Proceedings of the 10th International Congress
on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East

Volume 1

Proceedings of the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East

25–29 April 2016,
Vienna

Edited by
Barbara Horejs, Christoph Schwall, Vera Müller,
Marta Luciani, Markus Ritter, Mattia Giudetti,
Roderick B. Salisbury, Felix Höflmayer
and Teresa Bürge

2018
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Proceedings of the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East

Volume 1

Transformation & Migration
Barbara Horejs and Christoph Schwall

Archaeology of Religion & Ritual
Edited by Vera Müller

Images in Context: Agency, Audiences & Perception
Edited by Marta Luciani

Islamic Archaeology
Edited by Markus Ritter and Mattia Guidetti

2018
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.dnb.de abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: Memminger MedienCentrum AG
Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-447-10996-3

Contents

ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY
(edited by M. Ritter and M. Guidetti)

MISCELLANEOUS

Foreword to the 10th ICAANE Proceedings

The 10th anniversary of the International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East was held from 25th to 29th of April 2016 in Vienna, hosted and organized by the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. More than 800 participants from 38 different countries found their way to Vienna to celebrate the 10th anniversary of ICAANE with a wide range of 8 scientific sections, 28 workshops and round tables, a huge poster exhibition and a special section about 'Cultural Heritage under Threat'.

The topics in focus of this ICAANE covered traditional, as well as new fields, in relation to state-of-the-art approaches and methodologies. The general themes of transformation and migration, cultural landscapes, religion and rituals, environmental shifts, contextualized images, as well as economies and societies, are currently promising fields in archaeology and these proceedings give new insights into former Near Eastern societies. These general questions are obviously challenging topics in present times, too, a fact that is leading us archaeologists into a dialectic discourse of past and present social phenomena. This additional impact within our scientific community and beyond is underlining the ongoing fascination and power of Near Eastern archaeology. The first volume includes papers of the sections 'Transformation and Migration', 'Archaeology of Religion and Ritual','Images in Context' as well as 'Islamic Archaeology'. The second volume is dedicated to the sections 'Prehistoric and Historical Landscapes and Settlement Patterns', 'Economy and Society', and is completed by 'Excavation Reports and Summaries'. A number of presented posters are integrated in the theme relevant chapters too. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the editors of these sections, namely Teresa Bürge, Mattia Guidetti, Felix Höflmayer, Marta Luciani, Vera Müller, Markus Ritter, Roderick Salisbury and Christoph Schwall.

Altogether 28 workshops focussing on special research questions and themes demonstrated the ongoing dynamic and new inputs in Near Eastern archaeology. The engaged discussions of internationally high-ranked experts with young scholars was essential for the success and open atmosphere of the 10th ICAANE in Vienna. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the workshop organisers, who are also acting as editors for the separate workshop volumes, published as internationally peer-reviewed books in the OREA series of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, of which some are already in print, accepted or in preparation at the moment. The conference was delighted to have two keynotes given by Mehmet Özdoğan and Timothy Harrison; both pointed to the current political conflicts and related massive destruction of cultural heritage from different perspectives. In facing the current conflicts and continuing damage of cultural monuments in regions of the Near East, we are confronted with situations going far beyond the usual scientific challenges. Although we have to observe highly frustrating ongoing destructions and can hardly influence the general political situation, the archaeological

community is responsible for supporting, re-evaluating and advancing ongoing essential strategies in digital preservation of the cultural heritage and other current activities in that field.

Therefore, we decided to organize a Special Section within the 10th ICAANE about *Cultural Heritage under Threat*, where well-known experts and political authorities discussed the current challenges and future perspectives in a very fruitful and open atmosphere.

This special section was organized with the great support of Harald Stranzl, the Austrian Ambassador at UNESCO for the Austrian Ministry of Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs. The discussions and contributions were accomplished by signing the 'Vienna Statement' (s. below) by a total of 34 authorities for antiquities in Near Eastern countries, European institutions and stakeholders. My sincere thanks are expressed to Karin Bartl and her engagement in organizing this special section.

The 10th ICAANE aside its impact on international archaeology, can additionally be seen as a powerful boost for the archaeological endeavours in Austria and for our local scientific community, not at least visible in the fruitful cooperation of several archaeological institutions acting committedly in our Local Organising Committee: the Historical-Cultural Faculty and the Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies (University of Vienna), the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection of the Kunsthistorische Museum, the Austrian Archaeological Institute, members of the Austrian Academy of Sciences as well as the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology. My sincere thanks go to Manfred Bietak, Vera Müller, Hermann Hunger, Bert Fragner, Regina Hölzl, Claudia Theune-Vogt, Michael Doneus, Markus Ritter, Christiana Köhler, Marta Luciani, Sabine Ladstätter, Karin Kopetzky and Angela Schwab for their engagement in the local committee and making this conference real. I extend sincere thanks for financial support to several Austrian and international institutions, which are The Austrian Federal Ministry of Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, the University of Vienna, the City of Vienna, the Vienna Science and Technology Fund (WWTF), the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), the Austrian Orient Society/Hammer Purgstall Society and the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

The OREA institute took over the honourable duty hosting this conference with lots of effort and energy, all our institutes' members, students and scientists were involved in some parts and the OREA team together was making this conference running. Particular thanks and recognition also go to Angela Schwab, Ulrike Schuh and Christine de Vree. Finally, I thank the ICAANE Scientific Committee and the Harrassowitz Publishing House.

Prof. Dr. Barbara Horejs
Director of the Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology
Austrian Academy of Sciences

IMAGES IN CONTEXT: AGENCY, AUDIENCES & PERCEPTION

edited by M. Luciani

Persepolis – Fantastic Site, and don't Forget the Tent City[1]

Annelies Van de Ven[2]

Abstract

The Achaemenid city of Persepolis is an immense archaeological site with a rich historical value and a key role within Iranian identity. However, the ancient remains are not the only attraction within this celebrated site. A more modern set of ruins has worked its way into the spotlight: the structural remains of the tent city of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Shah's 2500-year anniversary of the Persian Empire. Constructed for an event that both celebrated and criticised Iranian modernity, the tent city was controversial from the start, made more so in the aftermath of the 1979 revolution. This paper will tease out the inspirations for and effects of this construction, and how it could be reconciled with modern Iranian history.

When visiting the site of Persepolis at the foot of the Kuh-e Rahmat, one is immediately struck by the grandeur of the Achaemenid Era architecture, the density of its palatial structures and the craftsmanship of its carved decorations. It is easy to get caught up in these elements and to forget that the site had a life beyond its use as a ceremonial capital. Also known as *Parsa* and *Takht-e Jamshid* the site does not carry a singular narrative, but many. It can be identified as a royal city of the ancient Achaemenid Empire, but also as the Persian palaces set aflame by Alexander the Great in 330 BCE, the cause of death of Sassanian King Shapur,[3] a source of inspiration for the artist Cornelis de Bruijn, an episode within the adventures of famous explorer Carsten Niebuhr, and the site excavated by Ernst Herzfeld, Erich Schmidt and the University of Chicago's Oriental institute in the 1930s. More recently, another layer has been added to the site's legacy in the emergence of a new set of ruins, an elaborate tent city that became an international stage for celebrations in Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Shah's 2500-year anniversary of the Persian Empire in 1971.

The Shah's celebrations were held from the 14th to the 15th of October 1971. A remnant of the event that cost the Iranian state 20 million USD, the tent city is a contested item. Originally, it stood as a symbol for the power and wealth of the regime, a reference to the great Achaemenid kings of old. Today its remains stand as a testament to the immensity of the event, but are also a reminder of its decadence, and the revolution that followed. Most recently it has become a tourist destination, and a possible renovation project. This paper will analyse shifting interpretations of the camp by its various audiences, local and international, political and touristic, moving from the tents of nomadic tribes of ancient Iran, to the global use of tents to symbolise power, and ulti-

1 A comment by user JLC-1972 from Hellerup in Denmark on Tripadvisor (JLC-1972 2014).

2 PhD Candidate, School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne.

3 See Al-Tabari 1999: 8.

mately the events of 1971 and their impact on the revolutionary and post-revolutionary treatment of Achaemenid history. Finally, I will delve into the possible futures of the tent city by discussing means of rehabilitation, conservation and recollection.

Settlements made up of tents were part of nomadic life in Iran long before the rise of the Achaemenid Empire, and they continued to exist long after monumental capitals emerged within the area. During the period of the 'sedentary' Achaemenids Herodotus describes a number of nomadic tribes in existence (ex. Hdt. *Hist.* I.125). The most extensively described were the Scythians or *Sakas*, a nomadic horse-riding people of the Eurasian steppes, about whom he states: "each lives under a tree, covering it … with a white felt cloth" (Hdt. *Hist.* IV.23). If this tree is reinterpreted as a wooden substructure creating a conical form, then this Scythian structure becomes a type of proto-yurt (Kuz'mina and Mallory 2007: 65).

A combination of literary analysis with archaeological excavation and modern ethnography reveals a complex environment during the Achaemenid period with extensive trade and cultural exchange as well as gradual and scattered settlement change across a diversity of multi-ethnic peoples dependent on social and climatic conditions (Harmatta 1994: 20; Potts 2014: 88–89). Within the vastness of the Persian Empire – one only loosely defined in terms of ethnic, cultural and religious identity – the ruler's political, economic and military power equally had to be upheld through a regular pattern of travel.[4] Thus, the integration of sedentary and nomadic lifestyles applies not only to the general population of ancient Persia, but also to the kings and their courts. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets, found during the Oriental Institute's excavations at Persepolis in the 1930s, and particularly the J series, which incorporates texts relating to "royal provisions" across the Empire, indicated the mobility of the court (Hallock 1969: 24; Briant 2012: 190). The effective administration reflected in these tablets is reiterated in Xenophon's description of the swiftness of construction and deconstruction:

> "… in how orderly a manner his [Cyrus the Younger's] train packed up, large though it was, and how quickly they reached the place where they were due. For wherever the great king encamps, all his retinue follow him to the field with their tents, whether in summer or in winter." (Xen. *Cyr*. VIII.5.2)

This regular event would have required a great amount of resources and logistical planning considering the magnitude of people and goods being relocated during each move.

The resulting imperial system, termed "un royaume itinerant" by Pierre Briant (1988; 2014) or a ‚movable court' by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (2013), also necessitated the creation of symbols of kingship that could be maintained while travelling across the various territories of the Empire. The camp was a key element of this symbolism

4 This travel was facilitated by the royal roads system which incorporated imperial capitals Sardis, Susa, Babylon, Persepolis and Ecbatana as well as other areas of the Empire (Kia 2016: 127–128).

as it was created as a reconstruction of the material and administrative structures of the imperial capitals: a sea of tents set up to reflect the hierarchy of the court with the Great King's tent at the centre (Xen. *Cyr*. VIII.5.3 & 8). This royal tent would have been lavish, more like a multi-part pavilion than the *chador*'s described above (Miller 1997: 50–51). We can gain a glimpse of what this tent may have looked like by reading Herodotus who describes Mardonius' tent as displaying "gold and silver and gaily coloured tapestry" (Hdt. *Hist.* IX.82.1). The king would have needed a "collapsible throne room", a space that allowed him to carry out the same activities as he would in his palaces: hold audience, host elaborate banquets and organise his personal and public affairs (Llewellyn-Jones 2013: 89). This Persian camp is often described as part of greater narratives, transforming the royal within it from real place to an elaborate set for the enactment of luxury and royal power. In Arrian's description of Alexander's conquest the entry into the royal tent was a sign of his appropriation of the Persian throne (Arr. *Ana*. II.11–12). In Firdawsi's Book of Kings, the wicked ruler Sohrab coming within "striking distance of the royal tent signals near defeat" (Robinson 2002: 35). By this token we see that the symbolism of the royal tent as well as its place within the regular peripatetic pattern of court movement was not unique to the Persian court. It was a common theme throughout a variety of empires including those of Alexander and the Sassanid rulers, but also of Hulagu Khan and Charlemagne and descriptions of such grand tents are to be found in a series of accounts ranging from illustrated histories like those of Rashīd al-Dīn Hamadānī (1430) to the correspondences of European ambassadors like Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (1859).

As physical and movable possessions, tents could be gifted, traded and conquered. The precedent for this was set in Ancient Persia (Athen. *Deipno.* II.48), but documentation for this practice becomes even more apparent under later rulers. Abbasid ruler Harun al-Rashid, for example, had more than 4000 ceremonial tents throughout his reign, one of which he sent to Charlemagne as a gift in 802 (Ibn al-Zubayr 1996: 207–208 n. 302; Einhard *ARF* 807). The importance of these luxurious royal tents was augmented once more during the rule of the semi-nomadic Turks and Mongols, and passed on to the early modern empires of Western Asia (Avcioğlu 2011; Durand-Guédy 2013). For at least one of these successors, the Ottoman Empire, we even have examples of officer's tents that the victors of the 1683 Battle of Vienna preserved as war booty (Fig. 1; Miller 1997: 51). Ceremonial tents quickly became desirable commodities for the global elites, not as habitations or gifts, but as orientalist decorations. By the 18th century this need could no longer be met with souvenirs brought back from Asia and the Middle East, and local production of tents was on the rise. These tents often did not reflect any existing tents, or even an existing regional style. Instead they brought together a mish-mash of romantic Eastern stereotypes and local fashions. However, these mock-oriental tents still carried an element of symbolic overlap with their predecessors namely in their indication of wealth and status.

It is within this long line of royal tents and tent cities that we must analyse Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Shah's own tent city of 1971. This city was built beside the ruins of Persepolis to accommodate his sumptuous celebration of 2500 years of Persian Em-

pire. However, this was not the intention from the start, and 10 years of planning preceded the decision to use tents for the event. The initial concept suggested by Iranian scholar Shojaeddin Shafa in 1960 was a vibrant national celebration held at Persepolis and planned for 1962. According to former Iranian statesman Mr Abdolreza Ansari the plans were delayed by more pressing matters of national development (Kadivar 2002). The plans were given a new life in the joint Italian-Iranian initiative for the conservation of the site of Persepolis which began in 1964 (Mousavi 2012: 202). When the proposal was revisited again in 1969, Persepolis was still not ready for an international spectacle, and location, transportation and accommodation became major issues. The choice of Persepolis was final, as the Shah had grown fond of the idea of all his eminent foreign guests camping outside the Achaemenid capital as the allies and foes of the ancient Persian kings had done (Grigor 2009). However, constructing something on such short notice that would not damage the site, but would be large enough to accommodate some 64 Heads of State was a difficult task. Ultimately a solution was found with the help of Pierre Delbée and Pierre Deshays of Maison Jansen, in the form of a tent city, modelling the Field of the Cloth of Gold where Henry VIII and Francois II discussed peace in 1520 (Fig. 2; Mehle 1971). The local population was moved, the ground was levelled and rid of any unsavoury wildlife, soil was flown in, as were the trees that would separate the tent city from the site (Ristvet 2015: 5). Finally, the tents themselves were transported, fully-formed and at great cost (Hess 1971: 36). The resulting site spanned 160 ha with a Tent of Honour, a Grand Banqueting Tent, the Iranian monarch's tents and 54 yellow and royal blue silk-lined tents for the guests in a star-shaped formation (Abbott 2006: 257–258). The guest tents were all air-conditioned and carpeted, and each was decorated according to a specific era (Abbott 2006: 258; Clark 2008: 23). The banqueting tent was a 74 by 24m structure decked out in blue faille, pink silk and red velvet (Abbott 2006: 257). It was lit with crystal chandeliers in order to house elaborate dinners in a style that according to the Times of India reporter "… matched the splendour of the Arabian Nights…" (UPI 1971: 9).

Though the site tied the celebrations to the Achaemenid Empire and elements of Iran's Islamic history were embedded in some events, the inspiration for the tent city was still drawn from an Anglo-French tradition, rather than any Persian camp. Even the city of Persepolis was hardly visited, despite having just been inscribed within UNESCO's world heritage list. In a sense, the Shah had circumvented a distinct Persian tradition in order to demonstrate Persian greatness through a Western lens. What must be remembered is that these tents never served a historical purpose per se, but rather a propagandistic one, providing a symbol for Mohammad Reza Shah's own monarchical power and the continuity of rule from the Persian golden age of Persepolis to the present. He further highlighted his own monarchic power by creating a strict hierarchy of guests within the festivities in which royalty were separated from the second- and third-class people (Quinn 1971a: B2). Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Shah was after all the son of Iranian general Reza Shah who deposed the last monarchy in 1925, founding his own dynasty. After English and American forces deposed his father for failing to join allied forces during the war, Mohammad Reza

Pahlavi Shah was instated by foreign powers without any consultation of the wider population. His legitimation as ruler was shaky at best. His solution to this alternated between violent oppression and cultural justifications. His celebration of 2500 years of the Persian Empire was an example of the latter. Within this pageant, history was not significant in itself, but only as a tool, a citation, in the legitimising narrative of the monarch's rule. Mohammad Reza Shah transformed and moulded himself into the great King of Kings through his material discursive practices (Scheiwiller 2014: 1). In this sense, the tent city is used as a stage set for the Shah's enactment of an imperial leader both distinctly Persian and Westernised. Talin Grigor calls this practice "mimicry-as-camouflage" stating that Mohammad Reza Shah was attempting to be "playing-a-role" creating a Fanon-like "black skin/white masks" effect (Grigor 2009). This role was not the ancient Achaemenid King of old, but rather the Persian monarch as reconstructed through and for Western eyes. Few if any Iranians were even invited and the local population was limited to viewing the celebrations on a screen or reading about it in the paper (McWhirter 1971: 22). Those that were invited, the Ayatollah Khomeini labelled "traitors to Islam and the Iranian Nation" (Mackey 1996: 237). The accusations of fraudulence that Khomeini and his followers placed against the Shah by the end of his reign, thus also became associated with his inauthentic and Western-centric reconstructions.

Persian or no, the party had cost the Iranian state millions of dollars, and even those with no objection to the foreign take on Iranian history still criticised the extent of the Shah's expenditure (Kadivar 2002). While the original plan to sell the tents to Club Méditerranée would have seen some of the costs returned after the celebrations, issues with the facilities meant that the tent city would have to stay where it was, and the event ended up costing far more than intended (Quinn 1971a: B1). This meant that during the revolution, when the Shah's (over-) confidence came back to haunt him, the tent city was available as a stage of discontent.[5] It had come to stand as a symbol of modernity interrupted, of the meddling Western states who denied Iran its autonomy, and of the vanity of a wasteful autocratic Shah who undervalued the nation's Islamic identity (Grigor 2009). Furthermore, its pre-Islamic origins conflicted with the regime's strong focus on Iran as an Islamic nation (Mousavi 2012: 215). It was during this period that the Ayatollah stated "It is the kings of Iran that have constantly ordered massacres of their own people and had pyramids built with their skulls …" (Llewellyn-Jones 2013: 12). These 'pyramids', may well have included the tent city, a monumental symbol of kingship constructed at the public's expense, but not to their benefit. However, in this case, the new regime did not demolish the criticised construction, but rather they preserved it as a physical reminder of the Shah's egregious violations of Iranian Shi'a culture (Fig. 3; Grigor 2009). Upon

5 The BBC4 feature on the event, "Decadence and Downfall: The Shah of Iran's Ultimate Party" that aired on February 14, 2016, would even suggest that the festivities were the direct cause of the revolution.

the commencement of the war with Iraq, the government used the site as a military training ground, with the bulletproof tent of the Shah as target practice (Apple 1982; MacFarquhar 2001). They even put up a sign warning visitors to "Examine what your predecessors did and learn a lesson …" (Burke 2001).

It was only at the turn of the millennium, when the revolution had settled somewhat, that public and governmental interest in the tent city was rekindled. Visiting Persepolis became fashionable again at this time, with plans steadily underway for archaeological collaboration on site. In an ironic twist of fate, the tent city became a viable option for the enhancement of Persepolis' tourism potential. On at least two separate occasions, in September 2001 (MacFarquhar; Burke) and 2005 (Tait), there were suggestions to rehabilitate the tent city as housing for wealthy tourists. By this point the tents were hardly recognisable, with much of their materials looted during the period of revolutionary fervour or removed in a preservation effort by the Iranian Cultural Organisation (MacFarquhar 2001). The proposed redevelopment was meant to enhance the economic capacity of the site as well as removing the shadow of the Shah's party from the site by transforming the structures that evoked it. The director of the Cultural Heritage Organization in Fars, Muhammad Bahrololomi, clearly stated that he did not want to revive the celebrations, he only wanted to re-use its facilities and change their cultural affiliations to being more Iranian (Burke 2001; MacFarquhar 2001). The difficult balancing act this would require in order to avoid creating anything that could enshrine the old regime may be the primary reason no changes have been made. The growing tension between traditionalism and modernisation, could once again be sparked by these structures. An example being the somewhat controversial admiration of the design of the tents by an Iranian tourist stating to a reporter from *The Guardian* that Iran hasn't "… even been able to build a proper door in the past 20 years …" (MacFarquhar 2001). Internationally, Michael Stevenson expressed the difficulty of this dichotomy through constructing his own version of the dilapidated guest tent for Art Basel 38 in 2007 and by publishing a book in which he included musings on the structural engineering of the tents and their potential for collapse if subjected to a revolutionary force (Stevenson 2008: 10–15). His commentary on the tent city and its place in constructing the pivotal moment of Pahlavi collapse reminds us of the continuing instability of the concepts of progress and modernity. This controversy mirrors the struggles around the Victory Arch in Baghdad, a monument moulded from the arms of Iraq's former dictator Saddam Hussein. The coalition and Iraqi government have oscillated between demolition and museification since 2003, unable to make a decision on how to heal the scars of dictatorship and move forward, without resorting to rampant destruction (Myers 2011). After all, abrasive as it is, the monument still marks a significant period of Iraqi history, much like the tent city for Iran.

The tent city's contested nature is not the only hurdle to its rehabilitation, there is also the concern of its material preservation. Tents are primarily temporary structures, ephemeral and replaceable, not the kind of structure that is preserved readily or easily. While the tent city was actually meant to endure, its designers did not anticipate that it would stay at the site of Persepolis, or that it would be subjected to de-

facement. The tarps were actually quite hardy, able to withstand the extreme climates of the desert, but by the time conservation had become an issue, many of them had been looted along with the plywood that made up the rooms. Even if the tarps had remained, the tent city would have been hard to conserve in situ, especially if it was intended to be used as a hotel. The kitchens from the celebrations, with their permanent facilities, were easily convertible to a hostel, the tent city on the other hand had a plumbing system that could hardly deal with a three-day event (Alizadeh 2004: 2; Quinn 1971a: B1). The steel pipes, exposed to the salinity of the desert sands, were also at greater risk of corrosion (Fig. 4).

The option to replace tents with new tents would be problematic, as it would not only be re-enacting the events of the Shah's celebrations, but it would cost the state a great deal of money. Deconstructing the tents and moving them to another location where they could be better looked after could be an option, but then they would be torn from their context. There is also the practical issue of finding space for a 160 ha site, or choosing what is to be preserved and what is not. However, with recent technological advances there are ways to reconstruct the site virtually, rather than physically. By laser and photo scanning the site in its current dilapidated form and stitching images from the celebration, it is possible to create a record of both periods of the site, a record that can be accessed within its original context or externally. A virtual reality platform would allow the visitor to see the site, walk through it and learn about its various phases and the people involved with it. This could be an immersive experience for the visitor, one that could convey the nuance of the tent city as a site of revelry, performance, pride, revolution, destruction and resistance.

Since 2004, the *Lonely Planet* guide for the site reads: "Outside the entrance to Persepolis, through the pine tree behind the toilets, are the remains of a luxurious tent city built by Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi …" (Burke and Elliott 2008: 283). This is reminiscent of a lost civilisation, a hidden treasure waiting to be rediscovered. Its visitation by the public highlights its role as not just a historic, but also in a sense a rebellious monument, gaining a new life in the waning of Islamic revolutionary extremism. Simultaneously foreign and familiar, the tents evoke nostalgic sentiments, a return to the greatness and wealth of Persia, a trend that eerily mirrored the warnings of the Emperor Selassie of Ethiopia against resorting to history as an "… indulgent nostalgia for yesteryears …" or "… to escape the challenges of the day …" (Quinn 1971b: B2). There is also the continuing anxiety of combining this history with modern governmental and cultural structures that maintain an aggressive stance against anything that might glorify the nation's 20th century monarchy.

Persepolis can still be visited and celebrated as an ancient Persian site. The tent city, however, is a purpose built monumental complex from the time of the Shah. There is no way of circumventing this connection, and thus the site remains problematic. It is no longer a site of celebration, heralding a modern prosperous age for Iran, but is rather a tragic reminder of the missteps of an out of touch ruler, and its touristic appeal feeds off these ambiguities. The fate of the site remains undecided, a challenge to the possibilities of the future.

Bibliopgraphy

Abbott, J. A.
2006 *Jansen*. New York.

Alizadeh, A.
2004 Recent archaeological investigations on the Persepolis plain. *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 183.

Al-Tabari, tr. Bosworth, C. E.
1999 *History (Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk) Vol. V: The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmanids, and Yemen*. Albany, NY.

Apple, R. W. Jr.
1982 Guns displace the grandeur that was Persepolis. *The New York Times* Nov 17.

Arrian, Tr. Chinnock, E. J.
1884 *Anabasis of Alexander*. London.

Athenaeus, tr. Gulick, C. B.
1987 *The Deipnosophists*. Cambridge, MA.

Avcioğlu, N.
2011 *'Turquerie' and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876*. Burlington, VT.

Briant, P.
1988 Le Nomadisme du Grand Roi. *Iranica Antiqua* 23, 253–273.

2012 From the Indus to the Mediterranean: The administrative organization and logistics of the great roads of the Achaemenid Empire. In: S. E. Alcock, J. Bodel and R. J. A. Talbert (eds.), *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World*. Chichester, 185–201.

2014 Les tablettes de bois du Grand Roi (note sur les communications officielles dans un royaume itinérant). In: M. Kozuh, W. F. M. Henkelman, C. E. Jones and C. Wood (eds.), *Extraction & Control: Studies in Honour of Matthew W. Stolper*. Chicago, 37–40.

Burke, A. and Elliott, M.
2008 *Iran*. Footscray.

Burke, J.
2001 Shah's opulent tented city awaits rebirth in Desert. *The Guardian* Sept 10. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/09/iran (accessed 19/7/16).

Clark, M.
2008 The party. In: M. Stevenson (ed.), *Celebration at Persepolis*. Zurich, 18–31.

De Clavijo, R. G., tr. Markham, C. R.
1859 *Narrative of the Embassy of R. G. de C. to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand 1403–6*. London. http://www.medievaltravel.amdigital.co.uk.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/collections/doc-detail.aspx?documentid=2601 (accessed 18/7/16)

Durand-Guédy, D. (ed.)
2013 *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*. Leiden.

Einhard, transl. Kurze, F.
1895 *Annales Regni Francorum (ARF), inde ab a.741 usque ad a.829. Qui Dicuntur Annales Laurissenses Maiores et Einhardi*. Hannover.

Grigor, T.
2009 Orientalism & mimicry of selfness: archeology of the neo-Achaemenid style. In: N. Oulebsir and M. Volait (eds.), *L'Orientalisme Architectural entre Imaginaires et Savoirs*. Paris, 273–290.

Hallock, R. T.
1969 *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Oriental Institute Publications 92. Chicago.

Harmatta, J. (ed.)
1994 *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. II: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*. Paris. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001057/105703eo.pdf (accessed 15/7/16).

Herodotus, tr. Godley, A. D.
1920 *The Histories*. Cambridge, MA.

Hess, J. L.
1971 Made in France – Persia's splendorous anniversary celebration. *The New York Times* Oct 5.

Ibn al-Zubayr, tr. al-Qaddūmī, G. a-H.
1996 *Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitāb al-hadāyā wa-l-tuḥaf): Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures*. Cambridge, MA.

JLC-1972
2014 Fantastic site – and don't forget the tent city. *Tripadvisor*. https://www.tripadvisor.com.au/ShowUserReviews-g316021–d318256–r201869581–Persepolis-Shiraz_Fars_Province.html (accessed 14/7/16).

Kadivar, C.
2002 We are awake: 2,500-year celebrations revisisted. *The Iranian* Jan 25. http://iranian.com/CyrusKadivar/2002/January/2500/ (accessed 18/7/16).

Kia, M.
2016 *The Persian Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA.

Kuz'mina, E. E. and Mallory, J. P. (ed.)
2007 *The Origin of the Indo-Iranians*. Leiden.

Llewellyn-Jones, L.
2013 *King and Court in Ancient Persia 559 to 331 BCE*. Edinburgh.

Mackey, S.
1996 *The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the Soul of a Nation*. New York.

MacFarquhar, N.
2001 Persepolis journal; Shah's tent city, Fit for Kings, may lodge tourists. *The New York Times*. Sept 7. http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/07/world/persepolis-journal-shah-s-tent-city-fit-for-kings-may-lodge-tourists.html (accessed 19/7/16).

McWhirter, W. A.
1971 The Shah's princely party. *LIFE* Oct 29, 22–30.

Mehle A. E.
1971 Persepolis party. *Chicago Tribune* May 25. http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1971/05/25/page/25/article/persepolis-party#text (accessed 19/7/16).

Miller, M. C.
1997 *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge.

Mousavi, A.
2012 *Persepolis: Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder*. Berlin.

Myers, S. L.
2011 Iraq restores monument symbolizing Hussein era. *New York Times* Feb 5. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/06/world/middleeast/06iraq.html?_r=1 (accessed 20/7/16)

Potts, D. T.
2014 *Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era*. Oxford.

Quinn, S.
1971a A sumptuous party of parties by the King of Kings. *The Washington Post* Oct 11.

1971b A tent full of Royalty. *The Washington Post* Oct 15.

Rashid al-Din
1430 Ǧāmiʿ al-Tavārīḫ. In: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits (source), *Supplément Persan 1113*. ark:/12148/btv1b8427170s (accessed 18/7/16)

Ristvet, L.
2015 *Ritual, Performance, and Politics in the Ancient Near East*. Cambridge.

Robinson, B. W.
2002 *The Persian Book of Kings: An Epitome of the Shahnama of Firdawsi.* New York, NY.

Scheiwiller, S. G. (ed.)
2014 *Performing the Iranian State: Visual Culture and Representations of Iranian Identity*. London.

Stevenson, M. (ed.)
2008 *Celebration at Persepolis*. Zurich.

Tait, R.
2005 Iran to rebuild spectacular tent city at Persepolis. *The Guardian* Sept 22.

UPI
1971 Persian banquet brings back Arabian nights. *The Times of India* Oct 15.

Xenophon, tr. Miller, W.
1914 *Cyropedia, Vol. II*. Cambridge, MA.

Fig. 1 17th Century Ottoman tent in the Wawel Castle Museum, Krakow (reproduced with permission © 1991 Walter Denny)

Fig. 2 Model for the proposed Tent City for the Shah of Iran's 2500–year anniversary of the founding of Persia, 1971 (reproduced with permission © 2006 James Archer Abbott)

Fig. 3 The Tent City before the full removal of all tarps (reproduced with permission © 2000 Talinn Grigor)

Fig. 4 Skeletal remains of the Tent City (© 2015 Annelies Van de Ven)