Religious Institutions in 19th-Century Tehran: Shariʿa Law in a City in Transition

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In loving memory of two special men

my beloved father and brother

whose light I lost far too soon

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CE	Common Era
d.	Date of death
DII.N	Dawlat-i ʿIlliyih-yi Iran newspaper
I.N	Iran newspaper
No.1	The first census and cadastral survey
No.2	The second census and cadastral survey
No.3	The third census and cadastral survey
Q. (q.)	Qamarī, lunar *hijrī* calendar
Sh. (sh.)	Shamsī, solar *hijrī* calendar
RI	Religious institution
RIs	Religious institutions
T.N	Tabiyat newspaper
WI.N	Waqayiʿ-i Ittifaqiyih newspaper

Note on Transliteration

This research engages with texts and concepts in three languages: English, Persian and Arabic. I use IJMES transliteration for Arabic and Persian terms. When an Arabic word is used in a Persian context, I use the Persian transliteration. As an example, I use Ẓ for the Persian term *naẓmīyih* and Ḍ for the Arabic term *qabḍ*. When an Arabic word is used in a Persian context, the Persian pronunciation and transliteration will be applied. For the Persian words ending with 'h', I use 'ih' or 'ah' based on their common Persian pronunciations. Additionally, the silent 'و' is shown with 'ʷ' such as khʷāndan.

Upper case letters are used for the initial letters of the proper nouns in transliterated terms. For nouns with common English equivalents, such as "Tehran," I choose the common usage and avoid the transliteration. Although proper nouns should not be transliterated, I use the transliterated forms for the names of RIs. Additionally, for the most frequently used terms, I follow the IJMES word list (see Appendix 1). Other than that, for Persian or Arabic terms commonly used in English, such as jihad, I follow the usual form. The Oxford Learner's Dictionary and Merriam-Webster Dictionary are the main sources for identifying such words.

Glossary

Akhbārī and *Uṣūlī*:[1] In Twelver Shiʿism, *Akhbārī* refers to a school of *fiqh* that relies primarily on the traditions, *akhbār*, of the imams as a source of religious knowledge, in contrast to the *Uṣūlī* school that admits a larger share of speculative reason in the principles (*uṣūl*) of theology and religious law.

ʿ*aqd:* A type of legal act that requires bilateral act of the parties such as contracts (see: *īqāʿ*).

ʿ*arīżih:* A written report about an event or person that is usually presented to a person of high rank, such as a king or a *mujtahid*. It was also used to refer to a request for help or a legal complaint.

ayatollah: A title with a hierarchical significance used by the Twelver Shiʿism, and meaning literally "Miraculous sign of God". It is used to refer to high-ranking ʿulamaʾ.

ʿ*azādārī:* Mourning in a commemoration ceremony for the Chahardah Maʿsum.

bast nishinī: The act of seeking asylum in a secured place. Those who were seeking refuge from prosecution used to shelter in some specific places such as *imāmzādih*.

Chahardah Maʿsum: It means the 14 infallible and pious persons. The term refers to the most sanctified characters in Twelver Shiʿism who were the Prophet, the 12 Imams, and the Prophet's daughter Fatimah.

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1 For most of the entries of the glossary, I rely on the online version of *Brill Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *Encyclopædia Iranica*. See: Kate Fleet et al., eds., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Brill), accessed August 12, 2021, https://brill.com/view/package/eio. Ehsan Yarshater et al. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, accessed August 12, 2021, https://iranicaonline.org.

dāng: A unite that is used in Iran to measure the percentage of ownership of a property. Each property is composed of 6 *dāng*.

fiqh: (adj. *fiqhī*): Literally means "understanding, knowledge, intelligence", however, it has become the technical term for jurisprudence, the science of religious law in Islam.

guzar: In cadastral survey No.1, each city district is divided into several sub-districts called *guzar*, which means pathways.

ḥabbih: It was a scale used for defining the share of somebody from a given property. Each property was divided into 6 parts, called *dāng*. A *ḥabbih* was equal to one sixth of a *dang*.

ḥabs: To block or imprison; here, to put a restriction on a property transaction.

*ḥākim-i shar*ʿ: It means the person who "rules over the religion." The original rulers of the religion are the Prophet Muhammad and the Imams. However, in their absence the term has become highly disputed. Some believed the ʿulamaʾ have this position while the others believed it belonged to the ruler of the Islamic state such as the Kings.

ḥaqq al-nās: An object or a right that belongs to people (see: *ḥaqq Allāh*).

ḥaqq Allāh: An object or a right that belongs to God (see: *ḥaqq al-nās*).

ḥawzah: (also *ḥawzah ʿilmīyah*): In Shiʿi societies, mainly Iran, it is another term that refers to a seminary school where scholars of Islamic knowledge are educated.

ijāza: Permission granted by a *marājiʿ* to another *ʿālim* so that the *ʿālim* can become an authority on a specific topic or be a source of emulation for other believers.

imāmzādih: The shrine of the children or close descendants of the Chahardah Maʿsum.

īqāʿ: A type of legal act that requires a unilateral act (see: *ʿaqd*).

kadkhudā: In premodern Iran, the term was used for the mayor or alderman of a small city, a city district, or a village. He was the administrative head of the community.

marjaʿ: (or *marjaʿ-i taqlīd,* pl. *marājiʿ*; the position is called *marjaʿīyat*) A title and function of a hierarchal nature denoting a Twelver Shiʿi jurisconsult, who is to be considered during his lifetime, by virtue of his qualities and his wisdom, a model for reference, for "imitation" or "emulation" by every observant Imāmī Shiʿi (except for *mujtahid-hā*) on all aspects of religious practice and law.

maṣraf (plural *maṣārif):* The revenues of a waqf property that are used to cover specific expenses of religious institutions or activities. These specific destinations of the revenues are called purposes of the waqf or *maṣārif-i waqf*.

mulla: Literally means "lord" or "master", employed currently as a title in the Turco-Iranian and Indo-Pakistan societies to refer to high-ranking ʿulamaʾ.

mujtahid: In contemporary usage, it denotes one who possesses the aptitude to form his own judgement on questions concerning the sharīʿa law, using personal effort in the interpretation of the fundamental principles (*uṣūl*) of the sharīʿa.

mutawallī: Custodian or guardian of a waqf property.

naẓir: Supervisor of a waqf is the person who monitors the conduct of the *mutawallī.*

nuḥihkhʷānī: Reciting the memoirs of the martyrs and survivors of Karbala and their dirge.

nuwkar: It means the office-holders. The term was used by No.1 to refer to a social class consisted of those who served the King and his royal court. See *raʿīyyat* and *ṣāhib manṣab*.

pātuq: In cadastral survey No.1, each *guzar* is divided into several sub-divisions called *pātuq*, which means hangout.

pīshnamāz: The title of a worship leader at a mosque.

qamihzanī: Striking oneself with a sword on the head, causing blood to flow. It is a ritual used by some Shiʿis in remembrance of the innocent blood of Imam Husayn.

raqabah: (pl. *raqabāt*) Waqf properties which are established to provide financial resources to a religious institution.

rawżihkhʷānī: Reciting tragic eulogies in public ceremonies in commemoration of Chahardah Maʿsum.

raʿīyyat: (plural form is *ruʿāyā*): It means bondmen. The term was used by No.1 to refer to a social class consisted of ordinary citizens. See *ṣāhib manṣab* and *nuwkar*.

rīshsifīd: It was a social title used for the elderly men of the community who were the trusted and authoritative persons for solving the problems.

shamāyil-gardānī: A theatrical performance in commemoration of the Chahardah Maʿsum. A speaker described important events related to the Chahardah Maʿsum and these were depicted on a large painting.

ṣāhib manṣab: It means the office-holders. The term was used by No.1 to refer to a social class consisted of the high-ranking state officials and court elites. See *raʿīyyat* and *nuwkar*.

sīyāq: A specific handwriting method used for recording fiscal numerals.

takyih (plural form is *takāyā*): A special building for performing *taʿzīyih* and rituals related to commemoration of Chahardah Maʿsum.

tawlīyat: The position assigned to a *mutawallī* of a waqf is called *tawlīyat*.

taʿzīyih: Theatrical performance of the events related to the killing of Imam Husayn.

waqf: (plural form is *awqāf*) Islamic pious endowment.

wāqif: The benefactor or donor who establishes a property as waqf.

ẓabṭī: Used in the royal registers as the land confiscated by the court officials.

zīyārat: The act of visiting a holy shrine.

Abstract

The *Nāṣirī* period (5 September 1848 CE to 1 May 1896 CE) was a period of massive social transition embedded in the pretext of the Iranian modernization process. The rapid multidimensional developments of Iranian society turned it into a unique time frame for applying an institutional approach to socio-historical research. By concentrating on the continuity and change of the Shiʿi religious institutions (RIs) in Iranian society, this research investigates how social groups and institutions facilitated changes in RIs. The research chooses a set of RIs which have had a unique status in the Iranian society: waqf, mosque, *takyih*, madrasa, and *imāmzādih*.

The main question of this thesis is: How and under what influences did the RIs change in the *Nāṣirī* period? This question rises several secondary questions: How did Shiʿi shariʿa law regulate continuity and change of RIs? What sort of changes occurred in RIs in Tehran during this period? Which factors facilitated the changes?

Changes in RIs are subject to considerable restrictions and limitations rooted in Shiʿi shariʿa law and popular religious culture. However, cadastral surveys, censuses, maps, and historical accounts produced in the Qajar period reveal clear evidence of considerable changes in RIs, in terms of both quality and quantity. This thesis documents those changes and proposes explanations for some of the indigenous and exogenous factors that facilitated them at the individual, institutional, and environmental levels.

Introduction

After the Iranian Revolution in 1979 CE/ 1399 Q, discussions about Shiʿi Islam significantly increased among scholars of Iranian Studies, and voluminous works were produced on socio-political aspects of Shiʿism. Any historical account of modern Iranian social, political, and intellectual history keeps religion as a central factor in its discussions. Some have focused on the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ as the main elite class, others have investigated the social implications of *Akhbārī-Uṣūlī* legal arguments, some have reflected on Shiʿi rituals and popular culture, while some other researchers have traced the longstanding socio-political footprints of the culture of dissent and the revolutionary nature of Shiʿism in Iranian history. As part of the literature on the social history of Iran, this research aims to cast light on the institutional mechanisms of the application of the legal norms and rules established by shariʿa law in the social life of the Iranians. However, instead of focusing on individual players, social classes, or social structures of any kind, it uses an institutional lens to explore the establishment and progress of religious and legal rules.

As explained by Bellah, institutions are patterns of social activity that give shape to collective and individual experiences. An institution is a complex whole, formed in a long-term period, that defines rules of the game and the constraints of social practices.[1] The same is true about mosques as religious institutions (hereafter RIs, singular RI). In a physical sense, a mosque is a building with some specific architectural features, some religious functions, and several people who are playing

1 R. N. Bellah et al., *The Good Society* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 40.

social roles, such as imam and muezzin. However, when considered as an institution it goes beyond this narrow definition. In this sense, it not only produces meaning but also establishes various informal and formal rules and norms in Muslim societies which bring about specific economic, social, and political implications. The formal rules related to the RIs are developed in shariʿa law (here, Shiʿi *fiqh*). From an institutional perspective, shariʿa law is more than just some ecclesiastical written works produced by a closed social circle and preserved in books; it rather constitutes various sets of rules related to social institutions, for the purposes of this study, specifically RIs. It defines the rules of religious life and draws the boundaries of the social activities of individuals, social groups, as well as other social institutions. Yet, the literature contains relatively few discussions of RIs and their interaction with other social institutions in Iranian society.

The *Nāṣirī* period was a period of massive social transitions embedded in part in the context of the Iranian modernization process. The rapid multidimensional development of Iranian society made this period a unique timeframe for applying the institutional approach. The study of historical developments through institutional lenses becomes especially productive when a society goes through a period of radical changes.[1] The focus of my study is the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, but it goes beyond this period in order to make use of some interesting source materials for discussing longer trends. I explore the religious institutions around (before, in, and after) the *Nāṣirī* period; a period which saw revolution, modernization, famine, and the fall of the Qajar dynasty.

1 Douglass C. North et al., eds., *In the Shadow of Violence: Politics, Economics and the Problems of Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–3.

By concentrating on continuity and change in Shiʿi RIs this research investigates how social groups and institutions facilitated changes in RIs. The research chooses a set of RIs which have a unique status in Iranian society: mosque, *takyih*, madrasa and *imāmzādih*. They were usually established by a waqf donation and supported financially by some other waqf properties or donations covering their expenses. Change or transformation of mosques and other waqf properties are subject to considerable restrictions and limitations rooted in Shiʿi shariʿa law and popular religious culture. While these restrictions have preserved RIs, social groups and institutions played active roles in transformation of RIs. Such changes could have social, economic, and *fiqhī* implications that merit in-depth study.

In the first section of the thesis, my initial task is to establish the theoretical framework of the research. The main question of this thesis is: How and with what influences did the RIs change in the *Nāṣirī* period? This question is followed by three sets of secondary questions:

I. How did the Shiʿi shariʿa law regulate continuity and change in RIs?
II. What sort of changes occurred in RIs in Tehran during the *Nāṣirī* period?
III. Why did RIs change? Which factors facilitated the changes?

The starting point of this research is a thought-provoking discovery about the number of mosques in Tehran in the Qajar period. One would have expected the number to grow in line with the growth of the city, but instead, according to the eminent historian Mansoureh Ettehadieh, it shrank.[1] This finding contradicts the dominant paradigm in Shiʿi shariʿa law, which emphasizes the inalienability and

1 Mansurih Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)," in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change 1800-1925* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1992), 207.

perpetuity of the mosque. Moreover, it seemed to contradict the generally held belief in the scholarship that religion was an inseparable feature of socio-political life in the Qajar period.[1] The evaluation of the claim about the declining number of mosques pushed me to monitor some other religious institutions too. The first is waqf, since mosques have always been established on waqf land and mostly supported by financial revenues dedicated to them through waqf properties. Additionally, many of the mosques had a madrasa or an *imāmzādih* attached to them in this period. Since the Shiʿi mourning rituals related to Imam Husayn (ibn Ali) were a major part of the religious life of the Iranians in this period, I had to consider the significant position of *takyih* as a specific place for performing those ceremonies.

An investigation of cadastral surveys, censuses, maps, and historical accounts produced in the Qajar period revealed clear evidence of considerable changes in religious institutions, both in terms of quality and quantity. On the one hand, I identified considerable changes in the number of mosques, madrasas and other RIs and their waqf holdings. As a first task, I meticulously studied historical documents to prepare a reliable account of those changes. It soon became apparent, however, that the typology and quality of changes differed from one RI to another. As an example, the initial finding showed the number of mosques declined, madrasas grew gradually, and the number of *takāyā* (plural for *takyih*) and *imāmzādih-hā* (plural for *imāmzādih*) escalated rapidly throughout the period under investigation; eventually, the number of *takāyā* even exceeded the number of the mosques. However, my subsequent findings demonstrated that the decline in

1 As an example, see: Behrooz Moazami, *State, Religion, and Revolution in Iran, 1796 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1.

mosque identified by Ettehadieh was not the characteristic of the whole *Nāṣirī* period (See chapters 4 and 5).

Having established the pattern of change in the first part of the research, in the final chapter I set out to explain the morphology and typology of those changes, and to explore the factors that caused them. In this part, I consider the individual, institutional, and environmental levels, using an institutional approach to distinguish two sets of indigenous and exogenous factors of change.

Through an investigation of *sharʿī* documents and waqf deeds from this period, I trace the role of the court, the ʿulamaʾ, and other social groups in the process of change in RIs. Changes in waqf holdings occurred frequently, mostly under the authority of the political elites and the ʿulamaʾ. The unprecedented sudden growth and modernization of the city of Tehran in the late 19th century provided an environment conducive to the formation of modern schools, and consequently, to the decline of traditional madrasas. Meanwhile, the primary sources show that the mosques did not decline in this period. However, the small, simple mosques which had little support from waqf properties and/or private patrons and were scattered around the city were highly vulnerable. They were fluid religious spaces that could be eliminated entirely in the passing of time due to social and environmental developments or could even shift into other religious institutions. Despite such eliminations, overall number of mosques continued to grow gradually over the course of the period under investigation.

The number of *takāyā and imāmzādih-hā*, however, displays a sudden growth in this period. The expansion of Shiʿi rituals related to Muharram supported by private and official patronage paved the way for this institutional change. Furthermore, the

expansion of these two Shiʿi RIs relied on the institutional shift of another religious institution, i.e. the waqf institution. My investigation of the waqf holdings in the city of Tehran in this period shows that the Shiʿi specific RIs such as *takāyā* and *imāmzādih-hā* received higher revenues from the waqf properties than other RIs. There is a clear causal correlation between the revenues received by these two Shiʿi-specific RIs and the increase of their numbers.

This thesis has a multi-disciplinary nature that can open new windows to our understanding of Iranian society. The contribution of this study lies in its focus on RIs in Iranian history, its methodological approach, and its use of primary and archival sources. By focusing on RIs, this study connects the macro-level analysis of Shiʿi Islam and the ʿulamaʾ with micro-level archival investigations of the local history of Tehran. The findings of this research contribute to the existing literature on Iranian studies, Shiʿi studies, and Iranian historical sociology. Furthermore, its contribution may also be of interest to scholars in some other disciplines such as development studies, urban history, geography, and architecture.

1. Chapter 1- A Theoretical Framework for the Study of RIs

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the central questions and establish the boundaries of my research. The main aim of the research is to explain the interplay between religious legal norms and rules, as structural factors, and social agents in Iranian society. To do so I use a theoretical model for the study of religion and society in Iran, in which RIs are the main framework of analysis and act also as the medium of Shiʿi shariʿa law in Iranian society. In light of this theoretical framework, I explain continuity and change of RIs in the city of Tehran during the *Nāṣirī* period.

The chapter starts with a description of Iranian historiography and its contribution to institutional studies in Iran. Then, I refer to some initial observations proposed in the literature about the transformation of RIs. Thereafter, I explain my theoretical approach for examining these ideas, in specific, and unearthing the process of transformation of RIs in the primary sources, in general. In order to explicate the historical context of the research to the reader, I discuss the time period of the research too. These initial exploration of the project gives a preview of the research to the reader and provides a framework for the next chapters.

1.2. RIs in the Iranian Studies discipline

The Iranian Revolution in 1979 CE/ 1399 Q., moved Shiʿi Islam and the role of the ʿulamaʾ to the centre of academic discussions for several years. The field has coalesced around two basic arguments, as Moazami explains: first, that Shīʿīsm is an integral part of Iranian society; and second, that the ʿulamaʾ have played a crucial role in the socio-political structure of Iranian society despite their internal

disagreements.[1] Based on these premises, scholars have structured a great deal of their arguments to explain the power relations and coalitions among religious groups and elites.

Algar's work, *Religion and State in Iran,* has been used as a classic source by many researchers interested in the socio-political activities of the ʿulamaʾ and Shiʿi Islam in Qajar Iran.[2] He depicts the ʿulamaʾ as a religious elite class among various other social strata in Iranian society that engaged in a struggle for power with the Qajar state; a conflict in which the religious elites were the articulators of popular grievances against an oppressive government, culminating in the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1906 CE/ 1323-1324 Q. This parallel analysis of the state and the ʿulamaʾ has been at the centre of the discussions M is going to bed and of researchers such as Keddie, who emphasized the coalition of the ʿulamaʾ with merchants and intellectuals *vis-à-vis* the state in the Qajar period in different social movements, such as the Tobacco Movement (1890 CE/ 1309 Q.).[3] Another enlightening example was *Iran between Two Revolutions* in which Abrahamian explained the role of the ʿulamaʾ as part of the elite structure of the Iranian society prior to the Islamic Revolution in 1979 CE/ 1399 Q.[4] The relationship of the ʿulamaʾ and other social forces of the kings' court, merchants, and intellectuals was repeated by various scholars in the field.

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1 Behrooz Moazami, "Rethinking the Role of Religion in Iran's History and Politics 1796 – 2009," *Comparative Studies of South Asia* 31, no. 1 (2011): 69. Mansoor Moaddel, "The Shiʿi ʿUlama and the State in Iran," *Theory and Society* 15, no. 4 (July 1986): 519–56.
2 Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969).
3 Nikki R. Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891-1982* (New York: Frank Kass, 1966). Nikki R. Keddie, "The Roots of the ʿUlama's Power in Modern Iran," *Studia Islamica* 29 (January 1969): 31–53.
4 Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1984).

Some scholars added nuance to our understanding of Shiʿism by focusing on the intrinsic features of and internal interactions between religious forces. Referring to the longstanding tradition of religious dissent in Shiʿi history, Bayat argued that the ʿulamaʾ had been promoting the deep-rooted tradition of religious dissent throughout history, expressed in various modes of Sufi mysticism, messianic notions related to the Twelfth Imam, and struggling for or against shariʿa law. She argued that the behaviour of the religious classes during the 19th century should be explained more on the basis of their relations within themselves than against the state; since the latter relations were rooted mostly in the former.[1] This rebellious nature of Shiʿi Islam is also proposed by several other researchers such as Nash, who called the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ the "creators of social turmoil" in the history of Iran.[2] In a similar attempt, Dabashi discussed how the Islamist intellectuals and elites of the Pahlavi period reproduced rebellious Shiʿi doctrine and prepared the public for the Islamic takeover of 1979 CE/ 1399 Q.[3]

In line with its messianic notions and tradition of dissent, Shiʿi Islam has developed at its core an independent school of shariʿa law. Various scholars produced *fiqhī* narratives in which the ʿulamaʾ were in the first place the scholars of shariʿa law. They believed that their acts and decisions should be related to their *fiqhī* approaches. They gave a significant weight to *fiqhī* theoretical approach of the ʿulamaʾ to explain their decisions and choices *vis-à-vis* the state and the society. For example, Hairi explained the reactions of the ʿulamaʾ towards the Constitutional

1 Mangol Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982).
2 Manning Nash, "Islam in Iran: Turmoil, Transformation, or Transcendence?," *World Development* 8, no. 7 (1980): 555–61.
3 Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

Revolution based on their affiliations to different *fiqhī* schools.[1] In another attempt to explain the same phenomenon, he illustrated how ʿulamaʾ took diverging positions on the legitimacy of the Qajar rule based on their different *fiqhī* approaches.[2] Litvak also presented some discussions on how the *Akhbārī* and *Uṣūlī* patronage networks affected the financial connections of the ʿulamaʾ.[3]

While the works of historians of Iran were characterised by various meta-analyses about social groups, power relations of the social forces, intrinsic features of Shiʿi Islam, or social movements, they have neglected the study of the internal mechanisms of religious institutions and organizations in the Qajar period. This study attempts to connect the micro-level and macro-level analysis while minimizing its scale to some specific RIs as the social manifestation of socio-religious relations, and of intrinsic norms and values. On one hand, it avoids the methodological traditions that reduce historiography to the history of elites (either religious or political) or prepare meta-narratives for explaining historical developments, while engaging instead in micro-level investigations based on primary sources and archives. On the other hand, it tries to explain how the macro-level factors formed and transformed RIs which were the medium between religion and society. Therefore, the subject of the research is neither religion nor the ʿulamaʾ; rather than either of these it concerns with RIs, as social manifestations of religious belief and rules, which also regulate religious life and coordinate the interactions of people and elites.

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1 Abdul Hadi Hairi, *Shiism and Constitutionalism in Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).
2 Abdul Hadi Hairi, "The Legitimacy of the Early Qajar Rule as Viewed by the Shi'i Religious Leaders," *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no. 3 (July 1988): 271–86.
3 Meir Litvak, *Shiʿi Scholars of Nineteenth Century Iraq: The ʿUlamāʾ of Najaf and Karbalaʾ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

The institutional approach to Shiʿi Islam has been followed by various scholars who worked on the *marjaʿīyat*, on *sharʿ* courts, and on waqf. Several works have focused on the *marjaʿīyat* and related bodies. Walbridge's book on the institutional and organizational roles of the ʿulamaʾ delt with various dimensions of the Shiʿi political and religious leadership in Iran.[1] Ardalan's doctoral thesis centred around the life of Ayatollah Burujirdi.[2] In his arguments on the rebellious nature of Shiʿism, Dabashi also added some discussions about how the ʿulamaʾ used RIs (such as mosques and *Ḥawzah*) or means (such as sermons, preaching, and publications) for progressively redefining Shiʿi revolutionary ideas in the course of history.[3] In his ground-breaking work on the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ, Litvak benefited from a wide range of archival sources in order to situate the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ and the *marājiʿ* (plural of *marjaʿ*) of Najaf and Karbala in the context of the socio-economic relations of a Shiʿi society. His work introduced interesting arguments about the financial relations of the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ.[4]

Some other RIs have also received the attention of scholars, such as waqf and sharʿ courts. The micro-level investigations on the widely expanded written heritage of the waqf deeds and *sharʿī* documents helped us to grasp a clearer image of the internal mechanisms of the waqf institution in Iran. In her unique work, Lambton used waqf deeds to study the general content of the waqf institution, its purposes,

1 Linda S. Walbridge, *The Most Learned of the Shiʿa: The Institution of the Marjaʿ-i Taqlid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
2 Mohammad Javad Ardalan, "The Life and Work of a Grand Ayatollah in Historical Context: The Contribution of Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Husayn Burujirdi (1875-1961) to Shiʿi Theology and to the Development of the Religious Institution in 20th Century Iran" (Unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford, 2013).
3 Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*.
4 Litvak, *Shiʿi Scholars of Nineteenth Century Iraq: The ʿUlamāʾ of Najaf and Karbalaʾ*.

and the main goals of donors.[1] In his study on the role of the elites of the city of Tabriz during the period 1747–1848 CE/ 1160-1264 Q., Werner concentrated on various social institutions in Tabriz. He mostly paid attention to the waqf institution and the social roles of the ʿulamaʾ as the only religious bodies in the city. It is a pity that he did not devote more space to explaining the role of the ʿulamaʾ in the waqf institution, but his concentration on RIs for explaining social developments significantly contributed to the methodological approach of my research.[2] Meanwhile, Kondo's extensive research on Persian primary sources showed me the informative value of *sharʿī* documents for the study of RIs in Iran. Through the study of various *ijāza* by *marājiʿ* he revealed new information about internal mechanisms and relations in the *marjaʿiyyat* institution.[3] He also used various court deeds to show that the long-lasting idea about the dual court system of *sharʿ-ʿurf* courts was not actually a sound argument for Qajar Iran. His works provided the scholarship with important original findings about the internal mechanisms and power relations related to the waqf institution.[4] Kondo expanded his work on religious institutions in Iran with archival investigations on the Shiʿi shrines and *imāmzādih-hā, marjaʿiyyat,* waqf, and *sharʿ* courts. His works opened the space for others such as Bhalloo who drew attention to waqf deeds and *sharʿī* documents

1 Ann Lambton, "Awqaf in Persia: 6th-8th/12th-14th Centuries," *Islamic Law and Society* 4, no. 3 (1997): 298–318.
2 Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz 1747-1848* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000).
3 Nobuaki Kondo, "Shiʻi ʻUlama and Ijāza during the Nineteenth Century," *Orient* 44 (2009): 55–76.
4 Nobuaki Kondo, "The Waqf of Ustad ʿAbbas – Rewrites of the Deeds in Qajar Tehran," in *Persian Documents. Social History of Iran and Turan in the Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries, Nobuaki Kondo, Éd.,* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 106–28. Nobuaki Kondo, "State and Shrine in Iran: Waqf Administration of the Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzim Shrine under the Qajars," in *Comparative Study of the Waqf from the East: Dynamism of Norm and Practices in Religious and Familial Donations* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2018), 3–25. Nobuaki Kondo, *Islamic Law and Society in Iran: A Social History of Qajar Tehran* (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2017).

and followed the litigation processes in the Qajar period.[1] There are voluminous collections of *sharʿī* documents that can be used to deepen our understanding about the internal process of RIs, the religious life of the people, and how the Shiʿi belief and meaning systems were transmitted in practice through RIs. [2]

In this thesis I apply an institutional analysis to some understudied institutions, i.e. mosque, *imāmzādih*, *takyih*, and madrasa. The research tries to complete the work started by Kondo and Werner on the landscape of RIs in the context of the social developments of the Qajar period. By situating various sources of authorities in the context of religious institutions and organizations such as mosque, *imāmzādih*, *takyih*, and madrasa, the work provides a solid ground for concrete discussions about the processes of formation of religious relations and exchanges, and also examines the validity of other macro-level studies. The study of internal mechanisms, operational logic, organizational structures, and processes of transformation of religious organizations opens the way for us to deepen our understanding of how agents arranged their relations with individuals, various social strata, and different social organizations.

RIs as the mediums of religious exchanges connect the meaning, beliefs, and actions in social life. A mosque, *imāmzādih*, *takyih*, madrasa, or a waqf holding is more than just a building with special architectural features, rituals attached to it, and people involved in its administration. They establish the rules of the game of religious activities in Iranian society and reflect religious beliefs and meaning in social life. The formation and transformation of these changes could be the subject

1 Zahir Bhalloo, "Litigation Strategies in Waqf Disputes from Qajar Iran 1820-1925" (Unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford, 2015).
2 Omid Rezaei, *Qabalih-hayi Parsi* (Tehran: Usvah, 1388).

of a historical investigation that would cover a decade, a century or even several centuries.

Notwithstanding the volume and depth of macro- and micro-level analyses of Shiʿi Islam and the ʿulamaʾ, RIs have not hitherto attracted enough attention from scholars. While the mosque has received serious attentions by sociologists and art historians, other RIs are still waiting to enter the historical debate. The mosque has long been a sacred place for performing religious ceremonies and rituals in Muslim communities. However, it was also used as a platform for arranging social, political, economic, and religious relations.[1] In the Qajar period, the mosque continued to function as an RI, connecting the ʿulamaʾ with ordinary people, the political system, and other RIs. Although the socio-political functions of mosques have been discussed by the scholars in their analysis of important historical developments such as the Tobacco Movement or the Constitutional Revolution, the reciprocal influences of historical changes on RIs have not been widely discussed. Although the research concentrates on five major types of RI, i.e. waqf, mosque, *imāmzādih*, *takyih*, and madrasa, it inevitably touches on other social institutions, such as *marjaʿīyat* and the royal court.

1.3. The problem of transformation of RIs

This research started with the *a priori* assumption that there were some changes in RIs such as mosques and their waqf properties, which could characterise the Qajar

1 J. Pedersen et al., "Masḏjid," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0694.

period, or be a customary practice continued in the late 19th century. A set of historical documents made this assumption plausible. Relevant examples of such documents entail three censuses taken by the Qajar court that contain information about buildings of the capital city of Tehran in the years 1853 CE/ 1269 Q., 1870- CE/ 1286 Q., and 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. A brief review of the data derived by Ettehadieh from these three censuses show a dramatic decrease in the number of mosques and some other RIs in the second half of the 19th century.[1] Such information substantiates the change and transformation of RIs in this period.

Ettehadieh finds that in this period the number of *takāyā*, mosques and madrasas declined considerably.[2] The aggregate number of mosques in 1853 CE/ 1269 Q. was 116; but it dropped to 82 in 1868 CE/ 1284 Q., and then to 80 in 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. (Table 1). Over the course of half a century, the number of these RIs fell by about 24 percent. This trend was not limited to mosques and madrasas; it also applied to *takāyā*. The number of *takāyā* fell from its original number of 54 in 1853 CE/ 1269 Q. to 34 in 1870 CE/ 1286 Q., then rose again to 43 at the end of 19th century (Table 1).[3]

Table 1. The aggregate number of each type of buildings in the three censuses

Buildings	1853 CE/ 1269 Q.	1870 CE/ 1286 Q.	1900 CE/ 1317 Q.
Houses	7,872	9,523	16,275
Hammams	53	90	182
Shops	3,791	---	9,420
Caravanserais	47	130	186
Takāyā	54	34	43
Mosques & Madrasas	116	82	80

1 These three censuses are edited and published. See: Sirus Saʿdvandiyan and Mansurih Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q*. (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1368).
2 In the third census, produced in 1320q./ 1902-3, the number of mosques and madrasas were not distinguished and the aggregate number of them were recorded.
3 Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)," 207.

Some of the influential factors of changes could be originated from the environmental factors, such as urban developments. The reduction of these religious organizations took place despite the rapid growth of the city in this period. The data illustrate a high rate of increase in the numbers of shops, houses, baths, and caravanserais between the first and the last censuses, 106%, 148%, 243%, and 298% respectively (Table 1).[1] The upsurge of population and the expansion of the city beyond the old *Nāṣirī* ramparts did not give rise to a corresponding growth in the number of religious organizations; on the contrary, the number of RIs underwent significant decline in the course of the same period. The important question is, what were the influential factors in the decline of these religious organizations?

An initial hypothesis about the decline of mosques and other RIs is that, as a result of new trends of development, such buildings were destroyed and turned into shops or other buildings.[2] By tracing the transformation of each city district through a comparative study of the three censuses, one can see different patterns of change and development of these buildings in each *maḥallih* (Table 2). For example, there was a sharp escalation in the number of houses and shops in Chalmaydan and Sangalaj *maḥallāt* (plural for *maḥallih*). Notwithstanding, the number of mosques (which included the number of madrasas too) and *takāyā* experienced sharper falls in these two regions, with the exception of *takāyā* in Sangalaj. However, in the Bazar, which had more stable structural components, the rates of decline of *takāyā*,

1 Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)."
2 The transformation of the structure of the city of Tehran is review in some architectural sources: Mohsin Habibi and Bernard Hourcade, *Atlas of Tehran Metropolis* (Tehran: Tehran Geographic Information Centre and CNRS, 2005). Malihih Hamidi, Mohsin Habibi, and Javad Salimi, *Ustukhanbandi-yi Shahr-i Tehran*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Sazman-i Mushavirih-yi Fanni Muhandisi-yi Shahr-i Tehran, 1376).

mosques, and madrasas were less significant (Table 2). These initial observations suggested a correlation between the growth of the city of Tehran and the decline in the number of mosques.[1]

City Districts (*Maḥallāt*)	Houses	Hammams	Shops	*Takāyā*	Mosques & Madrasas
ʿUdlajan	-26	+76	+29	-34	-57
Chalmaydan	+87	-42	+174	-70	-70
Sangalaj	+119	-44	+253	+350	-53
Bazar	+72	+11	+31	-17	-13

Table 2. Percentage of change in each type of buildings for every city district

Moreover, a comparative study of the data in various city districts suggests some correlation between the changing numbers of RIs and the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants in each city district. Here are the districts arranged in ascending order based on their economic status: Bazar, ʿUdlajan, Sangalaj, and Chalmaydan. The data related to the districts show that the wealthier a district was, the less its numbers of mosques and madrasas declined. The same is true in relation to the number of *takāyā*, except in Chalmaydan. In general, the initial data suggest the importance of socio-economic factors in the changes of the RIs.

Another set of influential factors could be traced among the mutual impacts of RIs. Here my question was whether the changes in each set of RIs exerted an influence on other RIs? As an example, I looked for any correlation between the aforementioned changes in the number of RIs and the waqf institution. In the preliminary stage I explored the *maṣārif* of *awqāf* deeds of Isfahan as a sample to explore probable correlations. The only reason for choosing Isfahan waqf deeds was the accessibility of the documents at an initial stage of the research, since Husayn Ishkivari had collected and edited about 1800 waqf documents from Isfahan in 12

1 Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)."

volumes.[1] I conducted a preliminary investigation on these deeds to evaluate the possibility and difficulties of such quantitative study of waqf (See chapter 6). The initial findings showed that despite the decrease in the number of RIs, the waqf donations continued to channel a high share of donations to them (See chapter 6). Waqf donations increased while the number of RIs declined. Such comparative studies between different RIs helped me to answer some key questions such as: Did the public differentiate between different types of RIs, or was it, perhaps, a case of different names for the same objects? And, did different types of RI transform into each other?

Another line of argument in my research is centered around the typology of change. A steady review of the historical censuses and maps of the city of Tehran illustrated that the well-known large mosques of the city had a better chance to survive with the passage of time. These were large complexes composed of a mosque attached to some other RIs (such as a madrasa or a *takyih*) or public buildings (such as a hammam). The censuses and maps record the names of well-known combinational mosques such as Khan-i Marvī, Ḥakīm, Sipahsālār, Maḥmūdīyyih.[2] However, small mosques are mentioned in some maps but lost in many censuses or maps of the city by the end of the 19th century. A review of the locations of the lost mosques and their surrounding buildings indicated that they were usually small mosques, named after an unknown person, mostly a local mullah, such as Mulla Aqa Riza, Mulla ʿAli, and Mirza Yusif.[3] It could be suggested that such small-scale simple mosques were

1 Sayyid Sadiq Husayni Ishkawari, *Asnad-i Mawqufat-i Isfahan*, 12 vols. (Qom: Majmaʿ-i Zakhaʾir-i Islam-i & Idarih Kull-i Awqaf va Umur-i Khayriyih-yi Ustan-i Isfahan, 1378).
2 Mansurih Ettehadieh, *Inja Tehran Ast*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1395), 186–87.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 613–51.

simply ignored in the latter censuses, but this would be anomalous based on the content of the last census, as it contains very detailed information about the buildings in the city.[1] Furthermore, these mosques are not mentioned in the maps of the Pahlavi period either.[2] A general comparative study of the maps and the last census suggests that the small-scale simple mosques were more vulnerable to city transformations and thus to elimination.

However, historical documents suggest that the absence of a given RI did not necessarily equate to the elimination of that religious arena; but some were transformed from one type of RI to another. For instance, a map produced in 1858 CE/ 1275 Q. mentions Āqā Bahram Mosque and *Takyih,*[3] but another map in 1880s CE/ 1300s Q. refers to it as a mosque.[4] Another example is Ḥawż *Takyih,* recorded in the censuses of 1853 CE/ 1269 Q.,[5] which was developed into a greater complex consisting of a *takyih* and a mosque in the map of 1880s CE/ 1300s Q.[6] and the census of 1900 CE/ 1317 Q.[7]

While the process of elimination of *takāyā, imāmzādih-hā,* mosques, madrasas, and their waqf properties was not documented systematically in historical sources, the transformation mechanisms of RIs into other forms of religious entities were commonly recorded in *sharʿī* documents. Since demolition or confiscation of such

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1 See chapter 4 for the details of the censuses.
2 A famous map of Tehran in 1348q./ 1930 is called "Naqshih-yi Khīyābānkishī"; but it presents little information about the details of the buildings. However, other maps could provide more information about the city in this period. See: Riza Shiraziyan, *Rahnama-yi Naqshih-hayi Tarikhi-yi Tehran* (Tehran: Dastan, 1391), 133–50.
3 Shiraziyan, 32.
4 Shiraziyan, 65.
5 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 124.
6 Shiraziyan, *Rahnama-yi Naqshih-hayi Tarikhi-yi Tehran*, 59.
7 Saʿdvandiyan and Ittihadiyih, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar* 1269-1286q., 633.

religious properties was prohibited by *fiqhī* sanctions, this could not happen haphazardly, overtly, or publicly. Their conversion into new religious installations, however, could be justified by the ʿulamaʾ through religious mechanisms. Considering the fact that the destruction or conversion of the waqf properties of a mosque, *takyih,* or their *raqabāt* are prohibited by *fiqh* rulings, as well as by public opinion, the process of such changes remains unclear.

Part of my discussion in this research revolved around the driving forces for change of RIs. RIs were strongly protected by shariʿa law and popular religious culture against destruction. Mosques were entitled to higher level of restrictions against any sort of changes in comparison to other RIs. Generally, they could not be destroyed or transformed into other RIs.[1] There could be various determinant factors driving the decline of the number of mosques in this period. A crude conjecture might be that the rate of religiosity decreased during the same period. Such a conclusion seems in line with the idea that this era was the dawn of modernization developments in Iranian history. Ettehadieh suggests that in the absence of systematic documentation of *awāqf* and religious spaces, they could have been destroyed or confiscated by individuals.[2] One might also infer connections to several episodes of famine in various parts of the country, especially the large famine of 1870-1872 CE/ 1287-1289 Q., to partially explain the elimination of agricultural waqf lands and properties. This justification seems pertinent to those *raqabāt* of waqf which relied on environmental resources (such as agricultural lands) or less

1 The prohibition of destruction of mosques is mostly justified by referring to the verse 114 of Surah al-Baqarat: "Who could be more wicked than those who prohibit the mention of God's name in His places of worship and strive to have them deserted? Such people should not enter them without fear: there is disgrace for them in this world and painful punishment in the Hereafter." The translation is quoted from: M. A. Abdel Haleem, *The Qurʿan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
2 Ettehadieh, *Inja Tehran Ast*, 184.

well-known properties that relied heavily on the protection of their *mutawallī-hā*.[1] Meanwhile, the expansion of trade in the city of Tehran might have been another driving force in this process. The proliferation of waqf shops corroborates the idea that the expansion of trade facilitated the transformation of waqf properties to waqf shops or encouraged the tendency of donors to endow of shops.[2]

However, the changes with which this research is concerned were not always the result of social and environmental developments; social agents also played important roles in these processes. There were various cases of disputes about the *awqāf* that were brought to the royal court.[3] Meanwhile, the ʿulamaʾ, as the guardians of the shariʿa, were the key agents with the authority and legitimacy to instigate change in RIs. There were numerous complaints about the confiscation of waqf lands by the affluent and powerful members of society brought to the *sharʿ* courts and to the ʿulamaʾ.[4] There are extensive recorded *sharʿī* documents and *ʿarīżih* brought to the ʿulamaʾ that demonstrate the permission granted by the ʿulamaʾ to assign *mutawallī*, *nāẓir*, and change of *maṣārif,* or even selling the waqf. Such changes were common in relation to the *raqabāt* of RIs.[5] The theoretical justifications for such changes in mosques and waqf properties produced long debates in Shiʿi *fiqh*.[6] Moreover, the practical processes that facilitated these

1 C. Melville, "Meteorological Hazards and Disasters in Iran: A Preliminary Survey to 1950," *Iran* 22 (1984): 113–50.
2 Kondo, "The Waqf of Ustad ʻAbbas – Rewrites of the Deeds in Qajar Tehran," 106–28.
3 For example, there is a *farmān* by Nasir al-Din Shah that confirms that Hajj Mirza Husayn Ṭabatabiʾi is the true *mutawallī* of a waqf land in 1300 q. See: Sayyid Sadiq Husayni Ishkawari, *Asnad-i Qajar-i dar Majmaʿ-i Zakhaʾir-i Islam-i* (Qom: Majmaʿ-i Zakhaʾir-i Islam-i, 1386), 115.
4 Some of the printed collections of the sharʿī documents are mentioned in the following sections of this chapter, titled "A Review of Primary Sources."
5 In the margins of a waqf deed for the mosque and madrasa Maḥmūdīyah, it is written by one mullā that "One dāng and half of the six shops and a kiosk is sold by me." See:
Ali Riza Mirza Muhammad, "Waqfnamih Masjid va Madrassih-yi Mahmudiyih-yi Tehran," *Waqf Mirath-i Javidan* 29 (Spring sh 1379): 109.
6 Muhammad al-Saʿidi, *Al-Masjid waʾAhkamuha fi al-Shariʿat al-ʾIslami-yyah* (Tehran: Majmaʿ al-ʿAlam-i li-Taqrib bayn al-Mazahib al-ʾIslami-yyah, 1388).

changes could be an interesting topic for the social historiography of this period, since such researches can shed light on religious life in Iranian society.

Mosque and waqf were two RIs which were characterized as unchangeable entities by Shiʿi *fiqh*. Through a waqf donation, a property is blocked (*ḥabs*) forever and the benefits of that property will be dedicated forever to the *maṣārif* identified by the donor. According to Shiʿi *fiqh*, buying or selling waqf properties is generally prohibited, since any change to them hinders both God's rights (*ḥaqq Allāh*) and the people's right (*ḥaqq al-nās*), here the donor, trustee, and beneficiaries. This was the argument presented by Shaykh al-Ansari (1800-1865 CE/ 1214-1281 Q.), the famous *Uṣūlī faqīh* of the Qajar period.[1] Some other famous ʿulamaʾ of the Qajar period followed the same line of argument, such as Ayatollah Najafi (1786-1865 CE/ 1200-1281 Q.) and Ayatollah Tabatabayi Yazdi (1833-1919 CE/ 1248-1337 Q.).[2]

The problem raised by Ettehadieh could have various socio-religious dimensions that require profound investigation. Such crucial change and transformation in RIs could cast doubt on the arguments which emphasize the decisive role of shariʿa law in Iranian society. They can support the claims suggested by some scholars about the decisive role of the "enforcement environment" of shariʿa law as a vital factor in the implementation of Islamic law.[3] Meanwhile, they can undermine the idea of the rigidity of shariʿa law, which some scholars, such as Timur Kuran, accept and

1 Shaykh Murtaza al-Ansari, *Al-Makasib* (Qom: Majmaʿ al-Fikr al-Islami, 1420), 33–35.
2 Muhammad Hasan Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʾiʾ al-Islam*, vol. 14 (Beirut: Dar ʾIhyaʾ al-Turas al-ʿArabi, 1362), 83–85. Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Tabatabayi Yazdi, *Al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqa fi Ma Taʿumm biha al-Balwa*, vol. 1 (Qom: Intisharat-i Islami, 1414), 598–99.
3 Adeel Malik, "Was the Middle East's Economic Descent a Legal or Political Failure? Debating the Islamic Law Matters Thesis," *CSAE Working Paper Series 2012-08*, Centre for the Study of African Economies, University of Oxford, 2012, 15, https://ideas.repec.org/p/csa/wpaper/2012-08.html.

adduce as a cause for underdevelopment in Muslim societies in the modern period.[1] Additionally, the drastic changes of RIs similar to those claimed by Ettehadieh could not happen without consecutive waves of socio-politic changes.

1.4. The main questions and hypotheses

The core premise of this research is to investigate the process of change and transformation of RIs, their interaction with other RIs, and different determining factors of the changes. In this research, RIs are defined as the medium of religious exchanges that connect the meaning, beliefs, and actions in social life. They are established by human actors over a long period and set the ground rules for religious life over the centuries; as such they interact with other RIs in one way or another. In that sense, a mosque, an *imāmzādih*, a *takyih*, a madrasa, or a waqf property is not merely an urban structure with special architectural features; but is a social entity too.

Based on this perception of RIs, I address the following central questions: How, and with what influences, did RIs change in the second half of the 19th century? In order to answer the main question, I engage with the following secondary questions:

I. How did the Shiʿi shariʿa law regulate continuity and change in RIs?
II. What sort of changes occurred in RIs in Tehran during the *Nāṣirī* period?
III. Why did RIs change? Which factors facilitated the changes?

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1 Timur Kuran, *Islam and Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004); Timur Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011).

By the beginning of the 20th century, three important changes in the RIs of the city of Tehran were apparent. First, all of the RIs experienced changes and transformations with dissimilar degrees of change. And some of the mosques and their waqf holdings disappeared from the historical records. Second, while several simple mosques in various parts of the city were missing, large-scale mosques consolidated their position. Third, the waqf holdings of RIs commonly underwent various forms of transformation.

In order to trace these changes, this research investigates the transformation of RIs in various city quarters. My observations show that the missing mosques were mostly small simple mosques located in peripheral quarters of the city. They were essentially prayer-rooms associated with their local imams or founders, and as such they were fluid religious spaces that were likely to be transformed into other RIs such as *takyih*, madrasa, or could be destroyed forever. However, the combinational mosques were usually established by influential elites, operated under the supervision of well-known ʿulamaʾ, were well supported with waqf holdings, and each was part of a complex of RIs including a *takyih* or madrasa, as well as a mosque. Changes in the components and the waqf holdings of such mosques were common. The number of madrasas did not decline in the *Nāṣirī* period despite rapid modernization of the educational system. However, some of the madrasas turned into other RIs such as mosques. And the number of *takāyā* and *imāmzādih-hā* increased.

The aforementioned changes were facilitated by two sets of exogenous and indigenous factors. The royal court, urban modernization, and Shiʿi popular religion functioned as the environmental factors that exogenously imposed change on the

RIs. Meanwhile, the ʿulamaʾ and the *mutawalī-hā* were indigenous factors of change in RIs.

1.5. Methods and methodology

This research is a social history of Iran in the 19th century based on primary and secondary sources. It is an interdisciplinary study that enters different fields of political science, history, religious studies, urban history, etc. to complete its arguments about its central question on RIs in Iran. Therefore, while incorporating basic aspects of traditional historical research methodoloies, it strongly emphasizes social and cultural contexts and their influences.

This historical research is not concerned with the history which scholars such as Himmelfarb have called "history from above" or "elitist history."[1] It generally does not engage with formal political organizations, Iranian politics, wars, or revolutions in order to present the consequential evens in the course of history, and it typically avoids narratives about events. Instead, the study is an analytical discussion about change in formal and informal social institutions.[2] The nature of this research makes me even avoid discussing some important events in this period which are not directly related to my research question, such as the Russo-Persian wars (1804–1813 CE/ 1218-1228 Q. and 1826–1828 CE/ 1241-1243 Q.).

1 Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 14–15.
2 Laura K. Jurgens, "Understanding Research Methodology: Social History and the Reformation Period in Europe," *Religions* 12, no. 6 (2021): 3–4.

To perform this task, the study attempts to incorporate a variety of primary sources to assess its central question about continuity and change of RIs in Iran. As its first task, this research traces the RIs on maps, cadastral surveys, waqf deeds, royal court archives, and the recorded historiography of the *Nāṣirī* period. Dealing with a variety of the sources in this research is a crucial task for the comparative study of them. To perform this task, I have to deal with a three-faceted problem. First, I should read meticulously each source. Second, I should be able to find a common language to facilitate the dialogue between sources with different form and content, so that I could study them comparatively and use each of them to assess the data derived from another sources. Lastly, I have to articulate my findings for the reader.

The diversity of sources compels me to use different methods for dealing with my primary sources. In the following passages I discuss these methods and the methodology of the research in presenting its findings.

1.5.1. Textual analysis of Shiʿi fiqh texts on RIs

For explaining the RIs in the context of Shiʿi tradition, I study some of the classic and well-known *fiqh* and the hadith sources. I explain the basic regulations regarding the sacredness, perpetuity, transformation, and the rights and duties of the believers with regard to RIs. Here, my task is only to present the main discussions and definitions of the five kinds of RIs and avoid any other legal argumentations around these institutions which would take me too far from the scope of the present work. The section on the perpetuity and sanctity of RIs in Shiʿi Shariʿa Law does not offer a comprehensive analysis of the positions of legal scholars who lived in the Qajar period. It only sticks to the general definitions of the 5 RIs as reflected in the words of the chief scholars and classical sources. In *fiqh*

scholarship every *faqīh* builds his discussions on the arguments of his antecedent scholars, specifically the major founding-fathers of the legal sources. Therefore, by looking at the ʿulamaʾ who lived in the Qajar period I also get a glimpse of the previous scholarship.[1]

1.5.2. Making sense of the maps

The first set of the primary sources in this research is maps which are studied in a separate chapter. In reading these maps I seek to achieve two major aims: first, to look for new ideas and findings about RIs; and second, to produce unified charts and maps that could be compared with each other and with other sources.

To perform these tasks, I rely on the available maps of Tehran, produced between the 1820s and the 1920s. However, since the maps differ from each other in terms of the details incorporated in them, their scales, their contents and even their functions, I have to redraw them according to a reference map that enables me to compare the same locations for each RI on maps elaborated in different time spans. The reference maps help me to trace the possible changes of location or numbers of RIs in different historical periods. In general, in the chapter on maps I read, redraw, and compare the maps of the city of Tehran in the historical period under study.

I use a reference map to perform my comparative study of the different maps in the period under investigation. I start with the very first map of the city of Tehran produced by Naskov. It covers the city and some of its important urban structures.

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1 For the fiqh and shariʿa law sources, I used the online and offline soft copies collected in the following digital libraries: *Jamiʿi Fiqh, Kitabkhanih va Danishnamih-yi Takhasusi-yi Fiqh*, < https://www.noorshop.ir/fa/product/16002/نرم-افزار-جامع-فقه-3-(کتابخانه-و-دانشنامه-تخصصی-فقه)>; Kitabkhanih-yi Madrasa-yi Fiqahat, <http://lib.eshia.ir/>

Then, I proceed to the more detailed maps of this period produced by Berezin, Krziz, Najm al-Mulk, and some other maps with less details. In each part, I explain the topography of the *imāmzādih-hā*, mosques, *takāyā*, madrasas, and waqf holdings.

At the end of the chapter on maps, the maps are compared to each other in order to find out which of the RIs are missing from the maps of later periods or possibly transformed into other forms of RIs. The final section of the chapter is a review of my findings about changes of RIs through the comparative study of the maps.

There are three initial considerations about the maps. First, each of these maps is dated by its creator or publisher and by scholars to show the dates of the production of the documents. However, the authors generally dated the maps according to the final date of completion of their work, while I prefer to date the map according to the data collection date. Therefore, I do not necessarily date the maps as they are dated by their authors. The case is a bit challenging with regard to the map produced by Berezin. Berezin's map is dated 1852 CE/ 1268 Q.; however, it does not show the Muḥammadīyyih gate which was built in 1847 CE/ 1263 Q. It seems that Berezin collected the urban data in the first half of 1840s CE and the year 1852 CE refers to the date of preparation of the final paper map.[1] Therefore, I assign the date 1840s CE for Berezin's map.

The second point is related to the comprehensiveness and inclusiveness of the maps. It is worth mentioning that these maps could not necessarily incorporate all RIs of their time, since, by definition, maps are graphic representation of some features

1 See the section on the Berezin's map.

and information, drawn to scale, while each serving a specific aim.[1] Therefore, the producers have mentioned the information and features that best suit the function of the map. Yet, any type of map that involves in the depiction of urban structures mentions RIs. In other words, the authors of the maps always tend to record RIs as the most important urban structures. They are repeated more than any other urban structures on the maps. Such crucial finding illustrates the central role of these 4 RIs in the topography of the city.

However, when I compare the maps with other sources, I find some RIs which are not mentioned by the authors. By definition, maps are visual tools that only contain information about the most important and the largest urban structures in a specific area. Therefore, they usually summarize the urban information and always illustrate a specific level of details of the city structures. In general, the items mentioned on the maps have specific features in terms of size and importance (social, political, religious, military, or geographic). While in the cadastral surveys the producers tries to record all of the buildings, on the maps the authors are generally concerned with the urban structures with specific size and importance. Consequently, in my study I consider the objects of the maps in one chapter and those of the surveys in another separate chapter. Then, I see whether the findings of the maps match with my findings from the surveys or not. Such approach helps me to avoid comparing two collections which differ in terms of number and features. For example, the numbers of RIs on Berezin's map and in the first cadastral survey do not match since the first

1 Charles F. Fuechsel, "Map," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, July 18, 2016, https://www.britannica.com/science/map.

concentrates only on the most important RIs while the second tries to consider all RIs (Table 3).

Table 3. Comparing RIs on Berezin's map and the 1st cadastral survey

	takyih	**madrasa**	**mosque**	***imāmzādih***
Berezin's map (1840s CE/ 1260s Q.)	31	4	9	5
No.1 (1853 CE/ 1269 Q.)	54	19	111	9

This observation calls for caution regarding the use of these maps to identify the total number of a given set of RIs at a specific date. Yet, I compare the number of RIs on the maps with the numbers found in the cadastral surveys in a separate chapter in order to highlight any anomalies in the data collected in the documents and find some solutions to reconcile them with each other.

The third important note is about the accuracy and reliability of the maps. I address such key characteristics after the comparative study of the maps with cadastral surveys and textual documents, which are presented in chapter 5.

Despite all of the aforementioned limitations, the maps provide considerable information about RIs. They are suitable tools for tracing the dispersion of RIs in the city, tracking their transformation into different forms of RIs, finding the missing RIs, and comparing them with each other.

1.5.3. A reference map for comparative study of primary sources on Tehran

Persia has appeared on the maps of different periods. The ancient maps, Greco-Roman maps, and Ptolemaic maps have mentioned Persia or the Persian Gulf with different scales or details. The maps from the Medieval European era and also the

Early Islamic period always illustrate Persia as part of the world maps. Although the maps dating to the period prior to the 19th century more often depict important cities such as Ardabil, Sultaniyih, Qom, Kashan, Isfahan, Gumbrun (Bandar ʿAbbas), they hardly mention Tehran, since it was not a significant rural or urban location before the 19th century. In the 19th century, extensive maps of the cities, routes, sea, and coastal areas of Persia were produced by orientalists and military personals from Russia, Britain, France, Germany, among others for military, trade, political, and scientific purposes.[1]

The oldest maps of the city of Tehran belong to Russian cartographers who produced them mainly for military purposes. From the Russo-Persian wars (1804–13 CE/ 1218-1228 Q. and 1826–28 CE/ 1241-1243 Q.) to the fall of the Qajarids, Russia represented the principal military threat for Persia. The first map of the city of Tehran was drawn by General Naskov, a Russian military general, in 1826 CE/ 1241 Q. Because of his military intentions, the author of the map omitted most of the city elements, and concentrated on the fortifications, the watch towers, the defensive front watch towers, embankment, and moat. Later in the 1840s CE/ 1260s Q., a more detailed map of the city of Tehran was created by Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin (1818-1896 CE/ 1233-1313 Q.), a Russian orientalist and historian.

The encounter of Iranians with modern sciences in the 19th century initiated the strive for modern geography and cartography. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, a few Persian cartographers produced a number of maps by copying the European versions and also completing those maps with their own geographical

1 Cyrus Alia, "Geography Iv. Cartography of Persia," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, December 15, 2000, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/geography-iv-cartography-of-persia-.

investigations. Haji Mirza Hasan-i Fasaʾi produced a map of Fars Province in 1857 CE/ 1274 Q. on which he used the latitudes and longitudes of the places according to what the Scottish cartographer A. K. Johnston (1804-1871 CE/ 1219- 1288 Q.) had used before him.[1]

By the establishment of modern schools such as Dar al-Funun (1851 CE/ 1268 Q.), modern scientific fields of statistics, geography and cartography absorbed the attention of the Qajar court. Geography and cartography were deemed so important by the Qajar Kings that they became part of Dar al-Funun curriculum from the very beginning. Some of the first students who travelled to Europe to study modern sciences were educated in these fields. As part of the universal modernisation program in his famous treatise *Daftar-i Tanzimat* or *Kitabchih-yi Ghiybi*, Mirza Malkumkhan suggests that geography should be included in the modern school curriculum from the elementary level.[2] As another example, when Muhammad ʿAli Khan-i Shirazi was appointed as the ambassador to France in 1847 CE/ 1263 Q., he was ordered to buy a list of more than 50 books on modern sciences, out of which 7 were maps and cartographic collections.[3]

In modern schools such as Dar al-Funun and Muẓaffarīyih, geography and cartography were among the very first established fields of study and several famous Iranian geographers were educated while various maps were also produced in this school. August Krziz, the producer of one of the maps used in this research, was among the first geography teachers of Dar al-Funun who trained well-known

1 Alia.
2 Hujjatullah Asil, *Risalih-hayi Mirza Malkumkhan-i Nazim al-Duwlih* (Tehran: 1381, Nashr-i Niy), 54.
3 Huma Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i* (Paris: Khavaran, 1990), 239–43.

geographers such as ʿAbd al-Qaffar Najm al-Mulk and Mirza Riza. Najm al-Mulk wrote several volumes on geography and produced different maps of the roads and cities of Iran, among them the most detailed map of the city of Tehran in the Qajar period. Also, one of the third-generation students of Dar al-Funun, Mirza Riza, worked extensively on geography and became the teacher of Muẓaffarīyih school. The school was established by Shaykh Mahdi Tihrani in 1900 CE/ 1318 Q. and then in 1904 CE/ 1322 Q. Muhammad Safikhan, another famous geographer, became the president of the schools.[1] Muẓaffarīyih was located in Qarībīyān alley, in south-west of the Chihiltan bazar, which ends at Bazar-i Misgarha.[2]

1 TN. , no. 320 (09 Rabiʿ al-Thani 1322Q.). Muhammad ʿAli Furughi, *Tarbiyat: Nakhustin Nashriyyih Ruzanih va Ghiyr-i Dawlati-yi Iran*, New edition, vol. 2 (Tehran: Kitabkhanih-yi Milli-yi Jumhuri-yi Islami-yi Iran, 1377), 1477.
2 TN., no. 154 (23 Rabiʿ al-Thani 1317 Q.) Muhammad ʿAli Furughi, *Tarbiyat: Nakhustin Nashriyyih Ruzanih va Ghiyr-i Dawlati-yi Iran*, New edition, vol. 1 (Tehran: Kitabkhanih-yi Milli-yi Jumhuri-yi Islami-yi Iran, 1377), 614.



Figure 1. Students of Dar al-Funun are holding one of their own maps in 1897.

However, the changes of the city's morphology and the development of cartographical knowledge render comparative study of historical maps from different time periods difficult for researchers. This becomes particularly critical when the focus lies on details of city elements rather than large scale entities of maps such as roads and seas. My first challenge for a comparative study of these historical maps is to find the asymmetries and correspondences between information, shapes, schema, and symbols provided in each one of them. The maps illustrate different sorts of objects, with different levels of accuracy which do not follow the rules of modern cartography. The maps used in this research belong to different historical periods, were produced for diverse practical purposes and functions by authors with unequal levels of cartographic expertise, and with no graticule information about the location of each item. Therefore, the first step to address the challenge of

heterogeneity is to find a method that enables me to develop coherent explanations of different maps about any given common RI.

In order to solve the problem of incoherency, I search for a visual solution that can serve several important goals: (1) it must be capable of illustrating RIs of different historical periods (read and reproduce historical maps); (2) it should be compatible with the features of contemporary maps and virtual sources of Tehran (and, therefore, contribute to figurative assessments); and (3) to be useful for comparing maps from different periods (comparative study of the maps). Explanation and comparison of different visual documents requires reconstruction of the city elements on a single reference map. Therefore, a recent version of a map of Tehran is chosen, so that, I could find the location of an item on the existing urban structure of the city. It is a simplified version of a map of the city of Tehran from 2005 CE. While the city of Tehran has changed drastically in the last decade due to the expansion of highways and new streets, newer maps would not be helpful for objective investigation of RIs in contemporary Tehran.

Since the city rapidly grew at the end of the historical time span of this research, my second step is to draw the geographical boundaries of the regions shared by all three maps. I concentrate on a region which remained unchanged during the whole period under scrutiny, so that I have the proper means for comparative study of RIs.

However, it is not an easy task to find the unchanged core of the city due to the vast changes and destruction of the city in the last two centuries; different city components and urban structures which were used to define the boundaries of the city, such as streets, mosques, and some plausible positions of the old fortifications have been destroyed. The first three maps used in this research fall into the region

designated by the letter A in Figure 2, while the fourth map drawn in 1891 CE/ 1308 Q. shows that the city fortifications were expanded to the region covered in grey and indicated by the letter B. In 1867 CE/ 1284 Q., Nasir al-Din Shah ordered to destroy the Safavid Fortifications (also called Ḥiṣār-i Ṭahmāsibī) in order to build the new fortifications called Ḥiṣār-i Nāṣirī.[1] Area A had been the backbone of the city, it existed through the whole period examined in this research, and therefore, can be comparatively studied on all the maps. The area covered by letter A matches roughly half of the district number 12 of contemporary Tehran, while the area B roughly fits into two of the modern districts: 11 and 12. Tehran has 22 city districts at the moment.

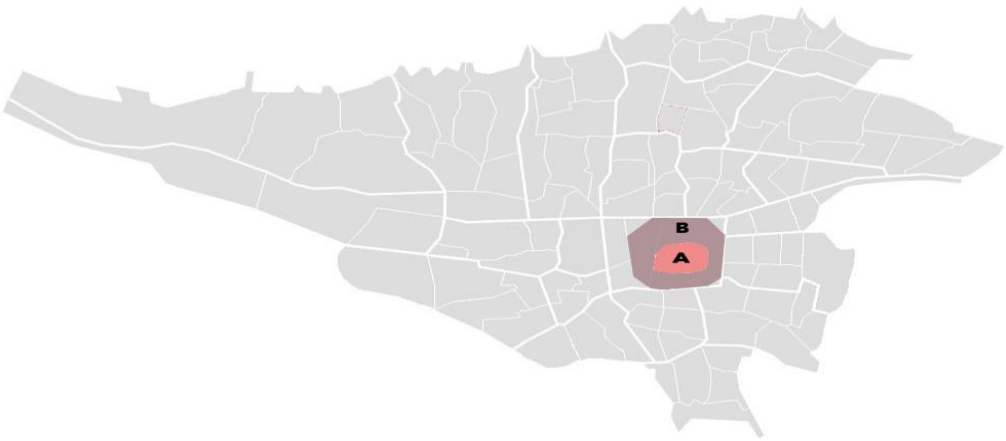


Figure 2. The portrait of the aria under study

In this research, I only cover the historical part of the city of Tehran which is limited to the area within the Tahmasib Fortifications (letter A in Figure 2). A simplified version of the map of the area A is cropped from the original map of the contemporary Tehran. The cropped map encompasses only the city roads, so that I could juxtapose RIs from various maps with the city roads.

1 Riza Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim* (Tehran: Dastan, 1394), 24.

In the last stage, the cropped map is cross-lined and each of the given longitude and latitude lines are numerated. The cross lines do not represent graticule information, but they facilitate the explanation of the position of each item on the map. In the text, I use an ordered pair of coordinates (x, y) to show the location of a given item on each map. In order to be able to distinguish different city districts (*maḥallih*) named on the old maps, I refer to the more detailed maps of Krziz and Najm al-Mulk. The boundaries of each *maḥallih* are identified by blue lines (Figure 3).

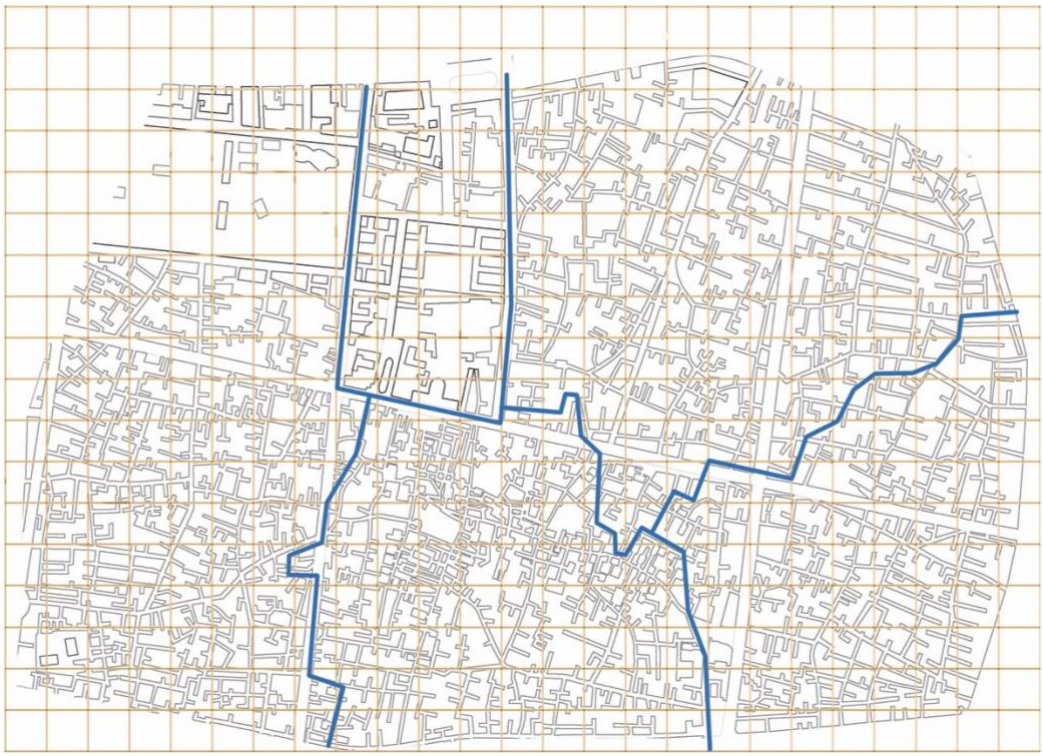


Figure 3. Reference map of the research

This reference map helps me to produce several maps, each of which illustrates one set of the RIs of mosque, madrasa, *imāmzādih*, or *takyih* in a specific period in the city of Tehran. It enables me to illustrate the position of an RI on a matrixed map, and then trace it on the maps of later periods. The data on the RIs derived from these maps are transferred into tables which enable me to compare them with the information obtained from other sources. These tables include the name of the RI,

the type of the RI, its city district, and the name by which primary sources mention it.

In the hypothetical table (Table 4), a box shows "Dawlat (17,7)12". The box tells that there is an RI called Dawlat in Arg district which is a *takyih*. Dawlat is recorded in two of the maps: the first (referred to by 1) and the second map (referred to by 2). For referring to the documents, I use 5 characters of 1, 2, 3, A, and B. They represent, respectively, Berezin's map (1840s CE/1260s Q.), Krziz's map (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.), Najm al-Mulk's map (1888 CE/ 1305 Q.), the cadastral survey 1853 CE/ 1269 Q. and the cadastral survey of 1900 CE/ 1317 Q.

In case I find a similar name for other RIs, I list them too. As an example, here there are three different types of RIs named as Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī; a mosque, a *takyih*, and a madrasa. In case different names are used by different documents for a single RI, I mention both in the table, such as ʿArabhā and Qadir. When a document records a RI without naming it, I refer to it as Unnamed; for example, mosques Unnamed1 and Unnamed2.

Table 4. A table related to a hypothetical map

City District	takāyā	madrasas	mosques	imāmzādih-hā
Arg	Dawlat (17,7) 12		Ẓil al-Sultān(15,9) A	
	#:1	#:0	#:1	#:0
ʿUdlajan	ʿArabhā, Qadir(13,2) 12 Sarchashmih (6,4) 12B Āqā Bahrām (9,4) 12 Dānkī (9,7) 12A3B		Āqā Bahrām (9,4) 123	
	#:4	#:0	#:1	#:0
Chalmaydan	Abu al-Qāsimkhān (4,9)1		Unnamed1 (8,12) B Unnamed2(Ismāʿīl)(8,14) 1	Yaḥyā (3,9) 3
	#:1	#:0	#:2	#:1
Bazar	Suhrābkhān (12,11) 1 Chihiltan (10,14) 2 Qātirchīhā (11,16) AB	Dār al-Shafāʾ (13,9) 1		Chihiltan (10,14) 2

		Muḥsinīyyih (12,10) 2	Jāmiʿ (12,12) 12 Shāh (13,10) 123B	Zayd (15,12) 12A3B
	#:3	#:2	#:2	#:2
Sangalaj	Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī (21,11) 1	Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) 1	Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) 1	
	#:1	#:1	#:1	#:0
TOTAL	10	3	7	3

1.5.4. How to read the cadastral surveys and the census

The cadastral surveys on my research and censuses have special features and qualities that impose their own restrictions and require their own way for dealing with them. While in the chapter on maps I reconstruct city structures depicted on each map according to a reference map, here those methods and tools are not applicable. The previous tools were convenient for visual documents and applying them to the written cadastral documents requires in-depth scour of secondary and primary sources, geographical and spatial investigation, and also familiarity with topographical computer softwares. Instead of using the previous toolkit for cadastral surveys and censuses, I perform a comparative study to find similar names in the surveys and maps and locate each of the RIs. When I find an RI in one of the surveys, I try to find its location on the existing maps using its name, city district, surrounding alleys, familiar names recorded in its vicinity, in addition to other secondary sources.

A crucial problem that I should solve in this part of the research is the asymmetry between the city districts in the cadastral surveys and maps. The urban data collected in the cadastral surveys and censuses are classified under 5 to 6 city districts. Although the overall area covered by each city district is generally the same in different sources, the sources do not always draw similar border lines for every

city district. Therefore, I have to deal with the same complexity I experienced during the study of maps in locating every single urban object.

The complexities about the city districts increase with the expansion of the city in the more recent documents. The first cadastral survey, conducted in 1853 CE/ 1269 Q., belongs to the period in which the city was still limited to the Tahmāsib citadel. Therefore, the city district mentioned in the surveys matches with the one used in the Krziz's map and also reference map. The second source is a census for 1870 CE/ 1286 Q. with some limited information on RIs of the city. Lack of sufficient geographical information in this document prevents me from tracing the changes and transformations of each RI. The cadastral survey of 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. has also detailed information about city components that allows me to locate RIs in the city; however, the boundaries and names of the districts neither match the first cadastral survey nor the reference map. Therefore, I first identify the boundaries of each new city district, and then redistribute the urban objects according to the city districts I have in the other cadastral survey and the reference map. By using this method I can synchronize the spatial information and the locations of each RI in documents belonging to different time periods, so that, I could comparatively study them.

The final consideration about the cadastral surveys is related to the geographical boundaries of the research. As in the chapter on maps, here I only concentrate on the 'old city' of Tehran. In the course of the *Nāṣirī* period the city of Tehran expanded out of the old Tahmāsib citadel. In 1867 CE/1284 Q., the new citadel, called Ḥiṣār-i Nāṣirī, was built and the new city district of Dawlat was added to the area surrounded by the city walls and new lands from outskirts were annexed to

each of the city districts.[1] The terms "*shahr-i qadīm"* and "*shahr-i jadīd*" were used by some sources to refer respectively to the old city and the new city.[2] Since my central task in this chapter is the comparative study of the change and transformation of RIs in the passing of time, I only concentrate on those parts of the city that existed in the entire *Nāṣirī* period. Yet, the regions omitted from this research do not contain substantial number of RIs; a review of these parts of the city shows that the number of RIs located in these parts of the city is less than 5 percent of the total number of RIs of the city.

1.6. The structure of the research

The thesis starts with the present introductory chapter setting out the problem and theoretical framework. The initial historical investigations show significant changes in RIs which might be presumed to be fixed and unalterable institutions. As an example, in her study of the cadastral survey of Najm al-Mulk, Ettehadieh found strong evidence for a decline in the number of RIs in the *Nāṣirī* period.[3] In spite of the expansion of the city in this period, the number of mosques, *takyih-hā*, madrasas, and waqf holdings declined considerably.[4] Such findings contradict the Shiʿi *fiqh* norms on RIs and call out for investigation and explanation. This was the starting point for my investigation into changes in the RIs in Tehran, with a view to developing a better understanding of the interplay between the shariʿa law and social developments, the dynamics and processes of change in RIs, and the social and political forces facilitating change in RIs in the Qajar period. The aim of this

1 DII.N, (22 Shaʿban 1284).
2 DII.N, no. 318 (09 Jami al-Thani 1294Q.).
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q*.
4 Ettehadieh, *Inja Tehran Ast*, 174–75.

chapter is to explain the central research questions of the work and its research design.

In chapter 2, I discuss RIs in the context of Shiʿi *fiqh* in the Qajar period. The unique features that differentiate RIs from other types of urban structures are their perpetuity and sacredness. RIs have been generally defined as sacred entities that are protected against any change, alteration, or total destruction. Such a definition was partly rooted in Shiʿi *fiqh* and popular culture. The shariʿa law protects the perpetuity of RIs through the prohibition of change or destruction of mosques and their waqf properties.[1] Apart from shariʿa law, popular culture constituted a solid source of support for the perpetuity and sacredness of all types of RIs. The promotion of the Shiʿi Muharram rituals in this period offered considerable religious, public, and official support to the Shiʿi institutions of *imāmzādih* and *takyih*.[2] Additionally, madrasas, which were usually managed under the auspices of the ʿulamaʾ, were deemed to be sacred properties; they were mostly waqf properties and usually attached to a mosque, *imāmzādih*, or *takyih*. Consequently, the special status of RIs in the Shiʿi *fiqh* was intensified in the social arena, and any violation of the sacredness and integrity of an RI was hampered by severe reactions from both the people and the ʿulamaʾ.

In chapter 3 I embark in the evaluation of the process of change of RIs in the city of Tehran based on a set of historical maps. I make a close investigation of the historical maps of this period to track the changes of RIs. The main primary sources

1 As an example for perpetuity of mosques, see: Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Hurr al-ʿAmili, *Wasaʾil al-Shiʿi*, vol. 5 (Qom: Muʾasisat Aal al-Bayt li-Ihyaʾ al-Turath, 1404q), 139–297. On waqf property, see: al-Hurr al-ʿAmili, 5:171–216.
2 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 249–50. Riza Niyazmand, *Shiʿi dar Tarikh-i Iran: Shiʿi Chih Miguyad va Chi Mikhahad* (Tehran: Hikayat-i Qalam-i Nuvin, 1383), 218–19.

of this chapter are the maps of the city of Tehran produced by Naskov in 1826 CE/1241 Q., Berezin (1840s CE/ 1260s Q.), Krziz (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.), Najm al-Mulk (1880s CE/ 1300s Q.), and some other less detailed maps. The research focuses on RIs which are missing with the passage of time by comparing maps from different periods. The chapter also explores whether any RI had changed into other sorts of RIs or not. I show that although sometimes different RIs were attached to each other and formed a conglomeration, each of the institutions within these conglomerations can be distinguished from the others; they were identified by people as dissimilar bodies with different functions and roles. I look also at the broad pattern of the geographical dispersion of RIs in the city of Tehran. The findings show clear evidence for the destruction, transformation, and alteration of RIs in this period.

In chapter 4, the investigation of changes in RIs continues with a meticulous study of two cadastral surveys produced in 1853 CE/ 1269 Q. and 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. and a census conducted in 1870 CE/ 1286 Q. However, the dimensions of the city districts in each survey neither match with each other nor with the maps used in the previous chapter. I therefore first illustrate the boundaries of the new city districts, then redistribute the data according to the city districts derived from the other cadastral surveys and maps. This enables me to reconstruct the spatial information and the locations of the RIs throughout this period, so that, I can make comparisons between the RIs. Here again the research reveals patterns of change and transformation.

Chapter 5 presents a comparative study of my findings of maps, censuses and cadastral surveys. The chapter summarizes the information derived from the primary sources in the previous two chapters. It rejects the preliminary premise about the decrease in the number of mosques and madrasas. It also highlights that

the number of *takyih-hā* and *imāmzādih-hā* escalated throughout the period. By summarizing the findings from the primary sources, I describe the patterns of change for various RIs and the morphology and typology of such changes.

After establishing my claim about the change of RIs, chapter 6 discusses causation, seeking to establish which factors influenced the changes affecting RIs. I propose three sets of factors: individual, institutional, and environmental. These three types of factors are discussed based on the findings from primary sources and historical accounts.

1.7. Time period of the research

All historical studies are based on some form of periodization, although they do not all clearly explain the logic of their periodization. Scholars have chosen different time frames for the study of Iranian history in the Qajar period based on the nature of their topic. For example, Lambton avoids any fixed time period for her work on Qajar Persia; she chooses the whole period of the reign of the dynasty, and her investigations extend to the previous Zand period and to the later Pahlavi period.[1] Algar takes a similar approach in analyzing the role of the ʿulamaʾ in Qajar Iran.[2]

While a given periodization could be helpful for one subject of research, it would not suit other research questions. Although dynastic periodization can be useful for historical studies, it does not suffice for all types of researches. Therefore, most

1 Ann K. S. Lambton, *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies* (London: Tauris, 1987).
2 Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906*.

scholars go beyond dynastic periodization to establish the time period that best suits their research question. Werner takes this approach in choosing a period to best serve his study of the transformation of an Iranian city, namely Tabriz, in the advent of the establishment of the Qajar dynasty. He chooses 1848 CE as the end of his research about socio-economic changes in Iran over the course of one century (from 1747 CE). He believes that the literature needs to incorporate the history of the late 18th century into the study of the modern period in order to understand the urban and social history of Iran in the Qajar period. Over the course of the fall of a dynasty and the start of a new one, he looks for various dimensions of the social and economic transformation.[1] For Ricks, the year 1850 CE is also a convenient closing date for conducting his study of socioeconomic change in Iran, starting from 1750 CE[2].

For the present research, the mid-19th century Iran is a proper point of departure. In 1848 CE/ 1264 Q. Nasir al-Din Shah ascended the throne to rule the country for about half a century until his death in 1896 CE/ 1313 Q. This a period of widespread political movements and social transformations which could not happen without an institutional environment conducive to these changes. The extensive social and economic transformations at the end of the 19th century could have provided the necessary conditions for institutional transformations in general, and RIs in particular, since the transformation and change of social institutions could be expected to occur at a faster pace under such circumstances.[3] Several phases of

1 Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz 1747-1848*, 3–4.
2 Thomas M. Ricks, "Towards a Social and Economic History of Eighteenth-century Iran," *Iranian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1973): 110–26.
3 North et al., *In the Shadow of Violence: Politics, Economics and the Problems of Development*, 1–3.

famines, the Tobacco Movement, the Constitutional Revolution, a high rate of urban development, and the establishment of modern institutions such as *ʿadlīyih* and banks, and the expansion of foreign trade likely provided suitable social conditions for institutional change. Therefore, this work chooses the second half of the 19th century to frame its research, although, in various places it extends its investigations into the several years before and after this time period to acknowledge influential elements for the observed changes of RIs. Such extensions are necessary to explain the background to the social developments and the consequences of the changes for RIs in later years.

Several other studies which focused on other periods provide interesting complementary backgrounds to the present investigation. For the mid-nineteenth century is an appropriate milestone. In his study of Qajar reformers, Bakhash chooses the second half of the 19th century as the time span of his research. By choosing the period 1858 CE to 1896 CE, the author was able to concentrate on various waves of reform initiated by individual political elites.[1] Garthwaite employs a similar time span in his research covering 1846 CE to 1915 CE While focusing on tribal relations of the Bakhtiyari tribes, he starts his narrative in 1846 CE when Husayn Quli Khan received the position and title of *Ilkhan* from Muhammad Shah. His study ends with the discovery of oil fields in Bakhtiyari territory in 1914-1915 CE[2].

1 Shaul Bakhash, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajar, 1858-1896* (London: Ithaca Press, 1978).
2 Gene R. Garthwaite, "The Bakhtiyari Khans, the Government of Iran, and the British, 1846-1915," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 1 (1972): 24–44.

Last but not least, an important reason for my choice of periodization lies in the existing primary sources related to RIs for the second half of the 19th century (1269-1317 Q.): censuses, maps, and an abundance of accessible *sharʿī* documents. In particular, the large number of waqf documents surviving from this period are some useful sources for answering the central research questions about changes to RIs.

1.8. A review of the primary sources

This research is based on two sets of primary sources: *sharʿī* and non-*sharʿī* documents. Among the various forms of *sharʿī* documents, waqf records are more commonly preserved than others. Since historical investigation relies heavily on its primary sources, this is an important motivation for choosing RIs as the subject of this study. Waqf, as an RI itself that operated for centuries in Iranian society, has preserved useful information about various aspects of socioeconomic life in Iran in waqf deeds. There are waqf documents as old as a 450 Q. preserved in the Iranian Awqaf Organization archives.[1] However, the technical problems inherent in the study of these documents have discouraged many historians. These documents are scattered an over the country, personal collections, and national organizations throughout Iran. Moreover, huge proportions of the documents have been kept in private collections or by individuals, or they have been destroyed in order to convert waqf estates into private properties. Even after finding the historical documents, the

1 Daftar-i Asnad va Shinasayi-yi Mawqufat is the department in charge of collection of waqf historical documents in Sazman-i Awqaf va Umur-i Khayriyih-yi Tehran. For introductory information about this department. See: Omid Rezaei, "Ashnayi ba Daftar-i Asnad va Shinasayi-yi Mawqufat-i Sazman-i Awqaf," *Ganjinih-yi Asnad* 51 & 52 (Winter and Spring sh 1382): 9–13.

researcher is confronted with a new set of difficulties: the complicated scripts as well as the style are serious obstacles.

Before conducting any research based on *sharʿī* documents, it is crucial to understand the limitations of the content of these primary sources. As Floor explained, Persian sources do not provide enough information about the economic situation in Iran.[1] He believes Werner's work required external documents from Ottoman, Russian, and other western archives in order to fully illustrate the economic landscape of the city of Tabriz, which is chosen by the author as his subject of study.[2] Therefore, caution is advisable in performing statistical research or regression analyses based on data from these documents.

As long as these difficulties are recognised, waqf archives constitute a rich source of information about the socioeconomic history of Iran. The property relations established by *waqf* deeds may, for example, have changed the distribution of rent in favour of some individuals. Apart from the religious functions of waqf for donors (*wāqif-hā*), it channelled economic rents to some special institutions such as mosques, madrasas, and hammams. Moreover, the trustee (*mutawallī*) and the overseer (*nāẓir*) could earn proportions of the profit produced from a waqf which could be inherited through generations. Such sources of economic rent paved the way for long series of controversies among the claimants of any of these positions.

1 Willem Floor, "Reviewed Work: An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz 1747-1848 by Christoph Werner," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 2003): 168.
2 Floor, "Reviewed Work: An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz 1747-1848 by Christoph Werner."

The non-religious functions of waqf institutions for their donors are also relevant. When studied in historical context, these can reveal religious, political, and personal functions of waqf for their donors. Aside from its common religious purposes, the waqf was used by some landowners as a means to support their property rights against confiscation by court officials or local rulers.[1] There are also some cases of waqf which were established to distribute an inheritance between heirs in a way that does not follow *fiqh* rules on inheritance rights. In such cases, the property was usually distributed in favour of the sons of the donors.[2] By donating a small part of his property, a person could bequeath all or most of his properties to one of his sons.[3] Developing class analyses and gender studies of the beneficiaries of waqf and those who control these rent distributions could also shed light on new dimensions of the socioeconomic history of Iran.

Some caution is appropriate, given the limitations of the waqf deeds, before initiating any research based on *sharʿī* documents. Macro-level generalizations based on a sample group of waqf deeds may not be reliable. Choosing a reliable sample group from among the surviving waqf deeds is not an easy task in Iran, since no central bureaucratic organization in the premodern era bore the responsibility for collecting and registering the documents. It is possible that some of the documents were destroyed by individuals or vanished in the course of some historical events. It would be detrimental to the present investigation if a systematic

1 Various aims of these donations are explained by different scholars: Lambton, Awqāf. For a thorough economic study of the waqf institution, see: Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East*; and Kuran, *Islam and Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism*.
2 In this waqf deed, the endower distributes his property in an arbitrary manner. See: Husayni Ishkawari, *Asnad-i Mawqufat-i Isfahan*, 172–77.
3 This is an example of a waqf in which the oldest son controls the whole property and also receives half of the benefit of the land as well. For an example for this, see: Husayni Ishkawari, 178–81.

alienation of the documents occurred in a specific era. Therefore, these documents should be used as complementary sources in line with other archives and also secondary sources.

Since this research will focus on the second half of the 19th century, I will limit my study to the waqf documents related to this period. Among various collections of waqf documents, the documents of Tehran and Isfahan are more accessible.[1] Moreover, since they deal with the names and places related to the large cities of Iran, I can conduct a better study of the historical context of these primary sources. Meanwhile, like any study of capital cities, I should be careful about generalizing my findings for Iran or other Iranian cities on the basis of Tehran.

Another body of *sharʿī* primary sources are *aḥkām* and *qabālih-hā* of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Several collections of these *aḥkām* have been edited and published by different authors, including Rezaei, Ettehadieh and Ruhi. However, many of these documents are kept in the national archives and are largely unknown to historians. The last set of *sharʿī* sources comprises *fiqh* sources produced by well-known *ʿulamāʾ* of the Qajar period.

This research will also benefit from non-*sharʿī* primary sources and documents, some of which are edited and published and some others kept in unpublished collections. An important element of the primary sources is the three censuses collected and edited by Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh.[2] The first census was performed by an unknown author and titled "*Ṣūrat-i aʿdād-i khānih-hā va sāyir-i*

1 ʿImad al-Din Shayk al-Hukamayi, "Asnad-i Waqf-i Ustan-i Tehran dar Bayigani-yi Markazi-yi Sazman-i Awqaf va Umur-i Khayriyih," *Waqf Mirath-i Javidan* 28 (Winter sh 1378): 141–67.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*

banā-hāyi Dār al-Khilāfah-yi bāhirih-yi Tehran." The document is preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge, with a microfilm of the document kept in the library of the University of Tehran.[1] It starts with a summary including, but not limited to, aggregate population, number of houses, mosques, and shops. In this document, the city is divided into 5 *maḥallāt* (city districts), namely ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, Sangalaj, Bazar, and Ark. It contains detailed information about houses, mosques, madrasas, and waqf properties, in every block of each city district. The last part of the document has some information about the suburban areas of the city.[2]

The second census contains brief and general data about the population and the houses and the shops of Tehran. The census, called "*Jughrāfīyā dar nufūs-i ahālī-yi Dār al-Khilāfah-yi Nāṣirī*", was produced by ʿAbd al-Qhaffar Najm al-Mulk, a math teacher at Dar al-Funun in 1869-70 CE/ 1286 Q. This census follows the same structure as the previous one; it has a prologue on the general population, 5 chapters for the 5 districts, and a part for the suburbs.[3] The third census is another detailed document about the city of Tehran, titled "*Taʿyīn va sabt-i abnīyih-yi muḥāt-i khandaq-i shahr-i Dār al-Khilāfah-yi Bāhirih.*" It was conducted three years before the proclamation of constitutional monarchy by Muzaffar al-Din Shah in 1906 CE/ 1324 Q., and therefore contains important information about this critical period of the history of Iran. Produced by Hasan Akhzar ʿAli Shah, it follows a similar pattern of subdividing the city into five districts. In this period, the Ark district, which used

1 This document can be accessed in the central library of the University of Tehran, Number 844. The document can be accessed at the University of Cambridge; See "Census of All the Houses and Buildings in Tehran" (n.d.), https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/work_787.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 35–340.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 341–50.

to be a citadel district for the royal family and nobilities, was joined with other districts; additionally, the city expanded to the north and a new district called Dawlat was added to the census. The document contains detailed information about the buildings in each street with the names of their owners.[1] Any comparative study between the first and the third document requires an attempt to find parallel streets and blocks in both documents.

The second set of popular primary sources entails various maps from the city of Tehran in the late Qajar period. There are several maps from the city of Tehran that are commonly used in historical studies of this period. One useful example is a published and reviewed map produced by Ilya Nikolaevich Berezin (1818-1896 CE/ 1233-1313 Q.), a Russian orientalist, in the 1840s CE/ 1260s Q.[2] Another relevant map was produced in 1275 Q. /1858 CE by an Austrian, August Krziz, who used to teach maths, geography, geometry, and artillery in Dar al-Funun.[3] In 1304 Q. /1887 CE, ʿAbd al-Qaffar prepared a detailed map of the city of Tehran; he was also a math teacher at Dar al-Funun.[4] In the corners of the map, he explains his method and lists the individuals who contributed to the production of the map. However, I have also searched in various state departments and organizations to find other appropriate maps which may have been produced to serve specific purposes. For example, a map that illustrates the mosques and madrasas of Tehran in 1920s CE/ 1340s Q. was

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 351–651.
2 Jean Calmard, "Berezin, Il'ya Nikolaevich," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, December 15, 1989, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/berezin-ilya-nikolaevich.
Farhad Tehrani and Shima Buka, "Nakhustin Naqshih-yi Musattahi-yi Shahr-i Tehran," *Gulistan-i Hunar* 15 (Spring sh 1388): 45–52.
3 Shiraziyan, *Rahnama-yi Naqshih-hayi Tarikhi-yi Tehran*, 25.
4 Shiraziyan, 45–48.

produced by the Ministry of Culture, i.e. Maʿarif, and contains useful information about the mosques and madrasas in Tehran at the end of the Qajar rule.[1]

There are also other popular primary sources that could provide contextual information about RIs in the period of my interest. State documents, *maẓālim* sources, memoires, bibliographies, etc. are also brought into the discussion.

1 The images of six historical maps of the city of Tehran can be accessed using the following link: Shahri Farang, *Six Old Maps of Tehran* (1848-1925), accessed January 25, 2018, http://shahrefarang.com/en/six-old-maps-of-tehran-1848-1925/.

2. Chapter 2- The Perpetuity and Sanctity of Religious Institutions in Shiʿi Shariʿa Law

2.1. Introduction

Any discussion about the interconnection between law and society in Iran, starts with the shariʿa law. In the Qajar Iran, shariʿa law was the main written legal source that arranged the relation between people in the Qajar period. It also encompassed relations with the non-Muslim minority communities.[1] Unsurprisingly This comprehensive legal system included RIs, which their religious character requires specific religious norms and regulations. RIs studied in this research are considerably represented in the legal discussions of the shariʿa law. The formal regulations governing RIs such as waqf, mosque, *takyih*, *imāmzādih*, and madrasa have been established and developed in *fiqh* over a long history going back to the advent of Shiʿism. Here, I reframe the conceptual boundaries of the aforementioned five RIs. To do so I look at how the shariʿa law sources formally define these RIs in the *fiqhi* text from the Qajar period.

In the following sections, I investigate some of the classic and well-known *fiqh* and the hadith sources to explain the main formal rules governing RIs. It explains the basic regulations regarding the sacredness, perpetuity, transformation, and the rights and duties of the believers with regard to RIs. I solely explain the main discussions and definitions about the 5 RIs and avoid any further legal or analytical argumentations around these institutions which would take me too far from the scope of the present work.

1 Haideh Sahim, "Jews of Iran in The Qajar Period: Persecution and Perseverance," in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*, ed. Robert Gleave (Oxon: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 311–292.

2.2. Shiʿi shariʿa law in the Qajar period

The Qajar period coincided with the revival and domination of *Uṣūlī* School in the Shiʿi *fiqh* scholarship. For about three centuries, the Shiʿi shariʿa law had been dominated by *Akhbārī mujtahid-hā* such as Muhammad Amin Astarabadi (d. 1627 CE / 1036 Q.), Muhammad Taqi Majlisi (d. 1660 CE/ 1070 Q.), Muhammad Hasan Hurr ʿAmili (d. 1693 CE/ 1104 Q.), Mulla Muhsin Fayz Kashani (d. 1680 CE/ 1091 Q.), and Yusif ibn Ahmad Bahrani (d. 1772 CE/ 1186 Q.).[1] The *Akhbārī* orthodox and scripturalist approach was based on the authenticy and sufficiency of the Qurʿan and the hadith as the only sources of derivation of the shariʿa law. As a critique of deduction and reasoning, the school totally rejected any attempt in the Shiʿi shariʿa law to establish general principles for derivation and deduction of shariʿa regulations from the exiting hadith and the Qurʿanic verses.

The Qajar coincided with the down of *Akhbārī* School and domination of *Uṣūlī* School in Iran and Iraq. The Shiʿi *fiqh* scholarship totally shifted to *Uṣūlī* School after Vahid Bihbahani (1705-1792 CE/ 1117-1206 Q.), who started teaching and publishing his works in Karbala, the centre of the *Akhbārī* School at the time. He tried to elevate the position of *ʿaql* (reasoning) as a reliable means used by a *mujtahid* for derivation of the *aḥkām* (rulings, plural for *ḥukm*). As the result of this movement, the *uṣūl fiqh* (principals of jurisprudence) discipline was expanded in order to develop some basic axioms and rules which could enable *mujtahid* to derive

1 Husayn Saberi, *Tarikh-i Firaq-i Islami*, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Samt, 1386), 209.

aḥkām through legal reasoning.[1] Such tools are useful for establishing regulations for a new phenomenon that did not exist in the time of the Prophet and, consequently, there is no hadith related to it. By using these tools, a *mujtahid* could 'discover the *qaṣd-i shāriʿ*' ('the purpose of the law-maker, here God') based on the existing hadith and Qur'anic verses and then extend the findings to the new cases and discover the *aḥkām* for them.

One of the consequences of such approach was expansion of *fiqh* capacity to find responses to the new phenomenon that had no direct equivalent in the hadith. As a result, since the *mujtahid-hā* were the only authorized people for discovering the *aḥkām*, the *Uṣūlī* approach significantly expanded their religious authority. The *Uṣūlī* approach was attentive to emphasize *mujtahid's* understanding and discretion. Thereafter, new *fiqhī* concepts were developed in the scholarship, such as *fiqh al-maṣlaḥat* (modifying *fiqh* rulings in response to urgent public expediency), *umūr-i mustaḥdithih* (unprecedented issues), and *wilayat-i fagīh* (guardianship of *fagīh*).[2]

The *Uṣūlī* School was consolidated in the Qajar period by famous scholars such as Muhammad Hasan Najafi (1786-1850 CE/ 1200-1266 Q.) and Shaykh Murtaza Ansari (1799-1864 CE/ 1214-1281 Q.) and continued as the dominant Shiʿi *fiqh* school to the present time.[3] The next generation of the *Uṣūlī* Scholars played important roles in the social movements of the *Nāṣirī* period, such as Constitutional

1 Robert Gleave, Robert Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam, The History and Doctrines of the Akhbārī Shīʿī School* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
2 Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeini, *Tahrir al-Wasilih*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, 2 vols. (Qom: Muʾasisih-yi Intisharat-i Dar al-ʿIlm, 1366); Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeini, *Tahrir al-Wasilih*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 2 vols. (Qom: Muʾasisih-yi Intisharat-i Dar al-ʿIlm, 1366).
3 Saberi, *Tarikh-i Firaq-i Islami*, 211.

Revolution 1905-1906 CE/ 1323-1324 Q. and Tobacco Movement (1890 CE/ 1309 Q.). Some of the most well-known figures in such developments were Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Tabatabayi Yazdi (1831-1919 CE/ 1247-1337 Q.), Akhund Muhammad Kazim Khurasani (1839-1921 CE/ 1255-1339 Q.), Mirza Muhammad Husayn Naʾini (1860-1936 CE/ 1277-1355 Q.), Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi (1854-1920 CE/ 1270-1338 Q.), and Shaykh ʿAbd-al-Karim Haʾiri (1859-1936 CE/ 1276-1355 Q.).

In the 19th century, the vibrant atmosphere of the Shiʿi seminaries in Najaf, Karbala, and inside Iran gave birth to various new notions and concepts in Shiʿism. A thorough study of the literature on RIs casts light on the new conceptual changes formed around these *fiqhī* concepts. Any clear understanding of the relation between the shariʿa law and social changes in this period of the history of Iran requires minute tracing of the conceptual historiography in the Shiʿi *fiqh* sources. It seems to me important to grasp the main aspects of this turbulent period as I have described them above to gain a broader perspective on the context in which RIs were changing. I will now turn to the basic rules set in *fiqh* literature for waqf, mosque, *takyih*, madrasa, and *imāmzādih*.

2.3. Waqf

Waqf is the basic institution among Shiʿi RIs. Other RIs are usually founded as waqf endowments (*mawqūfih-hā*) in the first place. A waqf is established by a donor for a specific practice and/or use, such as establishing a waqf building to be used as a *takyih*. Therefore, many of the legal provisions related to RIs originated from the

rulings related to waqf. Moreover, waqf has played the role of the financial supporter for RIs in the course of history. Mosques, madrasas, *takyih-hā*, and *imāmzādih-hā* usually have had series of waqf holdings and properties which created financial resources for them. The money could be used for the daily expenses and renovation of RIs. Such holdings have had direct influence on the social status, expansion or demolition, perpetuity, and the extent of the daily activities of any given RI.

The Persian lexical meaning of the term waqf is "to dedicate an estate or property for any task assigned by the person who has made the waqf donation."[1] This meaning is established in the Persian language as the first and main reference of the term. However, the term is originally taken from the Arabic language from which it took its meaning. Literally it means "to stop."[2] In the famous reference lexicon of *Lisān al-ʿArab,* it is defined as "to stop" and "to stand, and its antonym is "to sit down."[3] However, the most common use of the term in Arabic is the act of donation of a property or a land according to Islamic shariʿa law provisions.

In *fiqh* texts, the term refers to "blocking a person's property right and releasing the benefits of that property to be used for a specific goal or group of people."[4] Accordingly, after assigning a property as waqf nobody can sell or buy neither the

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1 Muhammad Moʿin, "Waqf," in *Farhang-i Moʿin*, accessed April 10, 2020, https://www.vajehyab.com/moein/وقف.
2 ʿAli Akbar Dihkhuda, "Waqf," in *Lughatnamih-yi Dihkhuda*, accessed July 5, 2020, https://icps.ut.ac.ir/fa/dictionary?DictionarySearch[word]=وقف.
3 Muhammad ibn Mukram ibn Ahmad Ansari ibn Manzur, "Waqf," in *Lisan al-ʿArab*, accessed March 20, 2020, https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/وقف/?c=العرب20%لسان.
4 Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Mabsut fi Fiqh al-ʾImamiyah*, 3rd ed., vol. 3 (Tehran: Muʾasisat al-Murtazawiyah li-ʾIhyaʾ al-Turath al-Jaʿfariyah, 1387), 286. Hasan ibn Yusuf ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, vol. 2 (Qom: Muʾasisat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1413), 387. Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tusi, *al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, vol. 3 (Qom: Muʾasisat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1411q.), 538, http://lib.eshia.ir/10015/3/3.

property nor the benefits earned from it. As an example, John assigns a house as waqf which is donated to a specific mosque; then, the house cannot be sold anymore. And John appoints Anne as the *mutawallī* (administrator) of the waqf property who should rent the house, and use the money earned from the contract for the daily expenses of the mosque. Accordingly, waqf has four main components: 1. *wāqif* or the donor; 2. *mawqūfih* or the donated property; 3. *mawquf-un ʿalayh* (purpose of the waqf) or those who the donation is made for them (human or non-human); 4. *ṣīqih* or verbal statement made by the donor or by the ʿulamaʾ on behalf of the donator. In the aforementioned example, John is the *wāqif*, the house is the *mawqūfih*, and the mosque is the *mawquf-un ʿalayh*. The *Ṣīqih* is usually written by one or few ʿulamaʾ in Arabic and Persian and explains the details and provisions of the waqf. Such verbal requirement strengthens the role of the ʿulamaʾ who knew how to write a waqf deed according to the rules of shariʿa.[1]

In the classic legal classification, waqfs are divided into two types according to their purposes: 1. Definite waqf or *waqf-i khāṣ* in which the donor assigns identified persons as the beneficiaries, such as part of his ancestors; therefore, the administrator knows for whom s/he should spend the revenues of the waqf. 2. Public waqf or *waqf-i ʿām* in which the donor does not specifically choose a definite person or group of people as the beneficiaries. For example, if John establishes a waqf and dedicate it to his sons, he has made a *waqf-i khāṣ*. If he donates a house for the wellbeing of the Muslim community, he has made a *waqf-i ʿām*.

1 Ali Mishkiniyi Ardibili and Hamid Ahmadi Julfayi, *Mustalahat al-Fiqh* (Qom: Muʾasisih-yi ʿIlmi Farhangi-yi Dar al-Hadith and Sazman-i Chap va Nashr, 1392), 567.

The managing power of a waqf is either in the hands of its beneficiaries, *mutawallī* or the ʿulamaʾ. The *wāqif* usually explains the roles and duties of all the parties in a waqf deed. In the absence of such provisions in the deed, *fiqh* rulings define the roles. In case of a *waqf-i khāṣ*, the beneficiaries usually have the controlling power over the waqf. If the donor assigns a *mutawallī,* then the *mutawallī* has the right to select the next *mutawallī* from his ancestors or the ʿulamaʾ, unless the deed has established the rules for that; otherwise the ʿulamaʾ or sometimes the Kings assumed themselves the role of *mutawallī*. Since the administrator usually has a share of the earnings of the property and also has the control over it, his position has occasionally triggered disputes and controversies. As an example, in 1895 CE/ 1312 Q. Mulla ʿAbdallah Burujirdi (1840-1897 CE/ 1256-1315 Q.) and his patronage groups entered into a long conflict with Sayyid Mulla Baqir-i Imam Jumʿih, a member of the famous family of the Sadat-i Kababiyan in the city of Hamadan. Mulla Baqir was a well-known master of Shaykhi denomination in the city of Hamadan and the *mutawallī* of the famous madrasa in Hamadan called Shaykh Alikhani Madrasa, which had many waqf holdings.[1]

The discussions on waqf in *fiqh* texts usually start with various references to the hadith and the Qurʿanic verses. There is no concrete reference to waqf in the Qurʿan but several classical Sunni and Shiʿi exegeses have used the verse 92 of Al-i ʿImran as a reference for waqf.[2] The verse says "You will never attain piety until you spend out of what you hold dear..." (لَنْ تَنالُوا البِرَّ حَتّى تُنْفِقُوا مِمّا تُحِبُّون).[3] The verse is widely used

1 Karim Anaraki Kirmani, *Tarikh ʿIbrat li-Man ʾIʿtabar*, ed. Ahmad ʿArifi (Maktab-i Istibsar, 1398), http://www.aghayed.net/تاريخ-عبرة-لمن-اعتبر-نثر-امروزي-چاپ/.
2 Fadl ibn al-Hasan al-Tabrasi, Majmaʿ al-Bayan, vol. 1 (Tehran: Maktabat al-ʿIlmiyyat al-Islamiyat, 1372), 473–74.
3 *Al-Quran*, accessed December 20, 2020, http://al-quran.info/#3.

in the literature to explain the significance of waqf. However, the provisions and rulings of waqf are derived from the hadith and the tradition. The Shiʿi *fiqh* sources support their discussion on waqf by referring to various *aḥādīth* (plural for the hadith), especially from the Prophet and Imam Sadiq.

In order to understand the concept of waqf in the Shiʿi context, I should know how this phenomenon is classified in *fiqh* books. Various scholars have used different classifications in their works.[1] The most commonly used classification is introduced by Muhaqqiq Hilli (1205-1277 CE/ 602-676 Q.) in his famous work *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islam* in which he classifies his discussions under four major categories: 1. *ʿIbādāt* (plural for *ʿIbādat*) or worships are the obligatory practices that a Muslim must do to prove his obedience to God. They are rules that arrange a Muslim's relation with God. Some examples are fasting and daily prayers 2. *ʿUqūd* (plural for *ʿaqd*) or contracts. These rules govern over the relations among believers and requires the mutual verbal consent of all the parties to the contract. Some examples are business contracts, rent contracts, and marriage contracts. 3. *Īqāʿāt* (plural form of *Īqāʿ*) or abandonments are unilateral acts of abandonment of a claim which is a contract or agreement terminable by only one of the contracting parties' verbal consent. An example for *Īqāʿāt* is divorce, as in the Islamic law the divorce relies on the unilateral consent of the husband. 4. *Aḥkām* (plural for *ḥukm*) or rulings related to actions explain the forms and practical arrangements for execution of different religious activities, such as how to kill a cow (*zibḥ*) to have halal meat. In general, *fiqh* explains the rules governing three sets of relations: believer-God (*ʿIbādāt*),

1 ʿAmid Zanjani, *Fiqh-i Siyasi* (Tehran: Amirkabir, 1421), 43–45. Muhammad Ismaʿil Nuri, "Abvab-i Fiqh," accessed May 20, 2020, http://ketaab.iec-md.org/HOZEH/aashenaaei_abvaab_fiqh_02.html#link4.

believer- believer (*ʿUqūd* and *Īqāʿāt*) which are put together under one category as *muʿāmilat* (transactions), and believer-things/ behaviours (*Aḥkām*).[1]

Waqf is classified by the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ under *muʿāmilat* category. Some of the ʿulamaʾ believe waqf and *ṣadaqih* (alms) belong to *ʿUqūd* category while the others put them under *Īqāʿāt*. By choosing each of the categories, scholars took different stands about the autonomy of the donor in the process of establishment and administration of the waqf. If I consider waqf as a sort of *Īqāʿ*, only the consent of the *wāqif* would be enough for the completion of a waqf. The advocates of this notion support their position by apagogical argument that there are some cases of waqf which have no second party at all, such as *waqf-i ʿām*. In a public waqf or a waqf for nonhuman purposes (such as, establishing a waqf qanat and spending its income for renovation of a madrasa), I do not have the second party to the agreement. The second group of the ʿulamaʾ classifies it under *ʿaqd* category. In this case, it should be an agreement between two parties. The first party to the waqf agreement is the *wāqif*. Then, in case of a *waqf-i khāṣ,* the second party will be those to whom the property is donated.[2] As an example, if John establishes his house as a waqf dedicated to his son (the son is the purpose of the waqf), then, the son is the second party to the waqf. And in case the waqf is for public or unidentified purposes, the second party is God or His authorised representatives, who are the ʿulamaʾ. Such notion opens the path for consolidation of the position of the ʿulamaʾ in the

1 Najm al-Din Muhaqqiq Hilli, *Sharaʾiʿ al-Islam fi Masaʾil al-Haram wa al-Halal*, vol. 2, 4 vols. (Najaf: Matbaʿat al-ʾAdab, 1389).
2 Muhammad Javad Muqniyah, *Al-Fiqh ʿala al-Mazahib al-Khamsah*, 7th ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Tayar al-Jadid, 1402), 618.

process of administration of waqf institutions. The majority of the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ have defined it as an ʿ*aqd*, specifically the *Uṣūlī* scholars.[1]

A very innate feature of waqf is its perpetuity. This feature is incorporated into the nature of this contract, which is regarded as a necessary and non-reversable contract. This feature is called *lāzim* (irrevocable) in *fiqh* terminology. The grand Shiʿi *faqīh* Shaykh Tusi (995-1067 CE/ 385-460 Q.) in his famous book, *al-Khilāf*, emphasizes that waqf is a necessary contract; therefore, after the donation-taker or his lawyer or the *mutawallī* seizes (this act of seizing something is called *qabḍ*) the property the donor cannot take it back. He even emphasizes that this is a matter of consensus (ʾ*ijmāʿ*) between the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ and the companions to the Prophet.[2] Allamih Hilli (1250-1325 CE/ 648-726 Q.) in his work *al-Mukhtalaf* emphasizes that the ʿulamaʾ have widely recognised (*mashhūr*) prohibition of any changes in the waqf. Therefore, after the waqf is done no one can cancel it, even if the two parties agree to return the waqf property to the original owner and cancel the waqf contract.[3] Other Shiʿi scholars who lived till the end of the 19th century had the same idea about the perpetuity of waqf. The main examples in this regard are Shahid Thani (1506-1558 CE/ 911-966 Q.) in *Masālik*,[4] and Muhammad Hasan Najafi (1786-1850 CE/ 1200-1266 Q.) in *Jawāhir al-Kalām*,[5] Tabatabayi Yazdi (1831-1919

1 Muhammad Hasan Haʾiri Yazdi, *Waqf dar Fiqhi Islami va Naqsh-i An dar Shukufayi-yi Iqtisad-i Islami* (Mashhad: Bunyad-i Pazhuhish-hayi Islami, 1380), 79–81.
2 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, 1411q., 3:537–38. Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Nihayat fi Mujarad-i al-Fiqh wa al-Fatava* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-ʿArabi, 1400q.), 595–600, http://lib.eshia.ir/10054/1/0.
3 Hasan ibn Yusuf ʿAllamih Hilli, *Mukhtalaf al-Shiʿah fi ʾAhkam al-Shariʿah*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Qom: Daftar-i Intisharat-i Islami, 1413), 285–88.
4 Ziyn al-Din ibn ʿAli ʿAmili Jubaʿi al-Shahid al-Thani, *Masalik al-Afham ila Tanqih-i Sharaʾiʿ al-Islam*, vol. 5 (Qom: Muʾasisah al-Maʿarif al-Islamiyah, 1413), 307.
5 Muhammad Hasan Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʾiʾ al-Islam*, vol. 22 (Beirut: Dar ʾIhyaʾ al-Turas al-ʿArabi, 1362), 357–58.

CE/ 1247-1337 Q.) in *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*.[1] Such widespread emphasize among the *fuqahāʿ* led some scholars to assume the irreversibility of waqf a matter of *ijmāʿ* or *mashhūr*. Therefore, neither the donor nor the beneficiary can cancel or modify waqf's entirety or provisions.

The perpetuity is entrenched in the nature of waqf, so that it cannot be limited to a specific period of time. All the Shiʿi scholars believe that waqf should be everlasting and there can be no temporal condition for waqf. Therefore, one cannot make a house as a waqf for 10 years; it should have made a waqf forever. This feature is called *taʾbīd* (from the term *ʾabad* which means eternity) or *dawām* (means continuity) in *fiqh* terminology.[2] This is also assumed a matter of consensus (*ʾijmāʿ*) among the ʿulamaʾ and Shiʿi *rūwāt* (those who transmitted hadith from the Prophet or Imams).[3]

The perpetuity of a waqf goes beyond the life of those thing/people assigned as the purposes of the waqf. The majority of the ʿulamaʾ believes that even if the benevolent purpose of the waqf vanished, the waqf property should not be returned to the original owner or his heir. In the previous example, if the mosque is demolished, John cannot ask for his house back. Shaykh Mufid says in such case the house remains a waqf property, but its rents will be spent for good purposes, defined in *fiqh* as *birr* (good deed). In *Al-Nahāyah,* he emphasizes that it should be spent for poor people and wellbeing of the Muslims.[4] Some other scholars followed the

1 Tabatabayi Yazdi, *Al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqa fi Ma Taʿumm biha al-Balwa*.
2 Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, vol. 6 (Qom: Muʾasisat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1411q.), 266, http://lib.eshia.ir/10015/3/3. Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʿiʾ al-Islam*, 1362, 22:358.
3 Al-Sayyid Muhammad Jawad al-Husayni al-ʿAmili, *Miftah al-Karamah fi Sharh-i Qawaʿid al-ʿAllamah*, ed. Muhammad Baqir al-Khalisi, vol. 21 (Qom: Muʾasisat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1419), 451.
4 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Nihayat fi Mujarad-i al-Fiqh wa al-Fatava*, 599–600.

same line, but emphasized that the waqf revenue should be spent for other benevolent purposes similar to the original one.[1] In the previous example, I should spend the waqf revenue for another mosque and I cannot choose a *takyih* for this case. Once again the ʿulamaʾ have decisive position as the authoritative reference for assigning a replacement for the perished purpose of the waqf.

The reasoning behind the perpetuity of waqf is that it is God's property. As the result of the waqf statement, the ownership of the property is removed from the hands of the original owner forever. The Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ believe that thereafter the original owner will not have ownership right of the property. Even some scholars claimed that it is *ijmāʿ*.[2] Then, the question is who will obtain the ownership of the waqf? In case the waqf is for public purposes, such as donating a house to a mosque or to poor Muslims, the waqf contract/abandonment transfers the ownership to God.[3] In these cases again the ʿulamaʾ as the representatives of God will have the last word and the administrative power. However, in case the waqf is for specific group of people, they will own the property according to majority of the ʿulamaʾ.[4]

In practice, the waqf's entirety is secured by appointing a guardian for the waqf, called *mutawallī*. The *mutawallī* or administrator of the waqf is the main focal point of controlling the revenues of a waqf. The term *mutawallī* and *tawlīyat* (the position or act of administration) is originated from *walī* (ولی، تولّی) which means "to help someone, to obey and accomplish somebody's request, and to administer a job."[5]

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1 Muhammad Hasan Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʿiʾ al-Islam*, vol. 28 (Beirut: Dar ʾIhyaʾ al-Turas al-ʿArabi, 1362), 44–48.
2 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, 1411q., 3:540. Najafi, *Jawahir Al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʿiʾ al-Islam*, 1362, 28:88.
3 ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, 2:394.
4 Muhaqqiq Hilli, *Sharaʾiʿ al-Islam fi Masaʾil al-Haram wa al-Halal*, 1389, 2:170–76.
5 "Mutawalli," in *Al-Maʿani*, accessed May 20, 2020, https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/متولی/home.php?lang_name=ar-ar&servicategoryces=لسان+العرب&service=dict&word=متولی+.

The concept is used in *fiqhī* context to refer to a person who has the authority to administer the affairs of a waqf property and to spend its revenue in accordance with the waqf deed.[1]

Since the *tawlīyat* function gives the person controlling position over the property, s/he can play a unique role in changing and transforming the property. Moreover, the administrator not only has a share of the revenue of the waqf, but also plays a crucial role in the distribution of the revenue of the waqf property. The position even becomes more controversial over time, since after several generations of *mutawallī-hā* the number of claimants for the position raises and various competitors try to control over the sources of the revenues.

In some waqf cases, a second position, called *nāẓir,* is introduced to establish a balancing power over the position of *mutawallī*. The *wāqif* assigns a person whose role is to oversee the administration of the waqf property and tasks of the *mutawallī*. S/he occasionally has a share of the revenue of the waqf too, but his/her share usually is not high. In cases of mismanagements by the *mutawallī*, s/he can take the case to the adjudicators who are assigned in the waqf deed. The most common adjudicators are the ʿulamaʾ or the *ḥākim-i sharʿ* (the ruler of the shariʿa law), used to define it as the King.

In general, the roles of the *mutawallī* and *nāẓir* are usually assigned through several mechanisms. In some waqf deeds, the *wāqif* assigns himself/herself as the administrator. The majority of the ʿulamaʾ confirm that the *wāqif* can assign himself/herself to this position and even some believe this permission is a matter of

1 Muqniyah, *Al-Fiqh ʿala al-Mazahib al-Khamsah*, 607.

ijmāʿ. The other option is that the *wāqif* assigns another person as the *mutawallī*. Then, s/he can be one of her/his family members, his relatives, the ʿulamāʾ, or the *ḥākim-i sharʿ*.[1] The third possibility is when the *wāqif* does not assign any *mutawallī*. In such cases, if it is a *waqf-i khāṣ*, then two opinions are accepted in this regard by the ʿulamāʾ. Some believe that when John assigns a house as waqf for his children and ancestors, then ownership of the property will transfer to them. Therefore, if no administer is mentioned in the waqf deed, John's children will be the owners and the administers of John's property. Muhaqiq-i Hilli,[2] ʿAllamih Hilli,[3] and Shaykh Tusi[4] accepted this position. However, a second group of ʿulamāʾ believes that this task will never be in the hands of John's children. Accordingly, as the result of waqf, the ownership of the property will always transfer to God forever and only the benefits of the property will remain as the property of John's children. Therefore, the administration and monitoring of the property is for the ʿulamāʾ or the *ḥākim-i sharʿ*.[5]

In the case of a public waqfs (i.e. *waqf-i ʿām*) with no *mutawallī* and *nāẓir*, the *ḥākim-i sharʿ* will play these roles, as the ʿulamāʾ unanimously agreed. He can assign a representative on behalf of himself for any of these positions. Despite the widespread role of the *ḥākim-i sharʿ*, he cannot dismiss the *mutawallī* assigned by the *wāqif*. However, there are several cases of such changes by the Qajar Kings.[6]

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1 Al-Sayyid Ali al-Tabatabayi, *Riyad al-Masaʾil fi Tahqiq-i al-Ahkam-i bi al-Dalaʾil*, vol. 10 (Qom: Muʾasisat Aal al-Bayt li-Ihyaʾ al-Turath, 1418), 214.
2 Najm al-Din Muhaqqiq Hilli, *Sharaʾiʿ al-Islam fi Masaʾil al-Haram wa al-Halal*, vol. 2 (Qom: Muʾasisah al-ʾIsmaʿiliyan, 1408), 172–74.
3 ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, 2:389–400.
4 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Mabsut fi Fiqh al-ʾImamiyah*, 3:293–99.
5 Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʿiʾ al-Islam*, 1362, 28:26–27.
6 Kondo, "State and Shrine in Iran: Waqf Administration of the Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzim Shrine under the Qajars."

The emphasize on the perpetuity of waqf will consequently lead to the prohibition of exchange of a public waqf. When the ʿulamaʾ emphasize that waqf properties belong to God, consequently buying and selling them are prohibited and nobody would have the right to make any sort of change in them. This is widely accepted by the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ. Therefore, whether the waqf is dedicated for public services (such as a public bath) or religious purposes (such as a mosque or madrasa), nobody can ever sell them.[1]

Waqf is an 'Islamic' institution in the sense that it is based on Islamic shariʿa law, governing Muslim-Muslim relations. Therefore, a Shiʿi Muslim is not allowed to make a waqf donation for churches, temples, synagogues, or other praying houses of non-Muslim communities. The scholars explain that this would be a contribution to a wrongful act, i.e. believing in a religion that is not the true path of God. The majority of the ʿulamaʾ have accepted that non-Muslims can make waqf donations for their own religious institutions. Their decisions and contracts between themselves should be respected.[2] There are various historical references to the donations made for Jewish synagogues and Armenian churches in Tehran. The cadastral survey No3 shows that the city of Tehran had 7 churches; there were two in Dawlat, four in Sangalaj, and one in Bazar.[3] The document also entails two synagogues in ʿUdlajan.[4] There is a Zoroastrian praying house in Dawlat too.[5] These praying rooms are usually referred to as "*namāzkhānih*" or praying house in the

1 ʿAllamih Hilli, *Mukhtalaf al-Shiʿah fi ʾAhkam al-Shariʿah*, 6:286–88. Shaykh Murtaza al-Ansari, *Kitab al-Makasib*, vol. 4 (Qom: Majmaʿ al-Fikr al-Islam-i, 1420), 33–34.
2 Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʾiʾ al-Islam*, 1362, 28:34–38.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 355.
Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 398.
4 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 355.
5 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 396.

text.[1] There are several cases of waqfs in the document which were done for non-Muslim praying houses.[2]

2.4. Mosque

Masjid is the Arabic term for mosque which is also used in the Persian language. It is derived from the term سجد and grammatically refers to the place designed for prostration (*sajdih*) in front of God.[3] In the Islamic context it refers to the Muslims' praying house in which people gather to pray individually or in group.[4] It is the most sacred place in a Shiʿi city and it is the most common urban structure in every city with Muslim majority population.

Mosques are usually established on a waqf land. In other words, it is a specific type of waqf in which the *wāqif* defines the purpose of the waqf properties as being specifically used to host a mosque. This type of waqf is by nature a public waqf (*waqf-i ʿām*) and it is entitled to all of the shariʿa rules on the waqf. Consequently, perpetuity becomes an innate feature of this institution.

However, the sacredness of the mosque goes beyond its waqf dimension. While the waqf contract grants a 'legal sacredness' to a given property, it also gains a 'functional sacredness' by turning the property into a mosque. Although specific

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 442.
Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 396.
Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 531.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 464; Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 531.
3 Hasan Mustafavi, *Al-Tahqiq fi Kalimat al-Quran al-Karim*, 1st ed., vol. 5 (Tehran: Wizarat-i Farhang va Irshad-i Islami, 1368), 50.
4 Muhammad Rawas Qalji and Hamid Sadiq Qanibi, *Muʿjam Lughat al-Fuqahaʾ* (Beirut: Dar al-Nafaʾis li al-Tabaʿat wa al-Nashr, 1408), 428.

advantages for certain groups of people are generally attached to a waqf, the functional aspect of the mosque turns it into a public urban structure. Therefore, *Miftāh al-Karamah* emphasizes that "Masjid is a reality in shariʿa that refers to a waqf place dedicated to all Muslims to do *ṣalāt* (daily prayers) there, where no groups of Muslims are denied access to it."[1] Therefore, the sacredness of the mosque lies in its two features as being a waqf property and a place specifically dedicated to worshiping God. Thus, two of the most sacred places in Muslim world are mosques: Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabi. This sacred function of mosque brought about some specific rulings for it in the Shiʿi *fiqh*.

The Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ have unanimously believed in the perpetuity of the mosque. Accordingly, destruction of buildings of the mosques or confiscation of their lands are strictly forbidden (*ḥarām*), even if they had been demolished by environmental processes or human forces. Even if the building of the mosque is destroyed by environmental causes such as a flood or an earthquake, the waqf condition of the land cannot be detached from the property and the building should be renovated again. Therefore, even after the demolition of a mosque the *wāqif* of the land of the demolished mosque cannot ask for the return of the ownership of the land of the mosque, since by means of waqf the ownership of the land had been transferred to God forever.[2]

Such prohibitions even go beyond the immoveable properties of a mosque and involves the moveable properties of it too. Some of the ʿulamaʾ have emphasized

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1 Al-Sayyid Muhammad Jawad al-Husayni al-ʿAmili, *Miftah al-Karamah fi Sharh-i Qawaʿid al-ʿAllamah*, ed. Muhammad Baqir al-Khalisi, vol. 6 (Qom: Muʾasisat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1419), 246.
2 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Nihayat fi Mujarad-i al-Fiqh wa al-Fatava*, 108–10.
Al-Husayni al-ʿAmili, *Miftah al-Karamah fi Sharh-i Qawaʿid al-ʿAllamah*, 1419, 6:318–30.
Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, 1411q., 3:550–51.

that no one can sell the appliances, tools, and instruments of a mosque, whether the mosque is demolished or not.[1] ʿAllamih Hilli even underlines that the hoary mats and broken wooden columns of the mosque can only be sold if they do not have any use other than to use for burning on fire. In such cases the money, should be used for the mosque's expenses.[2] Any change and transformation of a mosque is totally restricted by the shariʿa law, to the extent that Muhaqiq Thani (in a quotation from Shaykh Mufid) emphasizes that even planting a tree in an already completed mosque is as bad as taking a pig (which is totally *najis*) into the mosque.[3] Such drastic measure, however, is not taken by majority of the scholars.

In general, any change of a mosque is restricted to various regulations and only permitted under strict conditions and provisions. The very first precondition for such initiatives is that only necessary changes are allowed, and they should not hinder or convert the original waqf; since waqf is by nature unchangeable. As an example, if a property is donated for hosting a mosque, one cannot change it into a *takyih* or private property. Additionally, the change should benefit the mosque (*maṣlaḥat-i waqf*). In the case of selling the belongings of a mosque, it is permitted only if it benefits the mosque; [4] for example, when somebody wants to sell the carpet of the mosque to repair its broken roof. However, such decisions should be taken with the permission of the *mutawalī* and *nāẓir*.

In addition to the rules related to the building of the mosque, there is a wide range of rules (*aḥkām*) concerning its sanctity as a place for worshiping God. In all *fiqh*

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1 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Nihayat fi Mujarad-i al-Fiqh wa al-Fatava*, 109.
2 ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, 2:401.
3 Shaykh Nur al-Din Ali ibn Husayn Muhaqiq-i Karaki, *Jamiʿ al-Maqasid fi Sharh-i al-Qawaʿid*, 2nd ed., vol. 9 (Qom: Muʾasisat Aal al-Bayt li-Ihyaʾ al-Turath, 1414), 112–13.
4 Al-Husayni al-ʿAmili, *Miftah al-Karamah fi Sharh-i Qawaʿid al-ʿAllamah*, 1419, 6:320–21.

classic sources, there are long discussions about the rules of mosques which deal with maintenance of the mosque, recommendations for how to clean it from the intrinsically untouchable dirt (*najis* as an adjective and the noun is *nijāsāt*), etc. As an example, it is haram to bring the *nijāsāt*, such as blood or pig, into a mosque. And if any *najis* touches any part of a mosque, it is *wājib-i kafāyī* (collective obligation) to clean it with clean water as soon as possible.[1] *Wājib* is an obligatory act which has two major categories: 1. *Wājib-i kafāyī* which is an act or duty that is intrinsically incumbent on every single Muslim, but that as soon as it has been undertaken by any one Muslim others are relieved from that specific obligation in that case. For example, when a mosque is touched by *nijāsāt*, it is an obligation for every single Muslim to clean it; but if one person does that task everybody will be released from God's punishment. 2. *Wājib-i ʿiynī* which is an obligation that is a non-delegable duty, and everyone should do it, such as daily prayers or fasting.[2] Another example for rulings related to the sacredness of the mosque are the rulings on cleansing the mosque. Under these discussions, the scholars discuss the prohibition of presence of a woman with her menstruation in a mosque and unanimously agree that she should not stay in a mosque. And if a man or a woman does not perform *qusl-i jinābat* (special ablution performed to the whole body after having sex), s/he should not stay in a mosque. Moreover, a Kafir or a drunk person should not enter it either.[3] Such rulings reflect the sanctity of the mosque as a place for the worship of God, as emphasized in *fiqh* literature.

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1 Tabatabayi Yazdi, *Al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqa fi Ma Taʿumm biha al-Balwa*, 1:73.
2 Rafiq al-ʿAjam, *Muwsuʿat Mustalahat ʾUsul al-Fiqh*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Maktabat Lebanon Nashirun, 1998), 1690.
3 Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-*Ahkam, vol. 1 (Qom: Muʾasisat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1411q.), 516–18, http://lib.eshia.ir/10015/3/3.

The social roles in the mosques also originated in its dual nature as a waqf property and a place for performing religious rituals. As a waqf property, it has its own *mutawallī* who is an individual (or a group of people) responsible for managing the daily affairs of the mosque, collecting revenues of its waqf holdings, and paying the expenses. Unlike other waqf properties, there is an important social role in the mosque called the imam. The imam is the person who leads the praying rituals in a mosque. Such role gives the imam a religious character and a social position for building social connections. Usually, each famous *marjaʿ* or *ʿālim* has had his own mosque. In the Qajar period, the roles of the imams were so important that most of the times the mosques were named after their imams. There are several examples for such cases in the publications of this period.[1] Additionally, the position of Imamat in famous mosques were so critical that they could be subjected to complex socio-political and religious tensions. As an example, in the Qajar period *Imam Jumʿih* has always been the imam of Shah Mosque in the heart of the bazar of Tehran. The kings were appointing this position with high degree of sensibility. When the *Imam Jumʿih* of the time died in the *Nāṣirī* period, Nasir al-Din Shah renounced to appoint the next imam from anybody other than the family of the late *Imam Jumʿih*. However, since the late *Imam Jumʿih*'s son had not reached the puberty age, he chose a temporary Imam until the boy grew to the pubescence age and assigned the position to him. The teenage boy became the new *Imam Jumʿih* despite the fact that many other well-known ʿulamaʾ existed in the city.[2]

1 DII.N, no. 234 (10Ramazan1291q.).
2 DII.N, no. 556 (0 Shawal 1280 Q.).

2.5. Madrasa

In the Islamic civilizations, madrasa has gained a unique religious role in the passing of time. There were mainly three reasons for their importance in the Qajar period: first, it was the main educational body for teaching Islamic knowledge; second, they were mostly a waqf property; third, they were usually attached to mosque. As waqf properties, they are subjected to *fiqh* rulings related to waqf in terms of perpetuity and prohibition of any change of any sort in the totality of the madrasas.

Moreover, madrasa and mosque have been two interconnected institutions both in the urban life and the Shiʿi *fiqh*. Some of *fiqh* scholars have extended *fiqh* rulings about mosque to cover madrasas too. Mohammed Kazem Yazdi classifies *awqāf* dedicated to madrasas similar to that of mosques and emphasizes that the ownership of madrasa forever belongs to God, as it is about the mosques. [1] As an example, when he talks about prohibition of burial of people in a waqf property, he emphasizes that this act is prohibited in "the mosques and madrasas."[2] In a comparison between different types of waqf, Muqniyih emphasizes that although in some cases of waqfs (such as a waqf shop) one may be able to sell the waqf property under specific conditions, but under no circumstances nobody can sell a mosque or a madrasa.[3] Such demarcation between the two RIs and other types of RIs shows their unique importance in the Muslim society. In general, when *fiqh* texts talk

1 Tabatabayi Yazdi, *Al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqa fi Ma Taʿumm biha al-Balwa*, 1:341.
2 Tabatabayi Yazdi, 1:341.
3 Muqniyah, *Al-Fiqhʿala al-Mazahib al-Khamsah*, 614.

about waqf properties, mosque and madrasa are like twin examples which are repeated in various occasions.

The history of formation of madrasas shows the close interconnection of this RI with mosque. In the first three centuries of the Islamic era the education activities were mostly part of the functions of the mosque institution.[1] The classes were usually held in the courtyards of the mosques and in the wintertime they were moved into the praying area inside the mosque buildings. However, in the course of history, madrasas were introduced as the specific educational institution. They were gradually expanded to host residential facilities and dormitory spaces dedicated for the students, called *hujrih-hā* (rooms). The madrasas were typically adjacent to the mosques.[2]

The first known independent madrasas were established by Khajih Nizam al-Mulk, the great Saljuqid minister, who founded the Nizamiyih colleges. He established several Nizamiyih colleges all over the Saljuq territory, the most widely known among them was a college in Baghdad, founded in 1065 CE/ 457 Q. and inaugurated in 1067 CE/ 459 Q.[3] Since then many types of madrasas spreaded all over the Islamic societies. These schools became a centre for intellectual expansion and domination of different religious groups, to the extent that they even entered into intellectual competition or even antagonisms. As an example, in 1158 CE/ 553 Q. the severe

1 Zabihullah Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat dar Iran*, 10th ed., vol. 1 (Tehran: Ferduws, 1369), 263–64.
2 George Makdisi, "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24, no. 1 (1961): 1–56.
3 George Makdisi, "Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages," *Studia Islamica* 32 (1970): 255–64.

hostilities between Shafiʿi and Hanafi Muslims resulted in the destruction of several madrasas, out of which eight Hanafi madrasas and seven Shafiʿi.[1]

In line with the expansion of the Nizamiyih colleges, the Shiʿi educational centres grew in Najaf.[2] The Najaf schools were started after the migration of Shaykh Muhammad ibn Hasan Tusi, known as Shaykh-i Tayifih (995-1067 CE/ 385-460 Q.), from Bagdad to Najaf.[3] Thereafter, several Shiʿi madrasas were established all over Persia, in Isfahan, Nishapur, and Qom.[4]

However, the mosque and madrasa were so intertwined that the first attempts to establish educational institutions independent from mosque were not welcomed by some of the ʿulamaʾ. Ibn al-Hajj has a long discussion criticizing these institutions where he emphasizes that the best place for education is the mosque. He explains that there can be three places for dispensing God's teachings: house, mosque, and madrasa. Then, he argues that the mosque is the appropriate place for education for two main reasons: firstly, it had been part of the tradition of our descendent and The Prophet's companions to teach religious knowledge in the mosques. Secondly, we do not want to teach religious knowledge only to the educated people; but we want to address all Muslims regardless of their level of religious knowledge. In madrasas the audiences are only the educated people, while in a mosque every single Muslim has the chance to learn some part of the religious knowledge.[5] Apart

1 Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, New York: BiBliotheca Persica, 1988), 37.
2 Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat dar Iran*, 1:268.
3 Zaryab ʿAbbas, "Education v. The Madrasa in Shiʿite Persia," in *Iranica*, December 15, 1997, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/education-v-the-madrasa-in-shiite-persia.
4 Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 77–93. Safa, *Tarikh-i Adabiyat dar Iran*, 1:263–68.
5 Abu Abdallah Muhammad al-Maliki (Ibn al-Haj), *Al-Madkhal,* vol. 1 (Dar al-Turas), 85–86, accessed September 6, 2020, https://ar.lib.efatwa.ir/43831/1/4.

from his logic, the author's emphasize on the unrepeatable educational and ceremonial roles of mosques shows an attempt to defend the entirety of the mosque.

Despite the expansion of schools, the madrasa and mosque continued as two interconnected RIs. I have found many cases of mosque buildings which host a madrasa attached to it. And madrasas usually have had a mosque attached to them which have been accessible by the public. As a result, in the public sphere they were usually attached to each other. This can be inferred from the historical documents. As an example, Akhzar ʿAli Shah's lists of urban structures in his cadastral survey of the city of Tehran (No3.) does not differentiate between mosque and madrasa, and collectively mentions them under one category.[1]

The affluent elites were the main supporting social group of the madrasa. They used to found the madrasas as a benevolent act; Nizam al-Mulk[2] and Amir Kabir[3] were two of the famous examples. Sahib ibn ʿIbad, the famous minister of the Buiyids used to pay one thousand dinar per annum to the madrasas in Bagdad.[4] Shah ʿAbbas I, established several waqf madrasas such as the famous Lutfallah Madrasa in Isfahan. As one of the preconditions of this waqf, he said, the madrasa should be dedicated to Shaykh Lutfallah ibn ʿAbd al-Karim al-ʿAmili, the famous *mujtahid* of the time, and his ancestors.[5]

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1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q*., 355.
2 Safa, Tarikh-i Adabiyat Dar Iran, 1:268.
3 Ali Qanbarian, "Masjid va Huzih-yi ʿIlmiyih-yi Shaykh ʿAbd al-Husayn," *Waqf Mirath-i Javidan* 103 (Autumn sh 1397): 125–54.
4 Hindushah ibn Sanjar ibn Abdallah Sahibi Nakhjawani, *Tajarub al-Salaf*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Tahuri, 1344), 244.
5 Muhammad Baqir Musawi Khansari, *Rawzat al-Jannat fi ʾAhwal-i al-ʿUlamaʾ-i wa al-Sadat*, vol. 1 (Qom: Ismaʿilian, 1390), 31–32.

The connection between affluent elites and madrasas was a strategic relation. Building a madrasa was an expensive task. Additionally, their maintenance expenses were higher than other RIs of *takyih, imāmzādih,* or mosque. Madrasas needed sufficient financial resources to cover different expensive daily expenses, such as teachers' salaries, students' stipends, and maintenance expenses for dormitory facilities. Therefore, the support of the upper class was vital for them. On the other hand, madrasa had high potentials for formation of patronage networks that could support the elites in their power competitions in the social arena. Such bilateral need consolidated the relation between the madrasa and affluent elites in the Qajar Iran.

2.6. Takyih

Takyih is a Shiʿi specific religious institution that is established to perform collective performances and lectures for commemoration of the late Shiʿi Aʾimmih (plural form of Imam), specifically Imam Husayn. There are other equivalents for this term in the texts, such as *ḥusaynīyih*, *hiyʾat*, *faṭimīyih*, and *ziynabīyih*. The term is derived from the Arabic word *muttakaʾ* (متّكئ) which literally means the thing or the place to which you lean back to rest or to support your body.[1] In the Persian lexicons there is another famous usage for the term which refers to a place for performing the rituals for commemoration of Imam Husayn.[2]

1 "Takkiyah," *Al-Maany*, accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/تكيّة/.
2 "Takyih," *Vajih Yab*, accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.vajehyab.com/?q=تکیه&t=like&s=43.

The RI has not been a key topic in the Shiʿi *fiqh* sources. Like other RIs, they were usually established on a waqf property specifically dedicated to the ceremonies for Chahardah Maʿsum. Therefore, the perpetuity of *Takyih* is supported in *fiqh* as a consequence of their nature as a waqf property. However, *fiqh* sources sometimes refer to it too. As an example, when Kashif al-Ghitaʾ explains the ordinances and rules related to *ghusl-i jinābat*, he emphasizes that the person who did not take *ghusl-i jinābat* cannot enter places which are regarded as sacred and respected among Muslims, such as waqf properties built as a house, a madrasa, or a *ḥusaynīyih*.[1] Although, the perpetuity of *takyih* has not been an independent topic in *fiqh* literature, it is supported either by the rulings related to waqf or by emphasize on Shiʿi customary norms. Since, customary norms are key criteria for the ʿulamaʾ in establishing *fiqh* rulings, the sacredness of *takyih* in popular culture made some of the *fugahāʾ* to extend the rulings related to mosque or sacred shrines to include *takyih* too.

Escalation of the numbers of the Shiʿi-specific RIs of *takyih* is a remarkable feature of religious life in the Qajar period. The Qajar kings of the 19th century were characterized with their emphasize on the ideological derivations from ʿAshuraʾ and support of Shiʿi rituals related to Imam Husayn. In this period, the dramatic reproduction of narratives of ʿAshuraʾ were represented in the form of *rawżihkhʷānī*, *shamāyil gardānī*, *taʿzīyih*, etc; such trend was supported by the court, political elites, and private patrons.[2] In a typical night of Muharram, the number of performances exceeded one to two hundred events which were held in

1 Al-Shaykh Jaʿfar Kashf al-Ghitaʾ, *Kashf Al-Ghitaʾ ʿan Mubhamat al-Shariʿat al-Gharraʾ*, vol. 2 (Qom: Maktabat al-ʾIʿlam al-Islami, 1380), 135.
2 Abbas Amanat, *Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shiʾism* (London: I B Tauris, 2009), 91–111.

mosques, *imāmzādih-hā,* city squares, parks, and also *takāyā*.[1] Even the more the research moves towards the end of the 19th century the number of *takāyā* grows. They turned into special halls for the performance of *taʿzīyih-hā* throughout the *Nāṣirī* period.[2] Such rituals, spaces, and patronages helped the development of Shiʿi Islam in a unique format based on ritualistic representations.[3]

This Shiʿi RI was not limited to the Iranian boundaries and stretched in the other Shiʿi societies too. It started in Iran and then expanded into India, Iraq, and Lebanon. As an example, it was not a familiar RI for the Lebanese Shiʿi communities before the start of the twentieth century. The first *takyih* established in Lebanon was called Husayniyat al-Nabatiyat al-Tahtaʾ which was built in Jabal ʿAmil and then this RI spread all over the Shiʿi communities in Lebanon.[4]

In this period, the promotion of the Shiʿi rituals related to Muharram and the commemoration of Imam Husayn channelled massive religious, public, and official support to the Shiʿi institution of *takyih*.[5] The special status of the *takyih* was consolidated in the social arena through various waves of ceremonies along the year, and any violation of the sacredness and entirety of a *takyih* could result in severe reactions from both the people and the ʿulamaʾ.

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1 ʿAbdullah Mustuwfi, *Sharh-i Zindigani-yi Man, Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi va Idari-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Tehran: Zavvar, 1342), 158.
2 Negar Mottahedeh, "Taʿziyeh: A Twist of History in Early Life," in *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shiʿi Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 25–45.
3 Kamran Aghaei, *The Martyrs of Karbala: Shiʿi Symbols and Rituals in Modern Iran* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2004), 30–47.
4 Al-Sayyid Salih al-Shahristani, *Tarikh al-Niyahat-i ʿala al-Imam al-Shahid al-Husayn ibn ʿAli*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Zahraʾ, n.d.), 50.
5 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 249–50. Niyazmand, *Shiʿi dar Tarikh-i Iran: Shiʿi Chih Miguyad va Chi Mikhahad*, 218–19.

2.7. Imāmzādih

The term literally means the "imam's child" and it refers to the close children or grandchildren of one of the twelve Shiʿi Imams.[1] I did not find any independent research on the origin and history of the term, but Al-Ẕahabī uses this title for Al-Imam Rukn al-Din Imamzadih when he narrates the story of occupation of the city of Bukhara by Genghis Khan in 1220 CE/ 617 Q.[2] Since then, the term is used in various other sources. However, in the public sense it is both a title for a person and a place. When it is used as the title of a place, it refers to the shrine of an imam's child.[3] There are some other synonyms for the term which have roughly similar meanings in the Persian culture, such as *turbat, buqʿih, rawżah, āstānih, maqām, maqbarih, mashhad, marqad,* and *ḥaram*.[4] All of the equivalents have general connotations, and they are sometimes used for the tombs and shrines of the sacred figures too. As an example, after the death of Ruhollah Khomeini, the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a shrine was built on his grave and people call it "*ḥaram-i Imam Khomeini*." But the term "*imāmzādih*" is used specifically for the shrines and tombs of the children of the twelve Shiʿi Imams.

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1 ʿAli Akbar Dihkhuda, "Imamzadih," in *Lughatnamih-yi Dihkhuda*, accessed September 15, 2020, https://dehkhoda.ut.ac.ir/fa/dictionary?DictionarySearch[word]=امام%E2%80%8Cزاده.
2 Shams al-Din al-Zahabi, *Tarikh al-Islam wa Wafayat al-Mashahir wa al-ʾAʿlam*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salam Tadmuri, 2nd ed., vol. 44 (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-ʿArabi, 1409), 42, http://lib.eshia.ir/40071/44/42.
3 Kamran Fani et al., eds., *Dayirat al-Maʿarif Tashayuʿ*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Tehran: Shahid Saeid Mohebbi, 1383), 392.
4 Muhammad Khatibi Kushki and Hamid Nigarish, *Farhang-i Shiʿi* (Qom: Zamzam-i Hidayat, 1386), 181. Hadad ʿAadil, ed., *Danishnamih-yi Jahan-i Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Tehran: Dayirat al-Maʿarif-i Islami, 1376), 620.

In Shiʿi culture, *imāmzādih* is regarded a sacred place. There are various forms of rituals related to these places, such as specific *salām* and *duʿā* for each *imāmzādih*. It has been a common belief among various communities that they have healed various diseases so far. The ancestors of imams are regarded as Saints who can mediate between the believers and God in their daily needs and wishes. Such belief resulted in the formation of diverse types of rituals related to *imāmzādih-hā* all over the country.[1]

Yet, I could rarely find references to the issues related to *imāmzādih* in *fiqh* texts. An *imāmzādih* is usually established on a waqf land in which the purpose of the waqf is defined by the *wāqif* as being specifically used for building a *ḥaram* for the *imāmzādih*. This type of waqf is by nature a public waqf (*waqf-i ʿām*) and it is entitled to all of the shariʿa rules on waqf. Therefore, the *fuqahāʾ* do not separately discuss it in *fiqh* texts. The only topic sometimes raises in *fiqh* literature on the tombs of Imams and their children are related to doing *sajdih* on the soil of these graves. There is a Shiʿi belief that the best material that one can use to do the *sajdih* in his daily prayers are the soil obtained from the tomb of Imam Husayn.[2] And if a patient eats a little bit of the soil of these graves, he would heal from the diseases.[3] This idea is criticized widely by Sunni scholars as a sign of idolatry (*shirk*), and some of the Shiʿi *fuqahāʾ* tried to defend or reject this practice in their writings.

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1 Kamran Fani et al., eds., *Dayirat al-Maʿarif Tashayuʿ*, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Tehran: Shahid Saeid Mohebbi, 1383), 204. Hadad ʿAadil, ed., *Danishnamih-yi Jahan-i Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (Tehran: Dayirat al-Maʿarif-i Islami, 1376), 823.
2 Al-Shaykh Jaʿfar Kashf al-Ghitaʾ, *Kashf al-Ghitaʾ ʿan Mubhamat al-Shariʿat al-Gharraʾ*, vol. 3 (Qom: Maktabat al-ʾIʿlam al-Islami, 1380), 55.
3 Abi Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn ʿAli Shaykh Saduq, *Man la-Yahzuruha al-Faqih*, ed. ʿAliakbar al-Qaffari, vol. 2 (Qom: Jamiʿat al-Mudarresin fi al-Hawzat al-ʿIlmiyyat, 1404), 174.

The perpetuity and sanctity of *imāmzādih* is rooted in the Shiʿi popular culture. Destruction of an *imāmzādih* has never been an easy task. It could bring social resistance both from the people and the ʿulamaʾ. A famous example is the story of Imāmzādih Sayyid Walī. In 1904-1905 CE/ 1322-1323 Q., Russians decided to establish a bank in the central bazar of Tehran, next to the Imāmzādih Sayyid Walī. The selected area was part of an old ruined waqf property of the Imāmzādih. After Russians started the construction of the building, people marched into streets and destroyed the area under-construction.[1] Similar incidents have occurred in different periods. In 2014, after the Iranian Government constructed Karun III Dam, the reservoir of the dam expanded to the extent that it was about to immerse Imamzadih Shahpir in water. To solve this crisis, the Iranian government received the permission of the ʿulamaʾ to transfer the whole shrine to a new location; they spent a lot of money and performed special ceremonies to transfer the whole grave to a new location.[2]

In the Qajar period, the sanctity of *imāmzādih-hā* turned these buildings into safeguard area for asylum-seeking purposes. The act, called *bast nishinī,* was highly used by the ʿulamaʾ, ordinary people, and even the wrongdoers to protect themselves against an oppressor or a threat.[3] These areas were assumed sacred religious places in which anyone could find religious asylum. It was used as a form

1 Nazim al-Islam Kermani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan,* vol. 1 (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1357), 324.
2 "Pish az Bala Amadan-i Ab Sad-i Karun-i 3 Maqbarih-yi Imamzadih Shahpir bi Makani Digar Muntaqil Shud," *Isna*, February 21, 2005, https://www.isna.ir/news/8312-02392/پیش-از-بالا-آمدن-آب-سد-کارون-3-مقبره-ي-امامزاده-شه-پیر-به-مکاني.
3 Hadi Khushiftikhar, "Bast va Bastnishini dar Duwrih-yi Qajar," *Tarikhpazhuhi* 22 & 23 (1384): 33–34.

of political protest, an attempt for justice, or a forgiveness appeal. [1] Such social function is a unique feature that resulted from the religious status of these spaces.

All in all, this RI has not been in the centre of the discussions of the *fuqahāʾ* and it has mostly developed in the Shiʿi popular religion. Yet, it has not hindered its importance in terms of perpetuity and sacredness. The number of the RI even grows rapidly after the Qajarids to the contemporary period. The data collected by Sazman-i Awqaf va Umur-i Khiyriyih illustrate that there are 8167 number of *imāmzādih* buildings around the country, some of which host more than one grave. By 2018, the number of *imāmzādih* buildings in Tehran province was 337.[2] The official data show an acute increase in the number of the registered *imāmzādih-hā* after the Islamic Revolution in 1979.[3]

1 Jean Calmard, "Bast," in *Iranica*, December 15, 1988, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bast-sanctuary-asylum.
2 "Ustan-hayi Iran Chand Imamzadih Darand?," *Eghtesad News*, January 18, 2019, https://www.eghtesadnews.com/بخش-سایر-رسانه-ها-263206/61-استان-های-ایران-چند-امامزاده-دارند-اینفوگرافیک.
3 Ghulamʿali Jaʿfarzadih Iminabadi, "Rushd-i Dah Barabariyi Imamzadih-ha Baʿd az Inqilab," December 28, 2018, https://factnameh.com/fact-checks/2018-12-28-imamzadeh.html.

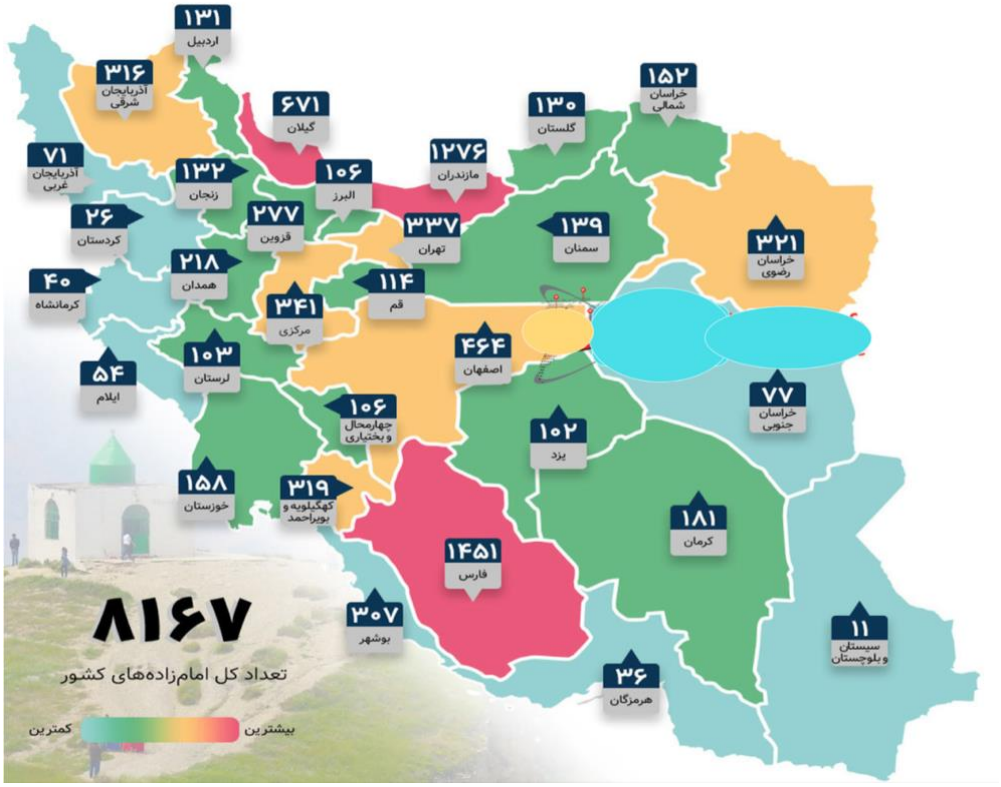


Figure 4. The number of the imāmzādih-hā in Iran and their distribution across the provinces

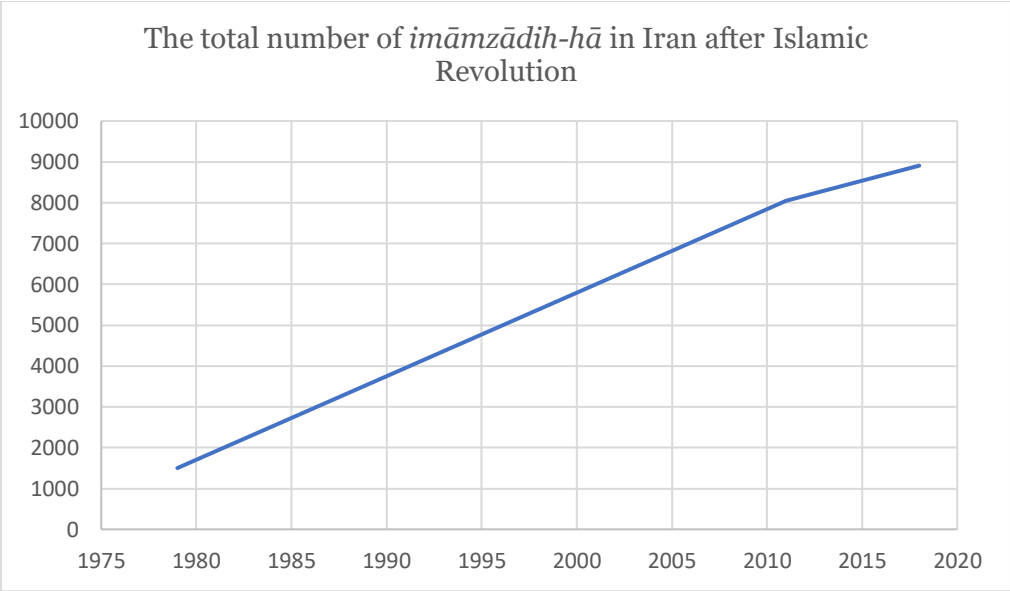


Figure 5. The increasing number of imāmzādih-hā in Iran after Islamic Revolution

2.8. Conclusion

Perpetuity and sanctity are two important features of RIs, which do not apply to all of them in the same way and to the same extent. Waqf, mosque, madrasa, *takyih,* and *imāmzādih* all have perpetuity and sanctity as their innate features. The formal rules of shariʿa law and the informal norms derived from the Shiʿi popular religion are the two main sources that infuse perpetuity and sanctity into any of these RIs. Yet, the weight of the formal and informal characteristics in each RI vary from one to the other. Based on the social function of each RI and its legal status in the shariʿa law, any given RI could enjoy different level of perpetuity and sanctity.

The formal rules of the Shiʿi shariʿa law has coincided with the revival and domination of *Uṣūlī* School in the Shiʿi *fiqh* scholarship in the Qajar period. This approach opened new venues for the ʿulamaʾ to enter into social life. By using this approach, a *mujtahid* could 'discover the *qaṣd-i shāriʿ*' ('the purpose of the law-maker, here God') based on the existing hadith and Qur'anic verses and then expand his findings to the new cases and discover the *aḥkām* for them. As the only authorized persons for discovering the *aḥkām*, religious authority of the *mujtahid-hā* was significantly expanded under the *Uṣūlī* approach.

As an informal source of religious values and norms, popular religion has been widely influenced by ideological derivations from ʿAshuraʾ and support of Shiʿi rituals related to Imam Husayn. The increasing numbers of the Shiʿi-specific RIs of *takyih* and *imāmzādih* are the unique feature of religious life in the Qajar period. In this period, the promotion of the Shiʿi rituals related to Muharram and

commemoration of Imam Husayn channelled massive religious, public, and official support to the Shiʿi institution of *takyih*.[1]

Waqf is the backbone of the Shiʿi RIs. RIs are usually founded as waqf endowments (*mawqūfih-hā*) which are dedicated for establishing a mosque, madrasa, *takyih* or *imāmzādih*. A very innate feature of waqf is its perpetuity. This feature is incorporated into the nature of this RI, which is regarded as a necessary and non-reversable contract that transfers the ownership to God forever. The controlling power over a waqf is either in the hands of its beneficiaries, *mutawallī* or the ʿulamaʾ. However, *ḥākim-i sharʿ* has a decisive role for the public waqfs too. This concept has opened a new justification for the Qajar kings to interfere in the waqfs. Therefore, each of the ʿulamaʾ and the Qajar Kings competed to introduce their own position as the established *ḥākim-i sharʿ* in order to dominate over the main authorized force that could actively control the *awqāf*.[2] The control of a waqf property was relied on the nature of the relation between the ʿulamaʾ and the King: a balance of control and cooperation. Nasir al-Din Shah tried to establish various bureaucratic institutions to control over the administration of *awqāf* none of them were successful in their missions.[3]

Mosques are usually established on a waqf land. Therefore, as a public waqf (*waqf-i ʿām*) they are entitled to all of the shariʿa rules on the waqf, such as perpetuity. The perpetuity of mosque is emphasized more than any other RIs by the Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ. The prohibition of change in the mosque even goes beyond the immoveable

1 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 249–50. Niyazmand, *Shiʿi dar Tarikh-i Iran: Shiʿi Chih Miguyad va Chi Mikhahad*, 218–19.
2 Lambton, *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies*, 66.
3 ʿAli Asghar Shamim, *Iran dar Dawrih-yi Saltanat-i Qajar*, 7th ed. (Tehran: Mudabbir, 1375), 322–24.

properties of a mosque and involves the moveable properties of it too.[1] However, the sacredness of the mosque was not solely rooted in its waqf dimension. It not only enjoys the 'legal sacredness' provided by the shariʿa rules on the waqf, but it also has a 'functional sacredness' originated from the shariʿa and the popular religion.[2] There is a wide range of rules (*aḥkām*) concerning the sanctity of it as a place for worshiping the God. Some of them are necessary recommendations about how to clean a mosque from the intrinsically untouchable dirt (*nijāsāt*) or prohibiting a Kafir or a drunk person from entering it.[3]

The sacredness of the madrasa was rooted in three main grounds: it was the main educational body for Islamic teachings, generally founded on waqf properties, and usually attached to a mosque. Those established as waqf were subjected to *fiqh* rulings related to waqf in terms of perpetuity and prohibition of any change of any sort in the totality of the madrasas. Meanwhile, mosque and madrasa were historically twin institutions. Such feature made some of *fiqh* scholars to extend *fiqh* rulings about mosque to cover madrasas too.[4]

Takyih is not a key RI in the Shiʿi *fiqh* texts. Like other RIs, they are usually established on a waqf property specifically dedicated to the ceremonies for the *aʾimmih*. Therefore, the perpetuity of *Takyih* is supported by *fiqh* as the consequence of its nature as being a waqf property. The special status of *takyih* is consolidated in the social arena through various waves of ceremonies along the year, and any violation of the sacredness and entirety of a *takyih* could result in severe

1 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Nihayat fi Mujarad-i al-Fiqh wa al-Fatava*, 109. ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, 2:401.
2 Al-Husayni al-ʿAmili, *Miftah al-Karamah fi Sharh-i Qawaʿid al-ʿAllamah*, 1419, 6:246.
3 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, 1411q., 1:516–18.
4 Muqniyah, *Al-Fiqh ʿala al-Mazahib al-Khamsah*, 614.

reactions by public. Yet, they have been long-lasting urban constructions some of them lived for centuries.

The Shiʿi *fiqh* rarely refers to *imāmzādih*. Since an *imāmzādih* is typically established on a waqf, their perpetuity is supported by the rulings on waqf. However, in the religious culture various forms of rituals are established for these places.[1] The perpetuity and sanctity of *imāmzādih* is rooted in the Shiʿi popular culture. Destruction of an *imāmzādih* has never been an easy task.[2] In the Qajar period, the sanctity of *imāmzādih-hā* turned these buildings into safeguard area for public for asylum seeking purposes, which was called *bast nishinī*.[3]

After decades of instability, the establishment of the Qajar dynasty was a new milestone in the expansion of religious institutions in Iran. It was in the time of Fath ʿAli Shah that new series of attempts were started by the royal court to establish large RIs all over the country.[4] Moreover, expansion of the Shiʿi popular religion paved the way for the expansion of various forms of Shiʿi-specific RIs in the country. This culture was fuelled by the tendency for establishment of RIs by affluent people and also the ʿulamaʾ.[5]

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1 Fani et al., Dayirat al-Maʿarif Tashayuʿ, 1383, 4:204. ʿAadil, Danishnamih-yi Jahan-i Islam, 1376, 6:823.
2 Kermani, Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan, 1:324.
3 Khushiftikhar, "Bast va Bastnishini dar Duwrih-yi Qajar," 33–34.
4 Markus Ritter, "The Lost Mosque(s) in the Citadel of Qajar Yerevan: Architecture and Identity, Iranian and Local Traditions in the Early 19th Century," Iran and the Caucasus 13, no. 2 (2009): 241–43. Markus Ritter, "Arzyabi-yi Mujaddad-i Miʿmari-yi Qurun-i 18 Ta 19 Miladi Duwran-i Qajari-yi Iran: Barrasi-yi Mauridi-yi Miʿmari-yi Mazhabi," *Miʿmar: Iranian Bimonthly on Architecture and Urban Design 48* (Mrch 2008): 44–49. Robert Hillenbrand, "The Role of Tradition in Qajar Religious Architecture," in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change 1800–1925: Studies Presented to Professor L. P. Elwell-Sutton* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 365. Jennifer Scarce, "The Arts of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries: Architecture, Ceramics, Metalwork, Textiles," in *The Cambridge History of Iran, From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 911–14.
5 Markus Ritter, *Moscheen und Madrasabauten in Iran 1785-1848: Architektur zwischen Rückgriff und Neuerung* (Leiden: BRILL, 2006), 528.

3. Chapter 3- Changes of the Religious Institutions on Historical Maps

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is about the changes of RIs as reflected on historical maps of the Qajar period. A very first question is whether RIs went through any changes in terms of quantity and quality during the second half of the 19th century? Secondly, in the case of the change of RIs, how did such changes affect the geographical dispersion of RIs over time as shown on the city map? In order to answer these questions, I should also see whether RIs can be differentiated from each other or a single name was used for different RIs.

The research traces RIs which are missing with the passing of time by comparing maps from different periods. Furthermore, the chapter explores whether any of RIs had changed into other sorts of RIs or not. I show that although sometimes different RIs were attached to each other and formed a conglomeration made of several RIs, each of the institution members of these conglomerations was distinguished on the maps and other historical sources. I support this argument with the data related to combinational RIs such as: Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (illustrated with the symbols of a mosque, a *takyih*, and a madrasa), Mādar-i Shāh (illustrated with the symbols of a mosque and a madrasa), and Dānkī (illustrated with the symbols of a *takyih* and a madrasa). As part of my discussions, I also look at the broad pattern of the geographical dispersion of these RIs in the city of Tehran.

3.2. RIs on Naskov's map (1826 CE/1241 Q.)

The oldest map of Tehran, drawn by Naskov, is a simplified plan that only contains important elements of the city such as the citadel, the main gates, some of the

mosques and *imāmzādih-hā*, bazar, the roads, qanats and rivers, gardens and military zones. The city walls form a rectangular shape surrounding the city which does not sufficiently match with the shape of the Tahmasib Fortifications depicted on the later maps. The map even does not show the proper shape of the citadel or bazar. Based on the synchrony of the date of the map with the second phase of Russo-Persian wars (1826–28 CE/ 1241-1243 Q.), I can conclude that as a Russian military missionary, Naskov was trying to produce a map for military purposes.[1] Such theory seems more plausible when I look at the information provided on the bottom of the map. The bottom margin of the map depicts a lateral cut of the different components of the entrance gates of the city. It illustrates (from inside towards the outer space) the fortifications and watch towers, defensive front watch towers, embankment, and moat (Figure 6).[2] The defensive front watch towers shown on this map do not exist on other maps depicted from the city in the later periods, since in the later periods by the expansion of the city to the outer areas of the city walls and destruction of the Safavid Fortifications, such city structures lost their military functions.[3] The military function of the map makes the author neglect many of the details and city structures.[4]

1 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 18. Jalih Haj Yasini and Mahmud Arjmand, "Darvazih-hayi Tehran dar Hisar-i Tahmasibi," *Namih-yi Miʿmari va Shahrsazi* 9 (1391): 108.
2 Farhad Tehrani and Shima Buka, "Muʿarrifi va Tahlil-i Avvalin Naqshih-yi Musattahih-yi Tehran," *Gulistan-i Hunar* 15 (1388): 51.
3 Haj Yasini and Arjmand, "Darvazih-hayi Tehran dar Hisar-i Tahmasibi," 108.
4 Muhammad Mihryar et al., *Asnad-i Tasviri-yi Shahr-hayi Irani-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar* (Tehran: Danishgah-i Shahid Bihishti & Sazman-i Miras-i Farhangi, 1378).



Figure 6. Naskov's map of the city of Tehran

Although some of RIs of the city are shown on this map, it does not contain enough information, so that I could use it as a suitable source for preparing the picture of the morphology of RIs in the city. Some of the mosques, *takāyā*, madrasas, and *imāmzādih-hā* are marked on the map without any reference to their names. Moreover, due to the poor quality of the existing version of the map one can hardly read the few lines written in Russian language in the margins of the map.

3.3. RIs on Berezin's map (1840s CE/1260s Q.)

The first comprehensive map of the city of Tehran is named after its producer, Il`ya Nikolaevich Berezin (1818-1896 CE/ 1233-1313 Q.), a Russian orientalist and historian. He is well-known for his works on Persian, Arabic, and Turkish philology

and Mongol history. He wrote several travelogues and drew paintings and maps from the sites he had visited in his travels to Transcaucasia and Persia.[1]



Figure 7. Persian version of Berezin's map

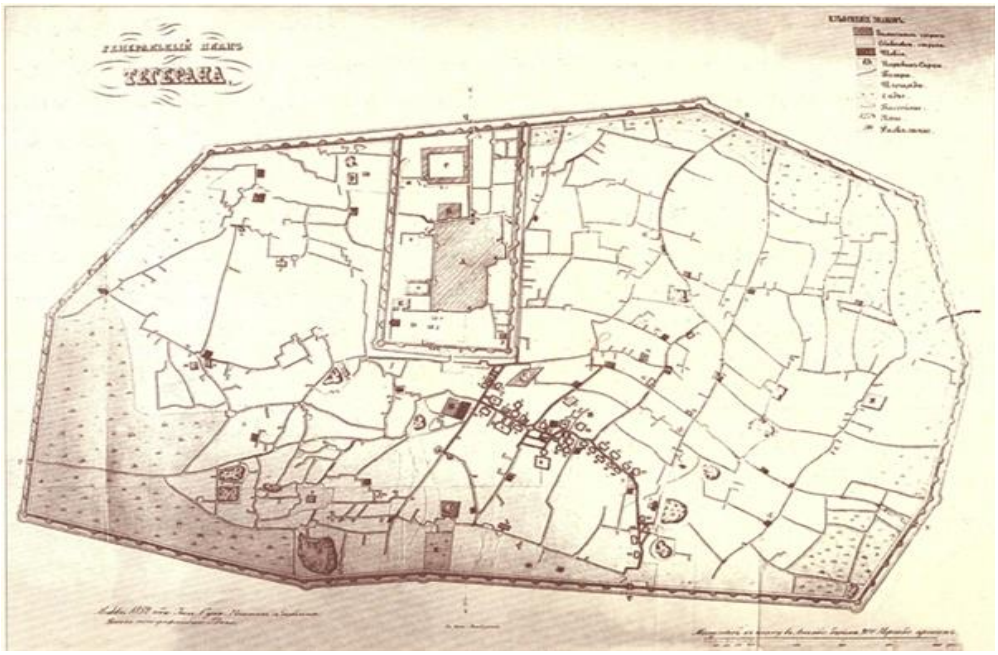


Figure 8. Russian version of Berezin's map

1 Calmard, "Berezin, Il'ya Nikolaevich."

There are two versions of the map: the Persian (Figure 7) and the Russian (Figure 8). The Russian version is a simple plan without any reference to the names of city components. The legend of the map is located in the top-right corner and the scale of the map is drawn in the bottom-right. Interestingly the map is dated 1852 CE/ 1268 Q. in the bottom-left, which might be a reference to the date of production of the map.[1] However, Shiraziyan and Islami have challenged this idea; they argue convincingly that the map does not show the Muḥammadīyyih gate which was built in 1847 CE/1263 Q.[2] Therefore, the city information and data should have been collected few years prior to the construction of the gate in 1847 CE.[3] A plausible hypothesis is that Berezin collected the data in the first half of 1840s CE/ 1260s Q. and the year 1852 CE/ 1268 Q. refers to the preparation date of the final paper map.



Figure 9. The 5 city districts are separated on Berezin's map

1 Mihryar et al., *Asnad-i Tasviri-yi Shahr-hayi Irani-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 1347–52.
2 Kiyanush Muʿtaqidi, *Darvazih-hayi Tehran-i Qadim* (Tehran: Piykarih, 1395), 18.
3 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 24.

In the Russian version, RIs, like other components, are identified with numbers or alphabet letters. Therefore, the map can provide information on the place of RIs without any information about the names. Fortunately, the missing names and colour references of the map can be found on the Persian version that is discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Persian version of the map provides clear information about city elements.[1] In addition to the information provided in the Russian version, it has several useful features: firstly, the names of the important city elements are kept on the map. Secondly, the map illustrates significant details by using colour, words, and symbols. When the colour, words, and symbols are studied according to the information provided in the legend of the map, I can discover better information about geographic position and structural details of royal sites, alleys or streets, caravansaries, bazar, squares, gardens, pulls, ruins, madrasas, mosques, and *takāyā*.

On this map, the city is expanded out of the old Tahmasib Fortification, called Arg, towards the south, starting from the southern gate of the Arg. The governmental centres and royal buildings, mainly located in the Arg region, are depicted either in red or dark-golden yellow. The markets and bazars are distinguished from other pathways with dark brown colour that stretches along some of the roads. Next to the Arg's gate, the main bazar starts and stretches down to the only southern gate of the city wall, Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The other trading line split ups in the

1 Ilya Nikolaevich Berezin, "Tehran, 1852. Drawn by Ilya Nikolaevich Berezin, in Persian," *Reddit*, accessed November 14, 2018, https://www.reddit.com/r/oldmaps/comments/11pawc/tehran_1852_drawn_by_ilya_nikolaevich_berezin_in/.

middle of bazar towards the north and ends up at Darvāzih-yi Shimīrān in the north. The city structure shows an area with higher density around bazar and stretches to the east, west and south of the Arg. There is a green belt composed of the gardens around the city between the citadel and residential areas. In the north-east of the city, the ʿUdlajan district is located, which encompasses the houses of the political elites, famous figures and traders. The Chalmaydan, south-east, was mostly a place for the houses of the lower-class families and workers. The Sangalaj district in the west was not so populated in this period. Therefore, there are less streets, alleys, and passage routes in the district and it also contains a larger share of the gardens of the city.

In order to identify RIs on this map I should pay attention to names and symbols used by the author for different RIs. Each one of RIs of *imāmzādih*, mosque, or madrasa is depicted by a combination of a name and a symbol on the map which are not explained by the author in the legend. The use of different types of symbols for each RI shows that the difference between these RIs was clear for Berezin. The comparative study of the location of RIs on this map and other maps shows that he could properly identify the locations of RIs on his map.

However, to identify any given *takyih* I do not have the name of the *takyih* attached to the symbol used for it. Interestingly, it is the only RI mentioned by the author in the map legend, but on the map the location of RIs are marked with the related symbol without any reference to their names. In the legend, *takyih* is marked with a rectangle with black oblique cross lines (Figure 10). It seems the high number of *takāyā* on the map (31 out of a total number of 48 RIs) forced the author to omit the names of the *takāyā* and use a reference symbol for it in the legend to avoid convolutions.

Madrasas are identified by their names and a reddish square which is also used to show the royal cites and public buildings (Figure 11). An *imāmzādih* is also depicted by a combination of a name and a rectangle filled in with black oblique parallel lines (Figure 12). The mosques are depicted with the same shapes used for *imāmzādih-hā* (Figure 13), but they can be differentiated from the *imāmzādih-hā* by *a prior* word "masjid" added to the proper nouns assigned to them. Therefore, an *imāmzādih* can be differentiated from a mosque by its compound names mentioned on the map. However, an unusual fact about the mosque's or *imāmzādih's* symbol is that some of them are differentiated from the others by reddish margins and also a grey shadow added to the usual symbol (Figure 14). It seems the author uses different sorts of symbols to emphasize the specific function of a group of these two sets of RIs, or to differentiate some of them which have a common structural feature such as being attached to a garden yard, or being demolished in some parts, for instance.

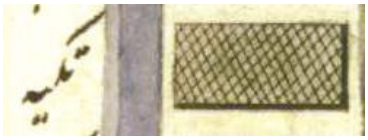


Figure 10. The symbol used for takāyā on Berezin's map

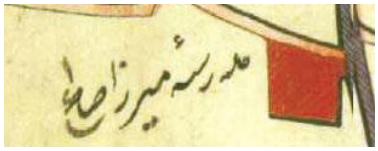


Figure 11. The symbol and colour used for madrasas on Berezin's map

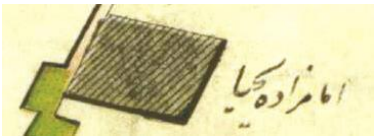


Figure 12. The symbol used for imāmzādih-hā on Berezin's map



Figure 13. The symbol used for some mosques and imāmzādih-hā on Berezin's map



Figure 14. The symbol used for some mosques and imāmzādih-hā on Berezin's map

A good guess about the reddish colour is that it represents a mosque that contains a madrasa inside it. Apart from serving as a place for ritual ceremonies and praying, the most common public function of the mosques was educational. In the Safavid and the Qajar periods, madrasas were usually built adjacent to a mosque or even inside a mosque.[1] If I look at the maps of the later periods, two of Berezin's mosques with reddish signs have madrasas attached to them: Jāmiʿ Mosque (12,12) on the Krziz's map (Figure 33) and Ḥāj Rajab (ʿAlī) Mosque (21,9) on both maps of Krziz (Figure 33) and Najm al-Mulk (Figure 40). Although these facts support my hypothesis that the reddish colour of the mosques represent madrasas attached to them, the evidences are not enough to prove my conjecture beyond reasonable doubt. Therefore, the problem of dual symbols for mosques remains unsolved in this chapter, but any of these cases are explored in a comparative study with the cadastral surveys of the next chapter which can provide more details about RIs of the city.

In general, the map provides enough transcript and visual evidence for demarcation between various RIs. There is a clear distinction between a *takyih*, a mosque, an

1 Ethel Wolper, "Islamic Architecture and Institutions in the Late Medieval City," *History Compass* 12, no. 12 (2014): 915.

imāmzādih, and a madrasa. The symbol used for *takyih* shows that the author clearly distinguishes between the RIs. Such established demarcation can be better understood in the way the author explains the compound RIs, i.e. RIs which are composed of more than one type of RI. For instance, the author uses both of the symbols of mosque and *takyih* to show the location of the compound RI of Masjid-i Ismāʿīl (Figure 16). In another case, he uses both the symbols of a *takyih* and an *imāmzādih* attached to each other in order to illustrate the Imāmzādih Sayyid and its attached *takyih* (Figure 16. Ismāʿīl mosque and its attached takyih).



Figure 15. Imāmzādih Sayyid and its attached takyih



Figure 16. Ismāʿīl mosque and its attached takyih

The total numbers of RIs indicated on this map are: 31 *takāyā*, 4 madrasas, 9 mosques, and 5 *imāmzādih-hā*. The largest set of RIs belong to *takāyā*, none of which are identified by name. The second set of RIs are mosques with 9 mosques located all over the city. There are 4 madrasas each of which is located in one city district with the exception of Chalmaydan that has no madrasa. Based on the data

derived from this map, I could see that the number of recorded *takāyā* was higher than other RIs.

A guide on the symbols used on the reference maps:
On the reference maps, each symbol has three features: a colour, a shape, and a letter. The colour and the shape identify the type of any given RI. For example, a *takyih* is shown with a red flag. Then, the letters attached to the symbols show the name of the map that contains the RI. As an instance, a *takyih* with the letter "B" belongs to the Berezin's map. Here are the representational symbols and letters used on the maps:

Takyih		Berezin's map	B
Imāmzādih		Krziz's map	K
Madrasa		Najm al-Mulk's map	N
Mosque			

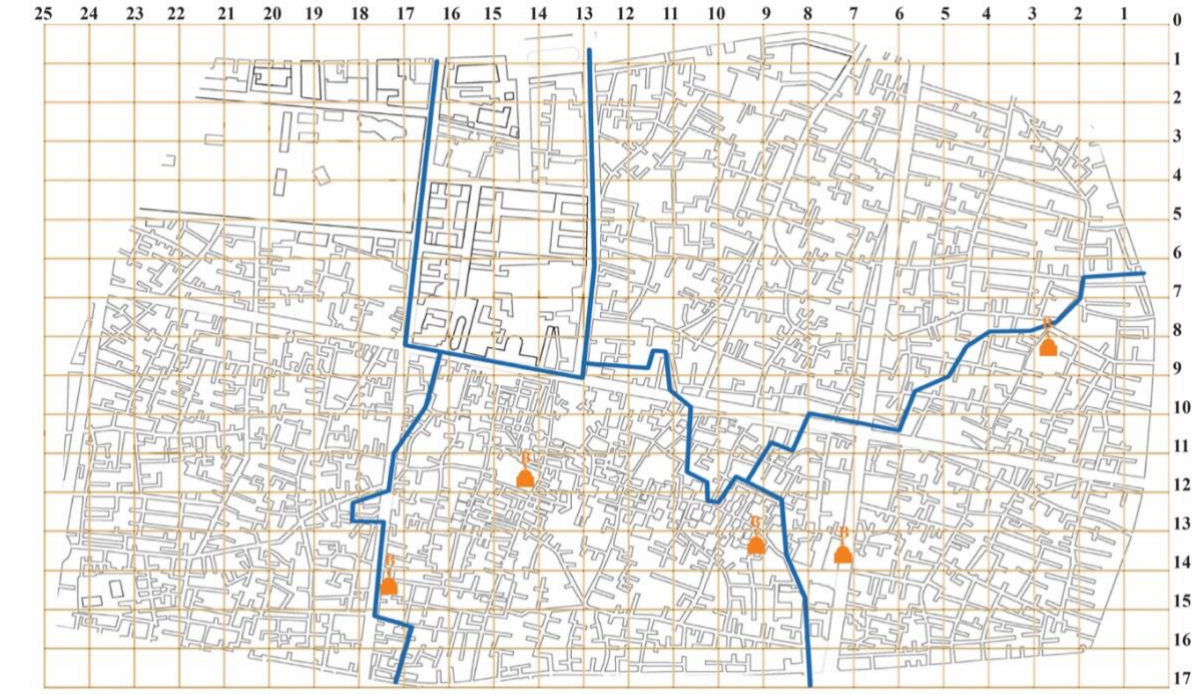


Figure 17. Imāmzādih-hā on Berezin's map

Among the five *imāmzādih-hā* of the city, Yaḥyā is the only *imāmzādih* with no additional RI attached to it. Each of the Imāmzādih (Hafttan) and Imāmzādih Sayyid has an attached *takyih*. Naṣr al-Dīn is named after the titles of "masjid" and "imāmzādih", seemingly refers to a building composed of two attached RIs. Ismāʿīl

has three symbols: *takyih*, mosque and *imāmzādih*. Although the author uses the word 'mosque' to refer to this location, it is referred to as an *imāmzādih* on the maps of the later periods. Therefore, I prefer to enlist it in all the three RIs list. Moreover, the cadastral survey No.1 considers it as an *imāmzādih*. I leave the task of comparison between the maps and the cadastral surveys to the next chapters.

The mosques are generally concentrated in the centre of the city. Figure 18 illustrates the location of the mosques on Berezin's map.

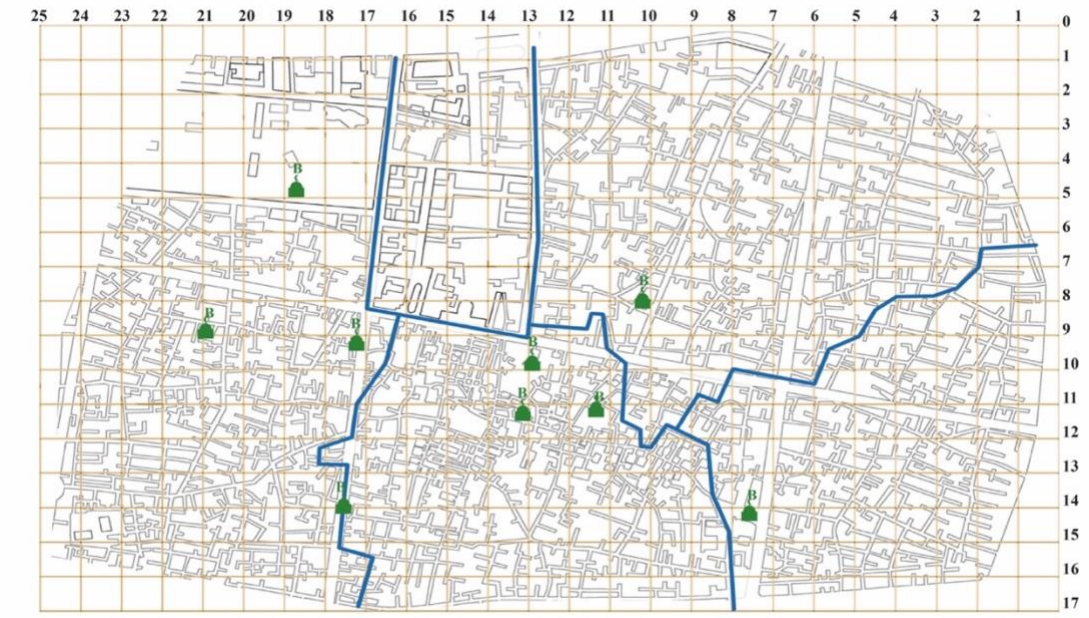


Figure 18. Mosques on Berezin's map

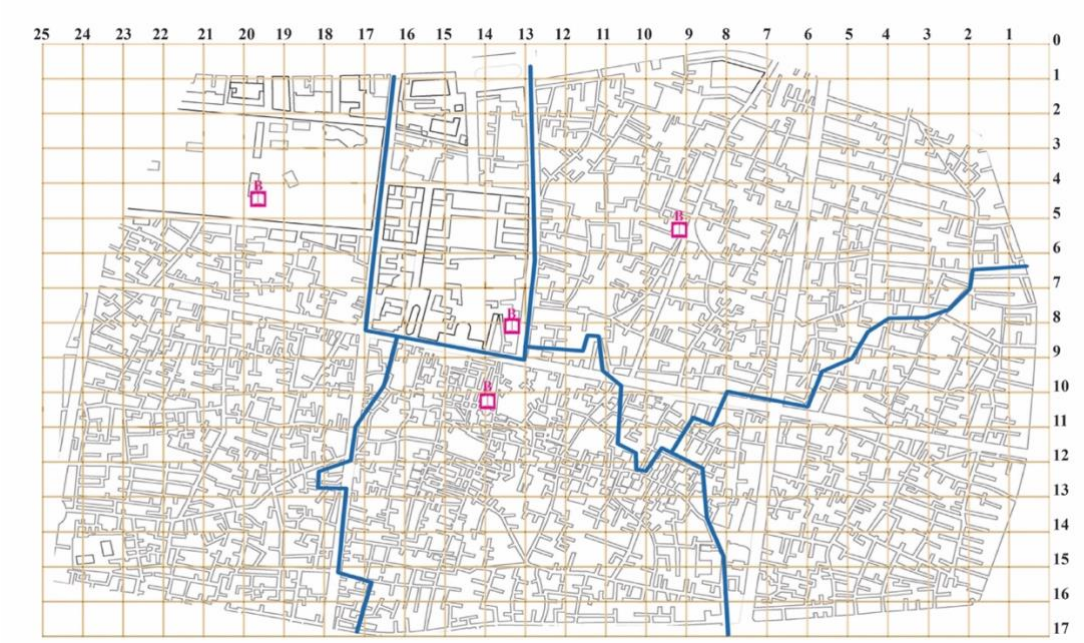


Figure 19. Madrasas on Berezin's map

The following plan shows the locations of *takāyā* of the map.

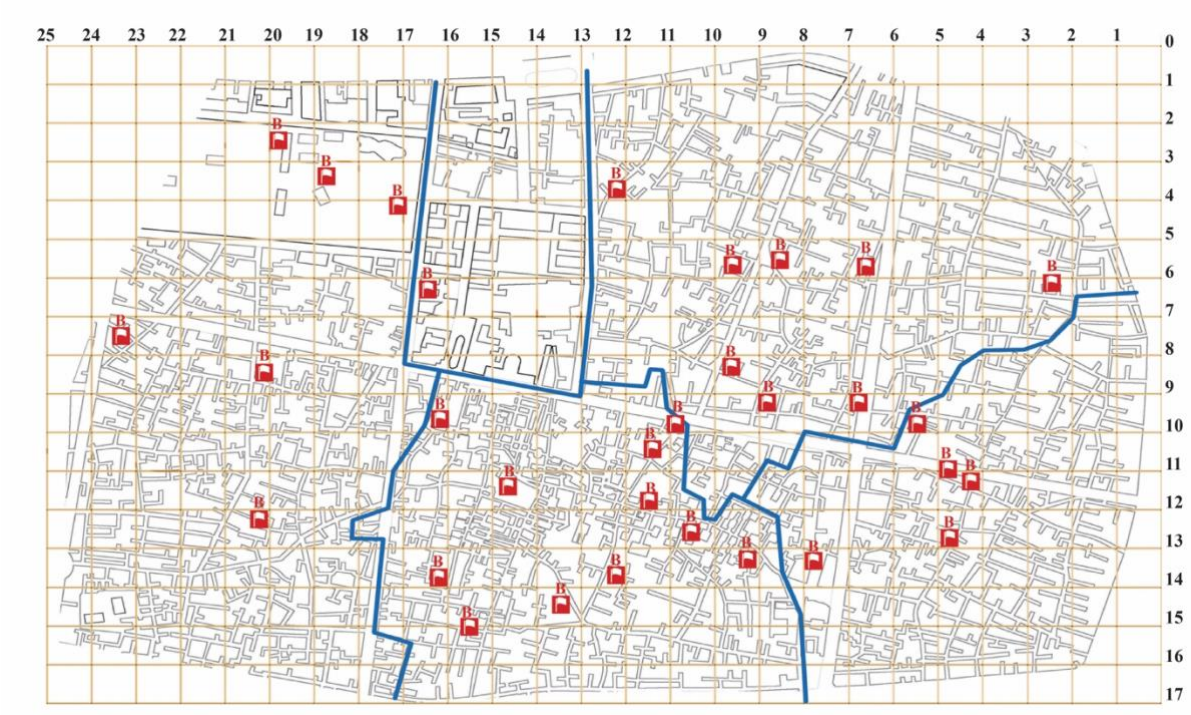


Figure 20. Takāyā on Berezin's map

A comparative study between this map and Krziz's map (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.) reveals some important missing pieces of the puzzle about RIs on Berezin's map, especially regarding *takāyā*. As an example, by comparing the *takāyā* with similar locations on the two maps of the Berezin and Krziz, I could name some of the *takāyā* mentioned on Berezin's map (Table 5). It is worth mentioning that Berezin and Krziz did not always use the same names for a given *takyih* in a specific location. However, by naming the *takāyā* of Berezin's map I just want to find the similar *takāyā* on both maps; then, *takāyā* which are not mentioned or omitted on Krziz's map, could be identified.[1]

The highest density of RIs is in the Bazar district with 19 RIs out of the total number of 49. Among them I find 1 madrasas, 4 mosques, 3 *imāmzādih-hā*, and 11 *takāyā* lined up along the bazar shops.[2] The Bazar district has the highest number of mosques, 4 out of a total number of 9 (Table 5). The 3 *imāmzādih-hā* follow the same geographical pattern as mosques (Table 5). The *imāmzādih-hā* and mosques are stretched in line with the length of the central bazar. All 4 madrasas are located in trading areas. All *imāmzādih-hā* are either located in the bazar or attached to shops. However, in order to draw a connection between trade centres and religious centres for all types of RIs I should look at my findings from other sources; as an example, *takāyā* in other city districts are not necessarily located next to shops or trading areas. Moreover, the map shows a high correlation between mosques and density of roads and streets. Mosques usually stand on crossroads or in a place were different streets pass by. It seems that density of population and number of roads

1 RIs that have no name attached to them are called "UNNAMED".
2 Here I distinguish between the 'bazar' as the major trading centre of the city and 'Bazar' as one of the city districts of Tehran. In this period, Bazar is a city district in which the bazar and some other important buildings are located.

are higher in the regions surrounding mosques, *imāmzādih-hā*, and madrasas. The density of population and roads are the main features of the locations of these RIs as well as shops.

Table 5. RIs on Berezin's map.

City District	**takāyā**	**madrasas**	**mosques**	**imāmzādih-hā**
Arg	Unnamed1 (17,7)	Mādar-i Shah (14,9)		
	#:1	#:1	#:0	#:0
ʿUdlajan	Unnamed2 (13,4) Pāminār (10,6) Dānkī (9,7) Reżā Qulīkhān (7,6) Ḥawż (7,10) ʿUdlajān (9,10) Unnamed(Sarchalanbak) (6,8) Unnamed3 (10,9) Unnamed4 (3,7)	Mirzā Ṣāliḥ (10,6)	Ḥakam (11,9)	
	#:9	#:1	#:1	#:0
Chalmaydan	Afshārhā (5,11) Lūṭī ʿAlīkhān (5,12) Pahlavān Sharīf (5,13) Ismāʿīl (8,14) Unnamed5 (9,14)		Ismāʿīl (8,15)	Ismāʿīl (8,15) Yaḥyā (3,9)
	#:5	#:0	#:1	#:1
Bazar	Imāmzādih (Chihiltan) (10,14) Unnamed6 (11,13) Unnamed7 (11,10) Unnamed8 (12,12) Suhrābkhān (12,11) Hafttan (13,14) Khudāfarīd (14,15) ʿAbbāsābād (16,16) Malikābād (17,14) Imāmzādih Sayyid (15,12) Manūchihrkhān(17,10)	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (14,11)	Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15) Jumʿīh (12,12) Pādshāh (13,10) Ḥāj (14,12)	Imāmzādih (Chihiltan) (10,14) Imāmzādih Sayyid (Zayd) (15,12) Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15)
	#:11	#:1	#:4	#:3
Sangalaj	Ḥakīmbāshī(20,3) Afshārhā (19,4)			

	Unnamed9 (18,5) Dabbāghkhānih (24,8) Khʷāngāh (21,9) Qumīhā (21,13)	Mīrzā Zakī (20,5)	Ḥāj Rajab (21,9) Yūniskhān (19,5) Sarchālih (18,10)	
	#:6	#:1	#:3	#:0
TOTAL	32	4	9	5

However, the geographical dispersion of *takāyā* does not follow this pattern. They are equally expanded around the city, even in areas with lower density of population or roads, such as in the vicinity of the city walls (Figure 20). In contrast to the other RIs, *takāyā* have less connections with trading areas. Out of the 31 *takāyā* of the city, 19 are located in areas with no attachment or minor link to shops. There are 7 *takāyā* in the trading centres and 5 are attached to bazar. One can conclude that while mosques, *imāmzādih-hā*, and madrasas had extraterritorial functions in the city, *takāyā* usually had regional and community functions for the people of a specific *maḥallih* or originated from a specific city, like Qumīhā Takyih.

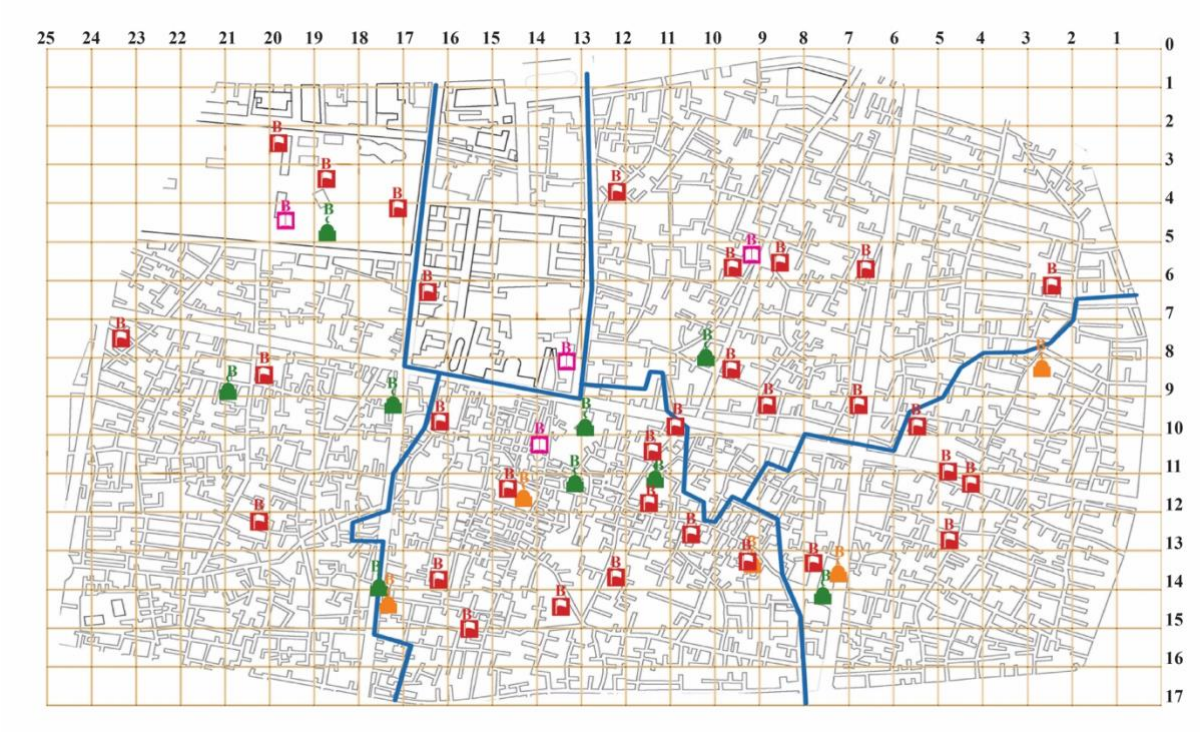


Figure 21. The correlation between RIs of Berezin's map and trading areas

3.4. RIs on Krziz's map (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.)

Krziz's map[1] is the first map of Tehran produced by an Iranian institution. It is a detailed map which clearly depicts 5 city districts of Arg, ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, Bazar, and Sangalaj. It also shows 6 gates for the city in this period. The map is produced according to the cartographical standards of the time and contains details such as geographical directions, a detailed legend, and the scale of the map. On the top of the map, 5 lines provide information about the author of the map, the date, the medium temperature of the city, and also the altitude and longitude measures of the city. According to the information provided on the top of the map, it is

1 August Krziz, *Naqshih-yi Dar al-Khilafah-yi Tehran* (Iran National Library, 1275), 1593075.

produced under the auspices of ʿAli Quli Mirza Iʿtizad al-Saltanih, who was the 54th son of Fath ʿAli Shah and the president of Dar al-Funun school.[1] It also indicates that a teacher of Dar al-Funun called Monsieur Kirzhīzh produced this map in cooperation with two of his students from Dar al-Funun.

August Krziz was born in 1814 CE/ 1229 Q. in Tabor, a city in the old Austrian Empire that is currently part of the Czech Republic.[2] He was one of the 7 Austrian teachers who were hired at the time of Nasir al-Din Shah to teach at Dar al-Funun school and the Military College.[3] He had a contract for 5 years but he worked at the school for 8 years until 1859 CE/ 1276 Q.[4] He was an Austrian lieutenant and military expert who was teaching geography, artillery sciences, and physics in the school. He also translated several books from European languages with the assistance of his colleague, Mirza Zaki Mazandarani in order to prepare course materials for the students of Dar al-Funun. Mirza Zaki was among the first group of Iranian students sent to Europe in 1260 Q. by ʿAbbas Mirza. He became a teacher at Dar al-Funun and there is a madrasa named after him on Berezin's map too (20,5).[5]

1 Sayyid ʿAli Al-i Davud, "Iʿtizad al-Saltanih," in *Danishnamih-yi Iran* (Tehran: Dayirat al-Maʿarif-i Islami, 1384), 414–16.
2 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 41. Riza Shiraziyan, *Rahnama-yi Naqshi-hayi Tarikhi-yi Tehran* (Tehran: Dastan, 1391), 25.
3 John Gurney and Negin Nabavi, "Dar al-Fonun," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dar-al-fonun-lit.
4 Firiydun Adamiyyat, *Amirkabir va Iran*, 9th ed. (Tehran: Kharazmi, 1386), 358.
5 Edward G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 154–55.

Beside his various contributions to the scholarship, Krziz wrote four books on mathematics and fortifications, and draw the well-known map of Tehran.[1] In 1857 CE/ 1274 Q. he laid a telegraph line for the first time in the history of Iran which was connecting the Shah's palace with Dar al-Funun.[2] He also produced a map of the surrounding areas of the city of Tehran in cooperation with Jacob Eduard Polak, an Austrian teacher of medicine at Dar al-Funun. The Krziz's map was printed in Tehran but the plan of the surrounding area of Tehran was published in 1865 in Vienna by his colleague, Polak.[3]

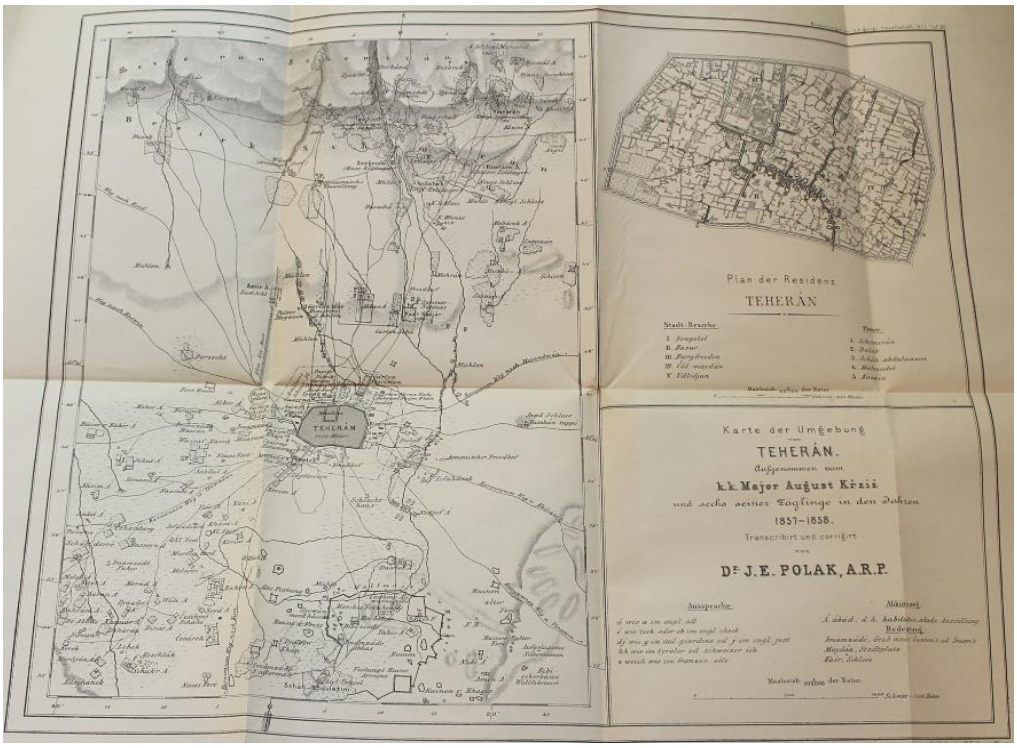


Figure 22. A map by Krziz and Polak which contains Krziz's map of Tehran

1 Gurney and Nabavi, "Dar al-Fonun."
2 Isfand Muʿtamidi, *Pust va Tiligraf va Tilifun dar Iran* (Tehran: Madrasah, 1376).
3 Jacob Eduard Polak, Persien, *Das Land und Seine Bewohner, Ethnographische Schilderungen* (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 2004), 294–319. Polak Jacob Eduard, *Topographische Bemerkungen zur Karte der Umgebung und zu dem Plane von Teheran* (Vienna, 1877).

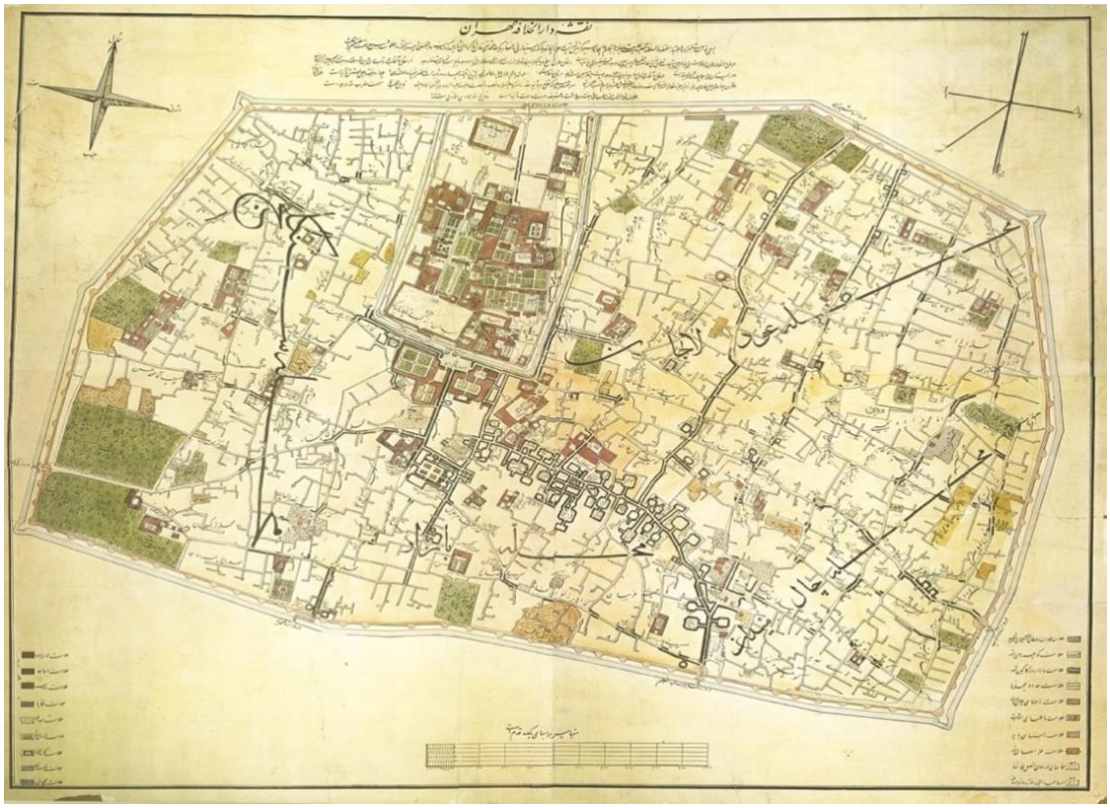


Figure 23. Krziz's map of the city of Tehran

In comparison to Berezin's time, the city of Tehran was more populated and it expanded at the time of Krziz. The shows that the gardens surrounding the residential areas in the eastern and western parts of the city are turned into residential districts. The only green area is composed of the gardens of the southwest and west side. The trading areas and bazars are enlarged. New lines of shops are stretched along and across the city: a line of shops ended at Dūlāb gate, another at Muḥammadīyih gate, a southern line of Bazar started from Sabzih Maydān, and some shopping areas are scattered specially in the newer city district of Sangalaj.

The Persian version of the map exists in high resolution and all the information is readable (Figure 23). It is painted in multi-colour format that helps the reader to differentiate between various city structures. The shapes and sizes of the buildings and items are accurate enough to enable the reader to find the possible shapes of the buildings. Another distinguished feature of the map is its legend. The map has two legends depicted in two columns each located on the lower corners of the map.

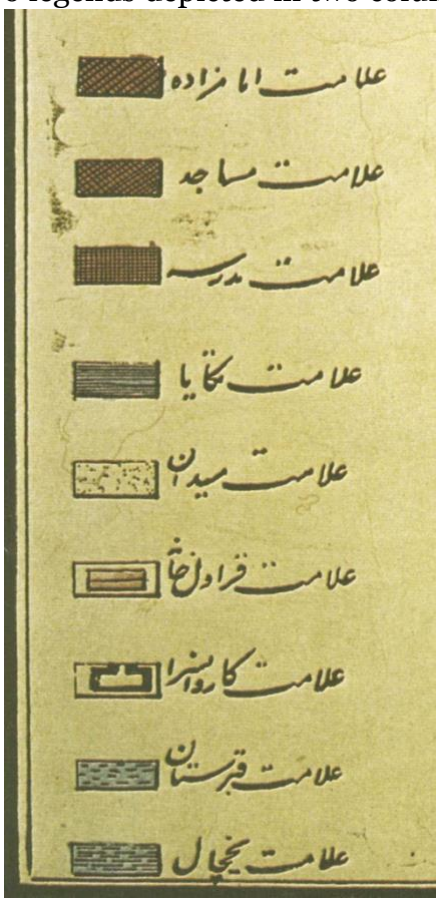


Figure 24. Left legend of Krziz's map

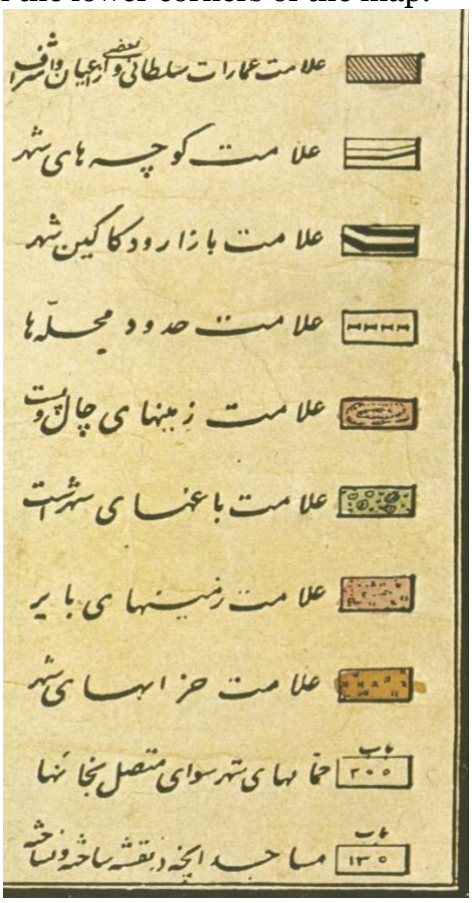


Figure 25. Right legend of Krziz's map

They provide information related to the signs used to identify various city elements. The left-down legend starts with 4 symbols related to RIs of the city: *imāmzādih-hā*, mosques, madrasas, and *takāyā* (Figure 24). The specific references to these 4 RIs clearly show the significance of these elements for the author of the map. The other column on the right lower corner of the map provides two sets of data about the city: firstly, some symbols of the city components such as streets, alleys, caravansaries, shopping areas, bazar, squares, gardens, pulls, ruins, etc. And

secondly, two important lines that say “hammams of the city that are not attached to the houses (public hammams): 200 items” and “mosques including those depicted on the map and those not depicted on the map: 130 items” (Figure 25). The small line on the very last point of the map is suggesting that the total number of mosques were not limited to those mentioned on the map. More specifically, there are 130 mosques in total. Meanwhile, the number of the mosques on the cadastral survey of 1853 CE / 1269 Q. is 111 which is near to the 130 mosques recorded in the legend of the map.

The producer uses a combination of names and symbols to show the city elements in general, and RIs in specific. Therefore, to identify any city element a reader has two sets of tools: symbols and names. A very interesting issue related to the symbol used by the author is that he, like Berezin, uses one single symbol for two different RIs of *imāmzādih* and mosque. However, the symbol used for *takyih* is different from that of the *imāmzādih*/mosque, which shows that the author clearly distinguishes between *takyih* and mosque. There is also a clear distinction between madrasa and other RIs, although madrasas were usually attached to a mosque in this period. Such demarcations between madrasa, *takyih*, and mosque is more visible when I compare the symbols used by the author to depict RIs related to Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī. On this map, there are three RIs with the name of Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī in vicinity of each other: a madrasa (21,9), Figure 26 shows the common symbol and the title of *takyih* used to refer to Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī Takyih. Figure 27 shows a combination of two symbols used on the map, in which the mosque is depicted in a right triangle that stands on one of its angles and a rectangle lined along one of the edges, with black oblique crossed lines; it depicts the madrasa. It is identified by the blue line in Figure 27. In the centre of this triangle there is a rectangle that is

inscribed in another rectangle. These rectangles may refer to a garden or a pool which were common elements of Iranian architecture.[1]



Figure 26. Symbol of takyih used for Hājī Rajab ʿAlī



Figure 27. Symbol of mosque and madrasa used for Hājī Rajab ʿAlī

The highest number of RIs illustrated on this map belongs to *takāyā* with 43 items. They are usually shown by a name and a symbol; however, there are some symbols with no proper name attached to them, here called "unnamed". The Arg district has only one *takyih* called Dawlat (17,7). Interestingly, the location of Dawlat Takyih moves to a different location on Najm al-Mulk's map (15,8). In ʿUdlajan there are 7 named *takāyā* with the related symbol of *takyih* and two further unnamed *takāyā*. These two are located on two pathways (*guz̲ar*) known for two famous RIs in their vicinity: the pathway of madrasa (Guz̲ar-i Madrasah) (7,8) and the pathway of Ḥawż

1 Ritter, *Moscheen und Madrasabauten in Iran 1785-1848*, 215–78. ʿAli Reza Anisi, "The Madrasah-yi Khan at Shiraz; an Expression of Shiʿite Architecture," *Iran* 52, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 219–40.

(Guz̲ar-i Ḥawż) (7,10). They are named as Takyih-i Darb-i Madrasah (the *takyih* attached to the door of the Madrasa) and Takyih-yi Masjid-i Ḥawż by Najm al-Mulk.

Chalmaydan district hosts 9 complete signs of *takāyā*. Additionally, there is a *takyih* by the name of ʿAbbās ʿAlī (6,13) which has an incomplete symbol composed of a plain square. Berezin does not record any *takyih* in this location; while on the map produced by Najm al-Mulk, ʿAbbās ʿAlī Takyih exists in this location. One can conclude that ʿAbbās ʿAlī Takyih was still in the process of completion at the time of Krziz.

The Bazar district has 12 *takāyā*, out of which one is unnamed. Sangalaj has 10 named and one unnamed *takāyā*. The unnamed *takyih* is called Vazīr (19,10) on Najm al-Mulk's map. Among the named *takāyā*, Kirmānīhā (19,11), Himmatābād (19,12), Khʷāngāh (21,9) and Mīrān (18,7) are depicted with symbols different from those related to *takāyā*. Mīrān has a symbol of a ruined building. Himmatābād, Khʷāngāh and Kirmānīhā have incomplete symbol, depicted by empty triangles without black parallel lines used for *takāyā* on the map. The reason for using incomplete symbols for these *takāyā* would be that their construction had not been completed yet. Such hypothesis is strengthened when I compare the map with Najm al-Mulk's map which shows all 3 existed in 1888 CE/ 1305 Q. Moreover, the first does not exist on Berezin's map of 1840s CE /1260s Q. Such finding is corroborated by the findings derived from the cadastral surveys in the next chapter.

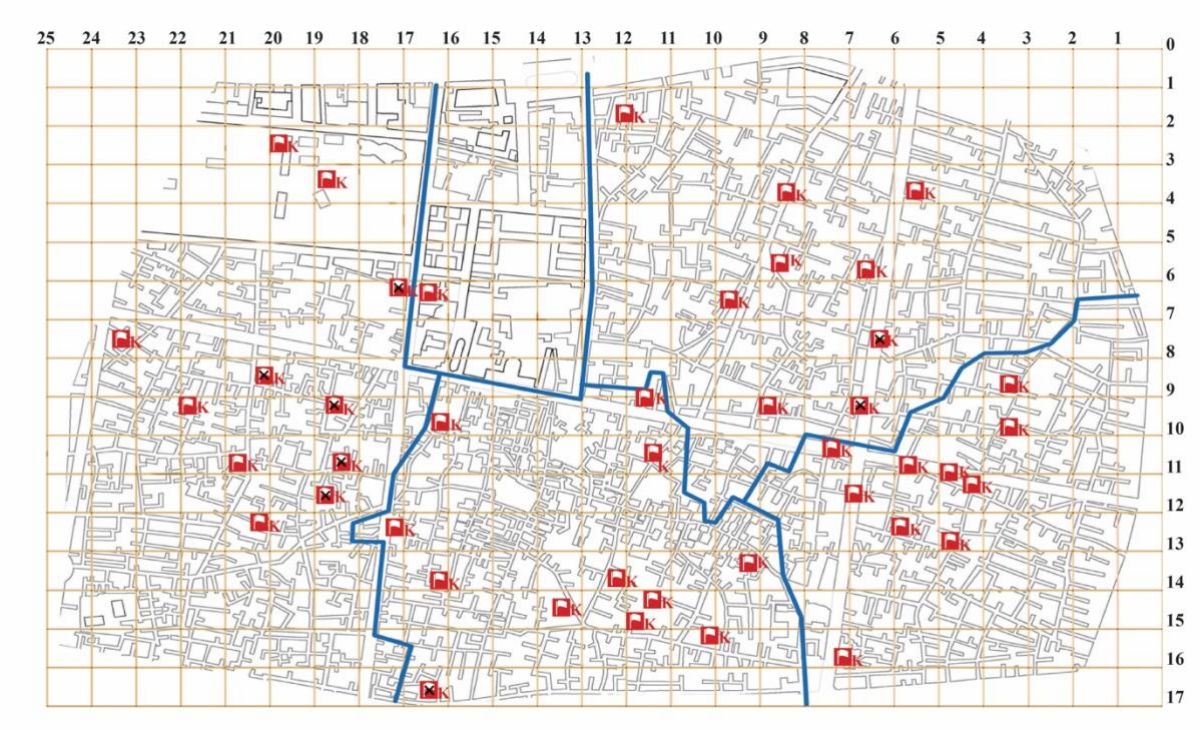


Figure 28. Takāyā on Krziz's map

The number of madrasas suddenly rises on this map in comparison to Berezin's map. In the Arg district there are two madrasas, one named Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) and the other has the general title of "Madrasah" (14,9). The unnamed madrasa is called Madrasah-yi Mādar-i Shāh by Berezin and Najm al-Mulk. Dar al-Funun is also located in this district, which is the first college founded in Tehran in 1851 CE/ 1268 Q. by Mirza Taqikhan-i Amir Kabir.

In ʿUdlajan there are 4 madrasas, two of which are unnamed. The map also shows two symbols of madrasa which do not have any name. But they are located around regions of Sarjunbak-i Buzurg (6,8) and the Guz̲ar-i Darb-i Madrasah (which means the pathway in front of the madrasa's door) (7,8); such combinations of compound nouns are commonly used instead of titles or proper nouns for RIs in the cadastral surveys. The first madrasa is named Saʿd al-Mulk by Najm al-Mulk. In Chalmaydan there is a name for a school with no symbol, called Dar al-Funun, which seems to be in its initial stage of construction, but it is not considered a madrasa in its traditional sense. Bazar has 5 madrasas, three named and two unnamed. The first unnamed madrasa is mentioned on the other two maps under the name of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (14,11), while the other is marked just on Najm al-Mulk's map by the name of Muḥammadīyyih (12,11).

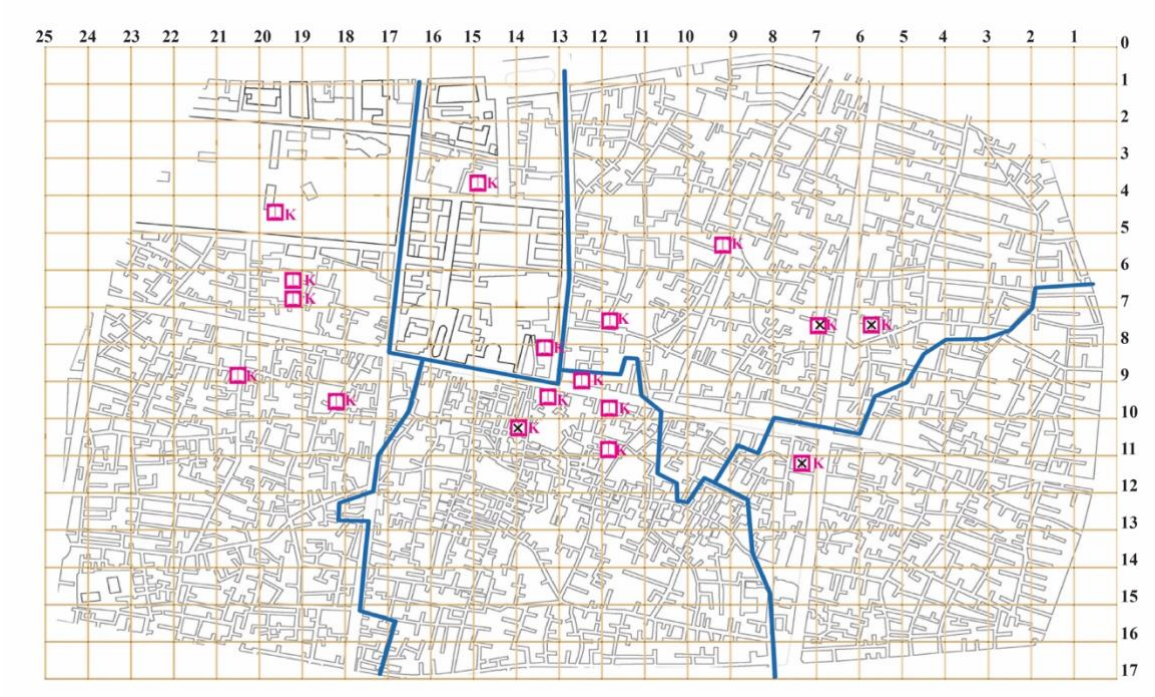


Figure 29. Madrasas on Krziz's map

In Sangalaj district there are 5 madrasas all of which are named and identified on the map by their related symbols.

On the map (Figure 30), there are 4 *imāmzādih-hā*. Imāmzādih Yaḥyā is mentioned by Krziz and Berezin. On this map, there is an RI called "Imāmzādih" (8,14) that has the related symbol of an *imāmzādih* with no reference to its proper noun. However, in this location the mosque and *takyih* of Ismāʿīl are indicated by Berezin's map too. On this map, Imāmzādih Naṣr al-Dīn does not exist, while Berezin records the presence of two RIs in this location surrounded by a green belt (Figure 31). Although both maps represent similar shape for Naṣr al-Dīn neighbourhood, RIs recorded by Berezin are replaced by two unnamed red rectangles and the surrounding area is depicted with the sign of cemetery bearing the name of Ṣadr-l-Dīn (Figure 32). *Imāmzādih-hā* known as Zayd and Chihiltan are also identified on the map.

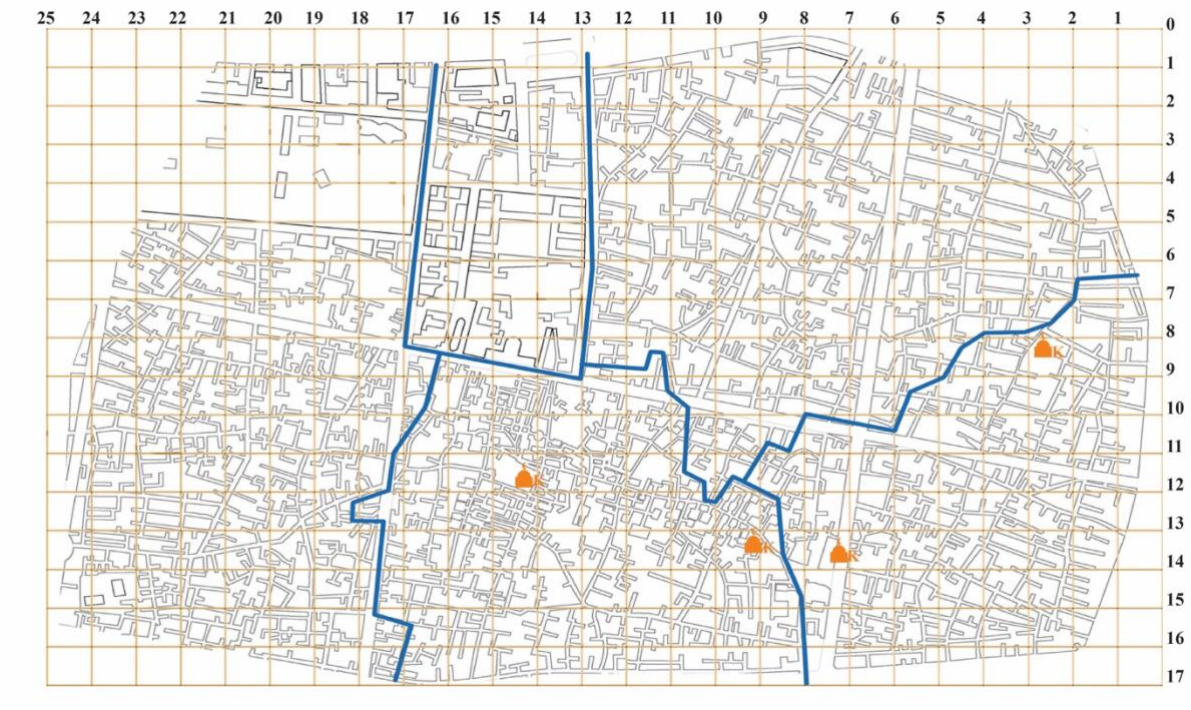


Figure 30. Imāmzādih-hā on Krziz's map



Figure 31. Mosque and Imāmzādih Naṣr al-Dīn on Berezin's map

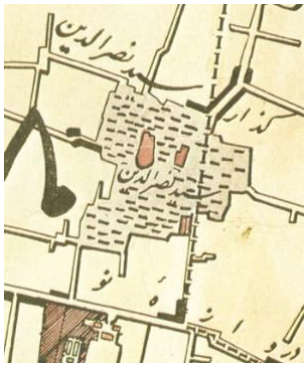


Figure 32. Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn as a cemetery on Krziz's map

In the Arg region there is a name of a mosque with an incomplete symbol called Ẓil al-Sultān mosque (15,9). This mosque is neither mentioned on the prior map nor by Najm al-Mulk. In ʿUdlajan three mosques are depicted, but one of them has an incomplete symbol without a proper name attached to it (10,2). It is simply called "masjid" and the assigned symbol is a rectangle without the usual texture of oblique crossed lines. Additionally, the map mentions Guz̲ar-i Masjid-i Ḥawż, i.e. the pathway of the Ḥawż mosque, but there is no symbol for a mosque on this location. Chalmaydan has only one mosque which is unnamed (8,12). This mosque does not exist on the maps before and after Krziz. The Bazar district has three mosques and Sangalaj only one.

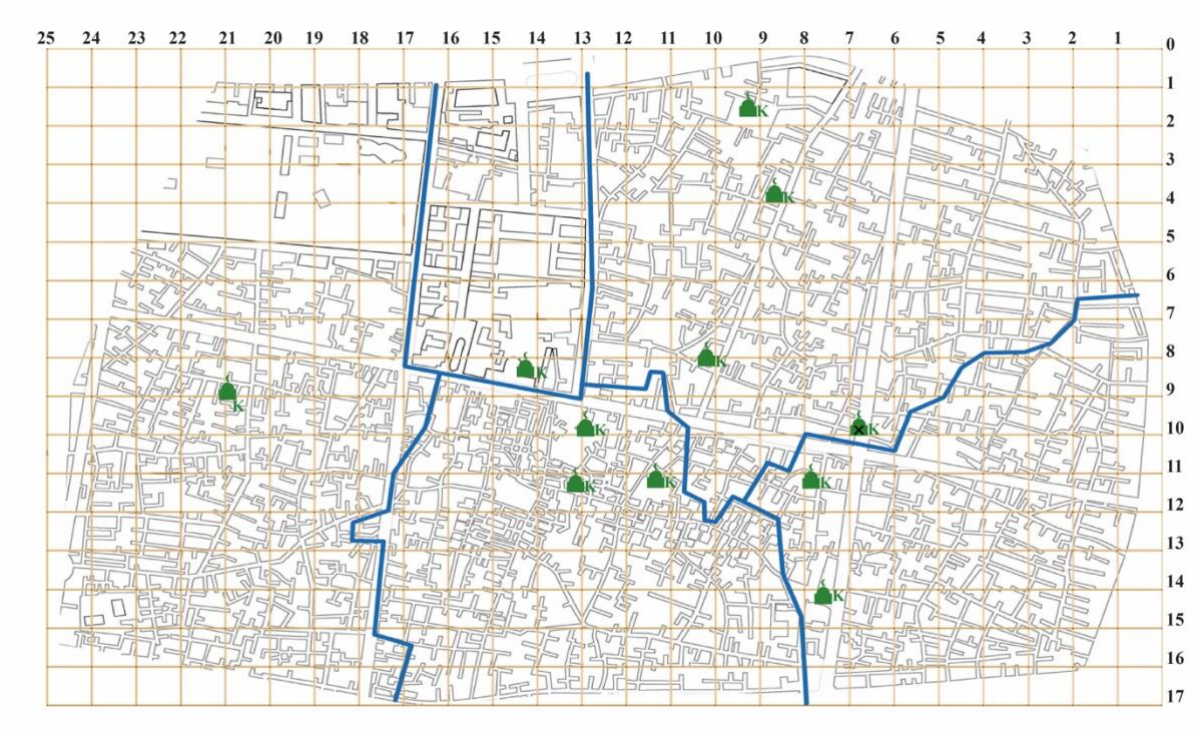


Figure 33. Mosques on Krziz's map

The unique feature of Krziz's map is that in addition to showing the location of some of the mosques, it also records the total number of mosques in the legend of the map. While only 11 mosques are shown on the map, the author states that there are 130 "mosques including those depicted on the map and those not depicted on the map" (Figure 25). Such statement in the legend of the map shows that the total number of mosques is higher than the one depicted on the map. It seems that the author chooses important or famous mosques of the city and left the least important ones. In other words, there had been other mosques which were not deemed significant or big enough to be mentioned by the author of the map. Such finding should be true for other maps such as Berezin's map. Otherwise I should conclude that in less than a decade after the production of Berezin's map, the number of mosques has escalated from 9 to 130 mosques. Therefore, it seems reasonable that on all of the maps under study, there should have been some mosques which were

not depicted on the maps. Such hypothesis can be extended to other RIs too. In fact, the maps only depict the famous and/or large RIs.

Considering this finding I should reframe the boundaries of my hypothesis, investigations, and the probable conclusions I may draw from the information inferred from the maps only. Firstly, the maps provide information about all RIs in each period, but it can only answer my questions about RIs already mentioned on the maps. Secondly, if I solely rely on the maps, I will not be able to count the number of each set of RIs in a given date. By using the maps, I could evaluate whether the illustrated RIs were turned into other types of RIs, they were omitted from the city, or continued to exist. They can also show the changes in the dispersion of RIs around the city. The correlations between various RIs that can be inferred from the maps are also of utmost importance.

On the other hand, thanks to the information added to the legend of Krziz's map, I know that a substantial number of mosques are usually not mentioned on the maps. This should not be the case for RIs in the cadastral surveys, since they are recording all information on the ground. Further investigation on this issue is left for the discussions in the next chapters. [1]

According to Krziz's map, RIs of the city are as follows:

1 Another important factor that makes this finding more reasonable is the mosque per capita according to the number of the mosques provided on the maps of Berezin and Krziz. Such index would show that the number of the mosques should be more than what are depicted on the maps. Moreover, a comparison between the index of mosque per capita in different periods of the history of Iran can be a good topic for further study on RIs in Iran.

Table 6. RIs on Krziz's map

City District	takāyā	madrasas	mosques	imāmzādih-hā
Arg	Dawlat (17,7)	Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) Madrasah (Mādar-i Shāh) (14,9)	Ẓil al-Sultān(15,9)	
	#:1	#:2	#:1	#:0
ʿUdlajan	ʿArabhā (13,2) Sarchashmih (6,4) Āqā Bahrām (9,4) Dānkī (9,7) Reżā Qulīkhān (7,6) ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī (10,7) ʿUdlajān (9,10) Unnamed1(Darb-i Madrasah) (7,8) Unnamed2 (Masjid Hawż) (7,10)	Unnamed3 (Darb-i Madrasah) (7,8) Mirzā ṣālih (10,6) Khān Marvī (12,8) Unnamed4 (Sarjunbak) (6,8)	Āqā Bahrām (9,4) Hawż (7,10) Unnamed4 (Sipahdār) (10,2) ḥakam (11,9)	
	#:9	#:4	#:4	#:0
Chalmaydan	Abu al-Qāsimkhān (4,9) Zargarhā (4,10) Afshārhā (5,11) Lūṭī ʿAlīkhān (5,12) Pahlavān Sharīf (5,13) Mullā Qadīr (6,11) Sarpūlak (8,11) ʿAbbās ʿAlī (6,13) Reżā Qulīkhān (7,12) ʿArabhā (8,16)		Unnamed5 (8,12) Unnamed6(Ismāʿīl) (8,14)	Unnamed6 (Ismāʿīl)(8,14) Yaḥyā (3,9)
	#:10	#:0	#:2	#:2
Bazar	Nuwrūzkhān (12,10) Manūchihrkhān (17,10) Suhrābkhān (12,11) Chihiltan (10,14) Qātirchīhā (11,16) Khishtī (11,15) Zanbūrakkhānih (12,15) Hafttan (13,14) Khudāfarīd (14,15) Malikābād (17,14) Khalajhā (18,13) Unnamed7 (17,17)	Dār al-Shafāʾ (13,9) Muḥsinīyyih (12,10) ṣadr (14,10) Unnamed8 (Muḥammadīyyih)(12,11) Unnamed9 (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) (14,11)	Jāmiʿ (12,12) Shāh (13,10) Sayyid ʿAzīz-Allāh (14,12)	Chihiltan (10,14)

				Zayd (15,12)
	#:12	#:5	#:3	#:2
Sangalaj	Afshārhā (19,4) Mīrzā ḥusayn-i ḥakīmbāshī (20,3) Mīrān (18,7) Dabbāghkhānih (24,8) Khʷāngāh (21,9) ḥājī Bāqir (22,10) Unnamed10 (Vazīr) (19,10) Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī (21,11) Qumīhā (21,13) Kirmānīhā (19,11) Himmatābād (19,12)	Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) Mīrzā Zakī (20,5) Mīrzā Yūniskhān (20,7) Muḥammad Khājih (19,10) ʿAbd al-Karīm (20,7)	Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī (21,9)	
	#:11	#:5	#:1	#:0
TOTAL	43	16	11	4

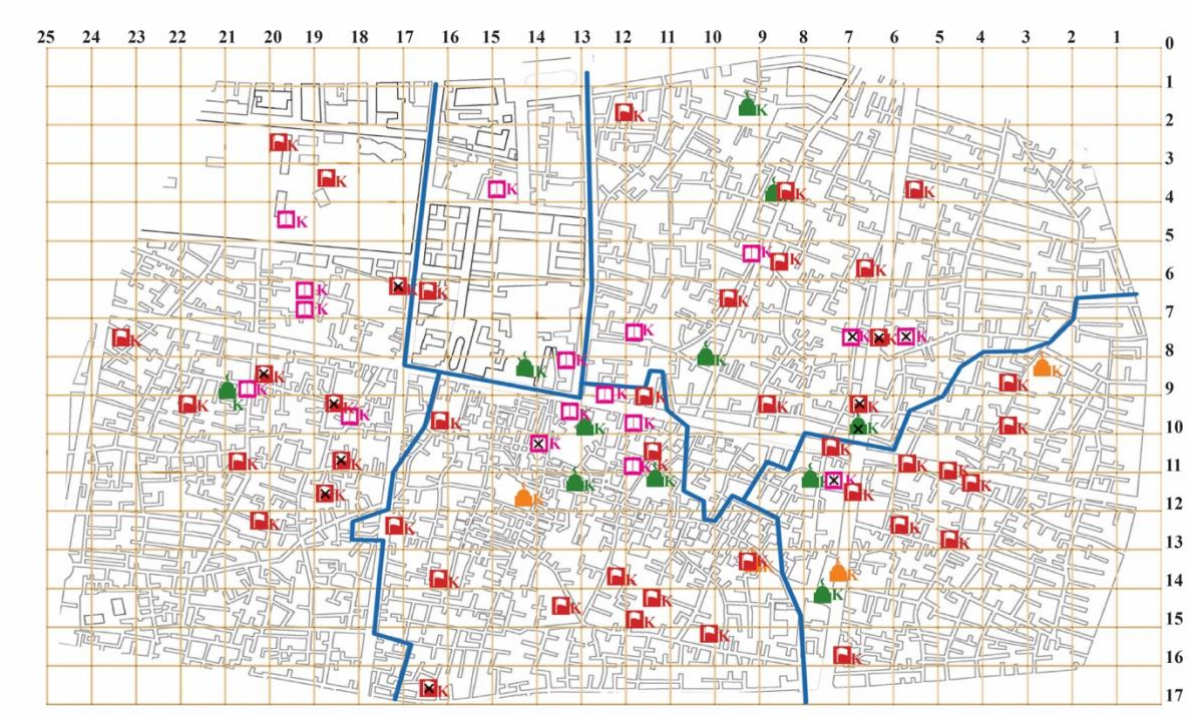


Figure 34. RIs on Krziz's map

On Krziz's map there are two references to two waqf gardens in Chalmaydan district. One is located in the Maḥallih-yi Bāq-i Pistihbiyg (2,8) and the other is near Dūlāb gate (2,14).

The information provided on the map demonstrates that mosques and madrasas are generally concentrated in the central areas of the city. Mosques are mostly attached to the shopping areas with higher density of roads. But madrasas have less connection with the bazars and trading centres. Meanwhile the number of madrasas shows a sudden increase at the time of preparation of the map. The dispersion of *takāyā* around the city does not follow any specific pattern. It seems they were only serving regional functions for *maḥallih-hā*, in contrary to broader functions of mosques and madrasas. *Imāmzādih-hā* which supposedly have fixed locations, are located on areas with high density of roads and shops.

3.5. RIs on Najm al-Mulk's map (1888 CE/ 1305 Q.)

The most detailed map of the city of Tehran in the Qajar period is drawn up by Mirza ʿAbd al-Qaffarkhan Najm al-Mulk (1839-1908 CE/ 1255-1326 Q.). He studied in Dar al-Funun and wrote several books on maths, astronomy, geography, and cartography. He was appointed as the astrologist of the Qajar court by Nasir al-Din Shah, and therefore, received the formal title of Najm al-Mulk.[1]

1 ʿAbdullah Mustuwfi, *Sharh-i Zindigani-yi Man, Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi va Idari-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Zavvar, 1342), 362. Maryam Saqafi, "ʿAbd al-Qaffar-i Najm al-Mulk va Tahavvul-i Jughrafiya va Taghvim-hayi Nujumi ba Takyih bar Karburd-hayi Nujum-iyi Anha dar Tib dar ʿAhd-i Qajar," *Majalih-yi Iran-iyi Akhlaq va Tarikh-i Pizishki* 8, no. 6 (1394): 35.



Figure 35. Najm al-Mulk's map

Najm al-Mulk's map is a detailed plan of the city of Tehran that contains proper scales and directions (Figure 35). The map meticulously illustrates the details to the extent that a reader can identify royal sites, alleys or streets, caravansaries, bazar, squares, gardens, pulls, ruins, madrasas, mosques, and *takāyā*. The most important feature of the map is that it depicts for the first time the city of Tehran with the new fortifications built in 1868 CE/ 1285 Q. after the royal decree issued by Nasir al-Din Shah for expansion of the city. The margin of the map contains important information about the process of preparation of the map. It explains that after the

city walls were built in 1868 CE/ 1285 Q., ʿAli Quli Mirza Iʿtezad al-Saltanih, the president of Dar al-Funun and then minister of science, ordered Najm al-Mulk to draw a map of the city. Therefore, he "and a team composed of 20 students of Dar al-Funun spent a year to collect data and information. [They] used to walk around the city all days long to collect data and at nights drew up the plans and compartments of the map on a piece of paper."[1] A very similar narrative of this event is reported by the Dawlat-i ʿIlliyih-yi Iran newspaper that shows a preliminary version of the map produced in 1286 Q. It says:

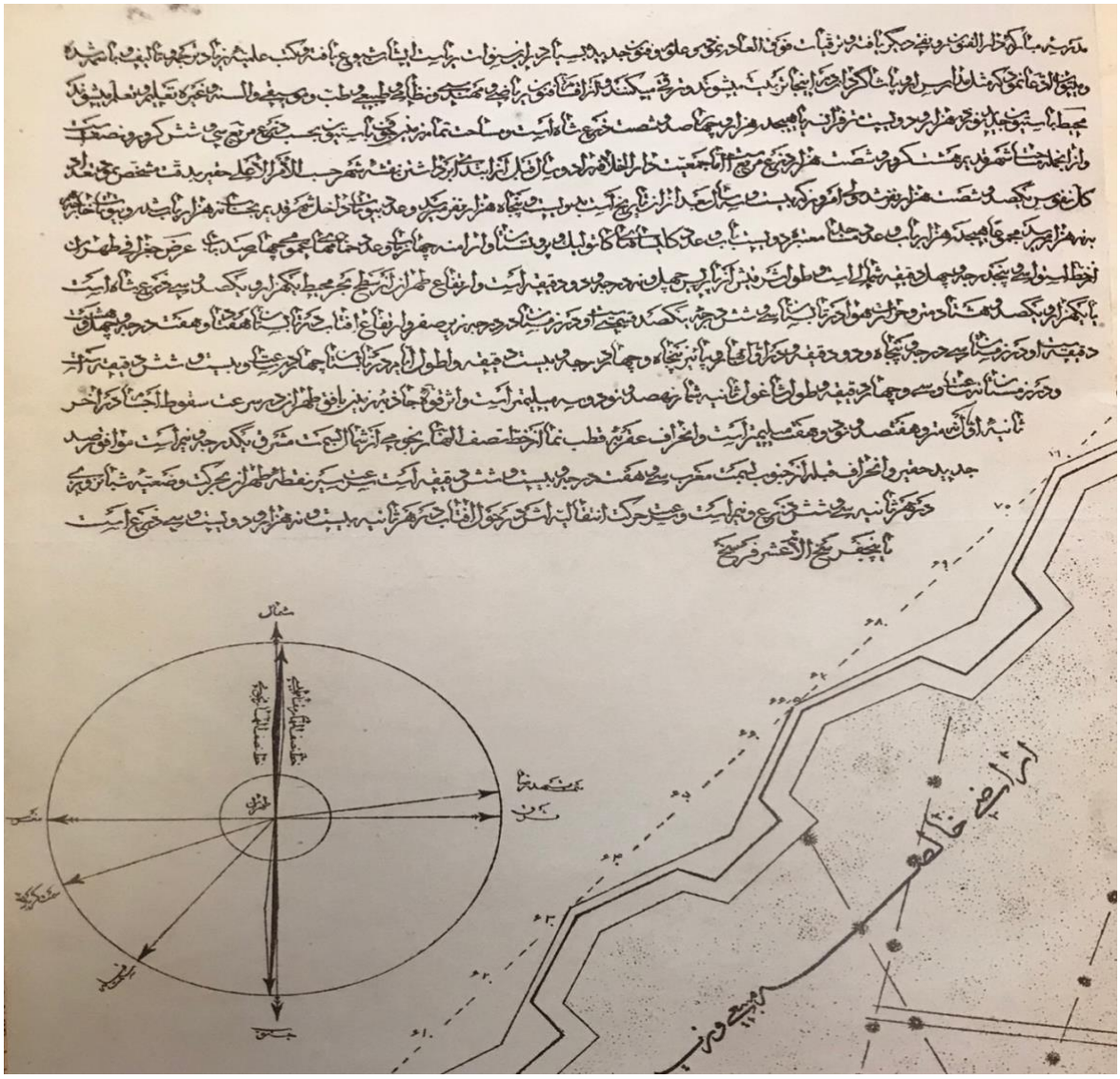
> "The map of the new city of Dar al-Khilafah Nasirih was illustrated by Jaʿfar Quli Khan and Mirza ʿAbd al-Qaffar, the head teacher of mathematics, and 20 engineers. In about 8 months, they measured the area of the lands and drew the map with an absolute accuracy. Iʿtezad al-Saltanih, the minister of sciences, presented it to His Highness, and He observed and read it. And despite His Highness's fastidious character, He found it appealing and He rewarded the authors with 3 thousand tuman as a sign of His benevolence and kindness."[2]

After 20 years, in 1888 CE/ 1305 Q., the map was finalized, and the main changes in the next years following the completion of the map were added directly on the map itself. About the accuracy of his map, the author writes: "Nobody has ever made a map as accurate and correct as this map, and it is so accurate that one can use it to calculate the areas of the houses" (Figure 36).[3]

1 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 64–65.
2 DII.N, (26 Muharram 1287 Q.).
3 Shirazian, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 65.

The city of Tehran is expanded to reach three times its previous size as depicted on Krziz's map. As it is explained in the margin of the map on the top left corner, the whole area of the city has expanded to 16250000 square *ẕarʿ-i shāhī*, while the old city covers only 4030000 square *ẕarʿ-i shāhī*. The new city wall is 19200 metres long, as stated on the map.[1]

Figure 36. Part of the text written by Najm al-Mulk on the map.



1 A ẕarʿ equals 104 centimetres. See: ʿAli Akbar Dihkhuda, "Ẕarʿ", in *Lughatnamih-yi Dihkhuda*, accessed April 15, 2018, https://www.parsi.wiki/fa/wiki/topicdetail/589562f8f0af48088da685ad50f7f9e9.
The ẕarʿ was the most common unit of length in the Qajar era. However, there were several types of ẕarʿ, each of which was referring to a deferent size of length. The ẕarʿ-i shāhī was defined as "the distance from the tip of a man's middle finger to his nose, when one of his arms is extended horizontally." See: Willem Floor, "Weights and Measures in Qajar Iran," *Studia Iranica* 37, no. 1 (2008): 67, https://doi.org/10.2143/SI.37.1.2032298.

The city divisions are changed considerably on this map. The city districts expand, and the new district of Dawlat is added. Dawlat is composed of the old district of Arg and the new regions added to the city in the north. It also expands into the western edge of ʿUdlajan city district (Figure 35). Three other districts keep their boundaries in the old city but expand out of the ancient walls. As the result, each city district have an attached sub-district called *tābiʿ-i maḥallih*; for example, *tābiʿ-i maḥallih-yi* Sangalaj. In the other words, the city units on this map are: Dawlat which is composed of Arg in the old city and the new regions expanded in the north; ʿUdlajan and the sub-district of ʿUdlajan in the east; Chalmaydan and the sub-district of Chalmaydan in the south-east; Bazar and the sub-district of Bazar in the south; Sangalaj and the sub-district of Sangalaj in the west. The bazar keeps the same structure; however, the trading centres and shops expand all over the city. The change of the social and economic structure of the *maḥalihs* (city districts) before and after the expansion of the city of Tehran in the *Nāṣirī* period can be an interesting topic for further studies.[1]

The more moving towards the city walls, the less populated the city becomes. According to the information provided in the margin of the map, the population of the city is 160000 in 1867 CE/ 1283 Q. and by the end of the process of preparation of this map in 1888 CE/ 1305 Q. it reaches 250000 people. While Chalmaydan shelters the lower-class citizens, the affluent people are living in ʿUdlajan while moving to the north to Dawlat. Many of the public buildings, madrasas, and

1 Sayyid Muhammad Hadi Ayazi, *Tarh-i Sakhtar Shinasi-yi Huviyyat-i Mahallih-hayi Shahr-i Tehran*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Umidan, 1392), 41–44.

embassies moves to Dawlat city district in the north of Arg. The houses inside the old city are 9000, while 9000 additional houses appears outside the old city. Some other pieces of information are recorded on the margins of the map include the followings: public bath: 400; "masājid-i muʿtabar" (reputable mosques): 200; and churches: 4.[1]

However, in order to be able to perform a proper comparative study between RIs on this map and previous sources, I concentrate only on the area surrounded by the old fortifications. Moreover, I keep the city divisions of the previous maps to facilitate the comparison with the older maps. Therefore, I first restructure the boundaries of the city districts of Arg, ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, Bazar and Sangalaj, and, then, I put aside the sub-districts added to the old city in this period.

Najm al-Mulk identifies the city elements by symbols and names. Therefore, all of RIs can be depicted on the map by the names associated to them. Like Krziz, Najm al-Mulk dedicates the two legends on the bottom-left and bottom-right corners to define the symbols used for various city elements (Figure 37 and Figure 38); the bottom-left legend contains the symbols used for the four RIs of *imāmzādih*, mosque, madrasa, and *takyih*. As Berezin and Krziz do, Najm al-Mulk uses a similar symbol for the two RIs of *imāmzādih* and mosque. He uses rectangles filled with oblique crossed lines to show these two RIs. Madrasas are shown by rectangles filled with straight crossed lines. A rectangle with parallel lines is used to indicate a *takyih* (Figure 37).

1 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 65.



Figure 37. The legend located on the down-left corner of the map



Figure 38. The legend located on the down-right corner of the map

Like on the previous maps, *takyih* has the highest share of the total number of RIs on Najm al-Mulk's map. Arg has only the famous Dawlat Takyih, but it should be mentioned that its location is moved from the west of Arg on Krziz's map, to the south of Arg on this map. The movement of one *takyih* over time is not recorded on the other maps. ʿUdlajan district has 7 named and 2 unnamed *takāyā*. When I compare the location of the unnamed *takāyā* with the information provided by Berezin and Krziz, I see that one of them matches with Ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī Takyih (10,7) and the other is attached to Pāmināŕ madrasa (10,6). Chalmaydan has 10 *takāyā*, all of which are named, but Ṣāḥib Dīwān has an incomplete symbol of a blank square (6,11). This *takyih* is mentioned by Berezin and Krziz on the title of Afshārhā Takyih. Bazar district has 14 named *takāyā*. There are 14 *takāyā* in Sangalaj district, two of which have incomplete symbol of blank rectangle: Āqā Muḥammadjaʿfar-i Nāyib

(19, 12) and Māfīhā (21, 15). These two does not appear on the maps prior to Najm al-Mulk, therefore, it should have been under construction at the time of the preparation of the map. These two cases once again confirm my conjecture that the incomplete symbols represent RIs with incomplete structures.

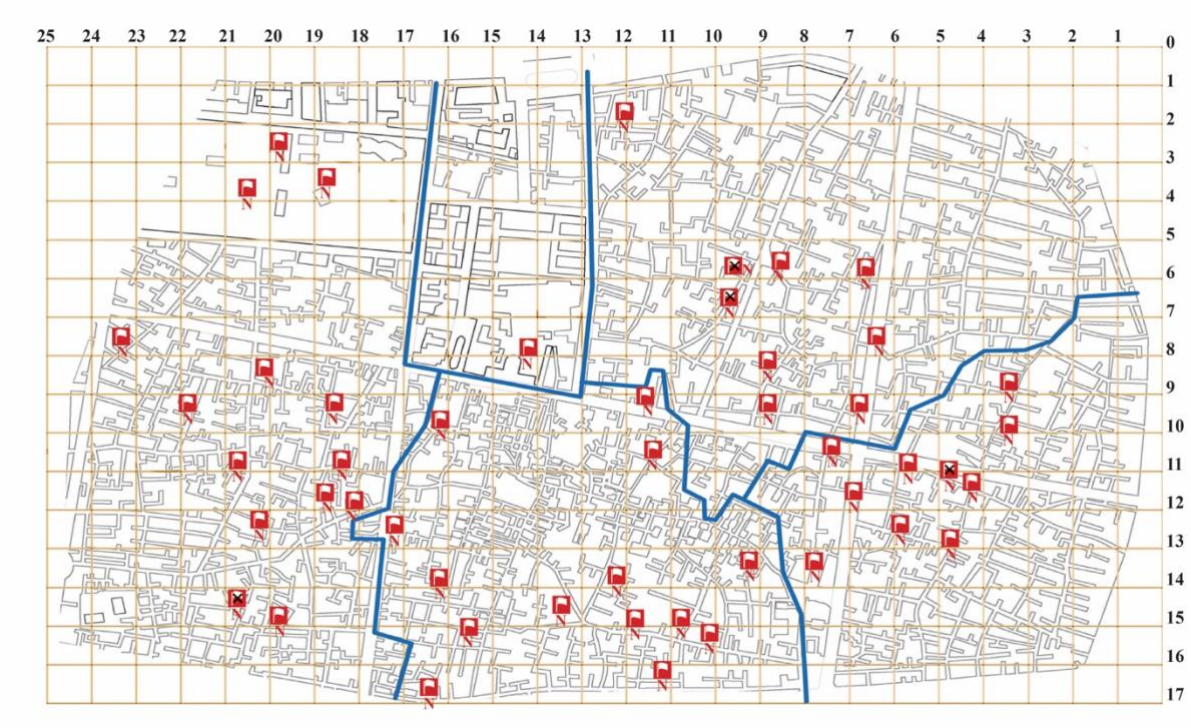


Figure 39. Takāyā of the old city on Najm al-Mulk's map

On this map, the Arg district has two mosques. In ʿUdlajan there are 10 mosques. Three of them have no symbol next to their names; one of them has the general title of "Masjid" (6,3) and the others are Amīn Niẓām (6,3) and Ṣanīʿ al-Mulk (3,8). They appeared on a map for the first time and the previous maps do not include signs of any RI in these locations. Even on Berezin's map the location of these 3 mosques fall in the green belt surrounding the city. In addition to these mosques, there is an alley named after a mosque, the Alley of Fāżil Mosque (4,7). Fāżil could have been a small mosque or a ruined mosque, since there is no sign of any RI in this ally on any of the other maps. Chalmaydan and Sangalaj districts host 5 and 3 mosques

respectively. In Bazar district there are 9 mosques, two of which have neither a symbol nor proper nouns attached to them.

Based on the information provided on the legends of the two recent maps and also the existence of various mosques with name or/and no symbols on the maps, I conclude that there were some sorts of mosques that were not worth mentioning either due to their small size, their unimportant function, or other reasons. In the legend of the map, Najm al-Mulk says that the total number of all "masājid-i muʿtabar" amounts to 200.[1] The word "muʿtabar" is an Arabic word which is common in Persian and means: reliable, credible, creditable, trusty, having good reputation, and renowned. A plausible hypothesis is that they may not be large enough to be indicated with a symbol by the author of the map, but they are known as mosques by the people. My findings of cadastral surveys show that such hypothesis could not be generalized to other RIs of *takāyā* or *imāmzādih-hā* or madrasas.

1 Shiraziyan, 65.

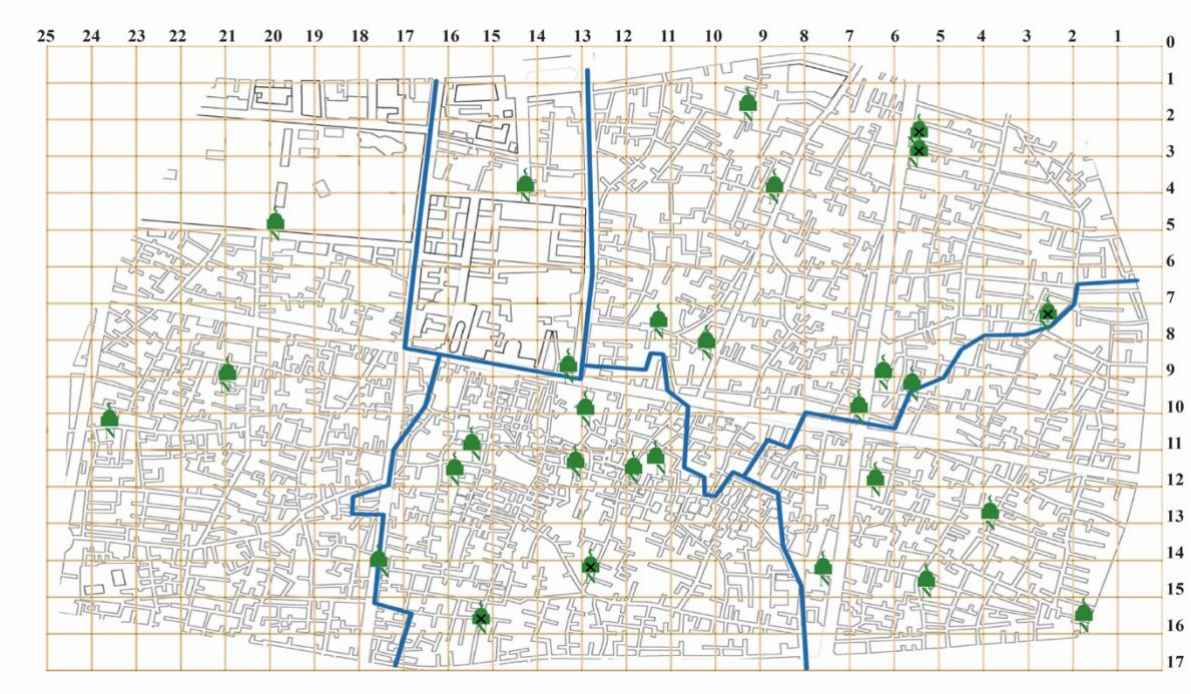


Figure 40. Mosques of the old city on Najm al-Mulk's map

The number of madrasas shows a sudden escalation on the map. The districts of Arg, ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, Bazar, and Sangalaj host 1, 5, 0, 7, and 3 madrasas respectively. One of the madrasas in ʿUdlajan has no symbol, and it is attached to Takyih Dānkī (9,6). On the map, there are three other modern schools which are located in the Arg district: Nāṣirī (16,7), Dar al-Funun (14,3), and Madrasah-yi Jadid (14,2). The Nāṣirī School was a military college established to teach the royal army modern trainings and some basic science modules.[1]

1 Muhammad Khaliqimuqaddam, "Dabiristan-ha va Madaris-i Shahr-i Tehran, az Dar al-Funun ta Asr-i Riza Shah," accessed November 9, 2019, http://drmkhm.blogfa.com/post/615.

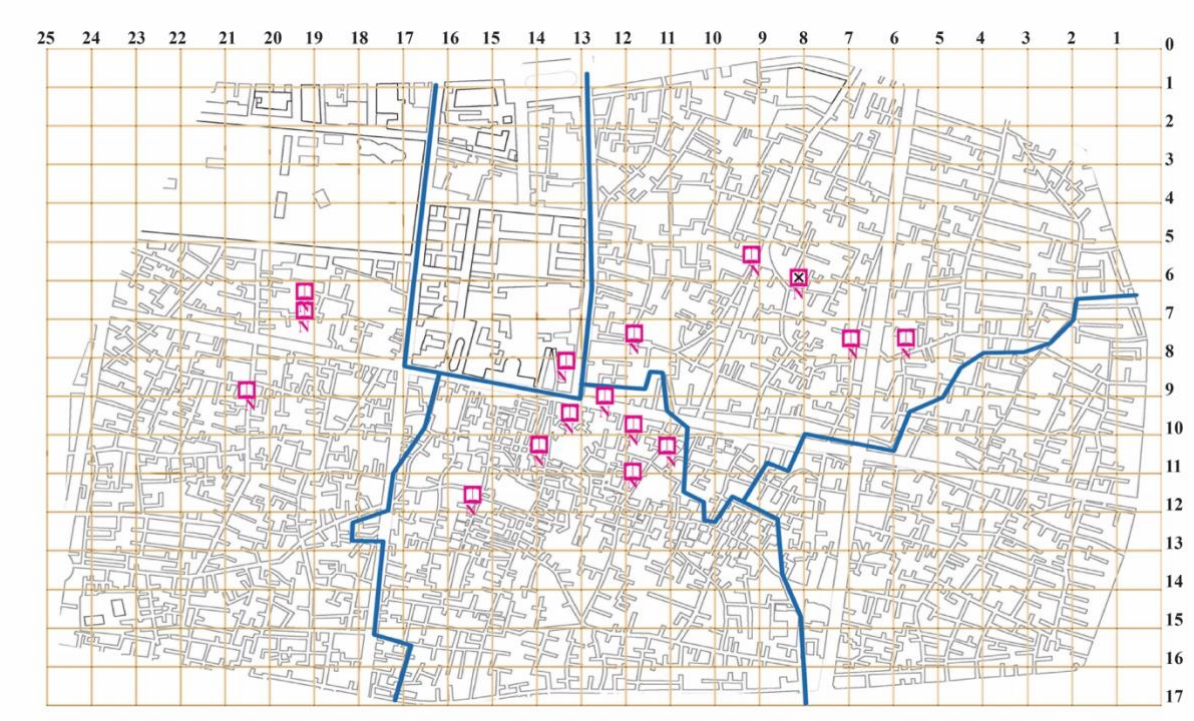


Figure 41. Madrasas of the old city on Najm al-Mulk's map

The number of *imāmzādih-hā* on the map, 9 in total, is particularly astonishing. There are 6 *imāmzādih-hā* in the city identified by name and symbol. There are 3 other references to the term *imāmzādih* on the map: Imāmzādih (12,6), Imāmzādih (14,2), and Imāmzādih Qiybī (18,3); none has any symbol attached to it. Such growth in the number of *imāmzādih-hā* is unusual, since *imāmzādih* is an important RI that may not have remained unnoticed by the author of a map. Moreover, they are the tombs of children and close ancestors of the Twelve Imams who have passed away long before the maps were drawn.[1] In Chapter 5, the escalation of the number of *imāmzādih-hā* and *takāyā* in the Qajar period is discussed in the context of the prolific literature on Shiʿism and Shiʿi rituals.

1 Sayyid Muhammad ʿAli Daʿi al-Islam, *Farhang-i Nizam* (Tehran: Danish, 1362), 410.

The following plan shows the *imāmzādih-hā* on this map:



Figure 42. Imāmzādih-hā of the old city on Najm al-Mulk's map

In the following table, all RIs on the map are listed:

Table 7. RIs on Najm al-Mulk's map

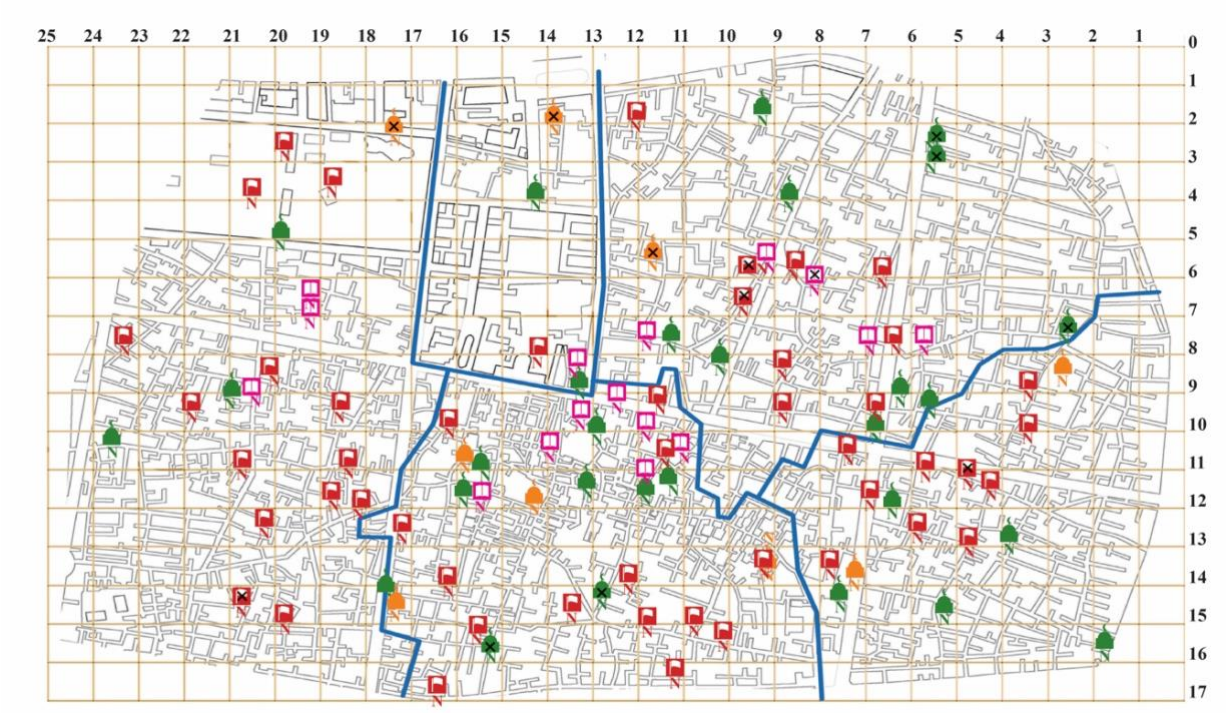
City District	takāyā	madrasas	mosques	imāmzādih-hā
Arg	Dawlat (15,8)	Mādar-i Shāh (14,9)	Mādar-i Shāh (14,9) Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4)	Unnamed1 (14,2)
	#:1	#:1	#:2	#:1
ʿUdlajan	ʿArabhā (13,2) Unnamed2 (Pāmināŕ) (10,6) Unnamed3 Ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī (10,7) Dānkī (9,6) Reżā Qulīkhān (7,6) Masjid-i Ḥawż (7,10) ʿUdlajān (9,10) Pīrzan (9,9) Darb-i Madrasah (7,8)	Pāmināŕ (10,6) Dānkī (9,6) Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) Saʿd al-Mulk (6,8) Marvī (12,8)	Ḥawż (7,10) Ḥakam (11,9) Sipahsālār (12,8) Sipahdār (10,2) Āqā Bahrām (9,4) Unnamed4 (6,3) Amin Niẓām (6,3) ʿAyn al-Mulk (7,9) Ṣanīʿ al-Mulk (3,8) Ṣāhib Dīvān (6,10)	Unnamed5 (12,6)

	#:9	#:5	#:10	#:1
Chalmaydan	Abu al-Qāsim Shīrāzī (4,9) Zargarhā (4,10) Ḥammām-i Khānum (5,12) Ṣāḥib Dīvān (5,11) Mullā Ghadīr (6,11) Sarpūlak (8,11) Chālmaydān (7,12) ʿAbbās ʿAlī (6,13) Pahlavān Sharīf (5,13) Ismāʿīl (8,14)		Ismāʿīl (8,14) Shahāb al-Mulk (6,15) Amīn al-Dawlih (7,12) Hājī Abu-l-Fatḥ (2,16) Hājī Mullā Muḥammad Jaʿfar(4,13)	Ismāʿīl (8,14) Yaḥyā (3,9)
	#:10	#:0	#:5	#:2
Bazar	Chihiltan (10,14) Hafttan (13,14) Suhrābkhān (12,11) Nuwrūzkhān (12,10) Manūchihrkhān (17,10) Khishtī (11,15) Qātirchī (11,16) Zanbūrakkhānih(12,15) Khudāfarīd (14,15) Malikābād (17,14) Khalajhā (18,13) ʿAbbāsābād (16,16) Guwd (1) (12,17) Guwd (2) (17,17)	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (14,11) Dār al-Shifāʾ (13,9) Ṣadr (14,10) Shaykh (16,12) Muḥsinīyyih (12,10) Āṣifīyyih (12,11) Muḥammadiyyih(12,12)	Shaykh (16,12) Muḥammadiyyih(12,12) Jāmiʿ (12,12) Āqā Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh (14,12) Khāzan al-Mulk (16,11) Shāh (13,10) Unnamed6 (13,15) Unnamed7 (16,16) Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15)	Chihiltan (10,14) Sayyid Valī (16,11) Zayd (15,12) Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15)
	#:14	#:7	#:9	#:4
Sangalaj	Mīrzā Ḥusayn Ḥakīm (20,3) Afshārhā (19,4) Ābpakhshkun (21,4) Dabbāghkhānih (24,8) Darkhʷāngāh (21,9) Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,11) Ḥājī Bāqir (22,10) Vazīr (19,10) Kirmānīhā (19,11) Himmatābād (19,12) Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar Nāyib (19,12) Qumīhā (21,13) Māfīhā (21,15) Muʿayyir al-Mulk (20,15)	Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,9)	Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,9)	

		Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm (20,7) Yūniskhān (20,7)	Mīrzā Zaki (20,5) Shāhzādih Khānum (24,11)	Ghiybī (18,3)
	#:14	#:3	#:3	#:1
TOTAL	48	16	29	9

As it is expected, RIs are usually located in the populated areas with higher density of city structures and roads. The mosques are expanded along vertical and horizontal bazar lines and trading streets; a clear concentration of mosques can be observed on these streets. The more I move towards the old city walls, the more the number of mosques decreases (Figure 40). A high number of mosques is found in the centre of the bazar near the bottom-right angle of the Arg; this region also contains a high number of madrasas with 8 madrasas next to each other (Figure 41). The Arg district shows a sudden growth in the number of madrasas which probably reflects the modernization process of the city.

Figure 43. RIs on Najm al-Mulk's map



However, the dispersion of *takāyā* shows a negative correlation with the main bazar of the city; they tend to expand beyond the bazar line. They expand all over the city, and few are located near the old fortifications and even fewer in the sub-districts (Figure 39). It seems that *takāyā* had regional and community functions, while mosques had urban functions and extra regional functions that did not belong to a specific part of the population. *Takāyā* took part in defining the identity of a city district or a community and were used as a gathering centre in specific periods of the year or even for carnivals for a given *maḥallih* which sometimes had to compete with other *maḥallihs*.

There are limited references to waqf holdings on the map. The main waqf property mentioned by Najm al-Mulk is called “hammam and demolished house donated by Aḥmad Kūr” (15,11). The interesting waqf case of this map is the famous garden of Bāq-i Pistihbiyg (2,8). Although Krziz and the two cadastral sources name it as a waqf property, on this map there is no reference to it being a waqf property (Figure 44).



Figure 44. The waqf property of Bāq-i Pistihbiyg

3.6. RIs on other maps

By the end of the 19th century, production of maps of various cities, roads, boundaries, etc. becomes a popular activity for Iranian professionals and royal bodies. Among them is a map produced by Wagner and Debes company[1] in 1914 CE/ 1332 Q., which mainly focuses on Arg district and public, governmental, and political buildings. On this map, Dawlat Takyih, Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ Mosque, and Shāh

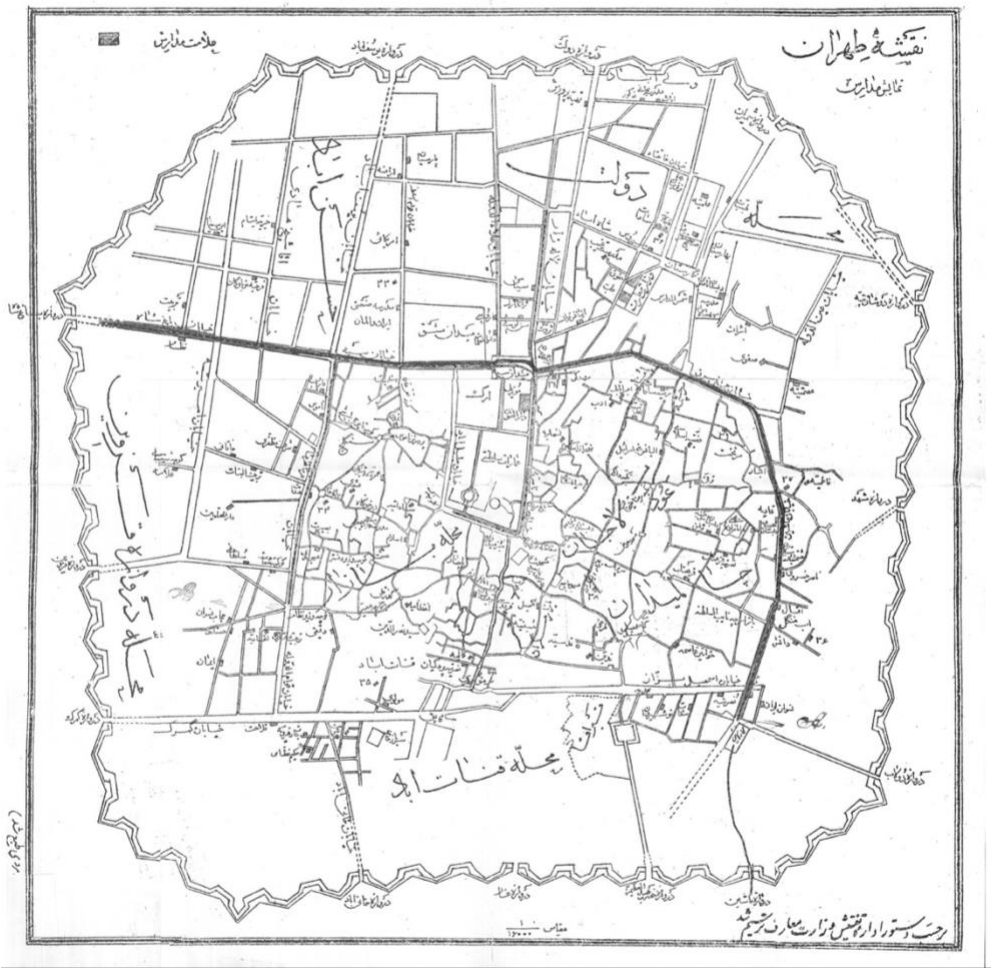


Figure 45. A map of the modern schools by Ministry of Culture, 1920s.

1 Wagner & Debes was a well-known German cartographic publisher, established in 1872 by Heinrich Wagner und Ernst Debes.

Mosque are the only RIs depicted. However, lack of details about the city structures makes the map a marginal source for my investigation.

In 1920s CE/ 1340s Q., another map is produced by the ministry of culture (Vizarat-i Maʿarif) of Ahmad Shah that depicts the names and locations of the modern schools. The symbol used for schools is a black square while other city structures such as madrasas, mosques, etc. are also mentioned on the map. The landscape of the expansion of these modern institutions can give us a better understanding about the decline of the religious institution of madrasa. Here the number of modern schools shows a sudden rise. On the map, there are 121 schools. The map also shows 3 mosques of Shāh, Jāmiʿ, and Ḥawż, 4 *takāyā* of Riżā Qulīkhān, Dānkī, Darkh^{w}āngāh, and Dabbāqkhānih, and also Ḥājī Rajab ʿAlī madrasa. Additionally, it depicts the two *imāmzādih-hā* of Zayd and Yāḥyā. It also mentions the names of Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn and Sayyid Ismāʿīl without using the attribute of *imāmzādih* for them.[1]

3.7. Conclusion

Transformation of urban structures reflects socio-political changes of a city. The modernization of the capital city of Tehran has been an important landmark for Iranian rulers' mission to modernize the country. At the time of Fath ʿAli Shah some limited number of important urban structures were constructed such as Shāh Mosque. The sudden growth of the city at the time of Nasir al-Din Shah entered into

1 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 40–41.

a new phase by 1868 CE/ 1285 Q. with demolition of the old fortifications and construction of new walls and gates for the city.[1] In the Pahlavi period, Riza Shah showed his determination for starting a new era and his confidence in modernizing the country by demolishing the *Nāṣirī* fortifications and gates of the city and establishment of new monumental urban structures.[2]

Such urban transformations have had substantial consequences for religious institutions which were the central elements of the Iranian city in the Qajar period.[3] The fundamental status of RIs in the urban life can be inferred from the maps produced in this period, since all of the maps produced in this period illustrate RIs on the map and in their legends. Such trend is followed even by the simplest map of this era produced by Naskov (1826 CE/1241 Q.). Even for foreign travellers, these were the foremost elements of the Iranian cities which could not be overlooked by them in their memoirs or travelogues.[4]

Establishment and renovation of RIs accelerated in the second half of the 19th century. At the time of Fath ʿAli Shah (1797-1834 CE/ 1211-1250 Q.), Tehran's urban structure was considerably poorer than many other cities of the country, to the extent that there was no single large cupola, as stated by some travellers.[5] Despite his serious attention to the renovation of the Shiʿi mausoleums in other cities, Fath ʿAli Shah did not show much interest in building mosques or other RIs in the capital

1 Nasir Najmi, *Iran-i Qadim va Tehran-i Qadim* (Tehran: Janzadih, 1362), 233.
2 Muhammad Reza Aslani, *Kitab-i Tehran*, vol. 4 (Tehran: Rushangaran, 1373), 55–56.
3 Husayn Bastanirad, *Shahr dar Iranzamin* (Tehran: Nashr-i ʿIlm, 1393), 279–90.
4 John Gurney, "Tahavvul-i Shahr-i Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Nasiri," in *Tehran Paytakht-i Divist Salih* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Iranshinasi-yi Faransih dar Iran, 1375), 38.
5 Gavin R. G. Hambly, "The Traditional Iranian City in the Qājār Period," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Peter Avery, Gavin R. G. Hambly, and C. Melville, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 551.

city, apart from the unfinished structure of the Shāh Mosque.[1] During the reign of Muhammad Shah (1834-1848 CE/ 1250-1264 Q.), the number of RIs increased and some important RIs were built, such as Rajab ʿAlī mosque (1846 CE/ 1262 Q.) and the tomb of Imāmzādih Ismāʿīl (1845 CE/ 1261 Q.).[2]

The development and modernization boom in *Nāṣirī* period (1848-1896 CE/ 1264-1313 Q.) not only the expansion of the city area but also the significant changes in older RIs. Such transformations could be traced by comparative study of each set of RIs of *takyih*, mosque, madrasa, *imāmzādih*, and waqf properties. The dynamics, process, and speed of the changes are not similar in each set of RIs.

Table 8. The changes of RIs on all three maps

City District	***takāyā*#62**	**madrasas#19**	**mosques#33**	***imāmzādih-hā*#9**
Arg	Dawlat (17,7)(15-8) 123	Mādar-i Shāh (14,9) 123 Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) 2	Mādar-i Shāh (14,9) 3 Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) 3 Ẓil al-Sulṭān(15,9) 2	Unnamed(14,2) 3
ʿUdlajan	ʿArabhā (13,2) 23 Pāmināŕ,Unnamed2 (10,6) 13 Ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī,Unnamed3(10,7)23 Dānkī(9,6) 123 Reżā Qulīkhān(7,6) 123 Ḥawż,Unnamed2,Masjid Ḥawż(7,10)123 ʿUdlajān (9,10) 123 Pīrzan (9,9) 3 Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) 23 Āqā Bahrām (9,4) 2 Sarchashmih (6,4) 2 Unnamed2 (13,4) 1 Unnamed3 (10,9) 1 Unnamed4 (3,7) 1	Pāmināŕ Mirzā Ṣālih(10,6)123 Dānkī (9,6) 3 Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) 23 Saʿd al-Mulk (6,8) 3 Marvī (12,8) 23	Ḥawż (7,10) 23 Āqā Bahrām (9,4) 23 Ḥakam (11,9) 123 Sipahsālār (12,8) 3 Unnamed4, Sipahdār(10,2)23 Unnamed4 (6,3) 3 Amin Niẓām (6,3) 3 ʿAyn al-Mulk (7,9) 3 Ṣanīʿ al-Mulk (3,8) 3 Ṣāhib Dīvān (6,10) 3	

1 Farshad Abrishami, *Tehran-i Ruzgaran-i Qadim*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Khanih-yi Tarikh va Tasvir-i Abrishami, 1389), 232.
2 Gurney, "Tahavvul-i Shahr-i Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Nasiri," 38.

				Unnamed5 (12,6)3
Chalmaydan	Abu al-Qāsim Shīrāzī(4,9)23 Zargarhā (4,10) 23 Lūṭī ʿAlīkhān,Ḥammām Khānum(5,12)123 Afshārhā,Ṣāḥib Dīvān(5,11)123 Mullā Ghadīr (6,11) (2-3) Sarpūlak (8,11) (2-3) Chālmaydān (7,12) (3) ʿAbbās ʿAlī (6,13) (2-3) Pahlavān Sharīf (5,13) 123 Ismāʿīl (8,14) (1-3) Reżā Qulīkhān (7,12) (2) ʿArabhā (8,16) (2) Unnamed5(9,14) (1)		Ismāʿīl (8,14)123 Shahāb al-Mulk(6,15)3 Amīn al-Dawlih (7,12)3 Hājī Abu al-Fatḥ (2,16) 3 Hājī Mullā Muḥammad Jaʿfar(4,13)3 Unnamed5 (8-12) 2	Ismāʿīl (8,14)123 Yaḥyā (3,9)123
Bazar	Chihiltan (10,14)123 Hafttan (13,14) 123 Suhrābkhān (12,11) 123 Nuwrūzkhān (12,10) 23 Manūchihrkhān (17,10)123 Khishtī (11,15) 23 Qātirchī (11,16) 23 Zanbūrakkhānih(12,15)23 Khudāfarīd (14,15)123 Malikābād (17,14)123 Khalajhā (18,13) 23 ʿAbbāsābād (16,16) 13 Guwd1 (12,17) 3 Unnamed9,Guwd2 (17,17)23 Unnamed6(11,13) 1 Unnamed7(11,10) 1 Unnamed8(12,12) 1 Zayd (15,12) 1	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (14,11)123 Dār al-Shifāʿ(13,9) 23 Ṣadr (14,10) 23 Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn(16,12)3 Muḥsinīyyih(12,10) 23 Aṣifīyyih (12,11) 3 Muḥammadiyyih(12,11)23	Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn(16,12)3 Muḥammadiyyih(12,12) 3 Jāmiʿ (12,12) 123 Ḥāj,Āqā Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh (14,12)123 Khāzan al-Mulk (16,11) 3 Shāh (13,10)123 Unnamed6 (13,15) 3 Unnamed7 (16,16) 3 Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn(18,15)13	Unnamed(Chihiltan)(10,14)123 Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn(18,15)13 Sayyid Valī (16,11)3 Zayd (15,12) 123
Sangalaj	Mīrzā ḤusaynḤakīm(20,3)123 Afshārhā (19,4) 123 Ābpakhshkun (21,4) 3 Dabbāghkhānih (24,8) 123 Darkhʷāngāh (21,9) 123 Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,11) 23 Ḥājī Bāqir (22,10) 23 Vazīr (19,10) 23 Kirmānīhā (19,11) 23 Himmatābād (19,12) 23 Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar Nāyib(19,12)3	Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) 23	Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) 123	

	Qumīhā (21,13) 123 Māfīhā (21,15) 3 Muʿayyir al-Mulk(20,15) 3 Unnamed9(18,5) 1 Mīrān (18,7) 2	Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm (20,7)23 Yūniskhān (20,7) 23 Mīrzā Zakī (20,5) 12 Muḥamad Khājih(19,10)2	Mīrzā Zaki (20,5) 3 Shāhzādih Khānum(24,11)3 Yūniskhān (19,5) 1 Sarchālih (18,10) 1	Ghiybī(18,3) 3

3.7.1. Takyih

Takyih, as a Shiʿi specific RI, had a unique position in the city during the Qajar period. Its shares of RIs on every map is higher than other RIs. The escalation of the number of *imāmzādih-hā*, as another Shiʿi city structure, in the *Nāṣirī* period shows the role of Shiʿi-specific RIs in religious life. Despite the importance of mosque in the Islamic urban structure, such unique features mirror the expansion of Shiʿi ideology and rituals related to Imam Husayn in this era.

During the Qajar period, especially under Nasir al-Din Shah, various forms of ceremonies for commemorating Imam Husayn were developed, such as *zīyārat* (visiting holy shrines), *taʿzīyih* (assimilating the events related to the killing of Imam Husayn in the form of a theatre), *ʿazādārī* (mourning for Imam Husayn), *qamihzanī* (striking oneself with a sword on the head, causing blood to flow in remembrance of the innocent blood of Imam Husayn), and *nuḥihkhʷānī* (reciting the memoirs of the survivors of Karbala and their dirge).[1] This trend had its cultural effects in other aspects of the peoples' social life. Writing various poetry collections

1 Kamran Aghaei, "Religious Rituals, Social Identities and Political Relationships in Tehran under Qajar Rule, 1850s-1920s," in Religion and Society in Qajar Iran, Robert Gleave, Ed., (New York: Routledge, 2005), 373–92.

for Imam Husayn was common among poets such as Yaghma Jandaqi (1781-1859 CE/1196-1276 Q.)[1] and Qaʾani Shirazi (1808-1854 CE/ 1223-1270 Q.).[2] Even the upper class women had their own *majlis* (ceremonial events) only for women.[3] New jobs related to these ceremonies were created.[4] In 1860, Mirza Husayn Tahvildar writes that there are two new growing industries in the city of Isfahan: "ʿ*abādūz*" (somebody who sewed cloak)[5] and the other was "*ghamihsāzān* and *qaddārihsāzān*" (somebody who made special swords which were used also during ceremonies for cutting parts of the skin of the head as a sign of sympathy with the martyrs of Karbala). He reports that these industries used to have small market-shares of the total transactions in the bazar, but surprisingly they could expand their businesses and exchange their goods with the merchants from all over the country.[6] *Takyih* was the main place for these rituals and social exchanges. There is meaningful correlation between the growing number of the *takāyā* on the maps, on the one hand, and expansion of the Muharram rituals, industries, and production of literary works related to the rituals performed there on the other. Some scholars believe that the emphasize on Shiʿi ideology and rituals by religious forces was a reaction against the expansion of the Shaykhi and Babi movements in this period, while some others relate it to the Safavid religious heritage.[7]

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1 ʿAli Quli Mirza Iʿtizad al-Saltanih, *Kulliyat-i Yaghma-yi Jandaqi* (Tehran, 1339), 284–303, https://ketabnak.com/book/64235/كليات-يغما-جندقى#versions.
2 Mirza Mahmoud Khansari, *Divan-i Hakim Qaʾani-yi Shirazi* (Tehran: Nigah, 1380), 947–48.
3 Akbar Tehrani Shafaq, *Tehran-i Qadim ta Tehran-i Jadid* (Tehran: Bustan, 1389), 127–29.
4 Tehrani Shafaq, 127–39.
5 Mirza Husayn Tahvildar, Jughrafiya-yi Isfahan (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, 1342), 102.
6 Tahvildar, 107.
7 Hamid Algar, "Religious Forces in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 724–26. Abbas Amanat and Fereydun Vahman, *Az Tehran ta ʿAkka: Babian va Bahaʾiyan dar Asnad-i Duwran-i Qajar* (Copenhagen and New Haven: Ashkaar Publishers, 2016). ʿAli Asghar Shamim, *Iran dar Duwrih-yi Saltanat-i Qajar*, 7th ed. (Tehran: Mudabbir, 1375), 373.

A review of the spatial dispersion of the *takāyā* on the maps shows that there is no correlation between their position with other city elements. They are equally scattered all over the city. Therefore, they were serving regional functions, such as ceremonial space for each neighbourhood. The only exception is Dawlat Takyih which was the largest *takyih* of the city established by Nasir al-Din Shah to serve as a place for official ceremonies; it hosted the people from all over the city, the royal court, and even the women of the *ḥaram*.[1]

Despite having the highest number among RIs, *takāyā* are the most vulnerable to the city changes and transformations. My findings show that the highest cases of missing RIs appears among *takāyā*. Out of the total number of 62 *takāyā*, 17 have been missing on one or two subsequent maps. This represents a 27% rate of missing *takāyā* out of the total *takāyā* covered in this chapter. The Berezin's map records 9 *takāyā* which are not mentioned on any of the next two maps. The *takāyā* of Āqā Bahrām (9,4), Sarchashmih (6,4), Reżā Qulīkhān (7,12), ʿArabhā (8,16), and Mīrān (18,7) are only mentioned by Krziz and there is no reference to them on previous and subsequent maps. The *takāyā* of Pāminār (10,6), Ismāʿīl (8,14), and ʿAbbāsābād (16,16) are recorded on the first and third maps, but they do not exist at the time of Krziz. This last set of *takāyā* might have experienced a period of deterioration due to the destruction of their building, and then, they were renovated at the time of Najm al-Mulk.

1 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 249–50.

The perpetuity of a *takyih* is originated from popular culture and shariʿa law. Although changes of a given *takyih*, like other RIs, do not occur easily due to the restrictions imposed by the popular culture, shariʿa law does not essentially restricts demolition of *takāyā* unless the *takyih* is built on a waqf. As the result of weaker support by the shariʿa law, they could have demolished by the passing of time or by the decision of the founder or even the court officials. Dawlat Takyih is the best example for the vulnerability of *takāyā* against the changes imposed by authorities

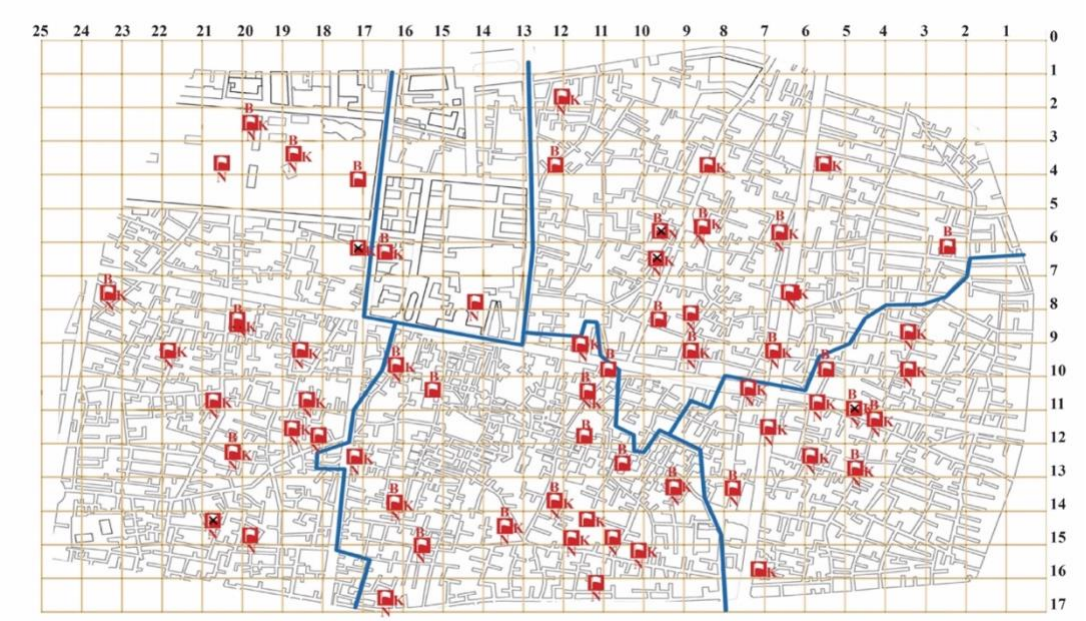


Figure 46. The takāyā represented on all of the maps

or natural events. The first two maps show Dawlat Takyih near the western wall of Arg (17,7). However, after the King decided to establish a decent *takyih* for the royal ceremonies, it was destroyed and the new *takyih* was built in 1290 Q. in the southern part of Arg (15-8), as demonstrated on Najm al-Mulk's map.[1] The structure of the *takyih* was deteriorated by the end of the 19th century, and therefore, the third floor of the *takyih* was removed and the wooden pillars were armoured with iron bars. In 1946 CE/ 1365 Q., it was finally demolished and replaced with the National Bank of

1 Farrukh Ghaffari, "Takyih-ha va Talar-hayi Namayish dar Tehran," in *Tehran Paytakht-i Divist Salih* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Iranshenasi-yi Faransih dar Iran, 1375), 161.

Iran.[1] Another example is Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī Takyih. This old *takyih* was built before 1860s CE/ 1270s Q., but it does not exist in the city of Tehran anymore.[2] This evidence reflects the correlation between the position of shariʿa law toward an institution and its perpetuity in the Shiʿi society of Tehran.

Nevertheless, a considerable number of *takāyā* had the chance to live longer than many other urban institutions due to their sacredness and the support they received from the popular culture. A good example is a *takyih* called Khānum. It belongs to Safavids but turns into a ruined building by the time of Fath ʿAli Shah. Mirza Fath ʿAli Khan Sahibdivan (1821-1897 CE/ 1236-1314 Q.), Fath ʿAli Shah's son-in-law, reconstructs the *takyih* which is called under his name as Luti ʿAlikhan Takyih (5,12) on the maps of Berezin and Krziz. By the end of the century, its name was turned back to its original name, Khānum Ḥammām and Takyih, on Najm al-Mulk's map.[3]

3.7.2. Imāmzādih-hā

In line with the escalation of the number of *takāyā*, another Shiʿi-specific RI is growing in the second half of the 19th century. In the period between the production of the two maps of Krziz and Najm al-Mulk (from 1858 to 1888 CE/ from 1275 to 1305 Q.), the number of *imāmzādih-hā* increases, and 4 new *imāmzādih-hā* are added to the *imāmzādih-hā* recorded on the previous maps. By definition, an *imāmzādih* is a holy shrine that is always built on the grave of one of the Twelve Imams' close descendants. Since all the identified children and grandchildren of the

1 Ghaffari, 163–65.
2 Bihzad Yaʿqubi, *Waqifan-i Dar al-Khilafah* (Tehran: Avardgah-i Hunar va Andishih, 1395), 47.
3 Masʿud Nurbakhsh, *Tehran bi Ravayat-i Tarikh*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Tehran: Nashr-i ʿIlm, 1381), 68.

Imams had died more than 10 centuries prior to the 19th century, the new shrines could not belong to the newly dead children of the Imams. Here I do not aim to investigate whether the new *imāmzādih-hā* genuinely belong to some real descendants of the Imams or fabricated personalities; it should be the subject of another study. I am rather interested in the fact that this RI was not expected to grow. How can the sources provide explanations for the growing number of this Shiʿi-specific RI?



Figure 47. The imāmzādih-hā represented on all of the maps

Other historical accounts give more information on the new *imāmzādih-hā*. The unnamed Imāmzādih (12,6) is positioned in the location of an *imāmzādih* called Chāhārdah Maʿṣūm or Isḥāq. The historical accounts and secondary sources on *imāmzādih-hā* confirm that.[1] Moreover, the remained building of this RI is not old

1 Muhsin Muʿtamidi, *Jughrafiya-yi Tarikh-iyi Tehran* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Danishgahi, 1381), 21. Daryush Shahbazi, *Tehrannamih: Danishnamih-yi Jughrafiya-yi Tehran* (Tehran: Daryush Shahbazi, 1394), 469.

enough to be included in the maps prior to Najm al-Mulk. Therefore, the building belongs to a period after the production of the last map by Najm al-Mulk.

By comparing the location of the other unnamed *imāmzādih* (14,2) with the current city structures of Tehran, I find Rūḥallāh Imāmzādih in the same location of this RI. Rūḥallāh Imāmzādih is located on the current Bab-i Humayun street, at the south of Sipah square.[1] The building has gone through complete reconstruction in 2014, but some tiles from the old building show 1894 CE/ 1311 Q. as the date of construction of the building.[2] Based on the data derived from the tiles, Najm al-Mulk's map, and other historical accounts I can conclude that this *imāmzādih* may have been built a few years earlier than the production of Najm al-Mulk's map.

The third new *imāmzādih* on Najm al-Mulk's map is called Ghiybī (18,3). The *imāmzādih* is neither recorded on the previous maps nor exists in the contemporary city of Tehran. Some sources state that when Amir Kabir started the construction of the Tupkhanih Square in 1276 Q., he destroyed this *imāmzādih* too.[3] However, if that is the case, then it should not be recorded by Najm al-Mulk on his map in 1888 CE/ 1305 Q. Moreover, James Justinian Morier (1782-1849 CE/ 1196-1265 Q.), one of the diplomates of the British Embassy, recorded the reconstruction of the square by Amir Kabir but there is no reference to demolition of the *imāmzādih*.[4] It seems it is destroyed in the later periods.

1 Shahbazi, *Tehrannamih: Danishnamih-yi Jughrafiya-yi Tehran*, 484–85.
2 Bihzad Yaʿqubi, *Imamzadih-hayi Dar al-Khilafah* (Tehran: Avardgah-i Hunar va Andishih, 1394), 54.
3 Najmi, *Iran-i Qadim va Tehran-i Qadim*, 257.
4 Shahbazi, *Tehrannamih: Danishnamih-yi Jughrafiya-yi Tehran*, 508–9.

Sayyid Valī (16,17) is another *imāmzādih* on Najm al-Mulk's map which is not recorded as such on the other maps. Although it is mentioned by Krziz and Berezin as a cemetery, there is no single reference to it as an *imāmzādih*. Some of the tiles on the walls contain the name of the sponsor (*bānī*) and 1881 CE/ 1298 Q. as the date of the reconstruction of the building.[1] Therefore, it might have been among the new RIs established in the *Nāṣirī* period.[2]

In the *Nāṣirī* period, some of the *imāmzādih-hā* were renovated too. Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15) is a conglomeration of an *imāmzādih*, a mosque and a cemetery on the map of Berezin, but it is not recorded on Krziz's map. The incomplete symbol used for it by Krziz shows that it did not have a complete building structure at the time of production of his map. The information recorded by historical sources confirms this. Heinrich Karl Brugsch (1827-1894 CE/ 1242-1311 Q.), the German Ambassador of the time, writes in his memories in 1860 that the old building of Imāmzādih Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn is located in the middle of a grave yard which is turned into a dirty pathway of pedestrians, donkeys and horses.[3] The existing building of the *imāmzādih* has tiles dated 1893 CE/ 1310 Q. and 1894 CE/ 1311 Q. However, there is a wooden inscription with date 1585 CE/ 993 Q. which should be the only remaining of the ancient building.[4] Accordingly, the building of the *imāmzādih* was ruined by the time of Krziz, and therefore, he just recorded the area without any reference to the *imāmzādih*. Then, by the end of the *Nāṣirī* period, it was reconstructed.

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1 Shahbazi, 493–94.
2 Shahbazi, 393–94.
3 Heinrich Karl Brugsch, *Safari bi Darbar-i Sultan-i Sahibqaran*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Tehran: Ittilaʿat, 1367), 271.
4 Shahbazi, *Tehrannamih: Danishnamih-yi Jughrafiya-yi Tehran*, 492–93.

The process of establishment of new *imāmzādih-hā* continus until the end of the Qajar period. Imāmzādih Ibrāhīm was established near the Zanbūrakkhānih Takyih (12,15).[1] Imāmzādih ʿAbbās ʿAlī was established in the Arq, next to the royal palace. For some of the newly built *imāmzādih-hā,* one can hardly find a reliable pedigree chart that can prove their connections with the Shiʿiʿ Imams. Some were even established following the dreams of ordinary people. According to the historical records, the establishment of Imāmzādih ʿAbbās ʿAlī by Nasir al-Din Shah was based on a clandestine story and established by the women of the King's *ḥaram*. Accordingly, Nasir al-Din Shah was not happy with the serial absence of his wives who used to visit frequently other *imāmzādih-hā* around the city. Therefore, he asked some of the women of the *ḥaram* for help, and they fabricated a story about their dream of the hidden tomb of an *imāmzādih* near the location of the King's *ḥaram*, who was called Imāmzādih ʿAbbās ʿAlī.[2]

3.7.3. Mosques

Part of my discussions on the mosques of this period is formed around Ettehadieh's finding about the decreasing number of mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period. Based on her investigation of the cadastral surveys and secondary sources, she explains that the number of mosques decreases in the second half of the 19th century.[3] Scarce follows Ettehadieh's line of argument and distinguishes between two different styles of

1 Muhammad Taqi Mustafavi and Mirhashim Muhaddith, *Asar-i Tarikhi-yi Tehran* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Asar-i Melli-yi Tehran, 1361), 81.
2 Shahbazi, *Tehrannamih: Danishnamih-yi Jughrafiya-yi Tehran*, 501. Najmi, *Iran-i Qadim va Tehran-i Qadim*, 282–83.
3 Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)."

urban architecture applied in Fath ʿAli Shah period and Nasir al-Din Shah era. She explains that a comparison between the city development in the both historical periods shows that no important religious building is constructed in the *Nāṣirī* period; Nasir al-Din Shah had not built any important mosque either.[1]

However, the findings do not necessarily validate these claims. The historical accounts diverge about the number of mosques in the Qajar period; some historical documents record high numbers for the mosques in one specific time span, while some others mention low numbers for this RI. As an example, I can classify the accounts written by European travellers about the number of the mosques in Tehran at the time of Fath ʿAli Shah (1797-1834 CE/ 1211-1250 Q.) into two categories: 1. James Morier in 1807 CE/ 1222 Q. writes that there are 7 mosques and 3 to 4 madrasas in the city of Tehran;[2] 2. however, in the years 1811 to 1813 CE/ 1225 to 1227 Q. the total number of mosques and madrasas are 30, according to the information recorded in the memoirs of Sir William Ouseley.[3] The Berezin's map (1840s CE/ 1260s Q.) shows 12 mosques for the city of Tehran under Muhammad Shah's rule (1834-1848 CE/ 1250-1264 Q.) which seems more in line with the Morier's record. Such two-category numbering exists in the *Nāṣirī* period too. There are two maps from the first and the last decades of the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896 CE/ 1264-1313 Q.): 1. There are 11 mosques illustrated on the Krziz's map (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.) but he mentions that the total number of mosques are 130; 2. in the last decade of the *Nāṣirī* period, the Najm al-Mulk's map (1880s CE/ 1300s

1 Jennifer Scarce, "Naqsh-i Miʿmari dar Piydayish-i Shahr-i Tehran," in *Tehran Paytakht-i Divist Salih* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Iranshinasi-yi Faransih dar Iran, 1375), 86.
2 Muhammad Hasan Khan Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, *Mirʾat Al-Buldan*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, 1367), 855–56.
3 Husayn Kariman, *Tehran dar Quzashtih va Hal* (Tehran: Danishgah-i Milli-yi Tehran, 1355), 194–96.

Q.) depicts 29 mosques but also mentions that the total number of mosques, i.e. "masājid-i muʿtabar", is 200. This leads me to ask, what is the difference between the "muʿtabar" mosques (higher numbers) and the 'particular' mosques (lower numbers)?

All in all, what I can conclude here about the mosques is that despite the severe support of the shariʿa law, they are not completely protected against the changing atmosphere of the city in this period. Although a mosque is defined as an unchangeable religious institution according to the shariʿa law and *fiqh*, my study of 33 mosques recorded on these maps shows they have gone through considerable changes. Berezin records two mosques by the names of Yūniskhān (19,5) and Sarchālih (18,10) which do not exist on two other maps. A famous mosque in the



Figure 48. The mosques represented on all of the maps

vicinity of Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15) cemetery and *imāmzādih* is not mentioned on Krziz's map. The decorating tiles of the western dome of the building show 1893 CE/ 1310 Q. as the year of completion of the building. I can conclude that the mosque

was destroyed at the time of Krziz, but reconstructed in the second half of the 19th century.[1] Some sources called it as Munīrīyih Mosque.[2] Moreover, Krziz records two mosques with no reference on Najm al-Mulk's map, i.e Unnamed5 (8-12) and Ẓil al-Sultān (15,9). Such cases of missing mosques show that even the most immutable RI, i.e. the mosque, could not always survive the changing environment of the city of Tehran. These cases are investigated in the next chapter based on the cadastral information of the city to see whether they are really destroyed at the time of production of the maps, or the authors of the map does not record them in the later periods.

The broad picture of the dispersion of mosques show that they are mainly concentrated in the market area with special concentration around the line of the shops in the central bazar of the city. They are usually attached to a conglomeration of the shops and roads. Some scholars believe that the spatial connection of mosques and bazars has been a key feature of *maḥallih-hā*[3] and cities[4] in the Muslim urban areas.[5] Further details of this picture is developed in the next chapters.

3.7.4. Madrasa

Out of the total number of 19 madrasas recorded on the maps, 3 are missing: Mīrzā Zakī Madrasa (20,5) is recorded on the first two maps, but it is turned into a mosque on Najm al-Mulk. The madrasa of Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) existed at the time of production of Krziz's map but it turned into a mosque by the end of the 19th century,

1 Nurbakhsh, *Tehran bi Ravayat-i Tarikh*, 1381, 1:1203.
2 Abrishami, *Tehran-i Ruzgaran-i Qadim*, 239.
3 Bastanirad, *Shahr dar Iranzamin*, 279–90.
4 Bastanirad, *Shahr dar Iranzamin,* 175.
5 Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Istakhri and Iraj Afshar, *Masalik va Mamalik* (Tehran: Bungah-i Tarjumih va Nashr, 1340), 193.

according to Najm al-Mulk's map. The madrasa of Muḥammad Khājih (19,10) is only recorded on Krziz's map, and there is no record for it on the next map.

Several other madrasas are only recorded on Najm al-Mulk's map. The historical information approves that they were established at the end of the 19th century, the period between the production of the two maps of Krziz and Najm al-Mulk. As an example, Khāzan al-Mulk Madrasa is only illustrated on Najm al-Mulk's map. Nurbakhsh states that he has seen some carpets on the floor of the mosque on which the name of Khāzan al-Mulk and the date 1876 CE/ 1293 Q. were sew by the producers.[1]

A review of the findings from the analysis of Krziz's and Najm al-Mulk's maps shows that the period between the production of the two maps is the most dynamic time for transformation of madrasas. The shift from traditional madrasa toward the establishment of modern schools is the main reason behind it. It seems that several madrasas are missing or transforming into other RIs (such as mosque or *takyih*) by the increasing number of modern schools at the end of the century. The appointment of Mirza Husaynkhan Sipahsalar as *ṣadr-i ʿaẓam* prepared considerable support for the expansion of modern schools.[2] As we see the expansion rate of them considerably exceeds that of traditional madrasas by the start of the 20th century.[3] A review of the map of Vizārat-i Maʿārif of the modern schools in

1 Masʿud Nurbakhsh, *Tehran bi Ravayat-i Tarikh*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Tehran: Nashr-i ʿIlm, 1381), 1178.
2 Guity Nashat, *The Origins of Modern Reforms in Iran, 1870-1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982). Bakhash, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajar, 1858-1896*.
3 Monica Ringer, *Amuzish-i Din va Guftiman-i Islah-i Farhang-i dar Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 4th ed. (Tehran: Quqnus, 1396), 203–4.

1920s/1340s Q. shows that the city possessed in total 121 modern schools (Figure 45).

The city development could easily threaten religious madrasas, since they do not welcome the modern sciences and curriculum. The most well-known cases are Mirza Hasan-i Rushdiyih's schools in Tehran and Tabriz. His attempts to establish modern "non-Islamic" classes in mosques and madrasas are severely hampered by the ʿulamaʾ in Yerevan and Tabriz.[1] As part of their arguments, the critics refer to the sacredness of mosques and madrasas, and therefore, disagree with the change of the Islamic functions of these RIs into modern schools.[2]

Despite their innate feature of perpetuity, there are several cases of omission of these RIs in this period. Mirzā Ṣālih or Pāmināŕ (10,6) is recorded as a madrasa on all of the maps. However, in the urban development in the Pahlavi period part of the madrasa was destroyed. This process continued in the last decade and the majority of the area of the building was added to the new streets across the building. An interesting fact is that the remaining building is turned into a modern school after the Islamic Revolution and the only remaining part from the old building is a minaret.[3] The same has happened for Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī Madrasa.[4]

1 Mashallah Ajudani, *Mashrutih-yi Irani,* 5th ed. (Tehran: Akhtaran, 1383), 261.
2 Ringer, *Amuzish-i Din va Guftiman-i Islah-i Farhang-i dar Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 173–78.
3 Nurbakhsh, *Tehran bi Ravayat-i Tarikh,* 1381, 1:332–33.
4 Yaʿqubi, *Waqifan-i Dar al-Khilafah*, 47.

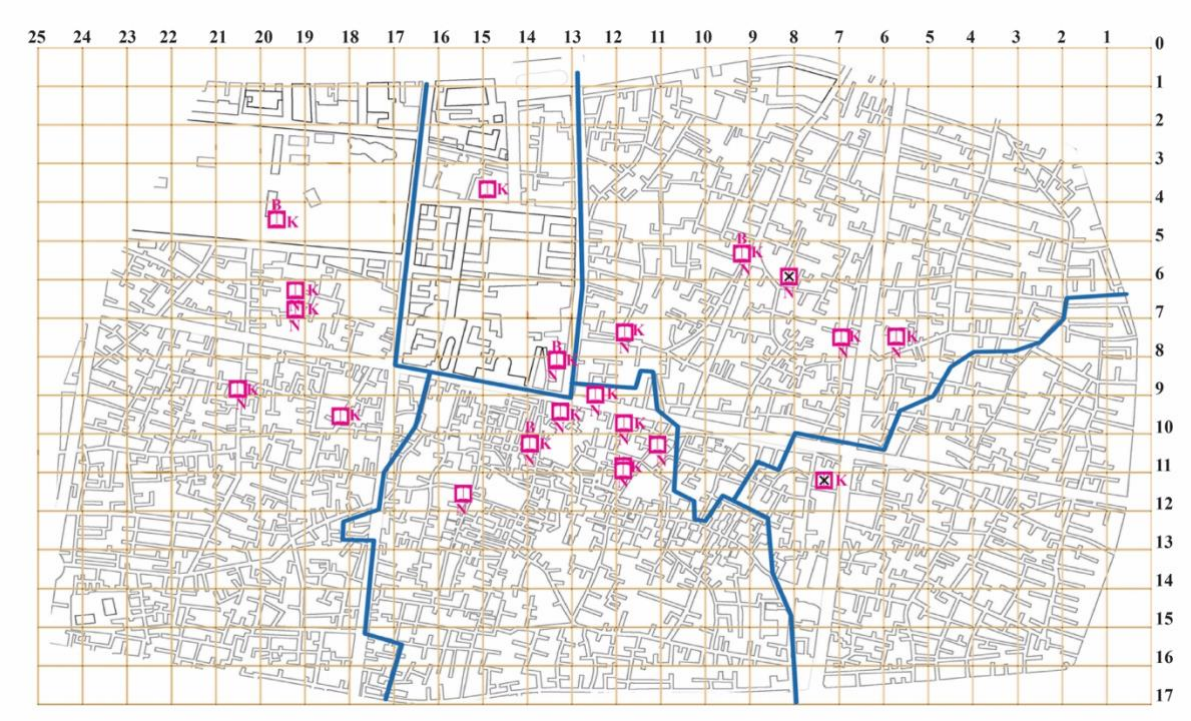


Figure 49. The madrasas represented on all of the maps

3.7.5. Waqf

The maps do not provide comprehensive information about the waqf properties. The interesting waqf case of this map is the famous garden of Bāq-i Pistihbiyg (2,8) in Chalmaydan district. Although Krziz (Figure 23) and the two cadastral sources name it as a waqf property, on Najm al-Mulk it is mentioned without any reference to it being a waqf (Figure 35). The secondary documents from the Pahlavi period record that the garden is about 150 meters long. At the end of the Qajar period, various pieces of the garden are turned into a *takyih*, a teashop, and several houses.[1]

However, the findings from other sources such as waqf deeds show that the waqf properties have been the most vulnerable to change and confiscation due to their financial benefits (See: Chapters 4 and 5). A very famous case of controversial waqf

1 Muʿtamidi, *Jughrafiya-yi Tarikh-iyi Tehran*, 340.

property is the waqf holdings of the Marvī Mosque. The mosque had a large waqf holdings of more than 100 shops, 4 caravanserais, 20 houses, and a whole village near Tehran. There was a continuous competition among the ʿulamaʾ for domination over the mosque and its properties from the reign of the Qajar and Pahlavi kings until today.[1] In the meantime, part of the properties of the mosque has turned into high schools.[2]

1 Jalal Farahmand, "Madrasah-yi Khan-i Marvi," in *Tehrani ki Hast* (Tehran: Ruzanih, 1394), 84–89.
2 Farahmand, 84. Nurbakhsh, *Tehran bi Ravayat-i Tarikh*, 1381, 1:325–26.

4. Chapter 4- Religious Institutions in the Cadastral Surveys and the Census

4.1. Introduction

The visual documents surveyed in the previous chapter present some important hints about the transformation of RIs in the Qajar period. I found clear cases of RIs which disappeared or transformed into other types of RIs. I also observed some new cases of *imāmzādih-hā*, which theoretically could not be established so long after the death of the last Imams' descendants. In order to complement the picture that started emerging from the data collected on the maps, and to explain the transformation and change of RIs, I turn now to another source of information which record large- and small-scale urban constructions. They are three major primary sources covering population and housing information for the Qajar period. My investigation of RIs continues through meticulous study of two "cadastral surveys" No.1 and No.3 and the "census" No.2.

I call the first two collections as "cadastral surveys," since they are set primarily to represent information on the broad picture of the city, property ownership, and boundaries of the city districts (*maḥallih*).[1] The two collections provide information on important locations, names of the owners of the properties, the heirs of some of the property owners, waqf properties, etc. They also indicate boundaries, dimensions, area, and certain rights associated with properties, whether they are ruined, located outside of the city citadel, etc. However, the third collection, produced by Abd al-Ghaffar, is a brief account of the number of the population and some information about their dispersion in the city and also their social strata and social classes. I prefer to avoid using the term "survey" for this document, since it is

1 I am grateful to my supervisor Dr. Edmund Herzig for this expression that he recommended for these types of documents.

a short summary of the population typologies and social classes, and it has limited information about the urban structures.

4.2. RIs in the cadastral survey of 1853 CE/ 1269 Q.

The first document on population census and housing survey of Tehran is produced in 1853 CE/1269 Q. under the title of "Ṣūrat-i ʿadad-i khānih-hā va sāyir-i banā-hāyi Dār al-Khilāfah-yi bāhirih-yi Tihrān" (The list of the number of houses and other buildings of the shining capital of Tehran). Copies of the document exist in the archive of the University of Tehran and E. G. Browne Collection of University Library of Cambridge University.[1] The short explanations provided in the introduction of the main collection is written in Persian *nastʿalīq* transcript which is an artistic calligraphic writing method. The major part of the collection is composed of lists of the city structures, such as houses, RIs, hammams, shops, and so on. These lists are written in *sīyāq*, a schematic writing that uses codes and signs to record financial and statistical information in a concise format. *Sīyāq* is used by the traders, the courts officials, local governors, etc. for financial and taxation purposes. Different versions of such method are used even by Sassanid and later copied by Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates.[2] The method is commonly used till the beginning of the Pahlavi period.[3]

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1 This document can be accessed in the central library of the University of Tehran, Number 844. The document can be accessed at the University of Cambridge; See

2 Muhammad Muhammadi Malayiri, *Tarikh va Farhang-i Iran dar Duwrān-i Intiqāl az ʿaṣr-i Sasani bi ʿAṣr-i Islāmī*, vol. 6 (Tehran: Tus, 1379), 107–20.

3 Javad Safinizhad, *Khat-i Siyaq* (Tehran: Sazman-i Asnad va Kitabkhanih-yi Jumhuri-yi Islami-yi Iran, 1378), 9–16.

The document is edited and published by Ettehadieh and Saʿdvandiyan.[1] The buildings are collected under 7 chapters, and each chapter belongs to one of the city districts commonly used by the historical sources of this period. Each of the city districts of Arg, ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, and Sangalaj has a chapter, but Bazar has two separate chapters: one for the bazar as the market area and the second belongs to the list of buildings in the city district of Bazar. I have collected the data for both of the latter chapters under one category called Bazar district. The document has a final chapter for the buildings located out of the Tahmasib citadel, titled "Ābādī-yi Bīrūn-i Darvāzih-hā", which is not covered in this study.

Each city district is divided into several sub-districts named under the famous *guẕar-hā* (pathways) or *pātuq-hā* (hangouts). In order to record the buildings of each urban division, the author records the shops and the houses in separate categories. He also records the *makātib* (traditional elementary schools) under the shop category. For each *guẕar* or *pātuq*, the author separates other buildings such as: *takāyā*, madrasas, mosques, hammams, caravanserai, stables, etc.

In each sub-district, the houses are classified into two parts: 1. the houses of the office-holders (*ṣāhib manṣabān*) and servants (*nuwkar-hā*); and, 2. *raʿīyyat* (plural form is "*ruʿāyā*", bondmen). The first sets are usually positioned in the affluent population or higher middle class in the social picture of the society due to their connection with the royal court or the high ranking office-holders related to the court.[2] However, the *raʿīyyat* are composed of workers, retailers, or low waged jobs. Some of the names of the first category documented in the censuses, surveys

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 35–340.
2 Lambton, *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies*, 102–3.

and maps of this period. The more people from the first category a district contains, the richer it should be. The second set usually has one single house, and the poorer districts have rarely several houses under the name of a single person. Additionally, there are much more cases of renting houses in the poorer districts.

The document clearly reflects the division of social strata in the Qajar period. The nature of the classification is based on the social networks of the person, its patronage connections, and his occupations. Such pattern is noticeably reflected in naming the people by their titles. For example, I can see the titles such as: house of Ali Khayat (Tailor Ali), stable of Biglarbiygi, or the house of the secretary of the Russian Embassy. Moreover, this pattern is even used by the author in the structure of the document for separating the properties of *ṣāhib manṣabān*, *nuwkar-hā*, and *raʿīyyat*.[1] Despite the social stratification in the Qajar, I avoid using Marxian class analysis approaches for Iranian society as some scholars such as Foran does.[2] Concept specific to some time and societies rarely fit to other time or other societies. Moreover, Iranian society in the Qajar era as a "*short-term society*" does not have even the preliminary condition of formation and continuity of economic classes.[3]

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1 Shamim, *Iran Dar Dawrih-yi Saltanat-i Qajar*, 285–97. Lambton, *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies*, 87–107. Ahmad Ashraf, "Historical Obstacles to the Development of a Bourgeoisie in Iran," in *Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 308–32.
2 John Foran, "The Modes of Production Approach to Seventeenth-Century Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies 20*, no. 3 (August 1988): 345–63. John Foran, "The Strengths and Weaknesses of Iran's Populist Alliance: A Class Analysis of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1911," *Theory and Society* 20, no. 6 (December 1991): 795–823.
3 Homa Katouzian, "The Short-Term Society: A Study in the Problems of Long-Term Political and Economic Development in Iran," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 1 (January 2004): 1–22.

4.2.1. RIs in Arg district

The Arg district has been one of the most rigid districts of the city. Its size remains unchanged over time, partly because it is inhabited mainly by the royal family, political elites, high-ranking officials, and also their servants. Here the document classifies the settlers in a different form of classification: 1. Emirs (*amīr* and its plural form is *umarāʾ*) and khanes (*khān* and its plural form is *khavānīn*); 2. servants; 3. ʿulamaʾ; 4. bondmen; and, 5. Turkmen. However, the author explains at the beginning of the chapter that the houses of the royal court are not included in the survey. It can be due to lack of accessibility, for security reasons, etc. However, the settlement of the Turkmen in this region is an interesting matter. The first name in the list is Zakīkhān-i Sarkardih and the others mostly have Turkish names. The relation between the Qajar court and the Turkmen has been fragile and unsteady in various stages of the Qajar period, however, the concentration of the Turkmen families in the vicinity of the royal court shows that they have been part of the Qajar patronage system at the time of production of the document.[1]

The chapter mentions the names of ten RIs: 3 *takāyā*, 2 madrasas, 3 mosques, and 2 *imāmzādih-hā* (Table 9). The most unique RIs are two *imāmzādih-hā* called Nūrallāh (located in the house of Turkmen)[2] and Rūḥallāh (located in Māzandarānīhā alley).[3] The former is a very interesting case because it is located in

1 ʿAbbas Sarafrazi, "Ravabit-i Qajar-ha va Turkaman-ha az Aghaz ta Payan-i Duwrih-yi Nasiri," *Pazhuhishnamih-yi Anjuman-i Irani-yi Tarikh* 3 (1389): 117–36.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 48.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 48.

the house of Turkmen; *imāmzādih* is a public institution, therefore, it is not usually located in a private house. The followings are RIs of this city district:

Table 9. RIs in the Arg district

takyih#3	madrasa#2	mosque#3	imāmzādih#2
Pādishāhī			
Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam			
Darīchih			
	Madar-i Shāh		
	Qāsimkhānī		
		Ḥasanʿalī Mīrzā	
		Ẓil al-Sulṭān	
		Darb-i Ṭavīlih	
			Nūrallāh
			Rūḥallāh

The document contains information about some of the waqf properties. However, shops and hammams are the only types of waqf properties mentioned in this chapter of the cadastral survey. Yet, I know that there should have been other waqf properties such as gardens, qanats, and stables.

In this city district, the following two set of waqf shops (Table 10) are the only waqf properties recorded in the document. Qāsimkhānī madrasa have had 7 waqf shops and 19 other waqf shops were recorded without mentioning their *maṣārif* (purpose of the waqf).

Table 10. Waqf shops in the Arg district

Purpose of the waqf shops	Number#26
Qāsimkhānī Madrasa	7
-------	19

4.2.2. RIs in ʿUdlajan district

The cadastral information of ʿUdlajan district is described under 5 sub-districts: ʿArabhā va Ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī , Pāmināŗ and Rastih-yi Darvāzih Shimrun, Sarchishmih, Guz̲ar-i ʿŪdlājān, and Armenians and Jews Maḥallih. Fortunately, Krziz's map

(1858 CE/1275 Q.) is produced only 5 years after the survey, and therefore, I can use it to recognize geographical divisions of sub-districts from each other. They are either a famous pathway or a neighbourhood such as the neighbourhood in which Armenians and Jews settled.

The sections related to the houses of the officeholders and servants are bigger than the rest of the city. When compare it with other city districts, I observe that the district hosted higher rate of the affluents and servants of the officeholders than other districts. In the document I find the names of famous authorities or owners of the large properties, which are also mentioned by Krziz's map. I notice many cases of such people who usually have their servants and patrons settled near their houses. As an example, there are some properties owned by Biglarbiygi in ʿUdlajan, while some other properties in its vicinity belongs to the members of the Biglarbiygi family and several persons titled as servants of Biglarbiygi.[1]

The information on RIs, exported from the cadastral survey of this city district, shows 51 RIs inhabited the district. The numbers of RIs are the followings: 12 *takāyā*, 4 madrasas, 34 mosques, and one *imāmzādih* (Table 11). Moreover, there should have been a clear conceptual distinction between two of these RIs, since in the cases that a set of RIs are attached to each other in one place, all of them are mentioned separately in the document. Two good examples are: the *takyih* of Darb-i Madrasih and the mosque of Takyih Darb-i Madrasih; and Pīrʿaṭā Takyih, Pīrʿaṭā Mosque, and Pīrʿaṭā Imāmzādih. However, the author sometimes brings mosque and *imāmzādih* in one category. In the introductory section of the chapter, he indicates the number of mosques as 34 without any reference to the number of

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 56–106.

imāmzādih-hā.[1] But in the epilogue of the chapter, the number of mosques rises to 35, although in the corresponding list there are 34 mosques and one *imāmzādih*.[2] It seems it is reasonable for the author to bring *imāmzādih* under the title of "mosques" and assumes that it belongs to the same category as the mosques.

takyih#12	madrasa#4	mosque#34	imāmzādih#1
Āqā Bahrām			
Pāminār (Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ)	Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Tihrānī	Kūchak-i Pa-yi Minār	
Dāngī (or Dānkī)		Kūchak-i Dāngī	
Pīrihzan			
Sarchishmih			
Darb-i Ḥammām			
Darb-i Madrasih		Takyih Darb-i Madrasih	
Darb-i Masjid Ḥawż			
(Makhrūbih) Sarchalanbak		(Makhrūbih) Sarchalanbak	
Kuchak-i Darb-i Khānih-yi Āqā Muḥammad Ḥasan-i Tājir			
Sar-i Guẕar-i ʿŪdlājān			
Pīrʿaṭā		Pīrʿaṭā	Pīrʿaṭā
	Sipahdār	Sipahdār	
	Mullā Āqā Riżā	Mullā Āqā Riżā	
	Marvī		
		Ḥājī Mīrzā Bābā	
		Āqā Ṣafar	
		Ḥakīm	
		Sar-i Qabristān	
		Sar-i Kūchi-yi Karīmkhān	
		Kuchak-i Darb-i Khānih-yi Āqā Muḥammad Karīm-i Kitābfurūsh	
		Masjid-i Kuchak-i Darb-i Khānih-yi ʿAlīmadadkhān-i Dārūghih	
		Mīrzā ʿAlīkhān	
		Muḥammadkhān	
		Ḥājī Ramażān	
		Mīrzā Bābā	
		Aḥmadkhān	
		Mullā Abu al-Ḥasan	
		Mullā ʿAlī	
		Mīrzā Yūsif	
		Pusht-i Yakhchāl	
		Āqā Ismāʿīl	
		Bahāʾ al-Dīn	

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 55.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 124.

		Mīrzā Ibrāhīm	
		Ḥājī Muḥammadʿalī	
		Ḥājī Mīrzā Ḥusayn	
		ʾUstād Āqā Bābā	
		Mashhadī Taqī ʿAlāqihband	
		Sayyid Ibrāhīm	
		Āqā Maḥmūd	
		(unnamed) Small	
		(unnamed) Small	

Table 11. RIs in ʿUdlajan city district

The district contains 121 waqf shops and 4 waqf hammams. However, the *maṣārif* of the waqf properties are *takāyā*, madrasas, mosques, *ābanbār-hā*, and ceremonies related to Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ. Only 6 shops are donated for the public non-religious purpose of maintenance of *ābanbār*.

The following tables (Table 12 and Table 13) show the waqf properties of the district and their specified purpose of the waqf according to their sub-city districts.

Table 12. Waqf shops in ʿUdlajan city district

Purpose of the waqf shops	**Number#121**
Maḥallih-yi ʿArabhā va Ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī	
Unnamed Madrasa	1
Ābanbār-i Muḥibʿalīkhān	3
Unnamed Ābanbār and Mosque	3
---------	13
Pāmināŕ and Rastih-yi Darvāzih Shimrun	
Kūchak Takyih	3
Dānkī Takyih	6
Mīrzā Ṣālih Takyih	6
Mīrzā Ṣālih Madrasa	4
--------	11
Sarchishmih	
Sarchishmih Takyih	6
Riżāqulīkhān Takyih	22
Mullā Riżā Takyih	8
Unnamed Takyih	2
-------	7
Guz̲ar-i ʿŪdlājān	
Unnamed Madrasa	3
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	8
Ḥājī Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusaynkhān Madrasa	2
Ṣadr Madrasa	11
Unnamed Mosque	2

All of the 4 waqf hammams are donated to madrasas (Table 13). They are established either to serve the students of their respective madrasas or to produce revenue for the madrasas. In general, the hammams of the Iranian cities were usually built in connection with public institutions such as mosques, madrasas, cemeteries, and bazars.[1] The connection between waqf hammams and madrasas requires further studies.

Table 13. Waqf hammams in ʿUdlajan city district

Purpose of the waqf hammams	Number #4	Name of the hammam
Marvī Madrasa	1	Ḥammām-i Marvī
Marvī Madrasa	2	----
Mādar-i Shāh Madrasa	1	Ḥammām-i Dānkī

4.2.3. RIs in Chalmaydan district

In comparison to the previous district, Chalmaydan hosts smaller number of the affluent class of officeholders and their servants. The most common jobs of the people in this district are low paid jobs such as soldier, artillerist, mahout, and house servant. Being economically weaker than the inhabitants of ʿUdlajan, they usually own smaller houses and, in most cases, rented houses to live in. They usually have one house. The district rarely has complex houses composed of several residences with hammams and stables.

1 Parivash Akbari, "Hammam-i Haj Muhammad Rahim-i Qazvin va Jaygah-i An dar Miyan-i Hammam-hayi ʿUmumi-yi in Shahr dar Duwrih-yi Qajar," *Pazhuhish-hayi Bastanshinasi Iran* 2, no. 3 (1391): 115–30. Parivash Akbari, Haydih Lalih, and ʿAli Shojaʿi Isfahani, "Hammam-i Haj Muhammad Rahim-i Qazvin va Jaygah-i An dar Miyan-i Hammam-hayi ʿUmumi-yi in Shahr dar Duwrih-yi Qajar," *Motaliʿat-i Bastanshinasi* 3, no. 2 (1390): 193–219.

The district is divided into 4 sub-districts: an unnamed district, Pātuq-i Sarpūlak, Pātuq-i Darb-i Ḥammām-i Khānum, and Pātuq-i Darb-i Bāq-i Pistihbiyg. After finding the locations of three named districts, I could locate the unnamed district on Krziz's map. In a thorough investigation, one can find several family names shared in both of the documents, such as "ʿArab" and "Sharif."[1] On Krziz's map in the down left corner of the map, there are two pathways with the names of Kūchih-yi Pahlavān Sharīf and Kūchih-yi ʿArabhā. Therefore, I named the unnamed sub-district "Pahlavān Sharīf and ʿArabhā".

The numbers of RIs in this region are the followings: 10 *takāyā*, 20 mosques, 2 *imāmzādih-hā*, and no madrasa (Table 14). In this section mosques and *imāmzādih-hā* are separated both in the introductory section and the concluding sections. In this chapter of the cadastral survey, there is a *takyih* by the name of Takyih Imāmzādih. However, there are two *imāmzādih-hā* in this district: Imāmzādih Yaḥyā on the northeast part of the district and Imāmzādih Ismāʿīl in the south of the district near Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate. In order to find the location and title of the unnamed *takyih*, I trace the line of the buildings as recorded by the author of the survey. Since the author records the *takāyā* from the top right corner of the district, it seems it should refer to a *takyih* adjacent to Imāmzādih Ismāʿīl, and not Imāmzādih Yaḥyā. Therefore, I name it as Imāmzādih Ismāʿīl Takyih.

Table 14. RIs in Chalmaydan city district

***takyih*#10**	**madrasa#0**	**mosque#20**	***imāmzādih*#2**
Abu al-Qāsim Shīrāzī			
Zargarhā			
Lūṭīʿalīkhān			

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 262–76.

Kadkhudā Sharīf			
Qafqāzīhā			
Sarpūlak			
Sīnihchāl		Sīnihchāl	
ʿAbāsʿalī			
ʿArabhā			
Imāmzādih (Ismāʿīl)		Imāmzādih Ismāʿīl	Imāmzādih Ismāʿīl
		Qiblih	
		Ḥājī Mullā Jaʿfar	
		Pātakhtā	
		Pātakhtā (2 mosques with one name)	
		Sayyid Mīrmuḥammadʿalī	
		Mullā Bāqir Pīshnamāz	
		Darb-i Ḥammām-i Khānum	
		Ākhūnd Iṣfahānī	
		Darb-i Takyih-yi Zargarhā	
		Kharaqānīhā	
		Imāmzādih Yaḥyā	Yaḥyā
		Darb-i Ḥammām-i Navāb	
		Ḥājī Mīrzā ʿAlīreżā Khājih	
		Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad	
		Darb-i Khānih-yi Lalihbāshī	
		Shaykh ʿĪsā	
		Takyih Darvīshhā	
		Miydān-i Kāhfurūshhā	

With 30 waqf shops, the district has the smallest number of waqf properties among all city districts (Table 15). It shows a clear correlation between the number of waqf properties of the district and the financial situation of the inhabitants. In the list there are two waqf shops donated to the unnamed RIs, a *takyih* and an *imāmzādih*.[1]

Table 15. Waqf shops in Chalmaydan city district

Purpose of the waqf shops	**Number#30**
Muḥammadīyyih Madrasa	4
Unnmaed Imāmzādih	1
Ismāʿīl Imāmzādih	3
Pātakhtā Takyih	5
Unnamed Takyih	1
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	14
---------	2

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 298.

4.2.4. RIs in Bazar district

In the cadastral survey, Bazar district is divided into two chapters. The author defines 'bazar' in two different ways: firstly, he uses 'bazar' as a business area in the city that is composed of centres such as caravanserais, shops, shopping stalls, and *maktab-hā*. An independent chapter is dedicated to the bazar area which contains no house. Meanwhile, the author uses the term 'bazar' in a wider sense to refer to a larger area of the city, called Bazar district. In the chapter on Bazar district, the author records the urban data related to the residential parts around bazar, as well as, a vast area that stretched up to the southern walls of the city. Here, I first explain bazar area and Bazar district separately and, then, I combine the two under one single section.

The chapter on bazar specifically concentrates on shops of the bazar. Instead of using sub-district for this chapter, the author names each caravanserai, *dālān*, or *rāstih* and then explains the shops located in any of them. The author starts with Ẓil al-Sulṭān Caravanserai, the first caravanserai in the north part of the bazar, beside the Arg boundaries, and goes down to the last caravanserai located at the southern gate of the citadel, Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The common classification of officeholders and servants vs. bondmen is not used, although many of the shop owners were officeholders and elites.

RIs located in the bazar are limited to one unnamed madrasa, five mosques, and an *imāmzādih* (Table 16). Although Krziz's map shows several RIs in the vicinity of bazar, they are not mentioned as part of the chapter on bazar here. It seems the author only mentions RIs which were opened into the bazar's pathways. Among the RIs, Chihiltan Imāmzādih is an odd case, since the maps mention a *takyih* for it too.

None of the madrasas and mosques are named and the author only refers to them as "*masjid-i kūchak*" (small mosque). It seems they were usually small mosques with no popular names. However, by tracing them on the maps I could approximately locate them in the market.

Table 16. RIs in the bazar as the main business area of the city

***takyih*#0**	**madrasa#1**	**mosque#5**	***imāmzādih*#1**
	Unnamed		
		Unnamed (Kūchak-i Jilu Bāzār-i Āqā Mahdī Navvāb, next to Jubbihkhānih and Takhtihpul)	
		Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh	
		Unnamed (Masjid-i Kūchak in the Mīrzā Ismāʿīl caravanserai)	
		Unnamed(Masjid-i Kūchak in Gardan Kaj caravanserai)	
		Unnamed	
			Chihiltan

The bazar's waqf shops are unexpectedly higher than in any other city district (Table 17). There are 740 waqf shops in this area.

Table 17. Waqf shops in the bazar as the main business area of the city

Purpose of the waqf shops	**Number#740**
Mādar-i Shāh Madrasa	46
ʿAbdallāhkhān Madrasa	6
Marvī Madrasa	9
Muḥammadīyyih Madrasa	70
Pā-yi Mināŕ Madrasa	2
Hājī Muḥsin Madrasa	9
Shāh Mosque	42
Jāmiʿ (Jumʿih) Mosque	44
ʿAzīzallāh Mosque	1
Ḥakīm Mosque	9
Chāhārsūq (Mosque)	3
Zayd Imāmzādih	8
Chihiltan Imāmzādih	8
Zargarhā Takyih	2
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	329
14 Imams	2
Imām Riżā	1
--------	149

There are two waqf hammams which are donated to a mosque, a *takyih,* and the Holy Imams (Table 18).

Table 18. Waqf hammams in the bazar as the main business area of the city

Purpose of the hammams	Number#2
Shāh Mosque	1
Pāminār Takyih and Holy Imams	1

The chapter on Bazar as a district follows similar structure to the ones on ʿUdlajan and Chalmaydan. The boundaries of the Bazar district match with the one assigned for it on Krziz map. Further assessment of this symmetry is discussed in the next section on Sangalaj district. The houses are recorded under 13 sub-districts.

Here, instead of classifying the property owners into two groups of officeholders and servants vs. bondmen, they are mentioned under the two categories of servants vs. traders and retailors. A review of the names of the figures shows that this district is mainly settled by the traders, retailer, and workers who work in bazar. Additionally, the region is settled by some affluent people too, such as the servants of the well-known families and the court, and employees of the British Embassy. There is also a small Armenian neighbourhood near Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate.

The recorded RIs in the Bazar district are the followings: 17 takāyā, 6 madrasas, 29 mosques, and 3 *imāmzādih-hā*. The mosque Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh is recorded twice in a similar location: once in the bazar and the second time in the residential area of the Bazar district. Therefore, I do not consider that it belongs to this section. As a result, the final numbers of RIs in the bazar districts would be the followings: 17 takāyā, 6 madrasas, 28 mosques, and 3 *imāmzādih-hā* (Table 19).

Table 19. RIs in the Bazar district.

takyih#17	madrasa#6	mosque#28	imāmzādih#3
Yāvar-i Tūpkhānih-yi Mubārakih			
Qāṭirchīhā		Takyih Qāṭirchīhā	
Pāchinār			
Chihiltan			
Ḥājī Muḥammad Jaʿfar-i Khabbāz			
Pusht-i Bāzār-i Dawlat			
Khudāfarīn (of Guẕar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ)			
Hafttan			
Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ		Jāmiʿ Sar-i Guẕar-i Masjid Jāmiʿ	
Nuwrūzkhān		Kūchak-i Takyih Nuwrūzkhān	
Dar-i Imāmzādih Zayd		Kūchak-i Takyih-yi Imāmzādih Zayd Kūchak-i Dar-i Imāmzādih Zayd	Zayd
Muʿtamid al-Dawlih			
Malikābād		Malikābād	
Sayyid Aḥmad-i Muqannī			
Khalajhā			
ʿAbāsābād		ʿAbbāsābād	
Zanbūrakkhānih			
	Muḥammadīyyih		
	Ḥājī Ḥasan		
	Dār al-Shafāʾ		
	Ṣadr		
	ʿAbdallahkhān		
	Mīrzā Bābā (“Mashhūr bi Chāl”)		
		Masjid-i Kūchak-i Maktabkhānih dar-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā ʿAbbās	
		Āghā Saʿīd-i Khājih	
		Dam-i Kūchak-i Sulaymānkhān	
		Guẕar-i Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn	Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn
		Guẕar-i Pāchinār	
		Sar-i Guẕar-i Pāchinār	
		Zanbūrakkhānih	
		Dar-i Khānih-yi Vazīr Mukhtār	
		Dar-i Hafttan	
		Dar-i Chihiltan	
		Kūchih-yi Mīrzā Maʿṣūm	
		Kūchih Gharībān	
		Dar Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẕīm	
		Mīrzā Mūsā	
		Shāh	
		Kūchak-i Sar-i Chāhārsūq-i Buzurg	

		Chāhārsūq-i Kūchak	
		Kūchak-i Bāzār-i Dawlat	
		Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh	
		Kūchak-i Bāzār-i Nuw-i Qadīm	
		Ḥājī Sayyid Naṣrallāh	
			Sayyid Valī

In this region, I have found 127 waqf shops. Moreover, there are several cases of waqf houses. Since the bazar region has the highest density of waqf properties, it seems the number of the waqf houses in this region is higher than the rest of the city. A second interesting item is a waqf stable in the bazar district by the name of Suhrābkhān which is donated by Mīrzā Abu al-Ḥasankhān.[1] This the first case of a waqf stable in the document.

Table 20. Waqf shops in the Bazar district

Purpose of the waqf shops	**Number#127**
Guẕar-i Ḥammām Chāl	
Unnamed Mosque	6
Guẕar-i Khudāfarīn and Hafttan	
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	3
Hafttan Takyih	3
Unnamed Takyih	2
Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and Takyih Qāṭirchīhā	
Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ	
Jāmiʿ Mosque	27
Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ Takyih	9
Muḥammadīyyih Madrasa	6
Dar-i Takyih Nuwrūzkhān	
------	27
Guẕar-i ʿAbbāsābād	
Unnamed Mosque	9
ʿAbāsābād Takyih	4
Pāchinār	
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	6
Unnamed Mosque	3
Mīrzā Riżā Qulī Madrasa	3
------	2
Guẕar-i Pāchinār	
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	1
Pāchinār Takyih	2

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 173.

Chihiltan (mosque or *takyih* or *imāmzādih*??)	4
Guẕar-i Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn	
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	4
Guẕar-i Malikābād	
Malikābād Takhih	3
Unnamed Mosque	2
------	1

In order to be able to compare my data with my findings in the other parts of the research, I should sum up all the data about RIs recorded in the bazar and the Bazar district. All in all, in the Bazar district there are 17 *takāyā*, 7 madrasas, 33 mosques, and 4 *imāmzādih-hā* (Table 21).

Table 21. The whole list of RIs in the Bazar district

takyih#17	**madrasa#7**	**mosque#33**	**imāmzādih#4**
Yāvar-i Tūpkhānih-yi Mubārakih			
Qāṭirchīhā		Takyih Qāṭirchīhā	
Pāchinār			
Chihiltan			Chihiltan
Ḥājī Muḥammad Jaʿfar-i Khabbāz			
Pusht-i Bāzār-i Dawlat			
Khudāfarīn (of Guẕar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ)			
Hafttan			
Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ		Jāmiʿ Sar-i Guẕar-i Masjid Jāmiʿ	
Nuwrūzkhān		Kūchak-i Takyih Nuwrūzkhān	
Dar-i Imāmzādih Zayd		Kūchak-i Takyih-yi Imāmzādih Zayd Kūchak-i Dar-i Imāmzādih Zayd	Zayd
Muʿtamid al-Dawlih			
Malikābād		Malikābād	
Sayyid Aḥmad-i Muqannī			
Khalajhā			
ʿAbbāsābād		ʿAbbāsābād	
Zanbūrakkhānih			
	Muḥammadīyyih		
	Ḥājī Ḥasan		
	Dār al-Shafāʾ		
	Ṣadr		
	ʿAbdallahkhān		
	Mīrzā Bābā ("Mashhūr bi Chāl")		
	Unnamed		

		Masjid-i Kūchak-i Maktabkhānih dar-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā ʿAbbās	
		Āghā Saʿīd-i Khājih	
		Dam-i Kūchak-i Sulaymānkhān	
		Guẕar-i Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn	Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn
		Guẕar-i Pāchinār	
		Sar-i Guẕar-i Pāchinār	
		Zanbūrakkhānih	
		Dar-i Khānih-yi Vazīr Mukhtār	
		Dar-i Hafttan	
		Dar-i Chihiltan	
		Kūchih-yi Mīrzā Maʿṣūm	
		Kūchih Gharībān	
		Dar-i Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm	
		Mīrzā Mūsā	
		Shāh	
		Kūchak-i Sar-i Chāhārsūq-i Buzurg	
		Chāhārsūq-i Kūchak	
		Kūchak-i Bāzār-i Dawlat	
		Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh	
		Kūchak-i Bāzār-i Nuw-i Qadīm	
		Ḥājī Sayyid Naṣrallāh	
		Unnamed (Kūchak-i Jilu-yi Bāzār-i Āqā Mahdī Navvāb, next to Jubbihkhānih and Takhtihpul)	
		Unnamed (Masjid-i Kūchak in the Mīrzā Ismāʿīl caravanserai)	
		Unnamed(Masjid-i Kūchak in Gardan Kaj caravanserai)	
		Unnamed	
			Sayyid Valī

The whole number of waqf shops in the Bazar district amounts to 867 (Table 22).

Table 22. All the waqf shops in the whole Bazar district

Purpose of the waqf shops	**Number#867**
Mādar-i Shāh Madrasa	46
ʿAbdallāhkhān Madrasa	6
Marvī Madrasa	9
Muḥammadīyyih Madrasa	76
Pā-yi Mināŕ Madrasa	2
Hājī Muḥsin Madrasa	9
Mīrzā Riżā Qulī Madrasa	3
Shāh Mosque	42
Jāmiʿ (Jumʿih) Mosque	71
ʿAzīzallāh Mosque	1

Ḥakīm Mosque	9
Chāhārsūq Mosque	3
Chihiltan (Mosque or Takyih?)	4
Zayd Imāmzādih	8
Chihiltan Imāmzādih	8
Zargarhā Takyih	2
Pāchinār Takyih	2
Malikābād Takyih	3
ʿAbbāsābād Takyih	4
Hafttan Takyih	3
Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ Takyih	9
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	343
14 Imams	2
Imām Riżā	1
Unnamed Mosque	18
Unnamed Takyih	2
--------	179

Table 23. All the waqf hammams in the whole Bazar district

Purpose of the hammams	Number#2
Shāh Mosque	1
Pāminār Takyih and Holy Imams	1

4.2.5. RIs in Sangalaj district

Sangalaj is the largest district of the city in this period. The houses of affluent elites and servants are separated from those of bondmen in a similar way to what I saw for ʿUdlajan and Chalmaydan. The number of the houses of affluent elites is less than in ʿUdlajan, but higher than the rest of the districts. The chapter uses a clear distinctive method for spatial categorization of the cadastral data; it records the data of each alley separately. While the buildings in the previous chapters are recorded according to the pathways (*pātuq-hā*), here alleys are used as the city compartments. Such differences lead me to the conclusion that the author of this chapter was different from the author of the other chapters.

The boundaries of the city district in both Krziz's map and the cadastral survey is roughly the same. The document's portrayal of the morphology of Imāmzādih Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn neighbourhood, also called as Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn, is a good case to examine the accuracy or the variance between the district demarcations in the two documents. The map shows that the boundary line of the district goes across the region surrounding the Imāmzādih dividing it between the two districts. Likewise, the cadastral survey states that both of the districts of Bazar and Sangalaj have had sub-districts by the name of Imāmzādih Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn neighbourhood. The Bazar district contains a chapter called "pathway which ends at Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn Imāmzādih".[1] Similarly, the map illustrates that the door of the Imāmzādih opens into a road in the Bazar district called "the pathway that ends to Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn Imāmzādih". Then the Sangalaj district contains a sub-district called "the alley located behind Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn Imāmzādih".[2] Based on the data derived from the cadastral survey, I could conclude that the Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn pathway, "the mosque located on the pathway to Imāmzādih", and the Imāmzādih itself were located in the Bazar district,[3] while Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn Takyih[4] and the alley located behind Sayyid Nāṣr al-Dīn Imāmzādih were parts of Sangalaj district. Such comparative study of the information derived from the two sources shows that the district demarcations were not arbitrarily chosen by the authors of the maps and surveys; but they were strict boundaries commonly used in this period.

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 150–52.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 240–41.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 172.
4 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 255.

The numbers of RIs in Sangalaj are the followings: 12 *takāyā*, 6 madrasas, 21 mosques, and no *imāmzādih* (Table 24).

Table 24. RIs in the Sangalaj district.

takyih#12	madrasa#6	mosque#21	imāmzādih#0
Chāl Ḥiṣār		Chāl Ḥiṣār	
Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih		Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih	
Mīrzā Ḥusain Ḥakīmbāshī		Darb-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā Ḥusain Ḥakīmbāshī	
ʿĀbid-i Mīrqażab			
Dabbāqkhānih		Takyih-yi Dabbāqkhānih Dabbāqkhānih	
Darkhʷāngāh			
Kūchih-yi Pāʾīn			
Qumīhā			
Kirmānīhā			
Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar-i Nāyib		Dam-i Khānih-yi Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar-i Nāyib	
Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn		Imāmzādih Sayyid Nāṣir	
Ḥājī Bāqir			
	Āghā Muḥammad-i Khājih		
	Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm		
	Yūniskhān		
	Mīrzā Zakī Nūrī		
	Mīrzā Riżāqulī		
	Ḥājī Mullā Jaʿfar		
		Ḥājī Nuwrūzʿalī	
		Afrāsīyābbiyg	
		Ḥājī Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā	
		Kūchak-i Bāq-i Alvand	
		Pusht-i Khānih-yi Jināb-i Mustuwfī al-Mamālik	
		Darb-i Khānih-yi Mullā Ādīnih	
		Darb-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā Ismāʿīlkhān	
		Darb-i Khānih-yi Āqā Juwhar	
		Darb-i Khānih-yi Mullā Mūsā	
		Mahdīqulī Mīrzā	
		Darb-i Khānih-yi Muḥsin Mīrzā	
		Bābā ʿAlīʿasgar	
		Darb-i Ḥammām-i Mīrzā Zakī	
		Dam-i Khānih-yi Mullābāshī	
		Ḥājī Mullā Jaʿfar-i	

The district contains a low rate of waqf properties. There are 67 waqf shops (Table 25) and plenty of waqf houses which are not included here.

Table 25. Waqf shops in Sangalaj district

Purpose of the waqf shops	Number#67
Chāl Ḥiṣār Takyih	3
Unnamed Takyih	20
Āghā Muḥammad Khājih Madrasa	1
Yūniskhān Madrasa	4
Mīrzā Riżāqulī	2
Unnamed Madrasa	17
Qūrkhānih Mosque	2
Unnamed Mosque	1
Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	14
-------	3

There are 7 cases of waqf hammams. The only waqf hammam whose purpose has been identified is the hammam donated to Mīrzā Zakī Madrasa (Table 26).

Table 26. Waqf hammams in Sangalaj district

Purpose of the waqf hammams	Number#7
Mīrzā Zakī Madrasa	1
-------	6

4.2.6. The increasing trend of the mosques

The cadastral survey produced No.1 contains interesting information about RIs, in addition to rich data on the socio-economic aspects of Iranian society in the 19th century. The synchronicity of this survey with Krziz's map enables me to reassess some of my observations and also to improve my understanding of the documents. Being produced in the course of less than a decade, they have similar references to the properties belonging to famous and affluent figures. Moreover, I could use such similarities to comparatively study the boundaries of the city districts in the cadastral survey and Krziz's map. My investigations show that the boundaries of the 5 city districts remained roughly similar in the survey and on the map, which simplifies the comparative study of RIs.

On the one hand, the comparative study shows that the reliability of the survey, which is supported by the high level of consistency between the survey and Krziz's map. On the other hand, it also has a very high degree of internal consistency. The numbers assigned to each set of buildings in different parts of the survey rarely contradict each other. The only exception is a mosque that is recorded twice. In the beginning of the survey, the total number of mosques amounts to 112.[1] As mentioned above, Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh mosque is counted twice: once as part of the bazar[2] and once in the chapter on the Bazar district[3] (highlighted in red in the tables). Therefore, I assign 33 to the total number of mosques in Bazar district. Consequently, the total number of mosques in the city, which assumed as 112, should be replaced by the number 111.

In this document there are 54 *takyih-hā*, 19 mosques, 111 mosques, and 9 *imāmzādih-hā* (Table 27).

Table 27. RIs in the first survey (1853 CE / 1269 Q.)

No1	***takyih*:54**	**madrasa:19**	**mosque:111**	***imāmzādih*:9**
Arg	3	2	3	2
ʿUdlajan	12	4	34	1
Chalmaydan	10	0	20	2
Bazar	17	7	33	4
Sangalaj	12	6	21	1

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 38.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 317.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 172.

However, there were some waqf properties in the text dedicated to RIs which are not mentioned among the names of the other RIs. These RIs are listed in the following table (Table 28).

Table 28. The missing RIs with existing waqf properties.

The missing RIs with existing waqf	Number of the waqf properties
Riżāqulīkhān Takyih	22
Pātakhtā Takyih	5
Ḥājī Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusaynkhān Madrasa	2

In the document there is a mosque and a madrasa named Riżāqulīkhān, but there is no reference to a *takyih* by this name. However, Riżāqulīkhān Takyih is mentioned in all of the other primary sources, produced before and after it. The next RI is Pātakhtā Takyih that had 5 waqf properties. Although there are two separate mosques named Pātakhtā in Chalmaydan, no reference is made to Pātakhtā Takyih in the document. Moreover, none of the other maps or surveys refers to the name of Pātakhtā. It seems that the *takyih* vanished before the production of the first survey and even before the production of Berezin's map. Meanwhile, there is a neighbourhood near Sarpulak in Buzarjumihri street called Takyih Patakhta. Another missing RI is Ḥājī Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusaynkhān Madrasa that there is no reference to any RI similar to this in any of the documents. Based on the fact that the Pātakhtā Takyih and Ḥājī Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusaynkhān Madrasa are not mentioned in any of the later document, I assume that they were destroyed by the time of preparation of the survey, but their waqf properties lasted longer.

Using the data related to the waqf properties of RIs, I could assess the internal coherency of the document. As mentioned before, there are only three cases of waqf properties without identified *maṣārif* in the document. Additionally, if I accept the aforementioned hypothesis about the destruction of the two RIs at the time of the

production of the survey, there will be only one RI left out of the list of the recorded RIs. Such unique level of consistency shows the accuracy and internal coherency of the document.

4.3. RIs in the census 1870 CE/ 1286 Q.

The census "Juqrāfīyā dar Nufūs-i Ahālī-yi Dār al-Khilāfah-yi Nāṣirih" (Geography of the population of Dār al-Khilāfah-yi Nāṣirih) is a census about the population of the capital city of Iran. ʿAbd al-Ghaffar Najm al-Mulk prepars the work in 2 months and completes it on the 12th Zi-Qaʿdih 1286 Q. The text is written in *nastaʿlīq* script and the *sīyāq* method is used for recording the numeric data. The author who was the maths teacher of Dar al-Funun at the time, taught statistics to a group of 8 students of the madrasa who helped him to collect the data.[1]

This document was part of Najm al-Mulk's mission for geographical survey of the city of Tehran. After the city walls were built in 1868 CE/ 1285 Q., ʿAli Quli Mirza Iʿtezad al-Saltanih, the president of Dar al-Funun and then minister of science, ordered Najm al-Mulk to draw a map of the city. Although the final version of the map was prepared in 1888 CE/1305 Q., the newspaper reports showed that a preliminary version of the map had been prepared by the date of production of the census in 1870 CE/ 1286 Q.[2] The information provided in the legend of Najm al-Mulk's map has many common features with the census.[3]

The author explains his method and methodology in accomplishing the task of collecting population data, similar to his explanations on the margins of his famous map of Tehran.[4] He says:

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1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 343.
2 DII.N, Muharram 1287.
3 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 64–65.
4 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 343–44.

> "And he (the author uses third person to refer to himself) saw that the public, either men or women, are deeply frightened of telling the truth and were beating around the bush, and they had unsubstantial thoughts in their minds such as: they thought that the aim of the everlasting government officials in producing the census is to collect money from the people to spend for building the new moat of the city or deporting the strangers from the city or getting annual head tax.... At the time of censes, the townsmen thought it was to collect taxes and peasants thought it was to collect solders".[1]

To solve this problem, he offers some solutions. Before starting the house by house investigations, the pollsters should meet the supervisor of the neighbourhood and collect information about the families living in his neighbourhood. Then, they go to each single house in person and ask the head of each family different questions about the aggregate number of inhabitants of a given house, the number of women, men, children, youngsters, elderly people, as well as their ages. In the third stage they should compare the answers of the families with those received from the supervisor of the neighbourhood to check the consistency.[2]

As the author explains, the government had started to get money from those who had built house in the areas where the old citadel and the old moat of the city used to be. Moreover, when the city was expanded, and the new citadel was built the price of the land was escalated. The government started to take part of the profit gained by the owners. Hence people tended to hide the information and felt suspicious about the aim of the census.[3] These considerations raise some doubt about the accuracy of the document, at least the parts about population information, which has to be doublecheck.

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1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 344.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 344–45.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 345.

The district arrangement in the document is similar to what is used in other documents. The city is divided into five districts of Ark, ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, Bazar, and Sangalaj. In a separate section, the author of the census records the data for "the neighbourhood surrounding the city", which are the area out of the old citadel. Like the former survey, here again the author states he did not enclose the Houses of the king.[1] However, it contains insufficient information about the boundaries of the *maḥallāt*.

The document only presents the aggregate numbers of each set of RIs. This prevents me to assign the number of RIs to each city district, and consequently to identify the number of RIs in the new neighbourhood and the old city.

Table 29. The aggregate numbers of RIs in the census

City district	Population	*takyih*	madrasa	mosque
Arg	3014			
ʿUdlajan	36495			
Chalmaydan	34547			
Bazar	26674			
Sangalaj	29673			
neighbourhood surrounding out of the city	16853			
Total	147256	34	35	47

The limited information provided by the census turned it into a marginal document in my research. It can only supply supplementary information used for verification of the accuracy of the findings in other sources. Nevertheless, the document contains valuable information about the city, such as population data, social classes, and minority groups.

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 345.

4.4. RIs in the cadastral survey of 1900 CE/ 1317 Q.

During the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah (1896 to 1907), a very detailed census and cadastral survey of Tehran was produced with the title "*Taʿyīn va sabt-i abnīyih-yi muḥāṭ-i khandaq-i shahr-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi bāhirih*" (Determining and recording the buildings located inside the moat of the shining city of Dar al-Khilafah). The original document is kept in a collection of the library of the University of Tehran. The survey was produced for the policing purposes as the divisions of the city clearly reflect this feature; each *pātuq* is named after the name of its chief police officers.[1] According to the information provided in the prologue of the document, Mukhtar al-Saltanih, the head of *naẓmīyih* (the urban police department), hired Akhzar ʿAli Shah to accomplish this task in three years from 1900 to 1903 CE/ 1317 to 1320 Q.[2] There is little information about the author and how the document is produced. The original document is written in *sulṣ* script, and the numerical data are recorded in *sīyāq* method.

The document is composed of an introduction followed by five chapters. The introduction provides brief information about the buildings in each city district as well as a table on the number of different buildings in the city. The city is divided into five city districts: ʿUdlajan, Chalmaydan, Bazar, Sangalaj, and Dawlat. Each chapter is dedicated to a district and starts with a brief review of the number of its various buildings. Each district is divided into *pātuq-hā* and each *pātuq* is divided into *guẕar-hā*. The name of the owner of each property is stated followed by the

1 Mortaza Siyfi Fami Tafrishi, *Nazm va Nazmiyih dar Iran* (Tehran: Yasavuli, 1363), 33–35.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 353–54.

number of his/her houses. At the end of each *guẕar*, the shops, hammams, and RIs are introduced. However, sometimes the name of RIs are mentioned in line with the houses.

The first problem for a comparative analysis of the document with other primary sources is the internal inconsistency of the numbers assigned to different sets of RIs. In various occasions, the author mentions the number of some important urban structures, such as houses, hammams, *takāyā*, *imāmzādih-hā,* and mosques. All in all, the number of the urban structures are mentioned four times: 1. in the introduction of the survey; 2. at the beginning of the chapter dedicated to each district; 3. at the beginning of each *pātuq;* 4. in the text of each *guẕar* with the recorded names of every single buildings. However, the numbers stated in each of these four occasions do not match with each other and there are several cases of inconsistency between the numbers mentioned in these parts for a given set of buildings. For instance, the number of *takāyā* of ʿUdlajan district mentioned on the first three aforementioned occasions is 8, however, in the text I find 11 *takāyā* in ʿUdlajan district. As another example, the aggregate number of mosques and madrasas in ʿUdlajan is recorded as 16 in the first three aforementioned parts of the survey, but I find only 15 cases of these urban structures in the text.

Additionally, such calculation mistakes exist in the prologue of the document. Therein the author draws a table in which he assigns the numbers of every urban structure to each of the five districts and to the whole city.[1] As the following table (Figure 50) shows the author had made four mistakes in his calculations. The correct aggregate values for the items highlighted in the table in red Persian digits

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 355.

(۱,۲,۳,٤) are respectively: 15275, 79, 6666, and 25731. Consequently, I cannot rely on the numbers presented in the survey and have to compare the names of RIs as

جدول تفصیل ابنیهٔ شهر	محلهٔ دولت	محلهٔ سنگلج	محلهٔ بازار	محلهٔ چالمیدان	محلهٔ غورلاخان	تمام شهر
خانه	۲۷۰۵	۴۴۴۸	۲۶۲۵	۳۳۷۲	۲۱۲۵	۱۶۲۷۵
دکاکین	۲۵۴۶	۱۸۲۴	۲۳۳۳	۱۴۰۳	۱۳۱۴	۹۴۲۰
کاروانسرا	۵۲	۲۴	۶۰	۲۳	۲۷	۱۸۶
حمام عمومی	۳۸	۵۹	۲۷	۲۸	۳۰	۱۸۲
مسجد و مدرسه	۲۳	۱۴	۲۰	۶	۱۶	۸۰
باغ و باغچه	۴۰	۱۵۵	۹	۳	۸	۲۱۵
تکیه	۷	۹	۱۴	۵	۸	۴۳
یخچال	۸	۱۰	۲	۴	ندارد	۲۴
کارخانه	۳	۱	۲	ندارد	ندارد	۶
سربازخانه	۴	۱	ندارد	۲	ندارد	۷
کلیسا	۲	۴	۱	ندارد	ندارد	۷
میدان	۲	ندارد	۱	۲	ندارد	۵
مریضخانه	۲	ندارد	ندارد	ندارد	ندارد	۲
معبد یهود	ندارد	ندارد	ندارد	ندارد	۲	۲
مدرسهٔ دولتی	۲	ندارد	ندارد	ندارد	ندارد	۲
طویله	۷۰	۱۱۷	۳۷	تعداد نشده	۵۲	۲۷۶
نواب	۱۰	۹	۵	۶	۴	۳۴
جمع هریك	۵۵۰۴	۶۶۶۴	۵۱۳۱	۴۸۴۸	۳۵۸۲	۲۵۷۲۹

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴

Figure 50. The table draw by the author to assign the numbers of different urban structures

recorded in the long lists of the urban structures.

The second obstacle is to find asymmetries between the names of each *pātuq* or *guz̲ar* in the survey and the previous primary sources. In this document, every *pātuq* or *guz̲ar* is named after its local police who used to monitor them everyday. Therefore, one can hardly find out the location of every *pātuq* or *guz̲ar*. To solve this problem, I use the names of well-known figures and famous urban structures recorded in the document and compare them with those mentioned on Najm al-Mulk's map.

The third obstacle for a comparative study of the survey with other primary sources is that the city districts do not match with those of the previous documents. In order to solve the incompatibility problem, I should limit my study to those parts of the city districts which fall into the boundaries of my reference map. To accomplish this task, I find common names referred to well-known figures in the survey and Najm al- Mulk's map, since the latter is produced less than a decade before the survey in 1891 CE/ 1309 Q. There are plenty of common names on both documents that I can use to identify which *pātuq* or *guz̲ar* fall into the boundaries of the city divisions of the reference map. However, the author does not use the social class distinctions used in the previous two surveys. Additionally, he does not dedicate separate sections for recording shops, houses or other urban constructions and he explained them all together.

1: Dawlat	2: Sangalaj	3:Bazar
4:Chalmaydan	5:ʿUdlajan	

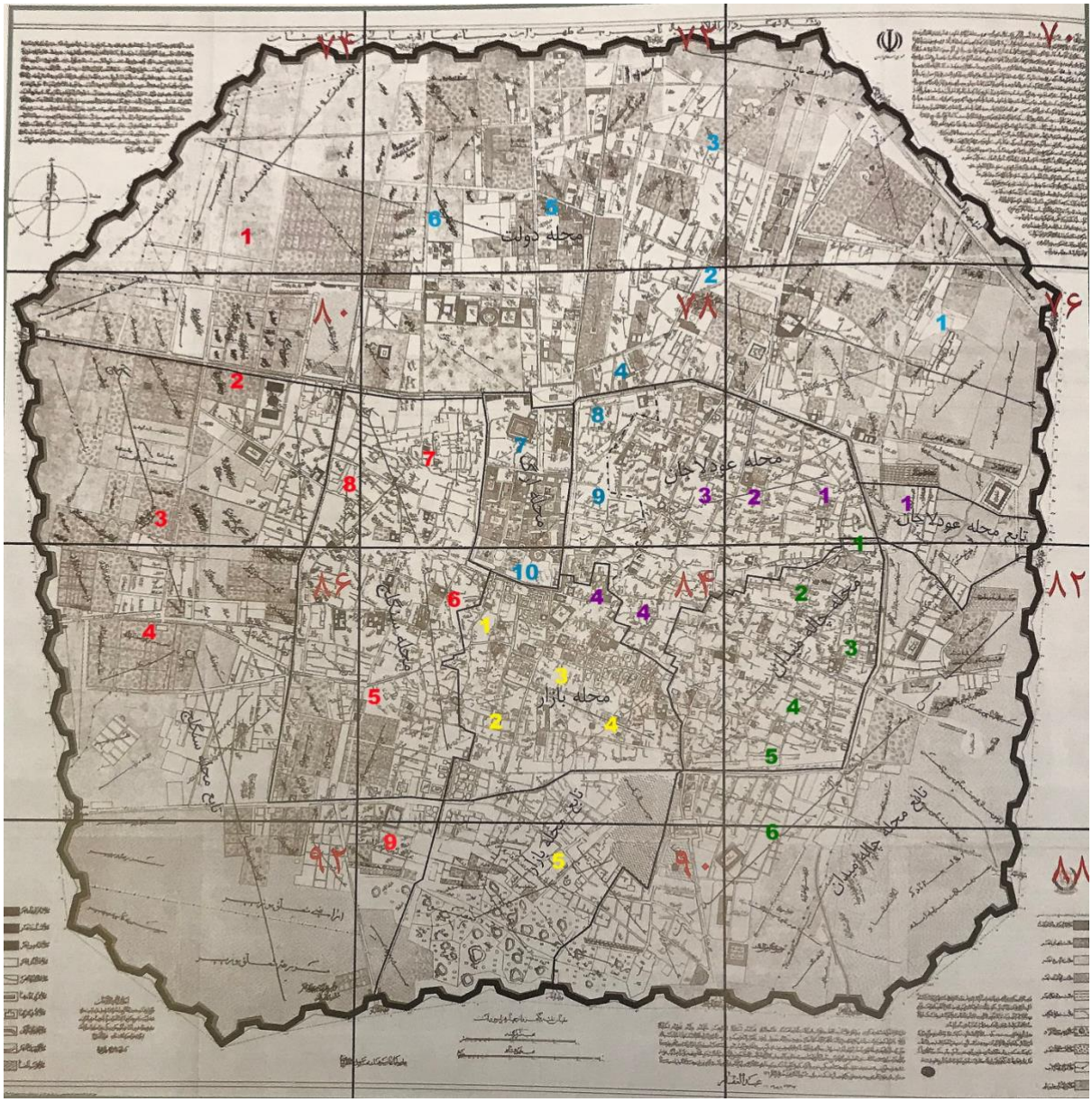


Figure 51. The pātuq-hā of each city district are illustrated on Najm al- Mulk's map

The above map is the result of the comparative study of the survey and Najm al-Mulk's map (Figure 51). The survey is arranged counter-clockwise, starting from the data related to the northern district of Dawlat, followed by the western district of Sangalaj, then Bazar and Chalmaydan districts, and finally, ʿUdlajan. On the map, each colour is dedicated to one city district: blue to Dawlat, red to Sangalaj, yellow to Bazar, green to Chalmaydan, and violet to ʿUdlajan. The numbers refer to the approximate locations of the *pātuq-hā* of a given city district respectively to the

numbers assigned to them in the survey. As an example, the Dawlat district is the first city district which is located on the north and divided by the black line on the map. Its first *pātuq* is located in northeast. The other *pātuq-hā* stretch over the map towards the west. The Dawlat district of the survey also contains the Arg district and parts of ʿUdlajan, as shown on the map. Moreover, the far west part of Dawlat is considered as part of the Sangalaj in the survey. The next city districts in the survey are Sangalaj, Bazar and Chalmaydan which roughly cover the same area as those on the map. The last chapter is dedicated to ʿUdlajan. As I have already mentioned before, the eastern part of the district is considered as part of Dawlat. Moreover, the 4th *pātuq* contains part of the Bazar district.

Since this research tries to do a comparative study of RIs in the old city, previously surrounded by the old Tahmasib citadel, I omit the *pātuq-hā* which do not fit in these boundaries. In a second step, I arrange the *pātuq-hā* according to the urban classification used in the previous primary sources. As the result, the survey's city districts and *pātuq-hā* are distributed according to the following urban division of the city districts (Table 30):

Table 30. Redistribution of districts and pātuq-hā in the 3rd survey

Reference city district	**The survey's district districts and *pātuq-hā***
Arg	Dawlat 7, Dawlat 8 (partly), Dawlat 10
ʿUdlajan	ʿUdlajan 1 (partly), ʿUdlajan 2, ʿUdlajan 3, ʿUdlajan 4 (partly), Dawlat 8 (partly), Dawlat 9
Chalmaydan	Chalmaydan 1 (partly), Chalmaydan 2, Chalmaydan 3, Chalmaydan 4, Chalmaydan 5 (partly)
Bazar	Bazar 1, Bazar 2, Bazar 3, Bazar 4, ʿUdlajan 4 (partly)
Sangalaj	Sangalaj 5, Sangalaj 6, Sangalaj 7, Sangalaj 8

The table (Table 30) shows redistribution of the survey's *pātuq-hā* according to the arrangement used in other primary sources. The Dawlat district is a new district corresponding to the 10 *pātuq-hā*, which are mostly added to the city after the

establishment of the *Nāṣirī* citadel. Most parts of these districts are the newly added regions, and therefore, they are not part of my research. However, the *pātuq-hā* 8 and 9 originally belonged to ʿUdlajan district, as depicted on the map (Figure 51). The *pātuq-hā* 7 and 10 covers the area called Arg district in the previous documents. The interesting point about the properties recorded in the Arg region is that the houses of the King and the Royal Court are not included in the survey, like in the previous surveys and censuses. ʿUdlajan has four sub-districts, but parts of the first and the fourth *pātuq-hā* are not in the old *maḥallih*. Chalmaydan has six *pātuq-hā*, but parts of the first, the fifth, and all of the sixth sub-districts do not belong to the old area of the district. Bazar has five sub-districts, but only the first four *pātuq-hā* are part of Bazar district. Sangalaj has nine sub-districts, and only numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8 fit into Sangalaj district.

Rearrangement of the third survey is a very challenging and time-consuming task, but crucial for an accurate comparison with other primary sources. Yet, the findings not only enable me to carry out comparative study of RIs, but also highlight rich information for urban study of the capital city of Iran in the Qajar period.[1]

4.4.1. RIs in Arg district

There is no single chapter on Arg district. The previously known Arg is incorporated in the chapter on Dawlat district, namely in three *pātuq-hā*: the seventh,[2] the tenth,[3]

1 Siyfi Fami Tafrishi, *Nazm va Nazmiyih dar Iran*.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q*., 407–9.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 420–21.

and a street called "*Baʿżī az Khīyābān-i Nāṣirīyih ki juzʾi hamīn guz̲ar ast*" in a *guz̲ar* named as "*Dihbāshī Fiyż Allāh va Karīm*".[1] In a comparative study of Najm al-Mulk's map, I could clearly find the names of the roads and properties recorded in *pātuq-hā* located in the Arg region.

The Arg district hosts six RIs, two *takyih-hā*, two madrasas, and three mosques. However, there are two non-religious schools in this region too. The first is the famous Dar al-Funun and the second school is a military training college called Niẓām. There have been some misunderstandings about the Niẓām school[2] and two other madrasas. Niẓām school, also called Madrasih-yi Niẓāmī-yi Nāṣirī was a modern military school established in vicinity of Dar al-Funu and regarded as its military college.[3] For several years Niẓām school was managed by Sardar Firuz-i Muntazam al-Dawlih-yi Samsam al-Saltanih, one of the military generals at the time of Nasir al-Din Shah.[4] It was an important military college under the direct auspices of the King and Sardar Firuz used to report regularly the administrative issues of the school to the king.[5] It was located where Kakh-i Dadgustari currently stands. The King himself assigned the heads of the school.[6] Meanwhile, there was another school with a similar name in Dawlat district called Madrasih-yi Nāṣirī, which is

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 413.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 409.
3 Mustuwfi, *Sharh-i Zindigani-yi Man, Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi va Idari-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 1342, 1:144–45.
4 Nurullah Kasayi, "Madaris-i Qadim-i Iran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar," *Namih-yi Farhang* 30 (1377): 130. ʿAbd al-Husayn Sipihr, *Mirʾat Al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, ed. ʿAbd al-Husayn Nawayi, vol. 1 (Tehran: Mirath-i Maktub, 1386), 81, http://kakheaseman.ir/aseman.php?name_id=79983&b=moratalvaghayea/&name=00.
5 Muhammad Ismaʿil Rizvani and Fatimih Qaziha, *Ruznamih-yi Khatirat-i Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar dar Safar-i Sivum-i Farangistan*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Rasa, 1369), 466–67.
6 Muhammad Hasan Khan Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, *Tarikh-i Muntazam-i Nasiri*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Rizvani, 1363), 1958.

situated in a street named Niẓāmīyih.[1] This was a famous religious madrasa with large waqf properties which was also called Sipahsālār Madrasa referring to its founder Mirza Husayn Khan-i Sipahsalar-i Qazvini.[2] The third was a modern elementary school established by Sardar Firuz-i Samsam al-Saltanih that used to educate orphans and poor children. It was located in Dawlat district and illustrated in the northwest of Najm al-Mulk's map.[3]

Another interesting RI is the famous Dawlat Takyih which is not mentioned in the text of the survey but mentioned in the address of a region. The document refers to it in the title of an area by "Ḥavali-yi Takyih Dawlat" (Near Takyih Dawlat)[4] and also mentions the house of Mashhadi Muhammad Sadiq saraydar-i Takyih Dawlat (the janitor of the *takyih*).[5]. Based on other sources, Takyih Dawlat was active until the end of Muzaffar al-Din Shah.[6] Therefore, I can see when the author uses an RI in the title, he does not mention it in the text too.

The following table shows RIs in the Arg district (Table 31):

Table 31. RIs in the Arg district

***takyih*#2**	**madrasa#2**	**mosque#3**	***imāmzādih*#0**
Rasūlbiyg			
Dawlat			
	Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ		
	Hāshimīyih		
		Muʿallimkhānih	
		Khāqān-i Maghfūr	
		Masjid-i muqābil-i Dār al-Funūn	

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 369.
2 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:72.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 425.
4 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 409.
5 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 371.
6 Dustʿali Muʿayir al-Mamalik, *Yaddasht-hayi az Zindigani-yi Khususi-yi Nasir al-Din Shah* (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1351), 72.

4.4.2. RIs in ʿUdlajan district

The classic ʿUdlajan district moves its boundaries into different other districts. The document divides the district into four *pātuq-hā*, but parts of the first and the last *pātuq-hā* does not fit into the old city. In the first *pātuq,* the initial three *guz̲ar-hā* are in the old city,[1] except for the last *guz̲ar*, called "*Guz̲ar-i Jaʿfar Pulīs"*, that falls in the new area attached to ʿUdlajan, known as "*Tābiʿ-i Maḥallih-yi ʿUdlajan*".[2] The second and third *pātuq-hā* are completely in ʿUdlajan district.[3] In the fourth *pātuq*, "*Guz̲ar-i Raḥmān Pulīs"* is part of the Bazar district[4] but the rest of the *pātuq* belongs to ʿUdlajan.[5] Additionally, The *pātuq* number nine of Dawlat belongs to the old ʿUdlajan district.[6] The eighth district of Dawlat[7] belongs to ʿUdlajan, except a section titles "*Baʿżī az Khīyābān-i Nāṣirīyih ki juzʾi hamīn guz̲ar ast*".[8]

The text distinguishes between the houses and the shops located in each *guz̲ar*. In each *pātuq,* the author at first names the houses of every single *guz̲ar,* and then the shops of every *guz̲ar* are mentioned.

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 615–21.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 621–25.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 627–43.
4 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 645–47.
5 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 647–51.
6 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 415–19.
7 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 411–14.
8 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 413.

I have discovered names of 26 RIs in the district, namely, 8 *takyih-hā*, 3 madrasas, and 15 mosques. The document also mentions some unnamed mosques. One of them is situated on the location of the old ʿArabhā Mosque.

Accordingly, RIs of ʿUdlajan district are listed in the table below (Table 32):

Table 32. RIs of ʿUdlajan district in the 3rd survey

***takyih*#8**	**madrasa#3**	**mosque#15**	***imāmzādih*#0**
ʿIzzat al-Dawlih			
Sādāt-i ʿAkhavī			
Riżāqulīkhān			
Darb-i Madrasih			
Masjid Ḥawż			
ʿArabhā			
Qamar al-Salṭanih			
Ḥayāṭ Shāhī			
ʿŪdlājān			
Pīrizan			
	Qanbarʿalīkhān		
	Pā-yi Mināŕ		
	Marvī		
		Ḥājī Ustād ʿAlī	
		Āqā Jalāl	
		Fāżil	
		Qhażanfarkhān	
		Ḥājī ʿAbd al-Husayn	
		Pīr Qulīkhān	
		ʾIqbāl al-Salṭanih	
		Unnamed	
		Ḥājī ʿAlīriżā	
		Sipahdār	
		Unnamed (ʿArabhā)	
		Unnamed	
		Fakhrīkhānum	
		Ṣadr al-Ḥukamāʾ	
		Unnamed	
		Ḥājī Shaykh Mahdī	

There are 161 waqf properties. The majority of the properties are shops and houses, however, there are two exceptions: a caravanserai and a hammam. Takyih Sādāt-i

ʿAkhavī has the highest number of waqf properties in the district with 22 waqf shops.[1]

Below is the list of the waqf holdings of the district (Table 33):

Table 33. Waqf properties of ʿUdlajan district in the 3rd survey

Type of property	Purpose of the waqf	Number=161
Shop	-	36
House	-	14
Hammam	-	1
House	Unnamed Mosques	1
Shop	Unnamed Mosques	24
House	Unnamed Takyih-hā	1
Shop	Unnamed Takyih-hā	9
Shop	Qājār Mosque	1
Shop	Khāmis Āl-i ʿAbāʾ	1
House	Riżāqulīkhān Takyih	3
Shop	Sādāt-i ʿAkhavī Takyih	22
Shop	Qanbarʿalīkhān Madrasa	3
Shop	Pīrʿaṭā	5
House	Marvī Madrasa	4
Shop	Sepahsālār Madrasa	6
Shop	Marvī Madrasa	8
Shop	Shāhī Takyih	6
Shop	Pīrizan Takyih	6
Shop	Ṣadr Madrasa	9
Caravanserai	Ṣadr Madrasa	1

4.4.3. RIs in Chalmaydan district

Chalmaydan district has six *pātuq-hā*, the last of which is completely out of the old city.[2] Additionally, only the two initial streets of *pātuq* 5 fit into the old city which are called "*Ḥammām-i gulshan va maḥallih-yi ʿarab-hā sipurdih bi Nāyib Pulīs*".[3]

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 630.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 607–12.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 597–98.

Meanwhile, the alley called "*Kūchih-yi Qajar-hā ṭaraf-i dast-i rāst*" is part of the new area added to the district. [1]

Like in ʿUdlajan, the houses and the shops in this district are recorded in two different parts of *guz̲ar*. At first the houses are listed and then at the end of the section on each given *guz̲ar* the shops are named. In the first *pātuq* the second alley belongs to parts of the district which fall out of the citadel.

The district has 18 RIs, including 7 *takyih-hā*, a madrasa, 5 mosques, and 2 *imāmzādih-hā*. RIs and shops are all named at the end of each *pātuq*; none is named in line with the houses. The interesting point of this chapter is that in some of the *guz̲ar-hā* the names of some of RIs are mentioned in the titles of the streets or in the body of the text, such as "near Zargarhā Takyih",[2] "from Ḥammām-i Khānum to Pahlavān Sharīf Takyih",[3] and "Chalmaydan Takyih and its surrounding area".[4] Although the names of the aforementioned RIs are used in the text as the address, they are not mentioned in the body of the texts. These RIs are Zargarhā Takyih, Phlavān Sharīf Takyih, Mullā Qadīr Takyih, Sarpūlak Mosque, Yaḥyā Imāmzādih, and Sayyid Ismaʿīl Imāmzādih. They are all famous RIs which exist to the present day. It is reasonable to assume that once the author mentions their name in the titles of the street address, he refrains from repeating them again in the body of the text.

In the following table, you can see RIs of Chalmaydan (Table 34):

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 559–61.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 567.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 569.
4 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 571.

Table 34. RIs of Chalmaydan district in the 3rd survey

***takyih*#7**	**madrasa#1**	**mosque#5**	***imāmzādih*#2**
Zargarhā			
Phlavān Sharīf			
Mullā Qadīr			
Chalmaydan			
Ḥammām-i Khānum			
Abu al-Qāsim-i Shīrāzī			
Pahlavān Sharīf			
	Ḥājī Abu al-Fatḥ		
		Sarpūlak	
		Amīn al-Dawlih	
		Ṣāḥbdīvān	
		Shahāb al-Mulk	
		Marḥūm Ḥājī Mullā Muḥammad Jaʿfar	
			Yaḥyā
			Sayyid Ismaʿīl

The number of the waqf properties are less than in other city districts. An interesting waqf case in this district is Pistihbiyg garden. It is mentioned three times in different occasions,[1] but there is no reference to it as a waqf property. Yet, on the maps of Krziz (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.) and Najm al-Mulk (1880s CE/ 1300s Q.) it is recorded as a waqf garden. Currently, there is no garden in this location; there exists only Pistihbiyg square in that location. The last part of the waqf property was Pistihbiyg Takyih that was converted into a public school in 1939 CE/ 1358 Q.[2]

The table below lists the waqf holdings of this district (Table 35):

Table 35. Waqf properties of Chalmaydan district in the 3rd survey

Type of property	**Purpose of the waqf**	**Number**
Shop	-	32
House	-	9
Garden	-	1
Shop	Unnamed Mosques	7
Hammam	Unnamed Madrasas	1
Shop	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	22
Shop	Moḥammadīyih Mosque	4
Shop	Chāl Takyih	3
Shop	Sarpūlak Takyih	5

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ittihadiyih, 559, 561 and 575.
2 "Baq-i Pistihbiyg," March 2019, http://tourix.ir/باغ-پسته-بیگ-گردی/تهران.html.

Shop	Ḥājī Sayyid Abu al-Ḥasan-i Miʿmār Mosque	9
Shop	Ḥājī Shaykh Ḥasan Mosque	4
Shop	Marvī Mosque	6
Shop	Yaḥyā Imāmzādih	5

4.4.4. RIs in Bazar District

The chapter on Bazar district is composed of five *pātuq-hā*, four of which are completely in the old city. However, in the fifth *pātuq* only the last *guz̲ar* [1] belongs to the old Bazar district and the rest is part of the *Tābiʿ-i Maḥallih-yi Bazar* (a complementary part of the Bazar district).[2] Additionally, part of the fourth *pātuq* of ʿUdlajan, called "*Guz̲ar-i Raḥmān Pulīs*" belongs to the Bazar district.[3] Although the border line between the Bazar district and ʿUdlajan has moved in some points in the course of time, the boundaries between Bazar and Chalmaydan and Sangalaj have always had clear demarcations. Bazar has been separated from the first by a line of caravanserais and shops, while the other has been split by a vertical street starting from Arq and ending at the city walls.

RIs are listed in line with the houses or in the special section that assigned for the shops. In addition to this, the *pātuq* 4 of the chapter on ʿUdlajan belongs to the old Bazar district and I discuss it in the section on Bazar district.

Bazar has the highest number of RIs. It has 15 *takyih-hā*, 15 madrasas, 11 mosques, and an *imāmzādih*.

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1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q.*, 550–56.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 533–50.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 645–47.

The numbers of RIs in the Bazar district are as follows (Table 36):

Table 36. RIs of Bazar district in the 3rd survey

***takyih*#15**	**madrasa#15**	**mosque#11**	***imāmzādih*#0**
Manūchihrkhān			
Khalajhā			
Malikābād			
ʿAbbāsābād			
Guwd			
Guwd-i Zanbūrakkhānih		Zanbūrakkhānih	
Khudāfarīd (of Guẕar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ)			
Darb-i Masjid Jāmiʿ			
Hafttan			
Khishtī			
Qāṭirchīhā			
Mashhadīāqā			
Chihiltan			
Pāchinār in the Gharībīyān alley			
Nuwrūzkhān			
	Khānʿalī Farrāsh		
	Unnamed		
	Unnamed		
	Unnamed		
	Unnamed		
	Unnamed		
	Imāmzādih Zayd		Zayd
	Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn	Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn	
	Āṣif al-Dawlih		
	Dār al-Shafaʾ		
	Ṣadr		
	Āṣifīyyih		
	Muḥammadīyyih		
	ʿAbdallāhkhān		
	Muḥsinīyih		
		Ḥājī Khāzan	
		Malik al-Tujjār	
		Malik	
		Guẕar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ	
		Shāh	
		Jāmiʿ	
		Mīrzā Mūsā	
		Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh	
		Muʿāvin al-Dawlih	

The district has the highest number of the waqf properties in the city too. Among the waqf properties, there are a bazar, a ruined caravanserai, and a carriage-house. There are two waqf houses that belong to an Armenian praying-house, called

Namāzkhānih-yih Arāmanih, which shows that waqf was common among minority groups too.[1]

Below is the list of waqf properties (Table 37):

Table 37. Waqf properties of Bazar district in the 3rd survey

Type of property	Purpose of the waqf	Number=276
Shop	-	89
House	-	24
Hammam	-	1
Shop	Unnamed Mosques	6
Shop	Unnamed small Mosque	2
House	Namāzkhānih-yi Armenian	2
House	Unnamed Takyih	1
Shop	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	28
Bazar-i Manūchihrkhān	Manūchihrkhān Takyih	1
Shop	Najaf-i Ashraf	4
Shop	For Sādāt	1
House	Munīrīyih Madrasa	1
Shop	Malikābād Madrasa	3
Shop	Malikābād Takyih	3
Shop	ʿAbbāsābād Mosque	9
Shop	ʿAbbāsābād Takyih	6
House	Muḥammadīyyih Madrasa	1
Shop	Muḥammadīyyih Madrasa	5
Shop	Khudāfarīn Takyih of Guz̲ar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ	8
Shop	Guwd-i Zanbūrakkhānih Takyih	1
Shop	Āṣif al-Dawlih Madrasa	5
Caravanserai	-	1
Shop	Zargarhā Takyih	3
Shop	Jāmiʿ Mosque	1
Shop	Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Madrasa	13
Shop	ʿAbdallāhkhān Madrasa	7
Shop	Marvī Madrasa	7
Shop	Dār al-Shafāʾ Madrasa	5
Shop	Imāmzādih Zayd Takyih	11
Shop	Mullā Āqā Riżā Madrasa	6
Shop	Sipahsālār Madrasa	10
Shop	Qanbarʿalīkhān Madrasa	1
House	Chihiltan Takyih	1
Shop	Chihiltan Takyih	2
Carriage-house	Chihiltan Takyih	1
Ruined caravanserai	Chihiltan Takyih	1
Shop	Khistī Takyih	5

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 531.

4.4.5. RIs in Sangalaj District

Sangalaj expands in this period to contain 9 *pātuq-hā*. The first *pātuq* mostly falls in the new district of Dawlat according to Najm al-Mulk's map. However, 4 out of the 9 *pātuq-hā* are located inside the old city, namely 5, 6, 7, and 8.

The author lists shops and RIs in separated sections, at the end of each *pātuq*; however, some RIs are mentioned in the text in line with the houses. Even this structure is not followed in all *pātuq-hā* by the author in the whole chapter. Among the urban structures, there are several cases related to the non-Muslim religions and denominations: an Armenian school,[1] 2 Protestant Christian praying-houses (Namāzkhānih-yi Prutistānī),[2] and an Armenian praying-houses (Namāzkhānih-yi Armanī).[3] The names of property owners, titles of the streets, and religious institutions of the minority religions show that a high number of Christians used to live in this district.

RIs of this district amount to 10 *takyih-hā,* 5 madrasas, and 8 mosques. Curiously the Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn Imāmzādih is missing in this list. The following table displays RIs of this district (Table 38):

Table 38. RIs of Sangalaj district in the 3rd survey

***takyih*#10**	**madrasa#5**	**mosque#8**	***imāmzādih*#0**
Ḥājī Kāẓim			
Kirmānīhā			
Himmatābād			
Chāl Ḥiṣār			
Afshārhā			
Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih		Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih	
Ḥājī Ḥādīkhān			
Dabbāghkhānih			

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 446.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 441–42.
3 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 464.

Darkhāngāh			
Ābpakhshkun			
	Yūniskhān	Yūniskhān	
	Ḥājī Sayyid Ṣādiq	Ḥājī Sayyid Ṣādiq	
	Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm	Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm	
	Ḥājī Rajabʿalī		
	Mīrzā Riżāqulī		
		Unnamed	
		Unnamed	
		Unnamed	
		ʾAʿlamshāh	

The district hosts some waqf properties which are either houses or shops. There is a waqf house donated to an Armenian praying-houses in this district.[1] The following table shows the waqf in Sangalaj district (Table 39):

Table 39. Waqf properties of Sangalaj district in the 3rd survey

Type of property	Purpose of the waqf	Number
Shop	-	27
House	-	11
Shop	Unnamed Mosques	7
House	Unnamed Takyih-hā	2
Shop	Unnamed Madrasa	8
House	Unnamed Namāzkhānih	1
House	Unnamed Ābanbār	1
House	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	2
Shop	Mustuwfī Mosque	4
Shop	Kirmānīhā Takyih	1
Shop	Chāl Ḥiṣār Takyih	14
Shop	Chāl Ḥiṣār Madrasa	2
Shop	Ḥājī Rajabʿalī Madrasa	3
Shop	Yūniskhān Madrasa	2
Shop	Ḥājī Sayyid Ṣādiq Madrasa	3
Shop	Dabbāghkhānih Takyih	8
Shop	Darkhāngāh Takyih	2

1 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, 464.

4.4.6. The two-level theory for explaining the data on mosques

The third document on the population and cadastral survey of Tehran (1900 CE/ 1317 Q.) is a large and detailed document that reflects significant information on social and economic life in Iran. This detailed document can be used as a reference for the study of urban transformation, social strata, minority groups and religions, economic analysis of the social classes in Tehran, and so on.

However, my investigations show some serious inconsistencies in the calculation of the aggregate numbers of RIs. The author mentions the total number of RIs in three occasions: 1. in the introduction of the survey; 2. at the beginning of each district; 3. at the beginning of each *pātuq*. These three sets of numbers display some inconsistencies. Moreover, in some cases they do not match the total number of RIs named in the text. I have meticulously searched the names of RIs in the text under each *guẕar,* and then added up RIs of all *guẕar-hā* located in a given *pātuq;* there I see some cases of inconsistencies between the number of RIs in the text, in the *pātuq*, and in a district.

Such inconsistencies become more critical when I review the numbers of the urban structures presented in the prologue of the survey. They all match with the numbers presented in the introductions on the districts; therefore, I can conclude that the author prepares this document based on the results recorded in the introductions of the chapters. I see several cases of internal inconsistency in the table. There are four cases of false additions therein. Such contradictions decrease the reliability of the additions and calculations of the document. Therefore, I do not rely on them as the only source in the study of RIs related to various city divisions.

Furthermore, the comprehensiveness of the text is also questionable. Some of the famous RIs are not mentioned in the text, like the Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn Imāmzādih, which was an RI in this period. In general, the author rarely refers to *imāmzādih-hā* in the text; he just brings their titles on some occasions. Despite its length, the text contains less details in comparison with the first cadastral survey. The the author of the first survey does not forget to mention details, such as whether the property was rented or owned by the settlers, the number of families in each house, the number of properties attached to it (*bāb*), and even the names of small structures like *saqākhānih*.

As the document is produced by *naẓmīyih* (the urban police department) its accuracy is debateable. One may state that it does not have enough accuracy as documents produced by geographers or topographers. Another plausible explanation is that the producers were only concerned with the establishment of a survey that could serve the needs of the police department in the city. The main obstacle for assessing accuracy of the document is lack of information about the context, methodology, and the authors of the text. I could not find significant data about background of author(s) of the survey, their expertise, and their methods for the production of the document.

RIs recorded in this document amount to 42 *takāyā,* 26 madrasas, 42 mosques, and 3 *imāmzādih-hā* (Table 40).

Table 40. RIs in the third survey (1900 CE/ 1317 Q.)

No.3	*takyih*#42	madrasa#26	*mosque*#42	*imāmzādih*#3
Arg	2	2	3	
ʿUdlajān	8	3	15	
Chālmiydān	7	1	5	2
Bāzār	15	15	11	1
Sangalaj	10	5	8	

Meanwhile, there are cases of waqf properties related to some RIs which are not mentioned in the document (Table 41).

Table 41. The unrecorded RIs with recorded waqf properties.

The missing RIs with existing waqf	Number of the waqf properties
Pīrʿaṭā	5
Sarpūlak Takyih	5
Marvī Mosque	6
Mustuwfī Mosque	4
Qājār Mosque	1

Sarpūlak Takyih contains five waqf shops but they are not mentioned in the text. In the first survey it is presented as a *takyih*. Then, the maps produced by Krziz and Najm al-Mulk record it as both *takyih* and mosque. In the survey No.3 it is listed as a mosque, but the waqf properties of the *takyih* still exists. Another case is Marvī Mosque. It is always referred to in the document as a madrasa but the waqfs are donated to its mosque. The new mosques of Mustuwfī and Qājār are not mentioned in the text at all, but there are references to their waqf properties. The other case is about the waqf properties of an RI vaguely described as Pīrʿaṭā. Some of the earlier sources have referenced to it as either *takyih*, mosque, or *imāmzādih* while this text does not mention it. The first four RIs existed by the time of the production of the document, but they are either recorded as a different RI or omitted in the text.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter studies RIs in three important surveys and censuses. They are three documents containing data on population, census, and cadastral information about the city of Tehran. The rich content of the document does not display the same level of accuracy, comprehensiveness, and consistency all over the text. The survey No.1 has the highest rank on all of the three criteria. The census No.2 is short and does not cover the urban installations, while its accuracy cannot be assessed. The survey No.3 is a very long detailed document but some data are not incorporated in the text. Despite its rich content, it cannot explain the absence of some important RIs.

It seems that Ettehadieh and other scholars who delt with these surveys and censuses solely relied on the numbers presented by the original authors of the surveys to present their analyses. However, the aggregate numbers written by the authors in the texts are not precise. It is necessary to analyse the read the whole content of the documents for an accurate evaluation of their level of accuracy, consistency and comprehensiveness, and highlight their errors. My investigations show that the numbers presented by the authors do not always match with the total numbers of RIs in the body of the surveys. Moreover, there are some cases of repetitions and inconsistencies in different sections of the surveys.

In the following chapter, I summarize the changes of RIs in the Qajar period based on the information derived from my primary sources and documents.

5. Chapter 5- Patterns of Change in the Number of the RIs

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is the concluding episode of my intellectual journey through the primary sources of the *Nāṣirī* period, investigated in chapters 3 and 4. My research started with the initial question about the possibility of the decline in the number of mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period.[1] To investigate the changes of the RIs in the *Nāṣirī* period, two sets of primary sources, maps and cadastral and/or census surveys, were explored. As we saw in previous chapters, each set of documents offers different representations of the RIs in the Qajar period. In order to align the data obtained from each set with other sources, various phases of comparative studies were applied on maps, surveys, other primary sources and secondary sources.

In the following section, I summarize my findings from the primary sources. Based on my previous comparative analyses, I conclude the discussion here by answering the following question: What do the primary sources suggest about the perpetuity and change of the RIs in the *Nāṣirī* period? I discuss these two features for each type of RIs, in order to highlight the possible patterns of change and transformation for the RIs in this period.

To follow the central question of my research, in the final chapter I am going to place the mosque in the institutional matrix of Iranian society composed of various religious and non-religious institutions. Then, the findings about other RIs of *takyih*, *imāmzādih*, madrasa, and waqf are discussed in the next sections.

1 Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)." Scarce, "Naqsh-i Miʿmari dar Piydayish-i Shahr-i Tehran," 86.

5.2. Finding consistency between inconsistent information

When comparing my findings about the RIs in the primary sources (Table 42), initially I could hardly find any meaningful trend for or logical relationship between the changes of each set of RIs. The first conclusion that one might be tempted to draw would suggest that all the primary sources, or at least the majority of them, are not accurate enough to represent correct information about RIs. Yet, the kind of primary sources used for the comparison speaks against such conclusion. A map is meant to present a broad picture of the city relying on spatial data. And a cadastral survey is to accurately record every property in a city. These documents are among the most reliable primary sources about the spatial data for this period. In the previous chapters, assessment of the accuracy of these documents has been one of the major tasks in the process of investigations. The levels of accuracy and inconsistency of each of the documents have been discussed and I avoid repeating those arguments here. As an example, the maps are so concerned about the details that they even illustrated the ruined buildings or the shape of the properties. Yet, the reliability of the maps used in this research for spatial research has never been the subject of an independent research in the scholarship. The issue of inaccuracy is even less relevant when it comes to the cadastral surveys. The cadastral surveys record every building according to its location on the ground. In some cases, they explain that a given house is partly located in one city district and the rest of the house belongs to another city district. Such minute details invite me to rely on the data derived from these sources for a reliable urban analysis of RIs.

Table 42. The RIs according to my primary sources

	takyih	**madrasa**	**mosque**	***imāmzādih***
Berezin 1840sAD/1260sQ	31	4	9	4
No1 1853 CE/1269Q	54	19	111	9
Krziz 1858 CE/1275 Q	43	18	12 (130)	4
No.2 1868AD/1284Q	34	35	47	
Najm 1880sAD/1300sQ	48	19	29 (200)	9
No.3 1900AD/1317Q	44	27	44	3

If our data has an adequate level of accuracy, how should I explain the divergent data accumulated here (Table 42)? To explain my data, I should emphasize that the type of information shown on a map is different from that recorded in the cadastral surveys, because a map should summarize the data to fit them on a piece of paper or file which is smaller than reality in terms of size and scale; necessarily, it omits some of the spatial information. But the cadastral surveys tend to record all urban structures. Therefore, each set of documents, maps and surveys, should be compared separately. In Table 42, these two sets of documents are separated by using two colours, white for the maps and blue for the surveys.

Furthermore, complementary information in the secondary sources can also help us gain a better understanding about the RIs in this period. I use them in my analytical discussions on the changing trends of each type of RIs in the next sections.

5.1 Increasing Trend of Mosques

Ittihadiyih's finding about the decreasing number of mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period is a substantial argument that called for further explanation. Based on her investigations of the cadastral surveys, historical accounts, and secondary sources,

the number of mosques decreases in the second half of the 19th century.[1] Scarce follows Ettehadieh's line of argument and suggests that the establishment of monumental and large religious institutions does not continue in the *Nāṣirī* period. She distinguishes between two distinctive styles of urban development during the reigns of Fath ʿAli Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah. While Fath ʿAli Shah was interested in the renovation of holy shrines and the construction of large mosques across the country, in the *Nāṣirī* period one rarely find large new RIs, let alone small RIs, around the city districts.[2] My findings allow me to reassess these conclusions.

5.2.1. The dual-value system for explaining the data on mosques

Ittihadiyih's findings should be first compared with my analysis of the maps. A key point about my findings is that I have two different values for the number of mosques: a low value and a high value. To calculate the lower value of mosques on a given map, I add up the number of mosques illustrated on each of them. Any urban object such as an RI, should have specific characteristics for a cartographer to display it on his map. For example, they should have been large buildings or have had important social functions. According to the visualized information, the number of the mosques increases from 9 on Berezin's (1840s CE/1260s Q.) to 12 on Krziz's (1858 CE/1275 Q.) and then reaches 29 on the third map (1880s CE/1300s Q.) (Table 43). Therefore, I can infer that based on maps the number of represented mosques followed an increasing trend in the *Nāṣirī* period.

1 Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: The Growth of Tehran (1852-1903)."
2 Scarce, "Naqsh-i Miʿmari dar Piydayish-i Shahr-i Tehran," 86.

Yet, the maps sometimes record high values for the number of mosques too. Krziz wrote on the margin of his map that "mosques including those depicted on the map and those not depicted on the map" amount to 130 cases (see Chapter 3, Figure 24). This indication is repeated by Najm al-Mulk; he introduces a category of mosques as '*masājid-i muʿtabar,*' which literally means 'reputable mosques.' He writes on his map that the number of the '*masājid-i muʿtabar*' is 200.[1] While the lower values show the depicted mosques, the higher values indicate the total number of mosques, called '*masājid-i muʿtabar*'. The unillustrated *muʿtabar* mosques must have possessed specific features which led the cartographer to exclude them from the map, such as small size, poor state of repair, or unimportance.

Based on the maps, even the *muʿtabar* mosques increase in the *Nāṣirī* period (Table 43). In about two decades, they increase from the original number of 130 mosques in 1858 CE /1275 Q. to 200 mosques in 1880s CE/1300s Q. Therefore, the high values are also in line with the lower values showing an increasing trend. Therefore, both sets of values contradict Ettehadieh's claim about the decreasing number of mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period.

Table 43. Number of mosques according to the maps

	mosque	
	represented on the map	***muʿtabar***
Berezin 1840sAD/1260sQ	**9**	**---**
Krziz 1858 CE/1275 Q	**12**	**130**
Najm 1880sAD/1300sQ	**29**	**200**

The cadastral surveys' data show a complex picture of the changing number of mosques. In the general sense, it shows a decline in the number of mosques in

1 Riza Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 65.

contrast to my findings from the analysis of the maps. At first glance, I see a decreasing trend starting from 1853 CE/1269 Q. and the more it moves towards the end of the *Nāṣirī* period, the more the numbers fall (Table 44).

Table 44. Mosques in cadastral surveys and the census.

	mosque
No1 1853 CE/1269Q	**111**
No.2 1868AD/1284Q	**47**
No.3 1900AD/1317Q	**44**

But some historical accounts suggest that the number of active mosques was more than the total numbers inferred from some of the surveys. A report in 1291 Q./ 1874 CE by the state-sponsored newspaper, *Rūznāmih-yi Dawlat-i ʿIllīyih-yi Iran* (The Newspaper of the Grand State of Iran) suggests new piece of information about mosques in Tehran. The report mentions the names of 7 large mosques in which the famous *mujtahid-hā* of Tehran were performing *jamāʿat* prayers during Ramadan. The mosques are Marvī, Sipahsālār, Shāh, Sayyid Ṣādiq, Shaykh ʿAbdulḥusayn Amīn al-Dawlih, and Jumʿih. Then, it explains that there are 50 to 60 other active mosques in which the '*muʿtabar*' ʿulamaʾ or *mujtahid-hā* were holding *jamāʿat* prayers. Then it adds that "there are many other mosques that hold *jamāʿat* prayers and have their own imams."[1] This report clearly shows that the total number of mosques is considerably higher than those stated in the surveys No.2 and No.3. Now, the two important questions are: What are the selection criteria of the producers of the surveys in recording some mosques and omitting others? And

1 DII.N, no. 234 (10 Ramazan 1291 Q.).

what is the real number of mosques at the time of the production of the surveys No.2 and No.3?

The report suggests some possible selection criteria of the producers of the surveys according to the classification of the mosques. The first set of mosques had famous *mujtahid-hā* as their imams, such as Mulla ʿAli Kani and Imam Jumʿih; these mosques and their imams are named in the report. The second set of mosques comprised the '*muʿtabar*' mosques in which ordinary ʿulamaʾ or *mujtahid-hā* were serving as imams; they were included in the report, but their imams were not mentioned by name. There was a third set of mosques in which daily prayers were held by unknown imams; they are neither counted nor are their imams were recorded in the report. A fourth set of the mosques did not host *jamāʿat* prayers. The classification presented in this report supports my argument about the idea that minor mosques did not have the same level of importance for the reporters, cartographers, and map producers as major ones. In other words, the authors decided to mention only some mosques, while ignoring the other *muʿtabar* mosques. In this selection process, it seems that the size of the mosques and the socio-religious position of the imams are two important criteria for recording the mosques. Although, there may have been other selection criteria, these two appear to have been the most decisive criteria for the authors in their selection of mosques for inclusion.

Finding the real number of the mosques in each period is a challenging task. The mosques were included in the lower values based on qualitative and subjective criteria such as the two aforementioned features. Therefore, a given mosque might match one author's standards for registration but not the standards of another author.

The dual value system can explain the inconsistency in the numbers of mosques in the cadastral surveys. Census No.2 is a short document of few pages that only mentions general data about population and urban objects (see chapter 4). Therefore, the author only recorded the number of mosques which had large proportions and/or important imams. No.1 is a long document that records all *muʿtabar* mosques. However, the long and detailed survey No.3 does not list all of the mosques which is strange. For a large cadastral survey like No.3, it is abnormal to refrain from recording all mosques, whereas cadastral survey No.1 had recorded all mosques several decades earlier. In a comparison between No.1 and No.2, I can see that the earlier document covers more urban details than the more recent one. No.1 mentions even the small buildings such as stables located outside the houses, *ābanbār-hā*, and *saqākhānih-hā*. These three buildings were generally small single room spaces. However, No.3 rarely mentions small urban structures such as stables; and those few that are mentioned in the text mostly belongs to famous figures.

To support our argument about the dual value system, I bring some evidence from other types of primary documents. Other historical accounts show a similar divergence between the authors about the number of mosques in the Qajar period. As an example, there are two accounts written by European travellers about the mosques of Tehran at the time of Fath ʿAli Shah (1797-1834 CE/ 1211-1250 Q.): 1. James Morier in 1807 CE /1222 Q. writes that there are 7 mosques and 3 to 4 madrasas in the city of Tehran;[1] 2. Sir William Ouseley writes in the years 1811 to 1813 CE /1226-1228 Q. that the total number of mosques and madrasas is 30.[2] It seems unlikely that between 1807 CE/1222 Q. and 1811 CE/1226 Q. the number of

1 Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, *Mirʾat al-Buldan*, 1:855–56.
2 Kariman, *Tehran dar Quzashtih va Hal*, 194–96.

the mosques had risen from 7 to 30. Therefore, it is likely that they used different criteria for recording the mosques. Berezin's map (1840s CE/1260s Q.) shows 12 mosques for the city of Tehran under Muhammad Shah's rule (1834-1848 CE/ 1250-1264 Q.), which appears more in line with Morier's record. The other two examples are from the *Nāṣirī* period. I have two maps, one from the first and one from the last decades of the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-1896 CE/ 1264-1313 Q.): (1). There are 11 mosques illustrated on the Krziz's map (1858 CE/ 1275 Q.) which mentions however that the total number of mosques is 130; (2) in the last decade of the *Nāṣirī* period, Najm al-Mulk's map (1880s CE/ 1300s Q.) depicts 29 mosques but also mentions that the total number of mosques is 200.

Table 45. Two-value system used for assessing the number of mosques

	mosque	
	Low value	**High value**
Survey No.3 1900AD/1317Q	**44**	
Najm al-Mulk's map 1880sAD/1300sQ	**29**	**200**
Survey No.2 1868AD/1284Q	**47**	
Krziz's map 1858 CE/1275 Q	**12**	**130**
Survey No1 1853 CE/1269Q		**111**
Berezin's map 1840sAD/1260sQ	**9**	
Sir William Ouseley 1811-1813 CE /1225-1227Q		**30**
James Morier 1807AD/1222Q	**7**	

The dual system explains the discrepancy in the number of mosques in various documents. By distinguishing the high values from the low values, I am able to see the increasing trend of the mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period. Whether I rely on the lower value or the higher value in each period, I see an increasing trend in the number of mosques in the 19th century. The number of mosques in the low value column shows a volatile trend, but due to the vague selection standards of the different authors of the documents, the data cannot be used to compare changes in the number of

mosques in the short term. But the general trend of the low value column for the whole of the *Nāṣirī* period confirms the pattern of an increase in numbers. The high values are more enlightening. I believe they are the closest data to the total numbers of the mosques. They clearly show the increasing trend of the mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period.

It is clear from the above that the surveys do not support Ettehadieh's claim about the decline of the mosque by the end of the Qajar period. Whether one relies on the low values or the high values, an increasing trend in the number of mosques is recognisable (Table 45).

5.2.2. Common features of the missing mosques

"Missing mosques" is a term I use to refer to the mosques that are recorded in No.1 but omitted from later sources. Some other sources recorded their numbers (such as maps produced by Krziz and Najm al-Mulk). A crucial question that raises here is about the features of the missing mosques? Which features can be described for the mosques which were ignored by the authors?

The only primary source that can supply rich information about the missing mosques is the cadastral survey No.1, which is the most detailed document of the urban structures in the Qajar period. Out of the total number of 111 mosques in the document, I could only find 11 cases on the maps. 22 mosques are also recorded with the same or similar names in other surveys. About 100 mosques are not mentioned in any of the surveys or maps. I can suggest two reasons for ignoring these mosques in other documents: (1) They vanished before the time of compilation of the other documents; or (2). they did not meet the authors' selection criteria who produced the maps. The next section reviews the typology of the

mosques which are only recorded in No.1 and suggests whether the reason for their omission in later records was (1) or (2) (Table 46).[1]

Table 46. The titles of the missing mosques as mentioned in No.1.

Ḥasanʿalī Mīrzā	Kūchak-i Dar-i Imāmzādih Zayd	(Makhrūbih) zchalanbak (6,8)
Darb-i Ṭavīlih	Malikābād(17,14)	Pīrʿaṭā (9,8)
Mullā Āqā Riżā	ʿAbbāsābād(16,16)	Takyih Darb-i Madrasah (7,8)
Āqā Ṣafar	Masjid-i Kūchak-i Maktabkhānih dar-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā ʿAbbās	Yaḥyā (3,9)
Ḥājī Mīrzā Bābā	Āghā Saʿīd-i Khājih	Kūchak-i Takyih Nuwrūzkhān
Sar-i Qabristān	Dam-i Kūchih-yi Sulaymānkhān	Kūchak-i Takyih-yi Imāmzādih Zayd
Sar-i Kūchi-yi Karīmkhān	Guzar-i Pāchinār	Ākhūnd Iṣfahānī
Kuchak-i Darb-i Khānih-yi Āqā Muḥammad Karīm-i Kitābfurūsh	Sar-i Guzar-i Pāchinār	Darb-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā Ismāʿīlkhān
Masjid-i Kuchak-i Darb-i Khānih-yi ʿAlīmadadkhān-i Dārūghih	Zanbūrakkhānih	Darb-i Khānih-yi Āqā Juwhar
Mīrzā ʿAlīkhān	Dar-i Khānih-yi Vazīr Mukhtār	Darb-i Khānih-yi Mullā Mūsā
Muḥammadkhān	Dar-i Hafttan	Darb-i Takyih-yi Zargarhā
Ḥājī Ramażān	Dar-i Chihiltan	Kharaqānīhā
Mīrzā Bābā	Kūchih-yi Mīrzā Maʿṣūm	Darb-i Ḥammām-i Navāb
Aḥmadkhān	Kūchih Gharībān	Ḥājī Mīrzā ʿAlīriżā Khājih
Mullā Abu al-Ḥasan	Dar-i Darvāzih-yi Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm	Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad
Mullā ʿAlī	Mīrzā Mūsā	Darb-i Khānih-yi Lalihbāshī
Mīrzā Yūsif	Kūchak-i Sar-i Chāhārsūq-i Buzurg	Shaykh ʿĪsā
Pusht-i Yakhchāl	Chāhārsūq-i Kūchak	Takyih Darvīshhā
Āqā Ismāʿīl	Kūchak-i Bāzār-i Duwlat	Miydān-i Kāhfurūshhā
Bahāʾ al-Ddīn	Kūchak-i Bāzār-i Nuw-i Qadīm	Takyih Qāṭirchīhā
Mīrzā Ibrāhīm	Ḥājī Sayyid Naṣrallāh	Sar-i Guzar-i Masjid Jāmiʿ
Ḥājī Muḥammadʿalī	Unnamed (Kūchak-i Jilu-yi Bāzār-i Āqā Mahdī Navvāb, next to Jubbihkhānih and Takhtihpul)	Darb-i Khānih-yi Muḥsin Mīrzā
Ḥājī Mīrzā Ḥusiyn	Unnamed (Masjid-i Kūchak in the Mīrzā Ismāʿīl caravanserai)	Bābā ʿAlīʿasgar
ʾUstād Āqā Bābā	Unnamed (Masjid-i Kūchak in Gardan Kaj caravanserai)	Darb-i Ḥammām-i Mīrzā Zakī
Mashhadī Taqī ʿAlāqihband	Unnamed	Mahdīqulī Mīrzā

1 The RIs which are not identified on the maps are displayed with yellow colour in the previous chapters.

Sayyid Ibrāhīm	Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih	Dam-i Khānih-yi Mullābāshī
Āqā Maḥmūd	Darb-i Khānih-yi Mīrzā Ḥusain Ḥakīmbāshī(20,3)	Ḥājī Mullā Jaʿfar-i
(unnamed) Small	Takyih-yi Dabbāqkhānih (24,8)	Darb-i Khānih-yi Mullā Ādīnih
(unnamed) Small	Dam-i Khānih-yi Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar-i Nāyib	Pusht-i Khānih-yi Jināb-i Mustuwfī al-Mamālik
Sīnihchāl	Ḥājī Nuwrūzʿalī	Kūchak-i Dāngī (9,6)
Qiblih	Afrāsīyābbiyg	Kūchak-i Pāyi Minār (10,6)
Pātakhtā (1)	Imāmzādih Sayyid Nāṣir	Mullā Bāqir Pīshnamāz
Pātakhtā (2)	Ḥājī Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā	
Sayyid Mīrmuḥammadʿalī	Kūchak-i Bāq-i Alvand	

A review of the mosques solely recorded in survey No.1 shows that the method of naming the mosques are different from that of other mosques. In the documents other than No.1, RIs are usually named after a famous person (such as Ẓil al-Sulṭān), a specific social class who were apparently using a given RI as their communal centre (such as Qāṭirchīhā or Darvīshhā), or a specific location (such as ʿAbbāsābād). Additionally, they are sometimes given names composed of a phrase with several nouns in genitive case that refer to a RI as part of a location or building to which the RI belonged (such as Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) which means 'the mosque that is located near the door of the madrasa'). While the mosques use all of the naming methods, other RIs are more commonly named after proper nouns. *Imāmzāhih-hā* are always named after the name of the sacred person buried in that place. *Takyih-hā* and madrasas are usually named after a proper noun, mostly their founders.

However, survey No.1 has a unique naming system. The majority of the mosques (about 60%) recorded in No.1 has no proper name. These mosques, which are rarely illustrated on the maps, are named as an additional part of a house or another RI or named after a public building or famous location. Among the missing mosques list, 14 mosques are named after the house to which they were attached. 6 mosques are named after another RI to which they were attached. And 20 mosques are named

after a bazar, a hammam or a road. Moreover, there are plenty of mosques named after their unknown imams, who were not famous religious figures, such as Mullā Bāqir Pīshnamāz.

Another common feature of most of these mosques is their size. In the title assigned to these mosques, 15 mosques are titled as "small" mosque. These mosques must have been small mosques which served as a prayer room; they did not have social functions similar to those performed by large mosques. They were small structures with poor architectural features, without influential financial supporters or waqf donors who were interested in naming them after their own names. Another feature of these mosques is that many were dependencies of other RIs. They were either a completing section of a large RI or were dependent structures with limited social functions used primarily or exclusively as prayer rooms. Masjid-i Kūchak-i Takyih-yi Imāmzādih Zayd (the small mosque for the *takyih* attached to Imāmzādih Zayd) is a good example for such mosques.

Table 47. Features of the missing mosques as mentioned in NO.1

	The phrases used in the titles of the mosque	**Number of the cases**
Attached to a house: 14	Next to the door of X's house	13
	Behind the house of X	1
Attached to a RI: 7	Next to an *imāmzādih*	3
	Small of a *takyih*	3
	Next to a *takhiy*	1
Attached to a public urban building: 20	Near to the hammam of X	2
	Small mosque of a garden	1
	Small mosque of a caravanserai	2
	Small in bazar	6
	Small on a road	5
	Next to a city gate	1
	Behind *yakhchāl*	1
	Near cemetery	1
	Next to the stable	1
Size of the mosque	Small mosques	15

The missing mosques had a financial character too. I could not find their names or titles in the list of the RIs with waqf holdings in the city of Tehran. In other words,

in a review of the names of the mosques with waqf holdings inside the city, I can rarely see the names of these mosques in the lists (See chapter 4, section 2). Moreover, during my study of waqf catalogues, I could not find their names either. Meanwhile, those unknown mosques of No.1 which owned waqf properties, have turned into famous mosques in No.3. That shows a correlation between the waqf property of a mosque and its future destiny.

A key point about the two-value system is that it only works for mosques and cannot be applied to other RIs. I believe this method was not commonly used for other RIs. Since, *takyih-hā* and madrasas normally had important social functions that went beyond their religious roles. Moreover, they were always large institutions. A *takyih* should have enough space for communal ritual performances. Madrasas were generally large buildings attached to a mosque or prayer space, with residential places for students and even hammams. They usually received plenty of funds from their waqf properties or patrons. For *imāmzādih-hā* the two-level system was not applicable either, since they were limited in number (at most there were 9 cases) and enjoyed important social status.

Here an important question arises: if there was no systematic, large-scale decline in the number of mosques, were there, nevertheless, random cases of disappearing mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period? Or mosques were always protected from any destruction or transformation, as shariʿa law stipulates?

5.2.3. Various cases of permanently missing mosques

My investigation of the primary sources confirms various cases of mosques that disappeared in the *Nāṣirī* period. Although the mosque is defined as an unchangeable religious institution in shariʿa law and *fiqh* rulings, my research

shows that change and alteration of this purportedly untouchable institution did occur. To explain this phenomenon, here I discuss two sets of mosques in the following paragraphs.

The missing mosques discussed in the earlier section (Table 46) are hard to trace in historical documents. Since they are not consistently recorded in the documents, I could not trace them to see the pattern of continuation and destruction among them. However, in my spatial investigations of the current locations of several cases of such mosques I could not find any mosque in their respective locations, even in the neighbouring area of their original locations. Many of them do not currently exist in the city. The disappearance of mosques, regardless of the exact date of their destruction, stands in direct contradiction with shariʿa law.

Even among the recorded mosques, I found several cases of the missing mosques. As I discuss in chapters 3 and 4, such cases exist on the maps and cadastral surveys. The next table shows the RIs as recorded in the documents (Table 48). To find the missing mosques, I selected the well-known mosques omitted on the older maps and the third survey. Adopting an extremely cautious approach, I could identify several cases of missing mosques. Berezin records two mosques by the names of Yūnis Khān (19,5) and Sarchālih (18,10) which do not exist on the two other maps. A famous mosque in the vicinity of Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15) cemetery and *imāmzādih* is not mentioned on Krziz's map. The decorating tiles of the eastern dome of the *Imāmzādih* show the date of 1310 Q./ 1893 CE as the year of completion of the construction work. In this case, I conclude that the mosque was destroyed at the time of Krziz but reconstructed in the second half of the 19th century.[1] Some

1 Nurbakhsh, *Tehran bi Ravayat-i Tarikh*, 1381, 1:1203.

sources refer to it as the Munīrīyih Mosque.[1] Moreover, Krziz records two mosques which are missing from Najm al-Mulk's map, i.e Unnamed 5 (8,12) and Ẓil al-Sultān (15,9). Such cases of missing mosques show that even a rigid and unchangeable RI such as the mosque could not always survive the changing environment of the city of Tehran. They could fall into ruin for a while or vanish forever with the passage of time.

Table 48. The RIs as recorded in the primary sources

Map 1	(1)	Survey No.1	A
Map 2	(2)	Survey No.3	B
Map 3	(3)		

City District	takyihs#76	madrasas#31	mosques#76	imāmzādihs#10
Arg	Rasūlbiyg B Dawlat (17,7)(15-8) 123B	Mādar-i Shāh (14,9) (1A23) Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) (2)B Hāshimīyih B	Mādar-i Shāh (14,9) (3) Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) (3) Ẓil al-Sulṭān(15,9) (A2) Muʿallimkhānih-yi Dar al-Funun B Masjid-i muqābil-i Dar al-Funun B Khāqān-i Maghfūr B	Unnamed1(14,2) (3)
ʿUdlajan	ʿArabhā (13,2) (A23)B Pāminār,Unnamed2(10,6) (1A3) Ḥayāṭ-i Shāhī,Unnamed3(10,7) (2)(3)B Dānkī(9,6) (1A23) Reżā Qulīkhān(7,6) (123)B Ḥawż,Unnamed2,Masjid Ḥawż, Darb-i Masjid Ḥawż (7,10) (1)(A)(2)(3)B ʿUdlajān (9,10) (1A23)B Pīrzan (9,9) (A3)B Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) (A23)B Āqā Bahrām (9,4) (2) Sarchashmih (6,4) (A2) Unnamed2 (13,4) (1) Unnamed3 (10,9) (1) Unnamed4 (3,7) (1) (Makhrūbih) Sarchalanbak (6,8) (1A) Pīrʿaṭā (9,8) (A2) ʿIzzat al-Duwlih B Sādāt-i ʿAkhawī B Qamar al-Salṭanih B	Pāminār,Mirzā Ṣālih(10,6) 1A23B Dānkī (9,6) (3) Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) (23) Marvī (12,8) (A23)B Sipahsālār(12,8) (A)B Saʿd al-Mulk(Qanbarʿalī)(6,8) 3B	Kūchak-i Pāyi Mināŕ (10,6) (A) Kūchak-i Dāngī (9,6) (A) Ḥawż (7,10) (23) Takyih Darb-i Madrasah (7,8) (A) Āqā Bahrām (9,4) (23) Makhrūbih, Sarchalanbak (6,8)(A) Pīrʿaṭā (9,8) AB Ḥakam (11,9) (1A23) Sipahsālār (12,8) (3) Unnamed4,Sipahdār(10,2) A23B Unnamed4 (6,3) (3) Amin Niẓām (6,3) (3) ʿAyn al-Mulk (7,9) (3) Ṣanīʿ al-Mulk (3,8) (3) Ṣāhib Dīvān (6,10) (3) Ḥājī Ustād ʿAlī B Āqā Jalāl B Fāḍil B Ghaḍanfarkhān B Pīr Qulīkhān B Sayyid Ḥasan B ʿIqbāl al-Salṭanih B Unnamed B Ḥājī ʿAlīriḍā B Unnamed B Unnamed B Fakhrīkhānum B Ṣadr al-Ḥukamāʿ B Unnamed B Ḥājī Shaykh Mahdī B	Pīrʿaṭā(9,8) (A)B

1 Abrishami, *Tehran-i Ruzgaran-i Qadim*, 239.

			Qajar B	Unnamed5 (12,6) (3)
Chalmaydan	Abu al-Qāsim Shīrāzī (4,9) A23 Zargarhā (4,10) (A23)B Lūṭī ʿAlīkhān,Ḥammām Khānum(5,12)1A23B Afshārhā(1-2) Ṣāḥib Dīvān (5,11) (3) Mullā Ghadīr (6,11) (2-3)B Sarpūlak (8,11) (A23)B Chālmaydān (7,12) (3)B ʿAbbās ʿAlī (6,13) (A23) Pahlavān Sharīf (5,13) 1A23B Ismāʿīl (8,14) 1-3 Reżā Qulīkhān (7,12) (2) ʿArabhā (8,16) (A2) Unnamed5(9,14) (1) Abu al-Qāsim-i Shīrāzī B	Ḥājī Abu al-Fatḥ B	Sarpūlak(8,11) (A23)B Ismāʿīl (8,14) (1A23) Shahāb al-Mulk(6,15) (3)B Amīn al-Dawlih (7,12) (3)B Hājī Abu al-Fatḥ (2,16) 3 Hājī Mullā Muḥammad aʿfar(4,13) A3B Unnamed5 (8-12) (2) Ṣāḥbdīvān B Yaḥyā (3,9) (A)	Ismāʿīl (8,14) 1A23B Yaḥyā (3,9) 1A2-3B
Bazar	Chihiltan (10,14) (1A23)B Hafttan (13,14) (1A23)B Suhrābkhān (12,11) (1-2-3) Nuwrūzkhān (12,10) (A23)B Manūchihrkhān (17,10) (1-2-3)B Khishtī (11,15) (2-3)B Qātirchī (11,16) (A23)B Zanbūrakkhānih(12,15) (A23)B Khudāfarīd (14,15) (1A23)B Malikābād (17,14) (1A23)B Khalajhā (18,13) (A23)B ʿAbbāsābād (16,16) 1A3B Guwd1 (12,17) (3)B Unnamed9,Guwd2 (17,17) (2)(3) Unnamed6(11,13) (1) Unnamed7(11,10) (1) Mashhadīāqā B Pāchinār in the Gharībīyān alley B Unnamed8,Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ (12,12)1AB	Malikābād B ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Āṣif al-Duwlih(14,11) (1-2-3)B Dār al-Shifāʿ(13,9) A23B Ṣadr (14,10) (A23)B Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn(16,12) 3B Muḥsinīyyih(12,10) 2-3B Aṣifīyyih (12,11) 3B Muḥammadiyyih(12,11) A23B	Zanbūrakkhānih B Guẕar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ B ʿAbbāsābād B Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn(16,12) 3B Muḥammadiyyih(12,12) (3)	Unnamed,Chihiltan(10,14)1A23

		Khānʿalī Farrāsh B ʿAbdallāhkhān B Mullā Āqā Riḍā B Munīrīyih B	Jāmiʿ (12,12) 1A23B Ḥāj,Āqā Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh (14,12)1A23B Khāzan al-Mulk (16,11) 3B Shāh (13,10) 1A23B Unnamed6 (13,15) (3) Unnamed7 (16,16) (3) Ḥājī Malik al-Tujjār B Malik B Mīrzā Mūsā B Muʿāvin al-Duwlih B Ḥājī Safarʿalī B Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn(18,15) 1A3	Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn(18,15) 1A3 Zayd (15,12) 1A23 Sayyid Valī (16,11) A3)
	Zayd,Dar-i Imāmzādih Zayd (15,12) 1A	Imāmzādih Zayd B		
Sangalaj	Mīrzā Ḥusayn Ḥakīm (20,3) 1A23 Afshārhā (19,4) 1-2-3)B Ābpakhshkun (21,4) (3)B Dabbāghkhānih (24,8) 1A23B Darkhʷāngāh(21,9) (1A23)B Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,11) (2-3) Ḥājī Bāqir (22,10) (A23) Vazīr (19,10) (2-3) Kirmānīhā (19,11) (A23)B Himmatābād (19,12) (2-3)B Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar Nāyib (19,12) A3 Qumīhā (21,13) (1A23) Māfīhā (21,15) (3) Muʿayyir al-Mulk(20,15) (3) Unnamed9(18,5) (1) Mīrān (18,7) (2) Ḥājī Kāẓim B Ḥājī Ḥādīkhān B Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih B Chāl Ḥiṣār B	Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) 23B Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm (20,7) A23B Yūniskhān (20,7) A23B Mīrzā Zakī (20,5) (1A2) Muḥammad Khājih (19,10) A2 Ḥājī Sayyid Ṣādiq B Mīrzā Riḍāqulī B Chāl Ḥiṣār B	Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī (21,9) 123 Qūrkhānih-yi Kuhnih B Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm (20,7) B Yūniskhān (20,7) B Mīrzā Zaki (20,5) (3) Ḥājī Sayyid Ṣādiq B Shāhzādih Khānum (24,11) 3 Yūniskhān (19,5) 1 Sarchālih, Chāl Ḥiṣār (18,10) 1A Khanih-yi Khuda yani masjid B Masjid B ʿAʿlamshāh B Mustuwfī B	Ghiybī(18,3) (3)

Despite several cases of missing mosques in this period, mosques usually endured more persistently than any other urban constructions in the city of Tehran. Most of the mosques lasted until the end of the Qajar period. As explained in the earlier section, the main elements that guaranteed the continuity of the mosques were their size, the multiple social tasks they were fulfilling other than their religious functions, their considerable financial support by waqf properties, and the support of influential ʿulamaʾ or imams.

The discovery of a number of mosques that were destroyed or vanished irrevocably in the second half of the 19th century, notwithstanding the fact that perpetuity had always been considered an essential characteristic of mosques, is an important finding of this research. While in general the perpetuity and sanctity of mosques

were recognised and respected, but in a not insignificant number of cases, Tehran mosques disappeared, in direct contravention of shariʿa law.

5.3. Growth in the number of madrasas in parallel with the expansion of modern schools

The madrasa was a major RI in the urban structure of the city of Tehran. Since they were generally giant buildings with different components attached to them, the authors rarely ignored them in their historical records. Unlike some mosques or even some *imāmzādih-hā* which were small single-room structures, madrasas were almost always large buildings with various urban components. In many instances they even got larger by combining with other structures such as a mosque, an *imāmzādih,* a *takyih,* or a hammam. I can see examples of such combinations in Table 48.

The recorded madrasas in the documents could be classified into three categories: 1. Some mainly functioned as madrasas and were independent from other urban objects. The few instances are Marvī (12,8), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Āṣif al-Duwlih (14,11), Dār al-Shifāʾ(13,9), Ṣadr (14,10), Muḥsinīyyih(12,10), Aṣifīyyih (12,11), and Muḥammad Khājih (19,10). 2. Some of the madrasas were attached to other RIs but were, nevertheless, mainly used as educational institutions. In this category I find famous madrasas such as Pāminār-i Mirzā Ṣālih (10,6), Mādar-i Shāh (14,9), Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4), Sipahsālār (12,8), Muḥammadiyyih (12,11), Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm (20,7), Yūniskhān (20,7), and Mīrzā Zakī (20,5). This set of madrasas could have had other components such as a hammam, a mosque or a *takyih*, but they were mainly known as madrasas. The interesting point is that the majority of the waqf hammams were dedicated to madrasas (see Table 52). While madrasas used to serve as lodging for students, having a hammam seemed necessary for the daily life of

their inhabitants. 3. Other cases were attached to another RI which were more commonly used for social activities other than Islamic education. Some examples are Dānkī (9,6), Shiykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn (16,12), Imāmzādih Zayd (15,12), and Chāl Ḥiṣār (18,10).

Before any attempt for establishing the number of the madrasas in the city of Tehran, however, I should first deal with several problems. Since madrasas were mostly attached to other RIs, I should consider the possibility that the authors may have sometimes refrained from naming a madrasa as a separate RI. Although I am keen to consider this possibility in my investigations, I have found convincing reasons to believe that the authors of the primary sources had a tendency to record all the different forms of RIs in any specific location. In chapter 3, I have already examined several cases for such conglomerations, in which the authors of the maps use different symbols to differentiate between several types of RIs in one specific location. Moreover, in the surveys No.1 and No.3, the authors in several instances mention two or more RIs with one single name in a single location, such as Takyih Dānkī (9,6) and Masjid-i Dānkī (9,6).

All in all, I believe the numbers of madrasas in the historical documents are generally reliable. The main reasons for my confidence are the tendency of the primary sources to differentiate between various RIs, and the fact that madrasas were generally large and significant urban structures.

The only exception is survey No.2. As discussed in chapter 4, this survey is a brief document that does not contain the same level of details as the other documents. According to No.2, there were 35 madrasas in the whole city, old and new districts. Since the document does not mention the number of the modern schools, it may have included the modern schools under the category of madrasa. Based on these considerations, even if one adopts a positive position about the reliability of the

document, one cannot claim that the number of madrasas goes beyond 25 to 30. As a result, I prefer to treat this survey with caution in my analysis about the number of madrasas.

The data on madrasas show that their number rises smoothly in the Qajar period. In the beginning of the *Nāṣirī* period the number of madrasas shows a sudden increase and thereafter follows an even trend for several decades; however, at the end of the period it surges and reaches 27 (Table 49). Additionally, a review of the findings from my primary sources shows that the period from the production of Krziz's map until cadastral survey No.3 was the most dynamic time for the transformation of madrasas (Table 42).

Table 49. Number of madrasas in the Nāṣirī Period as recorded in the documents

The document	Total number
No.3 1900AD/1317Q	**27**
Najm 1880sAD/1300sQ	**19**
No.2 1868AD/1284Q	**35**
Krziz 1858 CE/1275 Q	**18**
No1 1853 CE/1269Q	**19**
Berezin 1840sAD/1260sQ	**4**

This finding can help us to better understand modernization of Iranian society. Despite the steady development of the city towards modern institutions, the increasing trend towards the establishment of traditional madrasas continues until the end of the *Nāṣirī* period. This finding is in direct contradiction with the argument introduced by Ringer about modernization of the Qajar educational system. Ringer believes that the expansion of modern schools in the 1880s CE/ 1300s Q. increased the popularity of the modern schools and consequently caused

a serious threat to the expansion of traditional madrasas.[1] Our data show that the sudden expansion of the modern schools did not result in the decline of the Islamic madrasas in the *Nāṣirī* period.

In the next chapter, I argue that the process of stagnation started several years later and after the *Nāṣirī* period. Ringer's claim about the expansion of modern schools is applicable to the *Muẓaffarī* period.[2] A review of the map of Vizārat-i Maʿārif of modern schools in the 1920s CE /1340s Q. shows the sudden escalation of the number of modern schools. The total number of modern schools has risen to 121 (see chapter 3). However, the data do not provide any information about the rate of decline in the number of madrasas in the *Muẓaffarī* period. Unfortunately, the data about madrasas in the post-*Nāṣirī* period are insufficient for drawing any meaningful conclusions.

The next question concerns the destruction and transformation of madrasas. When I go through the data presented in Table 48, I can find two cases of madrasas which were either destroyed or merged into other RIs. Mīrzā Zakī (20,5) and Muḥammad Khājih (19,10) are the most certain cases of disappearing madrasas. Mīrzā Zakī (20,5) is recorded in Map 1, Survey No.1, and Map 2, and Muḥammad Khājih (19,10) is mentioned in Map 2, and Survey No.1. However, there is no other record of these two madrasas in later documents. Saʿd al-Mulk (6,8) is another madrasa which is not recorded in other documents. It is first recorded in Map 3; however, the secondary sources show that its name later changed to Qanbarʿalī or Saʿdīyyih, referring to one of the Qajar elites, called Haji Qanbarʿalikhan-i Mafi.[3] He was the

1 Ringer, *Amuzish-i Din va Guftiman-i Islah-i Farhang-i dar Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 165.
2 Ringer, 203–4.
3 Mahdi Bamdad, *Sharh-i Hal-i Rijal-i Iran dar Qarn-i 12 va 13 va 14 Hijri*, vol. 3 (Tehran: Zawar, 1371), 371–72.

brother of Husayqulikhan-i Nizam al-Saltanih-yi Mafi who served several years as the head of the customs and ports of the Persian Gulf. Nasir al-Din Shah awarded him with the title of Saʿd al-Mulk.[1] In support of this, in Survey No.3 I could identify a madrasa called Qanbarʿalī in the same location. Yet, I can argue that there are at least two cases of madrasas in the *Nāṣirī* period which disappeared by the time of production of the third map in the 1880s CE/ 1300s Q.

Such rare cases of missing madrasas convince me that madrasas were mostly safe from dissolution. Out of 31 madrasas listed in the documents, 24 cases are continuously recorded in the consequent documents produced after the initial document. Such continuity is unique in comparison to other RIs.

Moreover, none of the missing madrasas were famous RIs with key social roles. Famous madrasas such as Mādar-i Shāh (14,9) or Sipahsālār (12,8) had large networks of elites and social groups connected actively with them. In general, the religious, physical, and social features of any given madrasa played significant roles in determining its perpetuity or mutability. The madrasas attached to large religious complexes were mostly multifunctional complexes composed of different RIs; as an example, Dānkī (9,6) was composed of a *takyih,* a madrasa, and a mosque. The common pattern of change among madrasas with religious complexes was that their educational functions could decay or be overshadowed by other socio-religious functions for a fleeting period, but they did not entirely lose their educational character and revived as educational institutions in the later periods. Some other examples of these religious complexes are Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) and Darb-i Madrasah (7,8). The madrasa of Mahd-i ʿUlyāʾ (15,4) existed at the time of

1 Karim Sulaymani, *Alqab-i Rijal-i Dawrih-yi Qajar* (Tehran: Nashr-i Niy, 1379), 81–82.

production of Krziz's map but it had turned into a mosque by the end of the 19th century, according to Najm al-Mulk's map.

A review of the findings from the primary sources shows that the number of madrasas gradually increases in the period between the production of the first map in the 1840s CE/ 1260s Q. and the last census in 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. Although it is a dynamic time for transformation and modernization of the urban structures, the expansion of the modern schools does not result in a decline in the number of traditional madrasas before the end of the *Nāṣirī* period.

5.4. Persistence of takyih-hā and imāmzādih-hā in the context of Shiʿi popular culture

The two Shiʿi specific RIs of *takyih* and *imāmzādih* are unique in terms of the rate of growth. The data show that they had the highest increasing rate among all RIs recorded in the documents. In most of the documents, the total number of *takyih-hā* even exceed the number of the mosques. Although the primary sources are mostly insufficient for assessing the number of *takyih-hā,* the general trend of *takyih-hā* in all documents reveals an increasing pattern (Table 48).

However, *takyih-hā* were also the most vulnerable to disappearance. Among the total number of 76 *takyih-hā* recorded in this period, I found 24 cases of *takyih-hā* which disappear sometime during the period under study (Table 50). Even if I avoid using the total number of the missing *takyih-hā,* the number of missing or new-born *takyih-hā* is so high that I can still claim that they are the most vulnerable RI. Another distinctive characteristic is that they were rarely transformed into other types of RIs, contrary to the common trend among madrasas.

Table 50. Unsteady cases of takyih-hā

City District	*Takyih-hā*#24	
ʿ**Udlajan**	Āqā Bahrām (9,4)	(2)
	Sarchashmih (6,4)	(A2)
	Unnamed2 (13,4)	(1)
	Unnamed3 (10,9)	(1)
	Unnamed4 (3,7)	(1)
	Makhrūbih (Sarchalanbak) (6,8)	(1A)
Chalmaydan	Abu al-Qāsim Shīrāzī (4,9)	(A23)
	Afshārhā (Ṣāḥib Dīvān) (5,11)	(123)
	Reżā Qulīkhān (7,12)	(2)
	ʿArabhā (8,16)	(A2)
	Unnamed5(9,14)	(1)
Bazar	Suhrābkhān (12,11)	(1-2-3)
	Unnamed9 (Guwd2) (17,17)	(2)(3)
	Unnamed6(11,13)	(1)
	Unnamed7(11,10)	(1)
Sangalaj	Mīrzā Ḥusayn Ḥakīm (20,3)	(1A23)
	Ḥājī Bāqir (22,10)	(A23)
	Vazīr (19,10)	(2-3)
	Āqā Muḥammad Jaʿfar Nāyib (19,12)	(A3)
	Qumīhā (21,13)	(1A23)
	Māfīhā (21,15)	(3)
	Muʿayyir al-Mulk(20,15)	(3)
	Unnamed9(18,5)	(1)
	Mīrān (18,7)	(2)

While the social environment and popular culture supported the integrity of RIs, shariʿa law did not essentially prohibit the demolition of *takyih-hā*. Therefore, in the absence of social restrictions and resistance, they might disappear either by the passing of time, or by the decision of their founders or even by court officials. Duwlat Takyih is the best example for the vulnerability of *takyih-hā* against changes imposed by the authorities or natural elements. As the first two maps illustrate, it was located near the western wall of the Arg (17,7). However, after the King decided to establish a *takyih* for royal ceremonies, it was destroyed and a new *takyih* was built in 1290 Q. in the southern part of the Arg (15,8), as demonstrated on Najm al-Mulk's map.[1] The structure of this new *takyih* deteriorated by the end of the 19th century and, therefore, its third floor was removed and the wooden pillars were

1 Ghaffari, "Takyih-ha va Talar-hayi Namayish dar Tehran," 161.

supplemented with additional iron pillars. Finally, it was demolished in 1946 CE and replaced by the National Bank of Iran.[1] Another example is Ḥāj Rajab ʿAlī Takyih. This old *takyih* was built before the 1860s CE. It does not exist in the city anymore, but I have not been able to ascertain the date of its demolition.[2]

Imāmzādih-hā follow a similar trend to that witnessed in the case of *takyih-hā*. They change dramatically, but by an increasing trend. However, the emergence of new *imāmzādih-hā* stands in contradiction with the nature of this type of RI, since the children of last Imams died several centuries ago. Yet, new shrines for the children of the Imams' appear in the documents. On Najm al-Mulk's map 1880s CE/ 1300s Q., there are three *imāmzādih-hā* which are not recorded by earlier authors. Two of them does not have any title (Unnamed 1 (14,2) and Unnamed 5 (12,6)) and the third is called Imāmzādih Ghaybī (18,3).

An unsolved question concerns the intermittent absence of some of the *imāmzādih-hā* from the documents. Although some of them were small structures, they should not be ignored by an unbiased author because of their unique religious and social status in Iranian urban and rural space.[3] *Imāmzādih-hā* have been the backbone of urban spaces in Iranian cities and villages. In every urban and rural space, the residential and trading areas usually structure in relation with an *Imāmzādih*.[4] This observation can be supported by our primary documents too (Table 51). In most cases, famous *imāmzādih-hā* have a trading area attached to them with a conglomeration of other RIs located in their vicinity.

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1 Ghaffari, 163–65.
2 Yaʿqubi, *Waqifan-i Dar al-Khilafah*, 47.
3 Asghar Muwlayi, "Bazshinasi-yi Jayqah-i Haram-i Imamzadigan dar Huwiyat-i Shahr-i ba Taʾkid bar Sabk-i Zindiqi-yi Irani Islami," *Pazhuhishnamih-yi Sabk-i Zindigi*, 5, 1, no. 8 (Summer sh 1398): 27–50.
4 Bint al-Huda Nithari et al., "Taʾthir-i Bana-hayi Aramqahi-yih Mazhabi dar Shiklgiri-yi Shahr-hayi Iran dar Dawrih-yi Islami," *Baq-i Nazar* 38 (Spring 1395): 31–38.

Yet, there are several cases of famous *imāmzādih-hā* which are missing in some of our primary sources. In some of these cases I can suggest explanations, such as the *imāmzādih* of Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15), which was in ruins at the time of production of the Krziz's map; this justifies its absence from the map produced by him. But I cannot find any reason for its absence in survey No.3, since the *imāmzādih* is a large and famous structure by the time the survey was produced in 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. The same inconsistency exists about Sayyid Valī (16,11) and Pīrʿaṭā (9,8) in other documents (Table 51).

Table 51. Imāmzādih-hā and the RIs attached to them

City District	***takyih***	**madrasas**	**mosques**	***imāmzādih***
Arg				Unnamed1(14,2) (3)
ʿUdlajan	Pīrʿaṭā (9,8) (A2)B		Pīrʿaṭā (9,8) (A)B	Pīrʿaṭā(9,8) (A)B Unnamed5 (12,6) (3)
Chalmaydan			Ismāʿīl (8,14) (1A23) Yaḥyā (3,9) (A)	Ismāʿīl (8,14) (1A23)B Yaḥyā (3,9) (1A2-3)B
Bazar	Chihiltan (10,14) (1A23)B Zayd,Dar-i Zayd(15,12) Imāmzādih (1A)	Imāmzādih Zayd B	Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (18,15) (1A3)	Unnamed(Chihiltan) (10,14) (1A23) Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn(18,15) (1A3) Zayd (15,12) (1A23) Sayyid Valī (16,11) (A3)
Sangalaj				Ghiybī(18,3) (3)

The continuity and rise of *takyih-hā* and *imāmzādih-hā* reflect the significance of Shiʿi RIs in the city of Tehran. Despite the importance of the mosque in Islamic cultures, the expansion of Shiʿi ideology and rituals related to Imam Husayn promoted the growth of these kinds of RIs more than any others. Various forms of ceremonies and rituals were developed for commemoration of Imam Husayn in this period.[1] *Takyih* was the main place for these rituals and religious social exchanges related to Imam Husayn. A review of the spatial dispersion of the *takyihs* shows that contrary to the mosques there is no correlation between their position and the Bazar area. They usually served local functions and they were related to sub-identities,

1 Aghaei, "Religious Rituals, Social Identities and Political Relationships in Tehran under Qajar Rule, 1850s-1920s."

such as Kirmaniha, Misqarha, or Zanburakkhanih. In this context Dawlat Takyih was an exception, since it was the largest *takyih* of the city established by Nasir al-Din Shah to serve as a venue for official ceremonies in which the court and even the women of the *ḥaram* participated.[1]

5.5. Waqf properties of Tehran

Our primary sources provide limited information about the transformation of waqf properties. The only waqf case mentioned on the maps is the famous garden of Bāq-i Pistihbayg (2,8) in Chalmaydan district (Chapter 3). Berezin (1840s CE/ 1260s Q.) and Krziz (1858 CE/1275 Q.) clearly illustrate the property on their maps, however, Najm al-Mulk does not record this large waqf property on his map in 1880s CE/ 1300s Q. Then, survey No.3 (1900 CE/1317 Q.) records three locations under this title,[2] but there is no reference to any waqf property by this name in the whole text. The historical records from later periods reveal that various parts of the garden were turned into buildings, such as a *takyih*, a tea shop, and several private and waqf houses.[3] The only remainder of this waqf in the city today is a square named after it, the Pistihbayg square located on the same spot as was shown on Krziz's map.[4] The garden is a clear case of a waqf property that transformed and gradually vanished in the course of time. As another example, a ruined caravanserai is recorded in survey No.3 which used to be a waqf property before its destruction, and which had been dedicated to Chihiltan Takyih.[5]

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1 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 249–50.
2 Saʿdvandiyan and Ittihadiyih, 559, 561 and 575.
3 Muʿtamidi, *Jughrafiya-yi Tarikh-iyi Tehran*, 340.
4 "Baq-i Pistihbiyg."
5 Saʿdvandiyan and Ettehadieh, *Amar-i Dar al-Khilafah-yi Nasiri, Asnad-i az Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi-yi Tehran dar ʿAsr-i Qajar 1269-1286q*., 531.

The second set of waqf properties recorded in the documents are public hammams. There are some missing waqf hammams in the surveys. While there are 14 waqf hammams in survey No.1, only 3 are found in survey No.3 (Table 52). The missing waqf hammams were located in the districts of ʿUdlajan (3 cases), Bazar (1 case), and Sangalaj (7 cases). As noted above, the Mīrzā Zakī Madrasa vanished in the mid-Qajar period, and this can explain the disappearance of its hammams too. Hammams were large buildings, and the authors of the surveys could not easily neglect them if they had been extant. Moreover, the two surveys are the most comprehensive documents on urban data for this period. And since the survey No.3 deals with waqf properties in greater detail, it is scarcely credible that its author(s) would have been unaware of or would have ignored 11 cases of old waqf hammams. Therefore, they must either have been vanished or have been turned into other properties before the date of survey No.3. Since hammams were made of clay and primitive materials, they were seriously vulnerable to humidity and, therefore, more prone to decay than other urban structures. This fact also helps to explain their transformation or destruction.

Table 52. The missing waqf hammams based on the surveys No.1 and No.3

	No1 (1853 CE/1269Q)		**No.3 (1900AD/1317Q)**	
	Purpose of the waqf	**No.**	**Purpose of the waqf**	**No.**
ʿUdlajan	Marvī Madrasa (Ḥammām-i Marvī)	1	------	1
	Marvī Madrasa	2		
	Mādar-i Shāh Madrasa (Ḥammām-i Dānkī)	1		
Chalmaydan			Unnamed Madrasas	1
Bazar	Shāh Mosque	1	------	1
	Pāminār Takyih and Holy Imams	1		
Sangalaj	Mīrzā Zakī Madrasa	1		
	------	6		
	Total number	**13**		**3**

The most common waqf properties inside the city are shops. Survey No.1 rarely refers to any waqf property other than waqf shops, but it does provide a detailed record of those waqf properties. It records 1111 waqf shops, mostly in the bazar area.

Table 53. Waqf shops in the survey No.1

	Purpose of the waqf shops	Type	Number	Total
Arg#26	Qāsimkhānī	Madrasa	7	7
	-------	-------	19	
ʿUdlajan#121	Unnamed	Madrasa	1	
	Mīrzā Ṣālih	Madrasa	4	
	Unnamed	Madrasa	3	
	Ḥājī Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusaynkhān	Madrasa	2	
	Ṣadr	Madrasa	11	47
	Unnamed	Mosque	2	5
	Sarchishmih	Takyih	6	
	Riżāqulīkhān	Takyih	22	
	Mullā Riżā	Takyih	8	
	Unnamed	Takyih	2	
	Kūchak	Takyih	3	
	Dānkī	Takyih	6	
	Mīrzā Ṣālih	Takyih	6	53
	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	8	8
	Ābanbār-i Muḥibʿalīkhān	Ābanbār	3	6
	Unnamed	Ābanbār and Mosque	3	
	-------	-------	33	
Chalmaydan#30	Muḥammadīyyih	Madrasa	4	4
	Pātakhtā	Takyih	5	
	Unnamed	Takyih	1	6
	Unnmaed	Imāmzādih	1	
	Ismāʿīl	Imāmzādih	3	4
	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	14	14
	---------	---------	2	
Bazar#867	Mādar-i Shāh	Madrasa	46	
	ʿAbdallāhkhān	Madrasa	6	
	Marvī	Madrasa	9	
	Muḥammadīyyih	Madrasa	76	
	Pā-yi Mināŕ	Madrasa	2	
	Ḥājī Muḥsin	Madrasa	9	
	Mīrzā Riżā Qulī	Madrasa	3	151
	Shāh	Mosque	42	
	Jāmiʿ (Jumʿih)	Mosque	71	
	ʿAzīzallāh	Mosque	1	
	Ḥakīm	Mosque	9	
	Chāhārsūq	Mosque	3	
	Unnamed	Mosque	18	144
	Zayd	Imāmzādih	8	
	Chihiltan	Imāmzādih	8	16
	Chihiltan	Takyih	4	
	Zargarhā Takyih	Takyih	2	
	Pāchināŕ	Takyih	2	
	Malikābād	Takyih	3	
	ʿAbbāsābād	Takyih	4	

	Hafttan	Takyih	3	
	Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ	Takyih	9	
	Unnamed	Takyih	2	33
	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	343	346
	14 Imams	14 Imams	2	
	Imām Riżā	Imām Riżā	1	
	--------	--------	179	
Sangalaj#67	Āghā Muḥammad Khājih	Madrasa	1	
	Yūniskhān	Madrasa	4	
	Unnamed	Madrasa	17	22
	Qūrkhānih	Mosque	2	
	Unnamed	Mosque	1	3
	Chāl Ḥiṣār	Takyih	3	
	Unnamed	Takyih	20	23
	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ	14	14
	Mīrzā Riżāqulī	------	2	
Total#1111				

In survey No.3, waqf properties are recorded with less details. This document lists 554 shops (Table 33) and 79 houses (Table 55). Here again the majority of the properties are shops and, then, houses.[1]

Table 54. Waqf shops in the 3rd survey No.3

	Purpose of the waqf	**Type**	**Number**
ʿUdlajan#137	------	------	36
	Ṣadr	Madrasa	9
	Ṣadr	Madrasa	1
	Sepahsālār	Madrasa	6
	Marvī	Madrasa	8
	Qanbarʿalīkhān	Madrasa	3
	Unnamed	Mosque	24
	Qājār	Mosque	1
	Sādāt-i ʿAkhavī	Takyih	22
	Shāhī	Takyih	6
	Pīrizan	Takyih	6
	Unnamed	Takyih	9
	Khāmis Āl-i ʿAbāʾ	Khāmis Āl-i ʿAbāʾ	1
	Pīrʿaṭā	????	5
Chalmaydan#97	Ḥājī Sayyid Abu al-Ḥasan-i Miʿmār	Mosque	9
	Ḥājī Shaykh Ḥasan	Mosque	4
	Marvī	Mosque	6
	Unnamed	Mosque	7
	Moḥammadīyih	Mosque	4
	Chāl	Takyih	3
	Sarpūlak	Takyih	5
	Yaḥyā Imāmzādih	Imāmzādih	5

1 In this table, I have considered caravansaries and small bazars equal to a shop for practical reason.

	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	22
	------	------	32
Bazar#239	Malikābād	Madrasa	3
	Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn	Madrasa	13
	ʿAbdallāhkhān	Madrasa	7
	Marvī	Madrasa	7
	Dār al-Shafāʾ	Madrasa	5
	Mullā Āqā Riżā	Madrasa	6
	Sipahsālār	Madrasa	10
	Qanbarʿalīkhān	Madrasa	1
	Muḥammadīyyih	Madrasa	5
	Āṣif al-Dawlih	Madrasa	5
	Jāmiʿ	Mosque	1
	ʿAbbāsābād	Mosque	9
	Unnamed	Mosque	6
	Unnamed small	Mosque	2
	ʿAbbāsābād	Takyih	6
	Khudāfarīn, Guẕar-i Lūṭī Ṣāliḥ	Takyih	8
	Guwd-i Zanbūrakkhānih	Takyih	1
	Zargarhā	Takyih	3
	Manūchihrkhān	Takyih	1
	Malikābād	Takyih	3
	Chihiltan	Takyih	3
	Imāmzādih Zayd	Takyih	11
	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	28
	Najaf-i Ashraf	Najaf-i Ashraf	4
	Unspecified sayyids	Sayyids	1
	------		90
Sangalaj#81	Chāl Ḥiṣār	Madrasa	2
	Ḥājī Rajabʿalī	Madrasa	3
	Yūniskhān	Madrasa	2
	Ḥājī Sayyid Ṣādiq	Madrasa	3
	Unnamed	Madrasa	8
	Unnamed	Mosque	7
	Mustuwfī	Mosque	4
	Kirmānīhā	Takyih	1
	Chāl Ḥiṣār	Takyih	14
	Dabbāghkhānih	Takyih	8
	Darkhāngāh	Takyih	2
	------	------	27
Total#554			

Table 55. waqf houses in the 3rd survey No.3

	Purpose of the waqf houses	**Type**	**Number#79**
ʿUdlajan#23	Marvī	Madrasa	4
	Unnamed	Mosque	1
	Unnamed	Takyih	1
	Riżāqulīkhān	Takyih	3
	------	------	14
Chalmaydan#9	------	------	9
Bazar#30	Munīrīyih	Madrasa	1
	Muḥammadīyyih	Madrasa	1
	Unnamed	Takyih	1
	Chihiltan	Takyih	1

	Namāzkhānih-yi Armenian	Church	2
	------	------	24
Sangalaj#17	------	------	11
	Unnamed Takyih	Takyih	2
	Unnamed Namāzkhānih	Church	1
	Unnamed Ābanbār	Ābanbār	1
	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	Sayyid al-Shuhadā	2

At first glance, I could identify some general patterns for the spatial dispersion and the types of waqf properties. A comparison between waqf shops and other types of waqf properties shows that the share of shops is considerably higher than the rest. The number of waqf shops are 998 (out of 1111 waqf properties) in survey No.1 and 462 (out of 544 waqf properties) in survey No.3. To explain the phenomena, I should emphasize that waqf properties aimed at generating income to cover the expenses of religious activities, and shops were the main source of commercial income in urban areas.

Moreover, there is a clear correlation between the number of waqf properties in a given district and the financial situation of its inhabitants. This observation is further supported by the findings in different districts. The data clearly reflect the high density of waqf properties in the Bazar district. In both surveys No.1 and No.3, Bazar hosts the majority of waqf properties. Since the bazar was the centre of economic activity in the city, the concentration of waqf properties in Bazar seems unsurprising. Chalmaydan district has the least share of waqf properties among the four main districts which is in correlation with the economic situation of the neighbourhood. Chalmaydan was mainly inhabited by lower class people who could rarely afford large endowments. Moreover, the donors preferred to establish waqf shops or hammams in wealthy districts so that the properties could produce higher profits.

Our primary sources suffer from certain deficiencies which prevent them from providing much information about the mechanisms of change. As I explain in

chapter 1, such ambiguities are inalienable features of the documents dealing with waqfs. As an example, it is not clear whether surveys No.1 and No.3 have recorded comprehensive lists of all waqfs inside the city at the time of production of the documents or not. In the absence of a central register of waqfs in the Qajar period, the production and collection of waqf deeds was carried out arbitrarily by different individuals and institutions.[1]

5.6. Conclusion

The comparative study of our primary sources helped me to gain a general picture of patterns of continuity and change of RIs in the *Nāṣirī* period. My investigations showed that perpetuity is the general feature of RIs, but that not all types of RIs exhibit the same propensity for perpetuity and change. For this reason, any urban study on Iranian cities in the Qajar period should consider the structure and dispersion of the main 4 types of RIs. Mosque, madrasa, *takyih*, and *imāmzādih* were inalienable elements of the cities in the *Nāṣirī* period. Yet, the support of shariʿa law and popular culture could not always protect these RIs against change and transformation. Even the most sacred and safeguarded RI, the mosque, was exposed to change and destruction. However, the level of perpetuity and the patterns of change were different for each RI.

In relation to mosques, my findings contradict Ettehadieh's claim about the declining number of mosques in the *Nāṣirī* period. Whether I use high values or low values for the number of mosques in each period, I have shown that the number of mosques tended to increase in the course of the *Nāṣirī* period. I have distinguished

1 Firiydun Adamiyyat, *Andishih-yi Traqi va Hukumat-i Qanun dar ʿAsr-i Sipahsalar* (Tehran: 1385 sh., Kharazmi), 188.

two main types of mosques: small single-room prayer rooms without significant social status, waqf properties, or prominent imams. This type was easily ignored in most of the historical sources. The second set of mosques were large buildings with specific architectural features. They always had well-known imams and played important socio-religious functions; therefore, they were mostly attached to other RIs or hammams and formed a complex of RIs. Moreover, they were financially supported by various waqf properties. The term '*masājid-i muʿtabar,*' literally means 'reputable mosques,' was used to refer to both types of mosques in the historical sources.[1]

The mosque was the most rigid RI but was still susceptible to transformation. In some cases, mosques were missing forever. These usually belonged to the first set of small and insignificant mosques. In other cases, mosques did not disappear but underwent changes. Such changes were not limited to their physical attributes; their social functions also changed in keeping with the new religious components added to them in the passage of time.

Madrasas were almost always large buildings with various urban components and high levels of continuity. They were mostly supported by large waqf properties and by various networks of students, pupils, donors, and ʿulamaʾ. Our primary sources showed that the number of madrasas gradually increased towards the end of the *Nāṣirī* period. Despite the growing trend of modern schools, the modernization of educational institutions did not result in the decline of the number of traditional madrasas in this period.

In the *Nāṣirī* period, the Shiʿi institutions of *takyih* and *imāmzādih* flourished across the city. The dominance of the Shiʿi rituals related to Muharram elevated

1 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 65; DII.N, no. 234 (10 Ramadan 1291 Q.).

these two Shiʿi-specific RI. However, *takyih-hā* were the most vulnerable RI in this period and many of them vanished. Meanwhile, *imāmzādih-hā* expanded in terms of both number and size.

There is a clear correlation between the number of waqf properties of a district and the financial situation of its inhabitants. The majority of waqfs were shops which were mostly located in Bazar district. However, even an essentially stable institution such as waqf was not safe against change and transformation. A famous example is Baq-i Pistihbiyg which was a waqf garden transformed into various types of waqf and private properties, and finally vanished in the later periods.

The perpetuity and change of RIs were entangled with various socio-political factors. In the next chapter, I reflect on institutional factors which facilitated these changes and transformations.

6. Chapter 6- Shariʿa Law, Society, and Transformation of Religious Institutions in Iran

6.1. Introduction

The *Nāṣirī* period is a period of rapid social change. As the zenith of Iranian modernization, it emanated from painful experiences such as the catastrophic encounters during the Russo-Persian wars, but also from rewarding improvements such as the expansion of modern education and sciences. Different dimensions of religious institutions and practices were refashioned in one way or another to adapt with the growing changes. Religious life was not immune to these changes. In line with these environmental factors, some social groups expediated transformation of social institutions too. As a crucial factor in institutional changes, the King and political elites were striving for greater control over social institutions and the establishment of central bureaucratic organizations; a process which could challenge the preservation of RIs. In this context, the ʿulamaʾ were the main inter-institutional players in the preservation and transformation of RIs. The political elites and *tujjār* established their position in the RIs became part of the institutional structure of the RIs. These social groups produced formidable forces that could physically and socially change the RIs in this period.

In the final part of this research, I use the micro-level findings from the earlier chapters to develop my discussions about the crucial factors of change in RIs. The pivotal questions of this chapter are the following: to what extent were RIs resisting change and transformation? How did they absorb change in response to the social developments in this period? Which social groups did facilitate the changes? To answer these questions, I highlight the exogenous and indigenous factors of change in this period. The changing factors, whether internally emanated the change or induced themselves from external social institutions, could result in different consequences for the RIs.

However, this research cannot adequately investigate the main factors. The following discussions are my introductory observations on some crucial factors and findings. Obviously, each section of this chapter requires further investigations to properly present the landscape of the institutional environment in this period.

6.2. Shiʿi shariʿa law and popular religion as the guardians of perpetuity of RIs

Shiʿi shariʿa law and popular religion are the two religious sources of perpetuity and sanctity of RIs. Shariʿa law has developed the formal rules that regulate various RIs. At the centre of this formal setting, are perpetuity and sanctity, however with different levels and qualities for each kind of RI. Although various types of RIs enjoy various levels of perpetuity and sanctity, they all benefit from the formal rules established by Shiʿi shariʿa to prolong their lives more than any other urban structure in this period.

The formal RIs were not the only elements of the institutional environment of Iranian society. Shiʿi popular religion was also a major factor in the Iranian social sphere and formed the informal norms and values, leaving its impact on various aspects of social life in Iran. The religious values, norms, and rituals developed under Shiʿi popular religion over the passage of time paved the way for expansion of Shiʿi-specific RIs such as *takyih* and *imāmzādih* in the Qajar period.[1] The other important institutional by-product of this culture was the diversion of money flow and financial resources towards Shiʿi RIs.

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1 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i,* 249–50. Niyazmand, *Shiʿi dar Tarikh-i Iran: Shiʿi Chih Miguyad va Chi Mikhahad*, 218–19.

Shariʿa law, developed in fiqh literature, was regarded as the divine rulings that shaped the lives of Iranian Muslims. In the course of history, it was formed as the major discipline of religious education in the madrasas among all Shiʿi communities. It was the most practical part of religious knowledge, dealing with various social acts, daily life procedures, and communal ceremonies. Moreover, its training established the rules of political activities, financial and mercantile exchanges, as well as religious hierarchy. Such normative practical regulation imposed its rulings almost on all social institutions of this period.

At the institutional level, it generated rigid obligatory standards for the preservation of RIs. Since RIs were usually founded on waqf lands and benefited from waqf revenues, the intrinsic feature of perpetuity of waqf was also extended to cover the RIs. By defining waqf as a necessary and non-reversible contract that transfers the ownership of the property to God forever, shariʿa law prepared a solid rationale for the perpetuity of waqf and the RIs connected to it.

As a pivotal Islamic institution, the mosque had been regarded as the most sacred RI. The prohibition of change in the mosque even goes beyond its immovable properties and involves its moveable properties too.[1] The mosque not only enjoys the 'legal sacredness' provided by shariʿa rules on waqf, but also has a 'functional sacredness' originated from the shariʿa and popular religion.[2] There has been a wide range of rules concerning the sanctity of mosques, considered as the place for God's worship.[3]

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1 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Nihayat fi Mujarad-i al-Fiqh wa al-Fatava*, 109. ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, 2:401.
2 Al-Husayni al-ʿAmili, *Miftah al-Karamah fi Sharh-i Qawaʿid al-ʿAllamah*, 1419, 6:246.
3 Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Khilaf fi al-Ahkam*, 1411q., 1:516–18.

Mosques were often intrinsically connected to madrasas. The multi-dimensional functions of the madrasa elevated its social and legal support. Since it was mostly attached to a mosque, some *fiqh* scholars tended to extend *fiqh* rulings about the mosque to cover madrasas too.[1] Those established as a waqf had stronger legal support against changes and the *fiqh* rulings related to waqf in terms of perpetuity and prohibition of any change were generalized to them too.

While Shiʿi *fiqhi* texts make few references to *takyih* and *imāmzādih,* their attachment to other RIs or waqf properties brought solid legal support for their perpetuity and stability. Moreover, popular religion not only supported their existence, but also caused the sudden emergence of many of them in the *Nāṣirī* period (See chapter 5). The position of these RIs in the popular religion was to the extent that different types of rituals and even superstitious beliefs arose around these RIs, such as specific modes of *salām* (greetings) and *duʿā* (prayer) for each *imāmzādih*. Some even believed that these sanctified locations could heal various diseases.[2] As a matter of fact, the destruction of an *imāmzādih* had always been impossible.[3] In the Qajar period, the sanctity of *imāmzādih-hā* turned these buildings into safeguarded areas, in which even criminals were seeking asylum against the prosecusion. They served as the main sites for *bast nishīnī (*seeking asylum).[4]

The formal rules were established in shariʿa law and the informal norms rooted in the Shiʿi popular culture consolidated RIs as the most perpetual urban structures of

1 Muqniyah, *Al-Fiqh ʿala al-Mazahib al-Khamsah*, 614.
2 Fani et al., *Dayirat al-Maʿarif Tashayuʿ*, 1383, 4:204.
3 Kermani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan*, 1:324.
4 Khushiftikhar, "Bast va Bastnishini Dar Duwrih-Yi Qajar," 33–34.

this period. A brief review of the maps and surveys clearly confirms that RIs lived longer than the majority of other urban structures. Neither the primitive building materials used in their construction nor social developments could weaken the general trend of stability of the RIs.The institutional framework established by the shariʿa law and the popular religious beliefs successfully guaranteed a longer life for RIs in the city of Tehran.

6.3. Change and transformation of religious institutions

Despite the support of shariʿa law and popular religion, in the *Nāṣirī* period RIs could not always be protected against change and transformation. Even the most sacred and unchangeable RI, i.e. the mosque, was exposed to change and even destruction. Some mosques are missing forever from the historical record, while others are transformed partly into other RIs or even shops. The disappearance of mosques happened in the case of both unknown and well-known mosques. The spatial investigations of the missing mosques, discussed in chapter 5, shows that the well-known large mosques with reputable imams were less vulnerable than other mosques. Meanwhile, the changes were not limited to their physical attributes and reached to their social functions too. As a common pattern in this period, I found that mosques were connected with various other types of RIs, such as madrasas.

In a number of cases, important mosques were recorded as destroyed in the documents. In his personal travelogue, Nasir al-Din Shah described Chihilsutun mosque (which means '40-pillars' mosque) in the city of Nahavand in 1891 CE/ 1309 Q. Although it was established in 1823 CE/ 1239 Q. as a large mosque, the building fell into total ruin and only its wooden pillars remained at the time of his visit.[1]

1 Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar, Muhammad Hasan Khan Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, and Mirhashim Muhaddith, *Safarnamih-yi ʿIraq-i ʿAjam* (Tehran: Ittilaʿat, 1387), 264.

Madrasas had a similar destiny. Since they were usually large buildings, with various urban components, and supported by waqf properties and various networks of students, pupils, donors, and the ʿulamaʾ, their perpetuity even surpassed that of the mosque, the most sacred RI in sharia law. However, the historical documents illustrated several cases of madrasas which either vanished or were transformed into other RIs. Although their size and social functions were protecting them against eradication, 7 out of 31 madrasas recorded in the documents disappeared.

The Shiʿi institutions of *takyih* and *imāmzādih* flourished across the city in the *Nāṣirī* period. However, *takyih-hā* were the most vulnerable RI and many of them vanished. The vulnerability of these RIs was partly rooted in the fact that shariʿa law did not prohibit their elimination. Still, the structural constraints imposed by popular religion were no less powerful than those originating in shariʿa law, as is demonstrated by the fact that one could not destroy an *imāmzādih* in Iran. The preferences of popular religion can even act independently from shariʿa law and formal religion. As an instance of such preferences one can consider the establishment of new *imāmzādih-hā* in the *Nāṣirī* period. An *imāmzādih* is defined as the grave of a child or a close offspring of one of the Twelve Imams who died several centuries before the period under consideration. However, several centuries after the death of the last Imams' children, new cases of *imāmzādih-hā* appeared in Tehran (see previous chapters).

The most vulnerable category of RI was waqf properties. As the financial backbone of any other RI, they were frequently changed in the course of history. In the previous chapters, I discussed how the famous Baq-i Pistihbayg waqf was transformed into various types of waqf and private properties. Kondo has also

traced the changes of Ustad ʿAbbas waqf which was transformed partly into shops due to its proximity to the market.[1]

Even the outright destruction of waqf properties was recorded in various historical accounts. Many cases of such missing properties are recorded in the archives produced by the Qajar officials, such as "*Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Mawqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-i Aʿla*" (The glossary of villages and *khāliṣih* properties and *mawqūfāt* transferred to the court). Out of a total of 56 waqf shops dedicated to the upkeep of the tomb of Sarkar Sayyid Amir Ahmad, located in the square of the city of Jasb, 28 were missing and 13 were destroyed. In the same city, out of 10 waqf shops for the upkeep of the tomb of Sayyid ʿAlaʾ al-Din Husayn, 5 were missing and the rest were destroyed. None of the 25 waqf shops of the Mansuriyih mosque existed at the time of preparation of the document.[2] And all of the 17 shops dedicated to the Miyanchal mosque and madrasa were demolished.[3]

The micro-level historical data and evidence about the missing RIs stand in contradiction to the formal rules of shariʿa law and informal norms of Shiʿi popular religion. Although they were highly supported by shariʿa law and popular religion, they were not as solid as alleged in fiqh books or discussed by some modern scholars.[4] To resolve the dilemma, I discuss in the next chapters the influential factors for institutional change in the Iranian society which were conducive to changes of RIs in this period.

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1 Kondo, "The Waqf of Ustad 'Abbas – Rewrites of the Deeds in Qajar Tehran," 108–13.
2 Bahman Bayani, "Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-i ʾaʿla," in *Kitabchih-yi Qabalihjat-i Khazanih-yi Mubarakih, Amlak-i Haji Mirza Aqasi, Khalisihjat va Muqufat-i Divan-i ʾaʿla*, ed. Mansurih Ettehadieh (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1387), 544.
3 Bayani, 522.
4 Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East*.

6.4. Applying new institutionalism to explain the changes of RIs

In this section, I deal with the social groups and contextual elements facilitated changes of the RIs. I engage with power exchanges in the structure-agency discussion and how the institutions pre-structure agency and how social agents facilitate transformation of the institutions. In this task I neither follow the Marxian framework of class struggle, nor the Weberian concern for defining the role of rationality in the process of institutionalization. I rather use the institution-agency lenses to explain the changes of the RIs, through which rational and non-rational rules and norms form the social choices. I reframe my arguments using the New Institutional Theory (also New Institutionalism). Such approach helps me to separate this research from the long-standing tendency in Iranian historiography for focusing on elite history, in which the main concern was the political system and changes of dynasties. Moreover, it can separate this research from those theories which underscores none-rational or cultural factors.

I start this section with an introductory discussion on New Institutional Theory. Then I investigate the role of royal court, political elites, and the ʿulamaʾ in the changes of waqf institution. I also study two crucial environmental factors of change, i.e. urban modernization and Shiʿi popular religion. In a separate discussion I reflect on some form of interinstitutional mechanisms of change in which the change of a type of RI results in the change in other RIs.

6.4.1. Institutions and change

A. The concept of institution

What constitutes an institution is given different definitions, dimensions, and functions in various new institutionalist theories. While rational-choice institutionalism emphasizes formal rules, such as the state, "historical institutionalism defines institutions as formal and informal rules and procedures,"[1] such as culture. Organizational institutionalism establishes a wider definition of the term institution, one that encompasses not only formal and informal rules but also beliefs, rituals, and even cognitive features of the agents.[2] This is the point where new institutionalism diverges from classical institutionalism; it broadens the definition of institution from formal institutions to informal institutions. It explains that formal institutions such as law and regulations are not the only factors arranging social relations, but that informal institutions such as rituals, customs, and beliefs also limit and define social acts.[3] By relying on such a broad concept of institution, I keep distance from rational choice theory. Culture as the conglomeration of the surviving beliefs of a society contains both rational and non-rational beliefs. Therefore, the influential agents do not necessarily initiate transformation of the RIs just to maximize their political power, social influence, or

1 K. Thelen and S. Steinmo, "Historical Instituionalism in Comparative Politics," in *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, ed. K. Thelen, S. Steinmo, and F. Longstreth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
2 Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (April 1983): 147–60. Quoted from: Ryan Calder and John Lie, "Political Sociology," in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (John Wiley & Sons, 2011), https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosp042.pub2.
3 Thilo Lang, "New Institutional Theory," in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (John Wiley & Sons, April 27, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosi050.pub2.

financial rents. They are surrounded by formal and informal institutions which form their acts and influence their choices. All of these can be part of the incentive structures of the agents in their attempts to change RIs.

At one level of my analysis of social transformations, I study how beliefs, and their consequential social structure, evolve. And at other level of analysis I study the formal institutions and their consequent organizational structure in the society.[1] Therefore, in my research of RIs I can use this notion even to expand the discussion of RIs to see how a given RI such as an *imāmzādih* emanated from both the formal rules of shariʿa law and the informal rules emanated from the Shiʿi belief system in Iranian society. While at the next level of analysis, I explain that the Shiʿi beliefs and rituals had a remarkable effect on the increasing number of *imāmzādih-hā* in Qajar Iran.

The differentiation between institutions, organizations, and individuals is an illuminating theoretical tool that separates the levels of analysis. While institutions are 'rules of the game,' organizations and individual actors are the players of the game. However, the organizations do not have the power to act; it is the individuals who animate the organization. [2]

In the course of my work, I make this three-level differentiation: agents, organizations, and institutions. When I talk about mosque as an institution, I assume that a mosque is a long-lasting body that formed in the course of history and

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1 Douglass C. North, *Understanding the Process of Economic Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 84.
2 North, 62–63. Douglass C. North, John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast, *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7.

was instrumental in establishing part of the rules of the religious life in the Iranian history. It is based on a set of belief system, norms, rituals, and also some formal laws derived from the shariʿa law. However, the Jamiʿ mosque in Tehran is an example of an organization that was established on the basis of the 'institution of mosque', which has some individual actors such as imam of the mosque, the *mutawallī* of the waqf properties of the mosque, and the worshippers. Therefore, when I talk about mosque, the reader should be able to distinguish between multi-level meanings of the term, i.e. 'an institution', 'an organization', or 'a building'; the primary focus of analysis for this research is on the first, institutional, meaning of mosque. Furthermore, institutions are not wholly separated from each other, nor entirely independent entities. Despite the numerous differences among the variants of institutional theory, they all focus on the task of finding the interplay between various institutions as their major concern. Therefore, the functioning of one type of institution such as waqf depends on other institutions such as state and bazar.[1]

B. Theories of institutional change

Here the second question forms around the concept of change in New Institutionalism. Many studies on new institutionalism focus on the relationship between individual actors and organizations, specifically in economics and sociology.[2] According to new institutional theory, individuals are not only constrained by the formal rules of the organization but also by the informal rules established by the institutions within which they are playing. Here the concept of the "institutional environment" arises that refers to the institutional composition

1 Paul Ingram, "Institutionalism," in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (John Wiley & Sons, February 15, 2007), 4, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosi051.
2 Lang, "New Institutional Theory," 1.

that surrounds the individual players. The institutional environment refers to the contextual trends that either imposed from outside factors to the Iranian society or through a long-term historical evolution of Iranian culture. In this research, modernization and Shiʿi popular religion are the main environmental elements of the institutional change. When I discuss a given RI such as mosque, I not only explain its quantitative and qualitative changes, but also reflect on its exchanges with other social institutions and environmental institutional elements.

Some scholars have argued that the institutional approach is not adapted to investigate changes within and between institutions, because institutional theories focus on continuity rather than change.[1] Nevertheless, various scholars have attempted to develop theories for institutional change. The rational choice approach aims at explaining the change by exogenous factors. As long as institutions are defined as patterns of regularized behaviour that follow the optimal equilibrium of the Pareto principle or the game theory solutions, the factors for change cannot arise within institutions. Accordingly, the change-making exogenous factors can be introduced by the coalition formations made by agents who are seeking a new power relation based on new institutional structure.[2]

In contrast, historical institutionalism explains change as an incremental process. Accordingly, institutions are regularized practices but not relatively sharp rules; rather they are mostly ambiguous rules based on longstanding norms, values, and rituals. As Hall explains, institutional changes are the result of the processes of

1 A. Lecours, "New Institutionalism: Issues and Questions," in *New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis*, ed. A. Lecours (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 11.
2 Peter A. Hall, "Historical Institutionalism in Rationalist and Sociological Perspective," in *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, ed. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 206–7.

"reinterpretation" of the nature of the rules and norms; they can happen either through a long process by gradual change of behaviours and symbols systems or by sudden incidents.[1] As a matter of fact, persistence and change in institutions are the result of the interplay between power and interpretation; the agents seeking power or resources resort to reinterpretation of the rules and norms in service of their goal.[2]

Historical institutionalism thus offers a theoretical approach that is well adapted for the specific requirements of the current research. First, its emphasis on the relationship between belief and institutions prevents us from ignoring the role religious ideas played in the socio-political context of Iranian society. Second, it conveniently stresses the asymmetric distribution of power across various social groups. Third, it avoids a one-dimensional understanding of social agents' behaviour, since it does not consider them as rational actors with a fixed set of preferences or incentives. And finally, it highlights the 'path dependence' feature of institutions. Accordingly, the formation of a specific set of institutions in a given society relies on contextual features and developments inherited from the past. Therefore, any study of institutional formation and change in each society relies on the historical study of the path paved by that society.[3] The 'path dependence' principle tells us that understanding institutional transformation in Iran is not possible by generalizing the frameworks derived from other societies. It has its own unique story and history.

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1 Hall, 216.
2 Hall, 216–17.
3 Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C. R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (December 1996): 937–42.

As part of the analytical discussions in subsequent sections, I form my arguments around the interplay between agents and institutions. The notion of "institutional entrepreneurship" is a useful tool for understanding the mechanism of the social behaviour of agents. Institutional entrepreneurs are the agents who provoke and organize other players to make an institutional change. Such a combination of institutionalism and social movement theories brings together agents, organizations and institutions.[1] In DiMaggio's definition these are the agents who have the power and resources for shaping institutional change.[2] They are agents who have the legitimate power to facilitate change; in other words, legitimacy is the main feature of the institutional entrepreneurs.[3] This concept can help us to situate the ʿulamaʾ in the process of the transformation of RIs. In the following chapters I discuss how the ʿulamaʾ played the role of institutional entrepreneurs in changing waqf institutions. When the notion of '*maṣlaḥat-i* waqf' (i.e., the interest of waqf) developed by the ʿulamaʾ, they opened a powerful theoretical avenue for changing various waqf properties. They had the legitimacy and know how to use the tools to make such changes.

In addition to agents and organizations, another powerful source of change stems from the environmental factors surrounding institutions. As an example, the gradual expansion of modern schools in the Qajar period could have been an influential factor accelerating the decline of religious madrasas. Various scholars have investigated the role of the environmental factor on the transformation of

1 Ingram, "Institutionalism," 4–5.
2 Paul J. DiMaggio, "Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory," in *Institutional Patterns and Organizations*, ed. L. G. Zucker (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1988), 3–32.
3 M. Tina Dacin, Jerry Goodstein, and W. Richard Scott, "Institutional Theory and Institutional Change: Introduction to the Special Research Forum," *Academy of Management Journal* 45, no. 1 (February 2002): 47.

organizations and institutions.[1] However, North is the only one to distinguish between 'institutional arrangements' and the 'institutional environment;'[2] the latter is a set of fundamental political, social and legal ground rules that govern social, economic, and political activity. Institutional arrangements refers to a set of institutions that form the building blocks of a society.[3] I will not make such demarcation and I will use the general concept of 'institutional environment'.

C. Mechanisms of change

The process and mechanisms of change of institutions have been a matter of dispute for years. While the central task of the new institutional theory has been to explain the equilibrium and the formation of institutions, scholars have tried to add complementary debates about the process of change and transformation of institutions to improve the capacity of institutionalism to explain change.

In a broad sense, the discussions about the change and transformation of institutions have formed around two main categories of theories. Gerschewski refers to the first set of theories as a "punctuated equilibrium" which emphasizes the "path dependency" and "critical junctures" to explain the changes of institutions.[4] Accordingly, the possible options of change are limited by past actions and conditions. The present institutions are not the result of the current conditions but rather have been formed by a series of past decisions, actions, or preferences. Therefore, when an institution, such as a waqf, is borrowed by a different society, it

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1 Dacin, Goodstein, and Scott, 46.
2 Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
3 L. E. Davis and Douglass C. North, *Institutional Change and American Economic Growth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 133.
4 Johannes Gerschewski, "Explanations of Institutional Change: Reflecting on a 'Missing Diagonal,'" *American Political Science Review* 115, no. 1 (2021): 218.

will progress in unique forms and contents borrowed from the historical background of the host society. The different history of the host and its origin produce different versions of waqf institutions.[1] Thereafter, critical historical junctures could cause sudden changes in the waqf institution. As an example, the Constitutional Revolution was a critical historical juncture that changed the direction of the progress in various social institutions in Iranian society.

This set of theories investigates the sources of institutional changes in exogenously induced change. The exogenous factors are external to an institution but generate inside this very institution, thus working from the outside.[2] As an example, when I study the institutional changes of madrasas, I may find the development of the printing industry in Iran a crucial factor in the modernization of education in madrasas. Here, modern print industry is an exogenous factor that gave rise to changes to the traditional education system of madrasas.

A second set of theories have tried to explain institutional changes by emphasizing the gradual processes that undermine institutional substance. "The main drivers for this type of change are not seen as exogenous shocks but rather in terms of incremental endogenous developments."[3] Here the cause of change rises from within the institution itself. It is inherent to the institutional structure and cannot be eliminated from it.[4] As an example, Amir Arjomand explains that the donors of madrasas in the Saljuq era tended to establish madrasas in connection with a mosque. Such actions turned madrasas into educational institutions which were

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1 Vladimir Balaz and Allan M. Williams, "Path-Dependency and Path-Creation Perspectives on Migration Trajectories: The Economic Experiences of Vietnamese Migrants in Slovakia," *International Migration* 45, no. 2 (2007): 37–67.
2 Gerschewski, "Explanations of Institutional Change: Reflecting on a 'Missing Diagonal,'" 220.
3 Gerschewski, 220.
4 Thrainn Eggertsson, "A Note on the Economics of Institutions," in *Empirical Studies in Institutional Change*, ed. Lee J. Alston, Thrainn Eggertsson, and Douglass C. North (Cambridge: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6–24.

specifically dedicated to Islamic teaching and shariʿa law. In his argument, the donors were indigenous factors of change for madrasas.[1]

However, the classification tends to impose a temporal character to the dual factor system. Scholars commonly classify the changing factors into exogenous rupture versus endogenous gradual change. Accordingly, to identify the typology of changing factors one should consider "the source of change (endogenous vs. exogenous) and the time horizon by which the cause for change operates (sudden vs. gradual)."[2] However, I follow the idea of Gerschewski and ignore this temporal aspect, since some of the exogenous factors of change take a long time to make considerable change in an institution. As an example, I discuss Shiʿi popular religion as an exogenous factor of change of RIs in Iran. However, this factor did not suddenly impose change on RIs. Consequently, Gerschewski distinguishes 4 types of factors: (1) sudden, exogenously driven ruptures, (2) sudden, endogenously driven ruptures, (3) gradual, exogenously driven change, and (4) gradual, endogenously driven change.[3]

Additionally, since institutions are not alienated and isolated social entities, their elements may influence each other. There could be a factor indigenous to two different institutions. ʿUlamaʾ had indigenous roles in most of the RIs. Moreover, a cause can be indigenous to one institution while it is exogenous to another institution. Also, a given exogenous or endogenous factor can vary over time. While

1 Said Amir Arjomand, "The Law, Agency, and Policy in Medieval Islamic Society: Development of the Institutions of Learning from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 2 (1999): 289.
2 Gerschewski, "Explanations of Institutional Change: Reflecting on a 'Missing Diagonal," 220.
3 Gerschewski, "Explanations of Institutional Change: Reflecting on a 'Missing Diagonal."

a factor is exogenous to an institution in the short time, it can become endogenous in the long term.[1]

6.4.2. The role of royal court, and political elites and ʿulamaʾ in the changes of waqf institution

The waqf institution has a unique feature that distinguishes it from other RIs. It produces direct financial rent. Other RIs could not directly produce money flow and they are dependent on the resources provided to them either by their patronage networks or the waqf institution. However, the financial nature of waqf turned it into the most vulnerable RI to the interventions of the political elites, *tujjār*, local governors, and *mutawallī-hā*. Meanwhile, the court and political elites embedded in the Qajar hierarchy had the most decisive role in allocation of waqf rents. They had the necessary power apparatus to control waqf properties and could perform the administrative tasks of large waqf properties.

In this context, a question arises: how did the political and financial elites exogenously caused various types of changes in waqf institution? And how did the religious elites (the ʿulamaʾ) and *mutawallī-hā* indigenously induced the changes into the RIs? To answer this question, I explain the organizational structure of waqf and then explain the internal relations and mechanisms of change inside it.

As explained in chapter 2, the organizational structure of waqf has elements, some of which are essential for completion of a waqf contract while others are complementary. The necessary components of a waqf are the following: 1. *wāqif* or

1 Avner Grief and David D. Laitin, "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change," *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 4 (2004): 633–52.

the donor; 2. *mawqūfih* or the donated property; 3. *mawquf-un ʿalayhim* (purposes of the waqf) or those to whom the donation is made; they can be either human, non-human, or an action, such as dredging a qanat, holding ceremonies for Imam Husayn, supporting poor people, or covering daily expenses of a mosque. 4. *ṣīqih* which is the verbal statement made by the donor or by the ʿulamaʾ on behalf of the donator. These elements are defined in a written document called *waqfnāmih* or waqf deed. The waqf deed is usually written by one or several ʿulamaʾ in Arabic and Persian and explains the details and provisions of the waqf. However, after the establishment of a waqf, some complementary positions are founded to coordinate the practical and administrative tasks related to waqf. The executive tasks of waqf are performed by the *mutawallī* (which means 'guardian'). He is the managing director of the property. Sometimes the donor appoints somebody to oversee the administration of the waqf property and check how the *mutawallī* carries out his responsibilities. The person in charge of this supervisory position is called the *nāẓir* (overseer) and he does not perform any executive task.

The actual players in the waqf institution are the donors, managers, supervisors, ʿulamaʾ, and the person(s) to whom the waqf has been dedicated. The donors play a crucial role in establishing the principles, the beneficiaries, and the basic model of rent distribution. However, their role is just at the time of the establishment of waqf which may be extended to the whole period of his lifetime. Thereafter, the waqf is limited to the provisions of the waqf deed. Therefore, donors are rarely agents of change in waqfs.

The beneficiaries' changing power varies according to the type of waqf. In the case of a *waqf-i khāṣ* in which the beneficiaries are a definite group of persons, such as the descendants of the donor, the beneficiaries can easily change the waqf

donations. In some cases, even they were allowed to divide the property between themselves or even sell it.[1] However, in a public waqf or *waqf-i ʿām* in which the donor does not choose a defined group of people as the beneficiaries, the beneficiaries do not have any decisive role. Here the executive positions play the pivotal roles.

As the executive manager of waqf, the *mutawallī* has the most influential position in waqf decisions. He administers the property, collectes revenues, distributes the money among the beneficiaries or the purposes as identified in the waqf deed. Additionally, they can play a decisive role in assigning their successors. Although the original donors usually assign some rules and criteria for the succeeding *mutawallī-hā*, each *mutawallī* could play a pivotal role in assigning the qualified person for the position. Since the deeds usually describe general and qualitative criteria for the *mutawallī*, the incumbent *mutawallī* has the decisive role of assigning the *mutawallī* function to all the qualified persons. Although the *nāẓir* can be a balancing power against the *mutawallī*, he has a very marginal influence on the destiny of the waqf. He can only report the malpractices of the *mutawallī* to the mediators assigned in the waqf deed. The most common mediators were either the ʿulamaʾ or the King.

However, the ʿulamaʾ had the highest authoritative position among indigenous factors of waqf. They had the popular authority, religious eligibility, and academic knowledge to do the formalities required for establishment of a waqf. Their role as the main experts for drafting a waqf deed strengthened their institutional position.[2]

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1 Muhaqqiq Hilli, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islam fi Masaʾil al-Haram wa al-Halal*, 1389, 2:172–74. ʿAllamih Hilli, *Qawaʿid al-ʾAhkam fi Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram*, 2:389–400. Shaykh Tusi, *Al-Mabsut fi Fiqh al-ʾImamiyah*, 3:293–99.

2 Mishkiniyi Ardibili and Ahmadi Julfayi, *Mustalahat al-Fiqh*, 567.

Additionally, the donors commonly assigned members of the ʿulamaʾ to *tawlīyat* (the position of *mutawallī*). There are many cases of the assignment of the ʿulamaʾ to *tawlīyat* positions in Shaykh Fazlallah's *sharʿī* documents.[1] Their position as the representatives of the Hidden Imam and *ḥākim-i sharʿ* guaranteed their eligibility for such roles. Logically, when the donor had not assigned any *mutawallī*, the ʿulamaʾ were the first candidates for the position.[2] They were also the main arbitrators in dispute settlement between the beneficiaries of the waqfs. The disputes over the *tawlīyat* position usually arose after several generations of *mutawallī-hā*.

Such challenges have been frequently recorded in the court documents.[3] Shaykh Fazlallah repeatedly gave special permissions to different people to take the *tawlīyat* position of a waqf property.[4] Additionally, they were the most authoritative source for interpreting and theorizing shariʿa rules, and also proposing solutions for practical challenges. As the source of emulation, they were the most authoritative source for making amendments, exceptions, or interpreting controversial rules. Such roles turned the ʿulamaʾ into the most influential actors among the players indigenous to the waqf institution.

However, the financial nature of the waqf institution encouraged the royal court and political elites to interfere in the organizational structure of waqf. Despite being exogenous to the waqf institution, they took part in assigning and changing the *mutawallī-hā*, distribution of revenues, and dispute settlement. There are plenty of

1 Mansurih Ettehadieh and Saeid Nuri, *Dar Mahzar-i Shaykh Fazlallah Nuri, Asnad-i Huquqi-yi Ahd-i Nasiri*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1385), 87.
2 Muhammad Hasan Najafi, *Jawahir al-Kalam fi Sharh-i Sharaʿiʾ al-Islam*, vol. 28 (Beirut: Dar ʾIhyaʾ al-Turas al-ʿArabi, 1362), 26–27.
3 Anaraki Kirmani, *Tarikh ʿIbrat li-Man ʾIʿtabar*.
4 Ettehadieh and Nuri, *Dar Mahzar-i Shaykh Fazlallah Nuri, Asnad-i Huquqi-yi Ahd-i Nasiri*, 1:49.

examples in the historical archives in which the administration of waqfs, especially agricultural waqf lands, were in the hands of the court officials.[1] In an example recorded in *Duwlat-i ʿIlliyih-yi Iran* official newspaper, Nasir al-Din Shah appointed Mirza Hasan Mutawalibashi, to the *tawlīyat* position for all of the *imāmzādih-hā* and their waqf properties located near the city of Tehran.[2] There are various cases of disputes over *awqāf* that were brought to the royal court.[3] Among more than 1830 petitions received by *Majlis-i Taḥqīq-i Maẓālim*, a court held in 1883-1887 CE/ 1301-1305 Q. under the jurisdiction of Nasir al-Din Shah, there are several petitions regarding waqf disputes that were adjudicated by the King.[4] Kondo's account of the waqfs of the Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzim shrine also shows how the King played the role of arbitrator.[5] Meanwhile, the arbitrary power of local rulers, such as Zill al-Sultan in Isfahan, resulted in the confiscation of numerous waqf properties. Such influential figures were also capable of silencing the complaints of ordinary people. For example, in several cases citizens of Isfahan brought their complaint about the confiscation of waqf lands by local governors to *Majlis-i Taḥqīq-i Maẓālim*.[6]

Such behaviour did not specifically start in the Qajar period. In his analysis of the relationship between the royal court and religious institutions in the Safavid period,

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1 Bahman Bayani, "Amlak-i Haji Mirza Aqasi Mutabiq ba Kitabchih-yi Azarbayijan va Khuy," in *Kitabchih-yi Qabalihjat-i Khazanih-yi Mubarakih, Amlak-i Haji Mirza Aqasi, Khalisihjat va Muqufat-i Divan-i ʾaʿla*, ed. Mansurih Ettehadieh (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1387), 157–345. Bahman Bayani, *Kitabchih-yi Qabalihjat-i Khazanih-yi Mubarakih, Amlak-i Haji Mirza Aqasi, Khalisihjat va Muqufat-i Divan-i ʾaʿla*, ed. Mansurih Ettehadieh (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1387). Bayani, "Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-i ʾaʿla."
2 DII.N, no. 506 (24 Jamadi al-Awal 1278).
3 For example, there is a *farmān* by Nasir al-Din Shah confirms that Hajj Mirza Husayn Tabatabai is the true *mutawallī* of a waqf land in 1300 q. See : Husayni Ishkawari, *Asnad-i Qajar-i dar Majmaʿ-i Zakhaʾir-i Islam-i*, 115.
4 The original documents of these petitions are kept in the library of the University of Tehran.
5 Kondo, "State and Shrine in Iran: Waqf Administration of the Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzim Shrine under the Qajars," 3.
6 Mansurih Ettehadieh, "The Council for the Investigation of Grievances: A Case Study of Nineteenth Century Iranian Social History," *Iranian Studies* 22, no. 1 (January 1989): 54.

Floor states that the administration system of the waqf changed in the Safavid period. He refers to a term called 'old *mawqūfāt'* (old waqf properties) a term that was used to refer to the waqfs established before 1500 CE / 906 Q., becoming widely used from 1619 CE/ 1017 Q. onwards. After Shah Tahmasb I (1524 CE/ 930 Q.) came to power, the state expanded its control over the *awqāf*, and consequently the hereditary power of the *mutawali-hā* declined. While in the 'old *mawqūfāt' tawlīyat* position was usually a hereditary position, in the new *awqāf,* the administration and financial management of *awqāf* came under the control of the court.[1] The Qajar rule followed this system in most of the agricultural waqf lands.

The historical documents confirm the unrestrained behaviour of state in change and transformation of waqf properties. In the archive of the royal *khazānih* (treasury), I could find plenty of such references. In a document recorded in 1851-1852 CE/ 1268-1269 Q., the King bought a waqf hammam in the Arg district, called Asif al-Dawlih, and added it to his palace. Then, he bought another hammam from Muhammad Husayn Khan-i Sardar for 1500 *tuman* and established it as a waqf instead of the first hammam. The revenues of this new waqf were dedicated to the same benevolent purposes mentioned in the old waqf, ie. ceremonies of *tʿazīyih* for Imam Husayn. It emphasized that the necessary permissions for the exchange were granted by the ʿulamaʾ.[2] Although the King tried to secure the approval of the ʿulamaʾ, the confiscation of the original waqf was in contrary to the nature of the waqf defined in shariʿa law.

The archives have recorded countless waqf cases which were merged into the royal properties. *Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-iyi*

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1 Willem Floor, *Tarikhchih-yi Mali Maliyati-yi Iran az Safavid ta Payan-i Qajar*, trans. Murtaza Kazemi Yazdi (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1394), 178–179.
2 Bayani, "Amlak-i Haji Mirza Aqasi Mutabiq ba Kitabchih-yi Azarbayijan va Khuy," 337.

Divan-i ʾAʿla (The glossary of villages and *khalisih* properties and *mawqūfāt* transferred to the court) holds an extensive list of the lands belonging to the King in 1873 CE/ 1290 Q.[1] The document refers to series of waqf properties called *Mawqūfāt-i Muẓaffarī*, which were part of the 'old *mawqūfāt*'. The document emphasizes that 'old *mawqūfāt*' had been blended with other types of properties and they were not distinguishable anymore. The remaining parts of the extensive list of *Mawqūfāt-i Muẓaffarī* concerned a Qaysariyih (a domed or vaulted intersection in a covered market), 7 shops attached to the Qaysariyih, and 27 other waqf shops.[2] The authors had used several other royal archives accessible to them at the time of compilation of *Kitabchih*. In many cases the document refers to properties which had been recorded in other royal archives but did not exist at the time of the compilation of *Kitabchih*. As an example, "amlak-i muwsum bi Sarlak, ke mustaqni az tahdid ast" (The properties of Sarlak about which there is no need for any explanation, because everyone knows them). They were well-known at the time of registration of the original documents, however when several decades later the new authors were preparing *Kitabchih* the whole property or part of it had been missing.[3] They had the same destiny as *Mawqūfāt-i Muẓaffarī*.

The court could control the revenues of RIs by levying taxes on them. The documents show that even a mosque could be subjected to taxes. However, since the court was highly dependent on taxes, the waqf properties with greater financial resources were less likely to escape from taxation. Conversely, other RIs had a better chance of benefitting from tax exemptions. In such cases, the exemption orders of

1 Bayani, *Kitabchih-yi Qabalihjat-i Khazanih-yi Mubarakih, Amlak-i Haji Mirza Aqasi, Khalisihjat va Muqufat-i Divan-i ʾaʿla*, 12.
2 Bayani, "Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-i ʾaʿla," 352.
3 Bayani, 358–59.

the King were written down on a stone or ceramic and installed on the entrance door of the property.[1] A similar case is mentioned by Nasir al-Din Shah in one of his travelogues. He records that there were two black stones in front of the Jamiʿ mosque of the city of Savih. It was written on the stones that the mosque was exempted from some of the taxes according to the royal order issued by Shah Tahmasb I.[2]

The main domain of the court's influence was over agricultural and commercial waqf properties. As an agrarian economy, the Iranian kings were highly dependent on land taxes. A second important source of revenue was the taxes on shops and commercial properties.[3] Agricultural and commercial waqfs were distributed all over the country, and some of them were directly managed by the royal court officials.

Here a distinction should be drawn between waqf properties and royal properties. How did the court differentiate between them? In his classification of the estates in Iran, Willem Floor introduces 5 types of properties by referring to Ann Lambton's classification: 1. State properties, also called *mamālik*; 2. Private properties called *milk* or *arbābī*; 3. The King's personal properties were called *khāṣih*; 4. Derelict lands; and, 5. Waqfs.[4] However, in the Qajar period the *mamālik* and *khāṣih* were combined under the title of *khāliṣih*.[5] The Qajar royal archives show that Floor and Lambton did not allocate a proper status to waqf in their classification, or at least that their typology is not valid for the Qajar period. The historical evidence displays

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1 Floor, *Tarikhchih-yi Mali Maliyati-yi Iran az Safavid ta Payan-i Qajar*, 172–73.
2 Qajar, Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, and Muhaddith, *Safarnamih-yi ʿIraq-i ʿAjam*, 326.
3 Behrooz Moazami, *State, Religion, and Revolution in Iran, 1796 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 11–29.
4 Ann K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953). Floor, *Tarikhchih-yi Mali Maliyati-yi Iran az Safavid ta Payan-i Qajar*, 22.
5 Floor, *Tarikhchih-yi Mali Maliyati-yi Iran az Safavid ta Payan-i Qaja*, 654–55.

that waqf properties were not classified as an independent category, but were distributed between the other categories of properties, such as *khāliṣih* waqf or *arbābī* waqf. An *arbābī* waqf property was a waqf managed by private persons, khans, or noble families. A *khāliṣih* waqf land was directly managed by the state officials.

Hence, I classify the lands in the *Nāṣirī* period into three types: 1. *arbābī* (private managers); 2. *khāliṣih* (state-led property); and 3. derelict lands. Any waqf property would fall into one of these three categories. Accordingly, there were 3 types of waqf lands: 1. *khāliṣih* waqf lands managed by the name of the state; 2. private waqf lands which were either *milk* (private managers) or *arbābī* (controlled by the local governors); and 3. derelict properties (destroyed waqfs). Some of the private waqf lands were managed by their own *mutawallī* and were generally required to pay tax. The private waqf lands which were assumed as *arbābī*, were managed by a khan or a local elite and paid a share of their revenues to the King as tax. Yet, all of them had to pay taxes. The remaining revenue was used to pay the stipends of the *mutawallī*, to cover the expenses of the waqf property, and was used for the purposes written in the waqf deed.

There are many references to these three types of waqf lands in the historical sources. In the *Kitabchih* collection, the author mentions a *khāliṣih* waqf under the title of *Khalisihjat-i qadim-i Azarbayjan* (The old *khāliṣih* properties of Azarbaijan) that turned into a private property. The whole area (6 *dāng*) of Ardalan village had been part of *Mawqūfāt-i Muẓaffarī*, however, in the *Nāṣirī* period "one third (2 danq) of it was changed into *arbābī* and the rest remained as *khāliṣih*."[1] In another

1 Bayani, "Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-i ʾaʿla," 354.

example, Ikan village in Arunaq district near Tabriz was described as part of the Zahiriyih waqf and which had been *khāliṣih* land.[1] Some other examples for *khāliṣih* waqfs are lands in Khanumrud[2] and some properties in Zaviyih-yi Shirʿali village.[3] The document frequently uses the expression "*khāliṣih-yi* waqf". The author wrote:

> "Some of the documents were registered as *arbābī* in the filles recorded by Mirza Habiballah Shaqaqi at the time of Abbas Mirza, but since they were recorded as *khāliṣih-yi* waqf in *daftar-i Nadirshāhī* (Nadir Shah's Register), we also decided to record them as *khāliṣih* and waqf, like any other village with a similar situation."[4]

The court commonly changed the managers of waqfs to gain higher rents from them. On one occasion, the author records a list of the old *khāliṣih* waqfs which consisted of 40 villages, *Mawqūfāt-i Muẓaffarī*, *Mawqūfāt-i Ẓhāhirīyih*, *Mawqūfāt-i Shaykh Safi*. Then he explains that they belonged to old *khāliṣih* waqf lands that the court took under control at the time of the Abbas Mirza.[5] The managers were either khans and political elites or the ʿulamaʾ and religious elites. However, the central aim of the changes was higher control over the lands to increase the court's revenue. In one example it mentions a certain waqf farm called Qatri, in Rudab region of Khurasan, which was confiscated (*ẓabṭī* land) and turned into *arbābī* by Muhammad Shah (1808-1848 CE/ 1222-1264 Q.). He appointed the sayyids of Amirabad as the administrators of the waqf, "but since they could not afford the payments demanded by the court, the property was returned to the court."[6] It is a clear example of confiscation of a waqf. Here also, the interesting point is that the new manager was from a sayyid family. It is clear that waqf land could be turned into both types of

1 Bayani, 353.
2 Bayani, 355.
3 Bayani, 358.
4 Bayani, 363.
5 Bayani, 369–70.
6 Bayani, 382.

lands: *arbābī* and *khāliṣih*. Whenever the managers of waqf could not pay the taxes, the court or royal elites used to discharge them for the sake of their interest. In another instance, the document talks about Rukna property in Iraq and Khuzistan which was recorded as "part of the old *khāliṣih* in the old royal register," which had been a waqf confiscated by the court.[1] Among the list of *khāliṣihjāt-i qadīm-i Iraq-Isfahan*, there is a village called Salvan. It used to have 72 *ḥabbih*[2] lands: 23 *khāliṣih*, 33 waqf for Imam Reza, and 16 waqfs for Jamiʿ Mosque. The document states that 38 *habbih* of the waqf lands had been turned into *arbābī* lands with private managers.[3]

The court actively participated in the process of appointment and change of the administrators of waqfs.[4] In the Khurasan region, the Baram village was a large waqf dedicated to Imam Reza. It used to be part of the *tuyūl* properties of Ismaʿilkhan-i Takht-i Zardi and his children. According to a rent contract, they were paying rent to the servants of Imam Reza. However, the *Nāṣirī* court returned its management to managers of Imam Reza Shrine.[5] As another example, there was a village called Valiyan va Nudih in Savujbulaq. It had been an *arbābī* land which turned into a *waqf-i khāṣ* donated to the children of a family. However, after the family raised against Karim Khan Zand and sought asylum from the Qajar tribe, Karim Khan confiscated the waqf land and turned it into *khāliṣih*. Then, in the early Qajar rule the land turned into *arbābī* again and then into a *tuyūl* land. Nasir al-Din Shah

1 Bayani, 472.
2 It was a scale used for defining the share of somebody from a given property. Each property was divided into 6 parts, called dang. A *ḥabbih* was equal to one sixth of a dang. See: Muhammad Moʿin, "Habbih," in *Farhang-i Moʿin*, accessed April 10, 2020, https://www.vajehyab.com/?q=حبه&d=en.
3 Bayani, "Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-iʾaʿla," 422.
4 Kondo, "State and Shrine in Iran: Waqf Administration of the Shahʿ Abd al-ʿAzim Shrine under the Qajars."
5 Bayani, "Kitabchih-yi Dihat va Khalisih va Muqufat va Amlak-i Intiqal-i Divan-iʾaʿla," 383.

returned the property to the heir of the original owners, and thereafter, it became *arbābī* again.[1]

The court used to rent out waqf properties too. I found an interesting example in the archives which show the mechanism of the renting business. In a document written in 1843 CE/1259 Q., there is a description about a small village in Burujird, called Fili, which was part of Fili and Pusht-i Kuh *khāliṣih* waqf. It consisted of a caravanserai and 64 shops. The lessor was the court, and the lessee was an unnamed local prince. He had rented the property for 90 years, each year 36 *tumans*. It was pretty common to rent out waqf properties for such a long time. However, the document states that there were only 11 shops in the whole waqf and the rest were missing or ruined due to unknown reasons.[2] In some cases the waqf property was used as a mortgage for a loan. In Arunaq district, a village called Farajquli was partly used as a mortgage for a loan. The text did not provide more information about the provisions of the mortgage contract.[3] Even in some cases ordinary people used to build shops or houses on a waqf land and pay rent to the court or local governors. For instance, a group of *raʿyat* (citizens) built 14 shops on a *khāliṣih* waqf land in Ardihal, and paid the rents of the shops to the local governors.[4]

The continuation and change of waqfs relied on a matrix of forces imposed by different institutions. The financial nature of this RI prepared adequate incentives for the court officials, local governors, and nobilities to either confiscate the properties or control over them. In the rural areas financial resources mainly came from agricultural lands while in the cities the commercial buildings used to produce

1 Bayani, 497.
2 Bayani, 461.
3 Bayani, 353.
4 Bayani, 521.

revenues. Therefore, in urban areas the shops were more commonly endowed by the donors. But in the rural area land, water sources (qanat, spring, river, etc.), mills, etc. were the usual types of endowment. The court and royal elites tried to gain as much revenue as possible from the waqf properties. In some instances, the waqf property was managed by the *mutawallī* and he used to pay the taxes of the waqf to the court. If the *mutawallī* could not cover the taxes, the court used to assign a new administration for the waqf. The process was usually started by a lease contract between the court and the local khan or religious family. Since the agricultural lands were large properties with higher money-making potential, the court, local governors, and wealthy families could afford to rent them. In such cases, part of the revenues was still spent for the purposes of the waqf.

The control of a waqf property depended on the resultant interaction between two sources of authority: the royal court or political elites and the ʿulamaʾ. The Shiʿi ʿulamaʾ have been engaged in a long discussion in the shariʿa law about the position of the ʿulamaʾ. This argument was strengthened in the Qajar period by Mulla Ahmad Naraqi's discussion about the ʿulamaʾ being the representatives of the Hidden Imam. On the other hand, the Qajar Kings tried to build a sort of religious authority for themselves by consolidating their relations with part of the ʿulamaʾ. This approach led Fath ʿAli Shah to emphasize that "our reign is based on the representation position that the *mujtahid-hā* handed to us."[1] He even received permission letters from some of the ʿulamaʾ, such as Shaykh Jaʿfar Kashif al-Ghitaʾ, to justify his crown.[2]

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1 Ahmad Kazimi Musavi, *Khaqani Sahib Qaran va ʿUlama-yi Zaman* (Tehran: Agah, 1398), 172. Kazimi Musavi quoted from the following source: Rizaqulikhan Hidayat, *Rawzat al-Safa-yi Nasiri*, ed. Jamshid Kianfar, vol. 13 (Tehran: Asatir, 1380), 7515.
2 Kazimi Musavi, *Khaqani Sahib Qaran va ʿUlama-yi Zaman*, 193–96.

Despite their constant interferences in the waqf properties, the Kings used to juxtapose the ʿulamaʾ in various levels of decision-making about *awqāf*. They generously spent on religious activities. Moreover, they used to pay the share of the ʿulamaʾ, the actual *mutawali-hā,* and purposes of the waqfs. However, mechanisms and processes of distribution of waqf revenues are a crucial topic which have not received adequate attention.

The final result of this power equilibrium was a similar pattern of power relations presented by Moazami for sources of political power in Iran: a centralized rule dependent on autonomous and fragmented authorities. The centralized nature of the political power was reproduced in the attempts of the Kings to control the religious institution of waqf. Nevertheless, they failed to dominate over RIs because of the autonomous and fragmented sources of authority which was formed around RIs in addition to the political power relations. The ʿulamaʾ and the Qajar Kings had the necessary authority to interfere in the *awqāf*. Both used to receive shares from the *awqāf* and assign *mutawallī* positions. They could play significant roles in the administration of the *awqāf* and were instrumental in the distribution of religious funds.[1] They were independent players who were sharing a playground, i.e. the RIs. They normally respected each other, while they sometimes competed with each other or contested the other party's position.

The court continued its strive for modernization and bureaucratization of the RIs too. In his attempt to exert power over *awqāf*, Nasir al-Din Shah established various bureaucratic institutions for administration of *awqāf*. In 1855 CE/ 1271 Q. the Ministry of Awqaf and Maʿarif was established. The Ministry got the administrators of the *awqāf* to report all their decisions and activities to the ministry, though the

1 Lambton, *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies*, 66.

mutawallī-hā did not pay serious attention to that. In 1858 CE/ 1274 Q., Nasir al-Din Shah changed the arrangement of the ministries, and consequently, the issues related to *awqāf* were transferred to the Ministry of Awqaf va Wazayif (duties).[1] In 1872 CE/ 1289 Q. it turned into the Ministry of Favayid-i ʿAmmih (public benefits). The new ministry ordered the *mutawallī-hā* to properly register the waqf documents and send a report of the revenues and expenses of their *awqāf* to the ministry. As part of the endless institutional changes in the Qajar political system, the King ordered to establish 13 ministries in 1882 CE/ 1299 Q.; Ministry of Awqaf and Maʿarif, and Post was responsible for the *awqāf*. The court tried to organize the administration of the *awqāf* by issuing various executive orders; even in *Rūznāmih-yi Dawlat-i ʿIllīyih-yi Iran* once published a royal order that obliged all *mutawallī-hā* in the country to prepare a report of their financial activities and send them to the central government. A *mujtahid* had to sign the report.[2] Yet, the supervision of the court over the *awqāf* never got a solid administrative and bureaucratic arrangement in the Qajar period.[3]

Itimad al-Saltanih even tried to prepare a manual for central registration of waqf properties and deeds. He emphasized that all waqfs should be registered in a national archive system, the ʿulamaʾ should report them to the royal court, there should be a central treasury for the benefits of *awqāf* under the auspices of the *awqāf* ministry. In his proposed bureaucratic system, the King was located on the top of the system.[4] He had two justifications for this hierarchical system. First, "since the King is the King of Islam and the owner of the citizens and the *ʾulu al-*

1 Adamiyyat, *Andishih-yi Traqi va Hukumat-i Qanun dar ʿAsr-i Sipahsalar*, 188.
2 Adamiyyat, 94.
3 Shamim, *Iran dar Dawrih-yi Saltanat-i Qajar*, 322–24.
4 Mirhashim Muhaddith, *Rasaʾil-i Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, Shamil-i Bist va Chahr Risalih* (Tehran: Ittilaʿat, 1391), 409–11.

ʾ*amr,* he has the right to interfere in the administration of *awqāf*."[1] Second, the King had the power to protect the waqf, make the best profit out of it, and prevent it from destruction or confiscation of the property and its benefits.[2] His strive for bureaucratization of religious activities led him to emphasize that *kadkhudā*, *rīshsifīd, pīshnamāz,* or the ʿulamaʾ should not perform *nikāḥ* (religious formalities for marriage) without informing the central government.[3] Such prescriptions were contrary to the historical autonomy and religious authority of the ʿulamaʾ, either lower level ʿulamaʾ such as a *pīshnamāz* or a high level *mujtahid*. Therefore, his attempts were not welcome. Moreover, the Qajarids did not have adequate institutional and organizational prerequisites to cover such social functions.

The behaviour of the King, royal elites, and the ʿulamaʾ in controlling the waqf property could explain how these sources of authority exerted their power in the social arena. They had a common playground, and both were trying to socially impose their authority. The historical evidence clearly shows the weight of the court and royal elites in controlling and transforming waqf properties, especially agricultural waqf lands. It was the most significant exogenous factor in the changes and transformations of waqf lands. Meanwhile, the ʿulamaʾ who were supported by the shariʿa law could play as an indigenous factor for authorizing the changes.

1 Muhaddith, 409.
2 Muhaddith, 409–10.
3 Muhaddith, 422–24.

6.4.3. Shiʿi popular religion as the environmental factor in transformation of *takyih, imāmzādih,* and waqf

While shariʿa law has laid down the formal rules of religious life, developed by the ʿulamaʾ as the authoritative sources for the interpretation of God's will, the objective realization of religion was not confined to the rulings and preferences of the ʿulamaʾ or the King. In practice, the ordinary practitioners of religion form the dominant interpretation, meaning, and values derived from the formal religious rules. In order to draw a realistic picture of the institutional structure of RIs, I will focus on the exogenous factors that were introduced by the popular religion in the *Nāṣirī* period.

The idea of popular religion is in line with the "history from below" which has tried to present the historical landscape of the events from the point of view of the non-elites and grass roots life and experiences.[1] This approach completes our understanding of history based on the narratives produced by the elites. The notion of popular religion is rooted in the idea that a social phenomenon such as religion is not served to the people a priori, but popular religion forms a continuum with primitive religiosity, peasant metaphysical notions, and folk cultures. "This continuum is based upon structural similarities defined by the organic nature of all of these types of societies rather than upon historical or genetic causation" or even elites' narratives and preferences.[2]

1 Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, "History from Below," *Social Scientist* 11, no. 4 (April 1983): 18.
2 Charles H. Long, "Popular Religion, (Vol. 11. 2nd Ed.), Ed., 2005, Gale, 7326.," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Gale, 2005), 7326.

Teiser distinguishes three definitions of popular religion. In the first definition, religion is classified as the religion of lower classes which is differentiated from that of the affluent elites based on their different types of collective religious practice and belief. Some other scholars propose a second interpretation of popular religion, that is the religion of people in general, across all social boundaries. This concept assumes that a great majority of the population could share a wide range of practice and belief as the result of a relatively high degree of social integration. The third perspective on popular religion views culture not as an integrated whole shared by the majority of social strata, but as a process involving difference, competition, and dispute.[1] Here, I am using popular religion as a religion practiced by ordinary people, who are not the formal sources of religious authority, contrary to the ʿulamaʾ. Moreover, I rely on the second definition to talk about a collective religious practice and belief system shared by the majority of the Shiʿi community in Tehran in this period.

While Shiʿi popular religion had various aspects and dimensions, here I will focus on Muharram and the rituals related to the commemoration of martyrdom of Imam Husayn. Among various other elements of Shiʿi culture, it held the most central position in the religious tradition and it had influenced all aspects of religious life of the Shiʿi Muslims in the *Nāṣirī* period. A thorough investigation may lead to other important exogenous factors in popular religion of this period, however, by such selective approach I will limit the boundary of my research. Additionally, I will open a venue to my argument about the role of popular religion in reframing religious

1 Stephen F. Teiser, "Popular Religion," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 2 (May 1995): 378–79.

rules, social preferences, and social institutions that could be developed in future research.

Commemoration of Muharram has been a pivotal part of the Shiʿi popular religion since the tragedy of Imam Husayn ibn ʿAli occurred in 10th Muharram 61 Q. (October 10, 680 CE) in Karbala, Iraq. Thereafter, various forms of ceremonies had been developed in relation to the stories of his heroic epic in Shiʿi communities around the world. These ceremonies expanded all over the Iranian territory in the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736 CE/ 907-1148 Q.).[1] New forms of rituals were introduced in this period which continued over the next generations. According to Calmard, Shah ʿAbbas's reign was the turning point for such ceremonies, when he supported the expansion of Shiʿi rituals all over the country.[2] *Rawżihkhʷānī,* reading tragic eulogies in public performances, was expanded in this period.[3] The first tragic eulogy about Imam Husayn was written by Kashifi Sabziwari (840 - 910 Q.) and was called *Rawzat al-Shuhada*. Thereafter, the tradition continued under the name of *rawżih*, that is a lecture on sorrow and tragedies of Chahardah Maʿsum. Kashfi's tradition was continued by Muhammad ibn Sulayman Fuzuli (d. 1525 CE/ 932 Q.), Muhtasham-i Kashani, and Allamih Majlisi.[4] Another major performance was Muharram carnivals developed in the Safavid period and continued in the *Nāṣirī* time. It was a ceremonial carnival accompanied by various theatrical

1 Negar Mottahedeh, "Taʿziyeh: A Twist of History in Early Life," in *The Women of Karbala: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourses in Modern Shiʿi Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 25–45.
2 Jean Calmard, "Shi'i Rituals and Power: The Consolidation of Safavid Shi'ism: Folklore and Popular Religion," in *Safavid Pesia: A History of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996), 143.
3 Bahram Beyzai, *Namayish dar Iran* (Tehran: Rushangaran and Women's Studies Publishing, 2000), 116.
4 Ahmad Kazimi Musavi, *Khaqani Sahib Qaran va ʿUlama-yi Zaman* (Tehran: Agah, 1398), 98.

performances such as *sīnihzanī*. Such traditions expanded to various Shiʿi communities in Iran, India, Lebanon, Iraq, etc.[1]

During the Qajar period the tradition continued with the support of the Kings, ʿulamaʾ, and the people and even new forms of ceremonies were introduced. The Qajarids religious preferences and their need for religious legitimacy led them to support the Safavid religious culture. The Shiʿi rituals were not suspended, even during the Russo-Persian wars or the great pandemic diseases.[2] Meanwhile, the Shiʿi ideology and rituals had ideological functions for the Qajarids and they were even used against the expansion of the Shaykhi and Babi movements.[3]

The rituals were used by the ʿulamaʾ, political system, the *tujjār*, or the grass root population to feed social needs such as nationalism, political stability, revolution, social capital, and collective identity. The internalization of the values related to Muharram took place through material expressions in the form of monuments, anniversary holidays for Muharram, or rituals in various forms of theatrical or none-theatrical representations.[4] The social needs such as unity for dissent, collective identity, and religious capital were reproduced through mourning and recalling the sufferings of the Imams in ceremonial processes, collective grief, fear, and anger.[5]

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1 Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 143–52.
2 WI.N, no. 120 (10 Shaʿban 1269). WI.N, no. 122 (24 Shaʿban 1269).
3 Hamid Algar, "Religious Forces in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 724–26.
4 DII.N, no. 545 (15 Muharram 1280). DII.N, no. 525 (12 Muharram 1279).
5 Rebecca Saunders and Kamran Aghaei, "Introduction: Mourning and Memory," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, no. 1 (2005): 22.

Socio-political functions of Muharram notions and rituals caused the expansion of various forms of ceremonies of *zīyārat*, *taʿzīyih*, *ʿazādārī*, *qamihzanī*, and *nuḥihhkhʷānī*.[1] An iconic ceremony that was widely performed in this period was *taʿzīyih* or *shabīhkhʷānī*. It was the theatrical performances or dramas which were replicating the tragedies of Chahardah Maʿsum, mainly the Imam Husayn. Nasir al-Din Shah's affection for art and theatre provided unique support for these ceremonies.[2] He established and supported various *takyih-hā* in this period.[3] Additionally, new forms of cultural products were produced, such as various poetry collections for Imam Husayn. New jobs related to these ceremonies were created such as *khādim-i ḥaram*, *taʿzīyihgardān*, and *nuḥihkhān*.[4] Some industries expanded in this period to cover the needs of these ceremonies, such as *ʿabādūzī* (sewing cloak),[5] *ghamihsāzī,* and *qaddārihsāzī*.[6]

Meanwhile, new social roles and religious rules were formed for these practices. The players and audiences had their own behaviours and roles in these performances. In the performance halls, special locations were assigned to the ʿulamaʾ, elites, famous *tujjār*, and ordinary people.[7] The *tujjār* and the court elites used to hold their own ceremonies.[8] Even the upper-class women held their own *majlis* (ceremonial events) which were specifically for women.[9]

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1 Kamran Aghaei, "Religious Rituals, Social Identities and Political Relationships in Tehran under Qajar Rule, 1850s-1920s," in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran, Robert Gleave, Ed.,* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 373–92.
2 Bahram Beyzai, *Namayish dar Iran*, 116.
3 I.N, no. 276 (17 Muharram 1293).
4 Akbar Tehrani Shafaq, *Tehran-i Qadim ta Tehran-i Jadid* (Tehran: Bustan, 1389), 127–39.
5 Mirza Husayn Tahvildar, *Jughrafiya-yi Isfahan* (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, 1342), 102.
6 Mirza Husayn Tahvildar, 107.
7 DII.N, no. 545 (15 Muharram 1280).
8 DII.N, no. 470 (21 Muharram 1277).
9 Akbar Tehrani Shafaq, *Tehran-i Qadim ta Tehran-i Jadid*, 127–29.

The "traumatic event", as described by Saunders and Aghaie, has been used as a "pattern of giving meaning to a traumatic event by employing it within a broader theoretical, contextual, or thematic framework."[1] The traditions and rituals related to Karbala became an essential part of Shiʿi religion and transferred an act of pious mourning to a vehicle for social and political mobilization.[2] For the royal court, it was a source of social identity and integration. For the ʿulamaʾ, it was a social activity bolstering religious life and strengthening their religious authority. By funding these ceremonies, political elites and *tujjār* elevated their social influence and collected higher levels of social capital. And the grass roots used it as a means for internalization of religious norms, social integration, and mobilization against the court or local governors.

The Shiʿi popular religion could not leave out of the institutional structure of RIs. Its rituals were practiced, and its norms were institutionalized in the context of RIs. In the following sections, I discuss some dimensions of this environmental effects on the RIs in this period.

A. Expansion of Shiʿi-specific RIs in the Nāṣirī period and the role of the tujjār and middle class elites

Expansion of the numbers of the two Shiʿi-specific RIs of *takyih* and *imāmzādih* went in line with the growing practices of the Shiʿi rituals and ceremonies. Muharram performances were granted their own specific spatial positions, called *takyih*. Although the ceremonies were performed in both private residences and

1 Rebecca Saunders and Kamran Aghaei, "Introduction: Mourning and Memory," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, no. 1 (2005): 20.
2 Rebecca Saunders and Kamran Aghaei, 27.

public places, such as mosques, *imāmzādih-hā*, or city squares, they were more commonly performed in their specific theatre halls. *Takyih-hā* were scattered all around the city in various neighbourhoods.[1] Each *takyih* could host between three hundred to three thousand viewers for each performance. Some open-air *takyih-hā* seated twenty to thirty thousand viewers per performance.[2] The number of performances in a typical night of Muharram exceeded one to two hundred events which were held in mosques, *imāmzādih-hā,* city squares, parks, and also *takāyā*.[3] Therefore, *takyih* got its own urban position in the city of Tehran as an independent RI which had its own social functions and implications. The growing number of the *takāyā* on the maps took place in parallel with the expansion of Muharram rituals, industries, and production of literary works related to the performances.

As seen in the previous chapters, *takyih* had the highest increasing rate among all the RIs recorded in the documents. The number of *takyih-hā* even exceeded the number of the mosques, the most important RI in the Islamic culture. A review of the spatial dispersion of *takyih-hā* showed that in contrast to the mosques there was no correlation between the position of *takyih-hā* and Bazar area. They usually served regional functions and they were related to sub-identities, such as Kirmaniha, Misqarha, or Zanburakkhanih. In this context Dawlat Takyih was an exception, since it was the largest *takyih* of the city established by Nasir al-Din Shah to serve as an official hall in which the court and even the women of the *ḥaram* participated.[4]

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1 Negar Mottahedeh, "Taʿziyeh: A Twist of History in Early Life," 28.
2 Bahram Beyzai, 123.
3 ʿAbdullah Mustuwfi, *Sharh-i Zindigani-yi Man, Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi va Idari-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Tehran: Zavvar, 1342), 158.
4 Huma Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 249–50.

Imāmzādih was another Shiʿi-specific institution that grew in this period. However, emergence of new *imāmzādih-hā* was contrary to the nature of this type of RI, since the last Imams' children died several centuries earlier. Yet, new shrines for Imams' children appeared in this period. Such reality shows how popular religion was practiced in opposition to shariʿa law and formal religion.

Imāmzādih-hā have been the backbone of urban spaces in Iranian cities and villages. For centuries, many city quarters and rural areas have formed around *imāmzādih-hā*.[1] Our primary sources illustrate the pivotal position of the *imāmzādih* in urban spaces of the city of Tehran. They were usually joined with other RIs and formed conglomerations with diverse functions.

The continuity and rise of the two Shiʿi-specific RIs occurred in parallel with the expansion of the Shiʿi popular religion. Despite the unique position of mosques in other Islamic cultures, the Shiʿi-specific RIs could inhabit new social roles and functions in the Qajar period.[2]

B. Shift of waqf institution towards supporting takyih and imāmzādih

In the previous section, I discussed how Shiʿi popular religion as an exogenous factor shifted the behaviour of the agents that triggered the establishment of Shiʿi-specific RIs of *takyih* and *imāmzādih*. In this section, I investigate the exogenous effect of popular religion on waqf institutions. I show that Shiʿi popular religion

1 Bint al-Huda Nithari et al., "Taʾthir-i Bana-hayi Aramqahi-yih Mazhabi dar Shiklgiri-yi Shahr-hayi Iran dar Dawrih-yi Islami," 31–38.
2 Kamran Aghaei, "Religious Rituals, Social Identities and Political Relationships in Tehran under Qajar Rule, 1850s-1920s," 373–92.

moved the donors toward establishment of more waqf properties for Shiʿi RIs (such as *takyih*) and rituals (such as Muharram rituals).

As the main financial source of RIs, the change of waqf revenues to support more Shiʿi-specific RIs and rituals should follow the same trend as we saw in the typology of RIs in the previous section. In order to investigate the share of the Shiʿi-specific RIs and rituals from the waqf funding, I use two sets of documents related to the city of Tehran: the waqf properties recorded in surveys No1 and No2. Then, I use the waqf documents collected in the archives of the city of Isfahan in order to see whether the same trend existed in other cities or not. If the Shiʿi popular religion was a source of change in the RIs in the city of Tehran, there should be the same in other cities with Shiʿi majority population such as Isfahan.

The waqf properties recorded in the surveys were classified into 6 major categories based on their *maṣārif-i* waqf or purposes of the waqf (Table 56). I used the provisions provided by the donors in the waqf deeds to prepare this classification. The following categories were distinguished: madrasa, *takyih*, *imāmzādih*, mosque, public services, or Shiʿi imams. The public needs refer to various forms of non-religious activities, such as preservation of a public bath, a qanat, or helping the poor people. The waqf properties included hammams, houses, shops, and caravanserais. The waqf properties with unspecified purposes are omitted from my evaluation. In addition, a great deal of the waqf revenues are dedicated to the rituals or shrines of the Shiʿi imams. Among them I see many waqfs dedicated to performing ceremonies for commemoration of Imam Husayn or other Imams. Some others are donated for renovation of Shiʿi imams' shrines in Iraq and Iran. I combined all of these items under the category of 'imams'.

Table 56. Waqf properties recorded in No1 and No3

Purpose of the waqfs	Number of waqfs in No.1 (out of the total 1124)	Number of waqfs in No.3 (out of the total 636)
Madrasa	236	115
Mosque	155	85
Takyih	116	120
Imāmzādih	20	10
Imams	383	57
Pubic	6	1
Total	916	388

The following tables (Table 56 and Figure 52) illustrate a clear image of the money flow to and from waqf institutions in Iran. If I arrange the 6 categories based on their share of the waqf properties, I get the following order: imams, madrasas, mosques, *takyih*, *imāmzādih*, and public services.

The very first observation suggests that waqf should not be considered as an RI that was established to cover social services; on the contrary it was a religious establishment dedicated to religious needs and purposes. The share of the purely secular public needs from waqf revenues are so small that I prefer to ignore them. Even if I consider madrasas as public service entities, the share of public services from waqf revenues remains inferior to the one coming from the other RIs.

The charts contain interesting information which is covered in my discussion in previous chapters. The majority of the waqf properties are in Bazar district. Moreover, there is a correlation between the share of each district from the waqf properties and the economic situation of the district and its inhabitants. Therefore, Chalmaydan has the least share of waqf properties due to the higher rate of underprivileged inhabitants of the region.

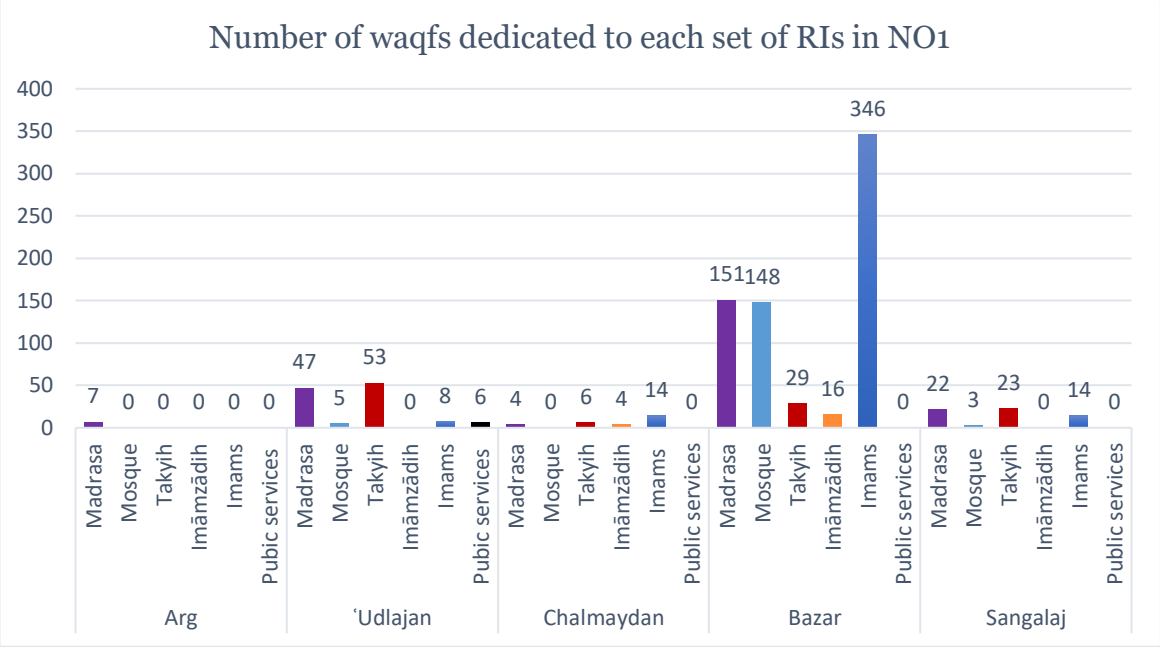
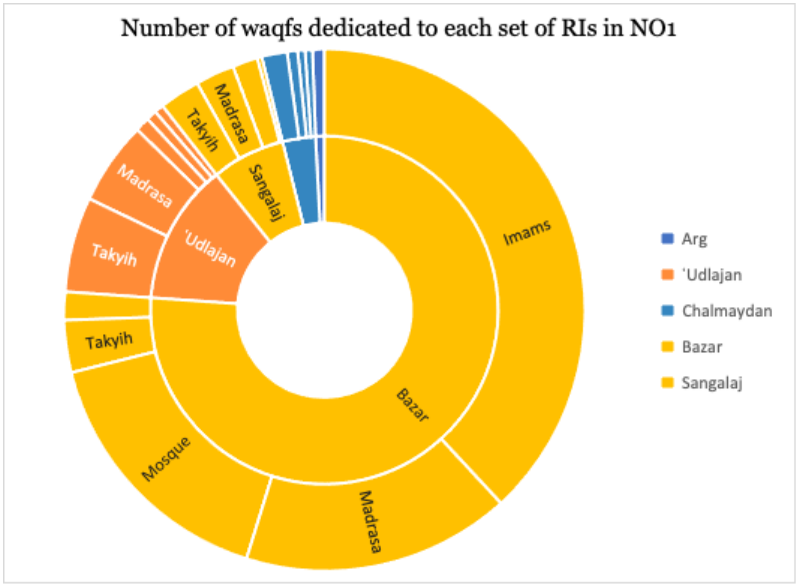


Figure 52. Number of waqfs dedicated to each set of RIs in NO1

Figure 53. Number of waqfs dedicated to each set of RIs in NO1, illustrated in a pie chart



This chart highlights the fact that the Shiʿi RIs and rituals had a significant share of the waqf holdings. Among the 6 categories distinguished here, three of the categories are related to the Shiʿi-specific RIs and rituals; they are the *takyih*, *imāmzādih*, and imams. This finding supports our argument about the influence of the Shiʿi popular religion on the behaviour of the donors. The popular religion

shifted toward the donation of more waqfs for the Shiʿi RIs and the rituals in this period.

My findings from survey No3 about the typology of the waqfs donations are in line with survey No1 (Figure 52 and Figure 53). The highest share from the waqf properties belongs to madrasas, and then respectively come *takyih*, mosques, imams, *imāmzādih*, and public services. The sudden increase of the share of madrasas is an interesting point which explains my previous discussions about continuing trends in the increase of madrasas despite the expansion of modern schools. Here, again the share of the public services from the waqf properties is not considerable. Moreover, once again the majority of the waqf properties are still in Bazar district.

Figure 54. Number of waqfs dedicated to each set of RIs in No3

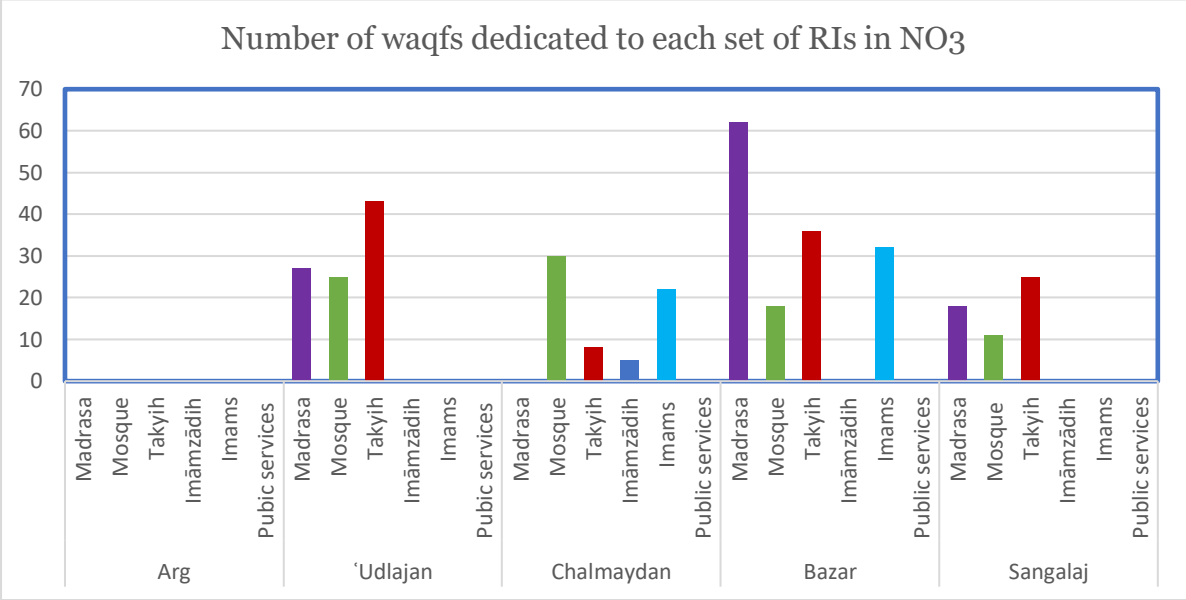
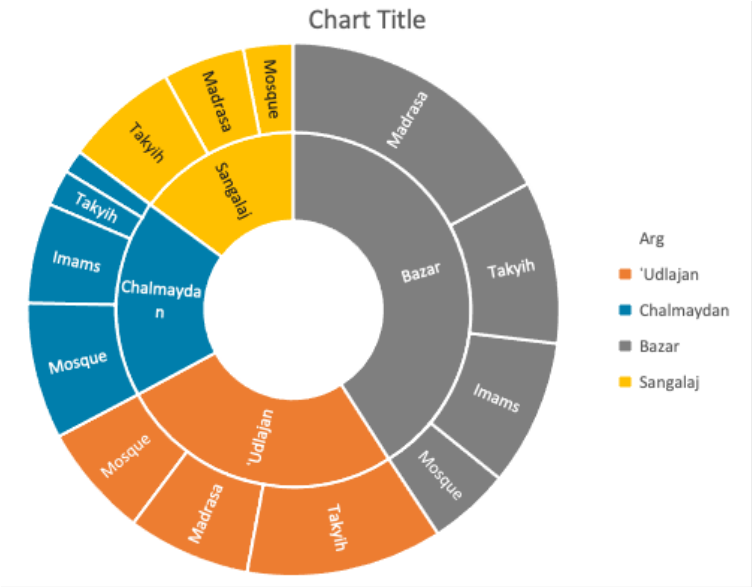


Figure 55. Number of waqfs dedicated to each set of RIs in No3, illustrated in a pie chart



When the number of the three Shiʿi-specific categories of *takyih*, *imāmzādih*, and imams are summed up, the result supports our findings from survey No.1. The chart shows that an exceptionally large number of waqfs are dedicated to the Shiʿi RIs and rituals. Therefore, the data derived from the cadastral survey No.3 still led to the same conclusion as does No.1. Here again I can see the correlation between the Shiʿi popular religion and the number of waqf properties dedicated to Shiʿi RIs and rituals in the Qajar period.

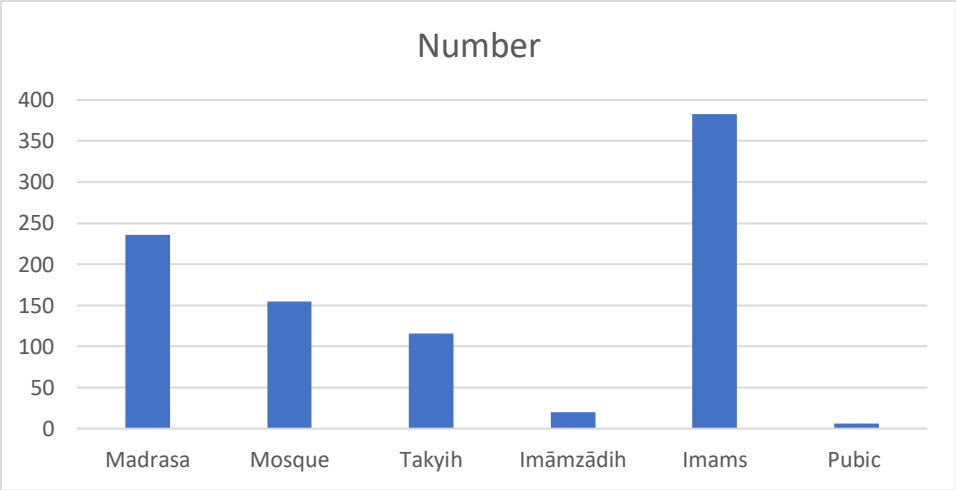


Figure 56. Total numbers of waqf properties of each set of RIs as recorded in No.1

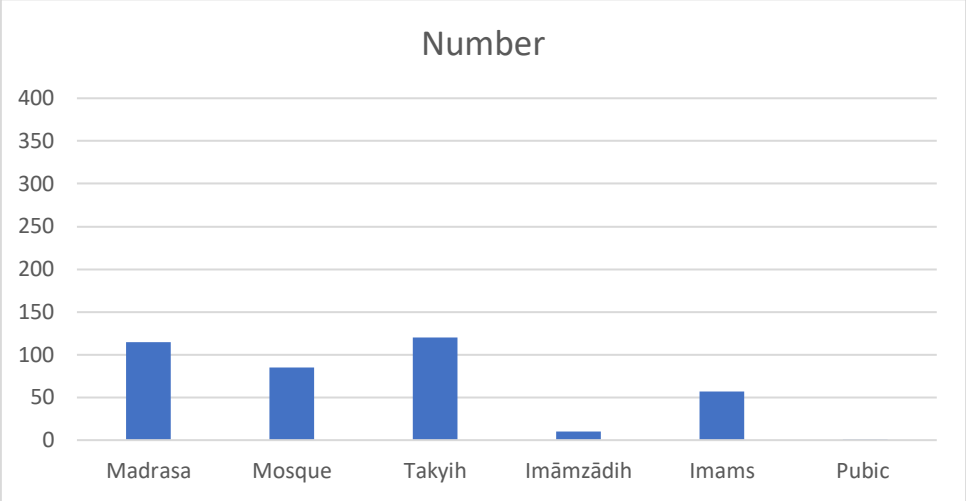


Figure 57. Total numbers of waqf properties of each set of RIs as recorded in No3

A critical question is: to what extent can our findings be generalized to other Iranian cities? As I discuss in the earlier chapters, most of the primary collections and documents used in this research suffer from discrepancies and insufficiencies in various aspects. This is true about most of the waqf archives in Iran. Therefore, I use the data obtained from the waqf archives of other cities to support my claim about the correlation between the Shiʿi popular religion and distribution of waqf revenues.

For instance, a review of some 143 waqf deeds of this period in the city of Isfahan shows that *takāyā* and Shiʿi rituals related to the imams received the highest proportion of waqf donations. I studied about 1800 waqf documents of Isfahan collected and edited by Ishkawarī.[1] The data obtained from Isfahan's waqf deeds are classified and rendered in the following chart to facilitate the visualization of the large quantity of data (Figure 58). The data used in this chart are calculated by a simple formula. The information provided in the deeds, led me to distinguish 5

1 Sayyid Sadiq Husayni Ishkawari, *Asnad-i Mawqufat-i Isfahan*, 12 vols. (Qom: Majmaʿ-i Zakhaʾir-i Islam-i & Idarih Kull-i Awqaf va Umur-i Khayriyih-yi Ustan-i Isfahan, 1378).

categories: mosque, madrasa, *taʿzīyih*, public services, and private functions. The private waqfs are those dedicated to the family of the donors and, therefore, they are private contracts which use the waqf format. Waqf properties dedicated to *takāyā* and Shiʿi ceremonies are collected under the *taʿzīyih* category.

The share of each category from the total donation in a single waqf deed is calculated by a simple formula. The total donation in a single waqf deed equals 1. Each waqf deed may divide the revenues between several categories of *maṣārif*. I calculate the share of each category from revenues allocated in each waqf deed. Then, based on its share from the total donated properties in a single waqf deed, I assign a value for the share of each RI (where the value 1 shows that a given category possesses the whole waqf property). For example, waqf deed X divides the revenues between a mosque and a madrasa. Then, the value for each of the mosque and the madrasa is 0.5. In many cases of waqf deeds the donators ascertain shares for several types of the institutions from the *maṣārif*. In such cases, I have assigned a value from 0.1 to 0.9 for each of the categories proportionate to their share of the waqf revenue. Then, I added up all the values of each category (for example values of mosques) in each decade. These simple coordinates might not be completely accurate, but they can give us a general idea of the distribution of revenue between RIs in this period. The assessment is based on the number of references to each category in the waqf deeds. Consequently, the size or financial value of each waqf property is not considered in this evaluation.

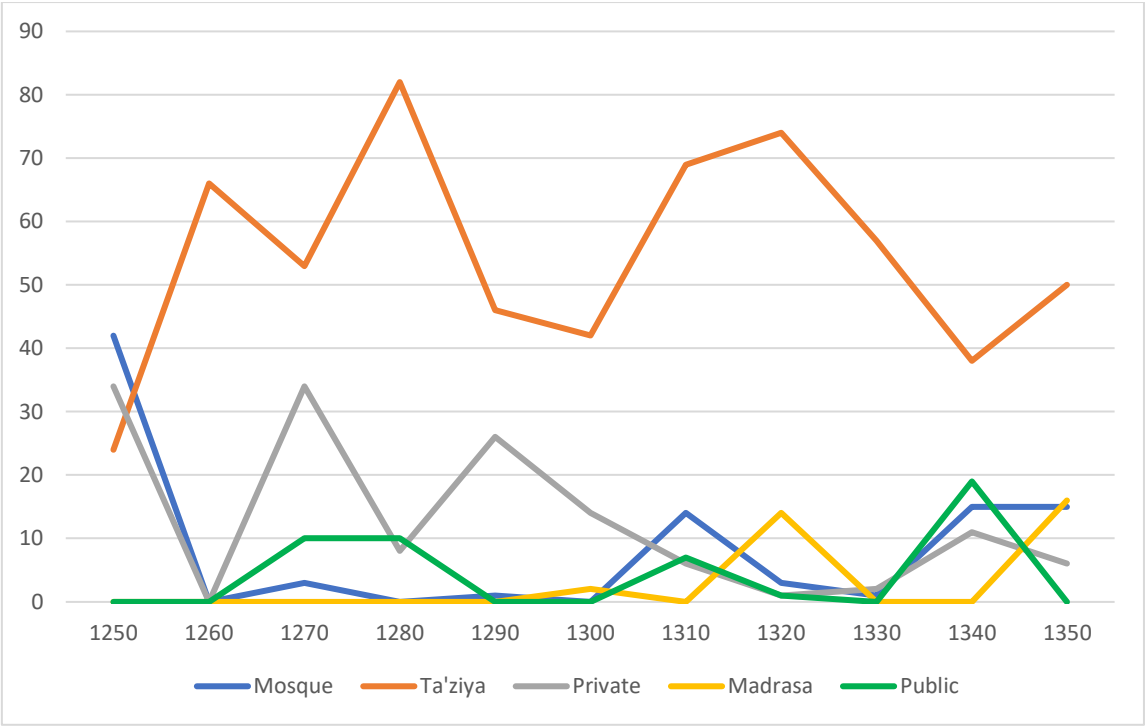


Figure 58. The share of each category in each decade q. in the city of Isfahan

The general trend of the *maṣārif-i awqāf* in this period shows that *takāyā* and Shiʿi rituals received the highest share of the waqf revenues.

Here, the data on Shiʿi-specific RIs and rituals in Isfahan show a similar trend to surveys No.1 and No.3 about Tehran. The important gap between the *taʿzīyih* graph and other graphs show the considerable advantage of Shiʿi-specific RIs/rituals. The pattern of waqf revenues in Isfahan bolsters our argument about the correlation between expansion of Shiʿi-specific RIs, popular religion, and the pattern of waqf donations in Qajar Iran.

6.4.4. Interinstitutional factors: the correlation between perpetuity of RIs and their waqf properties

As I explained in earlier chapters, the combination of different forms of RIs in one single organizational structure was a common occurrence in the *Nāṣirī* period.

Madrasas were usually attached to all forms of other RIs. Mosques, *takyih*, and *imāmzādih* were not exempt from such attachments.[1] Yet, the most common combinations were the dedication of waqf properties to a given RI in order to support the necessary expenses of the RI and preserve it over a longer period of time. Such attachments were not necessarily physical and the supporting waqf properties could be located in different locations, cities, or even countries. The initial findings of earlier chapters showed that the combinational RIs usually lived longer than the small and solitary RIs. Here, I want to investigate the correlation between perpetuity of an RI and the number of its waqf properties. As part of my discussion, I engage with a question that has already been discussed in the previous chapters: is there any correlation between perpetuity of an RI and the number of its waqf properties?

The initial conjecture is that there should be a positive correlation between these two elements, since the RIs with higher financial resources would have less problems in paying their expenses and renovating their buildings. Moreover, their financial benefits would prepare more incentives for the people to pay attention to them. To assess this argument, I use survey No.1 to collect all of the RIs and their waqf properties.

There are three important considerations about this comparative analysis: Firstly, the surveys do not record all waqfs in the city. We should use other sources to evaluate the findings of this section. However, nobody can find all waqf properties for a given period of the history of Iran due to the lack of systematic registration and recording system in premodern Iran. Yet, survey No.1 is the most detailed list we

1 Muammad Javad Mahdavinizhad, Muhammad Husayn Qasimpur Abadi, and Aysa Muhammadlu-yi Shabistari, "Gunihshinasi-yi Masjid-Madrasih-hayi Duwrih-yi Qajar," *Shahr-i Iran-i Islam-i* 11 (Spring 1392): 5–15.

have from the Qajar period. Secondly, I relied on the quantity of the waqf properties of each RI. Obviously, the waqf properties are not the same in terms of quality, size, or revenue. And lastly, I drop out three sets of cases: waqfs with unspecified purposes, waqfs with unnamed RIs, waqfs dedicated to RIs which are not in both surveys.

In order to have a homogenous sample group, I only choose the RIs which are mentioned in survey No.1. Then, I give each of them a value between 0 to 40, in which 0 means the RI is not recorded in any document and 40 shows it is mentioned in all of the later four documents. Here, I believe the types of RIs are not an influential factor, therefore, I do not consider this factor in my investigations.

Table 57. Selected RIs and their waqf properties and their registration values in the documents

Name of RI cases or sets	Waqf properties	Actual-potential number of records (in the 4 consequent documents)	Recording Value
Qāsimkhānī	7	0	0
Āghā Muḥammad Khājih	1	2	20
Chāhārsūq	3	0	0
Chihiltan	12	4	40
Dānkī	6	3	30
Dar-i Masjid-i Jāmiʿ	9	2	20
Hafttan	3	4	40
Muḥammad Ḥusaynkhān	2	0	0
Hājī Muḥsin	9	0	0
Ḥakīm	9	3	30
Ismāʿīl	3	4	40
Jāmiʿ (Jumʿih)	71	4	40
Malikābād	3	4	40
Marvī	9	4	40
Mīrzā Riżā Qulī	35	3	30
Mīrzā Ṣālih	12	4	40
Muḥammadīyyih	80	4	40
Pātakhtā	5	0	0
Ṣadr	11	4	40
Sarchishmih	6	2	20
Shāh	42	4	40
Yūniskhān	4	4	40
Zargarhā	2	4	40
Zayd	8	4	40
ʿAbbāsābād	4	4	40
ʿAzīzallāh	1	4	40

In the first glance, there is no explicit correlation between perpetuity and RIs' waqf properties. However, if we look closer at the number of the waqf properties, we can find a positive correlation between the rich RIs and their life span. When the number of the waqf properties surpasses 10 properties, they are mostly recorded in the historical documents. However, there is no such correlation for the RIs with waqf properties less than 10. This is especially true in the case of *imāmzādih-hā* which were sometimes small but with a high degree of perpetuity. *Imāmzādih-hā* such as Ismāʿīl and Zayd were socially supported to the extent that in the absence of rich financial resources they could last in the passing of time. By contrast, a small and secluded mosque might not have the chance to live long in the absence of persistent financial resources such as waqf properties. I could find a clear correlation between the perpetuity and the number of waqf properties of an RI, if its waqf properties exceed the medium range (such as 10 properties).

All in all, I conclude that the high level of financial revenues produced by waqf properties is an influential factor in the longevity of an RI. If we look at the following chart (Figure 59), we can see that the RIs from Marvi onward are recorded in our primary sources. While if we look at the names of the RIs in the far right of the chart, all of them were and still are large and famous RIs in the city of Tehran.

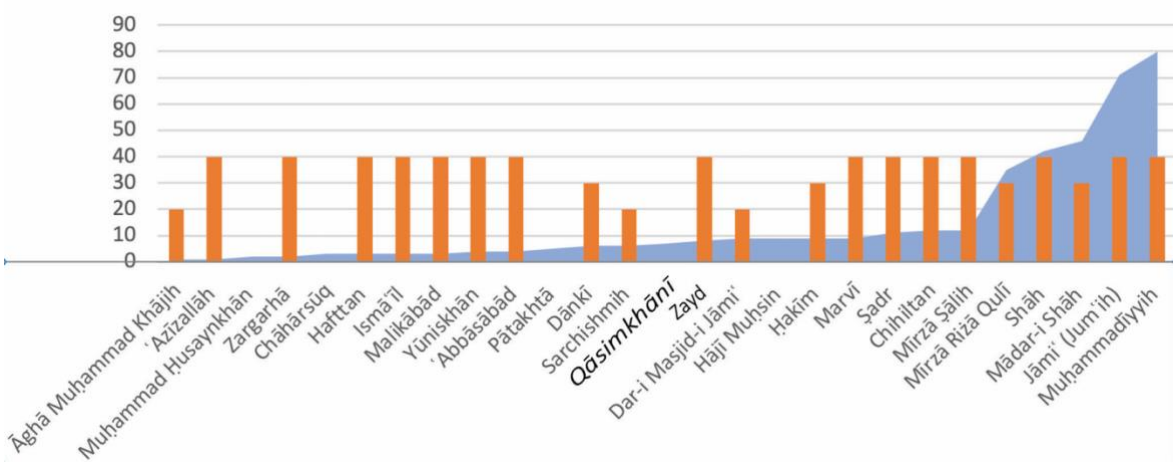


Figure 59. Comparison between the number of records of the RIs and their waqf properties

However, our data collection is not sufficient to prove this hypothesis for several reasons. Here I only focus on the data related to the city of Tehran, extracted from the surveys. Yet, most of the RIs had waqf lands located out of the city or in other cities. Such reality would not reject our hypothesis that the RIs with high rate of waqf properties existed at the time of production of all of the documents.

All in all, the urban data of the surveys and maps show that the RIs with waqf properties higher than 10 cases are almost always recorded in the historical documents. This is the least I can claim from existing data. Undoubtedly, by using other archives one can better examine my findings about this correlation.

While the Shiʿi popular religion was working as an environmental factor to the RIs in this period, it changed the behaviour of the donors to invest more for Shiʿi-specific RIs. While donors were indigenous to the waqf institution, their behaviour worked as an exogenous factor to the RIs for which the waqf donations were established. Therefore, the waqf institution worked as an exogenous factor for other RIs, affecting the lifespan of the mosques, madrasas, *takyih-hā*, and *imāmzādih-hā*.

6.4.5. Modernization of the city and refashioning of the RIs

The *Nāṣirī* period was a transitional period for different aspects of social, economic, industrial, and political life of the Iranians. Cultural and business exchanges with Ottomans, Russia, and the western cultures accelerated social changes. As an environmental factor, the modernization of the city prepared the context for the

change of urban structure in general, and RIs in particular. It also refashioned some of the social functions of the RIs to meet the social needs of urban life.[1]

In the following sections, I review the developments of urban structure and institutions in this period. Then, I present a broad image of the RIs in the city of Tehran to explore how the modernization of the city prepared the environment for the change of RIs. Here, I discuss the formation of new schools and their interaction with the traditional madrasa as two crucial social institutions in the changing city of Tehran.

A. Modernization of the city

The size and population of the city grew drastically by the end of the 19th century. While at the time of the death of the first Qajar king, Aqa Muhammad Shah (1742-1797 CE/ 1155-1211 Q.), Tehran was about 4 square kilometres and populated by 15000 to 30000 inhabitants, its population reached about 250000 in 1888 CE/ 1305 Q. at the time of completion of the Najm al-Mulk's map. The escalation of the population pushed the poorer people to reside out of the city in the south or southeast of the city. The overpopulation of the city urged the affluent people into neighbouring locations in the north. They started to build villas and mansions out of the city fortifications which later on known as the Dawlat district.[2] The need for new residential areas was the main reason for the royal decree issued by Nasir al-Din Shah for the expansion of the city.[3] Compared to the start of the 19th century,

1 Saeid Haqir, *Nazariyih Modernitih dar Miʿmari-yi Iran* (Tehran: Fikr-i Nuw, 1400).
2 WI.N, no. 63 (24 Jamadi al-Thani 1268 q.)
3 See the descriptions provided on Najm al-Mulk's map. Ettehadieh, *Inja Tehran Ast*, 55. Chahryar Adle and Bernard Hourcade, *Tehran Paytakht-i Divist Salih*, 139.

the city of Tehran was 4 times larger in the mid-*Nāṣirī* period, the time of production of Najm al-Mulk's map, and reached 16.25 square kilometres, surrounded by the new fortifications, which were 19200 metres long, as stated by Najm al-Mulk.[1]

The urban developments changed city divisions too. The city districts expanded, and the new district of Dawlat was added by the time of the completion of Najm al-Mulk's map in 1888 CE/ 1305 Q. Dawlat was composed of the old district of Arg and the new regions added to the city in the north. Every city district was expanding into the outer city areas by the time of completion of the third cadastral survey in 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. As a result, each city district had an attached sub-district called *tābiʿ-i maḥallih*; for example, *tābiʿ-i maḥallih-yi* Sangalaj.[2] The more we move towards the end of the 19th century, the border lines between *maḥallih-hā* lose their importance and the city divisions merge into each other. As a second feature, the important role of the city fortifications as the boundaries of the city were diminishing until they were totally destroyed by *Muẓaffarī* period.

Meanwhile, the internal transformation of the city followed a pattern that could entrench the needs of the city in the transitional period. The density of the city structures upsurged, but with the higher rate around central bazar. This was a steady feature of urban development in Tehran in the 19th century. The bazar started from south of the Arg and stretched to two directions towards south and southeast. The density of the houses gradually increased around the trading centres which were mainly located around bazar. A second line of the shops formed in ʿUdlajan from north to south of the district. The city districts were generally divided in

1 Shiraziyan, *Atlas-i Tehran-i Qadim*, 64–65. DII.N, (26 Muharram 1287 Q.).
2 Ayazi, *Tarh-i Sakhtar Shinasi-yi Huviyyat-i Mahallih-hayi Shahr-i Tehran*, 1:41–42.

relation to these bazar lines too. Most of the RIs were located in connection to these trading lines of the bazar.

The expansion of urban mobilization necessitated improvement of the urban facilities and roots. In the *Nāṣirī* period the roads were expanded and the dusty and bumpy roads were flattened out so that the coaches could travel more easily.[1] In some special areas such as the Arg district the roads were improved by carpet stone and sidewalks.[2] To serve the social nature of the city, the squares were developed and several new squares were added to the city.[3] Various other bazars, gardens, and social areas were built all over the city.[4] For the first time two of the important streets of Nasiriyih and Darb-i Dawlat were equipped with night lights. The streetlight structures were made of cast iron produced in Tehran.[5] The urban districts changed in a way to meet the new needs of urban life.

The transformation process changed the city from a demographically dense area to a city with more sophisticated social and bureaucratic institutions. These institutions were to serve the political, economic, and social needs of the citizens. Various governing bodies and institutions were stablished to administer the urban life. A new policing order was stablished to monitor safety and social order. The policing administration was transformed. By the beginning of the *Nāṣirī* period each *maḥallih* had a *kadkhudā* and several *kalāntar-hā* who used to do their tasks arbitrarily under the command of the *vazīr-i Dār al-Khilāfah*, or the chief of police

1 Husayn Mahbubi Ardakani, *Tarikh-i Muʿassisat-i Jadid-i Tamadun-i dar Iran*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, 1370), 128.
2 WI.N, no. 38 (29 Zihajjih 1267 q.); WI.N, no. 435 (29 Shawal 1275 q.)
3 DII.N no. 523 (14 Zihajjih 1278) Elham Shafiʿi, Hashim Hsashiminezhad, and Sayid ʿAbbas Yazdanfar, "Barasi-yi Siyr-i Tahavul-i Mayadin dar Si Dawrih-yi Safavid, Qajarid, and Pahlavi," 1394, https://civilica.com/doc/449646/.
4 WI.N, no. 35 (6 Zihajjih 1267 q.)
5 I.N, no. 43 (20 Ziqaʿdih 1289 q.)

of the city.[1] In 1878, Nasir al-Din Shah invited an Austrian Military Conte de Monte Forte (died in 1916 CE/ 1295 Q.) to establish a new police organization for the city. He prepared the general regulations (*niẓāmnāmih*) of the police and established *Idārih-yi naẓmīyih va pulīs-i Dār al-Khilāfah* (Discipline and police department of *Dār al-Khilāfah*) and in his 14 years of service as the head of *naẓmīyih* and *amīrtūmān,* he was able to prepare a systematic organization for the city police.[2]

The other urban institution developed in this period was *baladīyih* which was playing the role of a municipality. The city did not have an organized institution to govern the daily routines of the city. There were numerous ruined areas around the city. The sanitary situation was terrible in winter due to muddy streets and lack of systematic waste management. There were several huge swamps around the city on Krziz's map which were filled in and inhabited by the time of the completion of Najm al-Mulk's map. Itimad al-Saltanih, was one of the accelerators of urban change in Tehran. He pushed for preparing maps, cadastral surveys, and censuses for the city. He also produced manuals and governmental regulations for the city; such as the report on *Taghyīr-i vaż ʿ-i Dār al-Khilāfah* (transformation of the situation of *Dar al-Khilafah*)[3], *Qanūn-i tashkīl-i sākhtan-i ṭuruq va shawari ʿ* (A law for facilitating the construction of roads and alleys)[4], and *Kādāstrih yā risālih-yih ʿAlaviyyih* (ʿAlaviyyih cadastre or treatise).[5] The *baladīyih* actively engaged in urban management. It used to hire employees to clean the city on a daily basis and spread water on the dusty roads to prevent the dust to blow up by the passage of the people

1 DI.N, no. 573 (12 Safar 1282 q.), DI.N, no. 43 (12 Shaʿban 1281 q.)
2 Willem Floor, "The Police in Qajar Persia," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 123, no. 2 (1973): 293–315.
3 Muhaddith, *Rasaʾil-i Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, Shamil-i Bist va Chahr Risalih*, 359–76.
4 Muhaddith, 377–86.
5 Muhaddith, 397–433.

and coaches. There were some people appointed to carry garbage out of the city using mules.[1]

B. New functions and positions for RIs in a city in transition

While the city was rapidly changing in the *Nāṣirī* period, it is a sound question to ask about the possible changes of RIs in the urban structure or possible demise of their longstanding roles in Iranian society. While tracing the tangible changes such as physical dispersion or interinstitutional relations formed by social groups, the intangible functional changes of the RIs requires in-depth investigation. The question is how did the RIs continue their longstanding functions in the context of the rapid urban changes of this period. Such a question should be explored in an independent study; however, here I would like to summarize some of the related findings of my research and draw a preliminary picture of the topic for future research.

The modernization of the city did not affect the expansion of RIs in urban life. The previous discussions in chapter 3, 4, and 5, showed that none of the RIs declined in this period. Moreover, whenever a new region was added to the city, gradually various RIs were founded in the new urban body. As an example, the development of Dawlat district or *tābiʿ-i maḥallih-hā* in the second half of the 19th century went in line with the gradual birth of new mosques and *takāyā* in these districts. Najm al-Mulk's map shows three mosques named as "Masjid", Amīn Niẓām, and Ṣanīʿ al-Mulk in the new regions added to the city, which did not exist on the maps prior to

1 Qulam Husayn Zargarinizhad, *Siyasatnamih-hayi Qajari Rasaʾil-i Siyasi*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Muʾasisat Tahqiqat va ʿUlum-i Insani, 1386), 617–18. "Juzvih-yi Ijad-i Baladiyih va az Biyn Burdan-i Fuzulat" (National Library of Iran, n.d.), F359.

it. These three used to be part of the green belt of gardens of the city at the time of production of Berezin's map (See chapter 3).

The RIs had dissimilar geographical dispersion configuration in the period under study. I believe the social functions and nature of the rituals performed in these RIs were the crucial factors for determining the locations of the RIs in the city. The highest density of RIs belonged to the Bazar district to help the social life of a trading city. The mosques stretched along the central bazar. Mosques were mostly located on crossroads or main streets. They were to serve the daily religious routines of a Muslim society. A Shiʿi Muslim needed to access mosque to perform his/her daily prayers most of the daytime since he/she should pray three to five times a day. Madrasas which were mostly attached to mosques had similar urban dispersion. Such longstanding functions did not change in this period to change the dispersion of the mosques and madrasas.

However, the connection of the madrasas and mosques served the mobilizing function of these two RIs in this period. These two institutions could connect the ʿulamaʾ with a range of of people, students, and elites preparing the most effective broadcasting tools of that period for them. The ʿulamaʾ had unique positions in these RIs, such as the imams of the mosques, *wāʿiẓ* (preacher), teacher of madrasa, and *mujtahid*.[1] Mosques and madrasas were continuously used by the ʿulamaʾ as a communal location for mobilization of small-scale movements such as the protest against the establishment of a Russian bank near the Imāmzādih Sayyid Walī in 1904-1905 CE/ 1322-1323 Q.[2] Also, these institutions were at the centre of nation-wide events such as the Constitutional Revolution or Tobacco Movement. The

1 Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891-1982*.
2 Kermani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan*, 1:324.

minbar as the location of religious speech in the mosque was an effective media for the ʿulamaʾ. The mosques and madrasas were mediums connecting the ʿulamaʾ with the public which enabled them to confront political elites. As an example, Ayatullah Najafi, the imam of the Sayyid ʿAzīzallāh mosque, announced the excommunication (*takfīr*) of Atabak-i Azam as was emphasized by the Najaf ʿulamaʾ.[1] However, when Atabak was replaced by ʿAyin al-Dawlih in the *ṣadr-i ʿaẓam* position, other mosques and *takyih-h*ā were used to curse Ayin al-Dawlih and praise Atabak.[2] Their being the medium of social connectivity formed the incentives for the donors to follow the longstanding geographical features for the establishment of mosques and madrasas. *Imāmzādih* had an all-inclusive function serving the whole Shiʿi community. It was not serving a regional function for *maḥallih-hā*. Here the rituals were mainly individual, and people were used it as a place to do personal praying. All *imāmzādih-hā* were either located in the bazar or attached to conglomerations of shops. However, there were various records of the communal roles of these urban locations in this period. Additionally, *imāmzādih-hā* were used as the place of socialization, especially during Ramadan. Since people were fasting in the daytime, they spent fewer working hours than usual days. *Imāmzādih-hā* were used to socialize and spend time wating for *iftār*. Moreover, due to the high density of population in *imāmzādih-hā* during special religious occasions such as Ramadan and Muharram, peddlers and traders used them as temporary shopping areas too. Such temporary markets were held in different *imāmzādih-hā* such as Imāmzādih

1 Janet Afary, *Inqilab-i Mashrutih-yi Iran* (Tehran: Bistun, 1385). ʿAbd al-Husayn Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, ed. ʿAbd al-Husayn Nawayi, vol. 2 (Tehran: Mirath-i Maktub, 1386), 682, http://kakheaseman.ir/aseman.php?name_id=79983&b=moratalvaghayea/&name=00.
2 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 2:693–94.

Zayd and Imāmzādih Sayid Naṣr al-Dīn.[1] The expansion of trade in Tehran in this period enhanced the role of these crowded areas as urban spaces for trading activities.

Takāyā were not necessarily located next to shops or trading areas. The geographical dispersion of *takāyā* shows they were equally expanded around the city, even in areas with lower density of population or roads, such as areas in the vicinity of the city walls (Figure 46). They had less connection with trading centres. The nature of the rituals performed in *takāyā* did not require daily access to them since they were used occasionally, only on specific days of the year. Such occasions were usually religious holidays such as ʿAshuraʾ.

The second social function that influenced the urban position of the *takāyā* was their role in the formation of local identities. *Takāyā* were scattered around the city forming the physical dimensions of the local identities of a *maḥallih* or a sub-district (See chapter 3). They were part of the neighbourhood's social compartments serving the regional and communal functions for the people of a specific *maḥallih* or particular social stratum. The naming of *takāyā* reflects how these identities were incorporated in the nature of each *takyih*. Some of them were named after migrants originated from a specific city such as Qumī-hā Takyih (i.e., the *takyih* belonging to those who come from the city of Qom). Some were named after people of a specific occupation, such as Qātirchī-hā Takyih (i.e., the *takyih* belonging to those who ride mules). Many of the *takāyā* were named after their street, *maḥallih*, or other spatial elements. While the mosques and *imāmzādih-hā* were mainly named by a proper noun, *takāyā* were commonly named after a pathway (*guzar*) in their vicinity, such

1 WI.N, no. 226 (14 Ramadan 1271 q.). WI.N, no. 19 (12 Shaʿban 1267 q.). WI.N, no. 176 (18 Ramadan 1270 q.).

as Takyih Darb-i Madrasah (the *takyih* attached to the door of the Madrasa) or Takyih Masjid-i Ḥawż. In the same way, Himmatābād Takyih (19,12) was a *takyih* located in the Himmatābād sub-district. This type of RI was so intertwined with the local identity of each district that they were used as means for separation and competition of the sub-identities. Such competitions were seriously followed to the extent that they could lead to struggle and challenges at the time of performing ceremonies.[1]

The RIs expanded in line with the demographical and geographical expansion of the city. Yet, each RI followed its unique urban growth model (See chapters 3 and 4). Their models of development were formed based on their social functions, since the RIs were not only serving the religious purposes of the society, but also tied up with the nature of social needs of the urban life in this period.

C. New schools and traditional madrasas

The challenge of traditional madrasas in the face of the modernization of schooling institutions in the Qajar period is the best example for refashioning of social functions of a social institution in Iran. In the Qajar period, the modernization of the city was gradually influencing various elements of the city, likewise the educational institutions. The new schooling system introduced some distinct features for educational organizations, such as girls' schools, modern sciences, new western languages, etc. The establishment of new educational institutions gradually grew in the *Nāṣirī* period and escalated in the *Muẓaffarī* period under the impact of the intellectual waves of the Constitutional Revolution. However, this continuous

1 WI.N, no. 444 (17 Safar 1276 q.). I.N, no. 276 (17 Muharram 1293 q.).

process was formed by various phases of challenge, reconciliation, and refashioning in the social functions of traditional madrasas.

The madrasa had been the sole secondary and higher educational institution in Iran until the *Nāṣirī* period. Both at the elementary school level, known as *maktab*, and the higher education level in the madrasa Islamic teachings were at the centre of the educational process.[1] Madrasas had a solid position in the urban structure of the city. The information provided on the maps demonstrates that madrasas were generally concentrated in the central areas of the city. The poorer district of the city, Chālmaydan, always had the smallest share of madrasas, and the bazar district had the highest number of madrasas. With the expansion of the *tābiʿ-i maḥallih-hā* districts, the madrasas rarely moved into these peripheral areas until they completely merged into the city after the *Nāṣirī* period.

However, new schools started to grow up alongside the traditional madrasas. The first increasing trend emerged in the beginning of the *Nāṣirī* period and thereafter followed an even trend for several decades; however, at the end of the period it surged up again (Table 58). In the last two decades of the 19th century, another rising trend happened. The new schools were mostly located in the new district of Dawlat in the period prior to the production of Najm al-Mulk's map in 1880s AD/1300s Q. However, by the start of *Muẓaffarī* period, the growth rate of the new schools rises to an extraordinary level; their number reached 121, as recorded on the map of Vizārat-i Maʿārif in the 1920s CE /1340s Q. (Figure 45). At this stage the new schools outnumbered the traditional schools. Although it is a dynamic time for the transformation and modernization of urban structures, the expansion of the

1 Muhammad Reza Qanbari, "Nigahi bi Maktabkhanih dar Iran," *Farhang-i Mardum-i Iran* 9 (1386): 136–37.

modern schools did not result in a decline in the number of traditional madrasas until the end of the *Nāṣirī* period. This conclusion does not undermine the possibility of a decline of madrasas in later periods.[1]

Table 58. Number of madrasas and schools in Nāṣirī and Muẓaffarī periods as recorded in the documents

The document	Madrasas	New schools
Vizarat-i Maʿarif Map 1920s CE/ 1340s Q		**121**
As reported by Mirʾat Al-Waqayiʿ-i Muẓaffarī 1900 CE/ 1317Q		**17**
No.3 1900 CE/ 1317Q	**27**	
Najm 1880s CE/ 1300sQ	**19**	**3**
Krziz 1858 CE/ 1275 Q	**18**	**1**
No1 1853 CE/ 1269Q	**19**	
Berezin 1840s CE/ 1260sQ	**4**	

This finding can help us to better understand modernization of Iranian society. While the traditional institution of madrasa manages to survive, it loses its position as the sole provider of the education in the society, and the new schools occupy their position in serving the public for a wide range of services (especially for the elite). The traditional system was functioning through its organizational structures of *maktab* and madrasa, the new schools offered new alternatives for part of the longstanding functions of madrasas, as the only educational institution which originated from religious educations. This process, however, advanced with various waves of resistance and reconciliation.

The patrons of madrasas did not initially welcome the new schools. Mirza Hasan-i Rushdiyih's schools in Tabriz could not survive long enough for its students to

1 Ringer, *Amuzish-i Din va Guftiman-i Islah-i Farhang-i dar Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 165.

graduate. His attempts to establish some classes in mosques and madrasas were severely hampered by the ʿulamaʾ in Yerevan and Tabriz.[1] As part of their arguments, the critics referred to the sacredness of mosques and madrasas, and therefore, disagreed with the change of the Islamic functions of these RIs for the sake of "non-Islamic" educations.[2] He was later condemned harshly by the ʿulamaʾ and left the country and resided in the Caucasus.[3] In another case, Intizam al-Mamalik, the son of a famous Shirazi tribal chief, established a school for orphans in Shiraz in 1900 CE/ 1317 Q. The grand ʿulamaʾ of Shiraz condemned his 'sinful act' which was decried as an attempt to "promote the Babi sect and pederasty." Soon after these allegations the founder closed the school.[4] In another instance, after the establishment of the *millī* (national) school of Tarbiyat in Tabriz in 1899 CE/ 1316 Q., Haji Sayyid Muhammad Waʿiz Yazdi launched a series of speeches condemning the school. He argued that teaching western languages was forbidden.[5]

However, one should not assume that the ʿulamaʾ were unanimously against the new schools. Part of the ʿulamaʾ was supporting these new institutions. In 1900 Q./ 1317 Q., Haji Mirza Muhammad Reza Waʿiz presented an extensive description of the importance of new schools on his sermons. This approach was not welcome to Haji Mirza Muhammad Hasan Ashtiyani, a grand *mujtahid* of the time, who challenged Haji Mirza Muhammad Reza Waʿiz and prevented him from lecturing from the minbar. Then, Ashtiyani wrote a petition to the King and asked him to close

1 Ajudani, *Mashrutih-yi Irani*, 261.
2 Ringer, Amuzish-i Din va Guftiman-i Islah-i Farhang-i dar Duwrih-yi Qajar, 173–78.
3 Daryush Rahmaniyan and Sayid Miqdad Nabawi Razawi, "Naqsh va Jaygah-i Shaykh Hadi Najmabadi dar Takwin-i Junbish-i Mashrutih," *Mutaliʿat-i Tarikh-i Islam* 5, no. 17 (1392): 51.
4 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:383–84.
5 Sipihr, 1:408–9.

the new schools. However, the King, who had the consent of some other ʿulamaʾ, rejected his request.[1]

The new schools were able to achieve widespread support among the elite and public. The court and political elites supported these schools, facilitated their activities, and even established many of the schools. This formal trend had been started in the *Nāṣirī* period with the establishment of the Dar al-Funun (1851 CE/ 1268 Q.) by Amir Kabir, in which modern scientific fields such as statistics, geography, mathematics, cartography, and medicine were taught by western (such as August Krziz) and Iranian teachers (such as Abd al-Ghaffar Najm al-Mulk).[2] Some of the first students who travelled to Europe to study modern sciences became the initial teachers at the school. For example, ʿAli Quli Mirza Iʿtizad al-Saltanih was an alumnus of the school who went on to become its president and eventually the first minister of science; he was responsible for the expansion of the Dar al-Funun.[3] Another famous school founded after Dar al-Funun was a military training college called Niẓām. The Niẓām school, also called Madrasih-yi Niẓāmī-yi Nāṣirī was a modern military school established in the vicinity of the Dar al-Funun and regarded as its military college.[4] The appointment of Mirza Husaynkhan Sipahsalar as *ṣadr-i ʿaẓam* galvanised support for the expansion of modern schools.[5]

In the *Muẓafarī* period the overwhelming notions of *mashrūṭih* encouraged the growing trend of the schools. Thereafter, a widespread trend started among the

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1 Sipihr, 1:405–7.
2 WI.N, no. 43 (3 Safar 1268 q.). WI.N, no. 42 (26 Muharram 1268 q.).
3 Gurney and Nabavi, "Dar al-Fonun." Maryam Ekhtiar, "The Dar al-Funun: Educational Reform and Cultural Development in Qajar Iran" (Ph.D, New York, New York University, 1994).
4 Mustuwfi, *Sharh-i Zindigani-yi Man, Tarikh-i Ijtimaʿi va Idari-yi Duwrih-yi Qajar*, 1342, 1:144–45. Rizvani and Qaziha, *Ruznamih-yi Khatirat-i Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar dar Safar-i Sivum-i Farangistan*, 1:466–67. Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, *Tarikh-i Muntazam-i Nasiri*, 3:1958.
5 Nashat, *The Origins of Modern Reforms in Iran, 1870-1880*. Bakhash, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajar, 1858-1896*.

Iranian elites in support of the schools. Reformist thinkers emphasized the necessity of modern schools and new curriculums, among them Mirza Yahya Dawlatabadi, Abd al-Rahman Talibuf, and Mirza Malkumkhan.[1] The political elites and *tujjār* prepared the main sources of supports for the new schools. Iranian ambassadors to European countries bought books on modern sciences and sent them to Iran.[2] Mirza Hasan Khan-i Karpardaz opened a school for poor people in 1288.[3] Another free school was established near Dar al-Funun in the same year.[4] In the next year another free school was opened in Darband district.[5] Similar institutions came into being each year around the city.

1898-1899 CE/ 1315-1316 Q. were milestone years for establishment of modern schools. In 1899 CE/ 1316 Q. *Mirʾāt Al-Waqāyiʿ-i Muẓaffarī* wrote that "in the last seven to eight months a movement has started in Tehran for the establishment of schools similar to Europe."[6] Amin al-Dawlih who was *ṣadr-i ʿaẓam* from 1313 Q. to 1316 Q. played an influential role in promotion of the new schools. Before his appointment to this position, he had been the governor of Azerbaijan until 1313 Q., when he opened the first modern school in Iran. He persuaded Rushdiyih to come back to Tabriz from his self-exile in the Caucasus and provided him with enough money for the establishment of a school.[7] The *Mirʾāt Al-Waqāyiʿ-i Muẓaffarī* believes this school was the first Iranian school similar to European schools.[8] Nazim al-Islam Kirmani calls Amin al-Dawlih the 'main pilar' of promotion of new schools

1 Hujjatullah Asil, *Risalih-hayi Mirza Malkumkhan-i Nazim al-Duwlih* (Tehran: 1381, Nashr-i Niy), 54.
2 Natiq, *Iran dar Rahyabi-yi Farhang-i*, 239–43.
3 I.N, no. 49 (12 Shaʿban 1288 q.).
4 I.N, no. 62 (20 Shawal 1288 q.).
5 I.N, no. 101 (2 Rabiʿ alThani 1289 q.).
6 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:215.
7 Rahmaniyan and Nabawi Razawi, "Naqsh va Jaygah-i Shaykh Hadi Najmabadi dar Takwin-i Junbish-i Mashrutih," 49–51.
8 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:77.

in Iran.[1] His intellectual role in the Constitutional Revolution is appreciated by different historians of the period too.[2] As part of his attempts, he founded a council called Anjuman-i Maʿarif (the Society or Council of Education) and donated 12000 tomans to the council. He also received 2000 tomans from Muzaffar al-Din Shah for Anjuman-i Maʿarif.[3] Such widespread support by elites led to sudden surge of the schools.[4] The next table (Table 59) shows some of the schools established between 1898 and 1902 CE/ 1315-1319 Q. as recorded in *Mirʾāt Al-Waqāyiʿ-i Muẓaffarī*.

Table 59. The schools established 1898-1902 CE/ 1315-1319 Q. as recorded in Mirʾat Al-Waqayiʿ-i Muẓaffarī

	School	City	Year of birth	Founders	Page Number
1.	Muhsiniyih	Tehran (near Dawazih Qazvin)	1319	Muhsin Mirza	582
2.	Falahat	Tehran	1319	Sponsored by the court	573
3.	Hidayat	Tehran (near Dawazih Qazvin)	1318		532
4.	Rushdiyih	Tehran	1315	Amin al-Dawlih	138-139
5.	Qudsiyih	Tehran (Sarchashmih)	1316	Mirza Sayyid Husayn Khan-i Hakim Nizam Al-Hukama	378
6.	Adab	Tehran (Chalmaydan)	1316	Mirza Yahya Dawlatabadi & Shukr Allah Khan-i Tafrishi Mutarjim al-Dawlih (Dar al-Funun alumni)	374 & 378
7.	Khayriyih	Tehran	1315	Mirza Karim Khan-i Sardar-i Azam-i Firuzkuhi Amir Tuman Muntazam al-Dawlih	
8.	Ibtidaʾiyih	Tehran	1316		215
9.	Sharaf	Tehran	1316		215
10.	Muzaffari	Tehran (Bazar)	1316	Maʿarif Association	300
11.	ʿIlmiyih	Tehran (Sangalaj)	1316	Maʿarif Association	215
12.	Iftitahiyih	Tehran	1316	Maʿarif Association	262-264
13.	Siyasi	Tehran	1318		294
14.	Sanʿati	Tehran	1316	Mirza Riza Khan-i ʾArfaʿ al-Dawlih Amir Tuman Vazir Mukhtar-i Russia	305
15.	Akabir	Tehran (Ala al-Dawlih street)	1316	Maʿarif Association	337
16.	Danish	Tehran (Pachinar)	1316	Maʿarif Association	360
17.	Milli-yi Sadat	Tehran (Sarchashmih)	1316	Mirza Yahya Dawlat Abadi	371
18.		Yazd	1319		579

1 Kermani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iraniyan*, 1:155–59.
2 Ahmad Majd al-Islami Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Mashrutiyat-i Iran, Safarnamih-yi Kalat* (Isfahan: Isfahan University, 1347), 93–94.
3 Yahya Dawlatabadi, *Hayat-i Yahya*, vol. 1 (Tehran: Firdaws, 1362), 188–93.
4 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:215. A Anwar, "Anjoman-e Maʿaref," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 2, 2012, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anjoman-e-maaref.

19.	Kamal	Tabriz	1316	Haydar Quli Khan-i Sartip-i Javanshir	392
20.	Milli	Tabriz	1315	Amin al-Dawlih	77
21.	Husayniyih	Rasht	1313	Shaykh Hasan-i Sirjani-yi Kirmani Shaykh al-Mulk	111
22.	Baghiriyih	Isfahan	1320	Baghir Khan-i Munshibashi, the secretary of Zil al-Sultan's court	650
23.	Milli	Kermanshah	1319	Shaykh Muhammad Saʿid-i Baghdadi	586
24.			1316	Mirza Habib Allah	358

Tujjār and financial elites were another major social group supporting the new schools. Their financial advantages helped the promotion of the new schools. Mirza Abu al-Qasim-i Tajir-i Tabrizi donated 5000 tumans to the Rushdiyih school in Tehran.[1] Falahat school received 500 tumans per month from the court.[2] Khayriyih School was stablished by Mirza Karim Khan-i Amir Tuman Muntazam al-Dawlih. He also made a waqf donation for the school to cover its expanses. He stablished this school for the orphans to study there for free.[3] Mirza Riza Khan-i ʾArfaʿ al-Dawlih stablished the Sanʿati school and asked several Iranian Muslims in Russia to send their financial supports to an account in the Russian Loan Bank.[4] Mirza Yahya Dawlat Abadi received funding from "the Sayyid families of Tehran" to open the Milli-yi Sadat school in Sarchashmih.[5] The Muẓafarīyyih was established by Shaykh Mahdi Tihrani in 1904 CE/ 1322 Q. in Qarībīyān alley, in south-west of the Chihiltan bazar.[6] The numerous examples of such donations show the active presence of *Tujjār* in the patronage networks of schools.

Half a century after the establishment of Dar al-Funun (1851 CE/ 1268 Q.), the school-madrasa challenge found a middle road in the *Muẓaffarī* period to reconcile

1 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:391.
2 Sipihr, 1:573.
3 Sipihr, 1:104–5.
4 Sipihr, 1:305.
5 Sipihr, 1:371.
6 "Takyih." T.N, no. 154 (23 Rabiʿ al-Thani 1317 q.). T.N, no. 320 (9 Rabiʿ al-Thani 1322 q.).

the traditional and modern school systems. While in the *Nāṣirī* period the new schools were not received well by the ʿulamaʾ, in the *Muẓafarī* period they had considerable support from various social groups and institutions. The modern institutions applied a reconciliatory approach to receive the social support and eligibility for performing the educational roles previously performed solely by madrasas. A clear example of this reconciliatory approach was the curriculum of the new schools. The Husayniyih school, which was established in 1896 CE./ 1313 Q. in Rasht by Shaykh Hasan Sirjani Kirmani Shaykh al-Mulk, was teaching Quran, Arabic language, and *sharʿ* rulings in addition to maths, geography, the French language, etc.[1] The same approach was followed in the Kamal school, established in 1896 CE/ 1313 Q. in Tabriz by Haydar Quli Khan-i Sartip-i Javanshir.[2] The Adab and Khayriyih schools had similar approach.[3]

Such a reconciliatory approach ameliorated the hostile relations between the religious groups and the promoters of the new schools. At some stage, even the religious groups participated in this process. The Sayyids Families of Tehran opened the Milli-yi Sadat school in Tehran.[4] Even some RIs came to accommodate new schools, such as the Adab school which was established by Mirza Yahya Dawlatabadi and Shukr Allah Khan-i Tafrishi Mutarjim al-Dawlih in the Takyih Sahib Divan in 1899 CE/ 1316 Q.[5] Some of these previously denoted western and heterodox organizations were receiving waqf donations and had their own waqf properties.

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1 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:111.
2 Sipihr, 1:392.
3 Sipihr, 1:374 & 378. Sipihr, 1:262–64. Iqbal Qasemi Puya, *Madaris-i Jadid dar Dawrih-yi Qajar, Baniyan va Pishruwan* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Danishgahi, 1378), 202–4.
4 Sipihr, *Mirʾat al-Waqayiʿ-i Muzaffari*, 1386, 1:371.
5 Sipihr, 1:374 & 378.

While the changing atmosphere of the city prepared an environment conducive to the expansion of new schools, the traditional madrasas continued to live and even grew until the *Muẓaffarī* period. Madrasas lost part of their social functions, but they could influence the curriculum of the modern schools by pushing the schools to apply religious-friendly changes. The waqf institution was also attached to some of the modern schools to participate in the organizational structure of this new institution.

6.5. Conclusion

Decoding the process of change and transformation of RIs requires a broad image of the institutional environment, the internal mechanisms of religious organizations, and power relations among social groups in the *Nāṣirī* period. Iranian society was formed by a complex series of intertwined social institutions that requires extensive institutional investigations. This chapter tried to present a preliminary picture of the RIs in Iran in this period.

The institutional structure of the city of Tehran has been influenced by two significant environmental factors in this period: social changes resulting from the modernization of the city and the growing predominance of Shiʿi popular religion. The expansion of Shiʿi rituals related to ʿAshuraʾ and Imam Husayn in the Qajar period was a major environmental factor in the scalation of the number of Shiʿi RIs. The boom in the numbers of the Shiʿi-specific RIs of *takyih* and *imāmzādih* was an interesting change in the institutional texture of this period. The data derived from my primary sources completely supports this finding. This trend affected the behaviour of the waqf benefactors, who became motivated to donate higher

financial resources to these institutions. My survey of the waqf holdings of various types of RIs in this period shows that the shares of *takāyā* and *imāmzādih-hā* from the funding produced by the waqf properties were much higher than the other RIs. There is a reasonable correlation between the revenues received by these two Shiʿi-specific RIs and the increase of their numbers. While the waqf institution was an exogenous factor for the *takyih* institution, it could positively influence the expansion rate of *takyih-hā* through realignments in the behaviour of benefactors.

The unprecedented sudden growth and modernization of the city of Tehran in the late 19th century provided an environment conducive to the formation of new schools, and consequently, a relative decline in the growth rate of traditional madrasas. Meanwhile, the new schools started to replace madrasas as the main public educational institution, a function that had been performed by madrasas for centuries. The new schools stabilized their position by applying a reconciliatory approach to reduce the tension with other social forces supporting religious belief and institutions. Many of the schools preserved religious teachings as part of their curriculum.

In the context of these environmental factors, two sets of institutional factors influenced the process of change and transformations of RIs. The indigenous factors of change were initiating changes from inside the RIs. The first social group was the ʿulamaʾ who frequently mediated the necessary changes by writing permission letters allowing the transformation of the so-called unchangeable RIs. Their roles as the imams of the mosques, teachers of madrasas, preachers of *takyih-hā,* and *mujtahid* granted them unique authority to effect changes in mosques, madrasas, *takyih-hā,* and *awqāf*. However, the waqf institution had three other decisive players too: 1. *wāqif* or the donor; 2. *Mawqūf-un ʿalayhim* (those who receive the waqf funds and benefits); 3. *mutawallī* or the manager of the waqf property. In the

absence of proper organizational structure in a waqf deed, especially where there were strong financial incentives, these three could facilitate various forms of changes in a waqf property.

Meanwhile, a set of exogenous factors were also playing role in the institutional texture of the RIs. The Shah and political elites (in the royal court or regional governors' systems) could enable various forms of changes in the RIs, specifically the waqf properties. The more a waqf could produce financial revenues, the higher the probability that it might be threatened by the court's interference.[1] Since revenue could make a property eligible for taxation, the political elites could justify their interference in waqf affairs. The court and the local governors often used to change the managers of agricultural waqf lands due to their inability to pay the taxes. Although the nature of the waqf lands were mostly preserved according to the will of the *wāqif*, their revenues were easily confiscated by the political elites and governors. These waqf properties were either *arbābī* waqf falling in the category of the lands controlled by local officials or *khāliṣih* waqf controlled by the court officials.[2] The constant interference of the political elites turned them into the most influential exogenous factor in the change of waqf lands.[3]

The transition of the Qajarids from a tribe to a state required the bureaucratization of the primitive forms of tribal rules. The consolidation of political power through the development of bureaucratic orders was an attempt to form a unified administrative system for the Qajar state as part of the bureaucratization needs of a

1 *DII.N*, no. 556 (8 Shawal 1280).
2 Muhaddith, *Rasaʾil-i Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, Shamil-i Bist va Chahr Risalih*, 12. Iʿtimad al-Saltanih, *Mirʾat al-Buldan*.
3 *DII.N*, no. 506 (24 Jamadi al-Awal 1278). Kondo, "State and Shrine in Iran: Waqf Administration of the Shah ʿAbd al-ʿAzim Shrine under the Qajars."

modern state in the *Nāṣirī* period.[1] Such a bureaucratization process was also followed by the court elites in order to regulate the RIs. The royal court tried to set up an independent ministry for *awqāf*, establish different court systems, modernize education, etc. However, these consecutive attempts of the political elites did not result in significant achievements until the end of the *Nāṣirī* period.

1 Moazami, *State, Religion, and Revolution in Iran, 1796 to the Present*, 20–21.

Appendix 1- IJMES Word List and Transliteration System

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

Consonants

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k *or* g	k *or* ñ	k *or* n
ب	b	b	b	b *or* p	ژ	—	zh	j	j				*or* y	*or* y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s				*or* ğ	*or* ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ṣ	ṣ	گ	—	g	g	g
ث	th	s̲	s̲	s	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	ż	ż	z	م	m	m	m	m
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	t	ن	n	n	n	n
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	z	ه	h	h	h[1]	h[1]
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	—	و	w	v *or* u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g *or* ğ	g *or* ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	z̲	z̲	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ة	a[2]			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	ḳ	k	ال	[3]			

[1] When h is not final. [2] In construct state: at. [3] For the article, al- and -l-.

Vowels

		ARABIC AND PERSIAN	OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH
Long ا or	ى	ā	ā
	و	ū	ū
	ي	ī	ī
Doubled	ـِيّ	iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)
	ـُوّ	uww (final form ū)	uvv
Diphthongs	ـَو	au *or* aw	ev
	ـَى	ai *or* ay	ey
Short	ـَ	a	a *or* e
	ـُ	u	u *or* ü / o *or* ö
	ـِ	i	ı *or* i

words of Arabic and Persian origin only

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

A
abaya
Abbasid
ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz
ᶜAbd al-Hamid (Arabic); Abdülhamit (Turkish)
Aden Protectorate
Afghan War
agha
ᶜAᵓisha
Akkar
al-Andalus
ᶜAlawites
Al Saᶜud (family)
ᶜAli
ᶜ*ālim* / pl. ᶜulamaᵓ
aliyah (Hebrew)
Allah
ᶜAmili (as in Jabal ᶜAmil)
amir
Amman
ancien regime
anti-Semitic
Arab renaissance
Arabian peninsula
Yasir Arafat
arak
archrival
Hafiz al-Asad (Syrian pres.)
Ashkenazi(m)
ᶜAshuraᵓ
Asia Minor
Azerbaijan

B
Baalbek
Baburnama
Bahai (adj. + n.: s. + pl.)
Baᶜth Party
bazaar, *bāzārī*
bedouin (s. + pl.)
Bekaa
Belarus
belles-lettres
bey
bilād al-makhzan
Bilad al-Sham or *bilād al-shām*
bilād al-sība
Bint Jbeil
black (people, studies, etc.)
Bosporus
businesspeople
by-product

C
Camp David Accords
caliphate
Capitulations
casbah
Central Asia
20th century (n.); 20th-century (adj.)
city–state
clientelism
Cold War
companions (to the Prophet)
Constitutional Revolution (Iran, Turkey)
co-opt
counterbalance
counterinsurgency
Covenant of ᶜUmar
Crusades (historical)

D
Damascus
daᶜwa (call)
al-Daᶜwa (org.)
the Delta
dhimmī (Arabic); *zimmi* (Turkish)
Diaspora (biblical Jews; else, diaspora)
Dijarbakr (Arabic); Diyarbekir (Turkish)

E
Eastern Bloc
East India (Company)
effendi / *effendiyya*
embassy; e.g. Russian embassy
etatism

F
Faisal (Saudi king; otherwise Faysal)
faqīh / pl. *fuqahāᵓ*
fatwa
fellah / pl. fellahin
Fertile Crescent
firman
firsthand
follow-up

Free French (adj. + n.)
Free Officers' coup

G
galabiya
Gaza Strip
GDP gross domestic product
Geniza (Cairo)
geopolitical
global North/South
GNP gross national product
grassroots
Great Power
Great Seljuqs
Great Syrian Revolution (1920s)
Great Terror (Stalin)
Greater Lebanon
Greater Syria
groundbreaking
the Gulf (Persian or Arabian)
Gulf War

H
Haaretz
Habash (Ethiopia)
hadith
hajj
hakim (ruler)
ḥakīm (wise)
halal
halfhearted
hammam
Hashimite
Hidden Imam
hijab
Hijaz
hijra
Hizbullah
Holy Land
houri
Husayn (ibn ᶜAli)
Hussein (king of Iraq or Jordan)

I
ijtihād
ikhwān (brothers)
al-Ikhwan (al-Muslimun)
Ilkhanid (dynasty, period)
imam(ate) (Arabic); imaret (Turkish)
IMF International Monetary Fund
the International (USSR)
Internet
Iran–Iraq War
Iraq War
Islamicate
Islamic Republic of Iran (but an Islamic republic)
Islamic Revolution or Iranian Revolution (but 1979 revolution)
Ismaᶜili

J
al-Jamaᶜa al-Islamiyya
Janissaries
Jewish state
jihad
jinni/ pl. jinn
Judeo-Christian

K
Kaᶜba
kafir
kaffiyeh
khedive
Khomeini
Kifaya movement

L
Osama bin Laden (but Bin Laden)
laissez faire
Lebanese Civil War (but 1982 war)
less-developed countries (LDC)
Levant
long *durée*
long-standing
long-term (adj.)
longtime
Lower Egypt
lower-middle class

M
macronational
madhhab / pl. *madhāhib*
madrasa
Maghrib(ian)

Mahdi; Mahdist; Mahdiyya; *al-mahdī al-muntaẓar*
Naguib Mahfouz
majlis
majlis al-shūrā
Mamluk (dynasty)
mamluk (slave/soldier)
Mandate (n./adj., British or French)
Mashriq
masjid
Mecca Protocol
medina (indef.); Medina (in Saudi Arabia)
Messiah; messianic
metropole
mid-1920s
Middle East studies
Middle Eastern
midsummer
mihrab
millet (Turkish); *milla/millat* (Arabic)
minbar
minister of education (except when title preceding name)
Ministry of Education
Mizrahi(m)
Mossadegh
Husni Mubarak
muezzin
mufti
Mughal
Muhammad
Muharram
mujahidin
mulla
Muslim (*muslim* in Arabic phrases)
Muslim Brothers
Muᶜtazila

N
-nama (suffix meaning *book*)
Gamal Abdel Nasser
nation–state
neocolonial
Night Journey
nonelite
nonnegotiable
Nowruz

O
Old City (Jerusalem)
ongoing
Ottoman Empire

P
padishah
Pan-Arabism
Pan-Islam(ic)
Peasant Revolt of 1919
per se
Persian (*not* Farsi)
petite bourgeoisie
petrodollar
Pharaonic
PhD
PLO
policymaker/making
the (Sublime) Porte
postcolonial
post-Ottoman
postwar
post World War II
Praetorian
preempt
preexisting
pro-government
the Prophet (Muhammad)

Q
Qaboos (sultan of Oman)
Qaddafi (Muammar el)
qadi
al-Qaᶜida
Qizilbash
quasi-state
Qurʾan(ic)

R
raison d'être
Ras al-Khaimah
the Reconquest (of Spain)
reexamine
rentier state
Republican (Party); republican (indef.)
republican Turkey
revisit
rial

S
Safavids
ṣaḥwa (awakening)
al-Sahwa (Iraqi org)
Salafi/Salafism or *salafī/salafiyya*
salat (*ṣalāa* in Arabic phrases)
salnames (Ottoman state registers)
Sanaa
Sasanian
sayyid / pl. *sāda*
secondhand
security zone (Israel)
self-interest
Seljuq
Shafiᶜi
shah; Reza Pahlavi Shah
Shahnama (Book of Kings)
shariᶜa
sharīf / pl. *ashrāf*
shawarma
shaykh
shaykh al-Islam (Arabic); sheikh ül-Islam (Turkish)
Shebᶜa farms
Shiᶜi (n. + adj.); Shiᶜa (pl.); Shiᶜi Islam; Shiᶜism
[*sic*]
Sinai Peninsula
Six Day War (but 1967 war)
smallholder (*n*) socioeconomic/sociopolitical
South Lebanon
Southwest Asia
state capitalism
state feminism
State of Israel
status quo
sub-Sahara(n)
subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc.)
successors (to the Prophet)
Sudan (*not* the Sudan)
Suez Crisis/Suez War
Sufi(sm)
Süleiman (the Magnificent)
sultan
sunna
Sunni
suq
sura

T
Tanzimat
tarbush
Tehran
Third World
Timurid
Tobacco Protest (Iran)
top-down
trade-off
Transjordan
tsarist Russia
Turkish War of Independence
Turkmen (adj. + n.: s. + pl.)
twelfth imam
Twelver (Shiᶜa)

U
ᶜulamaʾ / s. ᶜ*ālim* (Arabic); ulema (Turkish)
ultranational
umma
underdeveloped
Upper Egypt
upper-middle-class status
ᶜUrabi revolt

V
vakıf (Turkish)
vali (Turkish)
vatan (Turkish)
vilāyat-i faqīh (Persian)
vilayet (Turkish)
vizier (Turkish)

W
Wafd Party
Wahhabism; Wahhabi
wālī / pl. *awliyāʾ* (Arabic)
waqf / pl. *awqāf* (Arabic);
war on terror
waṭan (Arabic)
wazīr (Arabic)
website
white (people)
World War I, II
worldview

Y
Yishuv, Old/New
Yom Kippur War (but 1973 war or October war)
Young Turk
Young Turk Revolution (but 1908 revolution)
Z
zakat
Zionist lobby

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