



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 2C

ROUTES TO THE PAST

**Legacy: Presenting the Value of the
Past Through Constructed and Cultural
Landscapes**

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THE ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN LEGACIES OF REZA SHAH: TOWARDS AMASSED SHI'I MAUSOLEUMS IN CURRENT SHIRAZ

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Within the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925-41) in Iran, mausoleum making experienced a rupture from the past. While the Qajars (r. 1796-1925) patronized Shi'i mausoleums as their kingship signposts, Reza Shah recast his monarchy with a rigid program of secularization and modernization. In the early years of his kingship, he actively engaged in fabricating a tomb for a non-religious figure. However, he also refashioned the most prominent Shi'i mausoleum- Ali al-Reza shrine in Mashhad – although in a different way. In line with his urban policies for Iranian cities, this project included a ring- road that encircled the mausoleum, caused large-scale destruction of the centuries-old structures, and thus distanced this building from its surroundings. Interestingly, Muhammad-Reza Shah (r. 1941-79) followed his father's policies and created a large emptiness around and within another Shi'i funerary site- the thirteenth century Ahmad mausoleum in Shiraz. He also revisited the shrine of Mashhad and enlarged the empty space in its vicinity. After the Pahlavis' downfall in 1979, Imami mausoleums became the centre of attention. These buildings were highlighted similarly through clearing the neighbouring urban fabric. However, this time the surrounding fabric of Shi'i mausoleums was pulled down to give way for building new ancillary structures. This is visible in Shiraz wherein the Ahmad mausoleum already surrounded by urban open spaces was selected for further changes. Four decades of making and unmaking resulted in an unstable scene with an uncertainty of what happens next for this mausoleum. Within this context, this paper argues that contemporary architectural commissions in the Shiite site of Shiraz arise from Reza Shah's attitude towards the Imami mausoleum of Mashhad. To this end, this paper conducts a historical study and explores how the mausoleum of Ali al-Reza acted as a model for changes in that of Ahmad.

The thirteenth century mausoleum of Ahmad is a prominent and highly visited Shi'i pilgrimage centre in the city of Shiraz in Iran. Today, there is a controversy over the way this structure is being developed, renewed, and extended in the city's historical core. Large areas of the urban fabric are being demolished under the name of developing the Ahmad mausoleum. The manner in which this structure is growing in the city has created a scene of both perpetual change and an unpredictable future for this mausoleum. Regarding the consequences of these constant changes, there has been research to date about social and spatial fragmentation.¹ However, there has been little attention to the unusual manner in which this particular mausoleum transformed physically. The Ahmad mausoleum enlarged quickly and has dominated the city of Shiraz since 1950s, and this has made it hard to document the changes clearly. Moreover, the large-scale and the hasty developments since 1979 have been documented inconsistently. This paper aims to examine the physical changes to the Ahmad mausoleum since 1950s and discuss this structure as part of a bigger story to indicate how the Pahlavi kings catalysed changes to this Imami mausoleum.² Much research on the Pahlavis is dedicated to the ways in which they secularized Iran through urban policies and passage of Laws.³ However, there is a gap on how they regarded Imami mausoleums and how they became involved, in different ways, in the tradition of royal patronage.⁴ This paper will explore how Reza Shah had an influence on the attitudes underlying the development of the Ahmad mausoleum in Shiraz. It begins by discussing the way patronage was re-enacted under Reza Shah and how his urban policies revolved around the religious nature of Mashhad. The paper also compares different perspectives on these physical changes. Then the Ahmad mausoleum transformation is examined in the context of the urban fabric of Shiraz by relying on historians' accounts (from twelfth to twentieth centuries), the sketches and descriptions of Moroccan, Iranian, and European travelers, along with the available archive of photographs and maps of Shiraz. This part examines how the changes in Mashhad spurred imitations in Shiraz. Through collating the information from Iranian newspapers, the archives of a French architect and a Swiss aerial photographer, this paper therefore argues that there is a link between the changes in Shiraz's and Mashhad's mausoleums. Finally, post-revolutionary urban changes are analyzed within the Ahmad mausoleum, and in its proximity, to argue that the Pahlavis' patronage provided a scene for unending changes in contemporary Shiraz.

The Wholesale Destruction - The New Face of Patronage

Reza Shah superseded a monarchy that publicized their piety through lavish support of Imami mausoleums. This can be exemplified by Fath-Ali Shah Qajar's (r. 1797-1834) initiative to decorate the dome of Fatima mausoleum in Qom with golden bricks. Similarly, Naser-al-Din Shah Qajar (r. 1848-96) gilded the dome of the Abd-Al-Azim mausoleum in Rayy in 1835.⁵ Cases of royal patronage in the form of gilded domes and Ayvans⁶, and silver- or gold-plated transennas (*zarih*) abound. Moreover, extending the mausoleums with madrasas (theological schools), courtyards and mosques was prevalent in Qajar Iran, as the royal members competed for proving their benevolence. It was in this atmosphere that Reza Shah ignored these religious structures, prioritized building a secular mausoleum for the poet Ferdowsi (940-1019 CE) in 1926 and publicized this action intensively.⁷ This represented an unexpected start and rendered the nature of his kingship differently.

The anomaly did not end there. In 1933, the Street Widening Act was enacted and superimposed new urban layouts and street patterns on traditional city cores characterized with winding and narrow alleys.⁸ Wide streets emerged after an expansive demolition was conducted in the core of the cities, and therefore, prompted huge transformations in the historical buildings or in their proximities. Although applied haphazardly to most of the cities, it is very interesting that this urban policy was explicitly framed around the mausoleum of al-Reza in Mashhad.⁹ The 30-metre-wide Hazrat falakeh (roundabout or square)¹⁰ was built in 1930-31 within a radius of 180 metres from the centre of the Ali al-Reza mausoleum's dome. Furthermore, two wide intersecting avenues (Tabaresi in the north and Tehran in the south) radiated from the falakeh and cut through the compact alleys of Mashhad. Not only were the shops and houses pulled down, but also the buildings in possession of the mausoleum, as well as the Paen-pa madrasa, were razed to the

ground. Moreover, the adjoining 800-year-old cemetery of Qatlgah was inconsiderately flattened.¹¹ The main justification behind these changes was that the poor condition of the buildings in the neighborhood was aesthetically inappropriate to the status of the city and mausoleum.¹² Another issue raised was the ease of circulation of modern traffic through the dense maze of ancient streets.¹³ While it was true that the dilapidated buildings in the mausoleum’s vicinity needed to improve, and that the urban structure was not welcoming to cars, this solution neglected the relation between buildings.

On the significance of the mausoleum and its surrounding buildings, Ella Sykes (1863-1939), the British traveller and writer who visited Mashhad in 1990s, wrote in *Persia and its People*: “The magnificent group of buildings constituting the Mosque and the Shrine may be looked upon as the *spiritual* force of Mashhad—the very heart and soul of the city.”¹⁴

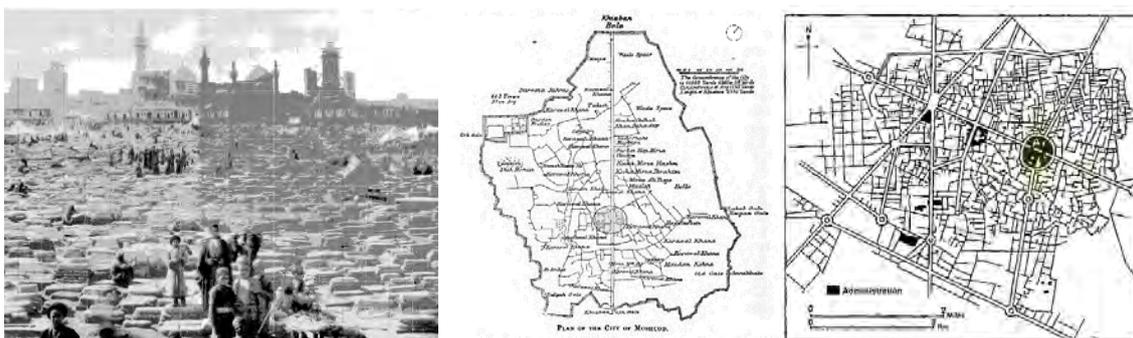


Figure 3. (L). Qatlgah cemetery before the demolition. Photograph from Sykes, *Persia*.

Figure 4. (C) Map of Khorassan by the end of Qajar¹⁵; (R) Map reproduced from observations by Julius de Govrequer Dolmage, KCLS, Col Persian Army, Director of the Royal Arsenal at Mashhad. Available at <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3819071>. Mashhad after the urban changes (Planhol 1968, 439 and Scharlau 1961, 185)

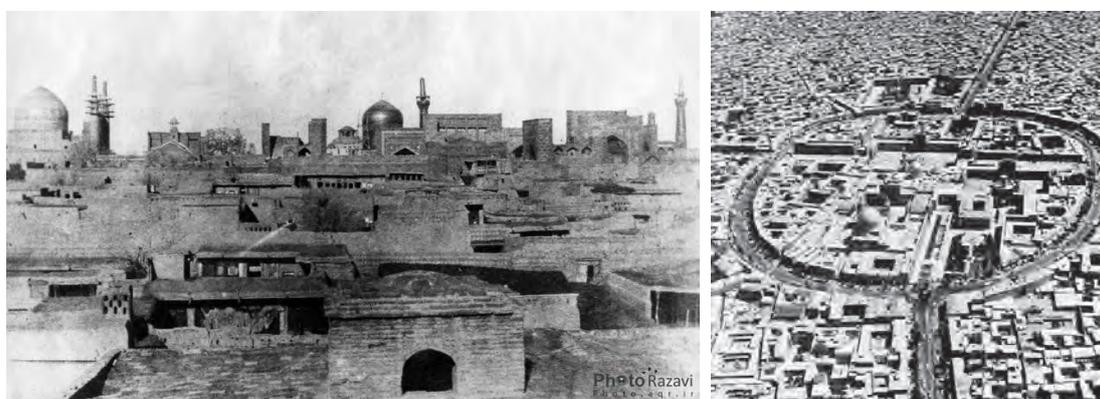


Figure 5. (L) The mausoleum of Ali al-Reza in the urban fabric of 1858. Photograph from the official portal of Astan-e Quds-e Razavi. Photo.razavi.ir; (R) Hazrat falakeh, Tehran and Tabaresi Avenues were constructed after the destruction of shops, historical residential buildings, Paeen-pa School, Fazeliye School, Qatlgah and Eidgah cemeteries in 1930-31. Photograph taken 1971 by Michel Écochard (French architect 1905-1985). Archnet.org Accessed July 25, 2020.

The new arrangement in Mashhad evoked alternative evaluative perspectives. In his paper, Scharlau refers to Stratil-Sauer¹⁶ who visited Mashhad in 1932 and reported the golden dome of the mausoleum of al-Reza with its towering mosque and surrounding houses dominated the city as a landmark.¹⁷ However, this perspective is limited to the visual aspect, and excludes the way the space is experienced. There is an entwined relationship between the communal structures in Iranian cities such as mosques, seminaries, mausoleums, caravanserais, and bazaars.¹⁸ The physical arrangement of these buildings encourages collective activities. Therefore, the destruction of this interconnected network changes the activities too. Regarding the root cause

of these changes, there are different theories around Reza Shah's intention for refashioning this mausoleum, because patronizing a religious building did not comply with his secularizing plans. One theory is that through the physical changes, the king was trying to control the integrated power of the bazaar merchants and religious authorities in the city centre.¹⁹ Scharlau argues that the changes in Mashhad cloaked financial opportunities, as the king aimed to attract more pilgrims to the city to retrieve the capital spent in pilgrimage centres of Iraq.²⁰ If one considers that Reza Shah personally wrote a Statute for the administration of the al-Reza mausoleum only eight months after ascending the throne and enacted a bureaucratic system of control over this institution with his direct supervision, they will realize the financial purposes.²¹ Regardless of the motivations, comparing the photos in Figure 5 tells us that the mausoleum of al-Reza was encircled, cut off and isolated from its environment.

Towards establishing the vacuum

The Imami mausoleum of Ahmad-ibn Musa (famous as the Shah-e Cheragh)²² was a revered local mausoleum in Shiraz before the twentieth century. Compared to the al-Reza mausoleum, which attracted monarchical attention and architectural commissions since the ninth century and transformed gradually, the Ahmad mausoleum remained nearly intact until the 1950s.²³ The way the bazaars, mosques and mausoleums occupied the city centre of Shiraz looked very similar to the thirteenth century, as Figure 6 shows. During Muhammad-Reza Shah's kingship and between 1947-53, the Ahmadi street and Ahmadi square cut through the dense fabric of Shiraz and leveled bazār-e Murqh and bazār-e Chahar-Rah (Afsar 1974, 81).²⁴ Conforming to Reza Shah's urban policies, this change largely undermined the historical Atabeg (r. 1148-1285 CE) structures of Shiraz.²⁵ The New Mosque (1217 CE) and the Ahmad mausoleum (1225-60 CE), which were connected by the bazār-e Chahar-Rah, were disconnected after the square²⁶ and replaced the Atabeg bazaar. The second phase of changes commenced around 1974 when another Imami mausoleum in this area, the thirteenth century Muhammad mausoleum, was used to extend the Shah-e Cheragh eastwards. The large area between the mausoleums of Ahmad and Muhammad was demolished to build a shared courtyard and create a large funerary complex. The victims of these actions were the residential buildings and the bazār-e Sar-e Hawz-e Agha²⁷ located between these mausoleums since the twelfth century. Demolishing the surroundings, Muhammad-Reza Shah highlighted the Imami mausoleum of Ahmad in the middle of large empty spaces similar to the al-Reza mausoleum.

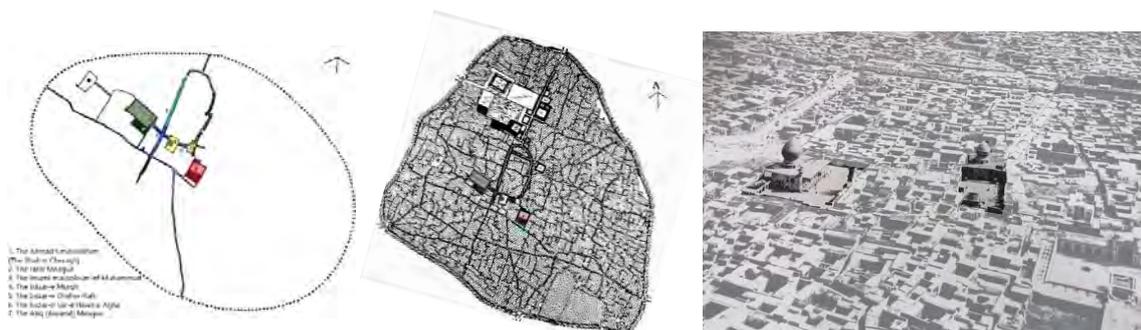


Figure 6. (L) The urban fabric of Shiraz during the Atabegs²⁸; (C) Shiraz before 1900²⁹; (R) The Imami mausoleums of Ahmad (on the left side of the photo) and Muhammad (on the right side) before the completion of Ahmadi square. isna.ir/news/93120603307/ Accessed August 5, 2020. *Color codes remain the consistent throughout the paper.

Almost at the same time that the second phase of changes in Shiraz was taking place, the mausoleum of al-Reza in Mashhad underwent a development project. On 11 September 1975, the Ettelaat newspaper published an article with the following headline: "With the destruction of shops, residential dwellings, inns, and malls in Mashhad: A twenty-one-hectare square was built around the shrine".

This article informed people of the new physical changes around the mausoleum of al-Reza approved by Muhammad-Reza Shah. Throughout his reign, he showed strong enthusiasm in developing the al-Reza and Ahmad mausoleums. This clearly indicates the manner in which he endorsed his father's urban and architectural legacies. If Reza Shah's changes only distanced the mausoleum from the city through a ring, his son's plans, on such grandiose scale, isolated the mausoleum in a vast open space.³⁰ Like Reza Shah, his son aimed at increasing revenue from the mausoleums.³¹ The new project³² featured two concentric circles (the centre being the golden dome of the mausoleum) sitting on the former ring-road. Within less than five months, 1400 shops, seven malls, 15 timcas,³³ 25 sarays,³⁴ 98 inns, and 126 residential dwellings were razed to make the construction of the outer circle (R. 320 M) possible.³⁵ In the following years, the buildings in the inner circle (R. 180 M) were demolished to give way for a green space and also to accomplish the 'Geometric Correction Scheme'.³⁶ The former ring-road was an amorphous circle that apparently required rectification. Beginning in 1930, the mausoleum of al-Reza transformed within a period of five decades in a particular way that followed large-scale demolition. This transformation prompted a similar attitude in the Ahmad mausoleum in Shiraz which was unprecedented to this local structure. This mausoleum reflected a characteristic very similar to the al-Reza one: a large hollow that surrounded the Imami mausoleum, and thus distancing it from the densely built up neighbourhood.

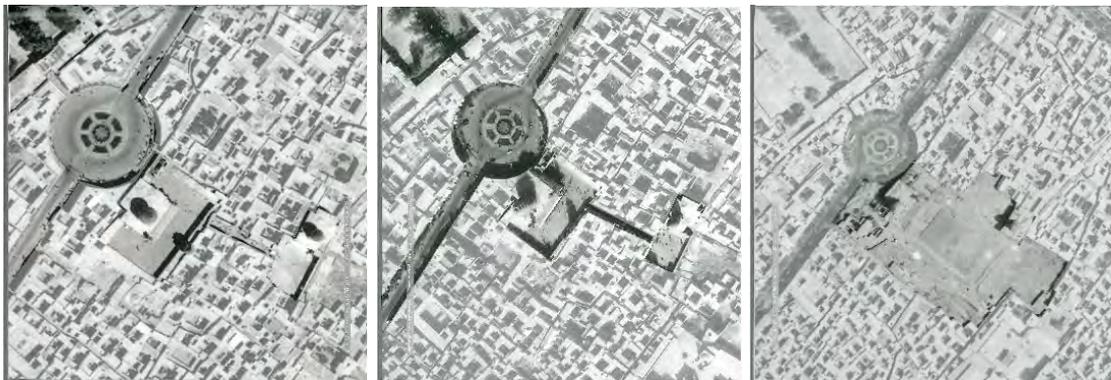


Figure 7. (L to R) The mausoleum of Ahmad and Muhammad in Shiraz in the following years (dates are approximate): 1953, 1958, 1970s (Iran National Cartographic Centre).

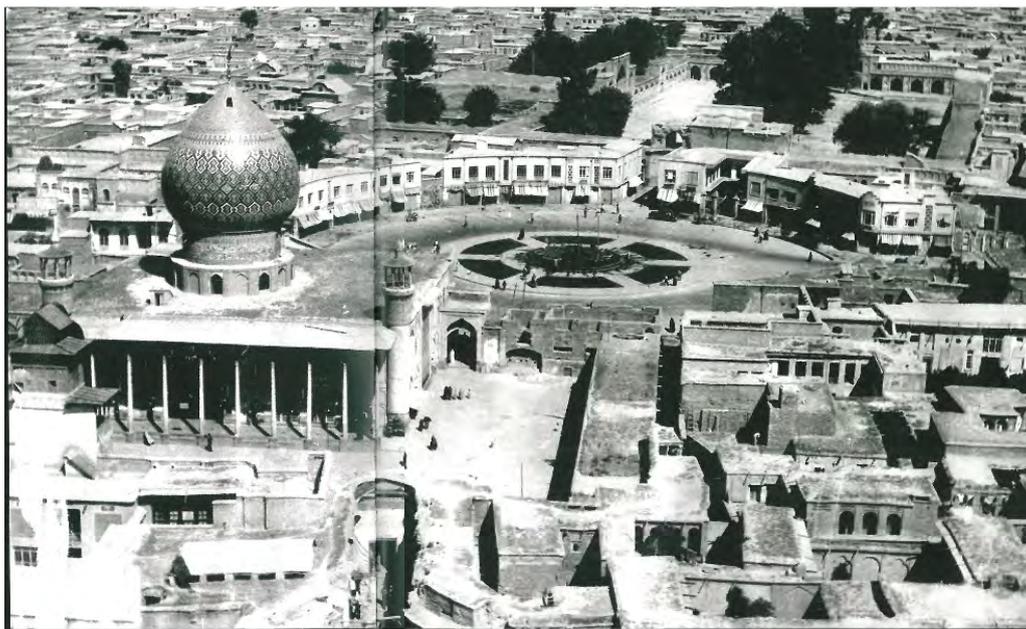


Figure 8. Aerial view from the Ahmad mausoleum and the New Mosque in 1953 (Karandish and Zare', *Mah-e*).

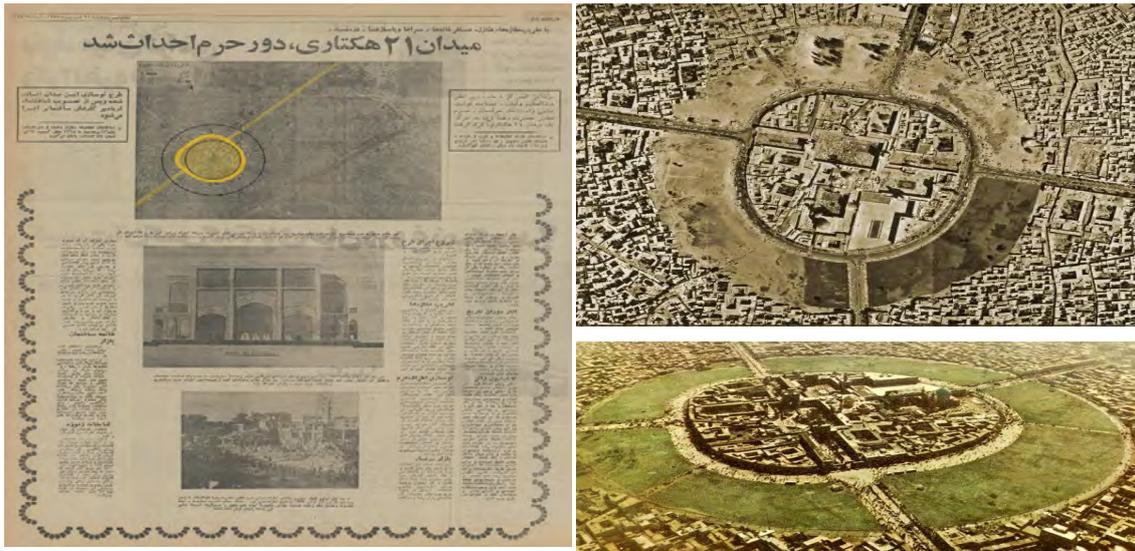


Figure 9: (L) *Ettelaat* newspaper, September 11, 1975, 49.

Figure 10: (R. Above) Aerial photograph of Hazrat falakeh in 1975. <https://t.me/kanunma>.

Figure 11: (R. Below) Aerial photograph of Hazrat falakeh in 1975. The outer circle turned to a green belt. <https://t.me/kanunma>.



Figure 12. Aerial photograph in 1976. The destruction in the inner circle left enough space for a green space. <https://t.me/kanunma>

Figure 13. The mausoleum of al-Reza in 1977 after the correction Scheme was completed. Photo by George Gerster. <https://georggerster.com/en/aerial-photography-worldwide>

The end of isolation?

By 1979, the regime changed to an Islamic government and the Imami mausoleums started to serve as the manifestation of the government's ideology. After the revolution in Iran, religion became politicized and the clerics penetrated all institutions.³⁷ Within this context, the Imami mausoleums were put on an Islamification agenda to emphasize the shift in the political system.³⁸ At this time, the Imami mausoleums of Mashhad and Shiraz were characterized by the empty space between the domed structure and the surrounding buildings. When the Pahlavis fell, the Ahmad mausoleum was left with the large open spaces of the Ahmadi square and the shared courtyard. Nonetheless, this urban image did not last for a long time. Early after the revolution, the empty space that Ahmadi square offered enlarged and took the shape of a triangular falakeh/public space (starting around 1981). However, same as the Ahmadi square, the Ahmadi falakeh was demolished. On 30 May 2012, an aerial photograph of Shiraz still showed the falakeh, while the next taken on 26 June 2012 pictured the space between the Ahmad mausoleum and the New Mosque without the falakeh. This space was levelled to provide the opportunity for new changes in the vicinity of the mausoleum. Photographs taken in 2014 demonstrate large complexes — a new courtyard and a covered praying hall³⁹ — sitting right in the

place where the Ahmadi square was once located. This time, the mausoleum extended westwards as far as the archway of the New Mosque. The insistence on enlarging this Imami mausoleum through making and unmaking proved endless, so much so that the avenues were pushed back and public spaces were taken over.⁴⁰ Instead of demolition to allow enough space that highlighted the mausoleum in a vacuum, after 1979 the urban fabric was pierced in random spots to provide sufficient land for construction. The available empty spaces were similarly used for building. Therefore, this was not an end of isolation for this mausoleum but a new way of distancing this building from its surrounding – although not through a vast openness.



Figure 14. (L to R) The map of Shiraz when the bazaars connected the mausoleums and mosques; the Ahmadi square and street; the shared courtyard; the unimplemented plan for enlarging the Ahmad mausoleum before 1979 (Afsar, *Tarikh-e* and Izadi 2008, 142).



Figure 15. The destruction of Ahmadi square around 1981 (Iran National Cartographic Centre).

Figure 16. The falakeh replaced the Ahmadi square (Iran Surveying Organization, 1996, in Izadi, “Study,” 140).

Figure 17. The incremental growth of the emptiness around the falakeh (Sh. Ansari, “Evaluation of the Impacts of Urban Renewal Projects in Deteriorate Areas with focusing on Social Sustainability” (PhD diss., Tarbiat Modares University, 2017), 111.



Figure 18. (L to R) The last aerial photograph that included the Ahmadi falakeh (marked in yellow) on 30/5/2012; the first photograph that did not show the falakeh taken on 26/6/2012; the photograph of 31/12/2017 shows the empty spaces occupied by ancillary buildings (Google Earth).



Figure 19. The large-scale destruction in proximity of the Ahmad mausoleum for the current developing plans. www.irna.ir/news/83010785/. Accessed August 6, 2020.

Conclusion

Despite marking the beginning of his kingship with the fabrication of a non-religious mausoleum and being heavily associated with secularization, Reza Shah Pahlavi laid the groundwork for current changes in the Imami mausoleum of Ahmad in Shiraz. In basing the urban transformations of Mashhad on the al-Reza mausoleum in 1930, he changed the physicality of this structure irreversibly and created a model for developing the Imami mausoleums. This model highlighted the mausoleum by creating an emptiness in its surrounding and distancing the holy building from the city. This manner of patronage serving a financial and civic agenda spurred imitations in the Ahmad mausoleum in the 1950s and 1970s, and even progressed in Mashhad under Muhammad-Reza Shah's rule. In the second half of the twentieth century, the prominence of the Shi'i funerary sites in Mashhad and Shiraz was represented through an extension of the empty spaces. The vacuum around these mausoleums changed the way they occupied the landscape irreversibly. By 1979, the distanced and isolated mausoleums were the reminiscence of what Reza Shah originally initiated in 1930. The new government adopted an Islamification approach on top of the other motivations. The empty space that the Pahlavi kings left, paved the way for further destruction and building new ancillary structures for the Ahmad mausoleum in contemporary Iran. Today, the growth of this structure in the urban context has made it incomparable with its original size and rendered it as an amassed mausoleum. These constant changes makes it difficult to remember how this building looked in past years and causes the beholder to question what happens next and how it will grow in the upcoming years.

Endnotes

¹ For a comparative analysis of different approaches to the revitalisation of historic city centres in Shiraz and Mashhad see Mohammad-saeid Izadi, "Study on City Center Regeneration: A comparative analysis of two different approaches to the revitalisation of historic city centers in Iran" (PhD diss., Newcastle University, 2008), 142-3.

² Imami mausoleum or an EMĀMZĀDA is a shrine believed to be the tomb of a descendent of a Shi'ite Imam. See <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/emamzada-index>

³ This mainly refers to the Widening Act of 1933, The Endowment Law of 1934, and the ritual bans in 1930s.

⁴ For the royal patronage of Imami mausoleums in Iran during the reign of Safavids and Qajars see Kishwar Rizvi, "Architecture and the presentations of kingship during the reign of the Shah 'Abbas I," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Lynette Mitchell, and Charles Melville (Leiden: BRILL, 2013), 371-397. Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: religion, political order, and societal change in Shi'ite Iran from the beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁵ W. Madelung, "Abd-Al-Azim Al-Hasani," *Online edition of Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated July 13, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abd-al-azim-al-hasani>.

⁶ AYYAN (veranda, portico), a Persian word used also in Arabic (*īwān*, *līwān*) and Turkish. Oleg Grabar, "AYVAN," *Online edition of Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated August 18, 2011, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ayvan-palace>.

- ⁷ Hussayn Bahr-al-Olumi, *Karname-ye Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli* (Tehran: Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli, 1956), 25-61.
- ⁸ Marefat, "Building to Power," 80-94. Marefat discusses Reza Shah's urban intervention in three categories of Streets, Squares, and monuments.
- ⁹ For Reza Shah's urban policies see Mina Marefat, "*Building to Power. Architecture of Tehran. 1921-1941*" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988), Ph.D. And Eckart Ehlers, Willem Floor, "Urban change in Iran, 1920-1941," *Iranian Studies*, 26: 3-4 (1993), 251-275, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00210869308701802> Abdullah Mostowfi (1876-1950), the Qajar and Pahlavi statesman explained this change in his book. He mentioned widening the streets was conducted with the dictatorial power of Pahlavi without which this was an impossible mission. He also stated that the Act was enforced regardless of what building was in the hypothetical street line, either belonged to the poor or wealthy. Neither it mattered that the building was a mosque, madrasah, Embassy, or governmental building. Abdullah Mostowfi, *Sharh-e Zendegani-e man ya Tarikh-e ejtemaie va Edari-e Dowreye Qajariye*, Vol 3 (Tehran: Zovvar, 2009), 242. For an explanation about the broad, straight highways that were constructed with complete disregard for the existing structure and property boundaries see Xavier De Planhol and Judith Brown, "GEOGRAPHY OF SETTLEMENT," In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. W. B Fisher, 1:409-467 (Cambridge University Press, 1968), doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521069359.014. And Kurt Scharlau, "Moderne Umgestaltungen im Grundriss iranischer Stadte" (Recent Ground-Plan Changes of Persian Cities), *Erdkunde*, Bd. 15, H. 3 (Sep 1961):180-191, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25636753>. P 182. Translated by the author. For discussions about the official planning principles that tended to produce a ubiquitous type of urban structure see Eckart Ehlers, "CITIES iv. Modern Urbanization and Modernization in Persia," *Online edition of Encyclopedia Iranica*, last updated October 21, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cities-iv>.
- ¹⁰ Falakeh is a type of square that leads to several streets.
- ¹¹ Destruction of cemeteries and turning them to parks was a part of Pahlavi's modernization plan. Some cases are- the Qatigah cemetery to Rezwan Garden (Mashhad), Musalla cemetery to Hafez Garden (Shiraz). Mostowfi, *Sharh-e*, 249-51.
- ¹² For a detailed account on how modernistic attitudes led to the physical changes in Mashhad see Latifi et al, "Urban modernism and its manifestation in Mashhad in the first Pahlavi era," *Quarterly bulletin of Greater Khorasan* 3, no. 9 (Winter 2013.): 41- 51.
- ¹³ See Michael E Bonine, "The morphogenesis of Iranian cities." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 2 (1979): 208-224, 210.
- ¹⁴ Ella C. Sykes, *Persia and Its People* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 91, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/lib/uql/detail.action?docID=801909>.
- ¹⁵ Image source from Charles Metcalfe MacGregor, *Narrative of a journey through the province of Khorassan* (London, W. H Allen & CO, 1879), 284. And David Darwent, "Urban growth in relation to socio-economic development and westernisation: a case study of Mashhad, Iran" (PhD diss., University of Durham, 1965), 64.
- ¹⁶ Gustav Stratil-Sauer (1894-1975) was an Austrian geographer who travelled to Persia for research.
- ¹⁷ Laurence Lockhart, *Persian cities* (London: Luzac, 1960), 39 in Scharlau, "Moderne," 184.
- ¹⁸ According to Ehlers and Floor, the characteristic of traditional Iranian urbanism includes the central position of the Friday mosque, the bazaar, public baths, and other public institutions surrounded by residential areas. Ehlers and Floor, *Urban change*, 251.
- ¹⁹ Izadi, "Study," 242. For the bazaar-mosque alliance see Arjomand 1986.
- ²⁰ Scharlau, "Moderne," 184. Translated by the author. The same intentions can be attributed to Muhammad-Reza Shah. See Baqer Pirniya, *The political memoir of Baqer Pirniya* (Tehran: Kavir, 2003), Fidibo, 658.
- ²¹ *Nezamname-ye asasi-e Astan-e Quds* (نظامنامه اساسی آستان قدس) - The document is available in the library of al-Reza mausoleum and in the documentation centre of The Islamic Consultative Assembly.
- ²² This term was used for the first time in the travelogues of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier and John Chardin. See Keramatollah Afsar, *Tarikh-e Baft-e Qadimi-e Shiraz* (Tehran: Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli, 1974), 157.
- ²³ The earthquakes of Shiraz in 1506, 1824, 1853 caused great damages to the Ahmad mausoleum, necessitating repairing, and restoring instead of developing. See Nicholas Ambraseys, Charles Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes* (Cambridge university press, 2005).
- ²⁴ The literature lacks the exact date of the construction of Ahmadi square and street. This timeframe is achieved after comparing two available maps of 1947 in Afsar, *Tarikh-e* and of 1953 in Farideh Karandish and Farzad Zare', *Mah-e Tamam* (Shiraz: Astan-e Ahmad ibn Musa, 2011).
- ²⁵ For understanding the physical changes to this urban fabric and the common activities in this area the following historical writings and travelogues have been analysed: Zarkub Shirazi, *Shiraz-nameh*, ed. Bahman Karimi (Tehran: Roshanaee, originally published in 1333 CE and re-published in 1971), 25, 53-4, 105, 150-1,

255. And Hosseini Fasaee, *Farsname-ye*, 1186-90. And Mohammad-Nasir Hosseini (Forsat-od-Dowleh), *Asar-ol-Ajam: dar Tarikh va Joghrafiya-ye Mashruh-e Belad va Amaken-e Fars*, ed. Ali Dehbashi. (Tehran: Farhangsara, 1983), 440-501. And Issa ibn Jonayd Shirazi, *Hezar Mazar*, ed. Noorani Vesal (Shiraz: Ahmadi Library, originally published in 1388 CE and re-published in 1985), 233-7. And Abd-al-Hussayn Khan Sepehr, *Mer-at-al-vaghaye Muzaffari va Yaddashthaye Malek-al-Movarekhin* (Tehran: Zarrin, 1989 (written in 1906), 288. And Abd-ol-Rasool Nayyeri Shirazi, *Tohfe-ye Nayyer vol 1*. (Shiraz: bunyad-e Fars Shenasi, written roughly between 1840s and 1966 and published in 2004), 192-4. And Muhammad Yusef Nayeri, *Two treaties on the status and greatness of the Shah-e Cheragh* (Shiraz: The University of Shiraz, 2004) This is an edited book that collates two treaties from Muhammad Hadi Salahi, 1962 and Majid-al-Ashraf in 1904. And *Farsname-ye Ibn-Balkhi*, ed. Guy Le Strange (Tehran: Asatir, written 1106-1202 published in 2006), 115-6. And Ibn Battuta, *The travels of Ibn Battuta*, Vol 1 (Tehran: Karnameh, 2016), 99, 100. Travelled to Shiraz in 1326 and 1347 CE. And Farmanfarmaian, Hafez. *Safarname-ye Haji-Pirzadeh Vol 1, From Tehran to London* (Tehran: The University of Tehran, written before the author's death in 1904 and published in 1963), 75. Also, the author has examined the drawings of the following explorers who visited Shiraz (the date of travel comes after the names): Jean-Baptiste Tavernier 17th century; John Chardin 1673-77; Carsten Niebuhr 1765; Robert Ker Porter 1817-20; Heinrich Brugsch 1860; Jane Dieulafoy 19th century; Pierre Loti 1904.

²⁶ Square or Maydan. For the emergence of maydans during the kingship of Reza Shah see Marefat, *Building to power*, 84-93.

²⁷ Afsar, *Tarikh-e*, 81, 164, 230. The exact date for the destruction of this bazaar and construction of a shared courtyard is not clearly stated in the literature. Afsar refers to this bazaar as remaining intact *until recently*. He wrote his book in 1974 and used the maps that still do not reflect the destruction of bazaar. So, it is likely that the changes took place in the early years of 1970s.

²⁸ Image source from Naser Bunyadi, "Tahavol-e Tarikhi- Sakhtar-e Shahri-e Shiraz va Fazahaye Shahri-e An", *Abadi Journal* (Summer 1997): 58-67, 60.

²⁹ Image source from Kayvan Karimi, "Continuity and change in old cities: an analytical investigation of the spatial structure in Iranian and English historic cities before and after modernisation" (PhD diss., University of London, 1998), 83-4.

³⁰ B. Hourcade, and M. Streck, "Mashhad," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, P.J. Bearman (Volumes X, XI, XII), Th. Bianquis (Volumes X, XI, XII), et al. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1426.

³¹ See Baqer Pirniya, *The political memoir of Baqer Pirniya* (Tehran: Kavir, 2003), 658, Fidibo. And Ali Najafzadeh, "The role of the Astan-e Quds in repairing and restoring the Shah-e Cheragh." *Journal of Farhang-e Razavi*, no. 14 (Summer 2016): 29-56.

³² According to the Khurasan newspaper, this plan was approved in 1963, twelve years before the destruction of 1975 began (*Khurasan*, April 11, 1975).

³³ 'tīmča is a small, covered caravanserai.' Michael. E. Bonine, "Bazar," *Online edition of Encyclopedia Iranica*, last updated January 1, 2000, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bazar-i>. 'The tīmča or shopping arcade is a smaller type of caravanserai but devoted mainly to retail trade.' Willem Floor, "BĀZĀR ii. Organization and Function," *Online edition of Encyclopedia Iranica*, last updated January 1, 2000, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bazar-ii>.

³⁴ It is not clear whether the article in Ettelaat newspaper meant Caravansary or Saray. 'Caravansary is a building that served as the inn of the Orient, providing accommodation for commercial, pilgrim, postal, and especially official travelers.' Mohammad-Yusuf Kiani and Wolfram Kleiss, "CARAVANSARY," *Online edition of Encyclopedia Iranica*, last updated December 15 1990, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/caravansary>. Saray means a house.

³⁵ *Ettelaat newspaper*, September 11, 1975, 49.

³⁶ For the suggestion of a green belt around the mausoleum of Ali al-Reza in Mashhad see the unimplemented design of Bourbour in Dariush Bourbour, "projet de renovation de haramhazrat-e-Reza a Meched." *Honar va Memari* 5, no. 20, (1973): 28-40.

³⁷ Chehabi, Houchang E. 1991. "Religion and Politics in Iran: How Theocratic Is the Islamic Republic?" *Daedalus* Vol 120, No. 3 (Summer): 69-91. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20025388>, 78.

³⁸ Mina Marefat compares the attitudes of Reza Shah in secularizing the nation with the way in which the Islamic Republic of Iran has superimposed Islamic structures on cities. See Mina Marefat, 1997, "Modern and Islamic." *Harvard design magazine*, vol 1: 43-45, 45.

³⁹ Shabestan-e Shah-e Cheragh

⁴⁰ The development of this mausoleum between 1976-81 is not accurately documented. The official site of Emko Consulting Engineers shows a plan for enlarging this building in 1976 (emcoiran.org). The proposed plan is the last map in figure 14. This plan was not implemented and the process of developing the mausoleum started with building the Ahmadi falakeh in 1981.