (Figure 2). The leading development that fostered such an expansion was the



Figure 5. Left: The main axis of Tajrish Bazaar; Right: Entrance to Imamzadeh Saleh from the bus terminal (Najmeh H. Viki, 2017).

delegation of Tehran's comprehensive plan. The plan was initiated by the Ministry of Urban Development and Renewal and commissioned in 1964 as a collaboration between the Iranian architect Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian and the American firm Victor Gruen Associates (Abdollah Khan Gorji 1997; Madanipour 1998). It outlined the metropolitan area of Tehran that expanded northward to Tajrish and southward to Ray. Ray and Tajrish were annexed to Tehran in 1973.

Despite the union of the three historic nuclei by the comprehensive plan and the identification of several problems including weak infrastructure (Madanipour 1998), the framework did not consider the cultural and natural heritage value of the historic nuclei or identify them as sites worthy of preservation. This may have been due to the ambitious dreams of the Pahlavi Dynasty for modernization and westernization or the absence of a locally constructed definition of cultural heritage. In addition to the erasure of cultural heritage, the comprehensive plan further reinforced the socio-economic polarity that existed in Tehran between the northern and southern neighborhoods. Local traditions were preserved in the south while modernism and westernization became more apparent in the north (Madanipour 1998; Bayat 2010). Physically and socially, the city was divided into northern and southern partitions, a polarization that was based on financial status and environmental and physical infrastructures (Marefat 2004). Primarily, religious, low-income and traditional families lived in the south as opposed to the wealthy and modern in the north. The polarization of the city, which started within its boundaries under the Qajar Dynasty, became a critical aspect of restructuring the city and differentiating between the affluent and impoverished in the Pahlavi era. This ramification created a cultural dichotomy between the southern and northern parts of the metropolis of Tehran (Madanipour 1998; Bayat 2010).

The first comprehensive plan of Tehran, similar to all development plans in Iran, focused on the physical issues of the city such as zoning, land use, and infrastructure (Mohammadi 2016). The plans designated Ray as a southern district with patches of religious land use, Tehran city center as an economic and institutional hub with minor cultural heritage nodes, and Tajrish as an upper residential neighborhood with no heritage value. The plan lacked a definition or foresight for the cultural heritage of the metropolis of Tehran due to the absence of a competent heritage advisor in the policy-making team (Mohammadi 2016). Although the Islamic and Qajar monuments were less suppressed as heritage sites during this period, the approaches and strategies for modernizing a traditional city through infrastructural improvements and urban growth resulted in a neglect of cultural heritage and local social structures.

4.2. Second Comprehensive Plan and Tehran's Current Masterplan

The 1979 Islamic Revolution and the subsequent war with Iraq (1980–88) had a dramatic effect on the city. As explained, the concept of cultural heritage was being reconstructed with an Islamic concept during those years and the Revolution was inscribing its ideology on the city, within the spatial and social fabrics. From a physical perspective, the popular classes during the first decade of the Revolution launched a legal take-over of many public lands that led to the rapid expansion of urban centers such as Tajrish. Many of the arid lands inside the city and on its fringes were confiscated by the government and handed over to private buyers or governmental organizations such as The Islamic Revolutionary Council and the Bonyad Mostazafan. Revolutionary institutions such as the Housing Foundation played a crucial role in the transformation of arid lands to urbanized neighborhoods outside the city limits. The overwhelming amount of new construction- 75 percent between 1979 and 1983 according to Tehran Municipality- not only affected the urban fabric inside the city but also changed the natural landscape on the fringes of the city to poorly urbanized neighborhoods with weak identities.

From an intangible perspective, the ideology of the Revolution overlaid and reshaped new practices such as commemorating the twelve Shia Imams throughout the year, forcing the *hijab* on women in public spaces, and encouraging them to wear modest and dark clothes. The prevailing ideology during the first decade of the Revolution sidelined traditional cultural heritage practices such as the celebrations of the Persian calendar, which was regarded as a sign of monarchism and against Islamic values. In addition, the extreme separation between males and females once more introduced the traditional introversion in architecture and created male-only or female-only environments in the public sphere (Bayat 2010).

Only a few noteworthy initiatives for protecting cultural heritage were executed by the Revolutionary Council during the first decade. The most important laws regulated the prevention of illegal excavations for retrieving historic artifacts that dated back to 100 years or more and the transfer and destruction of government buildings or buildings that had national significance (Hodjat 1995). However, due to the lack of a coherent proclamation of cultural heritage and extremist ideologies, historic sites that reflected the character of the previous dynasties without Islamic value, especially those of the pre-Islamic period, were neglected or even destroyed (Mozaffari 2014; Mirzadegi 2016).

The Revolution's ideology also led to the criticism of the first comprehensive plan, which was only implemented for seven years after the Revolution. The criticism was mostly focused on the westernized modernization plan (Madanipour 1998), the political capital framework, and polarization of the deployed plans. In addition, various aspects of the plan that did not align with Islamic values, particularly land expropriation by the Pahlavi government (Tehran Municipality, 2006). In 1987, the Ministry of Urban Development initiated the second comprehensive plan with work by an Iranian architectural firm called ATECH. The plans divided the city into five districts with separate cores: the southern area of Tehran, the central area, the northern area, the western area, and the eastern area. The parliament approved the plan in 1990, and the municipality set out to implement it. The stagger of the definition of cultural heritage between the two ministries of Islamic Guidance (وزارت ارشاد اسلامی) and Education and Culture (وزارت فرهنگ و آموزش عالی) which continued until 2003 (Mirzadegi 2016) prevented a coherent definition for cultural heritage. Although the second comprehensive plan had identified core cultural and infra-structural problems, the plans did not address the need for cultural and natural heritage preservation or regeneration and exposed no notion for protecting the three historic nuclei of Tehran.

According to the municipality, after the appointment of Gholamhosein Karbaschi (1990–98) as the new mayor of the metropolis of Tehran, the plan was halted in 1993 due to improbable and unattainable expenses. During this period, the municipality started the practice of selling zoning variance outside the scope of the first and second comprehensive plans which resulted in irreversible effects (Bertaud 2003). Tehran's historic nuclei became hubs for construction regardless of their cultural heritage and historic value. This negligence in particular contributed to the deterioration of Tajrish's natural landscape and non-religious built heritage. Tehran city center also lost a great deal of its non-religious built heritage and became an economic center and home for government institutions. This procedure went on until a masterplan for the metropolis of Tehran was proposed (Akhavan and Behbahani 2013) between 1996 and 2001 with the help of Boom Sazegan Consultant. The plans were handed out to the Ministry of Urban Planning and were approved in 2006 and have been in motion ever since. The main focus of the masterplan was dividing the metropolis of Tehran into 22 municipal zones with six major outlined objectives: Tehran as a green city, Tehran as a cultural city, Tehran as a clean city, Tehran as a dynamic city, Tehran as a moving city, and Tehran as a modern and traditional city (Tehran Municipality 2006). At the same time, the stagger of cultural heritage between ministries ended in 2003 when the Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization was established as an organization under the directorship of the president (Mirzadegi 2016). According to the ICHTO statute, as per the constitutional law, cultural heritage is defined as all the works of the past that represent the trajectory of mankind and lead to the knowledge of human beings (ICHTO 2019). Cultural heritage speaks of the traditions, beliefs, and achievements of the country of Iran and its people, thus, is divided into tangible and intangible/spiritual heritage ("میراث معنوی" و "میراث مادی"). Tangible cultural heritage is defined as the physical artifacts that are protracted from the ancient, past, and present such as monuments, buildings, and artifacts. Intangible/spiritual heritage is the non-physical cultural achievements such as literature, language, tradition, religious ceremonies, and rituals (ICHTO 2019). Natural heritage is not considered as cultural heritage in Iran, and therefore preservation or conservation of cultural landscapes is not part of the statute of the ICHTO.

Despite a compatible rubric for cultural heritage, the lack of a competent heritage advisor in the policy-making team of the masterplan caused great negligence. The masterplan does not have any particular plans for the archeological sites of Ray nor the restoration and preservation of the natural landscape of Tajrish. According to the current masterplan, Tehran city center, particularly the Grand Bazaar and adjacent neighborhoods, is recognized as a vital cultural heritage nucleus, Tajrish is considered an economic and transit hub that connects the city to the northern cultural heritage sites, and Ray is celebrated for its religious heritage (Tehran Municipality 2006).

5. Conclusion and Ways Forward

In 1785 when Tehran became the capital of Iran, the new dynasty continued with the past Persian representations and Shia Islam as their main religion, thus, heritage was manifested by the state through a Persian-Islamic identity. During that period, attention was primarily given to artifacts and ancient tangible heritage preservation and in the process, Ray lost many of its natural landscapes and sites of historic significance. The state perpetuated the psychological continuity of heritage within the city's urbanization, which is currently known as Tehran city center.

The shift of power to Pahlavi in the 1920s changed the approach to heritage and affected the urbanization of the historic nuclei. During the Pahlavi reign, cultural heritage and religion did not overlap, manifesting the glorious pre-Islamic past. Thus, Cultural heritage was a manifestation of a selected past by the state for the public, which was focused on Persian nationalistic sentimentalism and globalization of heritage. The reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi particularly reduced the tangible and intangible heritage value of religious sites and practices. This attitude caused historical editing and disconnected the psychological continuity of cultural heritage in the three historic nuclei. Although the three historic nuclei were annexed in 1973, Tajrish became an urbanized focal point that projected the wealth and ideology of the state, whilst Ray visualized deficit.

The Islamic Revolution in 1979 marked the third shift of power that has affected the cultural heritage dynamics of the historic nuclei. The Islamic Revolution provided a political framework that gave value to contemporary political constructs that resulted in building an Islamic nation. This ideology eradicated the Pahlavis' existing notion of modern and non-Islamic heritage, causing a paradigm shift from ancient Persian and modern to tangible and intangible heritage with Islamic values. Using Tehran as an incubator to adopt the Islamic values of the regime to meet the revolutionary ideology, the regime focused on the preservation and expansion of religious and pilgrimage sites as opposed to cultural heritage sites that were considered indicators of monarchism. The revolution ascended Ray and Tajrish with a substantial Islamic and political value, thus, suppressing other heritage expressions of these sites. This historic editing in particular caused Ray and Tajrish to lose their historic natural landscapes.

These three political shifts have transformed Tehran village into a metropolis and in the process eradicated the rich layers of cultural heritage. Manifestations of the past by the governing states and the historic editing that gave authorship to the governing states legitimized the acts of destruction and construction of Tehran's cultural heritage and urbanization, thereby weakening Tehran's historic nuclei and identity generators. The framing and protection of cultural heritage which followed the political construct of identity for the state shifted

from Persian-Islamic to Secular-Modern, and eventually an Islamic state, gradually halting the appreciation of cultural heritage in the historic nuclei of the metropolis of Tehran. Cultural and historic practices in the metropolis of Tehran that were designated to implement political constructs make it clear that the rich narratives of the historic nuclei have shifted from a socio-political construct to a submissive discourse that represents purely the ideology of the state. The lack of a framework that protects cultural heritage, including its natural landscapes, has led to the metropolis of Tehran's immense loss of identity, particularly in the historic nuclei which are the points of reference.

This loss of identity calls for a premise that recognizes the historic nuclei as the trustees of cultural heritage and most importantly recognizes that sustainable city life is the carrier of socio-cultural heritage. Thus, the framework for cultural heritage should neither be focused on the internationalization of heritage, which often results in packaged frozen icons to be understood by the world public nor about the nationalization of heritage which has at its aim the political construction of national identity. An alternative approach to a framework for cultural heritage can be proposed; one that does not base itself on the recognition of monuments and disciplinary memory, but rather on the recognition of cities as dynamic entities whose living tangible and intangible heritage is produced every day by diverse spatial practices and sustained by social memory. Social memory is based on events and associations with the place and interacting with it daily rather than on its physical properties alone (Al-Harithy 2005). The framework should be focused on conventional methods that recognize the layering of a city and its open process of production and emphasize three sources of value: "the intrinsic values of cultural goods, the potential of cultural goods for local or regional development, and the needs and the willingness of the local community concerned" (Mignolli and Nijkamp 2001, 1). Accordingly, to preserve the historic nuclei of the metropolis of Tehran, cultural heritage should remain linked to the cultural context to which it belongs, should be defined as that which is beyond the physical and visible, and should be recognized as an open process of production and transformation sustained by its rooted links to the community and its local identity (Al-Harithy 2005). Therefore, any development or modernism urban plan integral to cultural heritage has to invest in the people and support their production of heritage.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Najmeh H. Viki is an instructor and the research coordinator of the Urban Recovery Platform at the Beirut Urban Lab at the American University of Beirut. She earned her bachelor's degree in architectural engineering from Iran University of Science and Technology (IUST) and her master's degree in Urban Design from the American University of Beirut (AUB). Viki is an urban researcher whose work focuses on the urban regeneration of historic cities. Her current research focuses on cultural heritage and participatory approaches for the recovery of cultural heritage.

Howayda Al-Harithy is Professor of Architecture and Urban Design at the American University of Beirut currently serving as Founding Director of the School of Design. She holds a Bachelor of Architecture from the Oregon School of Design, a Master of Science in Architecture from MIT, and a PhD in History of Art and Architecture from Harvard University. She is a Research Director at the Beirut

Urban Lab. Her research focuses on urban heritage with emphasis on the theoretical debate on heritage construction and consumption related to identity building and post-war reconstruction in the Arab world. Her work conceptualizes urban recovery in relation to processes of historical editing, urban trauma, and protracted displacement.

ORCID

Howayda Al-Harithy  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2878-9501>

References

- Abdollah Khan Gorji, B. 1997. "Urban Transformations: The Experience of Tehran Before and After the 1979 Islamic Revolution." Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Southern California.
- Afshar, E. 1962. *Masalek Va Mamalek of Estakhri* (مسالك و ممالک اصطخری). Tehran: Elmi va Farhangi Press.
- Akhavan, M., and M. A. Behbahani. 2013. "Exploring the Framework of the Strategic Spatial Planning for the Vision Tehran 2025." *Planum the Journal of Urbanism* 27 (2): 1–11.
- Al-Harithy, H. 2005. "Framing World Heritage." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 17 (1): 7–17.
- Al-Harithy, H. 2010. "The Politics of Identity Construction in Post-War Reconstruction." In *Lessons in Post War Reconstruction: Case Studies from Lebanon in the Aftermath of the 2006 War*, Edited by H. Al-Harithy, 71–99. New York: Routledge.
- Asgharzadeh, A. 2007. *Iran and the Challenge of Diversity: Islamic Fundamentalism, Aryanist Racism, and Democratic Struggles*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ashworth, G., and J. Tunbridge. 1999. "Old Cities, New Pasts: Heritage Planning in Selected Cities of Central Europe." *GeoJournal* 49: 105–116.
- Ashworth, G. J., J. E. Tunbridge, and B. J. Graham. 2007. *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press.
- Asnad Melli. 1999. *Violence and Culture: Secret Documents of the Hejab Removal Between 1935-1944* (خشونت و فرهنگ اسناد محرمانه كشف حجاب ۱۳۱۳ – ۱۳۲۲). Tehran: Asnad Melli.
- Azadarmaki, M. 2012. "The Emergence of Shopping Centers and the Synchronic Continuity of the Tajrish Traditional Bazaar: A Comparative Study of the Tajrish Traditional Bazaar and the Ghaem and Tandis Modern Shopping Centers (Tehran) and their Relationship." Ph.D. Thesis, National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts in France/Paris.
- Batisse, M., and G. Bolla. 2005. *The Invention of World Heritage*. Translated by Robert Grauman, Association of Former UNESCO Staff Members.
- Bayat, A. 2010. "'Tehran: Paradox City.'" *New Left Review* 66: 99–122.
- Behzadfar, M. 2005. *The Identity of City*. Tehran: Tehran Cultural Institute.
- Bertaud, A. 2003. *Tehran Spatial Structure: Constraints and Opportunities for Future Development*. Tehran: National Land and Housing Organization National Housing Committee Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.
- Chavardi, J., A. Bigdeli, A. Alisoufi, and H. Jahanbakhsh. 2017. "Western Architecture During the First Pahlavi Dynasty and Its Effects on the Lifestyle of Iranian Women." *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 6 (3): 407–1420.
- Edson, G. 2004. "Heritage: Pride or Passion, Product, or Service?" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10 (4): 333–348.
- Emamzadegan. 2018. "The pedigree of Tehran's Imamzadehs." *Bank Etelat Imamzadegan*. <http://www.emamzadegan.ir/>.
- Ghahrehanlu, H. 1978. *Ray Geographical History* (جغرافیای تاریخی ری). Tehran: Institution of Humanities and Cultural Studies.
- Habibi, M., and B. Horrid. 2006. *Atlas of Tehran Metropolis*. Tehran: Urban Processing and Planning Co.
- Hewison, R. 1987. *Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen.

- Hodjat, M. 1995. "Cultural Heritage in Iran: Policies for an Islamic Country." Ph.D. Dissertation in Architecture. York: York University.
- ICHTO. 2019. "The Laws of Cultural Heritage." ICHTO. <https://www.ichto.ir/>.
- Jafari, M., S. Esmael Zadeh, and M. Farshchi. 2005. *The Hejab Removal: Documents from the Hejab Removal of Reza Khan* (واقعه کشف حجاب: اسناد منتشر نشده از واقعه کشف حجاب در عصر رضا خان). Tehran: Institution of Research and Cultural Studies.
- Jeddy, Y. M. 2012. *The History of Reza Shah Pahlavi* (تاریخ عصر پهلوی رضاخان میرپنج-رضا شاه). Tehran: Tak Derakht.
- Kariman, H. 2002. *Historical Rey* (اشار بازمانده از ری قدیم). Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University Press. Second edition, Originally printed in 1971.
- Khaniki, A., Z. Darabi, and H. Irani-Behbahani. 2015. "Integrated Analysis of Urban Landscape Fragmentation: Historical-Religious City of Ray." *International Journal of Environmental Research* 9 (2): 511–522.
- Khirfan, L. 2010. "Traces on the Palimpsest: Heritage and the Urban Forms of Athens and Alexandria." *Cities* 27: 315–325.
- Lowenthal, D. 1985. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. 2005. "'Natural and Cultural Heritage.'" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11 (1): 81–92.
- Madanipour, A. 1998. *Tehran the Making of a Metropolis*. West Sussex: Wiley.
- Makki, H. 1945. *Twenty Years of Iranian History* (تاریخ بیست ساله ایران). Tehran: Bongah Tarjomeh va Nashr-e-Ketab.
- Marefat, M. 2004. "Fractured globalization: A Case Study of Tehran." Reprinted from *New Global History and the City*, edited by Elliott Morss, *New Global History Press*.
- Memarian, G. H. 2001. *Persian Architecture Styles* (سبک شناسی معماری ایرانی). Tehran: University of Science and Technology Publications.
- Merriman, N. 1996. "Review Article: Understanding Heritage." *Journal of Material Culture* 1 (3): 377–386.
- Mignolli, G., and P. Nijkamp. 2001. "Values and Effects of Local Identity Preservation: A Taxonomic Approach." In *Serie Research Memoranda 0023*. 1-24. VU University Amsterdam, Faculty of Economics, Business Administration and Econometrics.
- Mirzadegi, S. 2016. *Cultural and Natural Heritage of Iran Under the Islamic Republic* (میراث فرهنگی و طبیعی ایران در دوران جمهوری اسلامی). H & S Media.
- Mohammadi, A. 2016. "The Pathology of Urban Masterplans in Iran." Paper presented at the International Conference on Civil Engineering, Architecture and Urban Cityscape, *Istanbul University Press*.
- Morady, A. 2003. "Preservation in Iran from the Establishment of the Organization of Antiquates Till the Revolution." *Haft Shahr* (هفت شهر) 4 (11): 14–28.
- Mostafavi, S. M. T. 1981. *Tehran's Historical Monuments: Sacred Sites* (اثار تاریخی تهران: اماکن متبرکه). Tehran: National Writings Association.
- Motamedi, M. 2002. *Tehran Geographical History* (جغرافیای تاریخی تهران). Tehran: University Press.
- Mozaffari, A. 2014. *Forming National Identity in Iran: The Idea of Homeland Derived from Ancient Persian Islamic Imaginations of Place*. London: I.B.Tauris.
- Pir-Nia, M. K. 1968. "'Boulevard Sickness' (بیماری بولوار)." *Honar va Mardom* 69: 39–43.
- Pye, E. 2001. *Caring for the Past: Issues in Conservation for Archeology and Museums*. London: James and James.
- Rezazadeh, R. 2010. "Application of Social Capital in Revitalization of Dilapidated Neighborhoods: The Case of Saboonpaz-Khaneh in Tehran." *International Journal of Sustainable Development* 1 (10): 75–80.
- Rouhani, B. 2009. "Different Concepts of Cultural Heritage in Iran." In *International Conference on Intangible Heritage- Sharing Culture*, 29 May-01 June 2009, Pico Island, Azores, Portugal, ed. Sérgio Lira and Rogério Amoéda: 593–602.
- Sadiq Alam, I. 1974. *Souvenir of Life* (یادگار عمر) vol 4. Tehran: Deh Khoda Publications.
- Samuel, R. 1994. *Scenes of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. London: Verso.

- Sotudeh, M. 1992. *The Historic Geography of Shemiran* (جغرافیای تاریخی شمیران). Tehran: Institute of Cultural Studies and Research.
- Steinberg, F. 1996. "Conservation and Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage in Developing Countries." *Habitat International* 20 (3): 463–475.
- Tehran Municipality. 2006. *Tehran Masterplan Report*. Tehran: Tehran Municipality.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation(UNESCO). 1972. "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage." UNESCO.
- Waqf. 2018. "Imamzadeh Saleh." *Bank Etelat Imamzadegan*. <http://www.emamzadegan.ir/emamzadehbank/>.
- Wright, P. 1995. *The Village That Died For England: The Strange Story of Tyneham*. London: Jonathan Cape.