

Original Research Article

Analysis of the Symbolic Economy of Art in the Museum of Astan Quds Razavi: The Theoretical Approach of Pierre Bourdieu and Its Role in the Formation of the Cultural Tourism Brand*

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Abstract | In contemporary sociology of art, museums have become active institutions in the production of meaning and symbolic value. However, the institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms shaping the symbolic legitimacy of art in Iranian religious museums have rarely been examined within a coherent theoretical framework. The Astan Quds Razavi Museum, as one of the country's most significant cultural-religious institutions, provides a suitable context for analyzing this process in relation to religious capital and the authority of the museum institution. This research aims to analyze the formation of the symbolic economy of art in this museum based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory and to explain its role in cultural tourism branding. The central question is: through what mechanisms is the symbolic legitimacy of artworks produced and reproduced in this museum, and what role does religious capital play? This qualitative, descriptive-analytical research adopts a critical-interpretive approach. Using a qualitative case study strategy, data were collected from official documents, artwork descriptions, catalogs, and field observations, and analyzed through thematic analysis within Bourdieu's conceptual framework (field, cultural capital, symbolic capital, symbolic power). Findings indicate that religious capital plays a central role in legitimizing the museum's artworks. Mechanisms such as endowment and votive offerings, the descriptive language of artworks, and the spatial organization of the museum have led to a specific symbolic order not necessarily based on autonomous aesthetic logic. This symbolic order underpins a distinct brand of cultural-religious tourism centered on art in service of the sacred, intertwining pilgrimage and museum experience.

Keywords | *Symbolic Economy, Brand, Pierre Bourdieu, Cultural Tourism, Museum of the Astan Quds Razavi.*

Introduction | Following the theoretical developments of recent decades in the field of museum studies and the sociology of art, museums are no longer regarded solely as places for the preservation, conservation, and display of historical and artistic

works; rather, they have come to be considered as active, influential institutions possessing symbolic power in the process of meaning production, legitimation, and the reproduction of value hierarchies in society. What is introduced, foregrounded, and established within a museum as a "valuable work of art" is the product of a set of decisions, selections, classifications, and institutional procedures that take shape within the context of social, cultural, political, and power relations. From this perspective, the museum is not a neutral institution that reflects pre-existing values, but rather an active agent in the construction

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and reproduction of artistic value. Despite this conceptual shift in the global literature, a considerable portion of research related to museums and art in Iran has continued to focus on historical, aesthetic, managerial, or conservational aspects, and has addressed less the fundamental question of how artistic value is produced and legitimized—by which institutions and under what social logic. In such a situation, museums are often represented as neutral and naturalized spaces, and their role in exercising symbolic power and shaping aesthetic taste and artistic judgment is overlooked. On the other hand, the concept of the "economy of art" in many domestic studies has been largely reduced to financial transactions, the art market, and the circulation of economic capital; whereas a significant part of the logic governing the field of art operates at a non-material and symbolic level at which value, prestige, status, sacredness, and cultural legitimacy play a determining role. Neglecting this symbolic level seriously limits the understanding of the actual mechanisms of artistic valuation and the role of cultural institutions. Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory, with its emphasis on concepts such as field, habitus, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and symbolic power, provides an analytical framework for understanding these relations. From Bourdieu's perspective, artistic value is neither an inherent property nor merely the product of the aesthetic characteristics of a work; rather, it is constructed within specific social fields and through the mutual interaction among agents, institutions, and the implicit rules of the field. The museum, within this framework, is one of the key actors in the artistic field that, through the selection of works, modes of display, descriptive language, and legitimating mechanisms, plays a role in the production and reproduction of symbolic capital. The Astan Quds Razavi Museum, as one of the most important and influential cultural-religious institutions in Iran, holds a distinctive position within the country's cultural field. This museum is situated at the intersection of art, religion, and institutional power, and in addition to possessing extensive cultural, historical, and economic resources, is endowed with a profound religious capital and deep religious legitimacy within Iran's social structure. Such a positioning transforms this museum into a particularly distinctive field for analyzing how artistic value is formed in connection with the sacred. Within this context, the fundamental question arises as to what logics define and consolidate the value of artworks in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, and to what extent religious capital is dominant in comparison to aesthetic or historical criteria.

The primary research problem of the present study is to analyze how the symbolic economy of art takes shape within the Astan Quds Razavi Museum and to explain the mechanisms through which a particular form of symbolic prestige of artworks is produced and reproduced. Drawing on the Bourdieusian theoretical framework, this research seeks to demonstrate how religious capital, the mechanisms of endowment and votive offerings, the discourse of sacredness, the descriptive language

of works, and the spatial organization of the museum operate alongside one another and lead to the construction of the symbolic value of artworks. Accordingly, the present study aims to analyze the Astan Quds Razavi Museum not merely as a space for the display of art, but as an active field engaged in redefining the criteria of artistic value and reproducing a particular symbolic order within Iran's cultural-religious field. In continuation of and in connection with this analysis, the role of such a process in the formation of a cultural tourism brand will also be examined.

Research Objectives

Main objective: To analyze how the symbolic economy of art takes shape and to examine the mechanisms of production, consolidation, and reproduction of symbolic prestige of artworks in the cultural-religious field of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, based on the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu.

Secondary objectives: 1) To identify the dominant forms of symbolic capital and their relations with religious capital in the process of valuation and attribution of prestige to artworks in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum; 2) To analyze the role of institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms (such as waqf, votive offerings, the descriptive language of works, and modes of display) in the production and consolidation of the symbolic prestige of artworks; 3) To explain how a particular symbolic order takes shape in the cultural-religious field of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum and its consequences for the criteria of artistic valuation in the formation of the museum's tourism brand.

Research Question

Within the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, through what processes and institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms does the symbolic economy of art take shape in the cultural-religious field of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, and what relation does religious capital bear to the process of production and reproduction of the symbolic prestige of artworks, the consolidation of the dominant symbolic order, and the formation of the cultural-religious tourism brand?

Research Method

The present study is qualitative in nature and descriptive-analytical in terms of its objective. It was conducted adopting a critical-interpretive approach. The selection of a qualitative approach was made on account of the nature of the research problem; for the analysis of the symbolic economy of art and the mechanisms of symbolic prestige production necessitates a deep understanding of meanings, discourses, and institutional practices that take shape within the context of a specific cultural-religious field and cannot be explained through quantitative methods. The research strategy is a qualitative case study, and the Astan Quds Razavi Museum was selected as the case under study. This selection was made based on the distinctive position of this museum within Iran's cultural-religious field,

its possession of extensive religious and institutional capital, and its effective role in the processes of valuation and symbolic recognition of artworks. The case study approach enables a contextualized and intra-field analysis of the mechanisms of the symbolic economy and avoids hasty generalizations beyond the case under study. Data collection was carried out through a combination of documentary study and field observation. Documentary data include the museum's official documents, texts introducing the works, catalogues, brochures, and written content present within exhibition spaces. Field observation was also conducted in the form of non-participatory observation, focused on spatial arrangement, modes of display of works, lighting, visitor movement routes, and the visual language governing the space. These observations were conducted with the aim of identifying the implicit mechanisms of meaning production and symbolic prestige. Data analysis was performed using the thematic analysis method and based on the six-phase model of Braun & Clarke (2006). In this process, the data were first read repeatedly, and primary meaning units were extracted. Subsequently, initial codes were organized on the basis of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, including field, habitus, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and symbolic power. In the next stage, core themes were formed, representing the principal mechanisms of production and reproduction of the symbolic prestige of artworks in the cultural-religious field of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum. In order to ensure the adequacy of the data and the validity of the extracted themes, the coding process was carried out progressively and simultaneously with data collection. Following the examination of 380 samples from the museum's official documents, texts introducing the works, catalogues, and field observation notes, new codes were initially produced at 141 codes; however, in the final stages of analysis, new data were largely classifiable within existing codes and categories, and no new theme was added to the analytical framework. In the final three rounds of data review, all extracted meaning units were placed under the existing themes and no new mechanism was identified outside the four main categories. Accordingly, theoretical saturation was achieved; meaning that the continued analysis of data would not lead to new conceptual development, and the explanatory pattern derived from the data possessed sufficient stability and coherence. Finally, the core themes were formed in connection with Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts (field, symbolic capital, symbolic power, and symbolic economy) (Tables 1 & 2). To enhance the validity of the research, strategies such as diversity of data sources, repeated re-reading of data, continuous alignment of findings with the theoretical framework, and avoidance of generalizability beyond the case under study were employed.

Necessity and Significance of the Research

The present study is of necessity and importance from several theoretical, methodological, and applied perspectives, and can

make a meaningful contribution to the expansion of museum studies, the sociology of art, and the analysis of cultural institutions in Iran. First, from a theoretical perspective, this research, through the systematic application of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological framework, addresses one of the significant gaps in the domestic literature. The major part of museum studies in Iran has either adopted a descriptive and historical approach or has addressed the technical and managerial aspects of museums, and has less frequently analyzed the museum as a social and symbolic field. By focusing on concepts such as field, symbolic capital, religious capital, and the symbolic economy of art, this research provides the possibility of a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of artistic valuation within the institutional context of the museum, and contributes to the development of the application of Bourdieu's theory in art and cultural studies in Iran. Second, from a thematic perspective, the research focuses on a religious museum in particular: the Astan Quds Razavi Museum is of special importance. Religious museums, by virtue of their simultaneous connection with art, religion, and institutional power, operate according to valuation logics that are distinct from those of other museums. Nevertheless, this type of museum has been less studied in the literature of the sociology of art, particularly within the cultural context of Iran. The analysis of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, as one of the most important cultural-religious institutions in the country, makes it possible to understand the role of religious capital in the production and reproduction of the symbolic prestige of artworks, and can offer an analytically cautiously generalizable model to other similar cultural institutions. Third, from a methodological perspective, the significance of this research lies in the employment of a qualitative approach, case study, and thematic analysis in the field of museum studies. This methodological combination enables a contextualized, interpretive, and non-reductionist analysis of cultural phenomena, and demonstrates how documentary, discursive, and spatial data can be employed to analyze the mechanisms of symbolic power. Accordingly, the present research can be utilized as a methodological model for similar studies in the field of art and culture. Fourth, from an applied and cultural policy perspective, the findings of this research can contribute to enhancing the awareness of cultural managers, museum administrators, and cultural researchers regarding the role of museum institutions in the production of meaning and value. Knowledge of the mechanisms of production of symbolic prestige of artworks makes possible a more consciously reflective reconsideration of policies relating to exhibition, narrative construction, and museum valuation, and can lead to the enhancement of transparency and institutional self-awareness in cultural management. The present research endeavors, by linking sociological theory, institutional analysis, and the empirical study of a religious museum, to take a step toward deepening the social understanding of art and the museum in Iran.

Table 1. The process of coding and theme extraction. Source: Authors.

Raw data (meaning unit)	Initial code	Category	Theme	Theoretical pattern (bourdieu)
The work has been dedicated as a votive offering to the sacred precinct of Imam Reza (A.S.)	Votive offering to the Imams (A.S.)	Waqf and votive offering	Sacredness-centrality in the valuation of works	Symbolic capital
Votive gift of the devotees of the Ahl al-Bayt (A.S.)	Religious legitimacy of the work	Religious legitimacy	Sacredness-centrality in the valuation of works	Religious capital
Precedence of waqf over the formal description of the work	Precedence of the endower's intention	Priority of religious narrative	Suspension of aesthetic criteria	Heteronomous field
Scarcity of analysis of the work's style and technique	Omission of artistic analysis	Omission of artistic criteria	Suspension of aesthetic criteria	Autonomy of art
Introduction of the work as a source of blessing	Alteration of the work's function	Transformation of meaning	Conversion of the art object into a carrier of meaning	Symbolic economy
Display of votive works at the center of the hall	Spatial centrality	Spatial hierarchy of works	Symbolic hierarchy of works	Symbolic order
Prominent lighting of religious works	Spatial foregrounding	Display technique	Symbolic hierarchy of works	Symbolic capital
Marginalization of the pen-box display case	Spatial omission	Symbolic omission	Marginalization of independent cultural capital	Heterogeneous field
Guided movement route of the visitor	Direction of visitor experience	Control of experience	Ritualization of the visiting experience	Cultural technology
Magnificent hall for sacred manuscripts	Ritual spatial design	Sacred aesthetics	Ritualization of the visiting experience	Ritualism
Emphasis on the endower rather than the artist	Diminished presence of the creator's name	Substitution of subject	Predominance of religious action over artistic action	Field heteronomy
Continuous relation of the work to the shrine	Institutional connection	Institutional legitimacy	Institution as producer of prestige	Institutional capital
Valuation without artistic criteria	Non-aesthetic value	Ritual logic	Particular symbolic economy of the museum	Symbolic economy
Farshchian's works on the theme of Karbala	Overlap of art and religion	Dual legitimacy	Conversion of capitals	Conversion of capitals

Table 2. Final extracted themes and their explanation. Source: Authors.

Final theme	Analytical definition of the theme	Key evidence
Sacredness-centrality in the valuation of works	The value of the work increases to the extent that, in terms of form and style, it is connected to the sacred.	Waqf, votive offering, blessing
Suspension of aesthetic-art-historical criteria	Criteria of art history and aesthetics are marginalized in the process of valuation.	Omission of formal analysis
Symbolic hierarchy of works	Works are displayed on the basis of their degree of proximity to the sacred.	Spatial centrality
Ritualization of the visiting experience	The visit to the museum is transformed into a pilgrimage-like experience.	Movement route, lighting
Predominance of religious action over artistic action	The act of the endower takes precedence over the act of the artist.	Omission of the artist's name
Institution as the producer of legitimacy	The museum institution is the primary source of legitimation.	Relation to the shrine
Particular symbolic economy of the museum	The value of works is produced according to a ritual and non-material logic.	Priority of meaning
Convergence of artistic and religious capital	In certain works, artistic capital is integrated into religious capital.	Farshchian's works

Literature Review

The literature review of the present study has been organized with the aim of mapping the state of existing knowledge concerning museums, artistic valuation, and the symbolic economy, at three levels: international studies, studies related to religious museums, and domestic research.

• International studies in the field of museums and symbolic power

In the international literature, the analysis of the museum as an active institution in the production of meaning and symbolic power has been seriously addressed, particularly from the 1980s onward. Bennett (1995), regards the museum as a modern institution that, through spatial ordering, classification, and display, plays a role in shaping cultural subjects and symbolic discipline. Bennett demonstrates that museums, by naturalizing particular systems of knowledge and value, participate in the reproduction of power relations. Duncan (1995), analyzes the museum as a ritual space in which the experience of visiting constitutes a form of cultural ceremony. From Duncan's perspective, art museums, through the organization of movement routes and visual narratives, consolidate a form of symbolic order that directs the visitor toward the acceptance of legitimate taste and values. Hooper-Greenhill (2000), emphasizes the role of museum discourses and the language of display in the production of meaning. She regards the museum as a space in which knowledge and power are intertwined, and the interpretation of artworks always takes place within the framework of institutional discourses. In the field of the sociology of art, Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework plays a foundational role in the analysis of artistic valuation processes. Bourdieu (1984; 1993), demonstrates that artistic value is not inherent, but rather the product of the interaction of social forces, institutions, and various forms of capital. From this perspective, institutions such as museums play a determining role in the conversion of particular capitals into symbolic capital and in the consolidation of legitimate taste, in the Bourdieusian sense, denotes the system of artistic evaluation that is officially sanctioned and taken for granted within a particular institutional field. Legitimate taste', in the Bourdieusian sense, denotes the system of artistic evaluation that is officially sanctioned and taken for granted within a particular institutional field. Legitimate taste, in the Bourdieusian sense, denotes the system of artistic evaluation that is officially sanctioned and taken for granted within a particular institutional.

• Studies related to museums, religion, and the sacred

In recent years, a number of studies have addressed the relationship between museums, religion, and the sacred. Macdonald (2013), refers to the role of museums in the representation of memory, identity, and the sacred in contemporary societies, and demonstrates how museum institutions can consolidate particular narratives of the past and of sacredness. Additionally, researchers such as Paine (2014) have specifically addressed the challenges of displaying sacred objects

in museums, and have shown that in religious museums, the logic of the valuation of works frequently departs from independent aesthetic criteria and becomes dependent upon ritual, doctrinal, and institutional criteria. These studies demonstrate that religious capital can become a dominant form of symbolic capital within the museum field. Nevertheless, the major part of these studies has focused on Christian museums or Western societies, and the analysis of religious museums in Islamic and non-Western contexts has remained limited.

• Domestic research

A review of articles and theses published in the field of Iranian museum studies over the past decade (2016–2026) indicates that the major portion of research has focused on the history, management, education, and conservation of museums. In contrast, the analysis of the museum as a social and symbolic institution has accounted for a small share of scholarly output. In the field of the sociology of art, some domestic studies, drawing inspiration from Bourdieu's theory, have examined the artistic field, cultural taste, and cultural capital; however, their focus has predominantly been on the art market, artists, or cultural consumption, and the role of museums in the production and reproduction of the symbolic prestige of artworks has received less attention. Museums constitute an important part of the heritage tourism industry and fulfill a threefold role as agents of social change, centers of cultural activity, and repositories of heritage and knowledge (Shafiei & Korani, 2019, 145). Indeed, museums, beyond their traditional function as sites for the preservation of works or educational spaces, are today recognized as active symbolic fields in which cultural, social, and political values are continuously constructed, reconstructed, and distributed. Bourdieu's field theory emphasizes that society is composed of fields, each of which is a structured space of positions, possessing agents, capitals, dispositions, and habitus that constitute the internal space of the field (Aghajari & Kakavand, 2025, 91). Bourdieu (1991), in *Language and Symbolic Power*, through a combination of linguistic, sociological, and political theories, examines how symbolic power operates through language and institutions, and analyzes how it affects social and political fields. Although Bourdieu's intellectual framework was initially developed in the context of the French cultural field, its application to the analysis of museums outside the West, particularly in societies with strong religious-political discourses, has grown significantly over the past two decades. In the Islamic world, museums are spaces of concentrated symbolic, religious, and institutional capital. This characteristic renders Bourdieu's framework suitable for their analysis, as Bourdieu aptly demonstrates how various capitals (religious, cultural, institutional) combine and convert with one another within a single field. The entry of works into a museum removes them from the real and functional world and places them within a symbolic and conceptual world. Works are severed from their primary function, and in the course of their

transfer from producer to museum, their meaning continuously changes; new data and interpretations are added to them, and multiple meanings (such as commodity, art, cultural heritage, or sacred sign) are imposed upon them. The museum values of works are not what they possessed at the time of production, but rather the result of the current perspectives of the host society and its knowledge systems; that is, their meaning and value are reproduced within the cultural and social context of the museum (Dashtizadeh & Javani, 2016, 32). In the contemporary era, the most appropriate context for perceiving the narrative of museum space is social interaction, so that while establishing social connections, it can invite audiences to understand the narrative of artworks. In the process of spatial perception, the boundary between the work and the audience dissolves, and the audience comprehends the museum's narrative through their embodied presence. At the same time, visitors participate with one another in meaning-making processes through their bodies. Increasing attention to this matter in museum space design can lead to better communication between audiences and the space, as well as among audiences themselves. Museums, as narrative spaces, can be created in accordance with current needs and interests and can contribute to the process of history-making and its reconstruction. Furthermore, the establishment of social, cultural, and personal relationships among each of the visitors leads to increased social interaction and the perpetuation of the space (Gil Amirrod et al., 2023, 683). Regarding religious museums, and in particular the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, existing research has predominantly adopted a historical or descriptive approach, focusing mainly on the introduction of collections, the history of waqf, and cultural functions. The sociological analysis of this museum within the framework of concepts such as field, symbolic capital, and the symbolic economy of art has remained neglected in the domestic literature.

• The position of the present research

Based on a critical review of the literature, the present study, drawing upon the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu and focusing on a religious museum within the cultural context of Iran, seeks to fill the existing gap in the research literature. By simultaneously analyzing institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms, this study examines the Astan Quds Razavi Museum as an active field in the production and reproduction of the symbolic prestige of artworks, and thereby offers a theoretical and empirical contribution to the expansion of museum studies and the sociology of art in Iran.

Research Body

Museum narratives are methods for discovering and producing meaning. The tools for producing museum narratives in museums are not limited to texts alone; rather, each of the museum's actions—such as the selection of objects, arrangement, categorization, and similar practices—directs the visitor to move along the path of a distinct story (Dashtizadeh, 2022, 30).

The Symbolic Economy within the Framework of Bourdieu's Theory

In the present study, the symbolic economy of art refers to the totality of institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms through which particular forms of artistic value and prestige are produced, consolidated, and exchanged. Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), among the sociologists and critics of the field of French literary sociology, by completing Goldman's theory of genetic structuralism, which addressed the longstanding problem of the duality of the individual and society, transformed it into the relationship between habitus and field. The field, which is also interpreted as “context,” “domain,” or “class,” is one of the key concepts in Bourdieu's sociology, whose English equivalent is “field.” From Bourdieu's perspective, the field is a structured and hierarchical domain in which agents compete over economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capitals. Each field has its own specific rules, and agents occupy objective social positions and do not act in a vacuum. This perspective, while emphasizing the role of social position, distances itself from objectivist determinism (Aghajari & Kakavand, 2025, 93). Within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, social action cannot be reduced solely to habitus or field; rather, action is the result of a dynamic and unconscious relationship between habitus (a relatively stable set of unconscious dispositions and tendencies formed from social experiences), field (a structured and hierarchical domain within which action takes place), and capital (the resources that determine an individual's position within the field). Bourdieu summarizes this relationship in the following equation: $\text{Action} = \text{Field} + (\text{Capital} \times \text{Habitus})$. This equation demonstrates that action is the product of the individual's internal dispositions (habitus) in interaction with their position in the field (which is determined by their capital), and can only manifest under the specific conditions of a given field. Accordingly, agents are neither pre-programmed machines nor merely subject to structural influences; rather, their actions are the product of the unconscious relationship between habitus and field (Niazi et al., 2019, 8). From a psychological perspective, the concept of a brand may be understood as the essence of the values that a destination can communicate to the world, and without which the image of that destination becomes an ambiguous image. The value of a tourism brand can give rise to an eagerness and desire to become part of that brand's community; however, a brand can convey its value to the audience—that is, the tourist—in its various dimensions only when the outcome is satisfaction with the brand, loyalty to the brand, brand identity, brand symbol, perceived quality, brand image, brand equity, and brand awareness. It is not possible to claim a brand without tourist satisfaction, and at the same time, satisfaction at a destination as the primary axis cannot be conceived without the creation of a mental image derived from the brand (Azimi & Rezaei, 2024, 12). In Bourdieu's sociology, “capital” refers to a set of resources and values that an

individual can draw upon within a specific field. Bourdieu defines capital as “any influential resource from which an individual can derive benefit through participation and competition in a field” (Aghajari & Kakavand, 2025, 93). By critiquing the traditional duality between structure and action, Pierre Bourdieu offered an analytical framework in which culture, art, and taste are understood not as pure or inherent elements, but as reflections of power relations and social hierarchies. The core of this framework is constituted by the three interrelated concepts of field, capital, and habitus, which, alongside the concept of symbolic power, enable the analysis of the “symbolic economy”—an economy in which goods are evaluated not on the basis of exchange value, but on the basis of symbolic value and social legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991). In contrast to the material economy, in the symbolic economy, art is one of the most important carriers of symbolic capital. However, artistic value, contrary to common assumption, is not inherent in the work itself; rather, it is constructed within the cultural field. As Bourdieu (1993) emphasizes in *The Field of Cultural Production*, the value of a work of art is determined not in the work itself, but in its position within the field and in its relation to the other agents of the field. Museums, within this framework, are not merely exhibition spaces, but legitimating institutions that, through symbolic consecration, elevate works from the ordinary domain to the realm of cultural sacredness. In his profound sociological inquiries, Bourdieu demonstrates that artistic tastes in society are entirely grounded in social classes. For example, he notes that the artistic taste of the working class is expressed in the selection of ordinary subjects such as a sunset landscape, whereas the upper class avoids the sentimentalism of conventional subjects and selects more challenging objects, such as a car accident. From his perspective, people’s knowledge of art is related to their taste and social class. Influenced by the serious distinctions that exist among different social classes, he proposed the theory of poles in art. From his perspective, economic modernity has divided politics, sport, the intellectual sphere, art, and similar domains, and has created various networks in society. Each network has its own specific social space. Modern society within these networks has elites who compete with one another for economic, political, and cultural assets in order to lead the subordinate classes. Among these, artistic fields are one of the subsets of the various institutions, or networks themselves. According to Bourdieu, these fields are divided into various poles or sections based on the nature of the social relations of that society—fields that have autonomous poles as well as dependent poles. In his analysis, Bourdieu argues that in the autonomous pole, the arts act according to their own will; whereas in the dependent pole, the mutual influence of other fields—in particular the commercial field—is present.

Bourdieu’s Conceptual Framework on Artistic Taste and the Structure of the Artistic Field

Within this framework, modernity constitutes the point of departure, which leads to the differentiation of social networks.

Each network possesses its own specific field, and the artistic field, as one of these fields, is structured under the influence of social classes, capitals, and elite competition (Fig. 1). The outcome of this process is the formation of two poles—autonomous and dependent—within the artistic field, and ultimately the emergence of distinct genres of art. Within this conceptual framework, artistic taste is not an individual phenomenon, but rather the product of social position, the type of capital, and the agent’s situation within the artistic field. The artistic field, under the influence of modernity and the differentiation of social networks, is divided into two poles: autonomous and dependent. The autonomous pole, with its emphasis on the autonomy of art and cultural capital, stands in opposition to the dependent pole, in which the logic of the market and commercial imperatives play a determining role. This duality ultimately leads to the formation of distinct genres of art, including bourgeois art and industrial art.

According to Bourdieu’s views, artistic poles transform artistic criteria and values on the basis of transformations among social networks. In other words, it is these poles that distinguish art from non-art, and not the principles and standards that have defined art and its concept for centuries. The theory of poles tells us that it is sufficient for one who claims artistic ambition to join the ranks of the autonomous poles, without possessing the necessary qualifications and means for artistry. In such a case, whatever they create, even if worthless, is considered art solely because it stands in opposition to bourgeois, industrial, or state art; and conversely, whoever produces trivial and worthless works, solely because they have met with wide public reception, sees their work regarded as a work of art. In this manner, the poles make the guild and network criteria they select concerning art into the very criteria for defining art, and in the process, many genuinely artistic works go unnoticed while many counterfeit works unjustly receive the designation of artwork (Bolkhari Ghehi, 2016, 93–95). The present study has been formulated with the aim of explaining the objective and symbolic mechanisms of artistic value production in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, and rests upon a systematic connection between empirical data and the theoretical literature of the sociology of art and museum studies. The analyses are not merely reflections of descriptive observations, but rather interpretations of data in the light of established concepts such as field, symbolic capital, symbolic power, and the dominant pattern of artistic valuation, which have been extensively developed in the works of Pierre Bourdieu and researchers in the field of museum studies.

• The museum as an institutional field of symbolic capital production

Bourdieu regards the field of cultural production as a space of objective relations among agents, institutions, and various forms of capital, within which a struggle over the definition of legitimate value unfolds (Bourdieu, 1993). The documentary data of the

present study indicate that the Astan Quds Razavi Museum possesses the characteristics of an established institutional field—a field in which religious and institutional capital plays a dominant role in the conversion of other forms of capital into symbolic prestige. In the majority of the texts introducing the works, the precedence given to information concerning waqf, the intention of the endower, and the work's connection to the shrine of Imam Reza (A.S.) over the description of formal characteristics or the art history of the work is observable. This recurring pattern may be regarded as empirical data demonstrating that the dominant criteria of valuation in this field are governed less by the logic of the autonomous field of art than by the dominant logic of religious capital. The analysis of documents indicates that many works in catalogues and descriptive texts are introduced with expressions such as “a votive endowment gift,” “a votive offering of the devotees of the Ahl al-Bayt (A.S.),” or “this work has been offered as a votive offering to the sacred precinct of Imam Reza (A.S.).” This discourse transforms the act of waqf from a financial transfer into a religious-votive act, and converts the works into spiritual instruments of the devotion of the lovers of Imam Reza (A.S.). As an example, the historical bow of Shah Abbas Safavid (Fig. 2), adorned with tash'ir floral motifs, was crafted and endowed by Shah Abbas Safavid himself in the year 1013 AH, and was delivered to the sacred shrine of Razavi in 1016 AH. The inscription written on the bow reads: “Abbas made this bow, and by the grace of God, endowed it to the presence of Sultan Ali Mortaza.” These findings are consistent with Bourdieu's analysis of heteronomous fields—fields in which external logics, including religion or politics, intervene in the determination of artistic value (Bourdieu, 1996).

• Museum discourse and the symbolic mechanisms of legitimation

Museum studies have demonstrated that museums play an active role in the production of meaning and cultural legitimacy through language, narrative, and systems of classification (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Macdonald, 2006). The analysis of documentary data indicates that the discourse of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum is significantly grounded in concepts such as sacredness, blessedness, dedication, and waqf. These terms function not merely descriptively, but normatively, and offer the audience an interpretive framework within which the value of the work is presumed in advance. In contrast to museums that determine artistic value on the basis of cultural, historical, or economic capital, in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, religious capital constitutes the primary axis of valuation. This capital is produced not through the taste of experts, but through the works' connection to the shrine and the intentions of the endowers. The analysis of texts demonstrates that even works that are not technically or historically distinguished attain high value if they possess a spiritual connection to the shrine. This process is indicative of a particular symbolic economy in which spirituality takes precedence over aesthetics (Fig. 3).

This discursive pattern can be interpreted within the framework of Bourdieu's concept of “symbolic power,” a power that is exercised through the conferral of meaning and the naturalization of systems of value (Bourdieu, 1989). The museum, drawing upon its institutional and religious legitimacy, presents this discourse in a manner that appears self-evident and beyond contestation to the audience. The studies of Bennett (1995) and Macdonald (2006) have likewise

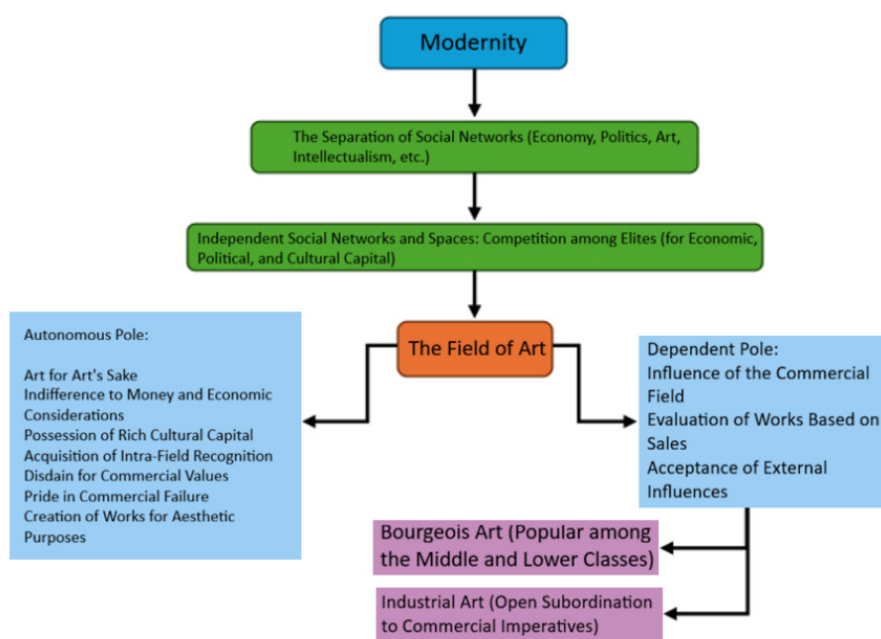


Fig. 1. Bourdieu's conceptual framework on artistic taste, social classes, and the structure of the artistic field. Source: Authors.



Fig. 2. The bow of Shah Abbas Safavid. Source: Author's archive.

demonstrated that such processes are a common characteristic of museum institutions within particular ideological contexts.

• Spatial organization and the embodied experience of the symbolic order

In the present study, the primary focus has been on institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms, and the lived experience of visitors has not been directly examined. Nevertheless, the analysis of spatial organization and museum language demonstrates that the audience's experience—whether as pilgrim or tourist—is implicitly and in a directed manner placed in the service of the internalization of the symbolic order and the ritual logic of the museum. Progress in tourism is derived from the manner in which the principal actors of this domain perceive the nature and identity of tourism (Shafiea, 2025, 3). Duncan (1995) regards the museum as a form of ritual space in which the experience of visiting possesses a symbolic and embodied structure. The field observation data of the present study indicate that the spatial arrangement of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum has been designed in such a manner that votive objects and works with a direct religious connection are displayed in more central positions, with more prominent lighting and greater symbolic distancing. This spatial organization conveys a form of value hierarchy to the body and perception of the visitor without explicit articulation. As an example, the display case of pen boxes crafted using various techniques and belonging to diverse historical periods (Fig. 4) is located at the entrance to the treasury of Qur'anic manuscripts, and appears to receive comparatively less attention from viewers by virtue of its spatial positioning.

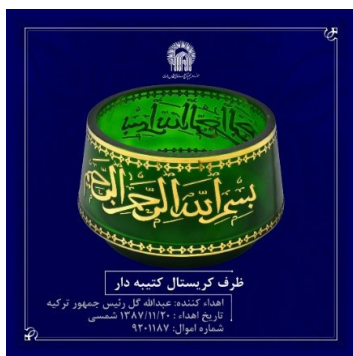


Fig. 3. Inscribed crystal vessel. Source: Author's archive.

In contrast, the hall housing the manuscripts of Nahj al-Balagha and Sahifa Sajjadiyya is arranged within a more magnificent space consonant with the religious and spiritual value of these manuscripts, and benefits from a more appropriate spatial arrangement and environmental design, demonstrating that lighting, visual focus, and physical distancing have been placed in the service of foregrounding religious capital (Fig. 5).

This finding is consistent with Bennett (1995)'s analysis of the museum as a "cultural technology," a technology that, through the regulation of space, movement, and vision, instructs social and symbolic order. In this sense, space is not a neutral backdrop, but rather an active component of the mechanism of valuation that serves to consolidate the criteria of the dominant pattern of valuation.

• The reproduction of the dominant pattern of artistic valuation and the symbolic economy of art

Bourdieu (1984) regards the dominant pattern of artistic valuation as a social construct that is consolidated through legitimating institutions. The combination of documentary and spatial data in this study indicates that the Astan Quds Razavi Museum plays a role in the reproduction of a particular type of dominant pattern of artistic valuation—a pattern in which the proximity of the work to the sacred and its institutional connection to the Astan constitute the primary criterion of symbolic prestige. In this symbolic economy, artworks are valued



Fig. 4. Display case of pen boxes crafted using various techniques. Source: Author's archive.



Fig. 5. The hall of the Manuscripts of Nahj al-Balagha and Sahifa Sajjadiyya. Source: Author's archive.

not merely as aesthetic objects, but as carriers of religious and historical capital. This logic is consistent with the findings of international studies on religious museums, which demonstrate that in such spaces, ritual logic prevails over the autonomous logic of art (Paine, 2014; Buggeln et al., 2017). One concrete example of the reproduction of the dominant pattern of artistic valuation in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum is the display of the religious paintings of Master Mahmoud Farshchian, whose subject is the event of Karbala and the suffering of Imam Hussein (A.S.) and his household (Fig. 6). These works are valuable not only from an aesthetic perspective, but are also regarded as possessing a special symbolic prestige owing to their religious theme and their connection to Shiite rites and beliefs. In addition, the precious manuscripts of the Qur'an, Sahifa Sajjadiyya, and Nahj al-Balagha held in the treasury of the Astan are another example of this logic; these manuscripts are notable both from an artistic perspective and, owing to their direct relation to the sacred and to the shrine of the eighth Shiite Imam, the primary criterion of their valuation is their connection to the sacred and to institutional legitimacy. These examples demonstrate that in the central museum of the Astan Quds, the value of artworks is not governed solely by aesthetics; rather, the spiritual and ritual weight of the work determines its position within the symbolic economy of the museum, a finding that is consistent with the results of international studies on religious museums and confirms the predominance of ritual logic over the autonomous logic of art.

In sum, the findings of the research indicate that the Astan Quds Razavi Museum can be analyzed as a heteronomous field, within which the symbolic economy of art is shaped predominantly in connection with religious capital and within the framework of the institutional power dependent upon it. This field, through a set of discursive, spatial, and institutional mechanisms, consolidates and reproduces the dominant pattern of artistic valuation, and thereby plays an active role in organizing the symbolic order that governs the cultural-religious field. From a theoretical perspective, the cultural tourism brand may be regarded as the external manifestation of a destination's symbolic capital. When a cultural institution is capable of producing and reproducing, in a stable manner, a set of meanings, values, and

symbolic distinctions, these meanings become transformed, in the minds of the audience, into the brand image. From this perspective, the symbolic capital produced within the museum can constitute one of the foundations for the formation of the cultural tourism brand.

• The role of the symbolic economy in the formation of the cultural tourism brand

The cultural tourism brand is not merely a name or a logo, but rather the essence of values that create a stable mental image in the audience (Azimi & Rezaei, 2024, 12). The findings of this research indicate that the brand of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum is not the product of advertising, but rather emerges from the very symbolic economy explained in the preceding sections. In other words, "brand equity" here derives directly from the symbolic capital produced within the field of the museum. Although the direct measurement of brand components (such as awareness, image, loyalty, and distinction) requires quantitative and survey-based research conducted directly with visitors, the findings of this study can lay the groundwork for explaining why and how this museum's brand takes shape. Based on the analysis conducted, three foundational characteristics of the symbolic economy governing the Astan Quds Razavi Museum are as follows: sacredness alongside aesthetics (rather than the substitution of one for the other); the interweaving of the pilgrimage experience and the museum-going experience (the design of the space in such a manner that pilgrimage and visitation are inseparable); and the relative priority of the endower over the artist (the religious act of waqf stands alongside the value-creating artistic act). These three characteristics provide the objective groundwork upon which part of the museum's brand is formed. For instance, the characteristic of sacredness alongside aesthetics leads to the formation of a brand image in which the museum is defined not merely as an art gallery, but as a destination for the simultaneous experience of art and of blessedness and sacredness. Likewise, the characteristic of the interweaving of the pilgrimage experience and



Fig. 6. A selection of the paintings of Mahmoud Farshchian on the theme of the event of Karbala and the Suffering of Imam Hussein (A.S.) and his holy household. Source: Author's archive.

the museum-going experience constitutes the most important source of this museum's brand distinction from other secular, and even other religious, museums in Iran. Nevertheless, owing to its qualitative nature, the present study has not directly examined the perceptual and subjective dimensions of the brand (such as awareness, loyalty, and perceived quality), and this matter is proposed as a subject for future research.

In this study, thematic analysis led to the extraction of initial codes, their organization into categories, and ultimately the identification of core themes. The extracted themes are indicative of the dominant pattern of the symbolic economy of art in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, within which religious capital plays a determining role in the valuation of works (Tables 1 & 2). Based on the thematic analysis of the data, four principal analytical categories were extracted, which served as the basis for the organization of the findings.

• A conceptual model of the formation of the symbolic economy of art and cultural tourism branding in the Astan Quds Razavi museum

The analysis of the extracted themes demonstrates that the symbolic economy of art in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum operates in the form of a multi-level, sequential process that begins with the conversion of religious capital into symbolic capital and ultimately leads to the formation of a cultural tourism brand. In contrast to conventional artistic fields, in which the prestige of a work derives primarily from cultural capital and specialized legitimacy, in the cultural-religious field of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, religious capital functions as the central core of the valuation system and exerts influence over other forms of capital. At the first level, "primary religious capital"—comprising waqf, votive offerings, the attribution of works to the sacred shrine of Razavi, connection to religious figures, and collective religious memory—enters the museum field as the foundational source of legitimacy. This capital provides the raw material for the production of symbolic prestige. At the second level, the museum's institutional mechanisms—including the systems of acquisition, registration, classification, documentation, and display policies—convert religious capital into institutional capital. At this stage, the work is no longer merely a historical or artistic object, but becomes part of the legitimating system of the Astan Quds Razavi institution. At the third level, discursive mechanisms become activated. The descriptive language of the works, museum narratives, introductory texts, catalogues, and exhibition labels convert religious values into legitimating narratives. At this level, concepts such as "blessing," "waqf," "votive offering," "gift to the sacred precinct,"

and "devotion" bring about the naturalization of the works' prestige, and the audience is confronted with a system of meaning that presupposes the work's prestige in advance. At the fourth level, spatial mechanisms come into operation. The arrangement of works, lighting, visitor movement routes, the spatial hierarchy of the halls, and the degree of visual prominence of objects convert the discursive narrative into a lived experience. At this stage, the audience does not merely receive meaning, but internalizes it in the form of a spatial and ritual experience. The interaction of institutional, discursive, and spatial mechanisms ultimately leads to the production of "museum symbolic capital." This symbolic capital generates a form of social, cultural, and religious prestige for the works that transcends their aesthetic or historical characteristics. As a result, the value of a work is defined not solely on the basis of its artistic quality, but on the basis of the degree of its proximity to the sacred. The continuation of this process leads to the consolidation of a "dominant symbolic order" within the cultural-religious field of the museum. Within this order, artworks are ranked according to their relation to the sacred, and religious capital assumes the role of the primary criterion of valuation. This symbolic order is continuously reproduced through museum representations. The final outcome of this cycle is the formation of a "cultural-religious tourism brand." This brand takes shape not on the basis of conventional advertising and marketing, but on the basis of the gradual accumulation of symbolic capital. In this model, the distinctiveness of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum's brand from other museums derives from the integration of three principal components: sacredness, art, and the pilgrimage experience. Accordingly, the museum's brand may be regarded as the final product of the process of converting religious capital into symbolic capital, and subsequently converting symbolic capital into a tourism competitive advantage. Based on the findings of the research, the final model can be formulated as Fig. 7.

This model demonstrates that, in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, the tourism brand is not a direct consequence of the artworks themselves, but rather the outcome of an institutional process of production and reproduction of symbolic capital—a process in which religion, art, and institutional power simultaneously participate in the construction of cultural value. It should be noted that the cultural-religious tourism brand, in the present model (Fig. 7), is regarded as a conceptual construct and a theoretical consequence of the process of symbolic capital accumulation. Since the present study is qualitative and exploratory in nature, the model presented seeks to explain the mechanisms leading to the formation

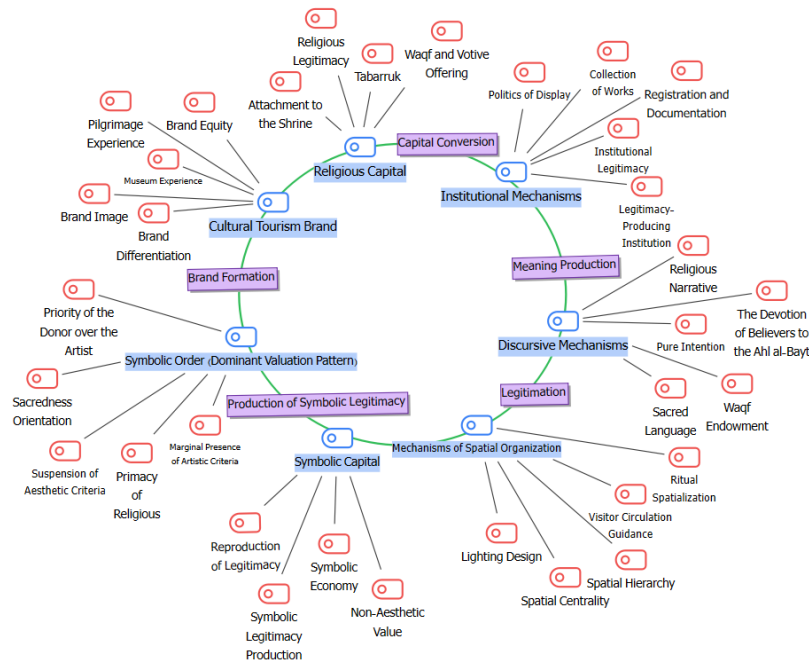


Fig. 7. Explication of the conceptual model of the research using MAXQDA 24 software. Source: Authors.

of the brand, rather than to empirically measure brand components such as awareness, mental image, perceived quality, or visitor loyalty.

Conclusion

The present study, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theoretical framework (field, symbolic capital, symbolic power, and heteronomy) and employing a qualitative thematic analysis approach, has sought to explain the mechanisms underlying the formation of the symbolic economy of art in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum and its role in cultural tourism branding. The mechanisms through which the symbolic prestige of artworks in this museum is produced, consolidated, and reproduced, and the relation of these mechanisms to religious capital, institutional power, and the dominant logics of artistic valuation, have been analyzed. The findings of the research indicate that the Astan Quds Razavi Museum cannot be regarded merely as a neutral space for the display of artworks or cultural heritage; rather, this museum functions as an institutional, active, and heteronomous field in which artistic value is shaped in close connection with religious and institutional logics. The central core of this symbolic economy is "sacredness-centrality in the valuation of works." Within this field, the symbolic prestige of works is produced not primarily on the basis of the autonomous criteria of the artistic field—such as formal innovation, stylistic considerations, or the work's position within art history—but rather on the basis of the degree of the work's connection to the sacred, the intention of the endower, and its institutional relation to the shrine of Imam Reza (A.S.). Mechanisms such as waqf and votive offering elevate works beyond the level of artistic or historical objects and

transform them into carriers of meaning, devotion, and religious action. Thus, religious capital functions as the dominant form of symbolic capital within this field, and other forms of capital, including cultural and artistic capital, are defined and valued in relation to it. Based on the findings of the research, in religious museums, religious capital is not merely one form of symbolic capital among others, but rather plays the role of a "converting capital"; that is, other forms of capital, including artistic, historical, and cultural capital, are converted into stable symbolic prestige only when they are redefined in relation to religious capital. This finding constitutes a conceptual development of the Bourdieusian framework and demonstrates that, in cultural-religious fields, the logic of capital conversion differs from that of the conventional artistic field. The analysis of museum discourse demonstrated that the descriptive language of the museum's works plays a determining role in the naturalization of this symbolic order. The repeated emphasis on terms such as sacredness, blessing, devotion, waqf, and gift establishes the value of the works as a priori and self-evident, and restricts the possibility of critical engagement or multiple interpretation. This language is not merely reflective of meaning, but is itself one of the instruments of the exercise of symbolic power, through which the dominant pattern of artistic valuation is reproduced. Within this framework, the Astan Quds Razavi Museum is not merely a narrator of meaning, but its producer and consolidator, drawing upon its institutional and religious legitimacy to impose a particular definition of artistic value. The findings derived from field observation likewise demonstrated that the museum's spatial organization plays a complementary role, aligned with museum discourse, in the reproduction of the symbolic

economy of art. The arrangement of works, lighting, the spatial positioning of objects, and visitors' movement routes are designed in such a manner as to implicitly and experientially convey a symbolic hierarchy of value to the audience. Works possessing a direct connection to the sacred and to religious capital are displayed in more central, more prominent, and more ritualized positions, whereas works with independent cultural capital or lacking religious weight are relegated to spatial and perceptual margins. This spatial organization transforms the experience of visiting the museum into a quasi-pilgrimage and ritual experience, in which the audience's perception, experience, and movement further reinforce the internalization of the symbolic order. Based on the extracted themes, it may be said that a particular "museum-specific symbolic economy" has taken shape in the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, within which art derives its meaning not primarily from the autonomous logic of the artistic field, but rather is placed in the service of ritual and institutional logic. This condition leads to the relative suspension of aesthetic and specialized artistic criteria, and gives precedence to the religious action of waqf and votive offering over the artistic action of creation. This particular symbolic economy bears a direct connection to the formation of the museum's cultural tourism brand. By producing the narrative of "art in the service of sacredness" and recreating a pilgrimage-museum experience, the museum attracts not only the religious audience but also the cultural tourist in search of authenticity and meaning. Thus, the narrative of "intertwined pilgrimage and art" possesses the capacity to function as the identity core of the cultural-religious tourism brand of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum; nevertheless, the empirical confirmation of this matter requires the examination of visitor perception and the measurement of brand components in future research. At the same time, this logic does not operate in a uniform or absolute manner; in certain cases, such as the works of artists like Mahmoud Farshchian, a form of fusion and overlap between artistic capital and religious capital is observed, indicative of the possibility of the conversion and integration of various forms of capital within this field. This demonstrates that the cultural-religious field of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum is a dynamic field possessing internal dynamics, rather than a wholly static and unidimensional structure. From a theoretical perspective, the results of this research demonstrate that the Bourdieusian concepts of field, symbolic capital, symbolic power, and heteronomy are effective instruments for the analysis of religious museums within non-Western cultural contexts. By extending the application of these concepts to the analysis of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum, this research demonstrates that religious museums cannot be analyzed solely through models derived from modern art museums; rather, it is necessary that their ritual, institutional, and religious logics be regarded as foundational and constitutive elements of the field, since the analysis of religious museums without consideration of the field's ritual, institutional, and religious logic would remain incomplete.

The findings indicate that the competitive advantage of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum lies not merely in its possession of a valuable collection of historical and artistic works, but in this institution's capacity to convert religious capital into symbolic capital and to transmit it to the experience of visitors. Accordingly, museum management strategies may, rather than focusing solely on the physical development of exhibition spaces, focus on strengthening the mechanisms of the production and transmission of meaning. The results of the research demonstrated that a significant portion of the symbolic prestige of works is shaped through museum narratives; therefore, reconsidering the manner in which texts introducing the works are composed, and establishing a balance among historical, artistic, and religious information, could lead to an enhancement of the quality of the visiting experience and an increase in audiences' understanding of the multilayered values of the works. The analysis of the data likewise demonstrated that, in the current condition, religious capital holds a dominant role within the museum's valuation system and, in certain instances, leads to the diminishment of the artistic and aesthetic dimensions of the works. Accordingly, it is suggested that the policies governing the display of works be designed in such a manner that, while preserving the spiritual and religious standing of the collections, their artistic, stylistic, and historical capacities are also foregrounded for audiences. Such an approach could extend the museum's audience base beyond religious pilgrims and increasingly attract art enthusiasts, researchers, and cultural tourists as well. On the other hand, the findings demonstrated that the museum's spatial organization plays an important role in the internalization of the symbolic order and the direction of visitors' experience. Accordingly, the museum's management strategies could, through the design of purposeful interpretive routes, represent the connection among the works, the tradition of waqf, the history of the shrine, and Iran's artistic heritage in a more coherent manner for the audience. Such a measure would enable the visitor to encounter not merely a collection of valuable objects, but an integrated cultural narrative. The results of the research likewise indicate that the tourism brand of the Astan Quds Razavi Museum relies less on external advertising than on the symbolic experience that takes shape within the museum space. Accordingly, the development of new digital storytelling tools, the employment of intelligent systems for introducing works, the design of multimedia content, and the use of interactive technologies could contribute to the more effective transmission of the museum's symbolic values and the strengthening of its brand image at both the national and international levels. At the level of cultural policymaking, the findings of the research demonstrate that religious museums may be regarded as one of the pillars of cultural tourism development in Iran. The realization of this capacity is contingent upon moving beyond a purely conservational approach toward the management of meaning, experience, and narrative—an approach in which the museum is regarded not merely as a site for the preservation

of works, but as an institution actively engaged in the production of cultural value, symbolic identity, and tourism competitive advantage. Although this research is a qualitative case study and does not aim at statistical generalizability, its findings may be analytically employed to understand the mechanisms of symbolic valuation in other similar religious museums and cultural institutions. Future research could deepen and complement these

results through comparative studies between religious and non-religious museums, the examination of the habitus of agents and audiences, and the analysis of cultural policies in shaping the symbolic economy.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest regarding this study.

Endnote

1. Legitimate taste, in the Bourdieusian sense, denotes the system of artistic evaluation that is officially sanctioned and taken for granted within a particular institutional field.

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