

Investigating the Reasons for the Growth of Mural Paintings of Merchants' Houses in Yazd in the Qajar Era Based on the Constructed Model of Durability Process of Symbolic Capital

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Abstract

One way of looking at art is the sociological view. It means looking from the social sciences view, which includes sociology, economics, anthropology, law, and cultural studies. Analyses of mural paintings and decorations in Iranian architecture could also been carried out through a sociological view. This paper aims at presenting an analytical model to evaluate mural paintings and decorations in traditional houses in Yazd in the Qajar era in terms of growth and development by using sociological ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and Thorstein Veblen. The purpose of this paper is therefore to figure out the reasons for the growing of mural paintings of Merchants' houses in Yazd during the Qajar era and the outcome for their owners. This is done in this paper through a descriptive-analytic technique, which represents the expansion of mural painting of merchants' houses in Yazd because of the growth in economic capital, cultural capital, and flamboyant consumption of their owners that have led to durability of symbolic capital in that class.

Keywords: Qajar Era; Mural Painting; merchants' class in Yazd; Economic Capital; Cultural Capital; Symbolic Capital; Flamboyant Consumption

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1. Introduction

In Qajar era, major changes occurred in the social and economic aspects in Iran. Consequently, many changes happened in the art, taste, aesthetics, and art supporters. One of the key cities that were affected under these changes was “Yazd City”, which encountered the formation of a new class of merchants. The formation of this class caused life transfer based on life and production to the life based on business, which also led the business to flourish in the city. In this period, city communication increased with the outside world and this new class via having wealth, social and political relationships competed with each other and tried to show their own social status. Thus, a series of large houses were built and in most of them, non-noble and non-religious art in the form of paintings on plaster and various themes developed. Decorations and mural paintings in Yazd houses in Qajar era, were not apart from the influence of Europe, and home decorating style has been influenced by the Zand and Qajar era. The chain-like relationship between the interior design Qajar houses in Yazd showed a range of technical and aesthetic continuity.

These paintings (plaster mural painting) are the work of artists who were involved in the other artistic activities (painting, carpet design, textile design, cover making, and pen paintings). The assumption is also the recession of some specialties like comic books and the emergence of new supporters from the urban wealthy class as a factor in the promotion of painting on plaster. In these buildings, decorations are sometimes exclusive to the painting and often a combination of several decorative factors, including mirror work and the plastering that has been used in the decorating corner of architecture space or paintings in all interior and exterior surfaces and the ceiling.

Although the designed paintings at first glance reminds one of the Qajar style and have been affected by Europe, the impact of the goods’ paintings brought from India to Yazd should not be neglected because traveling of Yazdi traders and merchants to India had an impact of those culture on the painting and the mural painting. What remains from the mural painting, relates to the homes and buildings of the wealthy people and rich people of the city, based on their financial resources which gained particular entity.

Late in the Naseri period, Yazdi merchants had a high social status and power. Social and prominent figures and merchants in the late Qajar era along with big businesspersons had a special social status and were in top of pyramid and social hierarchy of the market. In this period, homes and buildings related to the wealthy merchants and rich traders due to financial resources have gained particular entity, and mural decorations are in different levels and quality. The aesthetic aspect of the houses in Yazd in Qajar era is actually due to the decoration implemented because of culture and taste of client (city traders and the noble class). Qajar era as an expansion period for mural and decoration paintings in the house is one of the main strategies to shape the architectural space. Yazd also, due to the economic and social developments and expansion of trade in rich classes of traders, has been affected by relationship with outside, cultural metamorphosis created via this method, and the decorations and spaces of their houses in a competitive way. Therefore, these competitions led to building and developing of houses including mural paintings in the Qajar era. The main question of this paper is the competition and house development. The present paper seeks to answer the main question to reasons of growing the painting and mural painting of merchants’ houses in Yazd in the Qajar era.

The answer to this question seems to be the development of mural painting in Yazd merchants’ houses in the Qajar era because of the economic capital growth, lifestyle changes, taste change and gain distinction and dignity, and ultimately to achieve greater growth and durability of symbolic

capital of homeowners. In this paper, the above-mentioned theory with sociological approach is analyzed using a constructed model “durability process of the symbolic capital”.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Cultural capital and its results

Looking at individuals and their behavior, there are different levels of cultural capital in many classes compatible with their economic capital. Obviously, high economic capital is needed for the development of cultural capital; otherwise, the cultural capital remains abstract and undervalued. According to Bourdieu's emphasis on the rejection of any inherent analysis and present functional-relational analyses, it is noted that economic capital does not include cultural capital inherently, but there is a direct relationship between them.

Economic capital provides a condition in support to the person with his diligence and effort is mainly time consuming and long-term which can achieve cultural capital. Institutionalization and knowledge is a fundamental principle in cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is a set of symbolic capital that at one hand refers to internalized acquired knowledge, and on the other hand material success; materialized capital and cultural heritage in the form of property will appear. This investment is not achieved without personal effort, but long lasting working, learning and acculturation as a part of one's purpose is required. Acquisition of cultural capital requires time and then material facilities needs to be especially financed (Chauvire and Fontaine, 2006: 97). Economic capital through cultural capital can change taste and lifestyle, and increase the distinction and dignity. In other word, cultural capital appears in three forms of taste, lifestyle, distinction and dignity; and changing any of these factors will affect the same amount of cultural capital (Fig 1).

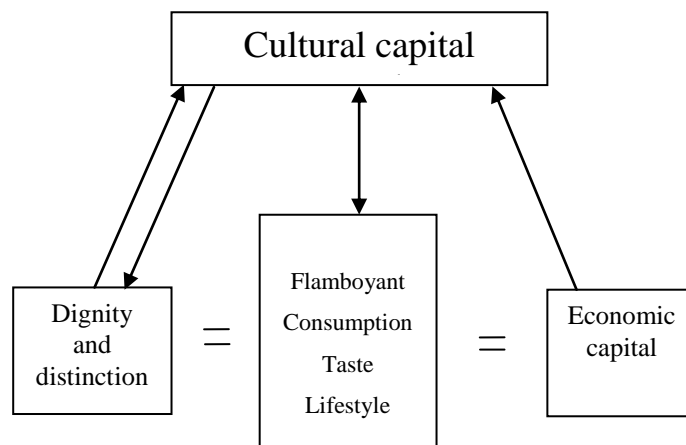


Fig 1 Diagram of the relationships between cultural capitals

Increasing the cultural capital, the first change occurs in taste. Taste appears more in aesthetic category that Bourdieu noticed to existing variations in the aesthetic taste means acquired willingness to distinguish between the different cultural products aesthetically and valuing them differently. Perception of each person in social discipline is among the functions of taste (Ritzer and Douglas, 2011: 598). It is more in terms of cultural product in a dialectical relationship between nature of cultural products and taste. Change in cultural goods leads to changes in taste and this change results in reformation in cultural products. Field structure is not only subject to consumers'

desire of cultural goods, but also what producers meet their demands (Ritzer and Douglas, 2011: 601). According to Bourdieu, taste acts as signs of class (Bourdieu, 2011: 24).

By changing taste, lifestyle will also change. Generally, lifestyle refers to the usage patterns of symbolic and material goods among different social groups and classes. However, in cultural studies, this is a reflection of individual and group identity that a person expresses himself through some specific behavioral patterns. It is expected that communities with a high status (above-four capitals) have distinct ways of life, including behavior patterns, belief system, and consumption and choice patterns (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2007).

Bourdieu believes that lifestyles are always resulted in habitus that in their mutual relations and based on the accustomed format it has received and converted to the system of signs that have been credited socially (such as distinguish or vulgar), (Bourdieu, 2001: 73). Habitus in the Bourdieu's terminology means conditioned and internalized features that are producer and organizer of meaningful behaviors. Simply, unconscious behaviors and emotions of individuals who have internalized through the processes of socialization and based on that the individual enters an action process. Habitus regulates the behavior of individuals in each class and field (Bourdieu, 1986: 40-44). This generalized characteristics and Habitus in shaping the tastes and lifestyle are more than opinions and appearance claims.

Increasing the cultural capital and taste and lifestyle change will prepare the conditions for increase the distinction and dignity. On the other hand, according to Bourdieu, taste and lifestyle is a real factor to convert anything to the dignity and distinction signal (Bourdieu, 2011: 244). Distinction and dignity are those strategies of being different that exist at the heart of social life. Most of these strategies are shown in the use of cultural products, especially their art works. Due to Bourdieu, consumption of art works has an individuated function (Bourdieu, 2011: 383). For instance, using art and art works by a bourgeois is distinguished from other social classes that show keeping distance, welfare and cultural delicacy (Chauvire and Fontaine, 2006: 59).

It is obvious that not all works or objects can have a dignity efficiency function. In Bourdieu view, things that are given the highest power of dignity are those that, in an obvious way, show this ownership quality and thus show the owner's quality, because ownership of these objects which requires long-term investment also demands time and abilities. The importance of art consumption is individuating the people; hence, an unnecessary budget must be allocated to them basically, especially the rarest and most precious thing which is time for these activities (Bourdieu, 2011: 385).

2.2. Cultural capital and flamboyant consumption

The relationship between the flamboyant consumption and cultural capital can be considered as a public logic; a type of an individual that means some kinds of cultural capital is a sort of flamboyant consumption (appearing) and the other is not. Some flamboyant consumptions are based on cultural capital, and some other lack this cultural capital and vulgar showing cultural capital that is more common among upstart people who are deprived of education and knowledge. In fact, speaking about the cultural capital is a sort of entering the intellectual analysis and even hermeneutics. It means having a deep knowledge of the content, style, history, personality of the artist and the formation space of produced cultural work. If an individual gaining the cultural capital, buys the original "Van Gogh sunflowers painting", but is unaware of the painter, style and its form and is unable to decode that artwork, he, in fact, does not participate in that cultural capital, but he is a participant of flamboyant consumption. On the other hand, if a person buys the copy of

that art work which is much cheaper than the original one and has a deep knowledge to it, he has shared the flamboyant consumption based on a cultural capital.

Flamboyant consumption is of key concepts of Thorstein Veblen thought (1857-1929) in theory of the Leisure class in his book; he expresses an idea about flamboyant consumption as a type of commodities used, not for living but to achieve the dignity of those who use them and this creates a basis for discriminating distinctions between people (Ritzer, 2010: 110). The lavish and extravagant luxury turns to be a necessity and a display of wealth and the source of funding included in the cost of capital representation (Marx, 1975: 741). Flamboyant consumption is an attempt and strategy for distinguish which Bourdieu (2011: 60) mentions as “clumsy glaring” and calls it non-deliberate and inappropriate luxury show just to acquire dignity. Bourdieu attempts to show Veblen's theory merely (flamboyant consumption) does not argue that the driving force of all human behaviors were an attempt for distinguish. However, he believes that the fundamental note of his theory is living in a certain social environment, residence in a particular location or presence in a particular social space is all for having difference and being different. Individuals' residing in the specific space enjoyed certain understandings, schemes related to the classification and certain taste. Moreover, given the possibility to discern, distinguish and differentiate (Ritzer and Douglas, 2011: 601-600), this fact shows the structure of Bourdieu's intellectual structure opposing with nature orientations in dealing with tastes, habitus and behaviors of various classes and present functional and relational analyses. Because of the investment, place and time condition of each person is different with differentiated species. Bourdieu says:

“However, it should be a feature of particular circumstances of time and position in space. Social and behavioral features in the context of a certain wealth linked to the intrinsic characteristics that can avoid introducing. In every community, every time we face a series of social situations in a form-like relationship with a series of activities or wealth together. It means the relationship between social behavior networks, hobby habitus and choices that the social actors do in diverse field of behaviors” (Bourdieu, 2001: 31-32).

2.3. Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital is nothing but the recognition of cultural and economic capital. Once this capital is recognized on categories that impose the symbolic power relations, it tends to reproduce and reinforce the social space (Bourdieu, 1986: 192). Bourdieu's definition reflects the changing relationship between power and dignity of such a semantic relationship. Bourdieu talks about works related to symbolic capital that have had a principle emphasized on the nature of this capital and it is recognition by others. Symbolic capital is a capital that has an etymological root that relies on the identification, recognition, and validity (Bourdieu, 2001: 217-218). For example, capital of the artist is a symbolic capital, or the name of ancestral holders of that name is a capital carrying symbolically all the virtues of the tribe.

Bourdieu believes that the possession of the symbolic objects has also a material existence such as paintings; the dignity of the property will be too. Possession of an artistic work means the sole owner of the original work and the original taste for it, thus denying substantiality has become all those who do not deserve to possess. Because it lacked financial compliance or symbolic adequacy, or merely because it lacked a strong desire to possess, it is not severe enough to “sacrifice everything for it” (Bourdieu, 2011: 383). Among all the methods and techniques for creating and accumulating symbolic capital that are designed, buying artworks is considered as an objective document of a personal taste which, more than others, is close to the lowest and the most non-imitative form of capital accumulation. It means internalizing the signs and the dignity symbols of

the power in the form of natural dignity of authority or personal culture. Exclusive possession of precious works is like mere splurge flamboyant wealth. Inviolable show of wealth that is possible through this way, however, is a challenge to all those who are unable to separate themselves from their possession (Bourdieu, 2011: 386).

3. Reasons of Merchants' Houses Mural Painting Development

3.1. Mural painting and its flourish in the Qajar time

Iranian art in Qajar era (1794-1925), was not a direct continuation of the art in the previous period but also the art with features: the increasing separation of Iranian culture from the great tradition of Islam resulted in the Shiite victory and rivalry with the Ottoman Empire, entering an increasingly popular and folk art elements, and the dependence of the growing influence of western art. However, the art of this period has the lower level of quality rather than the art in the former times; it was not comparable in terms of elegance, but did demonstrate refined features and a completely independent identity (Ajand, 2006: 35).

To recognize the mural painting in Qajar times, first there is need to review the features of paintings from this period. Following the transfer of the Zandi sovereignty to the Qajar kings, and Safavid art tradition in the late 17th century, the influence of European art made it the most apparent art theme for artists' activities (Kamali, 2006: 186). Composition and arrangement of the Qajar era reveals the influence of European art; for example, the Russian glass vases design, drawing and painting roses on Chinese bowls and plates from the Britain, the French feminine clothes, and above all the gestures of Fath Ali Shah, the king standing with crutches, perfectly imitating the western countries such as Britain and Russia. The portrait of torso, sitting on a chair, is a painting inspired by Russian and French painting. Perspective science, especially the Italian one, has a renaissance manifestation. The design and painting of most painted fabric samples are from eighteenth-century in France. The modes of replication with normal tissues are frequently seen in these works that attempts to represent a foreign-like one where the representation of portrait painting reaches its peak (Jalali Jafari, 2003: 44).

Painting in the Qajar era is an important step to cross-traditional Iranian painting through a new style and the development of a school that is combined with painting traditions and western art achievements. The visual approach of the Qajar drawing period is based on drawing human figures and faces with an extreme decoration. Perhaps the root of some of these tendencies is in favor of Iran's ancient glory, recreating the brilliant Iranian culture and history and introducing the power and splendor of the Qajar court, adding decorative elements to the body especially jewelry, design and painting, westernizing style, predominance with warm colors. Perspectives, trees and sky in the background tend to have a structural symmetry and replace most of the body in the middle of painting. The limited use of highlight and volume making, soft and smooth shadows in the faces and connected eyebrows are among Qajar features (Dibaj Goudarzi, 2009: 138).

Influencing from the western art in Iran started since the Safavid time and became more flourished in the Qajar and Zand period, when different aspects of art and culture got affected especially mural painting. The west influence, especially in the court and on the king and entourage, occurred with paintings that did not exist among Iranians and was based on self-love instinct; they were interested in real images and appearing faces drawn to remain memorable. Therefore, the subject of Iranian painting changed and the nature and imitation thereof became important and was sometimes copied from western works and free nature properties such as perspective, highlight, portraits. Mural painting features in the Qajar and Zand periods, using seven

colors of tiles painted with flowers, birds, and plants with iris flowers and examples of soldiers and servants design are found in a lot of buildings of this period. Also, rooms with floral motifs, arabesques, and *Anglica silvestris* with gold fields on the ornate plaster can be mentioned. Zand architecture impacts and its related arts in the early Qajar era are drastic and last until the middle of the Qajar era. However, the manner in which the roof painting on wood is common in the Qajar era, is completely different from the mural paintings in the Zand period. Because in the Zand period, ceilings of the buildings are generally muqarnas, plastered and painting of flowers, birds, arabesque and *Anglica silvestris*, while paintings of the Qajar era are influenced by west paintings. In wall decorating, mirror work becomes more common in Qajar era and we observe various methods of mirror work (Sharif and Syed, 2002: 180).

Unlike other nations' mural paintings, which accounts for the registration of religious stories and other assemblies, drawings of human, animals and birds paintings on the body of temples, churches and palaces, Iran muralist artists, except a small number of cases, inspired by nature, plants, flowers, ivy leaves, continued Iranian design and painting as their main job. The combination with arabesque and *Anglica silvestris* flowers, leaves, bergamot and decorative lines created beautiful paintings. This choice along with perfection of portrait and human design, tashir and assembly layout in the manuscript book by Islamic artists could witness the artist's coordination of the interior design trying to create a communion atmosphere and to depict this space to the viewer.

Evidently, the mural painting art, gradually along with building decoration, stucco, and tiles, plays a significant role in coating the interior surfaces. These works acquired high status until the Qajar era, using oily glaze, semi-oily, mental and physical colors, "Tempera" gold plate or gold water in shaping the geometric and decorative arabesques and *Anglica silvestris* lines, rosette and bergamots and tashir (Jahan and Sadrosadat, 1993: 79). Various examples of mural paintings in Qajar era are the mural paintings of court (palaces), mural paintings of princes' houses (classes and associates to the court), and mural paintings of the merchants, traders, city rich people and folks or popular mural painting (baths, religious sites, aqua hall, hospice, coffee shops).

3.2. Growth of the merchant class and their economic capital

In the Qajar era, important changes occurred in the economic and social aspects, which consequently led to important changes in art, taste, aesthetics, and art supporters. One of the most important cities, not excluded from these changes, was Yazd where in this period faced the formation of a new class of merchants that began the transition of land and production-based life to transaction-based life and caused commercial flourishing in the city. In this period, city communication with the outside world increased and through wealth, social and political connections this new class played an important role in the city, simultaneously trying to compete with each other to show their social status. Hence, in this period, a series of large houses were built that developed the non-noble and non-religious art in plaster paintings on various themes.

Consolidation of power in the Qajar dynasty, along with economic and political developments in Europe, created a specific situation in Iran which brought about a barrier-like intense insecurity feeling and a tyrant government with pressure on business expansion and growth capitalism (Ashraf, 1980: 39-38). But despite these conditions, Yazd gained particular popularity in the economy due to several factors as follows:

- The existence of domestic industries, industrial units and exporting products to other areas
- Zoroastrian religious minority and their relationship with the corporation of India, both were working in the business field

- Relative security and the removal of acute social unrest placed in the trade route (Tashakori, 1998: 171).

Yazd was a place for business people and wealth. Yazd had a transnational fame in textile manufacturing; it had national reputation in the production of sweets and an exclusive power in the manufacturing and distribution of certain goods (Pollack, 1982: 377). In addition, Yazd was the major trading center for goods from different regions. The centrality of Yazd was a major advantage where most of marginal areas' goods were taken there and then to be distributed. This city was in center of Iran, and the confluence area of three normal and major highways. Before then, no commercial credit flourishing was in Yazd for export of goods. During the Naseri period, Yazd reached its commercial boom peak (Nyvkamn, 1997: 139).

One of the features of Yazd during Qajar era, until the constitution entered this city, was a relative security like other areas. Considering the political situation in Yazd until 1945, AH / 1285 SB, it becomes clear that the rulers of the time were mostly selected from Isfahan government, but it was the duration that was a guarantee of security and of prevention of local riots. Regarding the political changes of Yazd before entering the Constitution, it seems that people had to deal with only one dominant person. So all the political developments in Yazd were the political representation of Iran and seemed calmer than other parts of the country. This fact about the economic growth of Yazd proved useful and led traders to commerce safely easier (than in the days following the Constitution) and meet their affairs.

In terms of geographic location, Yazd was located in the confluence area of major highways. Short distances to major commercial centers had a particular privilege that fewer cities of Iran could compete with. Such importance is revealed when transportation problems such as lack of proper roads, roads insecurity, and generally natural and artificial barriers that existed in other trade routes. Redirection of European trade with Iran had played a significant role in business development in Yazd. Flourishing in the southern parts of Iran encouraged Yazd traders for commodity exchanges to other parts of the country and other countries. This expanded the Yazdi traders' activities business in those areas and some of industrial men became involved in converting some of them into consumable goods.

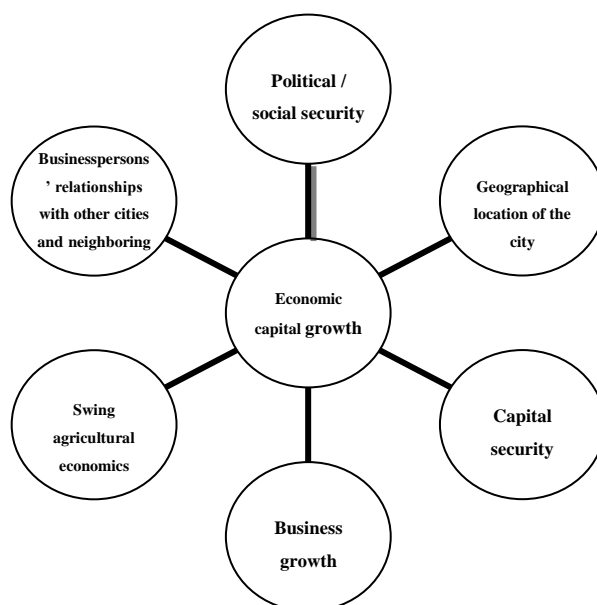


Fig 2 Growth factors of economic capital

In summary, in light of the above factors (Fig 2), formation of a class of merchants in Yazd consistent with trends console Britain in Yazd (1893 AD) made the amount of their business capital reach about two million dollars (Flora, 1986: 171). Although the scale of this amount was unimportant, economic indicators have been developed but at the local level with a remarkable growth of domestic trade. According to the writings of foreign travelers, Yazd was the main center of goods distribution sold in markets of northern Iran. In Yazd, there were two categories of traders, who imported their goods from Mumbai and south of Iran, and others who bought these goods exported them to Khorasan. Some 150 people were in the first group that had agents in Mumbai, while the second group included 75 (Flora, 1986: 168). According to what was said during the reign of the Nasser al-Din Shah, Yazd commerce had undergone tremendous changes the result of which was a long standing Yazd that could attract the attention of many observers.

3.3. Cultural capital and flamboyant consumption in the business-class

Due to the rich financial capital, merchant class has been at the top of the hierarchy of social status; access to the wealth and resources was the basic principles of the classification status in the society. Social credit of this class in Iran was always because of their being in the head of power pyramid, prestige, and market wealth and intertwined relationships they had with government leaders. Prior to the Qajar era, due to the social and political situation of the society, and low progress in the commercial and economic development, businesspersons were not into investment in the construction, expansion, and decoration of houses. However, in Qajar era, the representation of economic capital of business class in the field of art and culture is widely seen in the form of mural painting houses that are due to changing taste and lifestyle and willingness to be distinguished. The housing index recorded in Yazd does not show any house painting related prior to Qajar era. Hence, the Qajar era marks the formation and growth of mural paintings and buildings in Yazd. In this study, the analysis has focused on commercial houses' mural paintings.

As previously mentioned, the economic capital does not follow the cultural capital, but the way of using it starts the wealth and knowledge. Sociological, psychological and economic principles accepted the need for wealth; it underlies the formation that led to the increase of dignity, social status and glory against other low social classes and even its fellows. Before the Qajar and at the beginning of Fath Ali Shah period, mural painting and wall decorations was largely monopolized by the state and court applied in palaces and public places such as markets and mosques for glory and power of the King. In other words, art was a means to express the glory of the king. It was shown in the paintings, decoration and arts paintings of palaces identified in public places like the paintings of half-body portrait of King. But in the Qajar era, mural paintings to the houses and buildings outside the court, especially merchants' house in Yazd were examples of such houses like: Malekotjar, Malekzadeh house, home of Mirza Shafi, Shafipour house, and Sadooghi houses.

Financial possession with travel, relations with foreign countries in order to have trade provided especially for those business people who were free from religious intolerance, awareness of the cultural, intellectual, and artistic field and following foreigners were the motives. In this view, Yazdi merchants' interaction with foreign businesses or their representatives have long-term impact on changing attitudes to traditional trades. Businesspersons in general and particularly Yazdi traders were analyzed in this paper because of having relationships with west merchants, traveling abroad, sending their children abroad to study, and learning western languages. Other sections and social classes who were familiar with western culture and especially some of the characteristics, behaviors and western ideas that would fit their class interests were also receptive and responsive to these effects (Momen, 1979:179). Most traveling people were merchants who had more information

about the outside world as compared to other people in the community (Flora, 1977: 38-37). Contact with court in one hand, the other side relations and traveling abroad and having capital and literacy by merchants were factors to change their tastes and lifestyles than other sections of society. Hence, the need for distinction and dignity was hanging over the traders' class. As mentioned, distinction and dignity are those different strategies that beat the heart of social life. Most of these strategies and their use of art are shown in the form of cultural products especially art works in most of houses. To decorate their homes, Yazd merchants had the master painters of the period, including Farrokh Khan, to do mural paintings that lasted for several years. While the taste and talent of the artist's themes or information and tastes of the homeowner was unknown, but probably had more impact on the homeowner's tastes and opinions; the painter was not usually an artist but a servant working under businessman's taste. Paintings' themes is a collection of plants, animals and human paintings that suit with the tastes and beliefs of merchants at home. For example, businesspersons who had interacted with clergymen and had pretending to the religion tried not to use human motifs and girls or used only in the bedrooms. Of course, there were businesspersons such as Rasoulzadeh who had high wealth, but because of religion never used paintings for home decoration, instead he used plaster and a bit mirror work to show the glory. Emulation and simulation of mural paintings in the homes of merchants and medallion western Yazdi is a clear sign of that interaction and taste change. An example of this is the influence from the Europe paintings seen in the Malekotojar house painting and Shafipour. Fresco ceiling of the throne room of the Malekotojar house includes portraits of young maidens adopted from the stamp print imported from Europe.

However, in some homes, a merchant might order paintings and wall decorations with religious themes and non-emulation of the west, such as the prophet Muhammad in their homes. An example of this is visible in Yazd Amity home. According to Bourdieu, artistic works possession is a cultural capital indicator. However, Yazdi merchants turned their home into an artwork piece. It seems that the merchants had little knowledge and familiarity of merchants due to the art and formed designs on the walls of the house; the trader's aim was only painting and mural paintings. Moreover, the content was not often stressed. It is to be noted that imitation of western works shows lack of knowledge. If there was a cultural capital, businessperson stressed or installed the painted image of the west or the initiative and provided a new theme in paintings, but emulation, and simulation had another analysis and it was flamboyant consumption. It was argued that merchants did not have an understanding and knowledge of art, awareness of the world artists, paintings and various art styles, without the support of the cultural capital. Their economic capital, changing taste and lifestyle, although provided the field for cultural capital development for our children and next generations, didn't enter the cultural capital, and all cultural and artistic appropriation attempts were due to their flamboyant consumption and to create a glory and distinction against other sections of society, foreign merchants, and their fellows. It was believed that those buildings that were magnificent were admired in the public mind, society, and even courtiers where homeowners had more wealth; dignity and prestige were hence more modernized in the late Qajar era.

3.4. Genesis and persistence of symbolic capital in merchant class

As mentioned before, symbolic capital is etymological and relies on identification and authentication. The businesspersons in Iran, because of having contact and interaction with court, the clergy, wealth and possession, construction and having titles like Malekotojar, Aminotojar, Nazomotojar and Moeinotojar, in the eyes of the public, were highly credited. Their credits were to

the extent that many people keep their money and possessions buried with them. This credit and respect from the people was their greatest asset. However, these are the symbolic capital that merchants had at the time of their lives. Moreover, at that time this class expanded to symbolic capital, the idea of investment durability during the years after his death to keep its name and provide cultural heritage for their children. Hence, for the growth and expansion of the house, mural painting and its decoration was the best solution for the above ideas in order to turn the building into a cultural artwork.

It was important that the glory of the merchant house were not just his living area. It was also a place to meet fellow traders, foreign traders, representatives, and associates of the court, holding friendly gathering celebrations and ceremonies, religious ceremonies, preaching and other items. Hence, largeness and beauty of the house for merchant was considered as a credit, social status, dignity, and distinction requirements. In addition, the use of art and painting was considered as the accumulating symbolic capital and taste for trader to objectively document the life and death over the years.

As shown in Fig 3, durability of symbolic capital is the result of economic capital and flamboyant consumption besides which traders had no other purpose. House, as the well-known outer shape for the dignity and distinction, was kept as the symbolic capital of the homeowner during the later years after his death.

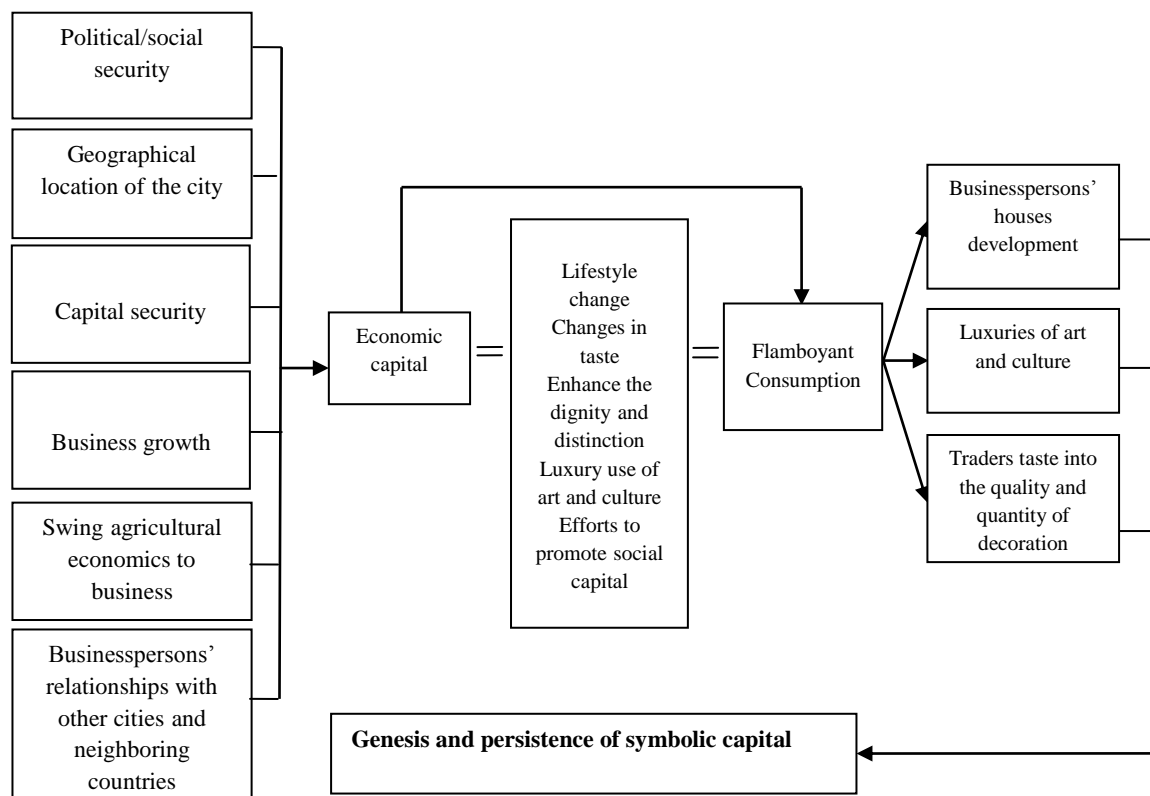


Fig 3 Constructed and lasting model process of symbolic capital in merchant class

4. Conclusion

Social, political and economic development of Yazd city and the formation of a new merchant class in Yazd, are the main factors for the expansion of mural paintings. Yazd business during the rule of Naser-Din Shah underwent dramatic changes, and reached high status that could attract

much attention of its observers. Development of decorations and mural paintings in the noble houses of Yazd had a direct connection with the thought, culture, and beliefs of business class and homeowners. Yazd has great noble houses, but there is no effect of any decorations or figure paintings, portraits and even flowers and bushes. This manifests the social, religious, and occupational status of homeowners and also the function of the noble houses over the years which were the location of various social classes. It was the family and relatives' beliefs and their business relations among the lower class of society that made them avoid decorate and mural paintings of their homes. This is visible in the house of Shafipour, Malikotojar and Mavedat in contrast with house of Rasoulia, Kolahdouzha, and even the home of Malekzadeh.

Social relations of merchants' class with other city class of Yazd society in the Qajar era depend on many factors. The first factor was the relationships of this class of society with other fellow businesspersons, city trade people, merchants, and traders in which they competed with each other. The second factor was the relationships and interactions of business class society with public class society the basic purpose of which was obtaining a public status and promoting their social status. The third factor was the interaction and communication of this business class with their fellow traders in other cities and even other countries in trade and economic relations. The fourth factor was interactions of this class of society with special urban classes such as clergymen, bureaucratic and administrative figures who were trying to show their religious affiliation and beliefs through mourning ceremonies in Ashoura and annual preaches.

This paper attempts to shed light on the reasons for the development of painting and mural paintings in the merchants' house in Yazd in the Qajar era. The process was discussed in this paper to verify the hypothesis that the mural paintings in the merchant's houses in Yazd in the Qajar era was due to economic capital growth, lifestyle changes, taste change and gained distinction and dignity, and ultimately for the achievement of greater growth and durability of the homeowner's symbolic capital. The results of this study based on the theoretical framework and constructed model, "durability of the merchant class symbolic capital process" indicates that in certain periods of economic growth and suitable social-political conditions, Yazd and its architecture have faced significant development. This development has led to the growth of mural paintings and decoration of houses in Yazd in the Qajar era. The reasons for this expansion are the orientations that these homeowners had like dignity and distinction between the public and their fellow merchants and city traders, showing the competitive and flamboyant consumption of this class to demonstrate their economic capital to gain social status and increase symbolic capital. Hence, largeness and beauty of the house for merchant is considered as credit, social status, dignity, and distinction requirements. Moreover, use of art and painting is considered as the accumulating symbolic capital and taste of the trader objectified in the documents of the life and death over the years. On the other hand, via the mural painting of their house, the merchant spiritually indicates that other classes or the individuals of the society that are deprived from the magnificent houses, do not have practically the financial and social competence and adequacy of the possession and cannot enjoy the art which necessarily belong to a higher-status class.

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