

GOLD

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GOLDEN CITY AT PERSEPOLIS: AS FOUND

For the lavish celebration of the 2,500 years of Persian Monarchy at Persepolis in 1971, the Empress of Iran, Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi, commissioned an embroidered silk gown in gold. The opulent empire line dress was in keeping with the architectural setting for the three-day festivities. Dubbed by the international press as the 'Golden City' or the 'Tent City,' the festival consisted of a star-shaped arrangement of yellow-coloured tents, headed by a monumental tensile arena and support buildings, all erected on 160 acres of landscaped land beside the ancient ruins. Designed by the elite interior design house, Maison Jansen, it reportedly recalled the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the site and the suggestive depiction of the golden pavilions that housed the 1521 diplomatic meeting between Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England. In their 20th-century reincarnation, however, these elemental - if opulent - shelters were to be modernised. Crystal chandeliers, luscious fabrics and gilded fittings were combined with electrical power, running water, telephone lines and 'telex' to accommodate the invited international luminaries in a progressive state of luxury. Described as the century's most extravagant 'party,' it is regarded as a trigger for the Iranian Revolution and the 1979 fall of the Shah. Gradually dismantled through looting, weathering and decay, the only remains of the tent installation are their bare metal frames. In early 2000 a sequence of proposed initiatives reimagined the 1971 garden encampment as new. Here the skeletons of the Pahlavi tents were variously framed as integral to the 21st-century tourist setting. Through a focus on the curated relationship between pre-Islamic ancient ruins and adjacent contemporary installation, as conceived, contested and re-invoked, this paper will consider the agency of these second set of architectural remnants to the contemporary meaning of the Achaemenid ruins.

Among my very first spoken expressions in Farsi was the word *roshan* [luminous]; inspired by the figural host of coloured lights that decorated the streets of Tehran during the 2,500 anniversary celebrations. Anchored at the ruins of Persepolis and Pasargadae, the Pahlavi festivities were to conclude at the national capital, and the city was lit brightly in anticipation. More than a tale of accelerated learning of vocabulary by a precocious firstborn, this often-repeated family anecdote was charged with political subtext; in my parent's view, only the unsuspecting gaze of a child could freely endorse the megalomaniacal displays. They later would join the anti-Shah uprising which we now know as the 1979 Iranian Revolution.

In December 2014, my typical return home was extended to include an architectural tour of central Iran. Accompanied by my very own set of foreign dignitaries, of the architectural and academic variety, our journey began at the ruins of Persepolis. Ignorant of the contemporary character of the heritage site, I was surprised to discover the metallic scaffolds of the Pahlavi encampment, still intact, resolutely present.¹

Golden Age

The one-hour drive from the bustling city of Shiraz to Persepolis, the fabled remains of the Achaemenid capital is via a direct dusty road through the mountainous desert terrain of the Fars province in central Iran. Past the town of Marvdasht, along the Takhte Jamshid Boulevard, a gentle westward turn connects the modern highway to the ancient city. The iconic architectural fragments gradually appear in view; only to be displaced as a sharp left turn diverts vehicular traffic to a parking lot. Arrival is at a vast, austere yard; the bare infrastructure that has, since the 1970s, mediated pedestrian access to the precinct. From here a sequence of garden paths realign the visitor with the ruin. Nestled against the surrounding foothills, the stone podium presides over the landscape; its sheer scale, material austerity and elevated vantage point is beguiling. An expansive pedestrian pathway leads to the double stair at the Gate of All Nations, the formal entryway to the ancient setting.

Regularly planted tall cypress-pines line the axial approach. Densely layered to the east, they add a concentrated dark green hue to the otherwise monochromatic dusty desert environment. Delimited by a metal fence, a modest signed gateway welcomes victors to the Pardis Gardens, what was once the landscaped ground for the Pahlavi Golden City. Held within the natural envelope are the skeletal frames of the royal encampment. Stripped of their textile cladding and interior fittings, the metal structure and their concrete footprint remain as a powerful register of the once extravagant setting. Mostly intact, individual frames outline the geometric compositional order and collectively reveal the star-shaped pattern of the constellation. Superimposed, they assume a web like quality; an interlaced metal network within a garden setting. Freshly painted in white, they are ethereal, whimsically beautiful.

Achaemenid Persepolis in Fars has been a recurring reference point in Iranian history and collective imagination; within both elite and popular, state-led and grassroots conceptions. Scholars have offered nuanced readings of this influence throughout history and as ongoing associations.² Within the discourse on the significance of the Achaemenid heritage to 20th-century and contemporary Iran, the material fabric of the Pahlavi intervention has been typically theorised in the context of the 1971 event, as enacted and in terms of its subsequent political implication.³ The firsthand experience of the bare bones of the campsite is however suggestive of an ongoing dialogic association. These disused abstract forms invite multiple readings, not only in terms of the Pahlavi built heritage, but also as related to the contemporary experience of Achaemenid Persia.

Golden Party

Within the literature on the Iranian Revolution and the fall of the Shah, the Persepolis celebrations have been consistently recalled, with the event's inexplicable excess each time highlighted.⁴ Envisioned as a world congress, exposition and party, world statesmen were invited to assemble at the ancient site in a heightened state of luxury. From infrastructure to furnishings and fittings, no expense was spared: a new 707s airfield at Shiraz Airport, more than 200 bulletproof Mercedes-Benz limousines, two lavish banquettes abound with the world's most exclusive delicacies; one Occidental, the other Oriental in character. The projection of exclusive opulence through coded brands was further amplified through formal ritual and visual spectacle. The Shah's inaugural address at the austere tomb of Cyrus the Great, Pasargadae, set the scene. Televised internationally, the modern King's legitimatisation of his power drew on the grand achievements of the early Persian Empire. Spectacular historical re-enactments followed: a display of light, sound and fireworks over the Persepolis nightscape reimagined life at the Achaemenid court, and an epic, richly detailed, military and folkloric parade offered a selective narrative of Persian history. Mohammad Reza Shah's representation of kingship as the binding core of Iran's social and spiritual order relied on a highly imaginable display of wealth and regal aesthetics.

Beyond royal extravagance, however, the event is seen as emblematic of the Pahlavi's gravest political misjudgement; that is, the unbalanced marginalisation of Islam within the nation states ideology.⁵ The celebration of the monarchical model of governance from Achaemenid Persia to 20th-century Pahlavi Iran, as an historical continuum, uninterrupted by the Islamic conquest (beginning in the 7th century), privileged pre-Islamic Persia as the core basis of Iranian identity. This was in effect the reconfiguration of Persian Kingship as a secular proposition.

Talinn Grigor has advanced this reading through an architectural emphasis.⁶ She shows how, at "Persepolis '71," architecture and architectural preservation were enlisted in service of Pahlavi's invented narrative. Reza Shah Pahlavi's cultural break with the Qajar predecessors relied on new rhetorical strategies. As distinct to the 19th-century Qajar eclecticism, he endorsed a new brand of revivalist architecture, one where Achaemenid and Sasanian references were combined with an austere modernist sensibility. This was an image of an authentic, yet resolutely modern Iran, devoid of European and Islamic elements. Situating Persepolis '71 within this broader historiographical discourse, Grigor describes the project as a poignant balance of pre-Islamic antiquity and modernist action. In her view, the radical "architectural and technological" intervention on the site, both built, curatorial and performative, achieved a carefully balanced and yet thoroughly juxtaposed association of the ancient and modern.

Golden Finish

Set outside Grigor's purview, and critical emphasis is the contribution of foreign – principally French – consultants to the material quality and realisation of the project. Conceived as early as 1959, the detailed planning and preparation for the 2,500-year celebration remained dormant for over a decade. It would ultimately and somewhat remarkably take shape intensively over the course of two years.⁷ The proposed architectural solution was direct; a garden campsite in immediate proximity to the majestic desert ruin. Although initially controversial, the proposal appealed to discrete sensibilities.⁸ A resonance with the elaborate tents that may have once accompanied the Achaemenid imperial capital has been implied.⁹ The proposal was also of practical advantage. Relatively efficient construction method and effective site security advantaged the scheme over more permanent or dispersed propositions.¹⁰ Whether by necessity or cultural aspiration, French expertise was called on, with the Paris-based interior design atelier Maison Jansen commissioned to design the campsite setting.

Patronised by royals and high society for over a century, the name Jansen was synonymous with French craftsmanship and palace historicism. The atelier's signature 18th-century revival was achieved through precise antique restorations, replicas and refined finishes.¹¹ Although best known for their exclusive interiors, the firm had an established record of event-based installations. Well publicised and highly imaginable, temporary, often theatrical stage sets were seen as an effective medium for publicity and internationalisation.¹² The welcome commission to design the setting for the 2,500-year celebrations in Iran was among their largest and most ambitious projects of the late 1960s.

Drawing on discrete historic sources and planning traditions, the project was conceived as a cross between a diplomatic meeting ground and world fair; idealised encapsulations of culture and politics through the medium of architecture. Bold geometric forms and axial promenades ordered the composition. A dominant east-west sightline anchored the

campground, with the palace of Darius as a suggestive beginning point and the conjoint Pahlavi Tent of Honour and Grand Banqueting Tent as the culmination. Mediating between the two, a multilevel circular fountain, modelled after the gardens of Versailles, marked a new centre. From here five avenues projected out in a star-shaped arrangement, five axes representative of five participating continents, and each flanked with yellow-clad residential tents. Thirteen meters in diameter and almost 2 meters high, these apparently temporary shelters were in fact permanent. A prefabricated plywood shell set within a pipe steel frame defined a multi-room contemporary pavilion. Finely finished, each interior was decorated in different style as if to amplify the experiential quality of a world fair. A circular access road marked the outer boundary of the residential zone. This dominant register of the encampment was further extended and formalised by a dense pine garden. In its scale and imposing presence, the Golden City rivalled the ancient edifice.

Jansen's hallmark style and material attention was concentrated within the grand ceremonial rooms. At the Tent of Honour, walls of Italian silk damask with gold trimming, eight Empire-style chandeliers, a ceiling of gold voile, Rococo furniture, appliques and ornate panelling rendered the space a jewel-like appearance. The Grand Banqueting Tent extended the material richness. For the gala dinner, blue silk draped walls and a pink folded ceiling framed a long serpentine banqueting table decorated with scroll-pattered gold embroidery. Louis XIV furnishings, elaborate chandeliers and material trimmings completed the scene. Beyond the architectural fabric, classical French taste defined every detail. Haviland bone china and Baccarat crystal served an eight-course meal catered by Maxims of Paris.

An aerial photograph provides an evocative record of the installation. Viewed from this elevated vantage point, bold geometric forms and axial promenades render the composition explicitly legible. Reconfigured here was a 19th-Century colonial order whereby modern Iran reasserted the status of the 'Orient' as a cosmopolitan, economically enriched and vital political power. A parallel set of photographic records recall the lush inner architectural environments.¹³ Here the Pahlavi core message was filtered through Jansen's aesthetic.

Among the widespread condemnation that was immediately unleashed on the project, both locally and within the international press, the critique of French overtones was particularly poignant.¹⁴ Beyond a rejection of royal autocracy and excess, the overstated gilded aesthetics appeared inconsistent with the national self-conception.

The Unfinished

Founded by Darius I, Cyrus's successor, in 518 BCB, and burnt by Alexander the Great after 200 years (330BCB), Persepolis was gradually denuded of sculpture over the course of many centuries. The architectural remains at this ancient site thus offer a particularly elemental registration of their heroic origins. Fragmented and partial, the foundation of this urban network further amplifies the layered order and complex symmetries of the original built form. When viewed through a modernist lens, appreciation of these ruins partly lies in their incomplete or 'unfinished' status: an artefact in 'arrested development' rather than one in decay.¹⁵ Consistent with a broader post-war fascination with the antiquity as both a foil and reference for modernist innovation, the preoccupation with these ruins is not driven by a nostalgic or historicist impulse alone, but also by a modernist one.¹⁶

A photograph of the Grand Banqueting Tent during installation reveals the bare materiality of the tensile structure. Elegant, vacant and white, the photograph suggests a potential resonance between the ancient stones and minimal installations. The design of the Golden City both in its absolute, almost autonomous, configuration and opulent ornamented finish undermined the austere modernism of both the ruins and the tents. If Mohammad Reza Shah's intention was to both align and contrast the antique and the modern, then the replicated golden finish of the tent city undermined the authority of this constructed juxtaposition. Within less than a decade of the infamous party, however, the surface glitter would begin to fade away.

New Finish

Post '79 plans to convert the Golden City to a luxury hotel were initially stalled and ultimately terminated by the political turmoil of the late 70s.¹⁷ In the early aftermath of the revolution, the furnished pavilions were reportedly treated as a "museum of horror," a compelling proof of the Pahlavi excess.¹⁸ The structure's escape from post-revolutionary hostility

has been assigned to their utility as a military training ground during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988).¹⁹ With the yellow outer skin and partition-walls eventually decomposed, their robust steel frames were ultimately cleared of debris and retained.

In 2001 *The New York Times* reported on new, albeit sketchy, plans to reinvigorate the bare structure of the Golden City as a tourist village.²⁰ Four years later, in 2005, *The Guardian* re-emphasised the initiative: “Iran To Rebuild Spectacular Tent City at Persepolis.”²¹ Similar in tenor, both articles underlined an apparently unexpected turn in political attitude: “After dismissing it as a disgrace, Islamic rulers to recreate party venue.”²² More than 20 years after the fall of the Shah, the Achaemenid ruins had re-emerged as a vital national emblem. The Tent City and its garden environment were here framed as an active participant in the reinvigoration.

Following the immediate aftermath of the Iranian Revolution and the translation of autocratic monarchy to Islamic Republic, state-sponsored ideology downplayed an Iran-centric nationalism in favour of a Pan-Islamic Identity.²³ Although not devoid of nationalist sentiment, the history of Iran was here presented as intimately linked to Islam. The association charged Persepolis with a double negative connotation. As a significant record of pre-Islamic Persian Empire, the site was incongruent with the newly formed nation state ideology. The memory of the 1971 Pahlavi extravaganza further branded the site as an instrument of an imperialist monarchy.²⁴ Alluding to the hostile historiographical position, *The New York Times* noted: “Immediately after the revolution the ancient ruins were subject to some militant ayatollahs hostile to pre-Islamic history. One reportedly showed up with bulldozers ready to pulverize the ruins and burn the tents. He was dissuaded by locals, protective of their heritage.”²⁵

In her recent doctoral research, Rana Daroogheh-Nokhodchery charts the state-led attitude to heritage practice in 20th-century Iran.²⁶ In this analysis, the decade following the Iranian Revolution is characterised by a deliberate and aggressive “eradication of archaeology.” She locates the Iran-Iraq War as a turning point in this trajectory, after which time a resurgent sentiment toward Iran as a distinct geopolitical entity encouraged a more moderate attitude to cultural heritage. Subsequent reforms initiated during the ‘rebuilding’ policies of president Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (r.1989–1997) were galvanised by Mohammad Khatami’s administration (r.1997–2005). Increased international relations and expert collaborations during early 2000s led to renewed investment in archaeological research and practice. Despite the broadly conservative standpoint of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (r.2005–2013), this president’s populist standpoint would admit the pre-Islamic cultural traditions within the state-led nationalist propaganda.

The vitalisation of the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation, a progressive coordinating body for archaeological investigation and practice in Fars, was among significant institutional reforms introduced during the early 2000s.²⁷ In his review of research and restoration activities over this period (2002–2005), Foundation founder Mohammad Hassan Talebian outlined a restorative approach focused on the “wider cultural landscape.”²⁸ He endorsed a broader conception of built heritage, one that moved beyond “well known” archaeological artefacts to include “seemingly less important characteristics.”²⁹ Included in the initiatives was land acquisition and detailed mapping of Persepolis south, encompassing the Pardis Gardens.

A 2003 architectural report affiliated with the Foundation studied the garden environment with a view to its reinvigoration: “Given its diverse spatial potential and green uplifting character, the Pardis at Persepolis deserves conversion to a multi-use facility.”³⁰ Beginning with a brief account of the original setting, broad possibilities for its reconception were outlined; the Tent of Honour was reimagined as a multimedia ‘welcome’ information tent, the Grand Banqueting Tent and conjoint service buildings as a conference and research facility. The star-shaped arrangement of the guest dwellings was recommended as a museum for world cultures. In this project of adaptive reuse, the Pahlavi program was referenced and reformed through an educational emphasis.

Political controversy, coupled with more detailed record of the geological condition, later derailed the project. Surveys of Persepolis south had revealed potential traces of archaeological remains within the area.³¹ A 2005 associated newsletter notes the reckless damage caused by the ‘71 facilities.³² The network of belowground plumbing and electrical services had interfered with survey legibility. Although primarily focused on projected plans for further archaeological research, reiterated here were the renovation proposals, albeit a modest scale: “The foundation plans to set up a tent at the ancient site in order to introduce it to visitors of Persepolis. The tent will be set up in the place where the royal tents had previously been pitched to prevent further destruction of the site.” Within progressive archaeological activity at the site, the Pahlavi structure that had once invaded the heritage ground would be engaged in its repair.

In recent years, as Iran has regained the trust and curiosity of international travellers, Persepolis has once again emerged as a key pilgrimage site on the Tehran Shiraz tourist track. This international visibility adds to the persistent significance of the site within local tourism. While it is the architectural antiquities that the visitors principally come to see, travelogues commonly implore the visitors not to forget the tent city. Subtly protected, even preserved, the remains of the once spectacular campsite are now found as enigmatic objects in close adjacency to this ancient setting. As a signifier of the fall of the Shah and reprieve of the Achaemenid heritage from Pahlavi propaganda, as Pahlavi memorabilia or nostalgia, as a new foil for a newly elevated culture of archaeological research and recovery; we read the ancient ruin through the lens of disused objects.

In 2008, contemporary artist Michael Stevenson reconstructed one of the skeletal guest tents for installation at Arnolfini, Bristol. Replicated at full scale – as found – the structure was depicted in a state of material depletion and decay; rusty red metal frames draped in faded yellow cloth fragments. Seminal Technicolor representations of the '71 events were exhibited in adjacent gallery rooms: *Celebration at Persepolis*, a spectacular photographic documentation and extracts from the documentary film *Flames of Persia*, narrated by Orson Welles. Also displayed was a mid-70s portrait of the Shah by Andy Warhol, a symbol of the Pahlavi's participation in the late 20th-century international art market. Implicit in the juxtaposition of the royal extravaganza and ultimate demise was a critique of the intertwined and at times insidious nexus between art and politics. Stevenson described the strategy as "effectively returning this structure to Europe as folly."³³

White

Most recently, the Pardis Garden has been transformed as a public landscaped environment. In this iteration the abandoned structures were cleaned and newly clarified. Painted in white, they have acquired a new aesthetic autonomy: finished contemporary objects within a park setting. Divorced from historical context and contemporary use, it is not the foolishness of folly that they singularly impart. Through an embrace of ambiguity and occlusion of meaning, they remain open to future possibilities. ...

As a persistent marker of a Golden Age, the site has invited interrogation via the nexus between architecture and nationalism, with this approach particularly dominant within the existing literature on the subject. As a term that connotes an architectural finish, Gold prompts consideration via an aesthetic emphasis. This paper draws on the first pathway and works toward the second. Persepolis 71 and its aftermath takes us from the exaggerated sentimentality and mimicry of the kitsch to the modernist fascination with the unfinished, from the doubling and de-contextualisation of the 'as found' to the spectacularisation of the disused object. Entwined in the relationship between Persepolis and the Golden City are aesthetic traditions crucial to the evolution of modern architecture. It is within this rich historical field that the research will continue and to which it aims to contribute.

Endnotes

- 1 This paper is work in progress and draws on early research on the post-revolutionary faith of the Pahlavi encampment. It forms part of a larger study on the contemporary status of significant built heritage in Iran.
- 2 For an analysis of Persepolis relative to the discourse on Iranian national identity, see, Ali Mozaffari, *Forming National Identity in Iran: the Idea of Homeland Derived from Ancient Persian and Islamic Imaginations of Place* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 47–79. Mozaffari's emphasis on the notion of place and collective imagination adds density to existing literature on the subject. For an art historical emphasis see Sussan Babaie and Talinn Grigor, eds., *Persian Kingship and Architecture: Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015).
- 3 See, Talinn Grigor, "Persepolis '71: Preserving the Antique Modern," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory and Criticism* 2, no. 1 (July 2005): 22–29.
- 4 The event has been subject to 'firsthand' description in numerous post-revolution memoirs and monographs, each with subtle variations in detail. William Showcross and Houchang Nahavandi's account of Mohammad Reza Shah's fall and period in exile symbolically begin with the 1971 celebrations. Nahavandi and later Abbas Milani address the architectural context very briefly; see William Showcross, *The Shah's Last Ride: the Story of the Exile, Misadventures and Death of the Emperor* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1989), 38–48; Houchang Nahavandi, *Akharin Roozha* [Last Days], trans., Maryam

- Seyhoun and Behrouz Sour-esrafil (Los Angeles: Ketab Corp, 2005 [2004]), 14–48; and Abbas Milani, *The Shah* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 309–338.
- 5 For an overview, see Nikki Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
 - 6 Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under Pahlavi Monarchs* (New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009). See also: Talinn Grigor, “Kingship Hybridized, Kingship Homogenized: Revivalism Under the Qajar and Pahlavi Dynasties,” in eds., Sussan Babaie and Talinn Grigor, *Persian Kingship and Architecture: Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 219–254; and Grigor, “Persepolis ’71.”
 - 7 Milani, *The Shah*, 322.
 - 8 With reference to early plans for a contemporary luxury hotel, Nahavandi underlines the Shah’s ambivalence toward the ‘tent’ scheme. In this account the genesis of a desert encampment is primarily assigned to the Minister of the Royal Court, Asadollah Alam. See, Nahavandi’s, *Akharin Roozha*, 22–23; see also; Asadollah Alam, *The Shah and I: The Confidential Diary of Iran’s Royal Court, 1969–1977*, trans., Alinaghi Alikhani and Nicholas Vincent (London: I. B. Tauris, 1991), 143. James Archer Abbott also notes early plans were for a contemporary “delux hotel”, see, James Archer Abbott, *Jansen* (New York: Acanthus Press, 2006), 306.
 - 9 Nahavandi’s, *Akharin Roozha*, 22.
 - 10 Nahavandi’s, *Akharin Roozha*, 22; Milani, *The Shah*, 323.
 - 11 For an overview of Jansen’s architectural production and the Persepolis installation see, Archer Abbott, *Jansen*, 8–46; 252–266.
 - 12 See, Archer Abbott, *Jansen*, 253.
 - 13 For a seminal photographic record of the event see, Jacques Lowe et al, *Celebration at Persepolis* (Geneva: Creative Communications S.A., 1971).
 - 14 See John L. Hess, “Made in France—Persia’s Splendorous Anniversary Celebration,” *The New York Times*, October 5, 1971, 17.
 - 15 I draw on the Neil Levine’s discussion of the unfinished, see, Neil Levine, “The Architecture of the Unfinished and the Example of Louis Kahn,” in *Fragments: Architecture and the Unfinished*, eds. Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 321–342; and Neil Levine, *Modern Architecture: Representation and Reality* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 323–342.
 - 16 Ali Mozaffari and Nigel Westbrook’s discussion of Hossein Amanat’s unfinished Museum at Pasargadae offers a lucid reading of the modernist translation of local architectural references inclusive of antique sources. They further interrogate the dialogical association between ancient antiquity and Iranian modernist practice. In this case the modern literally remained unfinished, see, Ali Mozaffari and Nigel Westbrook, “The (unfinished) Museum at Pasargadae,” in ed., Ali Mozaffari, *World Heritage in Iran, Perspectives on Pasargadae* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).
 - 17 The project was to serve as a luxury hotel operated by Club Méditerranée. *The New York Times*, October 5, 1971, 17.
 - 18 Nahavandi’s, *Akharin Roozha*, 27.
 - 19 *The New York Times*, November 17, 1982, A2.
 - 20 Neil MacFarquhar, “Shah’s Tent City, Fit for Kings, May Lodge Tourists,” *The New York Times*, September 7, 2001, A4.
 - 21 Robert Tait, “Iran to Rebuild Spectacular Tent City at Persepolis,” *The Guardian*, September 22, 2005.
 - 22 Tait, “Iran to Rebuild Spectacular Tent City.”
 - 23 For a general overview see, Kamran Scot Aghaie, “Islamist Historiography in Post-Revolutionary Iran,” in ed. Touraj Atabaki, *Historiography and Political Culture in Twentieth Century Iran* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009).
 - 24 For the post-revolutionary contestation of Persepolis see, Mozaffari, *Forming National Identity in Iran*, 73–74.
 - 25 MacFarquhar, “Shah’s Tent City, Fit for Kings, May Lodge Tourists,” A4.
 - 26 Rana Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri, “Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology: The Case Study of Iran,” PhD diss, Durham University, 2014; see also, Kamyar Abdi, “Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 1 (Jan., 2001): 51–376.
 - 27 Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri, “Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology,” 126.
 - 28 Mohammad Hassan Talebian, “A Review of Research and Restoration Activities at Parsa-Pasargadae: Analysis, Evaluation and Future Perspective,” in eds., John Curtis and St John Simpson, *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 229–307.
 - 29 Talebian, “A Review of Research and Restoration Activities,” 229.
 - 30 Zahra Buraki, Afsaneh Saltani and Hossein Abbasi-Mehr, “Revitalisation of Pardis Tent complex,” Report Prepared by Architectural Group (1381–1384 [c. 2002–05]), no. 4 (1382 [c. 2003]), Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation Collection, npn. The author is grateful to the Foundation for access to the report. [Translations mine.] See also the 2004 *Cultural Heritage News Agency* (CHN) report on the appointment of the Italian engineering and manufacturing company

Plastico Milano: "Italian Consultants Plastico Milano to Revitalize Tents at Padis Persepolis," *Cultural Heritage News Agency*, Kohordad, 7, 1383 [May, 27, 2004], www.chn.ir/NSite/FullStory/?id=86072. (Accessed February 5, 2016). [Translation mine].

- 31 Talebian, "A Review of Research and Restoration Activities," 229.
- 32 "Ruins of Achaemenid Gardens Discovered Near Persepolis," *The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies Archeological and Cultural News*, September, 27, 2005, www.cais-soas.com/News/2005/September2005/27-09.htm, (Accessed February 5, 2016).
- 33 Persepolis 2530 was first exhibited at Art Unlimited, Art Basel in 2007. For project outline see, http://www.michaelstevenson.info/projects/persepolis_2530/index.html, (Accessed February 10, 2016). The expanded 2008 exhibition at Arnolfini, Bristol was accompanied by a book publication: Michael Stevenson, *Celebration at Persepolis* (Zurich: Arnolfini and JRP/Ringier Kunstverlag, 2008).