

City and Region of Rayy in Iran

Exploration of a Cultural Landscape, its Endangerment and Development
of a Concept for its Conservation

Inaugural-Dissertation
in der Fakultät Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften
der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

Band I: Text

vorgelegt von
Siavash Doroodian

aus
Teheran- IRAN

Bamberg, den 14.04.2015

Tage der mündlichen Prüfung: 29.06.2015

Dekan: Universitätsprofessor Prof. Dr. Heidrun Alzheimer
Erstgutachter: Universitätsprofessor Prof. Dr. Ing. Rainer Drewello
Zweitgutachter: Universitätsprofessor Prof. Dr. Lorenz Korn

تقديم به مادرم

To My Mother

Content

Nota bene:	10
Chapter 1 - The Research in General	12
1.1 Introduction: The Different Sections of the Thesis.....	13
1.2 Subject Definition.....	13
1.3 Research Record and its Necessities	15
1.4 Research Difficulties, Purposes and Outcomes	17
1.5 Research Methodology.....	18
Chapter 2 - Theoretical Principles and Recognition of Basic Concepts	20
2.1 Basic Definition 1: Cultural Heritage	21
2.2 Definition of Cultural Landscape	22
2.3 Definition of Cultural Landscape in Europe vs. in the Iranian Law.....	29
2.4 Formation and Elements of Cultural Landscapes.....	31
2.5 The Concept of the Buffer Zone.....	34
Chapter 3 - Identifying the Region	37
3.1 General Geographic Location and Climate of the Rayy Area	38

3.2 Geostrategic Importance of Rayy	43
3.3 The Relation of Rayy to the Provincial Order of Iran in History	46
3.4 Rayy's General History	48
3.4.1 From the Beginning of Civilization to the Arab Conquest.....	49
3.4.2 The Conquest of Rayy by the Arab Army	51
3.4.3 Rebellions Against Arab-Islamic Rule.....	53
3.4.4 Rayy During the 'Abbāsīd Period.....	54
3.4.5 The Mongol Attack	60
3.4.6 The Safavid Era	68
3.4.7 The Qajar Dynasty	69
3.4.8 The Pahlavi Dynasty	71
3.5 Regions Belonging to Rayy.....	72
3.5.1 Before Islam.....	72
3.5.2 During the Islamic period.....	73
3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location.....	76
3.6.1 Location of Rayy from the Pre-Islamic Era to the Mongol attack.....	77
3.6.2 The Model of Rayy's Development from the Safavid Era to the Modern Period.....	82

3.7 Evaluation and Analysis of the City Structure since 1342š/1963.....	83
3.7.1 Structural Specifications.....	83
3.7.2 Functional Specifications.....	85
3.7.3 Spatial and Visual Specifications.....	86
3.7.4 Coordination of Form and Activities.....	86
Chapter 4 - Rayy's Cultural Landscape - Natural and Cultural Layers.....	88
4.1 Natural Layer.....	89
4.1.1 Rayy's Mountains.....	89
4.1.2 Natural Resours of Water in Rayy.....	90
4.1.3 Soil of Rayy.....	97
4.1.4 Flora Situation - Specific Plant Species.....	97
4.1.5 Fauna Situation - Animal Species.....	100
4.1.6 Climate in Rayy in Historic Sources.....	102
4.1.7 Mining.....	103
4.2 Intangible Cultural Layer.....	105
4.2.1 Religion.....	105
4.2.2 Pilgrimage and Sightseeing.....	116
4.2.3 Commerce.....	125

4.2.4 Rayy's Special Weights and Measures	127
4.2.5 Literature and Scholarly Works from Rayy	128
4.3 Tangible Cultural Layer.....	131
4.3.1 Handicrafts.....	131
4.3.2 Various Kinds of Buildings in Rayy	143
4.3.3 Pre-historic Settlement of Češme 'Ali	197
4.3.4 Qajar Gardens in Rayy.....	199
4.3.5 Historic Roads of Rayy.....	207
4.3.6 Rock Reliefs.....	220
4.3.7 Cemeteries of Rayy.....	226
4.3.8 Coins minted in Rayy	227
4.3.9 Agricultural and Dairy Products	228
Chapter 5 - Damage Report	233
5.1 Damage Sustained throughout History	234
5.1.1 Natural Disasters.....	234
5.1.2 Damage Caused by Human Individuals	237
5.1.3 Damage due to Political-Social Crises, from the Mongol to the Safavid Period	239
5.2 Current Situation.....	240

5.2.1 Damage to the Natural Layer	240
5.2.2 Damage to the Cultural Layer.....	244
5.3 Summarizing the Damage of the Urban Structure of Rayy.....	255
Chapter 6 - Concepts of Conservation	262
6.1 The Current Comprehensive Plan of Rayy (20 th Zone in Tehrān).....	263
6.1.1 Land User Distribution in Tehrān.....	264
6.1.2 20 th Zone (Rayy) Specification Summary	266
6.1.3 The Present Land Use Plan for the 20 th Zone (Rayy)	266
6.1.4 Strategic-Structural Development and the Constructive Plan of Tehrān, 2007	267
6.1.5 A Review of Tehrān's Comprehensive Plan	275
6.2 Conservation Strategy for the Cultural Landscape of Rayy.....	278
6.2.1 Preservation of Constructive Elements of Cultural Landscape Layers.....	278
6.2.2 Considering Various Landscape Layers and their Relationship.....	279
6.2.3 Considering the Authenticity of the Surrounding Environment.....	280
6.3 Methods and Recommended Designs for the Preservation of Rayy Cultural Landscape	281
6.3.1 Preservation Methods for the Natural Layer	281
6.3.2 Conservation Methods in a Tangible Layer	284

6.3.3 Safeguarding Methods of the Intangible Cultural Layer	293
6.4 Prioritizing the Conservation of Constructive Elements of the Cultural Landscape in Rayy	295
Appendix	304
Bibliography	305
Websites	315
Image Credits	318

Nota bene:

1. Since various calculations of time were used in the sources, the mentioned dates were transferred to the Christian calendar in this thesis, being separated using a (/) from the inserted date in the original text. The Hijri Calendar dates are presented unmarked, the Solar Hijri Calendar is marked with a (š) and the Persian Empire Calendar (Šāhanšāhi) is marked with (šš).
2. Considering the historic sources, Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim, Šāhzāde (Prince) 'Abd al-'Aẓim, Ḥāẓrat 'Abd al-'Aẓim, and Imām 'Abd al-'Aẓim are all used for the same concept and refer to a specific meaning in this thesis.
3. Persian, English, French, German, and Arabic sources are made use of. In direct references, English sources are depicted true to the original text. However, to make use of French and Arabic sources, only the Persian translations are used and the name of the Persian translator is mentioned in the references list of the thesis. For German sources, the Persian translation has been adopted, if given, and the name of the Persian translator is mentioned in the reference list of this thesis. In cases that are referring to the original German text, the author of this thesis has produced the translation. All translations from Persian into English have also been produced by the author of the thesis.
4. A great number of monuments of Rayy are not yet registered in the National Heritage list. However, in this thesis, all monuments are being considered. The monuments included in the National Heritage list are brought up along with the registration code and date in the final catalogue. Absence of a registration code and date in the final catalogue represents the fact that the monument has not been registered yet.
5. Although the name of Rayy is mentioned with various dictations in European texts (e.g. Rayy, Rei, Ray, Rai, Rej), the unified name of *Rayy* has been used in this thesis.
6. A system of transliteration that is widely accepted in Oriental Studies has been employed for the transcription of the Persian names. Referring to the following table, the equivalent of each Persian alphabetic character can be found. The popularized transcription is used only for a few particular words, for example the word *Islam* instead of *Eslām*.

	Pers. Lettres	lat. Letters
1	آ	Ā
2	ا	a,e,o
3	ب	B
4	پ	P
5	ت	T
6	ث	Ṫ
7	ج	Ĝ
8	چ	Č
9	ح	H
10	خ	Ḥ
11	د	D
12	ذ	Ẓ
13	ر	R
14	ز	Z
15	ژ	Ž
16	س	S
17	ش	Š
18	ص	Ş
19	ض	Ž
20	ط	Ṭ
21	ظ	Ẓ
22	ع	'
23	غ	Ĝ
24	ف	F
25	ق	Q
26	ک	K
27	گ	G
28	ل	L
29	م	M
30	ن	N
31	و	v,u,ou,o
32	ه	H
33	ی	y,i
34	ء	'

Chapter 1 - The Research in General

Chapter 1

The Research in General

1.1 Introduction: The Different Sections of the Thesis

This research thesis is looking for recognition of Rayy as a cultural zone of civilization and to find different capacities of living in it as a cultural landscape, including the centuries-old interaction between humans and nature; it also seeks to uncover the cultural damage it has sustained historically and presently. Finally, it investigates the introduction of conservation concepts in order to revive and preserve it.

Chapter 1 discusses the general research, briefly introducing its background and what has been investigated thus far, showing its necessity, and clarifies its new questions for future research and how to answer them. In Chapter 2 the basic contexts of the study is discussed and its different definitions in different sources is shown. Chapter 3 introduces the area of research. The present geographic area, geostrategic importance of Rayy in previous periods, regions belonging to Rayy in different historical periods, public history of Rayy, historic replacement of Rayy's location, and evaluation and analysis of the city structure are being studied. Chapter 4 is about Rayy's cultural landscape layers. In this chapter, constructive elements of natural, intangible cultural, and tangible cultural layers are discussed separately in detail. Chapter 5 is about the recent and historic cultural damage sustained by Rayy. Chapter 6 deals with conservation concepts of the cultural landscape of Rayy. In this chapter, first, a comprehensive plan of the present Rayy is provided and examined. Then the strategy of the essay about the managing plan of Rayy's cultural landscape is lined out briefly, and finally the procedures of the constructive elements of Rayy's cultural landscape are provided. Attached to this essay, in addition to a list of sources, is a catalogue of registered or recognized historic monuments of Rayy.

1.2 Subject Definition

Rayy is located in a region which has always been an area in which civilization thrived

during the history of Iran. It consists of an array of ancient areas (from the west the civilizations of Qazvin Plain, the east that of Ḥeṣār's, and from the north the Islamic one, and Estonāvand castle) and, although confronted by various attacks and destructions during different eras of history, it rose again as a civilized region in Iran. Because of Rayy Plain's adjacency to the Salt Lake (a natural resort for immigrant birds and an old hunting ground) and to the central desert of Iran, the mountain chains of Alborz, and also old routes through Iran (such as the Silk Road) which connect the civilized regions of the east and west, it was a suitable home for human settlement. This region contains important ancient regions from the pre-historic era such as Tappe Parandak and Qare Tappe in the west, Poeinak Hill in the southeast and the Češme 'Ali settlement in the south. (Image 1-1)

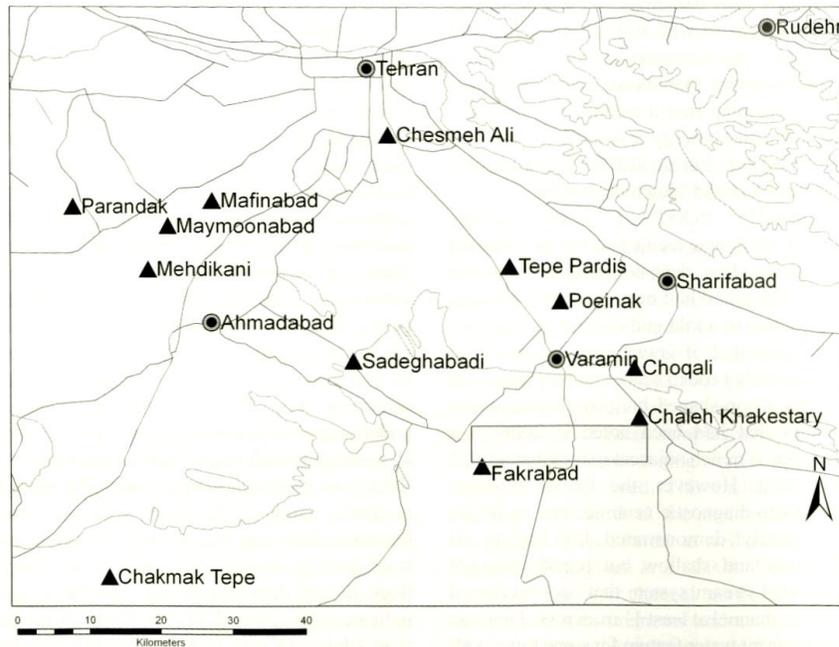


Image 1-1: Map of the Tehran Plain and a Selection of Pre-historic Settlements

(Source: Fazeli; Coningham, Iran-2007)

Also, there are several historical sites remaining from the Iron Age and grey ceramic in its different regions such as Kahrizak, Qeytariye, Salṭanat Ābād, etc. The surrounding

mountains and holysprings, the variety of myths connected to them, mausoleums of important religious figures and people's belief in their miracles made Rayy a mysterious city. The city is also the home town of great scientists and nobles such as Moḥammad Ebn-e Zakariyyā-ye Rāzi, Šāḥeb Ebn-e 'Abbād, Faḥr al-Din Rāzi, Qotb al-Din Rāzi, etc. There are important ancient pre-historic areas in Rayy such as Češme 'Ali, from the pre-Islam era such as the Sassanid furnace over Tappe Mil and from Islamic era to the present. Today, Rayy is only just a part of that vast area and this ancient city, which had a continuous existence, is hidden in the heart of the great city of Tehrān, the Capital. Nevertheless, Rayy preserved its religious position after Tehrān's formation, with holy places such as Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim, Ebn-e Babawayh and continues to be a site of cultural importance. The present position of Rayy is also very important. The first contemporary industrial elements, such as the Tehrān cement factory and the first railway of Iran from Tehrān to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim were established in this region. Simultaneously, it has turned into a place of residents for the poor and immigrants, causing a lot of social, economic, and cultural tensions. The inhabitants of Rayy today have no nostalgic feelings for this city, no understanding of its background, and no thoughts for the future. Most of them are immigrants settled there against their will, and they would move to a better area as soon as they could.

1.3 Research Record and its Necessities

A lot of research has been done on Rayy up until now. This research started with Schmidt's excavations, especially from 1934.¹ Findings of Chahryar Adle², Timothy Matney³, Yaḥyā Kouşari⁴, 'Abbās Qadyāni⁵, and Ḥasan Fāzeli et.al.⁶ opened a new

¹ Erich Schmidt: *Flight Over Ancient Cities of Iran*, University of Chicago press, Chicago -1940; "Excavations at Rayy." *Ars Islamica* 2 (1935)

² Chahryar Adle: "Construction Funéraires à Rey, Circa Xe-XIle Siècle", in: *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für iranischen Kunst und Archäologie*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979; "Notes sur les Première Et Seconde Campagnes Archéologiques à Ray", in: *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran*, ed. by François Vallat, Paris-1990

³ Timothy Matney: "Reviews and Reports. Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-Ali", in: *Expedition*, vol.37, no.2 (1995)

door to Rayy. One of the newest studies was carried out by Rante.⁷ In all of these studies (except Qadyāni's) the archeological issues are at the center of attention. Schmidt undertook the first scientific, archeological research project in Rayy. In addition to several tombs, he found a mosque, and the Čāl Tarḥān Sassanid palace was also excavated by him. Unfortunately, he passed away before publishing his findings, and left only some reports and notes. Adle's studies were mostly about a number of tombs and the Raškān castle. He succeeded in classifying those tombs. Timothy Matney studied Schmidt's notes and findings and presented a new report on houses, tombs, and ceramic in Rayy based on them. Yaḥyā Koşari started excavating the Gabri fortress and was unable to uncover the date of its construction and its function.

The focus of 'Abbās Qadyāni's study was the history and geography of Rayy. His research entailed the study of ancient historical texts. Ḥasan Fāzeli Našli et.al searched Čeşme 'Ali in Rayy and succeeded to date the ceramic that were found.

Rante searched for Rayy's historic city wall. He also succeeded in finding the old unpublished plan which was prepared by Pascal Coste in 1840. Additionally, Rante did a comparative study of Rayy and some other cities in the Middle East.

But the most important and comprehensive study about Rayy was published by Ḥoseyn

⁴Yaḥyā Koşari: "Barresi-ye Ostān-e Markaz (Šarq-e Rayy)", in: *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für iranischen Kunst und Archäologie*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979; "Pažuheši dar Qal'e Gabri-ye Rayy-e Bāstān", in: *Maǧmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.3, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Keşvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996; "Rayy az Gozašte-ye Ḥod Soḥan Miguyad", in: *Me'māri-ye Irān*, ed. by Ā. Javādi, Mojarrad, Tehrān-1363š/1984

⁵'Abbās Qadyāni: *Ġoǧrāfiyā-ye Tāriḫi-ye Rayy*, Ārvan, Tehrān-1379š/2000

⁶ Ḥasan Fāzeli Našli: "Barresihā-ye Bāstānšenāsi dar Dašt-e Tehrān", in: *Maǧalle-ye Dāneškade-ye Adabiyāt va 'Olum-e Ensāni Dāneşgāh-e Tehrān* 160 (1380š/2001); H. Fazeli; R.A.E Coningham: "Cheshmeh Ali Ware: a Petrographic and Geochemical Study of a Transitional chalcolithic Period Ceramic Industry on the Northern Central Plateau of Iran", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLVIII (2010); "Cheshmeh-Ali Revisited: Towards an Absolute Dating of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Iran's Tehran Plain", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLII (2004)

⁷ R. Rante: "The Iranian City of Rayy: Urban Model and Military Architecture", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLVI (2008); "The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLV (2007)

Karimān in 1961.⁸ He considered all the research published by then and all ancient Persian, English, French, and Arabic sources. His book includes the renewed plan of ancient Rayy and also the study of history, geography, religions, language, and handicrafts in Rayy. Unfortunately, at that time, he did not have access to the present information about the result of archeological studies. The above mentioned excavations and studies by archeologists were mostly done after Karimān's notes' publication, which led to new findings.

The greatest weakness in the studies produced after Karimān is that each one remained in its respective field, and yet these studies have not examined Rayy in the form of a comprehensive, evaluating survey which includes all the findings. Therefore it is essential to study this city regarding its culture, history, and historic artworks, define the cultural damage sustained, and prepare a plan to preserve it.

1.4 Research Difficulties, Purposes and Outcomes

The difficulties in this research can be summarized as follows:

- Archeological findings in spite of frequent studies are very few. These studies are done separately and dispersed instead of finding a specified subject. Additionally, there is no specific study done in the region pertaining to the present location of Islamic Rayy.
- The records and statistics related to the demographics of Rayy are usually old, separate and scattered.
- Specified research has not been performed on animal species in Rayy. Its plant species were examined only as a part of Tehrān and the deserts around it.
- During recent decades many natural and historical elements of Rayy were destroyed as the city developed further and was located in Tehrān's geographical region, and there is no possible way to study them.

⁸ Hōseyñ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Melli-ye Iran, Tehrān-1354š/1975 (1.Edition: Anğoman-e Āsār-e Melli-1345š/1966); *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371š/1992 (1.Edition:1349š/1970)

Research Purposes are to clarify the ambiguities and specify the historical, geographical, and cultural aspects of Rayy's civilization, and following how it continued its cultural life, This thesis will try to:

- Specify the geographic region of Rayy's civilization from the most ancient era to the present, and also determine the remains of this area, providing plans and diagrams to make it possible to access the map.
- Study the gradual historic continuation and development of Rayy by examining the remaining notes and documents, including itineraries, religious books, historic texts, up to the present.
- Introduce all the historic and ancient artworks (movable and immovable items) and intangible heritage (language, dialect, customs, and beliefs), and distinguish anthropology, archeology, and geographical history issues.
- Introduce and distinguish the traditional procedures of life, including those of making residential place, agriculture, watering, road making.
- Provide a plan to protect the constructive Layers of the cultural landscape of Rayy, considering previous discussions and after introducing the region of this civilization.

The expected research outcomes are:

- Collecting and providing a list of performed surveys about Rayy.
- Introducing Rayy as a cultural landscape based on recognition of its natural, cultural, and historically constructive factors.
- Examining the damaging factors to the cultural landscape of Rayy.
- Providing suitable solutions in order to protect the cultural landscape of Rayy.

1.5 Research Methodology

The research procedure in this essay is historical-analytical and based on library and field studies including the study of primary and secondary sources, archeological reports and analytic essays. To complete the interpretation of the analytical findings, recent and historic photos and plans have been used. A photographic survey and a field

examination has been undertaken to provide photos of the present situation and to compare to the past. The pictures of crafts were either taken by the author himself in the Iranian National Museum and the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin or found in books and research sources. Some of the pictures were bought from the Iranian National Museum. Moreover, the aerial photos and city maps were either bought from Topography Organisation of Iran or taken from Google Maps and edited with softwares like AutoCAD or Photoshop in order to adjust the appropriate scale and highlight the relevant elements. The research sources come from Iranian National Library, various Libraries in Germany and Noor Digital Library. And for the comprehensive plan of Tehrān it was referred to the official website of the Municipality of Tehrān.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Principles and Recognition of Basic Concepts

Chapter 2

Theoretical Principles and Recognition of Basic Concepts

Preliminary Note

This section studies the theoretical principles and basic concepts. First, the tangible and intangible cultural heritage is defined in respect to international charters. Following this, the concepts of landscape and cultural landscape are studied, as well as their developing elements, and their position in Iran's laws. Finally, the concept of the cultural heritage buffer zone is presented.

2.1 Basic Definition 1: Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage includes the three elements already mentioned, according to the UNESCO 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage':⁹ Referred to this Convention, "cultural heritage" is considered firstly as "**Tangible Heritage**" as a basic category. Its focus is mostly and strongly on the so called "built heritage", which is divided into three sub-categories:

The first focuses on **Monuments**. This means architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and paintings, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are taken as of outstanding and universal value from the point of view of history, art or of science.

The second are **Groups of Buildings**. That may be groups of separate or connected buildings which are rated as of outstanding and universal value, because of their architecture, homogeneity or their special place in the landscape as landmarks or particular topos;

The third sub-category is related to **Sites**. This means works of man or the combined works of nature and man. Areas of archaeological sites are included in particular, if they

⁹ "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", in: *UNESCO*.

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> (12.7.2014)

are appraised as of outstanding and universal value from a historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.¹⁰

A subitem of the “tangible heritage” is the production of **handicraft** etc. This may be a conjunction to the second basic category: the so called “**Intangible cultural heritage**” that is defined based on ‘The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage’ as follows:

“The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.”¹¹

2.2 Definition of Cultural Landscape

What are the concepts of a cultural landscape and the factors involved in its formation? In 1992, the World Heritage Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognise and protect cultural landscapes. The Committee, at its 16th session, adopted guidelines concerning their inclusion in the World Heritage List.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ “The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage”, in: *UNESCO*.
<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00006> (17.7.2014)

¹² “Cultural Landscape”, in: *UNESCO*. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#1> (Date: 19.1.2013)

Hansjörg Küster believes that “all the people talking about cultural landscape are sure to have a clear image of the same, while it seems the imaginations are too far apart from each other.”¹³

Therefore, for better comprehension and to find different connotations that this expression may possess, we should first deal with the concepts of landscape and then the concepts of culture to reach a general definition of “cultural landscape”.

Landscape

Definition of landscape, like that of cultural landscape, is open to discussion. Wöbse writes:

“For years, attempts have been made to find a scientific and exact definition of landscape. Many theses have been written in this respect. But the only result was more confusion. Anneliese Siebert wrote a one-hundred-page thesis more than 50 years ago (1955), which seems to be more confusing than enlightening. Ernst Neef (1967) states that ‘all geographical concepts with axiomatic character -including the landscape concept- evade definition. How much vigor got wasted, trying to define geographical basic ideas, without reaching generally accepted outcome.’ Many definitions originate from these words of Alexander von Humboldt: ‘Landscape is the general character of an area on the earth.’ Both generality and the aesthetic comprehension of the world were of importance to Humboldt. For this subject, it is very important to experience the beauty of the landscape. [...] The definition of landscape by Humboldt is intended to let it prove the emotions. Affecting human performances, landscape has psychological components beside its physical parts.”¹⁴

But Küster presents a clearer definition of landscape which is also more practical, when he stated that Landscape is where the nature dynamism is framed in human performance and is affected by it. He is convinced that landscapes come to a relative

¹³ Hansjörg Küster: “Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft“, in: *Kulturlandschaften*, ed. H.Küster, Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main- 2008, p.7

¹⁴ Hans Hermann Wöbse: “Die Bedeutung historischer Kulturlandschaftselement für die Eigenart und Schönheit von Kulturlandschaften“, in: *Kulturlandschaften*, H.Küster(Hrsg), Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, 2008, p.23

stability where mankind ends his attempt to stabilize it.¹⁵ In fact, Küster defines nature in the sense of constant changeability and defines landscape in the sense of constant protection of a position. According to him, although nature is evaluated as a visual thing that really exists, all its elements will change constantly. The rule of change will affect everything everywhere, even places we do not want it to. Nature is permanently dynamic. Mankind has to let it change if it is willing to protect it. Although the landscape can change, humanity can preserve and protect it in a fixed position according to its view and will.¹⁶ James Corner defines landscape in the relation between humans and the environment:

“Landscape is distinguished from wilderness in that it is land which has been modified by humans. But it is more than this. Landscape is not *only* a physical phenomenon, but is also a cultural schema, a conceptual filter through which Our relationships to wilderness and nature can be understood.”¹⁷

According to the European Landscape Convention, landscape is defined as follows: “Landscape” is defined as a zone or area as perceived by local people or visitors, whose visual features and character are the result of the action of natural and/or cultural (that is, human) factors. This definition reflects the idea that landscapes evolve through time, as a result of being acted upon by natural forces and human beings. It also underlines that a landscape forms a whole, whose natural and cultural components are taken together, not separately.”¹⁸

Culture

There is a lot of debate concerning the meaning of “culture” and its meaning in general terms. The Persian version of this word in Dehḥodā Dictionary is derived from “Thang”

¹⁵ Küster: “Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft”, p.11

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ James Corner: “The Hermeneutic landscape”, in: *Theory in landscape Architecture*, ed. Simon Swaffield, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia-2002, p.130

¹⁸ “European Landscape Convention”, in: *Council of Europe*, <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Reports/Html/176.htm> (11.7.2014)

(from Avesta) which matches the word Educate (educare) in Latin, meaning teaching and upbringing. Corresponding to Eagleton Culture is not only what we live by, but also what we live for. This include for instance affection, relationship, memory, kindship, place, community, emotional fulfilment, intellectual enjoyment, and as he expresses a special sense of ultimate meaning. His conclusion is: “[...] these are closer to most of us than charters of human rights or trade treaties.”¹⁹

Hans Wöbse evaluates culture versus nature and describes that culture has a lot of meanings in a language. Phrases like “residency culture” or “nutrition culture”, “discussion culture”, etc. each refer to a part of culture. The encyclopedia meaning of culture leads to the view that cultural actions of humankind are distinguished against nature as careful and exact communication to others. Extending this view, it is concluded that there is a gap between nature and aesthetic realization and also between landscape and its aesthetic comprehension, too. The technical-scientific performance which can be categorized mostly in sense of civilization is often comprehended as a part of culture. However, it helps humankind to keep away from their origin and source.²⁰ Wöbse, quoting Jost’s idea, evaluates “landscape beauty” as a cultural concept and describes that many things that represent culture to us result from nature and landscape, from the past, as our culture can hardly exist without a landscape context and an aesthetic understanding concept. The beauty of a landscape is of high importance, for without understanding it, culture is meaningless.²¹ Meanwhile, Wöbse stresses that culture is not against nature and not all the manipulations in nature lead to a change in culture:

“Culture must not be taken as a replacement for nature. If there is no natural landscape in Europe due to the environment change by humankind, it cannot be inferred that

¹⁹ Terry Eagleton: “*The Idea of Culture*”, Blackwell, Oxford-2000, p.131

²⁰ Hans Hermann Wöbse: “Die Bedeutung historischer Kulturlandschaftselement für die Eigenart und Schönheit von Kulturlandschaften“, p.21

²¹ Ibid.

everything around Central Europe is valid as a 'cultural landscape'. For this issue inculcates that culture is produced by any voluntary manipulation of human."²²

Cultural Landscape

"The definition of 'Cultural landscape' has been bolder during recent years to clarify the subjects connected to it. Cultural landscape is, in some fashion, affected by humankind. But the term calls for caution, for it has various definitions."²³

This statement of Küster dates in the early 21th century. From him to Roman times there is a contextual correlation bridged by the philosopher and statesman Cicero, who was probably the first to consider cultural landscape as particular topos in history. According to John Dixon Hunt Cicero termed what we would call the cultural landscape would be a second nature (an alteram naturam). This means a landscape of bridges, roads, harbors, and fields. -This include all of the elements which man introduce into the physical world to make it more habitable and to make it serve their purposes.²⁴

"Cicero's phrase 'a second nature' of course implies a first; though he does not specify this, we may take it that he implies a primal nature, an unmediated world before humans invaded, altered, and augmented it, a world without any roads, ports, paths, terraced vineyards, etc. Today we might call it the wilderness."²⁵

The expression of Cultural Landscape was first used by Carl Sauer in the 1920's and developed in the following years. ²⁶ Wiegand believes that cultural landscape is the product of human action and explicated it as affected by human actions. Its character and appearance would depend on natural situations like climate, the earth material, or

²² Ibid., p.22

²³ Küster: "Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft", p.12

²⁴ John Dixon Hunt: "Reading and Writing The Site", in: *Theory in landscape Architecture*, ed. Simon Swaffield, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia-2002, p.131

²⁵ Ibid., p.132

²⁶ Piruz Ḥanāčī; Parastu 'Ešrati: "Vākāvi-ye Ašlitarin Čālešhā-ye Maḥmūd-e Maḥmūd-e Farhangī bā Takye bar Bāzšenāḥt va Taḥlīl-e Kārnāme-ye Heḡdah Sāle-ye In Maḥmūd dar Markaz-e Mirās-e Ġāhāni-ye Unesco", in: *Nāme-ye Me'māri va Šahr-sāzi 7* (1390Š/2011)

the obtainable water amount and the qualification of its land usage. That is assigned next to the natural use, under political, industrial, or economical issues affecting.²⁷ Wöbse looks at the cultural landscape from this point of view, too. He describes that cultural landscapes are those that are affected by our present lives. These landscapes are human-made and their economical, environmental, aesthetic, and cultural usage and characters are in such harmony which guarantees a dynamic and constant development.²⁸ He also adds the adjective “historical” to this concept to separate it from the recent concept of cultural landscape:

“Cultural landscapes are formed by the previous generation, and are taken into account as evidence of our ancestors’ communication with nature and landscape are called historical-cultural landscape. This landscape is a result of communication between human and nature of our ancestors and retells their lifestyle, requirements, and facilities. Cultural landscapes are clear examples of culture and history, and help to get a picture of the life in the past and the environment of humankind in the past. For this comprehensible and suitable conjunction they are important parts of a nation in our modern life.”²⁹

To establish a new cultural landscape, he believes in a crucial condition of general examination of natural and anthropogenic conditions and also testing the individual and social requirements of that landscape.³⁰ Contrary to this, Küster takes the general meaning of landscape to be equal to the cultural landscape. He believes that in one landscape, culture and nature affect each other in connection. Some landscapes that may not be affected by humankind can be called natural landscapes. This case is only valid for some regions like parts of the North or South Pole or some tropical jungles, but the indirect affect of men also exists in these areas. As the positions of nature and culture affect each other constantly, while noticing the special area of nature and culture

²⁷ Christian Wiegand: *Spurensuche in Niedersachsen*, Hannover-2005, p.34

²⁸ Hans Hermann Wöbse: “Die Bedeutung historischer Kulturlandschaftselement für die Eigenart und Schönheit von Kulturlandschaften“, p.24

²⁹ Ibid., p.26

³⁰ Ibid., p.30

affect, we can talk about “landscape”. By replacing the general concept of landscape with the cultural landscape signification, we can clarify our belief that there is no hierarchy between the natural landscape and the cultural one. This landscape and preserving it in a general form is very important to us, and it doesn’t mean that either of the natural or cultural one should be preserved more, but it means the coexistence of both of them in this landscape.³¹ Küster’s definition of cultural landscape is designed to incorporate multiple factors of a cultural landscape and the harmonic performance of these factors. Wöbse also names the multiple factors of a cultural landscape as one of its “characteristics”:

“Characteristics of a landscape are influenced by natural and anthropogenic factors. In addition to geography, landform configuration, potential real and natural vegetation, historical cultural landscapes with buildings, native botanicals, domestic animals, economic and production processes (production of regional products, food and drinks) form the characteristics of a landscape.”³²

In fact, the variation of landscape factors forms its identification, and not its number of historical monuments or the botanical and animal variety.³³ In order to comprehend this, it is crucial to explain and analyze the landscape, and Küster sees its future in “new scientific paths”:

“The synthesis of landscape obtained by expounding and describing its meaning involves its appearance analysis, too. [...] Synthesis and explanation become essential more and more today. The identification and existence of a landscape are not clarified or discovered automatically. This identification should be expounded like a historical or cultural heritage. The synthesis of different elements of a landscape to expound it is the new path of knowledge and not just a part of it [...]”³⁴

³¹ Küster: “Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft“, pp.13-14

³² Hans Hermann Wöbse: “Die Bedeutung historischer Kulturlandschaftselement für die Eigenart und Schönheit von Kulturlandschaften“, p.26

³³ See Küster: “Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft“, pp.14-15

³⁴ Ibid. p.15

2.3 Definition of Cultural Landscape in Europe vs. in the Iranian Law

The European Landscape Convention has defined the cultural landscape in a recommendation letter entitled 'The Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies':

"Cultural landscape areas: specific topographically delimited parts of the landscape, formed by various combinations of human and natural agencies, which illustrate the evolution of human society, its settlement and character in time and space and which have acquired socially and culturally recognised values at various territorial levels, because of the presence of physical remains reflecting past land use and activities, skills or distinctive traditions, or depiction in literary and artistic works, or the fact that historic events took place there."³⁵

The Publication of the DNK of Germany specifies the cultural landscape as follows:

"A Cultural landscape results from the interaction between environmental conditions and human actions during history. Dynamic alteration is a feature of cultural landscape. [...] Historical cultural landscape is a part of cultural landscape, intensely affected by historical elements and structures."³⁶

Moreover cultural landscape is particularly protected and defined in the 'Environment Conservation Federal Laws of Germany' as follows:

"The Historical cultural landscape and the landscape elements presenting particular features have to be conserved."³⁷

The situation in Iran is something other. Concepts of "landscape" and "cultural landscape" are not defined in Iran's laws yet. The 'Environment Conservation Organization' (ECO) and the 'Cultural Heritage, Handcraft, and Tourism Organization'

³⁵ "Rec(95)9E on the integrated conservation of cultural landscape areas as part of landscape policies", in: *Council of Europe*.

<https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=537517> (11.7.2014)

³⁶ Otto C. Carlsson, Juliane Kirschbaum (Hrsg.): „Denkmalpflege und historische Kulturlandschaft“ in: *Denkmalschutz. Texte zum Denkmalschutz und zur Denkmalpflege*, Band 52, Deutsches National komitee für Denkmalschutz, Bohn-2007, p.307

³⁷ Karl-Jürgen Krause: *Lexikon Denkmalschutz + Denkmalpflege*, Klartext, Essen-2011, p.210

(CHO) are the two exclusive Iranian organizations liable to the concepts of landscape and cultural landscape. The ECO, founded in 1350/1971, was appointed to be in charge of environmental affairs including the prevention of prejudicial actions to maintain the environment. The organization prospered and recently gained more legal authority, as well as, to some extent, increasing its size and productivity due to the development and improvement plans regarding its organization, laid down 1353/1974, subsequent to a global environment conference held in Stockholm and the passage of the Environment Conservation and Reformation Law in 21 articles. The major responsibilities of the organization are as follows:

- Conservation of the natural ecosystem of the country along with rectifying the environment's misuse in the past
- Prevention of damage and contamination to the environment
- Assessment of the capacity of the environment to endure rational and continuous exploitation of the environment
- Continuous observation of the exploitation of environmental sources³⁸

The Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran (CHO) was founded after the 'Antiquities Conservation Organization' and the 'Archeology Association' and a number of other institutions merged in 1364š/1985. In 1382š/2003 it merged with 'Iran Touring and Tourism' and later also with the 'Handcraft Organization'. "Cultural Heritage" is defined as follows according to the articles of the aforementioned organizations:

"*Cultural Heritage* represents the remains of the pasts that indicate human progress through history by which recognition of their identity and cultural objectives are possible and which serve as a reminder for humans."³⁹

Landscapes or cultural landscapes are not mentioned in any part of the 24 articles of the assigned responsibilities regarding the CHO.⁴⁰ To define the word 'area' in the

³⁸ "The Historical Background of Environment Conservation Organization" , in: *Environment Conservation Organization website*.

<http://www.doe.ir/Portal/Home/Default.aspx?CategoryID=fb362077-4918-490b-806d-3851170a22eb> (12.7.2014)

³⁹ "The Statutes Law of Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran", in: *Justice Department of Tehran's law*.

<http://www.ghavanin.ir/detail.asp?id=7785> (12.7.2014)

statute of Iran ICOMOS National Committee, “Landscapes of human heritage” are noted:

“The word *area* or place entails all the areas and landscapes containing human heritage or the combination of natural and human heritage including natural parks and gardens that are valuable regarding archeology, history, aesthetics, anthropology, or demography.”⁴¹

Considering the mentioned notes, only the “cultural landscapes” containing the “remains of the pasts” (historical cultural landscapes) are entailed in the CHO’s field of activity and landscapes in general or other “non-historical cultural landscapes” are excluded. “Landscape”, in the field of activity of the ‘Environment Conservation Organization’ (ECO) can only be presented as “a part of the environment”. The concept of a cultural landscape is defined in ICOMOS without being mentioned directly. Hence, it is apparent that Iran’s laws contain major flaws concerning this issue and should, in effect, be revised in the future.

2.4 Formation and Elements of Cultural Landscapes

According to UNESCO, “Cultural Landscapes” fall into three main categories.⁴² The first is described as the most easily identifiable and clearly defined landscape that is designed and created intentionally by man. Typical examples are garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which may be associated with religious or other monumental buildings and sites. The second category is the so called ‘organically evolved’ landscape. This means the results in development from a social, economic, administrative, and/or religious initiative leading to the current “form by association with

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “The Statutes of Cultural ICOMOS Institute of Iran”, in: *Iran ICOMOS*.
http://www.iranicomos.org/?page_id=40 (12.7.2014)

⁴² “Cultural Landscape- Categories and Subcategories” in: *UNESCO*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#1> (Date: 19.1.2013)

and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features.⁴³

They fall into two sub-categories:

- a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
- continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.”⁴⁴

The final category is described as the associative cultural landscape. Such landscapes are included on the World Heritage List,

The final category is the **associative cultural landscape**. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.”⁴⁵

This division from the “The Cultural Landscape Foundation” view is explained below:

“1- **Designed Landscape**: a landscape that was consciously designed or laid out by a landscape architect, master gardener, architect or horticulturist according to design principles or an amateur gardener working in a recognized style or tradition

2- **Vernacular Landscape**: a landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped that landscape. Through social or cultural attitudes of an individual, family or a community, the landscape reflects the physical, biological, and cultural character of those everyday lives

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ “Cultural Landscape- Categories and Subcategories” in: *UNESCO*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#1> (Date: 19.1.2013)

3- Historic Site: a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity or person

4- Ethnographic Landscape: a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that the associated people define as heritage resources”⁴⁶

As mentioned earlier, a cultural landscape consists of various harmonic factors (or layers) which together form the cultural landscape. Different formative elements of a cultural landscape not only differ in every landscape, but take time to appear and develop in a special landscape. As Küster stated, the elements to form a typically cultural landscape are at first the appearance of valuable items which are necessary to protect. But there should be an ongoing discussion to possibly add new items to the common list, eliminating the items which lost their importance in the current debate.⁴⁷ Wiegand writes about these elements, that the parts of cultural landscape are specific fixed sub parts of a cultural landscape, such as: hedges, paths and streets, little agriculture fields, meadows, forest plots, and also electric poles and walls, and small shrines besides the road (Bildstöcke) or windmills.⁴⁸ He clarifies the “historic” characteristic of a cultural landscape, that historic implies using land with the techniques and methods of the previous generations that were prevalent in that era which are improved today, but are being used in exceptional cases anyway, for instance extraction of clay by hand or irrigation with stream making.⁴⁹ Wöbse has provided a list of historical factors that form a cultural landscape.⁵⁰ The list, which reviews more than 110 factors, consists of garden alleys, agricultural gardens, beehives, ponds, old railroads, drainage sewage, pastures, thin mud walls, wind mills, small mosques, etc. What the list doesn't involve is intangible cultural heritage, which is also important for a cultural landscape. Slaiby and Mitchell write:

⁴⁶ “What are Cultural Landscapes? “, in: *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.

<http://tclf.org/landscapes/what-are-cultural-landscapes> (Date: 21.1.2013)

⁴⁷ Hansjörg Küster: „Attraktionen eines Agrarlandes“, in: *Spurensuche in Niedersachsen*, ed. Christian Wiegand, Hannover-2005, p.25

⁴⁸ Christian Wiegand: *Spurensuche in Niedersachsen*, Hannover-2005, p.35

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.34

⁵⁰ See Hans Hermann Wöbse: „Die Bedeutung historischer Kulturlandschaftselement für die Eigenart und Schönheit von Kulturlandschaften“, p.29

“Cultural landscapes involve not only resource protection but protection of all the values of the place, often including intangible values based on meanings and associations.”⁵¹

For a better understanding of the subject in this thesis, we shall divide and study these factors in three layers:

The first layer is the natural element layer. This layer includes mountains, soil, water, air, and plants and animal species. The second layer is the tangible cultural layer. Everything mankind has created or utilized materials on the first layer to build houses, temples, handicrafts, farming lands, etc. is included in this layer. The third layer is the intangible cultural layer. This layer is created by humans based on their position through history depending on the other two layers: they have created a myth around mountains, made worship rituals for temples, celebrated working, and written poems on nature, and told stories about rivers.

To comprehend the layers, it is essential to distinguish their connection to each other and must be considered in any research pertaining to the subject. These layers are located over each other similarly to those of an archeological site and the cultural landscape is not the simple connection of these layers, but the product of a “synthesis” of them.

2.5 The Concept of the Buffer Zone

“Buffer zones of sufficient size should be established in order to protect the landscape or historic town context from intrusive elements that diminish cultural values. Planning at local and regional level should take into account the *genius loci* and the enhanced status of a World Heritage site, and ensure that negative threats of all types are prevented or strictly controlled.”⁵²

⁵¹ Barbara Slaiby; Nora Mitchell: *A Handbook for Managers of Cultural Landscapes with Natural Resource Values*, Woodstock, Vermont, Conservation Study Institute-2003, p.22

⁵² Bernard M. Feilden , Jukka Jukilehto: *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, ICCROM, Rome-1998, p.74

The definition and various types of buffer zones are stated in a pamphlet provided by “Tourism and Cultural Heritage Organization”. According to the pamphlet, the cultural-historical monument buffer zone is a bound observed by the legal rules to protect it by joining it to the environment or space that is assigned and formed by the Tourism and Cultural Heritage Organization. A buffer zone plan is formed of different types of limitations, their types and numbers depend on the below characters:

1. Anatomical protection buffer zone: this buffer zone is assigned to prevent damage or collapse of monument body, considering the monument body situation and the possible risks, is changeable.
2. Visual protection buffer zone: this buffer zone is assigned to preserve and improve the visual bilateral joint of a historical monument with its natural and artificial buffer zone (from monument to world and vice versa) and preventing any rupture in the scenery.
3. Applied protection buffer zone: It is used for guaranteeing the dynamic future of a monument in natural and artificial buffer zone and changing the trace and its limitation to an active center which is popularizing a collaborative life, and to reinforce the connection and homogenizing cities and historic centers efficiency the ascertain part is specialized to determine the efficient, inefficient, and recommendable performances.
4. Sub-structural protection buffer zone: since preserving the monuments is not possible without protecting their substructures in limitation planes, in buffer zone plans, a part is specialized for substructures such as paths, qanāts, snow cleaners, etc.⁵³

It is important to note that, since determining buffer zone for each monument requires specialized expertise, we study its general concept here, and not one of the concepts specified above.

⁵³ Bahrām Rezā'i: *Me'yār-hā-ye Ta'in-e Ĥarim-e Āsār-e Tārīḫi*, Mo'āvenat-e Ĥefz va Ehyā-ye Āsār-e Tārōḫi-ye Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangī va Gardešgari-1384/2005

Conclusion

Although there are various definitions presented for the term “cultural landscape”, it is considered as a landscape resulting from human’s direct or indirect actions. Therefore, it is clear that this concept is not made up of the simple combination of “landscape” and “culture”, but a complete new concept derived from “synthesizing” the two. Every cultural landscape holds various layers that have to be analyzed to introduce the features of the said landscape. The layers mentioned are divided into three principal layers in this thesis and are studied in-depth in chapter four. Unfortunately, there are still no specific laws regarding cultural landscape and its conservation in Iran, but this flaw will soon be eliminated considering the international conventions.

Chapter 3 - Identifying the Region

Chapter 3

Identifying the Region

Preliminary Note

This chapter considers the general condition of Rayy as the study area. First, the location of this city in Iran is being studied and it is specified according to its administrative divisions. Then, the general geography of the area and its natural phenomena (mountains, rivers, etc.) and the climate are briefly examined. Afterwards, the geostrategic importance of the area in which Rayy is located is specified. Finally, a general history of Rayy is presented and the areas belonging to Rayy are determined in order to distinguish the cultural landscape limits. Considering the history of Rayy, the areas in which this city has been built and destroyed over the course of history, under the title of “The Relation of Rayy to the Provincial Order of Iran in History”, are also highlighted. Meticulous analysis of the remains of Rayy’s construction since the Qajar era will be presented in the next part and eventually we will clarify our field of cultural landscape study in general.

3.1 General Geographic Location and Climate of the Rayy Area

What is called Rayy today is a part of the south of Tehrān, which is located inside Tehrān. The Tehrān province with the capital called Tehrān is 12,981 km² large and is located between 34-36.5° latitude and 50-53° longitude. This province borders on Māzandarān in the north, Qom in the south, Markazi in the southwest, Alborz in the west, and Semnān in the east. Tehrān is located in its center and is the capital of Iran as well. Rayy, Qods, Šahriār, Varāmin, Damāvand, Firuz Kuh, Šemirānāt, and Eslām Šahr are other important populated centers of this province. (Image 3-1)

With the size of about 2293 km², Rayy borders on Tehrān in the north, Qom in the south, Varāmin and Pākdašt in the east, and Eslām Šahr, Robāt Karim, and Zarandiye from the west. The expansion of the three-parted regions of Rayy: the central part is 174 km², the Kahrizak part is 543 km², and Fašāpuye is 1645 km². Rayy city, the center

of the Rayy province, is located between 26°51' north longitude and 35°34' east latitude. The city is 1062 m above sea level. Rayy joins Tehrān from the southeast. The distance from Rayy to Tehrān's city center is more than 14 km.⁵⁴ The central part of Rayy is the 20th zone of Tehrān. (Image 3-2)

Mountains of Tehrān

The greater city of Tehrān spreads from the southern mountain slopes of Alborz to the southern deserts. The highest peak of this chain of mountains is Damāvand with a height of 5670 m, which is (considered as) the highest peak in Iran. Rayy City is located in the southern part of Tehrān and there are only a number of small mountains. The most important one, which has holy and mythic associations, is called "Bibi Šahrbānu" today because of a tomb complex built on its southern slope. Two small mountains are also located in the southeast and southwest sides of this large mountain. "Ṭabarak" is in the southwest and "Kuhak" is in the southeast. "Kuhak" and "Ṭabarak" both mean "Small Mountain".⁵⁵ Other mountains to be mentioned are Nāmak, Sepāye, al-Ġāder and Ḥasan Ābād.⁵⁶ There is another hill northwest of Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain on which the ancient "Raškān" castle is located. In the Faḥ 'Alī Šāh Period (Reign: 1212/1797, up to 1250/1834), a slide was built on this mountain; hence it became famous as "slide mountain" (Sorsore). The northern and eastern sides of this mountain and a large part of this castle have been destroyed due to activities of the first cement factory. Tappe Mil (Mil hill), which a Sassanid Fire Temple was built on, is located 12 km from the southeast side of Rayy City. (Images 3-3 & 3-4)

⁵⁴ Moḥammad Ḥosein Pāpeli Yazdi: *Farhang-e Ābādihā va Makānhā-ye Mazhabī-ye Kešvar*, Bonyad-e Pažuhešhā-ye Islāmi-ye Āstān-e Qods-e Ražavi, Mašhad-1367š/1988. Below Rayy ; 'Alī Maleki-ye Miānġi: *Ġogrāfia-ye Rayy*, Dār al-Ḥadis, Qom-1383š/2004, p.19

⁵⁵ Ḥoseyn Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371š/1992, pp.481-483

⁵⁶ "*Sālnāme-ye Āmāri-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1383*", ed. by Akbar Badi'i, Sāzmn-e Modiriāt va Barnāmerizi-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1384š/2005, p.4

Natural Resources of Water in Tehrān Province

Tehrān is located north of the Masile drainage basin. “Qom Lake” is located in the south side of Tehrān, also known as “Hož-e Solţān”, “Lake of Sāve”, also known as “Šāhi Lake”⁵⁷ with a dimension of 2400 km² and a length of 80 km and width of 30 km. The extent and shape of Qom Lake is proportionate to the amount of rain and input which varies throughout the seasons of the year. The rivers connected to this lake are mainly from the north and west. This lake is connected to the desert from the East and has no input there. Northern water intake of this lake is supplied by the rivers which collect water from the southern slope of Alborz and come closer in the South of this plain by digging vast valleys in the Tehrān plain and joining the aforementioned lake. The most important rivers are: Rud-e Šur, Karaj (Karağ), Ğāğrud, Hable Rud, and Qare Su. There are several permanent rivers in the Rayy plain, the most important of which are river Ğāğrud and river Karaj (Karağ). (Image 3-5)

The Karaj (Karağ) River is the main source of water in the western and eastwestern parts of the Tehrān plain, which originates from the Harsang Mountains, with a height of 4183 m, and various rivers in the mountain region, namely Valāt Rud, Vālang Rud, Gačsar River, and Šahrestānak, which join the river along the way. After watering the Karaj (Karağ) plain, the river enters the Šahriār plain and provides water to the surrounding area. This river, which contains the most water of any river in the southern part of the Alborz Mountains, has the characteristics of sporadic rivers besides the Masile drainage basin. The length of the Karaj (Karağ) River is about 220 km and its average output is 17 m³ per second; this number is usually smaller in summer and fall and larger in winter and the midst of spring.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See Aḥmad Mostaufi: *Gozārešha-ye Ğoğrāfia’i-ye Hože-ye Masile*, Tehrān-1350š/1971, pp.20-43

⁵⁸ Ḥasan Fāzeli Našli: “Barresihā-ye Bāstānšenāsi dar Dašt-e Tehrān”, in: *Mağalle-ye Dāneškade-ye Adabiyāt va ‘Olum-e Ensāni Dānešgāh-e Tehrān* 160 (1380š/2001)

Soil Type and Topography of the Region

The height difference in some parts of Tehrān has provided a special panorama for the city, as Tehrān's perspective from the north of the city and the mountainous landscape of the south of the city has been of effect in the city's morphology. From south to north, the height of the land increases in such a way that this difference can be seen between 900 m in low terrain and 1800 m in high terrain. 900 m of height difference have caused a more moderate climate, more suitable plant coverage, and created a beautiful countryside north of Tehrān.⁵⁹ According to Ghahreman (Qahremān) is the city of Tehrān situated on Quaternary period alluvial land.

"The sedimentation underneath the city, which is made up of continuous conical structures, varies from less than a hundred to several hundred m in thickness and it gradually decreases in the direction away from the mountain slopes to the flat plains in the south."⁶⁰

Particular for Teheran is the distinct appearance of four regions:

First- The northern edge of the city at the Šemirānāt heights which is made up of masses of rocks of almost similar structure, peaking at Točāl, the rooftop of Tehrān.

Second- The slopes of Alborz connecting with the lower hills and valleys of Evin, Darake, Niāvarān, Hesārak, and Sohānak.

Third- The area on which the major parts of Tehrān is situated and the soil which is relatively thick, is mixed with pebbles and granules.

Fourth- This is the southern parts of the city merging with the flat plains of Šahriār on the west and Varāmin on the east. The soil is clayish and calcareous and has a granulated tissue making for fertile agricultural lands."⁶¹

Rayy belongs to the fourth region. The gradient of the northern slopes is between 10 and 15 %. The gradient of Tağriš and 'Abbās Ābād is between 3 % and 5 %, and the

⁵⁹ "Topography-ye Tehran", in: *Atlas-e Kalānšahr-e Tehrān*. <http://atlas.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=166>
(Date:6.2.2013)

⁶⁰ A.Ghahreman; F. Attar: *Biodiversity of Plant Species in Tehran Megalopolis*, Tehran University Press, Tehran-2001, p.4

⁶¹ Ibid., pp.4-5

gradient of the 'Abbās Ābād region and the east-west axis is 3 %. From there to Rayy City the gradient is almost 2 %. A 1 % gradient difference remains between Rayy and Varāmin.⁶² (Image 3-6)

The Climate of the Rayy Region

The Tehrān province is located between the fold ridge of central Alborz and the west margin of the Kavir plain and, therefore, its weather is affected by the 'height' factor. Height, latitude, water resources, plant coverage, and industries affect the climate of Tehrān. Winters are dry in this province, and due to its adjacency to the desert, its summer are dry with warm winds blowing. Rainfalls in the Tehrān province start in November and December and usually end in the middle of May. According to the geographical condition of these parts, the climate can be divided into a cold, mild, and torrid region:

The mountainous zones (or Qaşrān) have country weather, and the zones located in the slope of Damāvand Mountain are mild, the villages located in the plains of Karaj (Karağ) and the rural communities located in the northern and northwest and northeast slope are more productive due to a water abundance and plain villages are supplied with water by the mountains' rivers.⁶³

The weather of Rayy City in particular is similar to Teheran; the climate is reported as mild and dry in general. The maximum temperature in summers reaches 42° C, whereas in the mountains it would be -4° C. The average rainfall amount in this city is 200 ml/m²a.⁶⁴

Air Masses

Considering factors such as latitude, height, distance from the seas and oceans of the world, Tehrān plain is affected by three different air mass types which are a) local air

⁶² Ibid., p.5

⁶³ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.456

⁶⁴ 'Ali Maleki-ye Miānġi: *Ġoġrāfia-ye Rayy*, Dār al-Ḥadiṡ, Qom-1383š/2004, p.20

mass, b) northern and western air mass; c) eastern air mass.⁶⁵ Tehrān is seriously affected by west and northwest air masses in cold seasons and it has freezing and dry winters. By contrast, hot dry winds from the east and southeast blow in the summer due to its adjacency to deserts.⁶⁶

However, of particular importance is the low rainfall which causes slight windfall and temperature differences during 24 hours. Cold days are very few as well. As a result, rainfall and temperature differences and freezing colds cannot possibly be the primary damaging factors to the historic heritage of Rayy.

3.2 Geostrategic Importance of Rayy

Commerce was of high importance in the ancient world. Transporting goods to various parts of the world resulted in the intermixture of various cultures. Towns located near commercial routes not only brought various cultures together, but were exposed to wars and destruction. The less routes for certain commercial goods existed in an area, the more important would a town in the vicinity of such a route be.⁶⁷ In the past, Rayy has had such a distinct geographical position in Iran that is incomparable to other cities. This unique characteristic has two major reasons:

Being close to the central desert and the Alborz chain of mountains has generated a canyon which any route between the east to west in the ancient world had to pass through, and Rayy was located exactly at this spot. The existence of these impassable mountains and the great sea of Māzandarān in the north and the Central desert in the south did not allow any substitute route to exist. Eṣṭaḥri writes about this central desert:

⁶⁵ *“Sālnāme-ye Āmāri-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1383”*, ed. by Akbar Badi’i, Sāzmn-e Modiriat va Barnāmerizi-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1384š/2005, p.4

⁶⁶ *Sālnāme-ye Āmāri-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1383*, ed. by Akbar Badi’i, Sāzmn-e Modiriat va Barnāmerizi-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1384š/2005, p.4

⁶⁷ The importance of the commerce in Rayy and its products will be studied in Chapter 4.

“This desert is uninhabitable, lacking any tribes [...] and it is much too cumbersome to commute but with camels. And the caravans (riding horses and mules) are not capable of passing [through the area] except on the known route and where there is water.”⁶⁸

Therefore, this road, well-known as Silk Road of the late 19th century, the most significant highway from the east to the west of the world from ancient times to the present (in which the transportation has totally changed), passed Rayy.⁶⁹ Debevoise writes:

“The most important of the early trade routes was the great road which led to the Land of the Two Rivers across the Iranian plateau from the borders of China. Chinese traders met the westerners at a place called the "Stone Tower," tentatively identified as Tashkurgan on the upper Yarkand River. When the road reached Bactria, the presence of the Kushans forced a wide detour southward through Arachosia and Aria. From Rhages (Rayy) the road led westward to Ecbatana (Hamadan).”⁷⁰ (Image 3-7)

The second reason mentioned was its location on the main route from the south to the north of Iran. Especially the position of the Central desert of Iran has caused Rayy to be the eastern border of substitute routes. Although the latter have passed the west of Rayy (like the Qazvin-Isfahan (Eṣfahān) road that improved Qazvin's condition), since it is only useful to continue to the northwest, and not the east and northeast, Rayy's position has not been affected by it. In fact, if the east-west path is imagined as a line, the major cities on this line (like Qazvin, Semnān, Dāmġān, Nishapur, and even Karaġ) have been built on its intersections with the roads passing from north or south, and since Rayy on this road is placed on the way of the most important and central route from the north to the south (from one direction to Isfahan (Eṣfahān) and the other to Āmol – and of course to continue from the south to the east), it is its most significant

⁶⁸ Abu Ishāq Ebrāhim Ebn-e Moḥammad al-Fārsi Eṣṭāḥrī: *Al-masālek al-Mamālek*, ed. by Iraġ Afšār, 'Elmi va Farhangi, 3. Edition, Tehran-1368š/1989, pp. 184-185

⁶⁹ See Laurence Lockhart: *Persian cities*, Luzac, London-1960, p.2. The "Silk Road" was never fixed. It should be noted that it was one branch of the "Silk Road", while another branch went north of the Caspian Sea.

⁷⁰ Neilson Carel Debevoise: *A Political History of Parthia*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London-1969, p.205

spot. This strategic and significant position which is explained above may indeed be the answer to the existence of many civilizations, ranging from eras before recorded history until the present. (Image 3-8)

From the pre-historic civilizations in Češme 'Ali (Cheshmeh Ali) in Rayy (about 6000 B.C) to the present, Rayy has been attacked or totally destroyed by natural disasters several times, but was rebuilt and new civilizations were established. Ešṭaḥri (4th/10th century) writes about Rayy in the "Masālek al-Mamālek" book:

"It is the biggest city with such big gates [...]. There are famous bazaars and neighborhoods, and a lot of caravansaries and trading centers in Rayy."⁷¹

Maqdesi (10th century) considers Rayy's road as one of the world's gates and a vast crossroad:

"Rayy is one of the world's gates that absorb people. Ašma'i said: Rayy is the bride of the cities and coin of the world, a city with nice climate between the road of Gorgān and Ḥorāsān (Khorasan) and Iraq ('Irāq), and I answered: Rayy is a big crossroad and a vast desired place for I couldn't find a better name for it."⁷²

Lady Sheil (ca. 1850), who had traveled to Iran in the Nāšer al-Din Šāh epoch, describes the strategic position of Tehrān that may illuminate the significant position of this area:

"Politically Tehran is considered to be well situated. Midway between Azerbaijan [Āzarbāiġān] and Khorassan [Ḥorāsān], not too far from Asterabad [Astarābād] and Resht [Rašt] on the Caspian, the Shah of Persia, who is supposed always to lead his armies, is ready, or ought to be, to oppose any invader. He is, no doubt, too far from the south, but from this point he has not much to fear."⁷³

Jakob Eduard Polak (during the 1850s) states an opinion, similar to that of Lady Sheil's, about the reason for Tehrān being the capital:

⁷¹ Abu Ishāq Ebrāhim Ebn-e Moḥammad al-Fārsi Ešṭaḥri: *Al-masālek al-Mamālek*, ed. by Iraġ Afšār, 'Elmi va Farhangī, 3. Edition, Tehran-1368š/1989, p.170

⁷² Abu 'Abd Allah Moḥammad Ebn-e Aḥmad Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fi Ma'refat al-Aḳālim*, Trans. by 'Ali Naqi Monzavi, Tehrān-1361š/1982, p.575

⁷³ Mary Leonora Woulfe Sheil: *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, Arno Press, New York-1973, p.189

“Although this area seems drab, barren and arid, feeding people there was easier than in any other place in Iran. Gilān and Māzandarān are close to Tehrān, therefore they can provide Tehrān with rice, fish and citrus, and Ḥamse can provide it with grain and legumes. The nomads of Alborz, Alvand, Damāvand, and Lāriḡān can supply it with cattle and the popular dairy products. Isfahan (Eṣfahān), Kāšān, Qom and their suburbs provide it with grapes, melons and other fruit and finally, Tabriz, Isfahan (Eṣfahān), Kāšān and Hamadān supply it with cloth and other goods. The required water can be easily provided by creating qanāts (subterranean canals). A great amount can also be gained from branches of the rivers Ğāḡrud and Karaḡ and the lake Tār, located above Damāvand. A number of mountain villages located in the Alborz valleys and slopes are suitable for summer resorts and camps. Lār’s green meadows have enough grass to feed the royal horses. The need for firewood and coal is met with building roads from the jungles located around the Caspian Sea. There is dry and excellent coal in massive quantities in the mountain slopes a few miles east of Tehrān. The amount of this coal decreases near Tehrān, but near the southern slopes there is also an immeasurable quantum. The gray marble hills near Rayy have a mine of construction stones and fine limestone and, in addition, there are several plaster mines and the soil is flexible and useful for embankment.”⁷⁴

3.3 The Relation of Rayy to the Provincial Order of Iran in History

It is necessary to be familiar with the concepts mentioned by historic geographers’ notes in order to understand them fully. One of these concepts is the geographic divisions that highly differ in various historical periods. This part studies the area in which Rayy is located to discover what it was called and what districts it entailed in various periods of history. Rayy is located in an area which ancient historians have called by various names, like Media, Ğebāl, Kuhestān (mountains) and its arabic form Qohestān. The

⁷⁴ Jakob Eduard Polak: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, Trans. by Keykāvus Ğahāndāri, 2. Edition, Ḥārazmi, Tehrān-1368š/1989, p.61

name Media, which is derived from Mede, gives the idea that this region was located in the Mede Dynasty region. (Image 3-9)

“Ancient geographers divided Media into two regions: Lesser Media, which was to match ‘Irāq-e ‘Ajam during later centuries, and Greater Media, which equals approximately Āzarbāiḡān with parts of Kurdistan. Some believe in three, though, Rāzi Media (Rayy) is included as well, but the two Media has to be more accurate, because Rayy was a part of the great Media.”⁷⁵

But the root of mount, which historians called it during the Islamic period, was due to montane parts and its numerous mountains.⁷⁶ This area was known as “‘Irāq-e ‘Aḡam” later.

“The broad mountain region, which the Greeks called Media, stretching across from the Mesopotamian plains on the west to the great desert of Persia on the east, was known to the Arab geographers as the province of al-Jibāl [al-Ġebāl], ‘the Mountains.’ This name afterwards fell out of use, and during the 6th (12th) century under the later Saljûqs [Salḡuqs], the province came by a misnomer to be called ‘Irâḡ ‘Ajami [‘Irāq-e ‘Aḡami], which means Persian ‘Irâḡ [‘Irāq], being so named to distinguish it from the older ‘Irâḡ of the Arabs, which was Lower Mesopotamia.”⁷⁷

Guy Le Strange considers the causes for calling this mountain province ‘Irāq-e ‘Aḡam as follows:

“By the Arabs to the two chief provincial cities, Kûfah and Baṣrah, which hence were known as Al-‘Irâḡayn [‘Irāḡain]-meaning ‘the Two (capitals of) ‘Irâḡ.’ This was the older and classical usage; but in the latter part of the 5th (11th) century the Saljûqs [Salḡuqs] had come to rule over all western Persia, having their capital at Ramadan, and they also governed Mesopotamia, where the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph resided. From him they received the ‘title of Solṭān of the Two ‘Irâḡs, which seemed fitting to their case, and the second of the two ‘Irâḡs soon came to be understood as meaning the province of Jibāl, where the

⁷⁵ Ḥasan Pirnyā: *Tārīḡ-e Irān-e Bāstān*, vol.1, Donyā-ye Ketāb, Tehrān-1375/1996, p.207

⁷⁶ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.36-37

⁷⁷ Guy Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, Frank Cass & Co. LTD., 3. Edition London-1966, p.185

Saljûqs prince more especially resided, which thus by the vulgar came to be known for distinction as Persian 'Irâḳ. This is the account of the matter given by Yâḳût [Yâqut], who states that the Persians in his day, but incorrectly and as a modern usage, called the province Persian 'Irâḳ. Yâḳût himself uses the older name of al-Jibâl, for which his contemporary Kazvînî [Qazvini], writing also in Arabic, gives the Persian equivalent of Kuhistân [Kuhestân] (the Mountain province). The name Jibâl, however, apparently became completely obsolete after the Mongol conquest, and Mustawfî [Mostaufi] in the 8th (14th) century nowhere uses it.”⁷⁸ (Image 3-10)

Conclusion

As the Median Empire was founded in the northwest of today's Iran and expanded to the southeast, Rayy was located in that area. But its name was not lost after the empire was overthrown and it was called the great Media in several subsequent centuries. The area was called Kuhestân (= mountains) or “Ranges (Ĝebâl)”, its Arabic name, in the early era of Islam. The mountain area was gradually called “'Irâq-e 'Aġam” since the 5th/11th century and was called the same since and after the Mongol attack in the 7th/13th century.

3.4 Rayy's General History

One of the principal features of introducing every cultural landscape is the recognition of the history of the cultural landscape and the events that have happened in it. As Küster notes is the essence of a landscape not discovered by itself. It has to be defined and its history must be quoted. ⁷⁹ Therefore, this chapter studies the compressed overview of the general history of Rayy to provide the reader with a comprehensive image of the past and subsequently connects it to the remains from various eras. Since there are the

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.186

⁷⁹ Küster: “Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft”, in: *Kulturlandschaften*, ed. by H.Küster, Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main- 2008, p.15

two major eras of "pre-Islamic" and "Islamic" in the history of art and architecture, the general history presented here will contain both.

3.4.1 From the Beginning of Civilization to the Arab Conquest

The civilization in Rayy has existed from the pre-historic era until today. The ceramics located in the Češme 'Ali region are dated about 4000-6000 years B.C.⁸⁰, which show the rise and fall of unknown civilizations in this city.⁸¹ Who exactly constructed "Rayy" is not clear. Some Iranian myths credited Hušang or Kiumarš or even Kei Ḥosro (Iranian mythical kings) with the construction of Rayy. A number of historians in Islamic era also believed semitic myths and named Šays (son of Adam) or Noah in some cases as the founders of the city.⁸² There is an interesting section in *Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş* in which the construction of Rayy is attributed to Hušang, the Iranian mythical king, and the restoration is imputed to Manučehr (son of Irağ and grandson of Fereyduṅ), the other Iranian mythical king. Eventually, these myths were related to the genuine history and the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī is mentioned as the city's developer.⁸³

"Hušang was in power for about 40 years [...] and the main city of Rayy, which now is destroyed and Dāmğān, was founded by him. [...] And other kings established palaces out of those ruins. All of them were in Rayy, and Manučehr restored it and rebuilt the monuments instead of preserving them and named it Māh Mān⁸⁴. He called it superior Rayy and the other was inferior Rayy, which the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī added some parts to and called it Moḥammadīe."⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Chapter 4 will clarify the clays of Rayy

⁸¹ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.90-91

⁸² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp. 90-92

⁸³ Yet there is no evidence regarding Achaemenid or Seleucid Empire's presence in present location of Rayy. Some believe that Rayy of that specific time has to be searched elsewhere.

⁸⁴ According to Karimān, Māh is the other spelling for "Mād (=Medes)". See Ḥoseyn Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.82

⁸⁵ *Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş*, ed. by Seyf al-Din Nağm Ābādi; Siegfried Weber, Deux Mondes, Edingen-Neckarhausen- 2000, pp.33 & 37

Rayy was one of the colonial cities of the Assyrian dynasty from the very beginning of the 7th century B.C. The Medes eliminated the Assyrian dynasty and reigned over their territory in 605-612 B.C.⁸⁶ Since then, Rayy has been mentioned as part of a “Media Province”, even to the mid-Islamic period when there was not a word of a Media province.⁸⁷

“Hovaḥšatara, known as Cyaxares by the Greek [...] sent out the violators to that land and overthrew that dynasty [Assyria] after a long time of reigning in 605-612 B.C. [...] The main Media was divided into two parts, the great Media and the small, Media while being developed, and Rayy was located in the greater part, however some count it as Rāzi Media (the Media of Rayy), an independent sector (located between Gorgān Sea and Qazvin).”⁸⁸

The Achaemenid Empire was overthrown after Alexander’s attack on Iran and the Achaemenid shah Darius III escaped to the East. Alexander started chasing Darius III from Hamadān and Rayy. However, he stayed and rested in Rayy, because he was desperate to find him.⁸⁹

“A severe earthquake ruined Rayy in the Seleucid era and Seleucus I, known as Nicator (280-312 B.C.), developed and restored the city once again and named it Europos, his own birthplace. [...] the coins from the Seleucids were found all over Rayy, Susa, and Persepolis. To develop the Greek traditions, the Seleucids settled some Macedonian people in Rayy and other lands such as Apameh [Apameia Rhagiane] around it.”⁹⁰

The Parthian Empires were the first to acknowledge Rayy’s importance and they chose it as their capital. The reason for this was that the Medes and Achaemenids were the established empires in the West. The Seleucids were originally Greek, but the Parthians, who were from the East of Iran and were involved in the western parts,

⁸⁶ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.93

⁸⁷ It was mentioned above in “Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş” as an example.

⁸⁸ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.94-96

⁸⁹ Laurence Lockhart: *Persian cities*, Luzac, London-1960, p.2

⁹⁰ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.101-102

acknowledged the military and geographic importance of Rayy as the one and only passageway of the East to the West.⁹¹ Bayāni writes:

“Although Parthian ruler Tiridates I [Arsaces II] (211-248) founded Dara city within a stable situation after taking Gorgān, he chose Rayy, which was an ancient city and was habitable in the Medes and Achaemenids, and called it Araškiye, after Arsaces, his brother and the founder of the dynasty. Araškiye (Rayy) was the most important capital of the Parthians for two centuries and their kings stayed there in the spring. Rayy was one of the commercial centers back then and their people had the privilege of being visited by merchants and caravans. There were several completely destroyed monuments and artwork from the Parthians in Rayy. Some places, gates, neighborhoods, and bazaars used the Parthian names in the first Islamic century.”⁹²

Artaxerxes I (Ardashir the Unifier) of Persia defeated Parthian ruler Artabanus V, the last king of the Parthian, and founded the Sassanid dynasty in 224. Rayy was prioritized as a religious city, in which the Zoroastrians Mobads⁹³ were of high importance.⁹⁴

3.4.2 The Conquest of Rayy by the Arab Army

Iranians were desperate in the time of the Arab attack due to long wars between Iran and Roman Empire and conflicts within the government. According to Arabic historians, the Persians eventually betrayed their own government and joined the army of the conquering Arabs, causing the conquest of some areas (including Rayy) to become an easy affair.

“Rayy’s frontier was given to a lieutenant general from the Mehrān dynasty in Rayy who was one of Bahrām Čubin’s children called Siāvaḥš Ebn-e Mehrān Ebn-e Bahrām Čubin. There is a persistent dispute over the name of the head of authority that conquered Rayy and the date of the conquest in various sources [...] A difference of

⁹¹ See Section 3.2 “Geostrategic importance of Rayy” in this very thesis.

⁹² Malekzāde Bayāni: “Zarrāb Hāneha-ye Pārti”, in: *Barresihā-ye Tāriḫi*, 53 (1353Š/1974)

⁹³ Mobad or Mobed is a Zoroastrian cleric of a particular rank

⁹⁴ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.112-113

between 18 to 24 Hijri years [639-644] has been mentioned. [...] According to him (Ṭabari), No'aim Ebn-e Moqarran from Vağ Rud (an area between Hamadān and Qazvin) went to Rayy in the 22 [642] event [...] a soldier of Siāvaḥš's army, known as Zeynabi (in Fotuḥ al-Boldān: Zeynabdi), son of Farḥān who was Siāvaḥš's enemy, colluded with Arabs, and joined them in "Qaha" [a village between Rayy and Qazvin]. They encountered two armies near Rayy Mountain [west of Naqāre Ḥāne, southeast of the Glycerin Company] in the city. Zeynabi asked No'aim: 'This is a large group and your men are few. Send a number of them with me to take them to the city from an unknown entrance hidden from Rayy's army.' Then he attacked the city from his hidden place from Ṭabarak in Ḥorāsān. [...] He brought peace between Rayy's people and the Arab army; so that they would pay taxes the same as Z̄emmes (dhimmis)."⁹⁵

The sources vary in opinion in regard to the conqueror of Rayy and the date. For instance, 'Orvat Ebn-e Zaid, the Arab Commander has been mentioned in Fotuḥ al-Boldān of Balāzori (Baladhuri), in 3rd/9th century, as the one who conquered Rayy simultaneously with the conquest of Damāvand (21/642). "Qarḏat Ebn-e Ka'b Anṣāri" has been called the one who conquered Rayy in the book "Tāriḥ-e Ya'qubi". The very same person was mentioned in the time of 'Omar Ebn-e Ḥattāb⁹⁶ (23/643-644) in al-Boldān by Ya'qubi. "Qarḏat Ebn-e Ka'b Anṣāri" was accompanied by "Abu Musā Aš'ari" to conquer Rayy in the time of Oṣmān (the third caliph) according to "Tāriḥ-e Sistān". The same has been mentioned in the Gardizi History. The ones to have conquered Rayy in the Jorjan and al-Naqḏ History are "Na'mān Ebn-e Moqarran", "No'aim Ebn-e Moqarran", and "Savid Ebn-e Moqarran". "No'aim Ebn-e Moqarran" has been said to have conquered Rayy under Oṣmān's (the third caliph) command in 22 Hijri/642-643 in Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ. "Abd Allah", son of 'Omar, has been sent to conquer Rayy in 22/642-643 in "Tāriḥ-e Gozide".⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.151-152. Z̄emmes (dhimmis): People who pay Z̄emme. "Meaning religious persons [Christians, Jews, etc.] who receive safety from the Islamic government and accepted the conditions of Z̄emme (dhimma)." (Deḥḥodā Dictionary). Z̄emme (dhimma) is a special tax for Non-Muslims

⁹⁶ The second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate: (born 577- died 644)

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 156-160

The reason for this could be that people have revolted several times, and every time an army commander has suppressed them he attributed a conquest to himself.

3.4.3 Rebellions Against Arab-Islamic Rule

In *Tāriḥ-e Sistān* (the author is unknown) it has been written about rebellions of people in different areas, their apostasy and their suppression:

“The first conquest was over Hamadān from the Osmān’s (the third caliph) Caliphate that happened in ‘Omar’s time, but they turned apostate after his death [and] Osmān (the third caliph) sent another Commander, Moğairat Ebn-e Ša’be to take it back, and then sent Abu Musā Aš’ari, accompanied by Borā’ Ebn-e ‘Āzeb and Ġarzat Ebn-e Ka’b Anšāri to conquer Rayy, and then Mo’āvie to Rum to take it, and Yazid, his son, was born there in 25 [645], Alexandria’s people returned and he sent ‘Amr Ebn-e Abi al-‘Aš to get it back.”⁹⁸

Rayy was not an exception. People had revolted and been suppressed several times.

“After Yazid’s death in 64 [683], the people of Rayy revolted under Farḥān Rāzi’s command and ‘Amer Ebn-e Mas’ud, Kufa governor, sent Moḥammad Ebn-e ‘Omeyr to suppress them, however, he did not do any good and ‘Amer sent ‘Atāb Ebn-e Varqā and Farḥān was killed and his comrades escaped. [...] in 68 Hijri [687], a group of Khawarij (Ḥavāreğ) attacked Rayy and some people assisted them and won the war with Yazid, Rayy’s governor, in Firuz Bahrām, and Yazid was killed [...] Following this, ‘Atāb Ebn-e Varqā [...] was sent to Rayy [...] ‘Atāb won the war, gained a lot of possessions and conquered all the nearby villages. [...] Ḥorāsān’s governors changed successively until it was Naṣr Ebn-e Sappār’s turn in 120 or 121 [738-739]. [...] Abu Moslem [at the same time] was doing well in Ḥorāsān and became famous, and Qaḥṭabe Ebn-e Šobaib went to him from Ebrāhim, ‘Abbāsi Imam, in 130 [747] and surrendered the position given to him by Imam. Abu Moslem assigned him as his head of army and sent him to a war with Naṣr Ebn-e Sappār. Naṣr was defeated and came to Rayy and then to Sāve and passed away there. [...] Qaḥṭabe Ebn-e Šobaib continued

⁹⁸ *Tāriḥ-e Sistān*, ed. by Moḥammad Taqī Bahār, Zavvār, Tehrān-1314š/1935, p.77

his mission thereafter. He conquered Gorgān and sent Ḥasan, his son, to Rayy. The people of Syria (Šām) who were in Rayy [...] left the city. Ḥasan returned to the city in Šafar 131 [September 748] and then the city was taken without war [...] and most of the people who were Umayyad's followers left the city."⁹⁹

According to Ḥāġe Neẓām al-Molk (5th/11th century), Sanbād's revolt against the Arabs extended to Rayy after Abu Moslem's death. He called most of Iranians Rafida (Rāfezi) and Mazdaki (Infidel).

"There was a Gabr¹⁰⁰ governor in Nishapur (Neyšābur), called Sinbad, in 137 [754] who was an old friend of Abu Moslem and had been placed in high positions by him and had become a Lieutenant General. After Abu Moslem's death he left Nishapur to go to Rayy and summoned the Gabrs of Rayy and Ṭabarestān, and as he comprehended that over half of the Kuhestān (Mountain) and Iraq ('Irāq-e 'Aġam) people were Rafida and Mazdaki, he started his preaching."¹⁰¹

The essential point after the Arabs conquered Rayy was the demolition of the ancient part and the construction of a new part next to it.¹⁰²

3.4.4 Rayy During the 'Abbāsīd Period

"The establishment of the 'Abbasid dynasty in 132/750 was, of course, an event especially closely linked with Persia; for the 'Abbasid *da'va* or propaganda made in the name of "a member of the House of the Prophet who shall be pleasing to everyone" (*al-reẓa men āl Moḥammad*) had its origins and first successes in eastern Persia. At least one of the principal agents of the revolution was a Persian, Abū Moslem Ḳorāsānī [Abu Moslem Ḥorāsānī]. [...] The town and oasis of Marv in northern Khorasan [Ḥorāsān], far from the bases of Omayyad power in Syria and Iraq's garrison cities, was the epicenter of this 'Abbasid propaganda; and it was from here that the victorious forces of Abū

⁹⁹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.118-127

¹⁰⁰ Zoroastrian

¹⁰¹ Neẓām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsāt-nāme)*, ed. by Hubert Darke, 3.Edition, Bongāh-e Tarġomeh va Našr-e Ketab, Tehrān- 2535šš/1976, p.279

¹⁰² See Section 3.6 "Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location" in this very thesis

Moslem marched westward via Ray [Rayy] and Jebāl [Ĝebāl] to the plains of Iraq and the defeat of Omayyad forces there.”¹⁰³

After Abu Moslem’s revolt and al-Saffāh being Caliph, Naṣr Ebn-e ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ḥazā’i became the ruler in Rayy. He founded the qanāt (subterranean canals) quarter and bazaar that are known as “Naṣr Ābād”. Sanbād-e Ḥorrami conquered Rayy as his revenge for Abu Moslem being killed by Abu Ğa’far al-Manṣur (‘Abbāsīd Caliph II) in 137/754.¹⁰⁴ The ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣur sent Moḥammad his son (known as al-Mahdi), to suppress Ḥorāsān’s governor in 141/758. Moḥammad (al-Mahdi) stayed in Rayy after finishing his duty while Baġdād was being founded in 144/761, and then he went to Ḥorāsān. He returned to Rayy once again in 146/763. Al-Mahdi ordered the foundation of a new sector including an ancient fortress and a village in Rayy that are the main basis of the Islamic era and remained until the late 4th/10th century. This sector was known as inferior Rayy (versus superior Rayy in the pre-Islam era). But it was called “Moḥammadie”, after its founder Moḥammad (al-Mahdi), until the 4th/10th& 11th century.

“Al-Mahdi, the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣur’s son went there on his father’s command on his way to Ḥorāsān and ordered to construct a wall and build the city. He constructed palaces and Šahrestān and Jame mosque and named it Moḥammadie after himself. This place, which now is superior Rayy and the ancient city were destroyed and converted. The foundation of this city was in 152 [769] and it was finished after a couple of years.”¹⁰⁵

At this time, Rayy developed regarding its grandeur and population and it was in its best in al-Mahdi’s and his successors’ dynasty. After the death of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd, the Baġdādīans were defeated in a war between his sons and al-Ma’mun in

¹⁰³ C. E. Bosworth: “Abbasid Caliphate”, in: *Encyclopædia Iranica*

¹⁰⁴ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.127-129

¹⁰⁵ *Moġmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş*, p. 406; See section “3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy’s Location” in this very thesis.

Ṭus, near Rayy, and this was the beginning of Iran's independence from the Caliphs' and Arab attacks. Ṭabāṭabā'i writes:

“Rayy was the city for the 'Abbāsi Caliphs' sons before the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Moktafi and thereafter it was considered by the rebels of the govern ship from Ṭabarestān. This opened a path for the Samanid ruler Amir Esmā'il to conquer Rayy and make Manṣur Ebn-e Eshāq, his nephew, the governor.”¹⁰⁶

In fact, after the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Moktafi was in power, the Samanid ruler Amir Esmā'il became powerful in Ḥorāsān and won several large-scale wars and expanded his lands to Qazvin. The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Moktafi was forced to surrender Ḥorāsān and Rayy and Qazvin and Zanġān to Amir Esmā'il in 289/902, providing that Aḥmad, his son, become the governor after him. As a consequence, rule over Rayy was transferred to the Iranians for the first time after the Arab attack.¹⁰⁷ From the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the Ziāran dynasty got more powerful in Māzandarān (in the north of Iran). The one of them who was able to rule over Rayy was Mardāviġ Ebn-e Ziār that founded “Gil Ābād” (or Ğil Ābād) in the East.

“Mardāviġ established Ğil Ābād in the East and founded monuments, porches, tall arcs, ponds, and wonderful resorts similar to that of the Sassanid kings. He established a large dreadful prison with a sea in the middle as well. [...] His land developed and got control over Māzandarān, Rayy, Qazvin, Zanġān, Qom, Isfahan (Eṣfahān), and Hamadān until Buyyid's sons took Kermān and Fārs and started ruling, and as they decided to go to Iraq ('Irāq), Mardāviġ was informed in Rayy. He went to Isfahan (Eṣfahān) to intervene; however, he got killed by servants (323/935). His body was carried to Rayy to be buried.”¹⁰⁸

Vošmgir (Vushmgir) was overcome by the Buyyids after him and they reigned over Rayy. The summary is: As the Buyyids brothers Rokn al-Doule and 'Emād al-Doule got informed of Vošmgir's return to Rayy coveted on his properties, Rokn al-Doule went to

¹⁰⁶ Moḥammad Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā'i: “Rāzi dar Šahr-e Rayy”, in: *Gohar* 1 (1351š/1972)

¹⁰⁷ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.142-143

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.148-153

him to start a war. Vošmgir was defeated and escaped to Ḥorāsān and many of his followers joined Rokn al-Doule and asked for mercy. Abu 'Ali Moḥtāğ Šāḥeb al-Ġeiš was sent to Rayy on the Samanid ruler Amir Noah (Nuḥ) Ebn-e Naṣr's command in 333/944 to set it free from Rokn al-Doule's government. He rushed there with a number of his followers, however, Rokn al-Doule won. Once again, Abu 'Ali received an order from Amir Noah (Nuḥ) to go to Rayy in Jumada al-Thani the same year (February 945). His soldiers were more numerous this time. As Rokn al-Doule realized it he left and Abu 'Ali took control over this and other lands as well. By this time, Ebrāhim Ebn-e Simğur was assigned as Nishapur's governor by the Samanid ruler Amir Noah (Nuḥ) to meet his needs and stop his ambition to control Ḥorāsān. Abu 'Ali who received such a reward by Amir got carried away and started bullying and returned to Ḥorāsān, therefore Rokn al-Doule again got power on Rayy and other lands and expelled the Ḥorāsānis in 335 [946]. By then, the Buyyid government got more powerful. Their lands developed and the cities and provinces of Rayy, Ġebāl, Fārs, Ahvāz, Iraq ('Irāq) to Syria (Šām) and Hijaz (Ḥeğāz) became theirs. They made the two great cities of that time, Baghdad and Rayy, Capital citys (Dar al-Molk) and Ḥasan Rokn al-Doule, Mo'ez al-Doule's brother, and 'Azod al-Doule's father got the control over Rayy. Rayy became more important in the Buyyid epoch, and its most famous neighborhoods were founded in the Faḥr al-Doule epoch. Empires of that era are mentioned as Shahanshah (Šāhanšāh) in most references.¹⁰⁹ Maqdesi, who was living in the 4th/10th and 11th century, notes that Rayy was the most significant area in the Buyyid dynasty. He also presents some interesting information about the Buyyid dynasty.

“Government: its government is related to the Dailamites. Rayy is their most significant area. The first to overcome and take it back from the Sāmānids was Ḥasan, Buyyid's son, known as Mo'ayed al-Doule, and then it was 'Ali, his brother, known as Faḥr al-Doule. Their Commander lives in Dāmğān [Qomes]. They settled people in houses and villages, but most of the people ran away due to their cruelty, but now the situation has gotten much better. They have amusing politics and bad habits, but never meddle with

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.155-157

the successors, and if they specify an income for a person, they would pay him to the end of his life. They are patient in war, and have a developed country and powerful government, everything from China to Yemen is theirs, they have resisted against kings and have maddened eastern kings, [Amir al-Mo'menin], 'Abbāsīd Caliph, is exhausted with them, and they control the whole world."¹¹⁰

Rayy, the birthplace of science and culture and art, was turned into ruins by Solṭān Maḥmūd of Ġāza in 408/1017 in the Buyyid epoch. The scholars were killed, books were burnt, and the schools were demolished.¹¹¹ According to Karimān, the governors would not obey Maḡd al-Doule, therefore the Dailamites started rebelling and area was in a state of anarchy. Maḡd al-Doule requested immediate assistance of Solṭān Maḥmūd. As Maḥmūd received his letter, he found it proper to rush to Iraq ('Irāq) He did not stop to rest before Rayy and reached Dulab early in the morning of Monday 12 Jumada al-Awwal 420/ 28 June 1029. As Maḡd al-Doule was informed of his coming, he thought that he came without an army, therefore he rushed to him with his servants and relatives and riders. Maḥmūd's men captured him and Abu Dolaf, his son. Maḥmūd moved to Rayy as soon as knew that he was arrested. He oppressed the inhabitants and killed many Shiites, accusing them of being Bāṭeniya (Esoteric) and Qarmaṭians, in cold blood, set 200 gallows and hanged the scholars and continued the same for some time and suspended them from their job and employed Sunni Turks. He sent Mo'tazele of Rayy to Ḥorāsān and burned all the library books about philosophy, rational theology, and astrology except sending 100 loads of them to Ḥorāsān.¹¹² In 431/1039, Solṭān Mas'ud, son of Solṭān Maḥmūd, was defeated by the Seljuks and lost considerable territory as a result. Ebrāhim Yanal, the Seljuk ruler Solṭān Tughril's (Ṭoḡrol) brother, took his army to Rayy in 433/1041, and the Ġaznavid ruler, who could not resist the attack, escaped. Tughril (Ṭoḡrol) returned to Rayy in 434/1042, chose it as his capital

¹¹⁰ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taḡāsim fi Ma'rafat al-Aḡālim*, p.598

¹¹¹ See 'Ezzat Allah Fulādvand: "Bidād-e Maḥmūd-e Ġaznavi ba Ketābhānehā va Ḥeradmāndān-e Rayy", in: *Hāfez* 8 (1383š/2004)

¹¹² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.171-176

and ordered to reconstruct the ruins. Hereafter (during the Seljuk dynasty), a new period of settlement and restoration started.¹¹³ Although Isfahan (Eşfahān) was the principal residence of the Seljuk ruler Malek Šāh, Rayy was the city of science and culture and underwent a special development and appreciation.¹¹⁴ The Seljuk ruler Solţān Sanġar was defeated by Ğoz Turkmen and Rayy was plundered consequently.¹¹⁵ Benjamin of Tudela, who died in 568/1173 (there is no clear record of the time he spent in Iran, perhaps in 560/1165), mentioned Desert Turk nomads who destroyed and plundered Rayy 15 years before his lifetime:

“They worship the wind, do not have bread, do not drink wine and just have raw meat, and do not care about it being clean or not. They do not have noses, but breathe through two holes. They live with the Jews peacefully and are friends with them. 15 years ago, they attacked Iran on a large scale and captured Rayy. They killed everyone and returned to their country with a large amount of loot.”¹¹⁶

In the 6th/12th century, due to the Seljuk’s weakening, Rayy was involved in the battle and the city was conquered many times. Nevertheless, until the Seljuk ruler Solţān Sanġar’s death (551 or 552/1056 or 1057), Rayy was under his control and a part of the Ĥorāsān province. Inānġ started ruling over Rayy, reinforcing Ṭabarak Fortress and the city walls in 564/1168. However, his conflict with Atābak Eldegiz (Ildeniz) was severe, so he surrendered and promised to meet the other day. But on the next day he was found dead in a tent in other side of the city next to Dulāb Gate. He was buried in the slopes of the Ṭabarak Mountain. At this time, Rayy was given to Noşrat al-Din Moġammad Pahlavān, the Seljuk ruler Solţān Arsalān’s brother, and he destroyed Ṭabarak Fortress. After Arsalān, Tughril (Ṭoġrol) Ebn-e Arsalān, his son, became the king and until the day Moġammad Pahlavān was born, his territory was inhabited and fertile. Atābak Pahlavāni died in Rayy, in Ṭabarak Fortress, where his children lived and

¹¹³ Ibid., pp.179-180

¹¹⁴ See “Ĥānqāhs and Schools” and “Libraries” in Section “4.3.2 Various Kinds of Buildings in Rayy” in this very thesis.

¹¹⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p. 198

¹¹⁶ Benjamin von Tudela: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Mahvaš Nāteq, Kārang, Tehrān-1381Š/ 2002, p.128

which he had repaired in March 1186. After this, the time of peace came to an end. After Atābak Moḥammad Pahlavān's death, conflict arose between the brothers, Osman Qezel Arsalān and Tughril (Ṭoḡrol), in which he was defeated right in the beginning. But after Qezel Arsalān's murder in the ancient Palace of Hamadān by his slaves, Tughril (Ṭoḡrol) returned to Rayy once again and, after taking control over it, destroyed Ṭabarak Fortress (588/1192). In 590/1194, Ḥārazmian Šāh Tekiš came to Rayy with a large army and killed Tughril (Ṭoḡrol) in war. He sent his head to Baghdad and hanged his body in the "Bazaar Rude" and then buried him in the first Tughril's (Ṭoḡrol) cemetery. Ḥārazmian ruler Tekiš Šāh kept the whole of Iraq ('Irāq) under his control. Hereafter, Rayy was again governed by a variety of rulers until the second decade of 7th/13th century, in the Mongol dynasty.¹¹⁷

3.4.5 The Mongol Attack

The Mongol attack on Iran was devastating, but, at least for Rayy, it is very uncertain what actually happened. After that the invasion, there is not a word to be found on the great, glorious and artistic Rayy in the Seljuk period. Many historians believe that, after the Mongols' sacked Rayy and massacred the population, the survivors escaped to Tehrān and Varāmin. They allege that the destruction was so severe that the city could not regain its former splendor. After studying many historic texts, Ḥoseyn Karimān narrated the story as the follows:

"As soon as Genghis (Čangiz) Ḥān arrived at Samarqand, he noticed that the Ḥārazmian ruler Solṭān Moḥammad had escaped to Iraq ('Irāq). Therefore, Jebe (Ĝebe) and Subutai, accompanied by 30.000 horsemen, were sent to arrest him. [...] Solṭān Moḥammad reached Nishapur coming from Ĝeyḥun (Oxus= Amu Darya) in Šafar 617/April 1220 [and buried his Jewels in a castle called Ardahan around Rayy which was taken by Genghis Khan (Čangiz Ḥān). The Mongols went there to arrest him and Rayy Šāfe'is¹¹⁸ persuaded Jebe and Subutai to start a war with Ḥanifis]. At first, the

¹¹⁷ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp. 199-207

¹¹⁸ The Šāfe'i school is one of the four Sunni mazḥabs (schools of law) (Ḥanafi, Šāfe'i, Ḥanbali, Māleki)

Mongols killed Ḥanifis and then Šāfe'is in revenge for his people's blood. They plundered the city and killed many people and captivated the women and took the children as slaves. [...] The Mongols didn't stay in Rayy but left to find Ḥārāzm Šāh. [...] After Solṭān Moḥammad's death, Solṭān Ġiās al-Din, his son, the ruler of Kermān, Ġebāl, and Rayy [...] in 619/1222 decided to kill Atābak Sa'd and gained lots of goods by plundering in Fārs, then returned to Rayy in the winter and reigned there. [Solṭān Ġalāl al-Din, his brother, came to Rayy from India and took over as the new ruler]. Another Mongol tribe attacked Rayy, Hamadān, and other cities under Genghis' authority in early 621/1224 [...]. The people of Rayy who survived the first attack of the Tatars returned to the city after this cruel tribe had left and were trying to repair all the damages and ruins when another group attacked. [...] They were completely unable to defend themselves. The Mongols killed and plundered in every possible way and [...] Rayy, the bride of all cities in the world, was so extremely damaged by the Mongol attack that it could never regain its previous importance.”¹¹⁹

The religious diversity in Rayy, pointed out by Karimān as the reason for the massacre by the Mongols, has been mentioned in a lot of history books including that of Rauḏat al-Šafā (9th/15th century):

“And Jebe came to Rayy from Māzandarān, and Subutai joined him; Rayy's people were opposing each other because of religious prejudice, and back then, Imam Abu Ḥanife Kofi's followers had burned a mosque where the Šāfe'is prayed in; so when the people heard about Jebe's reputation, the Šāfe'i judge and his followers encouraged and persuaded him to kill half the people in Abu Ḥanife's religion, and the saying is famous: teach a wolf to sew, for he knows cutting well and it is its nature. In short, Jebe brought misery to half of Rayy's people and soothed himself by saying that this group of Šāfe'is were unfaithful to their people and caused them disaster and enmity, and that it was impossible that this tribe would bring any good and welfare, and then the Šāfe'i

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp.210-231

followers were sent after Ḥanifis' Master, and in some history books it is mentioned that thousands of people were killed in Rayy.”¹²⁰

Nağm al-Din Rāzi (7th/13th century) has noted the following:

“Actually, this event is the one that the master [=Moḥammad], Peace be upon him, has witnessed over 600 years ago. It was such a murder that in a city like Rayy which is my birthplace and its government is praised, more than 500.000 people were killed or captivated.”¹²¹

It should be mentioned that the three valid histories of the Mongol dynasties are as follows: Ğovaini's *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngošā* (The History of The World Conqueror-658/1260), Rašid al-Din's *Ğāme' al-Tavāriḥ* (Compendium of Chronicles- 710/1310) and *Tāriḥ-e Vaṣṣāf* (728/1327). In Ğovaini's *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngošā* it is written about the massacre of the people in Ḥār of Rayy (southeast of Rayy) and not Rayy itself in 617/1220 (when Jebe and Subutai were looking for Solṭān Moḥammad Ḥārazm Šāh):

“Many people were killed in Semnān and Ḥār of Rayy, and when they [the Mongols] arrived in Rayy, the judge¹²²... came towards them, [...] and when they knew that the Solṭān had gone to Hamadān, they followed him quickly.”¹²³

It is mentioned in *Ğāme' al-Tavāriḥ*:

“And he came to Semnān and killed many people and did the same in Ḥār of Rayy. And meanwhile, the Solṭān was consulting with Atābak Noṣrat al-Din Hazaraspid. Yazak Solṭān came from Rayy proclaiming that the Mongols' army is gathering [...]”¹²⁴

In “*Taḥrīr-e Tāriḥ-e Vaṣṣāf*” (the simplified version of *Tāriḥ-e Vaṣṣāf*), the slaughter in 617/1220 is mentioned:

¹²⁰ Mirḥānd: *Tāriḥ-e Rożat al-Şafā*, ed. by 'Abbās Parviz, Tehrān-1339Ş/1960, pp.97-98

¹²¹ Nağm al-Din Rāzi: *Merşād al-'Ebād*, ed. by Moḥammad Amin Ryāḥi, 5.Edition, Şerkat-e Enteşārāt-e 'Elmi va Farhangi, Tehrān-1373Ş/1994, p.17

¹²² It is mentioned in the footnote of the book in regards to another book version: “The judge with some of the rich and some followers and with gifts” (Footnote 40).

¹²³ 'Alā'eddin 'Aṭā Malek Ğoveyni: *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngošā*, ed. by Moḥammad Qazvini, Brill, Leiden-1911, p.115

¹²⁴ Rašid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni: *Ğāme' al-Tavāriḥ*, ed. by Moḥammad Rošan; Moşṭafā Musavi, Alborz, Tehrān-1373Ş/1994, pp.508-509

“There was a terrifying massacre in Semnān and Ḥār of Rayy. As Šeyḥ Nağm al-Din Dāye in Meršād al-'Ebād said, the Tatar army killed or captivated about 700.000 in Rayy, his hometown, in 617[1220].”¹²⁵

The event in 621/1224, when the Mongols were following Solṭān Ğālāl al-Din Ḥārazm Šāh (Solṭān Moḥammad's son), is mentioned in Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngošā:

“The Mongol army rode to Isfahan (Eşfahān) and then rushed to Rayy in three days and then went to Nishapur and returned.”¹²⁶

What happened in Rayy is not mentioned in this source. But in Ğāme' al-Tavāriḥ it is written:

“As they conquered Iraq ('Irāq) in the beginning, they first got Ḥār and Semnān and then went to Rayy to kill and plunder.”¹²⁷

In Rašid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni the situation is explained in more detail:

“At the time of releasing the great cities, they killed such a great number of people that very few remained; In Balkh, Šaburqān, Ṭāleqān, Marv, Saraḥs, Harāt, Torkestān, Rayy, Hamadān, Qom, Isfahan (Eşfahān) , Marāġe, Ardebil, Barda'(Barda), Ganġe, Baġdād (Baghdad), Moşel, Arbil, and many other states close to these areas.”¹²⁸

While in Tāriḥ-e Vaşşāf, not a word is mentioned about these events. But the plundering and killing in Rayy in 683/1284 is addressed explicitly by Elināq¹²⁹:

“When [Arġun] arrived in Dāmġān, he was told that Elināq had attacked Rayy and ruined every land and thing and killed many people and also destroyed the house of

¹²⁵ Abd al-Mohammad Āyati: *Taḥrīr-e Tāriḥ-e Vaşşāf*, 2. Edition, Mo'ssese-ye Moṭāle'āt va Taḥqiqāt-e Farhangi-1372Ş/1993, p.304. As it is mentioned above, in the edited text of Meršād al-'Ebād by Moḥammad Amin Riāhi, the phrase “500 thousand” is stated.

¹²⁶ Ğoveyni: *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngošā*, p.169

¹²⁷ Rašid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni: *Ğāme' al-Tavāriḥ*, p.522

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.1527

¹²⁹ Elināq was one of the rulers in Şoltān Aḥmad Tekuder, the third Mongol İlḥān. Tekuder was Holāku Ḥan's son. His nephew Arġun was the son of Abāqā (Tekuder's brother and the second Mongol İlḥān) who was willing to sit on his father throne, rebelled and defeated Tekuder and got his place with the support of governors and Mongol rulers. (See: Deḥḥodā Dictionary)

Lār, which was Argun's possession, gathered all the treasure and sent it to Āzarbaiġan."¹³⁰

Understandably, only the massacre of the "Ĥār" region in Rayy in 617/1220 is mentioned in Tāriĥ-e Ģahāngošā (658/1260), and the author has stated clearly that people saved their lives presenting money and that there was no massacre in Rayy contrarily to Tāriĥ-e Rauzat al-Šafā. The massacre in Rayy was not even mentioned in the event of 621/1224. At the time this book was written, the Elināq massacre had not happened yet (in 683/1284). The attack to Ĥār of Rayy and the massacre in Rayy with no mention of its date in 617/1220, is mentioned only once in Ģāme' al-Tavāriĥ (710/1310). Ĥār of Rayy is only briefly mentioned, like in the two other resources in Tāriĥ-e Vaššāf (617/1220). But Meršād al-'Ebād's quote makes it a bit ambiguous. The author of this book mentions another massacre by Elināq in 683/1284, but does not mention its dimension. There is another report by Yāqut contradicting the stories in the sources mentioned above. Le Strange, quoting from Yāqut, states that in 617/1220 only the ramparts of the city and the Šāfe'is neighborhood were saved from destruction:

"In the year 617 (1220) Ray [Rayy] was taken, plundered, and burnt by the Mongol hordes, and from this great calamity it never recovered. Yāḳūt [Yāqut], who passed through the place at this time, states that the city walls alone remained intact, most of the houses being reduced to ruin [ruins]. Many of these had originally been built of burnt brick, faced with blue enamelled tiles which Yāḳūt describes as 'varnished smooth like the surface of a bowl.' The Shafi'ite [Šāfe'i] suburb, the smallest of the city quarters, alone had escaped the Mongols, the quarters of the Ḥanbalites and of the Shī'ahs [Shia] having been completely ruined"¹³¹

The sacking of Rayy was mentioned in Tāriĥ-e Ģahāngošā book on Šaraf al-Din Ĥārazmi in 642/1244 and it states that people's properties were gathered in "Jame Mosque". In any case, robbing the people and looting Jame Mosque is emblematic for Rayy's existence at the time.

¹³⁰ Āyati: *Taḥrir-e Tāriĥ-e Vaššāf*, p.76

¹³¹ Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, p.216

“Since everything was plundered, they went to Rayy and forced the people to give them what they had [...] and the profiteers came from other areas such as Isfahan (Eṣfahān), Qom, Kāšān, and Hamadān and brought some funds. Then he ordered to gather them in the Jame Mosque and animals were gathered in there. On the departure day, there was not a thing left, the mosque carpets had been taken and were being used as cover for goods, and then they left [...]”¹³²

Without knowing the exact dates of the numerous sacking and pillaging of the city, it is obvious that Rayy was destroyed by successive attacks of Mongols and others who passed these “old junctions of the world”, and many people migrated to other villages and cities. After these invasions, Genghis’ successors tried to rebuild the destroyed and damaged cities or establish new ones. Among the kings of this dynasty, Ġāzān Ḥān paid more attention to restoring Rayy. Ġāzān began his reign over Rayy in 694/1295.¹³³ As mentioned in the chapter on coins, coins of the Mongol dynasty have been discovered in Rayy dating from 701/1301. The coins dating from 704/1304 belonged to Öljaitü (Olġāito, Solṭān Moḥammad Ḥodābande) who tried to restore Rayy. The last coins of the Mongol period in this city belonged to Abu Sa’id in 733/1332.¹³⁴ The Ilḡān throne was handed over many times after Abu Sa’id Bahador Ḥān’s death in 736/1335, and each of them introduced one as their follower to perform their goals. From this date to the Timurid invasion, Chobanids, Bādospāns, Ġālāyers, and Muzaffarids ruled over this city respectively, or lost it. King Tamerlane took his military campaign to Iran in 782/1380 and he captured Rayy with great ease in Shawwal 786/ November 1384, stayed there the entire winter and then went to Solṭāniye in spring. Tamerlane came to Rayy in 789/1387 and went to Isfahan (Eṣfahān) from Hamadān. In the second invasion (which last five years), he entered Rayy via the Semnān and Dāmġān roads in 795/1392. In the third invasion (which lasted seven years), he came to Rayy en route in 802/1399. Returning to Samarkand from this invasion, he moved from Karabakh (Qare

¹³² Ġoveyni: *Tāriḡ-e Ġahāngošā*, p.278

¹³³ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.214

¹³⁴ See Section “4.3.8 Minted Coin in Rayy” in this very thesis.

Bāg) and then came from the Qazvin plain to Rayy in Ramadan 806/March 1404. He died in 807/1404, following the attack on China in Otrar city along the way.¹³⁵ Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, passing Rayy in 806/1403, describes Rayy completely destroyed, vacant and abandoned:

“We were going to Tehrān when we saw the ruined and abandoned buildings of a big city after 12 Km on the right side on Tuesday in the afternoon. But some of its towers still remained and the ruins of some mosques could be seen. This is Rayy which, one day, was the largest city of the area. But now it is completely vacant.”¹³⁶

Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky, according to Clavijo’s report, believes that Rayy was wholly ruined after the Mongol attack, but Karimān, mentioning different references, has rejected Minorsky’s reasons as mentioned briefly in the following:

“Rayy was inhabited and was city-like in 814/1411, about 7 years after Clavijo passed there. About Ḥalil Solṭān’s death, Timur’s grandson, it is written in *Lob al-Tavāriḥ*, the hand-written version in the National Library N0.2010, page 191: “Mirzā Ḥalil Solṭān died in Rayy sometime after he came to Iraq (‘Irāq) on a Wednesday night on 16. Rajab 814 [3. November 1411]”. The mentioning of the word “Rayy City” is very important and means that it was habitable. This detail was explained in other sources, including Ḥabib al-Siyar [...], without using the word “city”. The Timurid ruler Shahrokh (Šāhroḥ) died in Rayy in 850 [1447], and this, except the beginning of *Matla’ al-Sa’dein* that Minorsky rejects as a valid reference, is described in other references such as the history of Kurdistan [...], *Rauzat al-Ġannāt fi Ouṣāf-e Madinat Harāt* [...], and the book of *Diyār Bekriye*, published in 875 [1470] [...], and in the author’s recent book for which he was present, it is stated: “In Noruz Solṭāni day, 850 [13.March 1447], Ḥāqan was willing to visit the holy shrine of ‘Abd al-‘Azim in Rayy. They got on from the Fašāpuye District in Rayy early in the morning ... I was present at the time they left...” Again, mentioning the word “city” for Rayy here is very important, too. Addressing Rayy in the reports of the

¹³⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.218-222

¹³⁶ Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo: *Safarnāme-ye Claviju*, Trans. by Mas’ud Rajabniyā, 2.Edition, Šerkat-e Enteshārāt-e ‘Elmi va Farhangi, Tehrān-1366Š/1987, p.176

Safavid Šāh Ismail (Esmā'il), except in Ḥabib al-Siyar (Vol. 3, Part 4) which wasn't valid according to Minorsky, can be seen in many other references, such as Lob al-Tavāriḥ [...]. In the remaining orders from Šāh Ṭahmāsb I of the Safavid dynasty, the fact that Rayy was habitable was clear, including an order issued on the protection of Ebrāhim Ḥavvāš' mausoleum in 943 [1536]: "Venerable Sayyids, Islamic Judges, authorities, Sheikhs, officers, and important man of the states of Rayy, you must know ..." [...] And also it is apparent in another order given by him in 950 Hijri [1543]: "all pilgrims who live in holy places except for ordinary people and peasants of Rayy should not be prohibited at all..." [...]. An explanation for these two contrasting pieces of information may be that Clavijo had highlighted the quality of human habitation in areas which were far from the main road (probably Sārebānān). It should be mentioned that, according to these reports, Rayy was never abandoned, but gradually changed from a large city to a small village during the course of three or four centuries."¹³⁷

Besides the reasons given by Karimān, the report of Tāriḥ-e Ġahāngošā and Aḥsan al-Tavāriḥ (10th/16th century) must be added: one about Shahrokh's (Šāhroḥ's) praying in Rayy in 822/1419: "When Qarayusuf passed away, Shahrokh Šāh was praying in Rayy."¹³⁸

And once more he was praying before his death in 850/1446:

"And Master quite often complained about stomach ache in the county house, however there was no sign of weakness in his body. On Sunday morning [...] he got on a mule to visit the holy tombs of the Holy clergymen located in the old city of Rayy."¹³⁹

It is interesting that in Clavijo's report (806/1403), even Varāmin was vacant at this time: "We arrived in a city called Varāmin on Friday (which we had passed once while travelling to Samarkand). It is a very large but vacant city. There were no walls around it."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Ḥoseyn Karimān: "Nazāri be Maqāle-ye Rayy Mondaraḡ dar Dā'erat al-Ma'āref-e Eslāmi", in: *Yādnāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorski*, ed. by Moḡtabā Minovi; Iraḡ Afšār, Danešgah-e Tehrān, Tehrān-1348š/1969, pp.123-125

¹³⁸ Ḥasan Beyg Rumlu: *Aḥsan al-Tavāriḥ*, ed. Abd al-Ḥoseyn Navā'i, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1384š/2005, p.239

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.419

¹⁴⁰ Claviju: *Safarnāme-ye Claviju*, p.303

The reason for this might have been a great earthquake which had occurred 20 years earlier (786/1384) in these areas, although it remains uncertain.¹⁴¹ In any case, from Timurids' weakening hold on power until the Safavid era, half of Rayy stood in ruins and its villages faced invasions on multiple occasions.

3.4.6 The Safavid Era

“The period of the Safavids, the dynasty that took control of Persia in the early 16th century, is often considered the beginning of modern Persian history, just as the state they created is said to mark the genesis of the Persian nation-state. It would be anachronistic to call Safavid Persia a modern nation-state, and it is important to realize that, in many ways, Safavid society continued Mongol and Timurid patterns and practices-ranging from its coinage to its administrative institutions. The Safavids, in fact, consciously built their legitimacy on past tradition.”¹⁴²

The Safavid Šāh Ismail (Esmā'il) released Āzarbaiġan from Āq Qoyunlu's control in 907/1501. He went to Shiraz in 909/1503 and captured the entirety of Iraq ('Irāq), Fārs, and Kermān. Some people of Āq Qoyunlu, who had gone to Firuz Kuh and Damāvand, came to Rayy and captured and sacked it. The Safavid Šāh Ismail (Esmā'il) went to Rayy at the end of winter and then got Firuz Kuh under his control. He died in 930/1523 and the throne was handed over to his son, Šāh Ṭahmāsb. He came to Rayy in 943/1536. Next year he came to Tehrān in 944/1537 and ordered to construct ramparts around Tehrān in 961/1554, which was 6000 feet long, and to place 114 bastions, paralleling the number of suras in the Quran and 14 gates for the city, and to build a ditch around the ramparts.¹⁴³ Gradually, Rayy lost its importance and Tehrān started to grow. (Image 3-11)

¹⁴¹ See Section 5.1.1“Natural Disasters - Earthquake” in this very thesis.

¹⁴² Rudi Matthee: “Safavid Dynasty”, in: *Encyclopædia Iranica*

¹⁴³ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.233-235

3.4.7 The Qajar Dynasty

The frightful Agha Muhammad [Āġā Moḥammad], whose excesses are doubtless in part explicable by the fact that as a boy he had been castrated by Nadir's [Nāder] nephew Adil Shah [Ādel Šāh], was thus the founder of the dynasty under which Persia was to move definitely into the modern world, acquiring an important strategic and economic role in international affairs. It was also under Agha Muhammad [Āġā Moḥammad] that Tehran previously a town of only moderate importance became the capital (1200/1786); in this way began the centripetal movement of all life towards the centre which is such a feature of modern Persia.¹⁴⁴ In the Qajar era, the name "Rayy" does not exist anymore and only the name "Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Village" is mentioned in the texts. Nāṣer al-Din Šāh Qajar tried a lot to restore and renovate the holy shrine of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim and other holy men. The first Iranian railway was built in 1888, connecting Tehrān to this city. The most important event of this era was first the murder of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh in 1313/1896 in the holy shrine of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim by Mirzā Reżā Kermāni. 'Eyn al-Salṭane reports that event as follows:

"But the detail of today's event: Mirzā Reżā, or Seyyed Reżā Kermāni, who was respected previously and when he had Kermān's vindication, was arrested two years ago among Bābists and was taken to Qazvin, he was in prison for 6 months in the prime minister's house, then he was released at Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim between the two holy shrines, meaning the distance between Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim and Imamzadeh (Emānzāde) Ḥamze, put on a chador and stood there. When the Šāh was passing among a group to visit there, Mirzā Reżā was sitting there with a chador, with no trouble, and as the Šāh passed, he fired his gun. When the second bolt was shot, the prime minister, standing in front of the Šāh, hit his hand and the front of the gun of gun changed direction and clashed to the roof, and he was arrested immediately. The Šāh fell down. The courtyard was evacuated and the Šāh was carried out on his carrier. The prime minister and some other men got on the carrier, and took the Šāh to the town rapidly. The yard of Taḥt-e

¹⁴⁴ Clifford Edmund Bosworth: *The Islamic dynasties. A chronological and genealogical handbook*, Edinburgh- 1980, p.179

Marmar became vacant. The handy carrier of the Šāh, belonging to Mo'tamed al-Doule and being pulled by people, and often the Šāh would get on it in the garden, was fetched into the building, I did not finally realize where he was shot, from his thigh to navel, however it was not lower than the thigh and higher than the navel."¹⁴⁵

The second important event happened in the Constitutional period: the people and the clergymen went to the holy shrine of 'Abd al-'Aẓim and took sanctuary there as opposition in 1323/1905 (one year before the Constitutional order).¹⁴⁶ Moğis̄ al-Saltāne writes:

"It has been 15 days since they have taken refuge in the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine. The merchants, who were the motivators, didn't show up because they were afraid of the government. But they pay the costs of the people and it was just to eliminate the Šāh's suspicion that all the people wanted to fulfill God's will."¹⁴⁷

It is interesting that two years later (1325/1907, 1 year after the Constitution principle), the opposing group went to the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim holy shrine to show their opposition.

"On the eleventh day that the people were supposed to be punished and expelled from the city, Seyyed Moḥammad, son of Seyyed 'Ali Akbar, alongside 60 or 70 people of the clergy with the four people to be punished, took refuge in Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim. Rumor has it that they were saying: we do not need a National Assembly Congress. [...] Nobody dares to refuse its law. Whoever dares to refuse or cavil, although he is right, must face the death penalty. Those who have been to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim and took refuge are still in the same situation. Now, nobody cared about them, therefore they couldn't return."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Qahremān Mirzā 'Eyn al-Saltāne: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e 'Eyn al-Saltāne*, vol.1, ed. by Mas'ud Sālur; Irağ Afšār, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1374š/1995, p.931

¹⁴⁶ To find more information about the tradition of "Taḥaṣṣon (= Taking sanctuary)" in the mausoleums, refer to the "4.2.2 Pilgrimage and Sightseeing" section in this thesis.

¹⁴⁷ Yusef Moğis̄ al-Saltāne: *Nāmeḥā-ye Yusef Moğis̄ al-Saltāne*, ed. by Ma'sume Māfi, Tehrān-1362š/1983, p.105

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp.163-164

3.4.8 The Pahlavi Dynasty

Rezā Šāh was an officer who overthrew the Qāğār Dynasty and established Pahlavi in 1925. In his era, the name of “Rayy” was revived and used instead of “Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim Village”. During Rezā Šāh’s time, several important factories such as cement factory and glycerine factory were founded. During Moḥammad Rezā Šāh’s time (his son) the city was revived again and became a part of Tehrān, but lost its identity as an independent city.

Conclusion: Overview of the General History

The founding of Rayy is not exactly clear, as there are only a few myths relating to it. The oldest discovered part of the city is Češme ‘Ali in which evidence of the existence of civilizations which existed from 6000 B.C onwards were found. "Rayy" has been mentioned in most ancient texts since the Median Empire, although the archeological evidence presenting Rayy as a city dates back to Parthian era (247 B.C. – 224 A.D.). The city was surrounded by towers, castles, and a fort at the time. Despite the fact that Rayy was an important city regarding religious ideas in the Sassanid period, there has not been any archeological evidence except for a ruined rock relief and a fire temple on Tappe Mil (Mil Hill) in the southeast. Rayy was destroyed after the Arab attack, while a new city was constructed next to it. A new city was built southeast of ancient Rayy in the 2nd/8th century. Rayy was of considerable importance in the Buyyids’ epoch, although it suffered major damage on Solṭān Maḥmud of Ġaza’s death. Rayy experienced a boom in trade and crafts once more in the 5th and 6th (11th and 12th century, respectively). Although Rayy was controlled by different kings and went through a plethora of wars, it remained the most important city of the era. Rayy was again destroyed by consecutive attacks of Mongol hordes (7th/13th century) and the residents migrated to other cities or villages. An attempt to re-build the city was never fulfilled. Tehran located north of Rayy, possessed castles and fortresses in the Safavid period (10th/16th century). Gradually, Rayy lost its importance and Tehrān started to grow. As Shia spread in Iran, Shiite’s tombstones in Rayy’s ruins and especially the holy shrine of ‘Abd al-‘Azim acquired

significance. Tehran was chosen as the capital of Iran in the Qajar era (12th/18th century), and the town next to it turned into shrines and resorts. In Pahlavi era, a new Rayy was once again built next to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim on ancient Rayy's ruins and as it spread to and joined Tehran, it was turned into the 20th zone of Tehran.

3.5 Regions Belonging to Rayy

Every cultural landscape needs to acquire elements and facilities from the environment to continue its existence, but then needs to guard against losing these facilities. Studying the political influence of cultural landscape helps us to clarify the borderlines and limits of the cultural landscape. To examine this zone in two general periods, before Islam and during the Islamic period, there are some references of note.

3.5.1 Before Islam

The regions belonging to Rayy in this period are only vaguely determinable. As mentioned earlier, in old sources it was a part of Media and some have named it Rāzi Media, too. But its borders have changed in different times and its regions belonging to Rayy cannot be studied through statistics. However, examining the fortresses at the given time period clarifies its zone of defence. Considering there were no big cities during the Sassanid period except Rayy, and that the nearest large city was Kumes, east of Rayy, and Caspian (Qazvin to-be) in the west, all of the fortresses left of that epoch are assumed to belong to Rayy. (Image 3-12)

These fortresses are remains of the Sassanid period, but most of them were even used until the Ilkhani (Ilḥāni) and Safavid (Şafavid) period, and some of their remnants have been found, too. Studying the remaining fortresses, it is apparent that the zone stretched from Firuz Kuh to Ṭāleqān in the north, which is one of the highest parts of Mount Alborz, to Varāmin in the Rayy plain. These fortresses were located next to the main travel routes which ended in Rayy. The distance between fortresses was greater

in the mountains and lower in the lowlands. The fortresses of Rayy in the west of the region were destroyed completely.¹⁴⁹ (Image 3-13 & 3-14)

3.5.2 During the Islamic period

In written sources from the time during the Islamic period, the names of the villages and regions belonging to Rayy have been mentioned in relative detail. Ḥoseyn Karimān did a comprehensive study on this case and presented a map of Rayy and its regions.¹⁵⁰ Considering these texts, we discover that the extent of regions belonging to Rayy were subject to change during the Islamic period. According to Ebn-e Faḡih in the 3rd and 4th /9th and 10th century, Rayy had seventeen villages; its suburbs, including “Ḥār, Danbāvand (Damāvand), Vime, and Šānbale¹⁵¹”, were counted as its surroundings.¹⁵² (Approximately equal to its zone of influence in the pre-Islamic era). Eṣṭaḥri in the 4th/10th century believes that Sodd, Varāmin, Arnabuye, Qoseyn, Qaṣrān (inner and outer), Behzān, al-Sen, Bašāviye, and Damāvand are counted as belonging to the Rayy region.¹⁵³ Ṭāleqān and Ḥār are areas in Rayy in Ḥodud al-‘Ālam by an anonymous writer in 985.¹⁵⁴

In the later years of this century, the regions belonging to Rayy was enlarged to such a degree that, according to Maqdesi (4th/10th century), its zone was reaching Qom in the south and Abhar in the west:

¹⁴⁹ Kāzem Mollāzāde; Maryam Moḥammadi: *Qelā’ va Esteḥkāmāt-e Nezāmi*, Sure-ye Mehr, Tehrān-1385š/2006, pp.75-89; Nāṣer Pāzuki Ṭarrudi: *Āṣār-ye Tāriḡi-ye Firuzkuh*, Sāzmān-e Mirāṣ-e Farhangi-e Kešvar, Tehrān-1381š/2002; Nāṣer Pāzuki Ṭarrudi: *Āṣār-ye Tāriḡi-ye Damāvand*, Sāzmān-e Mirāṣ-e Farhangi-e Kešvar, Tehrān-1381š/2002; Yaḡyā Kouşari: “Barresi-ye Ostān-e Markaz (Šarq-e Rayy)”, in: *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für iranischen Kunst und Archäologie*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979

¹⁵⁰ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371š/1992, pp.470-641

¹⁵¹ Vime and Šānbale are two cities around Damāvand; and its climate is very severe in summer and winter; and there is iron mine inside it. (Deḡḡodā Dictionary, quoted from Ḥodud al-‘Ālam)

¹⁵² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.471

¹⁵³ Eṣṭaḥri, Abu Ishāq Ebrāhim Ebn-e Moḥammad al-Fārsi: *Al-masālek al-Mamālek*, ed. by Iraḡ Afšār, ‘Elmi va Farhangi, 3. Edition, Tehran-1368š/1989, p.171

¹⁵⁴ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.472

“The “Āve”, “Sāve”, “Qazvin”, “Abhar”, “Šalanbe”, “Hār” cities and the “Qom”, “Damāvand”, “Šahr-e Zur” zones, and the “Qoseyn”, “Qašrān-e Dāḥel (internal Qašrān)”, “Qašrān-e Hāreḡ (external Qašrān)”, “Sorr Behzān”, “Qaraḡ”, “Ġanni”, “Sira”, “Firuz Rām” villages are its parts.”¹⁵⁵

Guy le Strange, quoting Ebn-e Ḥouqal, confirms Rayy being vast and expansive in the 4th/10th century:

“In the 4th (10th) century Ray [Rayy] appears to have been the chief of the four capital cities of the Jibāl (Ġebāl) province; 'except for Baghdād [Baqdād], indeed, it is the finest city of the whole east," ibn Ḥawqal [Ebn-e Ḥouqal] writes, 'though Naysābūr [Neyšābur] in Khurāsān [Ḥorāsān] is more spacious: and Ray covered at that time an area of a league¹⁵⁶ and a half square.”¹⁵⁷

Yāqut still believes Rayy has 17 villages in the 7th/13th century (after the Mongol attack) and restates Ebn-e Faqih's idea.¹⁵⁸ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi, mentioning Rayy's destruction in the 8th/14th century, considers Varāmin as a replacement for Rayy. Meanwhile, he emphasizes that the only “city” in the regions belonging to Rayy has been Rayy itself:

“This Tumān¹⁵⁹ (province) didn't have any cities except for Rayy. Now that Rayy has been destroyed, Varāmin is the replacement city. The other zones, which will be named later, have become autonomous villages [...]”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'rafat al-Aqālim*, pp.574-575

¹⁵⁶ A league is a unit of length, (almost 5.5 km). The genuine dimensions are 1.5 x 1.5 parasang in Ebn-e Ḥouqal's texts. Every parasang stands for approximately 6 km. (See: Walther Hinz: *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden E.J.Brill, 1955, p.62)

¹⁵⁷ Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, p.214

¹⁵⁸ See Ḥoseyn Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.473

¹⁵⁹ Tumān: “every state that raises 10 thousand warriors.” (Quoted from Dehḥodā Dictionary). “Tuman, original (Turkish) pronunciation Tümen, usually written Tüman [...] as a territorial unit, the tümen was said to be the area that produced 10,000 fighting men. [...] Every province (wilāyet) of any Site was divided into a number of tümen [...]. With this meaning (the name of the smallest administrative unit) the word tümen was used in the period of Mongol rule in Persia (the Persian 'Irāk ['Irāq-e 'Aḡam], for example, was divided into 9 tūmens [...])” (Quoted from W. Barthold: “Tuman”, in: *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, ed. by M. Th. Hautsma a.o., E. J. Brill, Leiden- 1987, p.836)

¹⁶⁰ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Nozhat al-Qolub*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Siaqi, Tehrān-1336š/1957, p.56

Meanwhile, Mostaufi presents a comprehensive report of the villages and areas of this province in the 8th/14th century:

“All the provinces comprise of 360 villages and Dulāb, Qoseyn, Qaṣrān, Varāmin, and Firuz Rām founded by Firuz Sasani [...] Varāmin and Ḥāve are villages of Behnām and Sabur Qarağ, and Qohe and Šandar and Tehrān and Firuzan are the largest regions of the Ġār zone. This province includes four sectors: the first region is called Behnām, with 60 villages. Varāmin and Ḥāve are the largest of them. The second region is Sabur Qarağ with 30 villages. In there, Qohe and Šandar and Eivān-e Keyf are the largest villages. The third region is Fašābuye (Pašāpuye) with 30 villages. Kušk, ‘Alia Ābād, Kilin, Ġaram and Qoj Aqāz are its largest villages. The fourth region is Ġār with 40 villages. Tehrān, Ḥasan Ebn-e al-Ḥasan Holy Shrine, known as Ġian and Firuz Bahrām and Doulat Ābād, are the largest villages in that region.”¹⁶¹

Rayy’s influence zone was unknown after the Mongol attack and its demolition. It can be inferred from the history of the next periods and several wars that its region shrank to the size of its former defensive zone. Ḥoseyn Karimān presents a comprehensive conclusion:

“After the Mongols’ chaos its region shrank and Rudbār in Qaṣrān was taken by Rostamdār in the Māzandarān province in the Ġāzān Ḥān Era. At the beginning of the 8th century, only ‘Behnām’, ‘Sabur Qarağ’, ‘Fašābuye (Pašāpuye)’, and ‘Ġār’ were left in Rayy among its 17 villages [...] and the others were separated.”¹⁶² (Image 3-15)

Conclusion

The regions belonging to Rayy have not been stable during the course of its history, and it has changed in accordance with the social and political evolution of society. However, as is apparent from viewing the map, it includes two main specifications: a) This zone has a relatively firm core that does not change significantly; b) The changes in the regions belonging to Rayy mostly happened in the west and south. The geopolitical

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.58

¹⁶² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.475

location of Rayy is the main reason for this, which limits it to the Alborz chain of mountains from the north and the Central Desert in the East. (Image 3-16)

3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location

Rayy has been destroyed and rebuilt several times in its long history, but not exactly at the same place. This means that the ruined city still existed while its former residents built a new city nearby. Centuries later perhaps, a powerful governor or minister would then rebuild it in its original place. What are left of Rayy are the remains of the rampart drawn by Robert Ker Porter, the English traveller, in his log in 1820, which is the main reference of research on Rayy. The second map, found only recently, was drawn by Pascal Xavier Coste, the French architect, in 1840 (two decades after Ker Porter) that unfortunately was not published anywhere and unknown until 2007 when Rante published it in an essay in the Iran journal. (Images: 3-17, 3-18)

Rante considers Coste's plan much more thorough compared to the other one, in view of the aerial photographs published by Šahriār 'Adl (Chahryar Adle). Moreover, Ker Porter has made some mistakes in the geographical dimensions. (Image 3-19)

However, when comparing both maps, it becomes clear that they both contain flaws, while each includes some information that the other lacks. Therefore, it is essential to compare them before stepping forward. In Ker Porter's map there is some general information on remaining buildings in Rayy that can clarify the city's boundaries. Some of these buildings are shown by the letters A to G on the map. Meanwhile, this map is of little accuracy in matters of geographical directions and there is no information related to the city walls of the city. On the contrary, in Coste's map there is more exhaustive information about the internal divisions of the city walls from which the two ways (one specifically addressed as Tehrān road), three water ways, and the internal wall of the rampart can be named. The geographical directions are more accurate. But, meanwhile, the southern fortress (Gabri Fortress) is shown in a completely incorrect manner and the Tehrān road changes in the wrong direction in relation to the fortress. Moreover, this fortress, on the northeast of Ker Porter's plan, does not exist in Coste's plan. It is not in

vain to mention that the rampart is somehow inclined to the north in Coste's plan in the northeast, which is not visible in Ker Porter's plan. Additionally, the remains of a rampart in the East of the southern city fortress (Gabri Fortress) are seen continuing to the south. Meanwhile in Ker Porter's plan there is a rectangle building in the east or southeast of the same fortress with no mention in Coste's plan.

3.6.1 Location of Rayy from the Pre-Islamic Era to the Mongol attack

It seems that, whatever is shown in both plans (Coste's and Ker Porter's), it is the pre-Islamic ancient Rayy's plan (and a part of Rayy during the Islamic period) known as superior Rayy (versus inferior Rayy of the Islamic era) which is referred to. It is mentioned in *Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ* (6th/12th century):

"[...] and it was all Rayy and Manučehr rebuilt this place where nothing was left and it was much easier to rebuild, then he called it Māh Ğān, addressed the ruins as superior Rayy and the other, called inferior The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdi Emir al-Mo'menin, was added to it as Moḥammadie."¹⁶³

Although Manučehr (Fereydon's grandchild in *Šahnāme*) is a mythical king, the division of the city into two parts, superior and inferior Rayy which was done according to the natural slope of the ground, is an essential issue in this study. Ebn-e Esfandiār describes the location of ancient Rayy in the 6th & 7th/12th & 13th century as follows:

"The city was located in front of the Faḥr al-Doule Deilami dome which was built after that. Now it is called Raškān Castle, which was standing till the Buyyid dynasty."¹⁶⁴

The Raškān Castle is shown in Ker Porter's plan and marked with the letter A.¹⁶⁵ (Image 3-20)

¹⁶³ *Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş*, p.406

¹⁶⁴ Ebn-e Esfandiār: *Tāriḥ-e Tabarestān*, Ed. by 'Abbās Eqbāl Āštiyāni, Padide-ye Hāvar, 2.Edition, Tehrān-1366š/1987, p.61

¹⁶⁵ See Ker Porter's map in previous pages

This ancient city was demolished after the Arab attack on Iran on No'aim's orders. The new city was established next to it and then gradually expanded until the beginning of the Mongol attack. Ṭabari (3rd/9th century) writes:

“No'aim destroyed their city and there is a place called Atiqe [Antique] (ancient city). It means Rayy city (superior Rayy), and he ordered Zeinabi to build the new Rayy (inferior Rayy).”¹⁶⁶ (Image 3-21)

Balāzori states about rebuilding Rayy in the 2nd/8th century:

“Ġa'far Ebn-e Moḥammad-e Rāzi was narrating: al-Mahdi [...] came to Rayy while al-Manṣur was Caliph and made Rayy a Šahrestān (Šarestān=Town) in which people are settled today, and established a Jame Mosque around it [...] and registered it in 158, and planned an old fortress for it with a moat in it and called the village “Moḥammadie”. People called Rayy [the town] “Internal Medina” and the ancient fortress “External Medina”. Zeinabi fortress is located inside Moḥammadie, and al-Mahdi needed it to be restored. This fortress faces towards the Jame Mosque and Dār al-Emāre (Government Palace), and thereafter it was utilized as a prison.”¹⁶⁷

But where was the exact location of the new city? Abu Dolaf, who stayed in Rayy for some time and was one of Šāḥeb Ebn-e 'Ebād's friends, wrote in the 4th/10th century:

“There is a mountain near this city called “Ṭabarak”. This mountain is on the verge of the city and there are ancient Iranian buildings and mausoleums [...]”¹⁶⁸

Ṭabarak Mountain is indeed the same mountain or a high hill located on the southwest of the large mountain of Rayy (Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain) and there is a fortress on top of it. Yāqut (7th/13th century) writes about the castle:

“Ṭabarak is a fortress over a mountain near Rayy to the right side of a traveler to Ḥorāsān with Rayy Mountain on his left side and eventually, Ṭabarak joins the ruins of

¹⁶⁶ Moḥammad Ebn-e Ġarir Ṭabary: *Tāriḥ-e Ṭabary*, Trans. by Abo al-Qāsem Pāyande, Asāṭir (5. Edition), Tehrān-1375š/ 1996, p.1975

¹⁶⁷ Aḥmad Ebn-e Yaḥyā al-Balāzori: *Fotuh al-Boldān*, Brill, Leiden-1866, p.319. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.81

¹⁶⁸ Mas'ar Ebn-e Mohalhal Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, ed. by Vladimir Minorsky, Trans. by Abolfāzi Ṭabāṭabā'i, Farhang-e Irānzamin, 1342š/1963, pp.72-73

Rayy. [...] This castle was destroyed by Solṭān Tughrul Ebn-e Arsalān in 588 [1192]¹⁶⁹ (Image 3-22)

This castle was located in the north of Rayy's new city (north of inferior Rayy). Mostaufi has stated in *Noḏhat al-Qolub*: "The Ṭabarak Fortress on the slope of the mountain from the north."¹⁷⁰

So far, we found that Islamic Rayy was founded in the east and southeast of the Rayy of the pre-Islamic era which was known as inferior Rayy due to the slope of the ground. The initial development of the city was done on al-Mahdi's demand in the The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣur dynasty that established a new Šahrestān (Town) south of Ṭabarak Mountain and a new ancient fortress north of the city and called these "Moḥammadie", so that many coins were minted in this name. The al-Mahdi Jame Mosque was located in the Šahrestān as well. (Image 3-23)

Apparently, this mosque was established in a place which was located before the suburb of the ancient city and was destroyed one day due to natural disasters. Yāqut writes in his retelling of the lost history of "Sa'd Ābi" (4th & 5th/10th & 11th century):

"I've read in Sa'd Ābi's history that, as al-Mahdi son the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣur came to Rayy, he established a Jame Mosque and mentioned that, as they started constructing the mosque, they reached the old bases of the walls in the houses. Houses that had been founded there were ruined and buried by flood."¹⁷¹

Ebn-e Faḡih (3rd & 4th/9th & 10th century) writes about the new ancient fortress:

"[Al-Mahdi] established an ancient fortress for the city surrounded by a moat [...] and called it the external city."¹⁷²

Abu Dolaf (4th/10th century) notes about the Rayy province:

¹⁶⁹ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo'ğam al-Boldān* (vol.3), Ketābhāne-ye Asadi, Tehrān-[n.y.], p.507. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.488 (Translated from 898 Vol. 2)

¹⁷⁰ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Noḏhat al-Qolub*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Sīaqi, Tehrān-1336š/1957, p.57

¹⁷¹ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo'ğam al-Boldān* (vol.4), p.431, According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.210 (Translated from p. 885 Vol. 2)

¹⁷² Ebn-e Faḡih Hamedāni: *Moḡtaṣar al-Boldān*, Leiden – 1884, p.269. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.177 (Translated from p. 881 Vol. 2)

“In the middle of Rayy, there is a strange city with iron gates and a great rampart as well. It had a Jame Mosque and a high mountain, in the middle of which there was a strong fortress on the top founded by “Rāfe’ Ebn-e Harsame”, which now is ruined. Near this city, there is a mountain called Ṭabarak.”¹⁷³

He also talks about the city development in the East, stretching from the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Mahdi period (2nd/8th century) to his own time. According to his statements, the suburbs of the city had developed from the East in the Mardāviġ Ziar era:

“There is a place called Ġil Ābād (Gil Ābād) with buildings, porches, high arches, pools, and odd beautiful resorts and Mardāviġ established it in the East of Rayy.”¹⁷⁴ (Image 3-24)

Eṣṭaḥri also reported in the 4th/10th century that the Šahrestān (Town) (No.1 on the map) was ruined and the city was inhabited in its developed parts.

“There is a Jame Mosque in its Šahrestān, and defensive walls are surrounding the Šahrestān and it’s more destroyed than to the inhabited suburb.”¹⁷⁵

Previously, we mentioned Yāqut’s statement about Ṭabarak’s location in the north of the city (inferior Rayy): “[...] and Ṭabarak joins the ruined part of Rayy.” The ancient part of Rayy (superior Rayy) was renewed in the Dailamites era. Faḥr al-Doule the Dailamite restored the Raškān Castle and called it “Faḥr Ābād”. Yāqut wrote:

“Faḥr al-Doule, son of Rokn al-Doule the Dailamite, restored the old castle of Rayy, reinforced its buildings and enlarged its treasures, filled it with guns and large stocks, and called it Faḥr Ābād.”¹⁷⁶

Ebn-e Esfandyār has also mentioned the ruins of Rayy until the Buyyid era, as mentioned above: “So far it is called Raškān Castle and it remained the same until the Buyyid era.” (Image 3-25)

¹⁷³ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, pp.72-73

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.73

¹⁷⁵ Eṣṭaḥri: *Al-masālek al-Mamālek*, ed. by Iraġ Afšār, ‘Elmi va Farhangi, 3. Edition, Tehran-1368š/1989, p.170

¹⁷⁶ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Moġam al-Boldān* (vol.3), p.855, According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.208

There is also an account about a wall around the city in Eṣṭaḥrī's report. As mentioned earlier, Abu Dolaf has also reported the existence of a large rampart (a wall) around the city in the 4th/10th century. It is noted in Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ (6th/12th century):

“Al-Mahdi, son of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣur, went to Ḥorāsān on his father's demand, and ordered to build the wall of the city, and established palaces, a Šahrestān, and a Jame Mosque and named them all Moḥammadīe after his name. And here, which now is inferior Rayy, and the first ancient city was destroyed and changed to this, as mentioned earlier. They began building this place in 152, and it was finished after years.”¹⁷⁷

As it was observed, al-Mahdi established a moat around the ancient fortress and Šahrestān according to Balāzori's report in the 2nd/8th century, while in other sources this defensive wall was said to be founded in al-Mahdi's period. There is no sign of such a wall other than the wall of superior Rayy. Only a small part remains from the Seljuk era which 'Abd al-Ġalīl Rāzi mentioned in the 6th/12th century:

“Emir Abu al-faẓl 'Irāqī was favorited and respected in Solṭān Tuḡhrīl's (Ṭoḡrol)'s era. He founded the Rayy rampart and Qom rampart.”¹⁷⁸ (Images: 3-26, 3-27)

There is no reliable information about the extent and form of the city after the Mongol attack and Rayy's destruction. As Rayy was mentioned several times in historic texts after the Mongols' and Timurids' invasions, the theory of Rayy's complete destruction has no basis. What is clear is that this city has lost its prior reputation and Tehrān's increasing importance in the Safavid era caused Rayy to lose its splendor. There is no mention of Rayy in the Qajar era. However, what has remained is the “Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm village” formed around the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Shrine, which has changed into the main pilgrimage and resort for the people of Tehrān. Although this shrine and the construction of a bazaar date back to the Safavid era, the rulers of the Qajar dynasty caused it to flourish by restoring and developing the initial core of the city, and

¹⁷⁷ *Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeṣaṣ*, p.406

¹⁷⁸ Naṣīr al-Dīn Abu al-Rašīd 'Abd al-Ġalīl Qazvīni-ye Rāzi: *Naqẓ*, ed. by Mir Ġalāl al-Dīn Moḥaddes, Anḡoman-e Aṣār-e Mellī, Tehrān-1358š/1979, p.219

establishing the first Iranian railroad between Tehrān and Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim. In Reẓā Šāh's time, it flourished again due to the establishing of factories and industrial workshops, such as a cement factory, a glycerin factory and stone-cutting workshops. This time the city developed in the direction of Tehrān. In an aerial photograph from 1335š/1956, the basis of the plan from 1342š/1963, the city has not been parted yet and the historic part of the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim village still remains visible. Our analysis of the historic part of the city's development and structure model is based on the same plan. (Images: 3-28, 3-29)

3.6.2 The Model of Rayy's Development from the Safavid Era to the Modern Period

As mentioned previously, the historic part of Rayy is the part built around the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine after the Šafavid and Qajar periods and then turned into the new city by further expansion. This part studies the probable method of this expansion on the map of 1342š/1963 to obtain a clearer image.

- Image 3-30 shows the formation of the initial core of the city (Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim village) around the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Shrine. The shrine of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim is located outside the city ramparts on Ker Porter and Coste's maps (Image 3-30)
- Image 3-31 describes the development of the initial core and new structure formation through the establishment of a bazaar and district development. Commerce boomed since the foundation of a bazaar north of the shrine in the Šafavid period. Furthermore, neighborhoods were developed near the shrine, mentioned in the sources of the Qajar period. (Image 3-31)
- Image 3-32: "Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim town", which was considered a pilgrimage site and landmark for Tehran in Qajar period expanded towards the capital linearly through its communication ways. The first Iranian railway from Tehran to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim resulted in more commuting and expansion towards Tehran. (Image 3-32)

- Image 3-33 illustrates the industrial establishments in the Pahlavi era and the city's development towards Tehrān in form of a crossed net model and reducing the centralization of the initial structure. The main square of Rayy was established at that time as well. On an aerial photograph from 1381š/2002, the street ending in the east side of this square has obviously crossed some specific houses on the aerial photograph from 1335š/1956. However, as it is shown on the map of 1342š/1963, it crosses the residential area and has made a new path. Moreover, there are several industrial and probably service units located in both sides of the north to south road which stretches from Rayy towards Tehrān, and residential units are established next to or behind them. (Images: 3-33, 3-34)

3.7 Evaluation and Analysis of the City Structure since 1342š/1963

The oldest street map of Rayy is the map of 1342š/1963. The old areas still remain within the borders of the city structure in this year and the other elements of the new era such as new building constructions and various factories are added in the external parts from the historic structure.

3.7.1 Structural Specifications

- Main elements forming the structure of Rayy in the Qajar era (Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim village) include: Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Shrine, mausoleums next to 'Abd al-'Aẓim Shrine, mosque, different precincts of religious places, Bazaar, suborders, caravanserais, and squares of the city.

- The city of the Qajar era is located between Tehrān and Qom (and then towards Isfahan (Eṣfahān) and the south of Iran) and Varāmin. There is also a way from the East to Ḥorāsān and some eastern parts of Iran. The city structure is in a central position and is considered as the city core. The city's development in the following period of time is on one hand in the east and southeast side, in the beginning of the

Qajar era, and the northwest (after the establishment of railroads) in the end of the Qajar era. On the other hand, in the Pahlavi era the development is in the north side and follows the establishment of various factories.

- The Frame construction of the city possesses a core and is concentrated around the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine, and the Bazaar and the mosque are joined to it, and with the city's development in the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh era and, in the next step, in the Pahlavi period, by establishing new cores and a line axis developed in form of a network model. This model is based on the location of the new city cores such as a railroad station north of the central core (Qajar period), establishment of squares and new junctions and some branches of the line axis in form of a chain (which caused pillar axis crossing over one another in the Pahlavi era) that caused the city to be developed towards Tehrān (in the north).

- The urban fabric is completely organic and is based on the introvert architecture¹⁷⁹ and the open spaces surrounded by buildings.

- Open and green spaces in the city are designed to the public precinct in the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine that constitutes the main city core, and meanwhile are considered as medium spaces between the Bazaar and the different buildings of the Shrine. Another type of open spaces is in form of squares in places of multi-pass crossroads. These squares are irregular and non-geometric and their dimensions are relatively small. Most

¹⁷⁹ These types of architecture have been applied in many Iranian residential houses where there isn't any direct connection or openings between the interior and exterior spaces. By creating some openings in interior spaces, it opens the spaces into a private environment. See Ġolāmḥoseyn Me'māriān: *Āšnā'i bā Me'māri-ye Maskuni-ye Irāni, Gune Šenāsi-ye Darungarā*, Soruṣ-e Dāneš, Tehrān-1372š/1993. According to Atefeh Zand Karimi; Bahareh Hosseini: "The Influence of Iranian Islamic Architecture on Traditional Houses of Kashan", (Archi-Cultural Translations through the Silk Road- 2nd International Conference, Mukogawa Women's Univ., Nishinomiya, Japan, July 14-16, 2012), in: *Mukogawa Women's University Site:*

http://www.mukogawa-u.ac.jp/~iasu2012/pdf/iaSU2012_Proceedings_204.pdf (22.11.2014)

of the public green spaces in Rayy belong to cemeteries, although some gardens existed in the city.¹⁸⁰

- **Road network and accessibility:** These networks have a hierarchy. The main structure of the city consists of the highest level of accessibility, and the city elements are located in it. The city's outskirts have access to the main part of the city, and their accessibility is direct. External accessibility from the city to the city's borders is direct too. (Image 3-35). The main axis of Rayy's districts are directly leading towards the inner center of Rayy.

3.7.2 Functional Specifications

- **Functional elements:** The main function of the structure in Rayy is either of a religious, and its specific elements (Shrine, mosque, precincts), a commercial (bazaar, caravanserais, etc.) or a service-oriented type (Qantas, baths, etc.). Later, several administrative functions were added to the structure of the city.

- **Combination and adjacency of structural functions:** Religious spaces are the initial cores that were combined with commercial and service spaces and their specific elements in subsequent periods. However, the industrial spaces are located far away from these initial cores, forming a line. The location of this part is on the northern road of Rayy leading to Tehrān.

- **Regions with high population density:** The Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Shrine, the precincts, the shrines around it, the bazaar and its functional elements, and the main ancient core of the city overall, are considered to be the densest points in terms of population.

¹⁸⁰ See Section "4.3.4 Qajar Gardens in Rayy" in this thesis.

3.7.3 Spatial and Visual Specifications

The unique and distinctive architecture of the main core of the city and the enlarged scale of the buildings, considering their symbols and geometric and architectural details separate this part from other parts of the city and give it a specific identity.

3.7.4 Coordination of Form and Activities

There is a complete coordination between the form and the city structure and the city's activity types. The linear form of the Bazaar and its surrounding roofed spaces match the commercial activities that caused the formation of small and cramped spaces in close proximity to each other. This space, located on main roads, ends in the religious spaces of the city, which require a larger area and distinct architecture due to the massive concentration of the population there. These spaces are placed in a centered form and adjacent to each other, and more open spaces surrounded by the manufactures' spaces will be provided for the citizens. It should be mentioned that, in the next phase of the city's development, the establishment of new street networks will further cause a distortion of the traditional structure of the city, thereby reducing its importance and role even more.

Conclusion and specification of the study area

Rayy is located in a privileged geostrategic position in which the most principal commercial route of the world (the Silk Road) had been located throughout history. Although it experienced so many wars and had been destroyed repeatedly, it was reconstructed and given a new life. Areas belonging to the city that represent the borders of the landscape have been altered during the course of history and were expanded or reduced in the south and west, though retaining its central core. This core provides the vital factors of the landscape and sustains it. However, this thesis only examines the historical city of Rayy. Geographical areas of this city include two major parts: first the pre-Islamic part (ancient Rayy) which is specified in Ker Porter's map, today known as modern Rayy and expanded towards Tehran, and the second is Rayy

in the Islamic era, located southeast of the area, now being utilized as grain fields and counted as suburbs. Yet the historic roads and some identifying factors outside the area (Tappe Mil and Čal Tarḥān) are also considered. (Image 3-36)

**Chapter 4 -
Rayy's Cultural Landscape - Natural and Cultural Layers**

Chapter 4

Rayy's Cultural Landscape - Natural and Cultural Layers

Preliminary Note

Cultural landscape is the product of human and natural interaction, as has been detailed in chapter 2. This chapter covers the factors forming the cultural landscape of Rayy. These factors are classified in three general categories (layers): the first layer forms the environment which is introduced as “natural layer” in this chapter. This layer constitutes the context for the other two cultural layers created by human beings: one layer involving human “Tangible Cultural Heritage” and the other layer applying to human “Intangible Cultural Heritage”. The natural layer includes mountains, rivers, plants and animal species, soil, minerals, etc. through which mankind started its cultural heritage: they have created buildings, temples, etc., set to hunting, farming, fishing, gold and silver digging, pottery and producing metal plates, or writing poems and myths about them. Each formative factor of the cultural layer of Rayy, either present or lost, will be introduced in this chapter.

4.1 Natural Layer

4.1.1 Rayy's Mountains

The four principal mountains located in Rayy are: Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain, Ṭabarak Mountain, Kuhak Mountain, and Sorsore (Slide) Mountain, among which Ṭabarak is the only mountain mentioned in historic texts. Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain is mentioned as “The Great Mountain of Rayy” in historic texts and “Sorsore” was named thus since Faḥ ‘Ali Šāh Qajar ordered to build a slide in its hillside. Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain is of significance because of the tomb located in it which, according to myths, belongs to “Šahrbānu”, the wife of Imam Ḥoseyn (the 3rd Imam of Shiites). The common story about it is as follows:

“One of the daughters of Yazdigird III called Shahrbānū [Šahrbānu], was captured by the Arabs and taken to Madīna [Madine], where she became the wife of Ḥusayn

[Ḥosayn] son of 'Alī ['Ali]. To him she bore a son, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn ['Ali Zayn al-'Ābedin], who became the fourth Shī'a [Shia] Imām. After the tragedy of Karbalā' [Karbalā] the Persian princess fled, as Ḥusayn himself had bidden her, on her dead husband's horse, and rode for her life back to Persia, with her enemies in hot pursuit. They were close upon her as she drew near Ray [Rayy], and in desperation she tried to call on God; but instead of Yāllāhu! 'O God!' her weary tongue uttered instead Yākūh! 'O mountain!' and miraculously the mountain opened before her and took her living into its rooks. A piece of her veil was caught in the stone and remained an object of veneration for centuries."¹⁸¹

Apart from the mountain there also exists a Zoroastrian crypt (known as the Mute Tower). There are two small mountains or large hills on the fringes of this mountain named Ṭabarak and Kuhak. The whole plain, within the great mountain (Bibi Šahrbānu) and the two small mountains, is an ancient cemetery called the "below cemetery" that has not yet been studied thoroughly. There is a monument and the remains of other tombs on Ṭabarak Mountain in addition to the well-known historic castle of Ṭabarak, which lies entirely in ruins. Burying the dead in these mountains is proof of the religious and mythical importance of these mountains for the people of Rayy in the pre-Islamic 7th and 8th centuries. Sorsore (Slide) Mountain encompasses the remains of "Raškān castle" from the Parthian period which was assumed to be the capital of Rayy. (Images 4-1, 4-2, 4-3, and See: Images 3-3)

4.1.2 Natural Resours of Water in Rayy

Supplying water is one of the most essential things in planning cities. Therefore, many large cities all over the world are built next to rivers. In Iran there have been four ways of providing water for the cities: from rivers, subterranean canals (Qanāt), wells and water reservoirs. Since there are few permanent rivers in the central plateau of Iran, the main supply of water of the cities was provided by subterranean canals or water

¹⁸¹ Mary Boyce: "Bibi Shahrbanu and the Lady of Pars", in: *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London vol.30, no.1, fiftieth Anniversary Volume, (1967): 30-44

reservoirs. Water was supplied by the four, above mentioned, methods in Rayy as well, since it is located near the central desert; although there is no permanent river in Rayy, the subterranean canals or springs are not subject to any great change throughout the year, so they entered a flood channel or seasonal rivers and were used in this manner. We encounter the names of two important rivers in ancient historic texts: Soren River (Roodeh) and Gilāni or Ğilāni River.

Soren River

Karimān believes, after having studied old texts relating to the matter, that this river and the current “Češme ‘Ali” are the same:

“The original name of the river is ‘Sorin’, apparently related to the Soren’s family, according to the mentioned sources. [...] This river is Češme ‘Ali according to Šani’ al-Doule in Merāt al-Boldān, noting: ‘Češme ‘Ali is called Sorboni in Ebn-e Hawqal, to which the Ebn-e Bābawayh mausoleum is close’. [...] This river was passing Rude bazaar. [...] The first foundations of Rayy were established along with this river and the tracks of an old civilization were found in the adjacent hills. Due to a continuous flow, this river has established a deep river bed, which had apparently been covered by a brick arc and was used with a ladder. [...] There are still some old tracks of the cover found, especially a ruined arc made of old bricks near its entrance.”¹⁸²

This river, apparently named after the Soren family, a great family of the Parthian and Sassanid, has accumulated some mythical properties during the years, too. One of the most celebrated ones is a tale about washing a sword in it which was covered with Yaḥyā Ebn-e Zeyd’s blood, Imam Saġġād’s grandchild (4th Imam of Shiites), and since there were a great number of Shiites living there, people believed its water was ominous in the 10th century. Abudolaf wrote in the same century:

“The water of Rayy is fresh but not clean. There is a river called ‘Sorin’ of which I saw personally that people abominate it and do not take it as a good fortune and never get

¹⁸² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.130-132

close to it. I asked for a reason, an elderly replied because the sword with which Yaḥyā Ebn-e Zeid was killed was washed in there.”¹⁸³

Sādeq Hedāyat, the famous Iranian author, mentions the mythical aspects of this road in some of his books such as *Buf-e Kur* (The Blind Owl) and names it an interspace between pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran:

“To draw a line between pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran, Hedāyat chooses the ‘Soren’ river and puts the two separate parts of our country’s history on its sides, not considering the time and place that historians mention of the Iranians’ defeat. Therefore, ‘Soren’ is that very river that Hedāyat mentions in his play about Parvin, the daughter of Sāsān, which replayed a destined war between Iranians and ‘Arabs on the sides of it near Rayy and is also the river on whose side the narrator and the ethereal girl in *Buf-e Kur* (The Blind Owl) played ‘Sar Mamak’ in their childhood, and that is the very same girl who turns into a ‘Slut’ after stepping on this side of the ‘Soren’ river (Iran in Islamic period).”¹⁸⁴

As previously mentioned, researchers named it “Češme ‘Ali” and, because it was passing Rude bazaar, it is called ‘Nahr Rude’ as well.¹⁸⁵ There are many historic and pre-historic artworks located near this spring. Timothy Matney writes:

“Cheshmeh Ali [Češme ‘Ali] is the name given to a small portion of the more extensive archaeological site of Rayy. The city of Rayy dating primarily to the Islamic period (A.D. 637-1220), surrounds and overlies the earlier historic and prehistoric deposits of the site, including the small prehistoric mound of Cheshmeh Ali [Češme ‘Ali]. As Erich Schmidt, the excavator, described the site of Rayy: “The imposing acropolis or fortress crowns a rocky spur of the Elburz [Alborz] Mountains. Smaller mounds and girdle walls of the city defense extend far into the plain, covered with bricks and millions of pot fragments””¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, pp.74-75

¹⁸⁴ Nāder Nāderpur, : “Poli bar Farāz-e Nahr-e Suren”, in: *Irānnāme* 44 (1372š/1993)

¹⁸⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.132-133

¹⁸⁶ Timothy Matney: “Reviews and Reports. Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-Ali”, in: *Expedition*, vol.37, no.2 (1995), p.29

E'temād al-Salṭane emphasizes that the amount of water has decreased compared to the past, and due to a proliferation of the subterranean canal, its amount has decreased when considering the traces of water.

“However, there has been a lot of water in Češme 'Ali as it could trace in the stone in the past, but the digging of a Qanāt on top of it has decreased its water so that in autumn there is about a Sang (=stone)¹⁸⁷ (a meter and half p/s) and this water is Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's vaqfs (= Endowment).”¹⁸⁸

He also mentioned the gold-washing in this water in 1308/1890:

“I visited Mošir al-Doule in the morning, returned home, had lunch, and went sightseeing in Češme 'Ali in the evening. I saw some tiny particles coming out of the soil near Ebn-e Bābawayh where they wash gold. Then I returned home.”¹⁸⁹

The Pasteur Corporation published a report about the physical and chemical conditions of this spring in 1316š/1937, which shows that it was hardly contaminated at the time.

“The water report of this spring says that the water comes out of a natural mountain crack and makes a pond, used in agriculture next to the 'Abd al-'Aẓim Shrine:

Color: none

Scenery: crystal clear

Alluvium: none

Smell: none

Taste: potable water with some minerals

Effect: Alkaline

According to several examinations, Češme 'Ali's water is a little harder than that of Tehrān. It is similar to light mineral water and can be used for more purposes.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ A liquid measure meaning a certain number of liters per second. Definition: A Stone in Tehran means the amount of water flowing from a crack in 0/20 m² and 1 m per 3 seconds.(=0.066 m³/s) (Reference: Dehḡodā Dictionary, Sang)

¹⁸⁸ E'temād al-Salṭane: *Merāt al-Boldān*, vol.4, p.2216

¹⁸⁹ E'temād al-Salṭane: *Ruznāmeḡ-ye Ḥāṡerāt*, p.731

¹⁹⁰ Šābery: *Manābe'-e Āb-e Šorb-e Šahr-e Rayy*, pp.17-18

This place was considered a traditional resort some decades ago and it was used for washing carpets as well. Its situation changed for the worse in war time. But the water of Češme 'Ali is clean now due to the Cultural Heritage Organization's, Municipality's, and Water Organization's effort. A park has also been established there. (Image 4-4)

Gilāni or Ğilāni River

According to Karimān the Rayy's waters, after mentioning Sorin in al-Masālek by Eṣṭaḥri: 'And the other one is Ğilāni, flowing in the Sārebānān [bazaar]'. It is also mentioned in Şurat al-Arz by Ebn-e Hawqal: 'And the other one is Gilāni flowing over the Sārebānān [street] and [people] drink from its both sides (Sorin and Gilāni).' Therefore it is inferred that Ğilāni or Gilāni was flowing in the Sārebānān bazaar and passed "Madineh" [town] and was used as drinking water supplies. "Madineh" [town] was located in the southern slopes of Bibi Şahrbānu and the Old Fortress or Castle was located north of it.¹⁹¹ This river flows from the northwest to the southeast. It owes its name to the fact that it flows towards Gil Ābād or Ğil Ābād which was established by the Ziyārid ruler Mardāviĝ. Karimān identifies it as the current stream of Ḥoseyn Ābād.

"The current stream in Rayy [...] was from the northwest to the southeast, and so was Ğilāni River inevitably, therefore it was located on the place which the National Topography Organization has located as the current stream of Ḥoseyn Ābād south of the glycerin factory.¹⁹² Abudolaf wrote: 'There is a place east of Rayy city called Ğil Ābād and there are astonishing monuments, palaces, high arcs, ponds, and clean resorts founded by Mardāviĝ.' [...] 'The same phrase is repeated in Mo'ĝam al-Boldān by Yāqut.' According to the mentioned book, Ğil Ābād is the current Amin Ābād where there are several ancient remains and artworks. And as it is clear, the current stream of Amin Ābād River is the same as Jilani [Ğilāni] in old times. the Ziyārid ruler Mardāviĝ,

¹⁹¹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.143

¹⁹² However the name "Ḥoseyn Ābād Stream" has not been found anywhere. (Refer to the image 4-6)

the founder of Ğil Ābād, appeared in politics in 315 [927] and he was originally from Ğilān (Gilān).¹⁹³

This river was apparently known as Musā's River (Muses) before turning into Gil Ābād; Le Strange believes both of them are the same.

“Yaḳut [Yāqut] also mentions the Nahr Musā [Nahr-e Musā] (River of Musā), coming down from the mountains of Daylam, which may therefore be identical with the Jilani or Gilān river [Gilāni/ Ğilāni], aforesaid.”¹⁹⁴

Qazvini introduces all waters of Rayy contaminated in Āsār al-'Ebād (8th/14th century):

“And the waters of the city flow in it, however they are really dirty because the residents wash everything in that, and bathroom sewage enters it as well, but they do not use it at nights, so it gets clean.”¹⁹⁵

Three rivers are shown on Coste's map in 1940, one originates from Češme 'Ali and is divided into two parts in the middle of its course; one flows towards Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim and the second towards the south. The second river starts from the Tehrān road sides and flows parallel to Češme 'Ali. The third river originates from Raškān Castle and flows towards Amin Ābād, parallel to the Tehrān road along with the mountain path. (Image 4-5)

There are four rivers or streams distinguished on the map by the Topography Organization in 1963, one of which passes next to Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb's mausoleum, highlighted as “Firuz Ābād” river. The second is the water originating from Češme 'Ali. There are also two rivers or streams located in the southeast of the glycerin factory. These two streams are presented with different names in various seasons on the map. The one in the south of the glycerin factory is indicated as: “Fāzelāb (=Sewage)” and somewhere below that as “Taqi Ābād Stream”. However, the other in the southeast of the factory is highlighted as “Doulat Ābād Stream” and somewhere below that as “Ašraf Ābād Stream” on the map. This is the same river which originates from the northern

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp.142-145

¹⁹⁴ Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, p.215

¹⁹⁵ Qazvini: *Āsār al-'Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, pp.134-135

mountains of Tehrān, known as “Ġafar Ābād” or “Darband”, and ultimately flows into the Ġāğrud.¹⁹⁶ (Image 4-6)

Āb-e Andarmān Pond

The named reservoir, which has dried up now, was assumed to be holy and people went there to be healed. Based on a study from 1321š/1942, the characteristics are as follows:

“This Pond is considered soft water and is very dirty. Studying the examinations in 3/8/1319, 9/9/1319, 18/11/1319, and 21/1/1321 [25/10/1940, 30/11/1940, 7/2/1941, and 10/4/1942] showed:

Color: Grayish green

Appearance: Turbid (some floating masses do not sediment in the bottle even after some years, and it cannot be purified with an eccentricity device.)

Sediment: None

Smell: Swamp

Taste: ?

Reaction: Alkaline”¹⁹⁷

Abudolaf wrote about the mineral springs in Rayy in the 4th/10th century as well:

“There are small mineral springs in Rayy, which are efficient to cure mange and also there are hidden and unexploited mines.”¹⁹⁸

It is very likely that other springs, in addition to Andarmān in Rayy, are now dried up as well.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Abbas Ġa’fari: *Ġitāšenāsi-ye Irān. Rudhā va Rudnāme-ye Irān* vol.2, Ġitāšenāsi, 2. Edition, Tehrān-1379š/2000, p.167

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p.20

¹⁹⁸ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, pp.75-76

4.1.3 Soil of Rayy

As it was stated in chapter 3, the soil of Rayy is very fine, calcic and clayey, resulting in fertile lands in the area. The soil and clay have been utilized for pottery production as well as for agriculture throughout history. Iranians had different view on the “soil of Rayy” in literature and myths. In former centuries, the soil of Rayy was considered very fertile and full of life. It has been compared to that of Isfahan (Eşfahān) in *Nozhat al-Qolub* (8th/14th century):

“Once an Isfahani and a Rāzi were debating the merits of cities as each was presenting the virtues of his own city. The Isfahani stated that the soil of Isfahan preserves the flesh of a corpse for 30 to 40 years. But the Rāzi replied that the soil of Rayy preserves the corpse so well that after 30 to 40 years the dead can still work in a bazaar.”¹⁹⁹

The other and most recent layer of the “soil of Rayy” was merged due to a long period of wars and massacres. The genocide of the people of Rayy during the Mongol attack was conducted in a specific way, and the soil of Rayy is assumed to be “bloody” as a consequence. Maḥmud Doulatābādī, the contemporary novelist, writes in “Biābāni”:

“A lot has happened in this desert that we will never be aware of. Rayy’s territory! Its soil is associated with blood. Way too many people were killed there. It has a long history. That is the reason why people say the bread from Rayy is prohibited (Ḥarām).”²⁰⁰

4.1.4 Flora Situation - Specific Plant Species

To preserve the flora and improve the natural landscape of Rayy, the existing and probably seldom and unique plant species have to be distinguished and plans have to be drawn up for further treatment and development of the flora. In 2002, Ahmad Ghahreman (Aḥmad Qahremān) et al. performed the greatest investigation about plant species in Tehrān city until today. His findings with regard to the micro-environment could be summarized as follows:

¹⁹⁹ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Nozhat al-Qolub*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Sīaqi, Tehrān-1336š/1957, p.57

²⁰⁰ Maḥmud Dolatābādī: “Biābāni”, in: *Dāstān-e Kutāh-e Irān. 23 Dāstān as 23 Nevisande-ye Mo’āšer*, ed. by Moḥammad Bahārlu, Ṭarḥ-e No, Tehrān-1373/1994, p.401

“The area covered in this research on the greater Tehran (which is constantly expanding and the construction pressure on the vegetation is rising exponentially [exponentially]) consist of two distinct regions; one is mountainous in the north, reaching a maximum elevation of 4500 m at Tuchal and another is a relatively flat plain in the south with an altitude of about 900 m. The area also holds in it [contains] microclimates, variable topographies and soil structures. These varied environmental factors not only give rise to diversity of plant species, but affect the distribution of the species too, producing characteristic distribution patterns in the 700 km² area which make up the Tehran megalopolis.”²⁰¹ (Image 4-7)

According to the investigation, among 1286 units there are 447 different kinds of 82 plant families, which are respectively 16.97 %, 36.79 %, and 49.1 % of the total germination in Iran. In 1286 collected units, 167 units are clays of Iran which grow in Tehrān and among them, 13 species are unique in Tehrān.²⁰² In General, these plants would be classified as so called ‘Red List Species’. The description of the 13 endemic species is listed below:

1. *Eritrichium mertonii*: is a rare species said to exist between Tehrān & Širāz. It can probably be found in the plains south of Tehrān.
2. *Buffonia hebecalyx*: found in the deserts around Tehrān and has been collected only once as a type specimen.
3. *Stellaria scaturiginella*: found as a type in Darband north of Tehrān.
4. *Centaurea carduiiformis subsp. iranica*: collected 25km east of Tehrān in Sorḡe Heṣār and is confined to a small area.
5. *Tanacetum polycephalum subsp. junesarensis*: found in Alfalfa fields in Faraḡzād, northwest of Tehrān.
6. *Taraxacum darbandense*: whose type is seen in Darband north of Tehrān.
7. *Convolvulus gracillinus*: said to be found in Tehrān.

²⁰¹ A.Ghahreman; F. Attar: *Biodiversity of Plant Species in Tehran Megalopolis*, Tehran University Press, Tehran-2001, pp.2-3

²⁰² Ibid., p.3

8. *Astragalus latianicus*: found in Ğāğrud and Latiān.
9. *Astragalus pseudobrunsonianus*: Bibi Šahrbānou, southeast of Tehrān, is where the plant type is to be found.
10. *Hedysarum elbursense*: collected ID Kuh Dašte at 2200m altitude. No other collection has been made.
11. *Hedysarum hyrcanum var. hyrcanum*: found in Kuh Dašte at 2200 altitude.
12. *Vicia sojakii*: found in Darband at the heights of 2000-3000m.
13. *Galium Tehrānicum*: from Rubiaceae, has been identified as a new species by the authors who found it north of Čitgar.²⁰³

As shown, among these 13 species, 3 species (No. 1, 2, and 9) relate to the southern deserts of Tehrān. According to this survey, it was specified that, in spite of all the constructions which are heavily destructive for the environment, its floral diversity is still very high, as 16.97 % of floral elements of Iran is in Tehrān and also 9.2 % of endemic plants of Iran grow there. Effective factors for floral diversity in this survey are: topographical situation, structural conditions, soil specifications, and some other environmental variants.²⁰⁴

The study results presented in this thesis is limited from the east to the Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain and its northeastern boundary, Moširie, from the north to the south of Fadāiān-e Eslām street, and from southwest to Kahrizak (purple region on map). The following table (image 4-24) shows the results of this study according to the survey by Ahmad Ghahreman et al. With regard to the survey of a “review plan of the botany of green landscapes of Tehrān city”, the first tree model of region 20th of Tehrān (Rayy) was the ash tree, then the elm tree, and the pine tree; grass and ivy are other plants conversing.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Ibid., p.4 ; “Ṭarḥ-e Bāznegari-ye Giāh Šenāḥti-ye Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehrān”, in: *Sāzmān-e Pārkhā va Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehran*.

<http://parks.tehran.ir/default.aspx?tabid=92&ArticleId=806> (Date: 6.2.2013)

²⁰⁴ See A.Ghahreman; F. Attar: *Biodiversity of Plant Species in Tehran Megalopolis*, p.3

²⁰⁵ “Ṭarḥ-e Bāznegari-ye Giāh Šenāḥti-ye Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehrān”, in: *Sāzmān-e Pārkhā va Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehran*.

Conclusion of the flora situation

Reviewing and summarizing the plant species of the study area (the violet zone on the map 4-7), “Plant Species Table of Rayy City” is presented below. Distinct plant species, in particular the 13 endemic ‘Red List Species’ found in the southern region of the Capital ought to be protected in order to prevent them from extinction. (Image 4-8)

4.1.5 Fauna Situation - Animal Species

The situation of the fauna in Rayy’s area has to be reviewed historically and compared with the current knowledge. Names of many animal species of Rayy have only remained in books. What we know from before the Qajar (Qāğār) period is too little and unspecific. For example, Moḥammad Ṭāher Vaḥid Qazvini, in the 11th/17th century (Šāh ‘Abbās II period), provided a report on hunting in Šahriār (Rayy City region) which proves the existence of deers, boars and various kinds of birds in that region.²⁰⁶ In the Qajar period, Rayy City was the only large preserve for natives of Tehrān. ‘Eyn al-Salṭane has provided a report (12. December 1887- in the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh Qajar period) about hunting near Rayy mountain, which proves the existence of animals such as rabbits, dull-yellow partridges, ducks, doves, ringdoves, and crows in that period.²⁰⁷ But today, the expansion and air pollution of Tehrān caused birds to migrate from Tehrān. A report that focuses on ornithology was published in 1388š/2009, which indicated the crows’ migration from Tehrān, following that of other birds:

“Not only has the air pollution of Tehrān devastated the color and smell of plants, but it caused crows’ migration from the capital. The crows’ migration from Tehrān occurs just in case of an increase in the air pollution in the early days in which lots of other birds such as nightingale, ortolan, blackbird, ringdove, and ravens migrate and as crows have

<http://parks.tehran.ir/default.aspx?tabid=92&ArticleId=806> (Date: 6.2.2013)

²⁰⁶ See Moḥammad Ṭāher Vaḥid Qazvini: *‘Abbāsname*, ed. by Ebrāhim Dehgān, Arāk-1329š/1950, p.265

²⁰⁷ Qahremān Mirzā ‘Eyn al-Salṭane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e ‘Eyn al-Salṭane*, vol.1, ed. by Mas’ud Sālur; Irağ Afšār, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1374š/1995, p.148

a high resistance towards air pollution, they stayed in Tehrān, but recently, they could not endure the air pollution and therefore they migrated to other regions.”²⁰⁸

Another survey of a “dispersion plan of Tehrān birds” in 14 parks, running ten months, resulted in the following observations: Results showed that despite the population and variety of birds in Tehrān, there are not a lot of them in comparison to other capitals around the world. Studying the suggested gardens showed that the more solitary and larger gardens with ponds are, the greater number of birds is to be seen there. The largest number of birds was seen in “Pār-k-e Šahr” because of its antiquity, high and various trees, water and abundant accessible food facilities. Vice versa, the smallest number of birds was observed in Sorḥe Hešār National Park due to its contaminated resources, lack of precise control, noise, adjacency to the hospital, and heavy traffic despite the vast area. Typical for city-centered situations, Be’sat and al-Mahdi garden had a little variety of birds due to their unsuitable condition. Both do not have ponds and are surrounded by traffic noise. In contrary, Ṭāleqāni garden had a good and appropriate variety in number due to its far distance to the highway.²⁰⁹

Further observations concerning the fauna of the Bay area are not documented in public domains. The lack of knowledge about the population and the species of animals, spider, bees, and reptiles, etc. is a desideratum that has to be revised if the towns’ authority would consider the establishment of protected areas (integrale nature reserve). Alarming is the statement of the ‘Environmental Protection Agency’, which has warned about a destruction of the genetic variety of wild life in the Tehrān province in general:

“Genetic exchange does not occur among species in Tehrān’s gardens and we are now observing a genetic unity among species. The Ğāğrud, Hoğeyr, Sorḥe Hešār, and

²⁰⁸ “Ḥattā Kalāghā ham az Tehrān Farār Kardand”, in: *Zistgāh*.

http://zistgah.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=155&Itemid=1 (Date: 6.2.2013)

²⁰⁹ “Ṭarḥ-e Parākaneš-e Zisti-ye Parandegān-e Tehrān”, in: *Sāzmān-e Pārkhā va Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehran*.

<http://parks.tehran.ir/default.aspx?tabid=92&ArticleId=58>(Date: 6.2.2013)

Verġin regions were connected to each other someday, but now they are formed like islands.”²¹⁰

4.1.6 Climate in Rayy in Historic Sources

Rayy is located south of Tehrān next to a desert as mentioned in chapter 3. It is dry during the winter and hot and dry winds blow in the summer. The bad and intolerable weather of Rayy is described in several historic texts. 'Alā'eddin Ğoveyni writes about the loss of some guardians of Soltān Tekiš's army in the 6th/12th century: “It was summer in Rayy, and most of the army perished due to illness-causing weather [heat] and water contamination.”²¹¹

Hāġe Rašid al-Din Fażl Allah in the 8th/14th century mentions the same subject as well: “[...Hārazmian ruler Soltān Tekiš] reached Rayy and conquered Ṭabarak Fortress in a day or two, and his army received a lot of loot. And it was summer in Rayy, and most of the army perished due to illness-causing weather and water contamination.”²¹²

Lady Sheil (about the year 1850) quotes a related satirical anecdote:

“The heat of Rēi [Rayy] is said to exceed that of Tehran [Tehrān], and the insalubrity of the climate may be imagined from the Persian tradition relative to it. Izraeel, the angel of death, happening to pay a visit to Rēi [Rayy] in the exercise of his vocation, seeing the devastation caused by the deadly atmosphere, took fright, and fled in such haste that he forgot his slippers.”²¹³

Jean Chardin (17th century) has told the same in his diary:

“The lands of this city are very fertile and various fruits are grown here. But its weather is not healthy. It causes skin to be yellow and have a fever. But according to the people of this city, they do not live shorter than other people of other cities, which is

²¹⁰ “Āsib-e Tāze be Guneha-ye Ğānevāri-ye Tehrān”, in: *Tābnāk*.

<http://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/197712> (Date: 6.2.2013)

²¹¹ 'Alā'eddin 'Aṭā Malek Ğoveyni: *Tāriḡ-e Ğāhāngošā*, vol.2, ed. by Moḡammad Qazvini, Brill, Leiden-1916, p.29

²¹² Rašid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni: *Ğāme' al-Tavāriḡ*, vol. 1, ed. by Moḡammad Rošan; Moḡṭafā Musavi, Alborz, Tehrān-1373š/1994, p.384

²¹³ Mary Leonora Woulfe Sheil: *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, Arno Press, New York-1973, p.183

unbelievable. And here is the meaning of the verse about the city's bad weather. I was dreaming in the twilight that the angel of death was running away barefooted and naked due to the bad weather."²¹⁴

But the original words are by Nożhat al-Qolub (8th/14th century) and refer to him having cholera in Rayy:

"It's a hot dry city which is limited in the north, the weather is causing illness and the water is polluted and contaminated by cholera, and it is written relatively:

I was dreaming the angel of death in the twilight

He was running away barefooted from the Cholera in Rayy [...]"²¹⁵

4.1.7 Mining

There are numerous reports about mining in Rayy. Abudolaf, who had visited Rayy in 334/995, has written about the mine of Rayy:

"This mountain towers above the city and there are old Iranian buildings and stony coffins, also there can be gold and silver mines found, but its revenue is not sufficient to cover its expenses."²¹⁶

Qazvini repeats Abudolaf's words in the 7th/13th century:

"There is a mountain on which no plant grows, and its name is Ṭabarak, which is a gold mine. But finding this gold is no good. So, attempts are not useful and therefore no one passes there."²¹⁷

Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi informs us about the silver extraction from this mountain in the Seljuk Dynasty period in the 8th/14th century:

"The Ṭabarak mine is not as advantageous as it must be. Therefore it is abandoned most of the time, but in the Seljuk Dynasty period, people were busy in the mine all the

²¹⁴ Jean Chardin: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Eqbāl Yağmā'i, Tus, Tehran-1374š/1995, p.518

²¹⁵ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Nożhat al-Qolub*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Siasi, Tehrān-1336š/1957, p.57

²¹⁶ Mas'ar Ebn-e Mohalhal Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, ed. by Vladimir Minorsky, Trans. by Abolfazl Ṭabāṭabā'i, Farhang-e Irānzamin, 1342š/1963, pp.72-73

²¹⁷ Moḥammad Ebn-e 'Abd al-Raḥmān Qazvini: *Āsār al-'Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, ed. by Seyyed Moḥammad Šahmorād, Danešgah-e Tehrān, Tehrān-1373š/1994, pp.134-135

time, saying although it is not efficient, silver is very advantageous in the world and this is good.”²¹⁸

The authors mean the Great Rayy Mountain, today known as Bibi Šahrbānu, and Ṭabarak is a small hill in the southwest of this great mountain. Ṭabarak Fortress is located on top of it and today it is called “Naqāre Hāne” mountain. According to Karimān, referring to Ṭabarak as the Great Mountain of Rayy seems like taking a part for the whole:

“There are two small mountains in the southern slope of the major Mountain of Rayy, each as high as the other. One [...] is Ṭabarak and the other is Kuhak or Kuhe which is north of Amin Ābād. Referring this Kuhak, it is possible that Ṭabarak means Kuhak too.”²¹⁹

E‘temād al-Saltāne speaks about gold-washing in Češme ‘Ali (Cheshmeh Ali) while reporting on the discovery of ancient remnants of Rayy, which show an expansion of mineral layers of Rayy Mountain towards the west:

“[19. January 1891] I had lunch and went to Češme ‘Ali for a walk. I saw some tiny things brought out of the ground near Ebn-e Bābawayh where the gold-washing is done.”²²⁰

Although ‘Eyn al-Saltāne called E‘temād al-Saltāne’s words unbelievable concerning finding rare material, he called gold-washing in Češme ‘Ali very common, which shows that gold-washing was customary in the Qajar period:

“E‘temād al-Saltāne swears to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim that one day, when he was returning from Ṭoġrol’s (Tughril’s) tomb, he had gone to gold-washers who were searching for gold. An agate was found in which Moẓaffar Ebn-e Nāšer was engraved which is an astonishing thing in the world.”²²¹

²¹⁸ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Noẓhat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, Leyden-1915, p.202

²¹⁹ Ḥoseyn Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Mellī-ye Iran, Tehrān-1354Š/1975, p.483

²²⁰ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E‘temād al-Saltāne: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, ed. by Iraġ Afšār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385Š/2006, p.731

²²¹ ‘Eyn al-Saltāne: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e ‘Eyn al-Saltāne*, vol.1, p.731

Jakob Eduard Polak (during the 1850s) writes about silver extraction from Rayy's lead mine:

"In old times, many valuable metals were extracted in Iran, and even near Rayy City, people extracted silver from lead stones. But nowadays nothing is extracted except some tin, iron, and copper."²²²

Polak also reports about gypsum mines and the gray marble hills in Rayy:

"The Gray marble hills near Rayy have excellent building stone and great lime stone resources, and other than that there are many gypsum mills there, too. The soil of this region is dactyl and suitable for grading and filling holes and making hummock."²²³

Except for all of this, Qazvini has talked about the existence of fullers' clay in Rayy and its export to other parts of world in the 7th/13th century:

"There is soft clay in Rayy which people wash their head with it. People grant it as a gift to other cities".²²⁴

xxxxxx

Today, we can just remark the existence of limestone in this mountain which has led to an establishment of the cement factory in Rayy City since the 1930th.

4.2 Intangible Cultural Layer

4.2.1 Religion

Rayy was one of the main religious centers, concentrating a plethora of different beliefs and religious factions in its midst; there are few cities around the world which experience such a diversity of religious groups, and the resulting conflicts among them, as Rayy has. In the following, the different religions and faiths in Rayy will be presented.

²²² Jakob Eduard Polak: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, Trans. by Keykāvus Ġahāndāri, 2. Edition, Ĥārazmi, Tehrān-1368š/1989, p.373

²²³ Ibid., p.61

²²⁴ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Qazvini: *Āṣār al-'Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, p.135

Judaism

Before the Median emperor destroyed the slaveholder government of the Assyrians in Mesopotamia, a group of Jews was forced to migrate to Rayy. According to the apokryphal books of "Tobit" and "Judith" there was a holy man among those migrates, and that is why Rayy was a holy city for Jews.²²⁵ In the book of "Tobit" Rayy is called "Rages" whereas in "Judith" it is called "Ragau". There is some dispute whether Ragau refers to Rayy but according to Karimān and many others (e.g. Ker Porter; Comte de Gobineau) it cannot be another city.²²⁶

After observing Rayy's destruction in the 19th century, Ker Porter wrote:

"Hence, the city which an angel and a prophet blessed with their presence, is now become a scene of such desolation, that the footsteps of man are hardly discernible, except where they have left traces of war, and mark his grave."²²⁷

Jews who were in charge of trading on the Silk Road in the Middle Ages settled in Rayy on their way, and there was always a group of Jews staying there till the end of its settlement.²²⁸ There are still a few Jewish neighborhoods in the provinces around Rayy. The Damāvand province, northeast of Tehrān, is an example in which some Jews reside, and their cemetery is famous.

Zoroastrians

From the Achaemenidan period onwards, Zoroastrianism has been widespread in Iran. This religion, extremely opposed to worshiping objects at first, had to accept some of these objects during its period of existence. The influence of Zoroastrian clerics was considerable, especially in the period of the Sassanid government, and Rayy was considered the center for them at the time.

²²⁵ Donald Ebor (ed.): *The new English Bible with the Apocrypha*, Oxford, Oxford University Press [u.a.]- 1970, Tobit 4:20, p.58 & Judith 1:5 & 1:15, pp.68-69

²²⁶ See: Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.49-62

²²⁷ Robert Ker Porter: *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (vol.1), Longman, London- 1821, p.358

²²⁸ Hōseyn Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371Š/1992, p.39

“Apparently, all the buildings discovered in the Sassanid period between these two Zoroastrian temples [old and new] (Mortezā Gerd hill, Čāl Tarḥān hill, Tappe Mil) belonged to Rayy’s Magus²²⁹, Mobeds²³⁰, and Hērbeds²³¹, for the Parthian kings to whom Rayy belonged had no good behavior with the Magus, and also the Sassanid kings, who were Magus promoters due to enmity with Parthian, expressed their dislike towards Rayy, therefore it can be said that the Magus’ residence was not in the city and they had a special valley in the southern foothill of Rayy next to the Zoroastrian temple in which the Zoroastrian culture was taught (and probably Rayy’s hospital, which was there before Islam till its early centuries and was managed by the Magus who were Rayy’s physicians as well, was around there); there is no memorial building from the Sassanid period in Rayy before Islam and there is also no place related to that dynasty described in books, on the contrary, there are places which kept the names given to them by the Parthians [...]”²³²

There are debates regarding Zoroaster’s homeland. Some people believe that it was in Media in Iran's western region and others suspect it in the east of Iran. Also, some believe that he was from the Medes and went to Iran's East on missionary.

Maškur writes on this subject:

“Today, most of Avestān scientists believe that the Zoroastrianism appeared in the East of Iran that would be in Ḥorāsān or Transoxiana or Sistān and Ḥārazm, especially that part of Avestā which is divided into two types and includes ten months of winter and two months of summer has caused Marquart and other scientists to know Ḥārazm as the main point of Zoroaster’s homeland. The last survey on Zoroaster and his place and period is from Henning, a famous German scientist. He believes that Zoroaster’s homeland has been in Ḥārazm. Some [Pre] Islamic authors like Clemens Alexandriaus and Pliny and some older ones like Ebn-e Ḥordāzbeh [Ebn-e Ḥordādbeh], Ṭabary, and

²²⁹ Since Sassanid epoch Magus refers to the lowest kind of zoroastrian priest

²³⁰ Mobed is a Zoroastrian cleric of a particular rank

²³¹ Hērbed is a title given to Zoroastrian priests of minor orders

²³² Ibid. 37

Mas'udi and new authors such as Deharle, Spiegel, and Justi, who contributed the Zoroaster homeland to Media and Az̄arbāyğān, adopted all of their new information from Zoroastrian resources such as Boondheshen and Zadesparam and Sassanid Avestā translations. These books were translated to Arabic immediately after the Sassanid period, a short period after and information about Zoroaster and his imaginary homeland, which is Az̄arbāyğān, entered Western history. Later, this information became the document of Zoroaster's birth for some researchers. [...] But those old and new Islamic authors introduced Rayy as Zoroaster's homeland, adopted their information from Sassanid Avestā and Zadesparam narrations, and this is because Rayy was the center of clerics in the Sassanid period and the superior Mobad titled "Zoroaster Rotemeh", meaning "like Zoroaster", was living in Rayy as well as in Ghome in Iran, which was the center of clerics for a while."²³³

In any case, regardless of where Zoroaster was born, Rayy was the largest center of Zoroastrians in the Sassanid period, and we can see Zoroastrian temple ruins on Tappe Mil (Mil hill) which will be remarked upon later.

Ḥorramdini (Ḥorrami Religion)

Patricia Crone writes:

"Their name first appears in 118/736, when the Hāšemite missionary K̄edāš [Ḥedāš] was repudiated for having adopted *din al-Ḥorramiyya* [din al-Ḥorramiye]. After the Hāšemite revolution the K̄orramis [Ḥorramis] are encountered as rebels under Sonbādh [Sonbāz or Sanbād] at Rayy in 137/755, under Moqanna' in Sogdia in ca. 158-163/775-80, under diverse other leaders in Gorgān in 162/778-9, 179/795-6, and 181/797-8. [...] There are also scattered reports on K̄orrami [Ḥorrami] communities down to the 12th and even the 13th centuries. They are invariably described as rural. They had no single overall organization or creed and seem to have differed from one locality to the next, but all are said to have believed in periodic and/or continuous incarnation or indwelling of the divine in man (ḥolul, tanāsoḳ [tanāsoḥ]), reincarnation of the human spirit (raj'a,

²³³ Moḥammad Ġavād Maškur: "Zādgāh-e Zartošt", in: *Vahid* 119 (1352š/1973)

tanāsok al-arwāḥ [tanāsoḥ al-arvāḥ]) in accordance with merit, and, at least in western Iran, in kindness to all living beings, sometimes coupled with abstention from meat-eating.”²³⁴

Islam and Its Different Religious Branches

With the gradual increase of the number of Muslims in Rayy, different religious branches appeared as well. For example, the three big groups of Sunnis, Hanafis (Ḥanafis), and Shafi'is (Šāfe'is), and also Shiites. By investigating the traces left by these religions in historic contexts, their quantity in Rayy is discernible. The spread of Ḥanafism in Rayy in the 'Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd's period has been referred in the book “The History of the Islamic School of Law”, and the names of judges of Rayy are mentioned from 748 to 912, of which some were Šāfe'i and most were Ḥanafie.²³⁵ Maqdesi states in the 4th/10th century:

“Their religion is different, most of Rayy's people are 'Hanifi' and 'Nağğāri', except for some villagers which are 'Za'ferāni'²³⁶ and have doubts that the Quran was created [instead of pre-existing]. I heard one of the believers of Šāḥeb saying: the villagers accepted all my opinions except the two things of 'Quran creation'. I saw Abu 'Abd Allah, son of Za'ferāni, after his conversion from his ancestors' religion to Nağğāri myself [believed Quran creation] from whom the villagers tried to keep away. There are a lot of bold Hanbalians (Ḥanbalians) in Rayy, and regarding the Quran creation, most of them are Faqihs' followers.”²³⁷

It is noted in Qazvivi's *Āṣār al-'Ebād* translation - written in the 7th/13th century and translated in the 11th/ 17th century:

²³⁴ Patricia Crone: “Korramis”, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*

²³⁵ See Nurit Tsafir: *The History of an Islamic School of Law. (The Early Spread of Hanafism)*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge- 2004, pp.73-75

²³⁶ Za'ferāni: Ḥasan Ebn-e Moḥammad Ebn-e al-Šabbāh, entitled as Abu 'Abd Allah Faqih from the Shafi'is who exactly quotes as Rabi' Ebn-e Soleimān-e Morādi. Died in 260 Hijri/873 A.D. (due to Ibn Nadim) (See: Dehḥodā Dictionary)

²³⁷ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fi Ma'refat al-Aqālim*, pp.590-591

“And some of Rayy’s people are Šāfe’i and some are Ḥanafī, and the Šāfe’i are fewer than Ḥanafī, and there is a lot of intolerance among religious branches that mostly leads to disputes, and always the Šāfe’i dominate despite their small numbers. And the people of Rayy were accustomed to permanent fights and killing.”²³⁸

Yāqut Ḥamavi presumes Shiite’s advent in the 3rd/9th century:

“Rayy’s people followed tradition and the public cult till Aḥmad Ebn-e Ḥasan Mārdāni conquered Rayy and released Shia there... This important event took place during the in al-Mo’tamed ‘Abbāsi period and Aḥmad’s dominance over Rayy in 275 [888].”²³⁹

Although Ḥoseyn Karimān hypothesizes Shiite’s appearance in this city at least 150 years prior to this, his credibility is in doubt due to his reliance on some Shia narratives and rational analysis (not objective evidence). In the Buyid dynasty, which was Shia, Shia was spread so widely in Rayy that Solṭān Maḥmud of Ġaza conquered Rayy and murdered all of the Shiites in 420/1029.²⁴⁰ Ḥāḡe Neẓām al-Molk (1018-1092) writes about the period of the great Seljuks which were Turks:

“And if a person wanted to work as a janitor or mayor or follower for a Turk in that period, he was asked about his birthplace, country, and religion; if he replied that he was Ḥanafī or Šāfe’i or he was from Ḥorāsān and Transoxiana or a city in which everyone was Sunni, they would have accepted him and if he said he was Shia and from Qom, Kāšān, Ābe, and Rayy they wouldn’t accept him, and would tell him: ‘Leave here because we do not raise snakes but to kill them’, even if he would present them with a bribe, they would reject him and say: ‘Leave here. Go home, sit, and eat what you’re presenting us’, and if Solṭān Ṭoḡrol and Solṭān Ālp Arsalān would have heard about accepting a Rāfezi (Rafida) by any King or Turk, he would have been very angry and confronted him.”²⁴¹

²³⁸ Qazvini: *Āsār al-‘Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, p.135

²³⁹ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo’ġam al-Boldān*, Ketābhāne-ye Asadi, Tehrān-[n.y.]. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.42

²⁴⁰ See ‘Ezzat Allah Fulādvand: “Bidād-e Maḥmud-e Ġaznavi ba Ketābhānehā va Ḥeradmāndān-e Rayy”, in: *Ḥāfeẓ* 8 (1383š/2004)

²⁴¹ Neẓām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, p.216

The Shiites' various religious branches in the period of the Seljuk Dynasty were as follows:²⁴²

Zeydiyye (Zaidiyyah): The Zeydis had famous schools and their center of operations in Rayy. After Imam Saġġād, they believed in his son, Zeyd Ebn-e 'Ali, as the next Imam, not in Imam Moġammad Baqer like the Shiites who believed in the twelve Imams. The people of Vanak, Kan, and Faraġzād, the villages around that time, were all Zeydis in the 'Abd al-ġalil Rāzi period [6th/12th century].

Ismā'ilism: This religious branche was in power after the 3rd/9th century and Abu Ĥātām Rāzi was a great commander of Ismā'ilism at that period, but they became more well-known due to Ĥasan Şabbāġ. He had a house at Şufi alley in Roudeh Şahr in Rayy. After Imam Şādeq's demise, the Isma'ili accepted his elder son as their seventh Imam, not like today's Shiites who believe in Imam Mousa Kāzem. In line with the Şari'a (religious laws), they believe that Islam has a surface and an inner part and it would not be important if one only realizes its inner part and ignores its surface. Ĥāġe Nezām al-Molk writes about Bāţenian or Ismā'ili Shiites and their various names:

"Whenever Bāţenians left a city, they had a name and a title and they were addressed by another name in different cities, though they all had the same meaning. In Ĥalab and Egypt they were addressed as Esmā'ili, and in Qom, Kāşān, Ţabarestān, and Sabzevār as Sab'i, in Baġdād and Transoxiana and Ġaznein as Qarmaţi, in Kufa as Mobāraki, in Başra as Rāvandi and Borqe'i, in Rayy as Ĥalafi, in Gorgān as Moġammare, in Şām as Mobayyaže, in Morocco as Sa'idi, in Laġşā and Baġrain as Ġannābi and in Eşfahān (Isfahan) as Bāţeni. But they called themselves Ta'limi and other names like this. And their purpose is to make Muslims disappear and mislead people and put them in delusion."²⁴³

'Alā al-Din Ġoveini also emphasizes that Ĥasan Şabbāġ, of whom Seljuk rulers were to be extremely afraid one day, was born in Rayy where its native people supported him.

²⁴² See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.56-59

²⁴³ Nezām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, p.311

“He is attributed to the Hemair tribe, his father moved to Qufa from Yemen and then to Qom and after that to Rayy, there he resided and Hasan Şabbāḥ was born there [...] The people in the Ṭāleqān and Kouh Bareh²⁴⁴ province, along with the people of Rayy, followed Şabbāḥ’s invitation.”²⁴⁵

Ḥāḡe Neẓām al-Molk reports about Rayy’s people being Shia in 2th/8th century:

“[‘Abd Allah Meymun] made a man called Ḥalaf his successor, and told him to ‘go towards Rayy where everyone in there, and Qom, Kāšān, and Ābe are all Rāfezi and believe in Shia and they will accept your summons without hesitation and will support you there.’”²⁴⁶

Twelver or Imami Shia: According to Naşir al-Din ‘Abd al-Ġalil Qazvini Rāzi, Şirin Bayāni writes about the Shiites’ multiplicity before the Mongol attack:

“Before the Mongol attack, the mentioned cities were the most important bases of Shiites. Naşir al-Din Rāzi counts these cities as follows: Qom, Kāšān, Āve, Sāve, Rayy, Varāmin, Māzandarān, Eram, Sāri, Estar Ābād, Sabzevār, Dehestān, Ġarbāyeqān, some lands of Ṭabarestān, some parts of Qazvin and its suburbs, some parts of Ḥaraqān, Ḥarran, Ḥolleh, Baḡrain, Kufe, Baqdad (Baġdād), Maşhad, and then adds: ‘They are all Oşuli Imami Shiites. And Qom, Kāšān, Āve and Māzandarān are nothing other than Shiites’. He also states that a separate book would be needed if the the number of schools and other Vaqfs (Endowments) related to the Shiites in Ḥorāsān, the Māzandarān province and Şāmāt cities and ‘Irāq , was named.”²⁴⁷

Studying different religions in Rayy, Karimān writes:

“Shiites were gradually getting more numerous and power and validity until it was the period of Buyids dynasty and therefore their importance and might increased [...] However, as the Ġaznavid ruler Mas’ud arrived there in 420 [1029], he started acting aggressively and violently towards them, and because he was a bigotted Ḥanafi and

²⁴⁴ Bareh Mountain: Today’s Manġil

²⁴⁵ ‘Alā’eddin ‘Aṭā Malek Ġoveyni: *Tāriḡ-e Ġahāngoşā*, vol.3, ed. by Moḡammad Qazvini, Brill, Leiden-1937, pp.187 & 201

²⁴⁶ Neẓām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, p.283

²⁴⁷ Şirin Bayāni: *Din va Dolat dar ‘ahd-e Moġol*, vol.2, Markaz-e Naşr-e Dāneşġāhi, Tehrān-1371ş/1992, p.611

'Aš'ari himself, he did everything to distress the Shiites such as killing and disrespecting them, and he killed most of them which were defamed as being Bāṭeni and Qarmati [...] The Shiites' prevalence renewed in Rayy most of all in the Seljuki period, and although Shiites didn't have their freedom in the Buyid dynasty, they almost had more respect then compared to other periods and Could hold high political offices. In Neẓām al-Molk's period, who was Šāfe'i, Shia philosophers were highly respected and were visited by him [...] The relief and peace Shiites enjoyed in the Seljuk Dynasty period decreased with Solṭān Saṅḡar's death, because both Khwarazmian (Ḥārazmiān) and 'Iraqi Seljuks were explicitly against Shiites [...] after the Mongol disaster, all the religious branches died out, including Shia and Sunni in this ancient city until 300 or more years after that, all Sunni activity ended during the early Safavid period, however, the Shiites continued their decadent lives, but were able to expand their religion only gradually."²⁴⁸

Contrary to Karimān's opinion, the Shiites' lives in Rayy before the emergence of the Safavid (early 10th/16th century) were not decadent, but in some cases we have reports about its unprecedented spread before this period. The fact is that after the Mongol attack on Iran and the political dissolutions of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in Baḡdād (Baghdad) and massacres in many cities of Iran, conspicuous changes happened in religious geography. There is an account stating that Sunni Šāfe'is made the Mongols kill Rayy's people ²⁴⁹ but after a period of peace and because of the existence of their former base of operations, the Shiites spread more in Rayy. Bayāni writes:

"In the Ġāzān Ḥān period Rayy was re-empowered because of the attention paid to Shiites. The Shiites believed that some of the prophet's family was buried there, including Imam Musā Kāẓem's relative called Ḥasan, who was a saint for the people. Apart from the city itself, all its dependencies, except for two villages, were also Shia. Vanak, Kan, and Barzād, which Yāqut Ḥamavi calls Farzād and which possibly is today's Faraḡzād, and also Zāmehrān and Mašlahḡāh can be named as Rayy's valid

²⁴⁸ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.50-56

²⁴⁹ See Širin Bayāni: *Din va Dolat dar 'ahd-e Moḡol*, vol.2, p.612; See Section "4.2.1 Religion- Conflicts of Different Religious Branches in Rayy" in this thesis.

dependencies in which all residential were Zeidi. The inhabitants of Varāmin, which was a prosperous and well known village in this time, were Shia too. Its significance and fame can be realized by looking at the tremendous and magnificent mosque built in the Öljaitü (Olğāito) period in this city. The fame and validity is maximized with the Razaviye and Fathiye schools in Varāmin, having celebrated mentors and clerics with numerous dedications. Gradually, Varāmin replaced Rayy and became Ğebāl province's center."²⁵⁰

Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi also writes in *Nozhat al-Qolub* (8th/14th century):

"The citizens and most of the provinces are Twelver or Imami Shia except the Quhe area and some other places, which are Ḥanafi and where the people are called Quhe-ye Ḥarān for this reason, and a lot of people from the prophet's family are buried in Rayy [...]"²⁵¹

Johannes Schiltberger, a German man captivated first by the Ottoman Emperor and then by Timur is the first German person to write about Iran. About the religion of Rayy's people in the Timur period he writes (9th/15th century):

"There is a vast portion of Rayy's people who do not believe in Moḥammad like other Pagans. They believe in a so-called 'Ali, known as the biggest enemy of Christians. Those who have this belief are called Raphaky."²⁵²

His reference to Rayy's people not being Muslim but believing in 'Ali is obviously due to his lack of knowledge of the Shia religion and probably his inaccurate knowledge due to living in the Ottoman court for a long time. But what is significant is his reference to the unprecedented spread of Shiites in the Timur period (before the Safavid period) in Rayy.

After the Safavid period, not only in Rayy but also in most parts of Iran, the Shiites have become more powerful, a trend which has continued to the present day.

²⁵⁰ Širin Bayāni: *Din va Dolat dar 'ahd-e Moğol*, vol.2, p.613

²⁵¹ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Nozhat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, p.54

²⁵² Johannes Schiltberger: „*Als Sklave im osmanischen Reich und bei den Tataren*“, Übertreger: Ulrich Schlemmer, Thinemann, Stuttgart-1983, p.125 - (Ulrich Schlemmer, the Editor, has read this word in "Rashedi's"(Rāšedi) notes, provided that it must have been "Rāfezi"(Rafida). They were a group of Shiites - See: Dehḡodā Dictionary)

Conflicts Between Different Religious Branches in Rayy

Since Rayy was one of the many cross sections of the old world geographically, it had turned into a center for different ideas. In fact, the political implementation of a regime in favor of religious groups, particularly after the Buyid epoch, opened a way for the removal of intellectual rivals in different areas. Moḥammadi writes:

“In a cultural aspect, the advent and enactment of Aš'ari's spirit in the Islam world coinciding in the 5th [11th] century was a sign of the advent of a period of religious bigotries and intellectual solidity in Rayy, preventing any kind of entente and persuading them to compete and oppose with each other. In a political aspect, Seljuk's reign showed great interest in meddling with beliefs and religious affairs, and by supporting a group and belief against other cities' groups and sects, it increased its severity. The forementioned factors along with local and aboriginal conditions and characteristics of Rayy, such as ethnic and religious plurality and many religious scholars and attendance of dignitaries, attracted and trained in Rayy due to its cultural centrality, encountered Rayy with a social crisis of which there was no way out.”²⁵³

“Al-Naqẓ” by 'Abd al-ḡalil Rāzi written in the 6th /12th century is in fact authored in response to another book called “Ba'ẓ Fazā'eḥ al-Ravāfeẓ” which is penned against Shiites. In this century the advent of the Ismailis sect and their prevalence in Iran occurred which for the first period allowed political and religious assassinations.

“Sometimes religious plurality in Rayy caused religious disputes and theological debates among the scholars. “Al-Naqẓ” is one of these cases. In this book, several interesting cases of theological conflicts and belief quarrels among followers of religions are reported. These disputes most typically have been ended by the present governor's advocacy for a religion in favor of himself.”²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Seyyed Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Moḥammadi: *Oẓā'-e Eḡtemā'i-ye Rayy az Barāmadan-e Salḡuqiān ta Hoḡum-e Moḡol*, no Published, Master of Arts, Paẓuhešgāh-e 'Olum-e Ensāni va Moṭāle'āt-e Farhangi, 1386š/2007, p.150

²⁵⁴ 'Ali Ṣadrā'i-ye Ḥo'i: “Tariḥ va Farhang-e Rayy dar Ā'ine-ye Ketāb-e Naqẓ”, in: *Ā'ine-ye Paẓuheš* 80 (1382š/ 2003)

It is in this period that the Iranian fight, under the Shiites' leadership by reign of The 'Abbāsid dynasty, intensified in Baġdād (Baghdad) and led to chaos in different cities of Iran including Rayy:

"The Shiites, as a large minority, were not only scattered in most cities of Iran but sometimes constituted the majority of residents of a city. It can be claimed daringly that the province of 'Irāq-e 'Aġam was wholly Shiites and, after that, Ḥorāsān has the most Shiites. It was in this state that the first formal Shiites reign was established. This dispersal caused the provinces to be covered by Shiites and enabled them to develop their actively and tireless actions to advance their goals such as gathering more followers, permeating politics, economic and cultural systems in each region, and developing the resistance and war centers against the central reign. In these epochs, the Sunnis were surrounded by Shiites everywhere and put on a severe fight with them. Due to that the cities in which Shiites were not allowed, lived in peace."²⁵⁵

This religious dispute in the Safavid empire, which officially accepted the Shiites religion in Iran, entered a new stage:

"The near-complete eradication of Sunnism from the Iranian plateau [...] must clearly have been gradual, and at least in some places it consisted initially of the pragmatic and superficial acceptance of a coerced creed. [...] Generally speaking, however, by the end of the 16th century, Sunnism had effectively vanished from most of the central Safavid domains."²⁵⁶

4.2.2 Pilgrimage and Sightseeing

The existence of different religions and their dignitaries' tombs in Rayy has, for a long time, caused this historical city, along with its tombs, to become a place for pilgrimage and simultaneously a travel destination for their followers and believers. As stated in the religions' survey section, the existence of a Sassanid fire-temple in Rayy and the

²⁵⁵ Širin Bayāni: *Din va Dolat dar 'ahd-e Moġol*, vol.2, p.610

²⁵⁶ Hamid Algar: "Shi'ism in Iran Since the Safavids" in: *Encyclopedia Iranica*.

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-ix23-shiism-in-iran-since-the-safavids> (Date: 26.2.2015)

importance of Rayy at this time made it a Zoroastrian “House of Believers”. Some even consider Rayy as Zoroaster’s homeland. But during the Islamic period, Rayy has been a living place, and the graveyard of notable figures of science, culture, and religion in it will be listed. In the early history of Islam, tombs of religious figures, such as Ebrāhim Ḥavvāṣ, had been converted in Rayy to Sunni shrines and later to a Shia’s tomb, such as with Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim.

What is mentioned in old scripts about the tomb pilgrimage in Rayy is mostly related to kings and emirs; as pilgrimages to Timur’s tomb in 802/1399 or to that of Šāhroḥ in 832/1428.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, in 964/1556 an Ottoman admiral named Sayyedi ‘Ali Kātebi, returning to his country by land, wrote on pilgrimages to the tombs of Imam ‘Abd al-‘Azim and Bibi Šāhrbānu.²⁵⁸ But the travellers’ report and Iranian diaries suggest that in the Qajar period, Rayy’s shrines and particularly Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim’s tomb were considered the most important shrines for the residents of Iran’s capital.²⁵⁹ There are several reports proving that all these shrines were also public resorts for the population at the same time. Carla Serena (in 1877) writes:

“This shrine, attracting many believers, was considered a resort for citizens. The major part of residents’ earnings is provided by the ever-increasing rush of pilgrims. There is no place on Thursday nights and Fridays in Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim. The rich and poor, elderly and young, fill the courtyard all together. This village has caravansaries, bathrooms, and bazaars and its water is brought from old Qanāts.”²⁶⁰

Munes al-Doule (in the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh period) says about Tehrān’s resorts for women:

²⁵⁷ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.223 & 225

²⁵⁸ Seyyedi ‘Ali Kātebi: *Merāt al-Mamālek*, Trans. by Maḥmud Tafāzzoli; ‘Ali Ganḡeli, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, Tehrān-2535šš/1976, p171

²⁵⁹ A. F. Stahl: “Reisen in Nord- und Zentral-Persien”, in: *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes geographischer Anstalt*, Heft 118, ed. by A. Supan, Gotha-1896, p.20

²⁶⁰ Carla Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā’inhā dar Irān)*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aṣḡar Sa’idi, Zavvār, Tehrān-1362š/1983, p.204

“Tehrān’s resorts for women consisted of: ‘Bibi Zobeyde’ Mausoleum near Rayy; ‘Sayyed Malek Ḥātun’ behind Ḥorāsān Gate, ‘Gol-e Zard’ (Yellow Flower) Shrine or ‘Āle ‘Ali’ near Dulāb; Masum Shrine and ‘Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm’ and places like that out of Tehrān.”²⁶¹

Meanwhile, Lady Sheil writes about aspects of tourism in Rayy for Tehrānians:

“The rides and drives about Tehran are very limited. One of the most usual is to the ruins of the ancient city of Rēi, four miles from town. Little now remains of this capital, which, judging from the extent of mounds, broken walls, and other evidences of former population, must have been of great magnitude.”²⁶²

Ernest Orsolle (in 1882) emphasizes the various usages of Rayy’s shrines as well:

“In fact, Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm is considered a profitable resort for Tehrānians apart from its religious and holy aspect. Its road is full of pedestrians, riders, soldiers, carriages, women on horses, and mullahs on donkeys; even sometimes the Šāh or the harem’s ladies went there with glory and a lot of formalities on Thursday afternoons and especially Fridays.”²⁶³

He describes what was occurring in the shrines and around them vividly:

“This small city has a picturesque and scenic view. Plane trees are planted on the sides of its wide and straight alleys and their shadows seem really pleasant and cool while crossing a road that passes among a dry and hot desert. [...] It is really scenic around the shrine, women are sitting under the shadows of the trees on carpets in groups with their children, drinking, smoking hookah, speaking loudly, and laughing noisily, and this way they are similar to the French or, if to tell it more accurately, to Eastern Italians. Men gather on the corners and are busy drinking tea and smoking hookah, [...] Saqas [water sellers], and juice, fruit, and sweet’s sellers are seeking customers everywhere in groups. Jugglers, narrators, and snake-charmers entertain the crowd with magic tricks,

²⁶¹ Munes al-Doule: *Hāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadime-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāṣer al-Din Šāh*, ed. by Sirus Sa’dvandiān, 2.Edition, Zarrin, Tehrān-1386š/2007, pp.139-140

²⁶² Sheil: *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, p.182

²⁶³ Ernest Orsolle: *Safarnameh-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aşğar Sa’idi, Pažuheşgāh-e ‘Olum-e Ensāni va Moṭāle‘at-e Farhangi, Tehrān-1382š/2003, p.298

telling stories and jokes, and every type of entertainment they know. Those who are voyeur and have lust in hope for grabbing an ogle sometimes appearing under a veil gracelessly or seeking for an unexpected love are everywhere.”²⁶⁴

'Eyn al-Saltane in 1896 talks about the trivia of pilgrimages:

“Sitting in a carriage, we were going to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim with his Majesty [for pilgrimage]. The crowd was big. We could not reach the shrine. Men and women were pushing each other, God knows how sinful it is; particularly these Tehrānian women and their glamour, make-up, and fashionable clothes. A woman whose gloves, “valance”, and chador were red, was standing on the corner of Emāmzāde Ḥamze's porch. People who were passing fell in love with her and preferred her pilgrimage to Emāmzāde's. A red silky handkerchief that harmonized with her clothes covered her nose and mouth due to cold weather which increased her beauty.”²⁶⁵

Apart from the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine, Rayy had several well-known shrines which particularly popular in the Qajar period. The Bibi Šahrbānu²⁶⁶ monument in the large mountain's foothill of Rayy, today known as “Bibi Šahrbānu mountain”, is one of its biggest shrines and Sayyedi 'Ali, the Ottoman admiral in the Safavid period, made a pilgrimage to it as mentioned above. 'Eyn al-Saltane reports about hunting around Bibi Šahrbānu mountain indicating the period in which this place was for the home of various animals and was used as a national park and preserved hunting ground around Tehrān.²⁶⁷ The public believes that here is the tomb of “Šahrbānu”, Imam Ḥoseyn's wife and Imam Sajad's (Sağğād) mother, who escaped from Karbalā to Rayy and was protected by the mountain, although it is neither mentioned in history nor in the Shia's

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p.298

²⁶⁵ 'Eyn al-Saltane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e 'Eyn al-Saltane*, vol.1, p.889

²⁶⁶ In no ancient script could it be found such a name for this very mountain.

²⁶⁷ See 'Eyn al-Saltane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e 'Eyn al-Saltane*, vol.1, p.148

hadiths.²⁶⁸ However, Bibi Šahrbānu's tomb was especially important for women. They even took its soil to the city and rubbed it on their forehead.

“They took lunch from their father-in-law's house to the bathroom and when the woman in labor came out of the bathroom, they would rub Bibi Šahrbānu's soil on her forehead. Bibi Šahrbānu was the old women's prayer's end and for every need they went on her pilgrimage and tied tapestry for her miracle.”²⁶⁹

Unlike Sayyedi 'Ali, Munes al-Doule reports that this shrine was specifically for women, while men were not permitted:

“They wore chadors and went to the shrine with men. In none of these shrines were women separated from men; there was only one shrine in which even a four or five year old male child was not permitted because it was only for women. This shrine is Bibi Šahrbānu mountain, between Tehrān and Rayy, where apart from women and girls no one could enter.”²⁷⁰

Bibi Šahrbānu's pilgrimage has even entered the public sphere in the performance arts: “One of the plays is named ‘A Lady on Donkey’. The story is about a man who suspects his wife and wants to take her to Bibi Šahrbānu mountain's foothill to make her take the oath that so far not a single strange man has touched her. The wife asks her lover to take two donkeys and stand in front of the gate and say ‘Donkeys for Hire’. The man did what he was told. The couple left their house the next morning; the woman, deliberately, did not wear anything but a chador (Čādor). Finally, they hired the two mentioned donkeys from the fake donkey-keeper man and moved. The wife opened her chador's band and suddenly threw herself from the donkey near Bibi Šahrbānu mountain. Her body appeared. Then she swore at the mountain's foothill that except you, my husband, and this donkey-keeper who has just seen my body today, no strange man has seen me

²⁶⁸ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.403-425 ; Maryam Dārā: “Bibi Šahrbānu, Afsāneh ya Tārīḥ”, in: *Hāfez*, 31(1385Š/2006) ; Mary Boyce: “Bibi Shahrbanu and the Lady of Pars”, in: *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London vol.30, no.1, fiftieth Anniversary Volume, (1967): 30-44

²⁶⁹ Munes al-Doule: *Ḥāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadime-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāšer al-Din Šāh*, p.92

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p.137

before. After that part, guests and entertainers would all clap and say 'Well done' to the woman's trick."²⁷¹

Another shrine that was probably only for women, Bibi Zobayde's tomb, is a little above Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim's tomb where Orsolle, who considered men's entrance forbidden, spoke about soil eating. Orsolle writes:

"Entering the Bibi Zobayde mosque is forbidden for men. Only women could enter there. As it is said, the mosque's floor was not covered with cobbles and the women coming for pilgrimage eat some of its soil as 'Tayammum' and a remedy for many illnesses including sterility."²⁷²

Another holy place in Rayy is a spring located in its western part known as Āb-e Andarmān. Today, this spring has dried up and Moḥammad Taqī Moṣṭafavi calls it a "small pit":

"There is a village named Āb-e Andarmān three Km away from the west of Rayy and most of the Tehrānian people, especially women, believe that the water and clay existing in the two small pits of this place is very efficient and effective for skin diseases such as uticaria, hives, etc. The name of this village is a combination of this meaning which indicates that they knew the efficacies of the water of the two pits in the mentioned village since long ago and this caused the village be called Āb-e Andarmān and therefore staying in Āb-e Andarmān is recommended."²⁷³

According to research on this spring and its mythical aspects conducted in 1321Š/1942: "There is a pond named Sayyed Ābād that has dried recently west of Rayy in Andarmān village: Āb-e Andarmān is a still pond which no water enters and not too much water can flow out of. The amount of water in this pond is almost stable with the change of seasons having no significant effect. According to the residents, this pond can cure, so they consider it holy. They narrate the Āb-e Andarmān holiness as follows: at the time of

²⁷¹ Ibid., p.173

²⁷² Orsolle: *Safarnameh-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, p.300

²⁷³ Moḥammad Taqī Moṣṭafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, ed. by Mir Hāšem Moḥaddes, 2.Edition, Garus, Tehrān-1375Š/1996, p.165

Emānzāde Ebrāhim's demise, the Emir dipped his cane into the ground to rinse the demised Emānzāde during a lack of water supplies, so water came out of it and formed this pond, but this is merely a legend because the mentioned Emānzāde belongs to recent periods."²⁷⁴

'Eyn al-Saltāne talks about general beliefs of women about Āb-e Andarmān: "We were going towards Āb-e Andarmān in which women have a real belief."²⁷⁵

And E'temād al-Saltāne in 1307/1890 refers to an important point in addition to the water contamination: worshipping Ānāhita, the god of water, before Islam.

"I went to Esmā'il Ābād with 'Āref Ḥān in the morning. I had lunch, then went to Āb-e Andarmān to see the famous spring I have heard about for years to which people go for treatment. It is such a filthy fusty spring. I do not know how ignorant the people are, who are treated by it. What I believe is that since long ago, the water of this spring has been famous for healing some diseases. For the large village in which this Emānzāde is located and the surrounding buildings and ruins, known as Andarmān; I think the water can cure and it has been mislead to Andarmān. I suspect this spring is famous because it is located in the middle of a desert and the 'Ağams²⁷⁶ who believed in the four elements in addition to worshipping fire, somehow glorified this spring and considered its water holy and used it for some diseases and took advantage of that. In brief, after visiting the spring I went to Emānzāde Andarmān."²⁷⁷

It is interesting that Emānzāde itself was not as famous as the spring or the water hole. Another one of Rayy's shrine to be mentioned is Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb's (Ğavānmard the Butcher's) mausoleum in the northwest of Šāh 'Abd al-'Azīm's tomb. Moḥammad Taqī Moṣṭafavi names a spring north of this mausoleum which was both used for washing carpets and as a resort for people:

²⁷⁴ Maḥbube Šābery: *Manābe'-e Āb-e Šorb-e Šahr-e Rayy*, Unpublished, Bachelor Thesis, University of Mirās-e Farhangī-1375š/1996, p.19

²⁷⁵ 'Eyn al-Saltāne: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e 'Eyn al-Saltāne*, vol.1, p.150

²⁷⁶ The ancient Persians

²⁷⁷ E'temād al-Saltāne: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, vol.1, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385š/2006, p.693

“In a small area north of Ğavānmard mausoleum there is a big spring which emerges from beneath the last southern hill of ‘Ali Ābād land and it is the place and center of washing carpets like Češme ‘Ali where a few people are usually skillfully busy. The mentioned spring is also an endowed property of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim. The water of this spring also passes before Ğavānmard-e Qaššāb’s garden and on holidays, especially in spring when plenty of water flows in the Firuz Ābād stream, a number of Tehrānian people rest beside this stream under the shades of willows nearby the Ğavānmard mausoleum.”²⁷⁸

Although other tombs such as Toğrol Tower were not shrines, they were considered places for doing recreational activities. ‘Eyn al-Saltane writes:

“We went to Toğrol Bey Tower, the Seljuk king, and had tea and lettuce, then we went to the top of the tower. Going there, we were easygoing and fearless. It was spectacular on the top. [...] I put my foot on the last step of the ladder, frightened to death; after coming down I thanked God.”²⁷⁹

Another interesting issue regarding the shrines was the matter of “taking sanctuary”. If a criminal was sheltered in a mausoleum, he could be safe from punishment until he was taking sanctuary there (of course for petty crimes only). Orsolle writes about taking sanctuary in the Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim shrine:

“Meanwhile, this shrine is a shelter or sanctuary to which a person can go and he will be kept from any penalty. Criminals whom the king did not forgive enjoyed the public benefaction of eating and sleeping in this shrine for years.”²⁸⁰

Of course, taking sanctuary was not only for the guilty but was considered a way to ask for justice and to object against the regime, too. Clergymen in the Qajar period often used this to object to rulers, which is considered as the initial step of the constitutional revolution:

²⁷⁸ Moštafavi: *Āsār-e Tārīḫi-ye Tehrān*, p.169

²⁷⁹ ‘Eyn al-Saltane: *Ruznāme-ye Hāterāt-e ‘Eyn al-Saltane*, vol.1, p.160

²⁸⁰ Orsolle: *Safarnameh-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, p.298

“The Faqih of Tehrān who were disrupting the chancellorship of ‘Abd al-Mağid Mirzā, the great prime minister, in any possible way for about a year, on the 16th of Shawwal (Šavval) in 1323 [14. December. 1905], are stating that ‘Alā’ al-Doule, Tehrān’s governor, executed a few merchants, they rebelled and assembled in the Šāh Mosque. Mirzā Abu al-Qāsem, the Imam Jumu’ah (Emām Ğom’e), and Šayḥ Fażl Allah Nury opposed and expelled them from the Mosque. Sayyed Behbahāni and Sayyed Moḥammad and a group of Faqih took sanctuary in Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim and stayed there for a month. The bazaars closed two or three times and the people and the authorities were scared of corruption and famine. On Friday the 18th in Zī al-Qa’de (Dhu al-Qa’dah) [January 14], a group of ministers went for their appeasement on behalf of the governor’s, and with some conditions returned them to the city with glory and grandeur and took them to the king. The main conditions were: first, establishing a justice parliament and second, prohibiting stamp bills and reducing a rial of each Toman from people’s salary that ‘Eyn al-Doule left behind. Bazaars were illuminated on behalf of the people in the night of Sunday the 19th [January 15].”²⁸¹

Another tradition related to the holy shrines is being buried next to them. The general belief is that being buried next to the saints can affect their intercessions on Doom’s Day. Therefore in the Qajar period the well-known people of Tehrān and their relatives were buried next to the Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim mausoleum.²⁸² Among them, Nāṣer al-Din Šāh and Ğeyrān, his beloved wife, passed away in her early years, can be recalled.

“Anyhow, Ğeyrān passed away very young, with all her glory. Her body was taken to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim with lots of formalities, buried in the same place next to Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s tomb, and a garden was built behind her tomb known as ‘Ğeyrān Garden’, which still exists after one hundred years. Interestingly, Nāṣer al-Din Šāh was later buried next to Ğeyrān.”²⁸³

²⁸¹ Ḥoseyn Divān Beygi: *Hāṭerāt-e Divān Beygi*, ed. by Irağ Afšār; Moḥammad Rasul Daryāgašt, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1382Š/2003, p.254

²⁸² Please refer to the catalogue in this thesis to see the tomb location of a number of celebrities buried next to the Šāh Abd-al-Azim Shrine.

²⁸³ Munes al-Doule: *Hāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadime-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāṣer al-Din Šāh*, p.232

4.2.3 Commerce

Since Rayy is located in a unique geographical situation in the middle of the main roads between the East and West of the ancient world, it was counted as an important commercial city. In addition to selling its agricultural and mineral products and handicrafts, Rayy was the center of exchanging goods produced in other cities as well. In the Sassanid period, the roads were secured and commerce was developed under the powerful government's command. Bayāni writes:

“Customs income was high in this period, and trading was fully supervised, therefore there were stations, caravanserais, and cisterns for merchants and goods transportation welfare. There were even some inns built on the borders and ports and guards were assigned to guard the roads and road making and the stations, so that the caravans felt safe and secure. The main highway started from Tisfun (Ctesiphon), Sassanid's state capital, and continued from Kangāvar to Hegmatāne (Ecbatana), Ragā (Rayy) to Marv, and Turkestān to China, and there were other roads than this main highway which terminates at the Persian Gulf on the one side and at the Caspian Sea on the other side, or from Rayy and Parthia to India.”²⁸⁴

Rayy was the center of the empire in the short period of Bahrām Čubine. Bayāni recognizes this period as a prosperous economical period:

“The financial situation was a great success in the short period of Bahrām VI (Čubine), because the finance and economy affairs' control were according to a basis and order in the governance period of Hosro I (Anuširvān) (531-579) and then Hormoz IV (579-590). Therefore, although the financial situation of Rayy in this period is not directly mentioned in any old reference, we can picture the importance of Rayy's commerce in the Sassanid period.”²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Malekzāde Bayāni: “Pažuheši darbāre-ye Sekkehā-ye Bahrām VI (Čubine)”, in: *Barresihā-ye Tārihi* 56 (1354š/1975)

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

Rayy had been very important commercially in the Islamic period, because it was the center of distributing goods to other near or far parts of the world. Ebn-e Faqih writes in the 3rd and 4th/ 9th and 10th century:

“The commerce of Armenian and Āzarbāyğān and Ḥorāsān and Ḥazar and Borğān cities was all traced to Rayy. For the marine merchants who travelled from East to West and vice versa, shipping silk and fine fur from Europe to Faramā, and then they were shipped in Qolzom (Clysma) Port [Red Sea] and transported to China... These Jewish merchants are called Rāhdānie, speaking Persian, Latin, Arabic, and French. These merchants left Faramā and traded musk, incense, and every other goods brought from Europe and then went to Anṭākie [Antioch-Turkey]. After that, they went to Bağdād (Baghdad) and then to Obolle [near Baṣre]. But the merchants of Saqālabe (Slavs), [...] carried fox fur from the most remote Saqālabe to Rome Sea [Mediterranean Sea] where where the tithe was collected by Rome’s governor and then they passed the seas till they reached the Jewish Samkuš [Samkerš= Tmutarakan]. Then they moved to Saqālabe or passed its river to the Caspian Sea and paid their tithe. After that, they headed to the Ḥorāsāni Sea [?] or even exited from Ğorğān [Hyrcania/Gorgān] and traded whatever goods they had and eventually all of them reached Rayy.”²⁸⁶

Maqdesi describes different cities’ exports including Rayy briefly:

“Commerce is profitable there. Exports of Rayy include Bord²⁸⁷ and Monayyer fabrics²⁸⁸, cotton, big plates, needles, and combs.”²⁸⁹

And finally, Karimān provided an overview of the goods imported and exported in the city in 10th century, considering the different gates of Rayy as opening to four sides of the world, and a historians’ report:

“This road [the commercial Silk Road] passed the Ḥorāsān or Hošām gate to Rayy and from the Bāṭān gate to Ğebāl and ‘Irāq and reached Hamedān. There was a branch line

²⁸⁶ Ebn-e Faqih Hamedāni: *Moḥtaṣar al-Boldān*, Leiden – 1884, p.270. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp. 552-553

²⁸⁷ Bord: A kind of fabric of camel’s wool

²⁸⁸ Monayyer: A kind of fabric in which the warp and weft were put two ply

²⁸⁹ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma’refat al-Aqālim*, p.592

from the China gate towards Eṣfahān (Isfahan) and Šīrāz and some from Kuhkin and Dulāb and Balisān to the north and northwest. All the caravans carrying goods from Greece and Rome and Asia Minor (Anatolia) and Mesopotamia and Levant on one side, and China and India and Central Asia on the other side, passed Rayy. Silk, paper, cinnamon and Malva were sent to Iran from China, and silk, spices, and precious stones from India on the Silk Road. Pearls, fabrics and textiles, Iranian carpets, corals from the Red and Caspian Sea and fine Roman silk were exported from Iran to the East. The merchants of this road were Jewish, able to speak Persian, Latin, Arabic, and French.”²⁹⁰

4.2.4 Rayy's Special Weights and Measures

“Man” was one of the old weight measuring units that was measured differently in different cities, and thus to recognize it, the name of the considered city was mentioned with that term. Rayy was well-known to have its own “Man”, and this weight unit was used until modern days.

Maqdesi writes in the 4th/10th century:

“Their ‘Man’ is various; ‘Rayy Man’ is six hundred [Dirham], and their ‘Raṭ!’ is three hundred [Dirham], however Man is four hundred [Dirham] elsewhere. Meat is weighed in ‘Raṭ!’ and medical equipment is weighed in ‘Ḥorāsāni Man’. Eṣfahāni (Isfahani) ‘Man’ is three hundred [Dirham] and ‘Judith Man’ is Hamedāni.”²⁹¹

Since each Dirham Sang (Dirham-stone) weighed 3.2 gr, one ‘Rayy Man’ equaled 1.92 kg ²⁹². Polak writes about different weight measuring units in the Qajar period:

“The special unit for heavier loads is ‘Man’ [...]. The amount of ‘Man’ differs in different cities. The common ‘Man’ in Tehrān equals that of Tabriz, divided into four quarters (one-fourth), a quarter is ten ‘Sir’ and one Sir is sixteen ‘Miṣqāl’, thus one ‘Tabriz Man’

²⁹⁰ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp. 551-552

²⁹¹ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fi Ma’refat al-Aqālim*, pp.594-595

²⁹² Walther Hinz: *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden E.J.Brill-1955, p.17. However, Karimān writes: “Since each Dirham stone weighed 4.256 gr, therefore one ‘Rayy Man’ equaled 2.559 kg”. See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.599 (600 x 4.256 = 2.554 kg, not 2.559 kg)

equals six hundred and forty Miṣqāl or exactly eighty eight Ounces, the common weight in Austrian medicine. A hundred 'Tabriz Man' equals one Ḥarvār (= 300 kg) and almost five hundred and thirty four 'Pound', common in Vienna. 'Šāh Man' or 'Eṣfahān (Isfahan) Man' is twice as much. 'Rayy Man' is four times more than 'Tabriz Man'." ²⁹³

Therefore, according to Polak, each 'Tabriz Man' (equal to 'Tehrān Man') is 640 Miṣqāl and 'Rayy Man' equals 2500 Miṣqāl (each Miṣqāl equals one Dirham stone). Furukawa in that period provided a list of different weight units in Iran, but he did not mention 'Tehrān and Tabriz Man'. But he reported 'Rayy Man' as 2560 Miṣqāl and explained that it was used in Gilān province as well:

"One 'Man' has a different weight in different parts of Iran, as shown in the following list:

- Šāh Man or Eṣfahān (Isfahan) Man = 1280 Miṣqāl to weigh opium, raw silk, etc.
- Rayy Man = 2560 Miṣqāl common in Gilān province
- Bušehr Man = 760 Miṣqāl
- Hāšem Man [?] = 16 Bušehr Man, or 12160 Miṣqāl
- Širāz Man = 720 Miṣqāl
- Baḥrain Man = 902/5 Miṣqāl
- Deylam port Man = 1140 Miṣqāl
- Rig port Man = 950 Miṣqāl
- Dayyer port Man = 902 Miṣqāl
- Šuštār Man = 1520 Miṣqāl" ²⁹⁴

There is a another special weight called "Rayy" which is almost 12 kg. ²⁹⁵

4.2.5 Literature and Scholarly Works from Rayy

Rayy has been an intersection for various cultures and civilizations of West and East both before and during the Islamic period. Consequently, there have always been

²⁹³ Polak: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, p.373

²⁹⁴ Nobuyoshi Furukawa: *Safarnāme-ye Furukawa*, Trans. by Hāšem Raġabzāde; Kiniji Eura, Anġoman-e Āsār va Mafāḥer-e Farhangī, Tehrān-1384š/2005, p.150

²⁹⁵ Hinz: *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, p.33

important people from the arts and sciences in Rayy, and whose names have become eternal in the history of the city. Karimān writes:

“[Rayy] was a holy city for the Zoroastrians and Zoroastrian priests and their leaders taught theology of this religion. But there is no information about the advances in learning in Rayy in that period. Science and techniques were prevalent in Rayy in Islamic centuries, but they were much better in the Seljuk Dynasty period: Some famous libraries and schools were established then; the Kings Buyid dynasty glorified and praised their scientists and the teaching of various techniques such as medicine, astronomy, philosophy, eloquence, speech, and religious jurisprudence had a good market [...]. In Ebn-e Esfandiyyār’s history, the prevalence of science and knowledge in ‘Azod al-Doule’s time is described as follows: ‘It was the time of those seeking knowledge (‘Azod al-Doule, son of Rokn al-Doule and brother of Faḥr al-Doule), as if all types of science were stopped before his time, and suddenly became prevalent. Everything from fiqh, speech, eloquence, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, poetry, and other kinds of science started in his time’.”²⁹⁶

Maqdesi wrote about the people of Rayy in the 4th/10th century as mentioned in the previous section. Moḥammad Ebn-e Zakariyā-ye Rāzi is the best known of all these important people, who are still famous among the Iranians. Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā’i writes:

“There were so many great men in fiqh, hadith, science, speech, and logic from Rayy whose names were all followed by Rāzi. When Rāzi is uttered in Ḥanafid Faqihs, it means Abu Bakr Rāzi, the contemporary faqih; Abu Bakr Rāzi was a physician, whenever there is a word of Rāzi, the physician and philosopher Imam Faḥr Rāzi is recalled, as Qoṭb-e Rāzi is reminded by Rāzi, the logician. But in our time, in which there is no word of knowledge and logic and Rāzi’s name is remembered only by a small number of orientalists, Moḥammad Zakariyā is recalled by the name of Rāzi in Iran.”²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.526

²⁹⁷ Moḥammad Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā’i: “Rāzi dar Šahr-e Rayy”, in: *Gohar* 1 (1351Š/1972) (It is our emphasis)

Here is a list of some of the most well-known public figures of Rayy.²⁹⁸

- 1- Ebn-e Karbuye Rāzi: rebelled against 'Abbāsīd. A long poem by him is recorded. (9th century)
- 2- Abu Bakr Rāzi: Şufi and theosophist.
- 3- Abu al-Faṭḥ Rāzi: Toğrol Bey's minister. (11th century)
- 4- Abu al-Mafāḥer Rāzi: Famous poet in the Seljuk Dynasty period. (12th century)
- 5- Abu 'Ali Meskuye Rāzi: Scientist in the 10th century. There is a record of his books such as Tağāreb al-Omam (Nations' Experience)
- 6- Aḥmad Ebn-e Musā Rāzi: Famous for vocabulary and syntax. The "Tāriḥ-e Andalos" (Andalusian History) was written by him. (10th century)
- 7- Aḥmad Ebn-e Ya'qub, Maqarri-ye Rāzi: Historian in the 9th century. The "Tāriḥ-e Aḥbār-e Bani 'Abbās" ('Abbāsīd News) History book was composed by him.
- 8- Amin Aḥmad Rāzi: Author of the book "Haft Eqlim" (Seven Lands) which lists poets by their region. (17th century)
- 9- Ḥasan Şabbāḥ: Leader of Ismailis (Bāṭenid) and a defiant in the Seljuk Dynasty. (11th century)
- 10- Zartošt Bahrām-e Paždo: Zoroastrian poet in the 13th century, translator of "Ardavirāf Nāme" from Pahlavi
- 11- Salmak-e Moqanni-ye Rāzi: Poet and songwriter in the 11th century
- 12- Şayḥ Şahāb al-Din Rāzi: Poet in the 16th century
- 13- Şayḥ Mofid Rāzi: One of the greatest faqihs of Shia, owned a school in Rayy in the Seljuk period
- 14- 'Abd al-Ġalil Rāzi: Preacher, scientist, and author in the 12th century, author of 'al-Naqż'
- 15- Abu al-Ḥoseyn Rāzi: Astronomer in the 10th century and author of 'al-Kavākeb al-Sābeteh'
- 16- Ḥasan Bahā al-Doule Qāsem Ebn-e Nurbaḥş: Physician and poet

²⁹⁸ For more information about Rayy's celebrities see Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, pp.264-463; 'Ali Şadrā'i-ye Ḥo'i: "Tariḥ va Farhang-e Rayy dar Ā'ine-ye Ketāb-e Naqż", in: *Ā'ine-ye Pažuheş* 80 (1382ş/ 2003)

17- Moḥammad Ebn-e Abu Bakr Abu 'Abd Allah Ḥanafī Rāzi: Scholar and faqih.(13th century)

18- Moḥammad Ebn-e Zakariyā-ye Rāzi: One of the greatest scientists, physicians and philosophers of the world in the past. (9th century)

19- Faḥr al-Din Rāzi: One of the greatest Šāfe'i interpreters. (12th century)

20- Moḥammad Ebn-e Qeys Šams al-Din Rāzi: One of the greatest scholars and poets in the 13th century

21- Moḥammad Ebn-e Musā (Kenāni) Rāzi: Historian in the 9th century and author of "al-Rāyāt"

22- Seqat al-Islam Kolayni Rāzi: Great faqih of Shia. (9th century)

23- Šayḥ Nağm al-Din Rāzi: Poet and scholar in the 13th century, author of the book "Meršād al-'Ebād"

24- Yaḥyā Ebn-e Ma'āz Abu Zakariyā-ye Rāzi: Great Šufi and Arif. (9th century)
(Image 4-9)

4.3 Tangible Cultural Layer

4.3.1 Handicrafts

What is presented here as handcraft of Rayy is the one which was found in Rayy or registered as the handcraft of Rayy in museums. Since Rayy was considered as a big trading centre and goods from different places came here, some researchers like Watson²⁹⁹ believe that many of these handcrafts found in Rayy were not actually produced there. We are not going to focus on this in the dissertation thesis. We assume that the handcrafts found in Rayy were produced there too - as long as no one proves this to be wrong.

²⁹⁹ Oliver Watson: *Persian lustre ware*, Faber and Faber, London-1985, pp. 37-41

- Metallic Handicrafts

We do not have much information about metallic handicrafts of Rayy. Maqdesi (4th/10th century) has talked about the packing needle of Rayy³⁰⁰. Karimān writes:

“It is possible to infer the advances of this art in Rayy by Arthur Upham Pope’s description of a box with a nice carving. He stated: “A bronze *Coffre* [Coffer], which looks like French thirteenth century work, was actually executed [made] in Rayy in the year 1197 (593 H.), as an inscription testifies.”³⁰¹ (Images 4-10, 4-11)

There are some metal objects, said to have originated from Rayy in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin presenting the level of metal art in Rayy. (Images 4-12, 4-13, 4-14)

- Glass Handicrafts

We have little information about the glass handicrafts of Rayy. There are several models in a Tehrān museum and the Art Institute of Chicago. (Images 4-15, 4-16)

- Pottery

Pottery has existed in western Asia since pre-historic periods. Timothy Matney writes:

“Painted ceramic traditions were widespread across southwestern Asia in the Early Chalcolithic period (roughly 5500 to 5000 B.C.), distributed from the central plateau of modern-day Turkey, across northern Syria, through Iraq [‘Irāq] and highland Iran to western Turkmenistan and the borders of the Kara Kum Desert. Among these Early Chalcolithic traditions, the exquisite prehistoric painted ceramics of Iran have long held the special attention of archaeologists, art historians, and collectors of antiquities. With their flocks of long-necked birds, prancing goats, and intricate geometric designs in bold black paint [...] these elegant vessels speak to contemporary sensibilities across a gap of some two hundred generations.”³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fi Ma’refat al-Aqālim*, p.592

³⁰¹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.570-571 ; Arthur Upham Pope: *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, Greenwood Press, Westport- 1970, p.65

³⁰² Timothy Matney: “Reviews and Reports. Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-‘Ali”, in: *Expedition*, vol.37, no.2 (1995)

As noted before, Češme 'Ali is a pre-historic civilization site in Iran. Erich F. Schmidt, an American archeologist, has studied and dug there, under scientific conditions, for the first time. Unfortunately, due to his early death, there is nothing left about it but a short report.³⁰³ Timothy Matney re-studied objects found by Schmidt, and provided a report. He writes about pottery of Češme 'Ali:

“The earliest vessels were handmade, although by the end of the Early Chalcolithic, evidence for the use of a slow wheel is found. Typically, the fabric of the vessel is a deep red color, although many lighter shades are also found. The vessels range from eggshell-thin cups to storage vessels with sides two or three cm thick and are characterized by a number of handle less forms: small round-bottomed cups with flaring rims, large spherical bowls and pedestalled vases being some of the more common. The pottery of Cheshmeh Ali [Češme 'Ali], however, is best identified by its painted decoration. The paint itself is dark, either a dark brown or, more commonly, black. The majority of sherds are painted with geometric designs: parallel bands, vertical stripes, diagonals, wavy lines, chevrons, dots and dashes. Another frequent motif is a floral or tree pattern with curling branches emanating from a vertical stalk or trunk. Vessel interiors are often painted in bands with cross-hatching which closely resembles the work of the basket weaver. We can only assume that many of the forms of these early pots were heavily influenced by traditions of basketry and woodworking which have left few traces in the archaeological record. Although less common than the geometric designs, the painted animals of Češme 'Ali form an important part of the ceramic tradition. Goats, ibexes, gazelles, and long-necked water birds parade in horizontal bands across the vessels showing the potter's skill at portraying both naturalistic renditions of the local fauna, as well as highly conventionalized animals, executed with only a minimum of strokes from the artist's brush. Representations of humans are exceedingly rare”.³⁰⁴ (Images 4-17)

³⁰³ See “4.3.3 Pre-historic Settlement of Češme 'Ali” in this Thesis

³⁰⁴ Matney: “Reviews and Reports. Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-'Ali”

Ġolāmrezā Ma'şumi, who has studied the role of gazelles in the pre-historic pottery of Iran, has written:

“Artists of this period did not draw realistic pictures, their works are more similar to geometrical figures showing animals escape or leap. Among interesting objects seen in discovered models of this civilization, in addition to pictures of several potteries, there are two pottery bowls with gazelles pictured on them. These two bowls are registered No. 594³⁰⁵ and No. 595 in the Iran Bastan Museum.”³⁰⁶ (Images 4-18)

Gray carved pottery can be mentioned as other pre-historic models in Ćeşme 'Ali, which date back to the 1st Millennium B.C. (Images 4-19). Some broken potteries from the Parthian period are mentioned in Schmidt's brief report:

“The characterless sherds of the Parthian period were at first not recognised, but they are present”³⁰⁷

During Rante's archeology studies in 2007 on the defense wall of Rayy, some potteries of Rayy were discovered which are assumed to date back to the Parthian period:

“The excavation of the rampart and the Şahrestān brought to light a very large quantity of grey pottery, which we propose to date to the Parthian period.”³⁰⁸

Unfortunately, pottery of the Seleucid and Achaemenid periods was not found in Rayy. Only some bricks were found of the Sassanid period in Rayy.³⁰⁹ The Islamic period is a period of growth of the pottery industry in Rayy. In Schmidt's report, it was mentioned that magnificent pottery from the Seljuk Dynasty period was found, and then he stated some things about the first Islamic period and the 'Abbāsi kings' period.³¹⁰ (Images 4-20)

³⁰⁵ He meant this ceramic bowl No. 588, not No. 594, which was shown previously

³⁰⁶ Ġolāmrezā Ma'şumi: “Naqş-e Boz-e Kūhi dar Sofālhā-ye Piş az Tariḡ-e Irān” in: *Barresihā-ye Tāriḡi* 27 (1349Ş/1980)

³⁰⁷ Erich Schmidt: *Flight Over Ancient Cities of Iran*, University of Chicago press, Chicago -1940, p.32

³⁰⁸ R. Rante: “The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period”, in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLV (2007)

³⁰⁹ See: *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Erich Schmidt: *Flight Over Ancient Cities of Iran*, p.31

As mentioned before, some researchers suppose that ceramics of Rayy were not necessarily produced in Rayy. Considering Rayy as a trading centre, it is likely that the ceramics originate in other ceramic producing centres like Kāšān.³¹¹ But firstly, while there is no evidence to confirm such a hypothesis, it remains as a hypothesis; therefore from a scientific point of view what has been found in Rayy belongs to Rayy unless it is proved wrong. Additionally, the following three sources can be utilised in order to approve that the ceramics belong to Rayy:

1. Written sources that mention ceramic production.
2. Traces of kilns or kiln inventory, potter's tools etc.
3. Scientific analyses of clay composition that proves the identity of local clay with that of certain ceramics.

Out of the above-mentioned sources, the first two are available as evidence for ceramics in Rayy:

In the book “*Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim*” (10th century), plates were mentioned as export goods of Rayy.³¹² Moreover, in the book “*Maṣnavi*” Vol. 6 (13th century), bowls were also described as export goods of Rayy.³¹³ Although none of the sources mentioned the material of the plates or bowls, it can be assumed that they are ceramics, since generally in Persian language the material of the bowls would be clearly stated if they were not made of clay. Regarding the existence of kilns in Rayy, the important point that should be taken into account is that Rayy has not completely and entirely been discovered yet, however in the research of Schmidt, a kiln was found in the northern part of Rayy:

“Potters must have moved frequently throughout the streets of Rayy between their kilns, workshops, and street front shops. Ceramic kilns produce ill-smelling smoke and for this reason they were often located at the edges of Islamic period towns and cities. The one

³¹¹ Watson: *Persian lustre ware*, pp.41, 44

³¹² Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fi Ma'rafat al-Aqālim*, p.592

³¹³ Ġalāl al-Din Moḥammad Ebn-e Moḥammad-e Balḫi (Rumi): *Maṣnavi-ye Ma'navi* vol.6, ed. by 'Abd al-Karim Soruš, 5. Edition, 'Elmi va Farhangi, Tehrān-1378š/1999, pp. 922-923

kiln found in the excavations at Rayy conforms to this arrangement since it was situated at the northern outskirts of the central city on the Cheshmeh Ali [Češme 'Ali] mound.”³¹⁴ Anyway since we are not supposed to discuss Rayy's ceramic art history, we only present a few examples of those ceramics found in Rayy. These ceramics belong to no later than the end of 13th century and even if they were not produced in Rayy, they could be considered at least as a good evidence of life in Rayy after Mongol attack. (Images: 4-21 to 4-25)

- Fabric Weaving

Weaving carpets and various fabrics has been an Iranian art since ancient times. Producing carpets and fabrics needs a textile and spinning industry, of which there is lots of evidence found on archeological sites:

“Today, in villages such as “Češme 'Ali” in Rayy and “Pizdeli” hill in Āz̄arbāyğān, a model of a manual spindle with a hole was found. Grand spindles were often used in the 4th millennium B.C. A model of a grand spindle was found in “Čogāmiš” in Ĥuzestān.”³¹⁵

The oldest evidence of weaving and cutting fabric is linked to the Medes, found in lithographs of Persepolis. Median Empire, which Rayy was a part of, existed from 708 B.C. to 505 B.C. and eventually fell due to the establishment of the Achaemenid Empire. But their culture and especially their clothing lasted for centuries in Iran.

“The Achaemenid kings were famous for having nice and splendid clothes. The Medes' clothes were still noteworthy in this period, inasmuch as the Achaemenid clothes changed into those of the Medes. [...] After the downfall of the Achaemenid government and the domination of the Parthians, fabric weaving did not advance much in Iran due to the influence of Greek civilization and quarrelsome morale of the Parthian kings. Bone engravings attained in archeological excavations show the common clothes of this

³¹⁴ Tanya Treptow: *Daily Life Ornamented. The Medieval Persian City of Rayy*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago-2007, p. 48; See E. J. Keall: “The Topography and Architecture of Medieval Rayy”. in: *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.-10. September 1976* (AMI Ergänzungsband 6), Berlin 1979, pp.541-542

³¹⁵ Mahnāz Šāyestefar: “Negāhi bar Honar-e Nassāği-ye Irān”, in: *Ketāb-e Māh-e Honar* 120 (1387š/2008)

period well. For instance, on one of the bones a man can be seen with bushy hair and a ruff-collared robe in front of which there is a cut. It can generally be said that the Parthians wore the Medes' clothes the same as their ancestors and used picots to design the fringe of clothes."³¹⁶ (Images 4-26, 4-27)

Therefore, although there is no evidence of fabrics from Rayy before the Sassanids, it is possible to talk about weaving clothes there, because of the Medes' culture there and how it reached the ancient world's east to west road (known as silk road), the gate of Chinese silk import to Iran, and the presence of important products such as cotton and spinning and weaving machines in this city. But the Sassanid period is one of the most important historical periods of Iran and Rayy was one of the most important cities in that period for weaving various patterned fabric.

"In addition to various silk and cotton fabric weaving, the importance of fabric weaving in Rayy is producing a special kind of "Do Poudi" or by two weft silk fabric which was famous all around the world in the Sassanid period, and was exported to other countries, and about which there is a story saying once Ḥosro Parviz asked his kind servant to inform him of the best clothes to which he replied: Šāhḡāni and Dabiqi in spring, cotton and Tuzi and Šaṭavi in summer, Do Poudi Rāzi (by two weft) in fall, and fur in winter. Do Poudi was woven with the same technique and quality in the same city's manufactories during the Islamic period and became the most typical fabric of the beginning of the Islamic and Seljuk Dynasty Period, known as Monayyer Rāzi."³¹⁷

This kind of fabric was considered the most important product and export of this city wherever there was a word about Rayy's economic system in historic, geographic, and

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Zohre Ruḡfar,: "Naqši Kohan bar Bafttehā va Sofālinehā-ye Rayy", in: *Ketāb-e Māh-e Honar* 25&26 (1379š/2000)

Description of all types of fabric:

Šāhḡāni fabric: A fine type of fabric made in Merv

Dabiqi: A type of fabric relative to Dabigh in Egypt

Tuzi: A very fine and light type of cotton relative to Tuz on the borderline of Fars and Ahvāz

Šaṭavi: Cotton fabric made in Šaṭāt village in Egypt

Monayyer: A kind of fabric in which the warp and weft were put two ply

numerous present itineraries and texts. Iranian fabric was so widespread indeed that it even entered the Egyptian Fāṭemid Emperors' court.³¹⁸ Rayy is an important fabric weaving center in Iran which is mentioned in different texts by the historians of that period. Abudolaf wrote about Rāzi fabrics in the 4th/10th century:

“A kind of fabric woven in Rayy was named Rāzi. This fabric was Rayy's specialty and could not be woven in any other place. I saw a bolt of about 200 span sold for ten thousand Dirhams.”³¹⁹

Maqdesi mentioned Monayyer fabric:

“Exports of Rayy include Bord and Monayyer fabrics, cotton, big plates, needles, and combs.”³²⁰

Some fabrics of the Buyid Dynasty and Seljuk Dynasty were probably found in graves located in Naqāre Ḥāne Mountain (Ṭabarak) in 1303š/1924, although their authenticity has been put into doubt. Ruḥfar writes:

“A considerable amount of Do Poudi silk fabrics found in Rayy, obtained from Naqāre Ḥāne excavations, were presented in Cleveland in the Colombia and Louvre museum. Most of these fabrics were witnessed to be used for burial ceremonies in early Islamic centuries and the Buyid Dynasty and Seljuk Dynasty (before the Mongol attack). The actual intention of burial is uncertain because it is not clear whether a shroud or the coffin cover is referred to. A report, quoted from Setāre-ye Iran newspaper No. 45 in 1303š/1924 says: ‘Morteza Ḥān, brigadier general and military governor in Tehrān, and Nāyeb Reżā Ḥān, military chief executive, together with a number of corporations attended renowned historic sites in pursuit of Mount Naqāre Ḥāne discoveries the other day and evidently, a gigantic coffin was found in one of the graves which were too heavy to be moved. The coffin, preserved in a governmental organization, was checked, and some pieces of silk shroud in different colors with very strange patterns and lines,

³¹⁸ Parvin Barzin: “Pārcheha-ye Qadim-e Irān”, in: *Honar va Mardom* 59(1346š/1967)

³¹⁹ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, p.75

³²⁰ Abu 'Abd Allah Moḥammad Ebn-e Aḥmad Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'refat al-Aqālim*, Trans. by 'Ali Naqi Monzavi, Tehrān-1361š/1982, p.592

besides some silk and stripes from the clothing of the woman's body in the coffin. A piece of brown fabric found at the bottom and on the walls of this coffin presented images of small animals and drawings similar to Latin ones. But the coffin itself is very thick and hard, but with some decay on top'. By letters similar to Latin we mean the Kufic script on the fabric. It is notable that Naqāre Hāneh has been registered in the list of Iranian Historic Monuments in 25 Farvardin 1313š [14 April 1934] with No. 203. It is located in the hillside adjacent to the glycerin factory northeast of Rayy. Some pieces of exquisite fabric were found in the winter of 1924 by excavations in this place. Schmidt did some landscaping and continued his scientific excavation there while examining Rayy's ruins. Some structures were found in Gabri hill, 1 km east of this place, which are the same as toms in Naqāre Hāne, and some silk fabric, belonging to the Dailamites and the Seljuk Dynasty period, was found. [...] The discovered fabrics belonged to shrouds or coffin covers. [...] Some prayers and poems about death and nullity and penitence and ask for forgiveness had been woven in Kufic script on it, literally the current script of that period which was used to transcribe the holy book of Quran. The epigraphs were usually drawn on the margin and the patterns were similar to those of Sassanid fabrics inside geometrical frames separated from each other or tangentially aligned to each other. Design topics of these fabrics are often different animals such as eagles or mythological animals such as phoenixes, winged lions and sometimes human figures which are drawn symmetrically. That would be the same prevalent style of Sassanid in which two symmetrical tree patterns, maybe meaning the tree of life, are seen."³²¹ (Images 4-28, 4-29, 4-30)

"One of the best fabric models is a piece belonging to the Irān-e Bāstān Museum, bought in 1337š/1958, with a length of 43 cm and a width of 35 cm. And as it is said, the owner divided it into pieces to use more of it (as it was mentioned, the other pieces are preserved in museums overseas or kept by personal collectors). The main pattern on this piece of fabric is that of huge brown two-headed eagles with open wings carrying a man upwards on a cream background. There is a Kufic text saying " من كبره همه كثره "

³²¹ Ruḥfar,: "Naqāshi Kohan bar Baftēhā va Sofālinehā-ye Rayy"

”قیمه” on the margin of their wings. These birds are separated with cypress-treelike patterns. Some ribbons are seen above the birds’ heads designed with من طاب اصله ذکی “فعله”. Even though the artist has tried to use Kufic script, the most common Islamic pattern, seemingly the other designs are borrowed from former periods and the artist has tried to create a nice design of creatures regarding religious orders.”³²² (Images 4-31, 4-32)

Moṣṭafavi’s reports about the discovery of these fabrics are as follows:

“The remnants of the nice brick tower of ‘Twelve Edges’ are placed in a hillside near chemical and incombustible materials in Taqi Ābād in the northeast of Rayy. The tower is located in the middle of a big circular stone plate (36 m in diameter) and a two-storey reinforced stone-and-plaster room, and an octagonal brick and stone tower is visible on the top. All of these monuments were tombs of patriarchs of the Dailamites and the Seljuk Dynasty which are exposed to excessive excavations due to the sudden discovery of antique exquisite pieces of fabric in March 1303š [1924] and therefore, Schmidt, the American archeologist, did some digging while excavating there and the archeologists did a proper restoration and reinforcement in the monuments after 1327š [1948]. There is the foundation of another tower similar to these tombs in another small hill called “Gabri Hill”, one kilometer east of this place, outside Amin Ābād, in which precious fabrics of the Dailamites and the Seljuk Dynasty were found as well.”³²³

There exists a piece of fabric with the number 18/578, which is traceable back to the 12th century, in the cathedral in Bremen, Germany, which was taken from Islamic countries in Spain. The design with two-headed eagles can be seen on this fabric, too. (Image 4-33)

Abbas Daneshvari (‘Abbās Dānešvari) indicates the figure of the “two-headed eagle” among Mesopotamian works of art and ancient Egypt. He proves that this exact eagle with one head towards the east and the other towards the west resembles the sun in

³²² Barzin: “Pārčeha-ye Qadim-e Irān”

³²³ Moṣṭafavi, Moḥammad Taqi: *Āsār-e Tārīḫi-ye Tehrān*, ed. by Mir Hāšem Moḥaddes, 2.Edition, Garus, Tehrān-1375š/1996, p.139

accordance with sources from the Islamic period. The sultan (Solṭān) was counted as a symbol of the sun ever since and has been used for it as well.³²⁴ The discovered fabrics in Rayy were claimed to be of recent origin by Florence E. Day in 1951:

“There is no evidence to show that any reputable scholar or archeologist witnessed the actual diggings, nor has the reviewer been able to find the publication of the names of the original finders”³²⁵

In addition, she claimed they were not woven in Iran, after a comparative analogy on the design. The main issue in rejecting the genuineness of these fabrics is the proposition that most of them are discovered and sold by inadmissible excavators, while, on the contrary, most of them were discovered by archeologists. Erich Schmidt wrote a report about finding several pieces of fabric during his discoveries, which is quoted accurately due to the importance of the issue of rejecting the forgery of the fabric:

“The tomb chambers of the royal family had been rifled by diggers about ten years ago. However, we found some more pieces of such interesting fabrics as those which had been recovered previously. With infinite care Mary-Helen sewed the valuable fragile scraps on pieces of white fabric in order to restore their designs and to preserve the garments.”³²⁶

Ferrier writes:

“In the 1970s tests on fibres, dyes and weave-structure of thirty-nine silks at the Abegg-Stiftung Bern, concluded that thirty-one were suspect. [...] A report from Cleveland Museum of Art, which owns fragments of the same silks, disputed these findings. Clearly, controlled scientific tests of a larger number of textiles, using recently-refined methods, are desirable. It is perfectly possible that some may be modern, but the invention of a new, complex iconography, epigraphically correct, the emulation of medieval fibres, dyes and weaves, for which modern technology could help little, and

³²⁴ Abbas Daneshvari: *Of Serpents and Dragon in Islamic Art*, Mazda, Costa Mesa-2011, pp.136-142

³²⁵ Florence E. Day: “Soieries persanes. By Gaston Wiet. Cairo. Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archoologie Orientale, 1947”, in: *Ars Islamica*, ed. by Richard Ettinghausen, Vols. XV-XVI - 1951, p.232; and reply by F. E. Day, pp. 250-251

³²⁶ Schmidt: *Flight Over Ancient Cities of Iran*, p.31

the simulation of fabric fatigue would demand skills and organisation of no mean order.”³²⁷ (Image 4-34)

Even if it was proved that these fabrics were originally produced in Rayy during the 10th and 11th century, it is not certain that these fabrics are an example of the fabrics Rayy was famous for, which have been described in Historical sources. Unfortunately, there are no signs of fabric weaving to be found in Rayy after the Seljuk Dynasty period. Today, there are no remains of the fabric weaving factory Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Farahāni (Ḥoseyn Ābād in Rayy is named after him) had established there, in the period of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh Qajar.

“Inhabiting and establishing the lands of Rayy to three qanāts was done by Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Farahāni on the mentioned date, which is now the village named Ḥoseyn Ābād named after Dabir al-Molk where a decent brocade fabric weaving factory was settled.”³²⁸

And this was the last sign of fabric woven in Rayy, which once was famous around the world for it.

- Wooden Tools

The making of wooden tools in Rayy reaches back a very long time. Ebn-e Faqih writes in the 3rd and 4th /9th and 10th century:

“Many wooden tools were made in Rayy, such as wooden combs, wooden saltcellars, and wooden skimmers.”³²⁹

This industry persisted, despite wars, massacres, and the discontinuation in the 8th/14th century (after the Mongol attack). Qazvini writes:

“The comb makers in Rayy are so special that others cannot rival them, the combs are smooth, very subtle and elegant. And there are tools and devices made of ling from

³²⁷ Ronald W. Ferrier (ed.): *The Arts of Persia*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London- 1989, p.157

³²⁸ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E‘temād al-Saltāne: *Al-Ma‘āser v-al-Āsār*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 2. Edition, Asāṭir-1374š/1995, p.99

³²⁹ Ebn-e Faqih Hamedāni: *Moḥtaṣar al-Boldān*, Leiden – 1884, p.253. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.575

Ṭabarestān, which is brought to Rayy and is not prepared, so Rayyians carve and trim them and then glaze and polish them in any possible way and then make tools out of them and take them to cities.”³³⁰

The cenotaph of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm, made very delicately and subtly by Yaḥyā Ebn-e Moḥammad Eṣfahāni (Isfahani) in 725/1325 of nut wood and aloe and areca, with some epigraphs in Sols and Nashḥ, is one of the most important pieces of evidence after the Mongol attack.³³¹ (Image 4-35)

4.3.2 Various Kinds of Buildings in Rayy

There are only some mausoleums, mosques, and remains of old foundations and walls left over from the glorious period of Rayy. There are also a number of semi-ruined houses and caravanserais from the Qajar period. Consequently, all the information we have for archeological reports, except for studying the limited amount of ancient scripts, is merely gained by accounts of old historians and geographers, which are for the most part exaggerated in the numbers. What can be deduced about the city from historic scripts is the beauty of the public buildings in the period in which Rayy thrived. Ebn-e Ḥouqal states that buildings were brick-built, using plaster and brick, in Rayy in the 4th/10th century.³³² In the Seljuk period, tile-work increased on the facade of buildings and the city became more elegant. Yāqut wrote in the 7th/ 13th century:

“So I visited the famous city of Rayy and its surprising reputation and fame of buildings constructed and designed with firm decorated bricks, painted and glazed blue like china dishes.”³³³

There are some exaggerated numbers about the buildings in Rayy mentioned by historians. Mostaufi wrote in Nozhat al-Qolub in the 8th/14th century:

³³⁰ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Qazvini: *Āṣār al-‘Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, p.135

³³¹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.575

³³² Ebn-e Ḥouqal: *Ṣurat al-Arḥ*, Beirut- (n.y.), p.321. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.332-333

³³³ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo’ġam al-Boldān* vol.2, p.893. . According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.333

“The ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdi, Moḥammad Ebn-e Abu Davāniq-e ‘Abbāsi, restored that monument and then the city looked great, as it is said: there were thirty thousand mosques and two thousand seven hundred and fifty minarets in there. It is about twelve thousand footpaces around its wall.”³³⁴

And Amin Aḥmad Rāzi (11th/17th century) provided a report of the 2nd/8th century which was rendered completely invalid:

“In the time of al-Mahdi, Rayy’s buildings were as follows: 6000 schools and Ḥānqāh, 400 bathrooms, 1360 mosques, 46400 water mills, 1200 caravanserais, 12700 minarets, 15035 glaciers, 450 gristmill, 700 flowing Qanāts [canals], ... 96 provinces (Mahalas), 46 alleys in each province, 46 houses in each alley [...]”³³⁵

Now we will proceed by portraying the various kinds of buildings of Rayy:

- Mosques

The first mosque in Rayy was built when Muslims conquered this city and, like in other conquered cities, they built a mosque next to it. Balāzori wrote in the 2nd/8th century:

“Qarzat Ebn-e Ka’b-e Anṣāri was the last person to conquer Rayy in Abu Musā province in Kufa from Osmān Caliph. So Rayy became peaceful and the functionaries went to Zeynabdi Fortress.”³³⁶

In the next centuries, when various religions appeared in Rayy, the followers of each had a separated mosque for themselves. ‘Abd al-Ġalil Rāzi talks about the various mosques of the late Seljuk period (6th/12th century):

“One of the most honorable cities in the world is Rayy in which there is a mosque in Rude [street], belonging to the Aš’aris (Ash’aris), a Ṭoḡrol mosque belonging to the

³³⁴ Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Nozhat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, p.53

³³⁵ Amin Aḥmad Rāzi: *Haft Eqlim*, vol.3, ed. by Ġavād Fāzel, Tehrān- (n.y.), p.3 According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.107

³³⁶ Aḥmad Ebn-e Yahyā al-Balāzori: *Fotuh al-Boldān*, Brill, Leiden-1866, p.319. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.518

strict loyal Ḥanafid (Hanafi), and triple old mosques, built by the Shia Dailamites, and are told to belong to the Nağğāri Ḥanafids.”³³⁷

According to historical texts, the name of these mosques are as follows: ³³⁸

- 1- The first mosque of Rayy: located inside the Castle, near Naqāre Ḥāne Mountain
 - 2- Al-Mahdi or ‘Atiq Jame’ Mosque: largest mosque of Rayy, built in the year 158/775 in Šahrestān, located right under castle and around Ḥoseyn Ābād
 - 3- Rude Jame’ Mosque: located in Rude region and belongs to the Ash’aris
 - 4- Sarhang Sāvetkin or New Jame’ Mosque.
 - 5- Ṭoğrol Jame’: a very large mosque for the Ḥanafid (Hanafid).
 - 6- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Neyšāburi (Nishapuri) Mosque
 - 7- Ḥanzāle Mosque
 - 8- Šağare mosque: ‘al-Šağare’ is famous in Rayy, for the apple tree under which Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim is buried [...] the mosque is Šağare and the cemetery is Šağare. With this mosque located right next to the Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim mausoleum, it can be assumed that this mosque was the very same mosque or had at least the same core. Unfortunately no archaeological report has been published so far, but in the investigation report of the Cultural Heritage Organization this mosque was referred to as a salğuk mosque.³³⁹ – (Catalogue: S-4)
 - 9- Al-Ġarā Mosque: This mosque was built in Zāmahrān.
- It must be remembered that a mosque was discovered in the foothill of Sorsore (Raškān Castle) during Schmidt’s diggings which is called al-Mahdi Mosque by André Godard in a book about Iranian works and Minorsky in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. (Images 4-36, 4-37)

³³⁷ Naṣir al-Din Abu al-Rašid ‘Abd al-Ġalil Qazvini-ye Rāzi: *Naqz*, ed. by Mir Ġalāl al-Din Moḥaddes, Anğoman-e Ašār-e Melli, Tehrān-1358š/1979, pp.551-552

³³⁸ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.312-329

³³⁹ Qadir Afrund: *Gozāreš-e Pažuheši va Barresi va Šenāsā’i-e Āšār-e Bāstāni va Tāriḫi (Ḥouze-ye Rayy)* vol.2, Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Tehrān-1381š/2002, p.289

Ḥoseyn Karimān rejected this opinion first in the book 'Rayy-e Bāstān' and then in a single article called 'Yādnāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorsky' which are both mentioned in the summary below:

"The al-Mahdi Jame' Mosque was built in the city or province of Rayy, and there was a ditch in the middle far from the ancient wall of Rayy. In Ebn-e Faqih's al-Boldān, it is said in short: 'al- Mahdi constructed that mosque in the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr Dynasty epoch and also the city and the ditch around it.' In Eṣṭaḥrī's al-Masālek, in the Chairō edition, p. 123, and Ebn-e Ḥouqal's Ṣurat al-Arż, in the Beirut edition, p. 321, it is said: 'Rayy has a castle, and there is a Jame' mosque there.' In the Persian translation of Eṣṭaḥrī's al-Masālek, 1340š [1961] edition, p. 170, it is said: 'The Jame' Mosque is in the Rayy province.' The mosque found by Schmidt was also outside of the province and close to the wall and away from the old ditch. The al-Mahdi Mosque was close to Ṭabarak fortress (Rayy-e Bāstān, p. 454 & 490). Maqdesi stated in Aḥsan al-Taqāsim: 'And the Jame' Mosque is near the castle in the province (inner city) side.' Ebn-e Rustah mentioned in al-A'lāq al-Nafise (Leiden edition, Vol. 7, p.168): 'Rayy's castle was on top of the mountain before the Jame' Mosque.' According to Yāqut in Mo'ğam al-Boldān (Leipzig edition, Vol. 3, p. 507), the Castle is located to the right side of a passenger travelling to Ḥorāsān when the great mountain of Rayy is placed to the left of him, however, this address, as it can be seen, matches with the current Naqāre Ḥāne and not with the Sorsore mountain.³⁴⁰ The al-Mahdi Mosque was built in a place likely to be struck with flood most of the times, and according to Yāqut (Mo'ğam al-Boldān, Vol. 4, p. 431), when people started to dig for the foundation to build the mosque, they faced the walls of buildings ruined due to flooding. The place of the mosque discovered by Schmidt is far away from streams and secure from floods. According to these signs and other signs not necessary to be mentioned here, the al-Mahdi Mosque is supposed to

³⁴⁰ To get more information see Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.487-498; section '3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location' in this thesis.

be located between the current Taqi Ābād and Naqāre Ḥāne Mountain, near the stream of the current Ḥoseyn Ābād, which is compatible with all evidence and documents.”³⁴¹

- Ḥānqāhs and Schools (Madrase) – (See Catalogue: Q-12)

Ḥānqāhs and schools (Madrase) in the Islamic period had just one output, but their people had two different beliefs. Ṣadrā'i-ye Ḥo'i writes:

“In the 6th/12th century, the Shiites did significant scientific and educational activities and various educational centers, such as schools, were active. The names of several schools which were the center of scientific activities for Shiites are mentioned in the book ‘Naqz’ as follows:

1- Tāğ al-Din Moḥammad Kisaki School: “First, this large school, known as Kolāh Duzān according to Mobārak Šarafi, is about 90 years old and it is a school where people read the Quran, recite Jame' prayers five times a day and listen to preachers twice a week, and it is a place for Mu'takifs³⁴² to debate there and scientists, scholars, Sādāts, and faqihs go there and it is very well-known”

2- Šams al-Islam Ḥaskā Bābawayh School: “This school, named after the tribes' religious leader, was near the Sarā-ye Ayālat, and it is a school where they read the Quran together, taught children to do so, and preached to the people, and made some fatwas”

3- Sādāt Kisaki School: This school was located between the previously mentioned two schools, and was a students' and seekers' dormitory.³⁴³

4- Faqih 'Ali Ġāsbi School: “This school, about which Ḥāğe Amirak says that there is no school like that in any other tribe and there are some Sādāts living there and people read the Quran and say Jame' prayers, is in the Eşfahāni (Isfahani) an area”

³⁴¹ Ḥoseyn Karimān: “Nazāri be Maqāle-ye Rayy Mondarağ dar Dā'erat al-Ma'āref-e Eslāmi”, in: *Yādnāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorski*, ed. by Moğtabā Minovi; Irağ Afšār, Daneşgah-e Tehrān, Tehrān-1348ş/1969, pp.125-126

³⁴² The person who retreats in the mosque for devotions. (See: *Islam For Your Information Site*)

³⁴³ This school is in fact the same Rayān Ḥānqāh mentioned as the thesis proceeds.

5- Hāḡe 'Abd al-Ġabbār Mofid School: "400 faqihs and preachers were taught shari'a law there. And it is known for its science education, Jame' prayers, Quran reading, and faqihs' meetings"

6- Kuye Firuz (Firuz alley) School.

7- Hāḡe Imam Rašid Rāzi School: "It is located in the Ġārub Bandān Gate and more than 200 scholars who were all great Allāmehs (highest scholars) in their time studied religion, fiqh, and shari'a lessons there, , and students are still studying there and it has a library full of various books"

8- Šayḡ Heydar Makki School: This was in the Mošleḡāh quarter.

9- 'Abd al-Ġalil Rāzi School: He was preaching in this school and says: "In year 550 [1155], I had a preaching program there every Friday of every month"³⁴⁴

In addition to the aforementioned notes excerpted from the book "Naqz", Karimān mentions seven more schools in ancient Rayy:

1- Sayyed Zāhed Abu al-Fotuḡ School: In Malek Šāh Seljuk's time in the Darvāze-ye Āhani (Iron Gate) quarter. (For the Shiites)

2- Šāh Qāzi School: It was located in Zāmahrān quarter at the time of Šāh Qāzi Rostam Ebn-e 'Ali Ebn-e Šahriār, the fifth king of Minuyeh Āl-e Bāvand; especially for the Shiites, 120 thousand Dinārs were spent to build it and seven villages of Rayy were its dedications

3- Hāḡe Šaraf Moradi School: In the late 6th/12th century. It also had a Hānqāh

4- Solṡān Moḡammad School: In Malek Šāh Solṡān Moḡammad's time, not exactly clear who he was [Moḡammad Ebn-e Malek Šāh Seljuk (498-511/1105-1117) or his grandchild Moḡammad Ebn-e Maḡmud Ebn-e Moḡammad Ebn-e Malek Šāh (547-554/1152-1159)]?

5- Moḡammad Ebn-e Qoṡb al-Din Rāvandi School: This school of the 6th/ 12th century was probably placed west or northwest of Emānzāde 'Abd Allah (in Mošleḡāh)

6- Vazāniān School: For Sunnis in the 6th/12th century and built by Moḡammad Vazān, a great leader of the Šāfe'is

³⁴⁴ Šadrā'i-ye Ho'i: "Tariḡ va Farhang-e Rayy dar Ā'ine-ye Ketāb-e Naqz"

7- Zaydiān School: Only mentioned in the book al-Naqẓ, but the location is unknown. The Zaydiāns were part of the Shiites It is believed that the Ḥāġe Šaraf Moradi School and the Solṭān Moḥammad and 'Emād Vazān Schools belonged to the Sunnis and the rest belonged to the Shiites.³⁴⁵

Karimān also mentions four Ḥānqāhs as follows:

1- Amir Eqbāli Ḥānqāh: There is no information

2- Rayān Ḥānqāh: It was actually a school between the two schools of Tāġ al-Din Moḥammad Kisaki and Ḥaskā in Solṭān Moḥammad's time. Therefore it was probably located south of Ebn-e Bābawayh and east of Emāmzāde 'Abd Allah

3- Šaraf Moradi Ḥānqāh: The place of his school and Ḥānqāh is unknown

4- 'Ali 'Aṣṣār Ḥānqāh: In Solṭān Malek Šāh's period. Its location is unknown³⁴⁶

Other monuments discovered in Rayy in 1930 show that there is probably a school in which the direction of Qibla is erroneous. Hillenbrand writes:

“Godard himself, the source of all the information available, at first expressed himself with reserve as to its function but eventually he shed such caution and treated the identification as a certainty. Nevertheless he produced no arguments to offset his earlier qualms about the eccentric orientation of the structure and its equally atypical emphasis – by means of the differential size of the *iwans* - on the east-west rather than the north - south axis. It must also be admitted that the sixteen habitable spaces which together parcel out the ground plan do not correspond in their layout to any known *madrasa*. All this being admitted, it would be still more accurate to say that no medieval house of this kind is known either; that ten of the ground-floor spaces could well have functioned as cells accommodating one or several students, to say nothing of the capacity of an upper floor; that cases of the faulty orientation of religious buildings are legion in medieval Islam, and that the difficulties of that kind presented by this building disappear if one assumes that the west *iwan* is intended to function as if it faced southwest, the direction of the *qibla*.[...] Finally, and most significantly of all, the presence of a *mihrab* is not

³⁴⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.530-543

³⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.533-534

easily explained away.[...] The presence of a *mihrab* with a Qur'anic inscription in a private house takes somewhat more explaining than does the eccentric orientation of a *madrassa*.”³⁴⁷ (Images 4-38, 4-39)

What we know about Qajar is that Amin al-Soltān had established a school in the southwest porch of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim which was not studied by scholars.³⁴⁸

Currently, the remains of the portal of a school in the bazaar (on the Shrine side), named 'Borhān Theology School', are located on the same place of the previous school which needs to be studied more extensively. (Image 4-40)

- Libraries

Šāḥeb Ebn-e 'Abbād, the famous minister of Faḥr al-Doule Dailami, had provided a very large library in Rayy in the 4th/10th century. Although the number of its books is exaggerated, its large size cannot be denied. A summary of Karimān's report says:

Šāḥeb Ebn-e 'Abbād's library in Rayy is validated by several historians. But the number of its books is different. In Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim in 375 [985] it is said 'there are not many books there.' But in Yatimat al-Dahr and Rauẓat al-Ġannāt, quoted from Abu al-Ḥasan Fārsi, and also in Mo'ġam al-Odabā by Yāqut, it is mentioned that its books were carried by 400 or more camels. In Rauẓat al-Ġannāt, quoted by Hāfeẓ Šafari from Šāḥeb: 'My library contains 217,000 books.' After Šāḥeb's death, his possessions were taken by Faḥr al-Doule and his children were disappropriated. Soltān Maḥmud Qazvnavi occupied it in Maġd al-Doule's (Faḥr al-Doule's successor) time and set every book about philosophy, E'tezal, and astronomy on fire. Ebn-e Aṣir writes about the events of 420 [1029]: 'He burnt philosophy, Mu'tazila's, and astronomy books, and furthermore stole 100 loads of those books as well.' And Rauẓat al-Šafā also mentioned: 'There were many books in the library of Maġd al-Doule, but everything was

³⁴⁷ Robert Hillenbrand: *Islamic Architecture. Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh University Press- 1994, p.181

³⁴⁸ See E'temād al-Saltāne: *Al-Ma'āser v-al-Āsār*, p.114

burnt including Mu'tazilins and scholars' speeches and the rest were taken to Ḥorāsān.

349

Arthur Pope stated in his book *Masterpieces of Persian Art*.

"Libraries were costly affairs. Princes like Sahib-ibn Abbad [Šāḥeb Ebn-e 'Abbād] in the tenth century might own as many books as could be found in all the libraries of Europe combined"³⁵⁰

In addition, Karimān mentioned three other libraries in Rayy: Šaraf al-Din Moḥammad's Library, Rašid Rāzi School's Library and Šāh Qāzi School's Library.³⁵¹

- Caravanserais

The caravanserais of Iran are divided into two general groups: inside of the city and outside of the city. Caravanserais inside the city, which are places to keep goods, animals, and camel keepers, were mostly located in bazaars. Since Rayy has been a large trade center between the East and West, there were several caravanserais there as well, as Maqdesi reports in the 4th/10th century:

"Rayy is a decent, pleasant, ancient, honorable, fertile city with big bazaars, good caravanserais, clean baths, and delicious foods."³⁵²

What remains of the caravanserais in today's historic area of the city is a caravanserai Doqolu (twine caravanserai) in its new bazaar north of the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine, and the other is the Šāh 'Abbāsi Caravanserai a little further from the bazaar's entrance. The name of the caravanserai is written in front of it on the map of 1342Š/1963. There is also another building that is likely to be a Qajari semi-ruined caravanserai before it. (Images 4-41, 4-42, 4-43, 4-44) – (Catalogue: Sa-3, Q-2)

³⁴⁹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.543-549

³⁵⁰ Pope: *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, p.151

³⁵¹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.549-550

³⁵² Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'refat al-Aqālim*, p.582

- Bazaars – (Catalogue: Q-9)

What is famous as ‘Rayy Bazaar’ is indeed the ‘Village of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm’ from the Qajar period and there is nothing left of the famous bazaars of that period except the name in the books of historians and geographers. Since the names of the old bazaars of Rayy are exactly the same as its the gates’ names in their vicinity, it is deduced that these bazaars were located right from the entrance of the city gates. This theory is confirmed with this report from historians that the ‘bazaars were located in the suburbs’. As mentioned above, Maqdesi stated about these bazaars: “Rayy, a decent city, [...] with big bazaars...”³⁵³ and “the outer city is inhabited, but it doesn’t have a bazaar [they were intent on building the inner one, but they did not]. Bazaars and buildings are in the suburbs.”³⁵⁴

“Bazaars were mostly open on top and without any roofs, and according to the sources, some of them were garden-like and others were a wide street. In Mo’ğam al-Boldān there is a description of a camel keepers’ bazaar: ‘That bazaar passes in the middle of the province, there is a stream in the middle, trees are growing on the sides, and the bazaar is located in the middle’. In Eṣṭaḥri and Ebn-e Ḥouqal’s books there is a description of the Rude bazaar as follows: And that bazaar (Rude) is a wide street with several markets, buildings, and houses.”³⁵⁵ (Images 4-45, 4-46, 4-47)

- Fire Temple and Palace

1- Tappe Mil (Mil Hill) – (Catalogue: BI-7)

For a very long time and especially since the Sassanid period, Rayy has been a religious city and the place of the Zoroastrian Mobads. What remains of Rayy’s Fire Temples today are merely the remains of a building in Tappe Mil (Mil Hill), 12 km southeast of the Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm shrine. This building is from the Sassanid period and

³⁵³ Ibid., pp.582-583

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p.584

³⁵⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.214-215

does not have any signs of the Parthian time. Karimān quoted an anecdote by Mas'udi that Anušīrvān (Hosro I; r. 531–579) had founded this building near Rayy in the Sassanid era.³⁵⁶ Naumann considers the mentioned building a Sassanid palace, comparing it with the plan of the discovered building on the Tappe Mil (Mil Hill) and the palace in Taht-e Soleymān.³⁵⁷ Although Meqdādiān never mentioned the building's use in his Master thesis, of which a summary was published in *Aṣar* magazine, he compared the map of the mentioned building with Mithraeums (Mithraism temples) and palaces of Sassanids and castles of 'Abbāsids.³⁵⁸ (Images 4-48, 4-49, 4-50, 4-51)

2- Čāl Tarḥān – (Catalogue: BI-8)

Located 14 km south-west of Rayy, near the village 'Ešqābād there is an ancient site, which was first explored by Schmidt in 1936. He named it Čāl Tarḥān although the village Čāl Tarḥān lays quite distant north of this site. Schmidt found a Sassanid palace in this site, with many columns and various stucco. One of this stucco is a scene from Bahrām V, in which Bahrām is hunting a deer with a bow and an arrow. His wife Āzāde is with him, but she is offending him through unawareness. The story of Bahrām and Āzāde is a famous story in Persian literature. It can be traced in paintings, ceramics and stucco of different periods. The stucco from the Čāl Tarḥān Palace is presently preserved in the Iranian National Museum in Tehran. Deborah Thompson did a study on stucco in Čāl Tarḥān Palace in 1965/66 which was first published in 1976. (Images 4-52, 4-53, 4-54, 4-55)

- Mausoleums and Tombs

1- Tower of Silence (Gabr Fortress or Daḥme) (Catalogue: BI-1)

This Tomb (Known as Gabr Fortress) is located in the north footside of Rayy mountain, whereas the Bibi Šahrbānu Monument and Ṭabarak Mountain (Naqāre Ḥāne) are south

³⁵⁶ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol. 2, pp.36-37

³⁵⁷ Rudolf Naumann: „Tepe Mill, einsasanidischerPalast“, in: *BaghdaderMitteilungen* 3 (1964): 75-77

³⁵⁸ Humān Meqdādiān: “Moḥavvaṭe-ye Tāriḫi-ye Tappe Mil”, in: *Aṣar* 40-41 (1385š/2006)

of it. It was a catacomb for Zoroastrians known as “Tower of Silence”. A number of reports from foreign travellers will successively be presented in the following. Serena writes:

“We saw a wall with no entrance, surrounding a hole in the adjacent heights as we were going away from Rayy’s ruins. This is the ‘Gabrs’ Cemetery’, built by the Mumbais at their expense. Everyone who is not a Muslim is normally called ‘Gabr’. But this is mostly used to talk about the Zoroastrians. They are also called ‘Pārsi (=Persian)’. Pitmen, or better said, dead-washers, climb up the ladders and put down the corpses in these permanent cemeteries with their clothes on. Then they are eaten by the buzzards and vultures that appear immediately after leaving a dead body there.”³⁵⁹

Wishard (during the 1890s) writes:

“After dinner we walked down to the Tower of Silence, the burial-place of the Parsees, or Fire-Worshippers. We climbed a nearby hill, where we could look down into this tomb, and saw some fresh bodies exposed to the vultures, of which there seemed to be thousands among the rocks of the mountain. The tower is about forty feet high, in the centre of which is a great pit. Near the top, there are rafters that cross the tower and on these the dead are exposed and abandoned. The pallbearers are hardly gone when the vultures begin their work. When the flesh is removed the disarticulated skeleton drops into the pit underneath”³⁶⁰

Benjamin in 1883 writes:

“One ledge overlooking the site of Rheï [Rayy] is the Parsee cemetery of Teherân [Tehrân], – a white spot on the purple side of the bare mountain, conspicuous for many miles. It is a circular enclosure of mud and stone whitewashed, and open to the sky. The dead are laid in shallow graves and left exposed to the elements. The destination of the departed soul is supposed to be indicated by the eye first devoured by the ravens: the right eye means heaven; the left, hell. This is a simple system of eschatology,

³⁵⁹ Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā'inhā dar Irān)*, p.208

³⁶⁰ John G. Wishard: *Twenty Years in Persia*, Revell, New York-1908, pp.114-115

although its results cannot always be satisfactory to the friends of the departed.”³⁶¹
(Image 4-56)

2- Țogrol Tower – (Catalogue: S-3)

This tower is located in a short distance from the east of the Ebn-e Bābawayh Cemetery. This mausoleum was restored in 1301/1884 under Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s command. E’temād al-Saltāne, in charge of studying this monument, identified it as the Țogrol Seljuk monument and therefore it was called by this name since then. There was also a garden built next to this tower after its restoration.³⁶²

“Monday, Raġab 27, 1302 [May 12, 1885]. The Šāh was there as Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim’s guest to have Kebab and buttermilk, that means, because Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim’s government was a part of Amin al-Solṭān’s responsibilities, they were his guests indeed. They came and had lunch. Then he ordered to restore Țogrol Seljuk’s mausoleum which was half-ruined and build a garden up there.”³⁶³

Țogrol (I) died in Taġriš in 455/1063 when he was 70 and was buried in Rayy. This event is described in the books “Seljuk Nāme”, “Rāḥat al-Šodur”, and “Naqẓ” (from the Seljuk period). It is not fair to relate this tower to Faḥr al-Doule³⁶⁴ because, according to various documents, it was located in a mountainous region but this tower is located in the plain. Ebn-e Ḥalekān, who says Țogrol was taken to Marv, is wrong and more recent sources pertaining to the Seljuk period do not confirm this.³⁶⁵ The oldest report describing this tower is from J. M. Tancoigne (1222/1807) in Fath ‘Ali Šāh Qajar. Țogrol’s name was forgotten by this time and it was known as “Tower of Yazid”; as it has been called in a sketch of this tower in Flandin & Coste’s itinerary (1840).

“Except several brick-walls which probably belonged to a fortress and are still located on a small hill on the east side, there is not a sign of any other building. There are just

³⁶¹ Samuel Green Wheeler Benjamin: *Persia and the Persians*, Murray, London- 1887, pp. 59-60

³⁶² See: “4.3.4 Qajar Gardens in Rayy” in this thesis.

³⁶³ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E’temād al-Saltāne: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāterāt*, vol.1, ed. by Iraġ Afšār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir- 1385š/2006, p.355

³⁶⁴ See: “3.4.4 Rayy During the ‘Abbāsīd Period” in this thesis.

³⁶⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.459-467

some columns of ruined houses and several ditches filled with bricks and broken dishes are the only things left there to show the exact place of the city. There is a reinforced brick tower among these ancient ruins which is 60 feet high. It seems that this is from the Seljuk period. It is circular and is leaning to the 24 angles of a triangle, which guaranteed its strength over years. There is an epigraph in Kofic script all around it. Rayy village is adjacent to this tower and next to a pool full of fish. Fishing there is exclusively allowed for the Šāh.”³⁶⁶ (Image 4-57)

Ernest Orsolle reports the designs and ruins of the building, but he considers the decorations on top of the doors similar to those of ‘Arab buildings’:

“The nearest tower to Bibi Zobayde remained approximately in the center of this area, its external portal consists of 25 painted lines and three rows of curves and a modern cornice in Kofic script. The door - in the East - is totally ruined, but the cornice around the second door, above which the magnificent designs as in ‘Arab buildings are seen, has remained safe.”³⁶⁷

Carla Serena also reports in a similar fashion. But she considers this tower to be the “Gabr’s Fire Temple” by mistake. She thinks the designs on top of the west-side door, which Orsolle called “Arabic”, are similar to the “Western Architecture Style”:

“It can be inferred from these two towers, of which some parts are still saved, that the architecture of those days was noble with baked brick and not mud brick like in our times. One of these towers is circular, and seems to be the Fire Temple of the ‘Gabrs’. The external diagonal of the tower is 16 m and 60 cm, and the interior one is 11 m and 10cm. The portal of the building is formed of triangular-shaped lines, meaning that these lines are convoluted, end in three parallel rows in the arc’s curve and then hold the cornice on which there is still some scripts in Kofic. The top part of the building is nothing but a ruin. The tower has two doors: One on the west side, designed with a

³⁶⁶ J. M. Tancoigne: *Nāmeḥa’i darbāre-ye Irān va Turkye-ye Āsiā*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aşğar Sa’idi, Naşr-e Ćeşme, Tehrān-1383ş/2004, pp.217-218

³⁶⁷ Ernest Orsolle: *Safarnāme-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aşğar Sa’idi, Pażuheşğāh-e ‘Olum-e Ensāni va Moţāle’at-e Farhangi, Tehrān-1382ş/2003, pp.301-302

cornice, and its top part shows similarities to Western architecture and has been preserved well, and the other, of which only the curve of arc can be seen, is in the East. From this very door, there is a spiral staircase placed on the wall leading to the top of the tower. Although there is no staircase left now, traces remained there. It is said in some reports that a red flag was raised on top of this tower when the Iranian army would conquer the enemy's army to inform people about their triumph. Ruins of the collapsed walls surround this ancient building."³⁶⁸

Samuel Greene Wheeler Benjamin, who visited this tower after its restoration in 1883, mentioned it as "Tomb of Ḥalil Solṭān, Amir Timur's grandchild and successor". But he never cited a single reason for this claim. Besides, the building's appearance is not architecturally similar to a tower of the Timurid period. (Image 4-58, 4-59)

3- Naqāre Ḥāne Tower (= Ossuary Buzarḡamid) – (Catalogue: S-2)

There is a text in Ḥāḡe Neẓām al-Molk's *Syāsatnāme* (5th/11th century) indicating that it is written about Naqāre Ḥāne Tower:

"It is said: once there was a rich Gabr [=Zoroastrian] in Rayy, called Buzarḡamid Dizu, in Faḡr al-Doule's time who was the prime minister. He built an Ossuary on top of Ṭabarak Mountain for himself which is still there and is called "Vision of Generalissimos" on the Faḡr al-Doule dome. He suffered a lot and spent too much gold and effort to build that Ossuary with two domes on top of that mountain. He was the municipal officer of Rayy. When the Ossuary was completed, he found an excuse to go there and pray, this caused the Ossuary to be nullified and be called Vision of Generalissimos since then."³⁶⁹

Karimān believes this is the same tower as the Ossuary of Buzarḡamid Dizu, for the signs on top of the Ṭabarak Mountain and the Faḡr al-Doule dome are alike. This tower,

³⁶⁸ Carla Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā'inhā dar Irān)*, Trans. by 'Ali Aṣḡar Sa'idi, Zavvār, Tehrān-1362š/1983, p.205

³⁶⁹ Neẓām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, ed. by Hubert Darke, 3.Edition, Bongāh-e Tarḡomeh va Našr-e Ketab, Tehrān- 2535šš/1976, pp.225-226

which lies in ruins, was restored in Moṣṭafavi's time. He believes it is probably related to the Seljuk or even Dailamites period. According to his report, its ground was dug up, too, and filled with stone and lime after the restoration. He mentioned that a knowledgeable person told him that some golden tiles on the edge of the tower were displaced about 35 years ago.³⁷⁰ Karimān considers that the existence of golden tiles hints towards it being identical to the building mentioned in *Syāsatnāme*.³⁷¹ Wolfram Kleiss has labeled this tower as "Tower of Yazid" without mentioning any specific reason and introduced the famous "Inānġ Tower or Inānġ Dome" as Naqāre Ḥāne.

Mirzā Ebrāhim also mentioned "Tower of Yazid" and "Yazid Prison" in his writing in 1860. As it seems, he has passed Toġrol Tower and Garden (known as Tower of Yazid) in advance, as he has called the building above the mountain with both names of "Naqāre Ḥāne" and "Yazid Prison":

"Five parasang away from the capital, the Ḥātun Ābād path passes the damned Tower of Yazid and the castle, while there is a Naqāre Ḥāne and cursed Yazid Prison on top of the mountain on the left. And Bibi Šahrbānu's graveyard is in the middle of the mountain."³⁷²

As it was mentioned, the Tower of Yazid was the original Toġrol Tower before its restoration in the Qajar period. But the 'Naqāre Ḥāne' tower is mentioned with the same name in Iran Cultural Heritage documents.³⁷³ (Image 4-60, 4-61)

³⁷⁰ Moḥammad Taqī Moṣṭafavi: "Banā-ye Tariḫi-ye Boq'e-ye Bibi Šahrbānu", in: *Maġmu'e-ye Maqālāt*, vol.1, ed. by Mehdi Šadri, Tehrān-1381š/2002, pp.449-450

³⁷¹ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.477-479

³⁷² Mirzā Ebrāhim: *Safarnāme-ye Astarābād va Māzandarān va Gilān*, ed. by Mas'ud Golzāri, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, Tehrān-2535šš/1976, p.4

³⁷³ Wolfram Kleiss: "Qal'eh Gabri, Naqarah Khaneh und Bordj-e Yazid bei Rey", in: *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Band 15*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1982

4- Inānġ Dome – (Catalogue: S-1)

In the book “*Tāriḡ-e Ṭabarestān*” (History of Ṭabarestān), Ebn-e Esfandiyār (7th/13th century) says: “Sonqor Inānġ was killed by his slaves in Rayy and was buried in the Ṭabarak slope which is eternal there.”³⁷⁴

This event occurred in 564/1168. These monuments are located two Km southwest of Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain in the slopes and include a large round area of about 36 m. Moḡammad Qazvini mentions the names of three Inānġs who should not be confused with each other: First, Sonqor Inānġ known as Ḥesām al-Din, Solṭān Sanjar’s slave, who was a strong fighter and sought refuge in Ṭabarak after fighting with Ildogoz and then was killed. Second, his daughter, known as Inānġ Ḥātun, wife of minister the Atābak Ğahān Pahlevān, and mother of two sons named Qotloġ Inānġ Maḡmud and Amirān ‘Omar. And the third is Qotloġ Inānġ Maḡmud, the granddaughter of Inānġ who was the killer of the last Ṭoġrol Seljuk.³⁷⁵ (Image 4-62, 4-63)

In the diggings and excavations of these cemeteries done by Schmidt in 1934, fabrics were found as well. In his report he mentioned another cemetery of which there is no evidence today:

“At the base of the hill, somewhat to the right, appear the rectangular contours of a court which apparently enclosed a circular structure, most probably another mausoleum”³⁷⁶

It is not exactly clear which mausoleum is Inānġ’s tomb. We just know that he is buried “in the slope of Ṭabarak Mountain”. It is possible that his tomb was the second mausoleum, but which has been destroyed. (Image 4-64, 4-65, 4-66)

As it was mentioned on the previous page, Wolfram Kleiss has cited this tower as “Naqāre Ḥāne” without mentioning any specific reason. He has also compared the plan of this building in the slope of a mountain with “Farhad’s Iwan (porch)” in Bisotun which belongs to the Sassanid period (before Islam). Although nothing has remained except

³⁷⁴ Ebn-e Esfandiyār: *Tāriḡ-e Ṭabarestān*, Ed. by ‘Abbās Eqbāl Āštiyāni, Padide-ye Ḥāvar, 2.Edition, Tehrān-1366š/1987, p.111. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p. 467

³⁷⁵ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.467-477

³⁷⁶ Erich Schmidt: *Flight Over Ancient Cities of Iran*, University of Chicago press, Chicago -1940, p.32

for its foundation, considering the vast area of this tower, he considers this building comparable with the Gonbad-e Qābus (Qābus Dome) (near Gorgān), the tallest mausoleum tower in Iran (52 m).³⁷⁷ (Image 4-67)

5- Ruined Tower of Rayy – (Catalogue: S-5)

This tower, of which there is no trace today, was placed to the East of Rayy the Barin (pre-Islam Rayy) and to the North of Rayy the Zirin (Islamic Rayy before Moḥammadie was built by al-Mahdi son of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr). This monument, based on Pascal Coste's painting, is on the same spot marked with F in Ker Porter's map in 1820 (Image 3-12). Ḥoseyn Karimān considers this building to be "Faḥr al-Doule's Dome" according to the aforementioned reasons.³⁷⁸ Some of them are as follows:

First of all it is said in the *Tāriḥ-e Ṭabarestān* (The History of Ṭabarestān) by Ebn-e Esfandiyār (6th - 7th/13th - 14th century):

"The city is before the located dome of Šāh Faḥr al-Doule Dailamite where it was built later. This was called Raškān Dež (Castle) which existed until the Buyid Dailamites dynasty."³⁷⁹

Therefore, the dome was located opposite "Rayy the Barin". It is also mentioned in the *Ṭabarestān History*: "And Ṭoḡrol was standing on top of a mountain next to Šāh Faḥr al-Doule's Dome."³⁸⁰

In *Syāsatnāme* (5th/11th century) it is written about the Zoroastrian Ossuary (the current Naqāre Ḥāne) that "it was built on top of Faḥr al-Doule's Dome."³⁸¹

As it was mentioned in the section on locations, Ṭabarak Mountain is a hill located southwest of the great Rayy Mountain according to Yāqut (8th/14th century): "Ṭabarak is

³⁷⁷ Kleiss: "Qal'eh Gabri, Naqarah Khaneh und Bordj-e Yazid bei Rey"

³⁷⁸ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.11-15

³⁷⁹ Ebn-e Esfandiyār: *Tāriḥ-e Ṭabarestān*, p.61. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.11

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p.158. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.13

³⁸¹ Neẓām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, pp.225-226

a fortress on top of a mountain near Rayy to the right of a passenger going to Ḥorāsān where Rayy Mountain is to the left of him [...]”.³⁸²

In *Salḡuqnāme* (6th/12 century) it is written:

“And on Wednesday [...] it was the day of death of Šaraf al-Din Gerdbāzu, apparently in Zāher-e Rayy below Šāhanšāh’s Dome”³⁸³

“Zāher-e Rayy”, meaning the city’s suburbs³⁸⁴, and also Šāhanšāh’s Dome are the mentioned Faḥr al-Doule’s Dome as the title “Šāhanšāh” was often used by Dailamites kings. Considering all the aforementioned facts, it can be said that Karimān’s opinion is not very unlikely and was valid for several years. But when Chahryar Adle (Šahriār ‘Adl) reviewed and revised the epigraphy, he found out that this mausoleum does not belong to Faḥr al-Doule Dailamite, but to another person who is not known in history: “Abd al-Jalil b. Fāris” [‘Abd al-Ġalil Ebn-e Fāres]. The epigraphy is as follows: ³⁸⁵

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر ببناء هذه القبة الشيخ الاجل السيد الرئيس (المنصـور) عبدالجليل بن فارس الخازن (الخدم؟) غفرالله له و لوالديه في شهر سنة ست و سـتـين و اربعمائه»

The translation by Blair runs as follows:³⁸⁶

“Basmala. The most exalted shaykh, the lord, the chief, Abu’l Manṣur ‘Abd al-Jalil b. Fāris, the Servant [?], my god pardon him and his parents, ordered the construction of this tomb in the months of the year [four hundred six]ty-six [6 September 1073- 26 August 1074]” ³⁸⁷

³⁸² Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo’ḡam al-Boldān*, Ketābhāne-ye Asadi, Tehrān-[n.y.], p.7. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.488; for a better understanding and the map of rout and hill location See: Section ‘3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy’s Location’ and Image 3-22 in this very thesis.

³⁸³ Zāhir al-Din Neyšāburi: *Salḡuqnāme*, ed. by Mirzā Esmā’il Afšar (Ḥamid al-Molk); Moḥammad Ramezāni, Našr-e Ḥāvar- 1332š/1953, p.79.

³⁸⁴ According to Dehḡodā Dictionary, it is written below Zāher: Zāher-e Balad: city suburbs.

³⁸⁵ Chahryar Adle: “Notes préliminaires sur la Tour disparue de Rey(466/1073-74)” in: *Memorial Volume of the VIth International Congress of Iranian Art & Archaeology*, ed. by Muhammad Yusuf Kiyani, Oxford, September 11-16th 1972, Tehran-1976, p.3

³⁸⁶ Because the text by Blair is wrongly publicized, I have added the Arabic text from the ‘Adle article.

³⁸⁷ Sheilla S. Blair: “[46]6/1073-74, tomb tower at Rayy”, in: *The Monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Brill, Leiden-1992, p.55

The date of this monument in the epigraph is distorted and Adle ('Adl), considering the three possible dates of 466, 476, and 496, and its shape and style, chose 466/1073-74 for that.

Ker Porter (in 1820) has written about this tower (with letter F): "It is a tower made of stone and there is an epigraph around it in Kofic script." He has described this tower as whole-stone, but the epigraph on the top is made of brick and the monument is roofless and its diameter is about 13 yards (11.88 m).³⁸⁸ Karla Serena (in 1877) has discussed this tower as well. Yet she interpreted it as a protective tower, from the old tower of Rayy:

"Another tower, which is still well preserved - as rumor has it -, has been a protector for the city gates. There is a Kofic script on it that can be read clearly, with small bricks arranged next to each other. This tower, a little smaller than the first one, is 11 m and 80 cm in diameter and 12 m high. The portal is fallen into ruins, but the trace of two staircases in the middle of the wall is still there. The date of these monuments goes back to the Islamic period and the second period of Rayy's grandeur, which was erected on ancient 'Rhaga' ruins which in ancient times have been as important as Ekbātān, Persepolis, and Babylon."³⁸⁹

Ernest Orsolle (in 1882) also briefly describes this tower:

"There is another circular tower placed a little below the eastern door which is 12 m high and is designed with small bricks with Kofic scripts on them."³⁹⁰ (Image 4-68, 4-69)

Viewing the painting carefully, the rest of Rayy Mountain (Bibi Šāhrbānu) and the lower part of a ruinous tower tomb to the left of this tower and Ṭoğrol tower and its garden can be seen in the distance. There is another painting of this tower, of low quality, and from another perspective printed in Lord Curzon's book. (Image 4-70)

³⁸⁸ Robert Ker Porter: *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (vol.1), Longman, London- 1821, pp.360-361

³⁸⁹ Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā'inhā dar Irān)*, p.205

³⁹⁰ Orsolle: *Safarnāme-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, pp.301-302

- Shrines

1. Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim – (Catalogue: Sa-4)

Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's mausoleum is the most important shrine in Rayy, and even the whole of Tehrān province. Its importance is so great that even after the destruction of Rayy, a village was established around this building, once out of the city, which was gradually called "Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Village", and now is the main core of the current city of Rayy.³⁹¹ Benjamin writes:

"But there is no resort in Persia more famed than that of Shāh Abdūl Azeem [Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim], which is so conveniently situated near the capital that it is visited by over three hundred thousand pilgrims annually from Teheran[Tehrān] alone. Every Friday (the Mussulman Sabbath) the faithful resort to this shrine. The dome that hangs over the tomb of the saint is gilded, and is seen from all parts of the plain flashing like a star."³⁹²

Polak (during the 1850s) discerned that people believed that the destruction of ancient Rayy was because it had not welcomed Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim wholeheartedly:

"Rumor has it that because this city did not welcome one of the Emāmzādes who was Ali's successor, it is cursed. However, the adjacent city named Tehrān, developed progressively. Even nowadays it is written in the official records 'Tehrān is well-known in Rayy'."³⁹³

A brief description of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim is provided in the following passage:

"Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim: son of 'Abd Allah Ebn-e 'Ali Ebn-e Ḥasan Ebn-e Zeyd Ebn-e Ḥasan Ebn-e 'Ali Ebn-e Abi Ṭāleb, and apparently migrated, on Imam 'Ali Naqī's order, in the al-Mo'taz Bellāh dynasty from Samera to Rayy [...], and in 250[864], some years before Imam Naqī's martyrdom, passed away. [...] It seems that the most valid translated description of him is that by Šāḥeb Ebn-e 'Abbād. [...] None of the scientists have ever had any doubts about the current place of his shrine from the past. And this place, a

³⁹¹ See: "3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location".

³⁹² Benjamin: *Persia and the Persians*, p.60

³⁹³ Jakob Eduard Polak: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, Trans. by Keykāvus Ġahāndāri, 2. Edition, Ḥārazmi, Tehrān-1368š/1989, p.61

garden in Rayy's suburbs in the West, belonged to 'Abd al-Ġabbār Ebn-e 'Abd al-Vahhāb, and due to the apple tree planted next to the Šāh's tomb, was called al-Šaġare. [...] Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's Mausoleum was restored and preserved by philanthropists."³⁹⁴

According to historical evidence, and also Ker Porter's map, the monument of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's Shrine was located outside of the historical wall of Rayy. According to the book "al-Naqẓ", its builder was Abu al-Faẓl Maġd al-Molk, the minister of Barkiyāroq and Zobayde Ḥātun (Barkiyāroq's mother) who was killed in 492/1090.

"In this epoch [Barkiyāroq epoch], Abu al-Faẓl Maġd al-Molk As'ad Ebn-e Moḥammad Ebn-e Musā Barāvestāni-e Qomi-e Ši'i, Zobayde Ḥātun [Barkiyāroq's mother] and the resigned chief of the king and Barkiyāroq's killed minister in 492, constructed Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's Holy Shrine."³⁹⁵

According to Moḥammad Taqī Mošṭafavi's report, the oldest part of this monument is its Seljuk brick facade, but he believes that the monument is probably older itself:

"The mausoleum is luxurious and glorious including a golden dome and high minarets, and the Ḥaram and porch are designed with Maġd al-Molk Qomi dating back to 495-498 [1101-1104]. After this historic portal, the most important artwork is an excellent wood-carved cenotaph from 725 [1325] The condition of the portal in the Seljuk Dynasty indicates that the monument is even older than the 5th [11th] century and probably the current one dates back from the 4th-7th [10th-13th] century. The main old entrance has always been in the same place in the north. Meanwhile, the old portal dating back to 945 [1538] with an older iron door - maybe from the 5th [11th] century - is the other considerable artwork which still exists in the southwest courtyard of this holy shrine."³⁹⁶
(Images 4-71, 4-72, 4-73)

³⁹⁴ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp. 384-385 & 388-389

³⁹⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, p.191

³⁹⁶ Moḥammad Taqī Mošṭafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, ed. by Mir Hāšem Moḥaddes, 2.Edition, Garus, Tehrān-1375Š/1996, p.146

“Various wood-carved doors and other artworks, including a precious Quran dating from 940 [1533], have remained in the aforementioned shrine since the 8th until the 10th [14th-16th] century. Its old silver shrine is from the Faḥ ‘Alī Šāh period and its gliding dome was built by Nāṣer al-Dīn Šāh in 1270 [1853] and the other abundant designs and restorations were done by other beneficent people in the Qajar period.”³⁹⁷ (Images 4-74, 4-75, 4-76)

The restoration of this monument is traceable in various historic texts up until now:

“Ḥesām al-Doule Šāh Ardešīr [Ebn-e] ‘Alā’ al-Doule Ḥasan Ebn-e Rostam Ebn-e ‘Alā’ al-Doule ‘Alī Ebn-e Ḥesām al-Doule Šahriār, an emperor of the Bāvand dynasty in Māzandarān (567-601 or 602) [1171-1204 or 1205] was sending 200 Dinārs to this shrine every year. [...] Ṭahmāsb Safavid Šāh, who was always propounding development and the inhabiting of the monuments of the Imams restored this shrine as well. [In the 10th/16th century. The command of 961/1554]. [...] In 944/1537 the porch of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm was founded on his order. [...] also a stone cenotaph was built around the Šāh’s sarcophagus on his command in 950/1543.”³⁹⁸

The greatest amount of restorations, changes and developments were done in Nāṣer al-Dīn Šāh’s time. E’temād al-Saltāne believes that the building of golden domes and new doors and chambers around the shrine were all done by his father. But he names the completion of the old courtyard, porch and building, the new courtyard, school, and even the bazaar as artworks by the two “Amin al-Solṭān”s (the father and the son: Ebrāhīm Ḥān and ‘Alī Asqar Ḥān):

“And the other is an illuminated manuscript in the dome of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm that covered the surrounding facade bricks with gold and this was done by efforts of the editors’ father.”³⁹⁹

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p.146

³⁹⁸ Karīmān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.389-391

³⁹⁹ E’temād al-Saltāne, Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān: *Al-Ma’āser v-al-Āsār*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 2. Edition, Asāṭir-1374š/1995, p.83

“And the other is developing and designing the holy courtyard of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim [...] and the other parts of this holy shrine that were done by hard work and efforts of Ḥāǧi ‘Ali Ḥān, peace be upon him. But the school and new courtyard and designing and completing the Atiq courtyard and holy porch and mirror-covering and raising two high domes were done by the two Amin al-Solṭāns, the former and the successor who will be mentioned later.”⁴⁰⁰

Sadid al-Salṭane mentions three courtyards of the Ḥaram and quotes a poem about the east porch indicating the restorations completed by Ebrāhim Ḥān Amin al-Solṭān and, according to the poem, are attributable to the year 1300/1882:

“This holy place has three courtyards. From the west, there is the mausoleum, the crown prince’s courtyard and the shrine of Emāmzāde Ḥamze, from the east there is another courtyard next to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim’s private school, and in the north there is Emāmzāde Ṭāher’s mausoleum, the son of Imam Saǧǧād. The porch and dome were built by Solṭān Mas‘ud Mirzā Ẓell al-Solṭān. In the middle of the eastern shrine of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim there is a poem on the tombstone: ⁴⁰¹

Special servant of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh	the researcher Sayyed Ebrāhim
He was the Šāh’s treasurer	in attitude, behavior, and a common heart
For he was so honest	his position became more important
He became the “Amin al-Solṭān” for his kindness	he was adored by his people
When he was blessed by God	he became the servant in Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim
He started restoring the place wholeheartedly	and developed the old monument
Built a porch and a courtyard	and some great stone pillars
He also founded a school next to the courtyard	where people studied science
I asked about its date	he said “the year that Ebrāhim restored the Ka‘ba”

(Images 4-77, 4-78, 4-79, 4-80, 4-81)

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p.89

⁴⁰¹ Moḥammad ‘Ali Ḥān Sadid al-Salṭane: *Safarnāme-ye Sadid al-Salṭane*, ed. by Aḥmad Eqtedāri, Behnašr, Tehrān-1362š/1983, p.178 (Capital “Abǧad” is used to date the construction of a building with a poem. See: Dehḥodā Dictionary)

“The mirror-cover inside the Emāmzāde Ḥamze mausoleum south of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓīm was done by Amir, Dust Moḥammad Ḥān-e Mo‘ayyer al-Mamālek, on the aforementioned date [1302/1884]”⁴⁰⁵ (Images 4-85, 4-86, 4-87, 4-88)

4. Emāmzāde Hādi and Māšā’ Allah Mosque – (Catalogue: Sa-1)

Moḥammad Taqī Moṣṭafavi writes about these two connected buildings:

“There is a proper brick-made monument from the Safavid period in a scenic area besides the old road of Rayy-Tehrān with old scripts on the tomb tiles inside Ḥaram, narrating the mentioned mausoleum named after the Safavid Šāh Ṭahmāsb and some other scripts dating from 1286 [1869] below, including the names of Emāmzāde Hādi and his sister - saint Zeynab - the successors of the 7th Imam. This mausoleum is also called Māšā’ Allah Mosque and a number of artists are buried there. [...] Studying these two epigraphs indicates that the current monument of Emāmzāde Ṭāher can be traced back to the Safavid Šāh Ṭahmāsb (930-984) [1523-1576], but there is no date known of its establishment, and in 1286 [1869], which was the 27th year of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s reign, they restored the mausoleum and covered the body with colorful tiles and it is believed that the great mosque west of the mausoleum, called Māšā’ Allah Mosque, was also constructed in the same year with the mentioned Ḥaram and left the old small monument out of the area.”⁴⁰⁶

Unfortunately, there have been some inaccurate contemporary restorations made and the monument’s body is covered with Carrara marble. (Images 4-89, 4-90)

5. Bibi Zobayde Mausoleum – (Catalogue: IT-1)

The main foundation of this building, which people believed to belong to Imam Ḥoseyn’s daughter, was built in the 9th /15th century, and some other parts were added to it in the Qajar period. The interior of this building is designed with Muqarnas and Qajar paintings

⁴⁰⁵ E’temād al-Saltane: *Al-Ma’āser v-al-Āsār*, p.114

⁴⁰⁶ Moṣṭafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, pp.163-165

and the wooden sarcophagus of its tomb is from Faḥ 'Alī Šāh's period. The mausoleum owner's real name is not known.⁴⁰⁷ (Images 4-91, 4-92)

6. Bibi Šahrbānu Shrine – (Catalogue: IT-3)

In the public belief, this tomb belongs to 'Šahrbānu', Imam Ḥoseyn's wife, who came to Rayy directly from Karbalā. In the 'Pilgrimage and Sightseeing'⁴⁰⁸ section of this thesis, the cultural effect of this building on Rayy is studied in more detail. In the following, its architectural specifications are examined.

"A space with a length of 33 m and a width of 22 m and an old stony wall. A natural rock mountain is on its north wing. This area ends in a mountain from the north. [...] There are some deep-set and firm stone (and brick in some parts) domed buildings in the south and the appearance of this building indicates that this area and the mentioned monuments were made simultaneously and for enshrined tombs and in the next periods, the main space was divided into two parts by constructing new walls, rooms, porches, corridors, etc. Special separate, exquisite rooms for men and women are provided in this old building as well."⁴⁰⁹

Studying historic scripts, Ḥoseyn Karimān first rejects the attribution of this building to Imam Ḥoseyn's wife and instead considers it a Zoroastrian crypt:

"For about Rayy's historic events authors were able to write without official records, there is no mentioning of this lady, so it is possible to say: it is a Zoroastrian crypt, and in order to prevent the Muslims from destroying it, the building was attributed to the bride of the Iranian Imam and extended. The existence of a Gabr's crypt to the north of the place supports that theory [...] and there is also a possibility that the place was Yazdgerd II's children's crypt (Hormoz and his dynasty), killed by Firuz in Rayy, and was attributed to Yazdgerd III's child in order to be preserved. The monument's height

⁴⁰⁷ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.416-424 ; Qadir Afrund: *Gozāreš-e Pažuheši va Barresi va Šenāsā'i-e Āšār-e Bāstāni va Tārihi (Ḥouze-ye Rayy)*, vol.1, Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Tehrān-1381š/2002, Unpublished, p.180

⁴⁰⁸ See Section 4.2.2 "Pilgrimage and Sightseeing"

⁴⁰⁹ Moḥammad Taqi Mošāfavi: "Banā-ye Tarihi-ye Boq'e-ye Bibi Šahrbānu", in: *Mağmu'e-ye Maqālāt*, vol.1, ed. by Mehdi Šadri, Tehrān-1381š/2002, p.430

in Rayy also corresponds with Vendidād's ⁴¹⁰ command. [...] In any event, the most ancient artwork in this monument is the sarcophagus [from 888/1483]"⁴¹¹

E'temād al-Saltāne offers an interesting report about this monument, too. In addition to mentioning that it is a Zoroastrian structure, he informs the reader about the existence of an epigraph to be found there, dating from 960/1553. He has also refers to a courtier's burial within it, indicating the prevalence of burials in this place in Faḥ 'Alī Šāh's period.

"The King was moving towards Amin Ābād in Varāmin, near Šāh 'Abd al-'Azīm and 1.5 Parasang [9 Km] away from the town. I went there with my own coach early in the morning. The Bibi Šahrbānu Shrine is located in the slopes of a mountain adjacent to Amin Ābād. I went there four years ago with my mother, but I wanted to visit it again. It was definitely not Imam Saġġād's mother's shrine, for the information given indicated that the Imam's mother passed away in Medina after giving birth and was buried in al-Baqi'. As it seems from the tomb, it is more like a crypt for Gabrs. Despite this, all people go there to pray and vow and get a result, so I made a vow and waited. There are precious old painted tiles on the Ḥaram entrance with Sols (Thuluth) script on them:

412

«السلطان الاعظم والخابان المعظم ابوالمظفر شاه طهماسب بهادر خان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه قد وقف هذا الباب محمد ابن مرحوم حميد فى سنة ستين و تسعمائه عمل فضل ابن ريجان» [1553=960] م.

There is a stone in the entrance of the courtyard as well in which is carved 'Departed Beygam Nesa', dating back to Shawwal 1071/June 1661. There also exists the mausoleum of Āqā 'Alī Akbar, servant of Faḥ 'Alī Šāh, father of Lady Māh Nesā', who

⁴¹⁰ The Vendidād or Videvdat is a collection of texts within the greater compendium of the Avestā (Wikipedia-27.11.2014)

⁴¹¹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.416

⁴¹² Translation: [During the reign of his] majesty Abu Moẓaffar Šāh Ṭahmāsb, Moḥammad ebn-e Ḥamid endowed this door on the date 960 [1553]. Faẓl Ebn-e Rayhān built it.

was the wife of Mo'ayyer al-Mamālek and the mother of Mo'ayyer. I prayed for him and rode to the tent. I had lunch and took a nap."⁴¹³

He did not go on the Bibi Šahrbānu pilgrimage alone, but he mentioned that men were prohibited from entering this shrine. Unlike him, Munes al-Doule gives an actual account of this prohibition:

"They wore the chador and accompanied men to the Ḥaram, in all their pilgrimages women were always accompanied by men; there was only one shrine in which even 4-year-old boys were not allowed and which was especially for women. This was Bibi Šahrbānu, between Tehrān and Rayy."⁴¹⁴ (Images 4-93, 4-94, 4-95)

7. Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb Monument – (Catalogue: IT-2)

This monument is located one kilometer west of Tehrān-Rayy, current Komeyl, in the north of the side-railway of the glycerine and cement factories. Moṣṭafavi writes:

"People had to pass the Qar gate of Tehrān to 'Ali Ābād on their pilgrimages, walk along the path to the south and, after some kilometers before the Bibi Zobayde courtyard, pass through a bridge over a runnel and enter the Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb Monument. The path still exists. [...] The mentioned runnel continues till it joins the Firuz Ābād Runnel south of Tehrān and near the Ğavānmard mausoleum in 'Ali Ābād it reaches Maṣūr Ābād. The structure of this monument is square and the length and width of it is 6 m. [...] There is a poem in Nasta'liq script on a stone slate of which only the first verse and some words of the other verse are recognizable [...]:

Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb the brave heart	was the servant of God
His graveyard is a recent heaven ⁴¹⁵	and a shrine for the believers

[...] Both the mausoleum and the mentioned stone are from Faṭḥ 'Ali Šāh's epoch and there is nothing older than those there. The external facade is raw brick and recently

⁴¹³ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E'temād al-Saltāne: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, vol.1, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385š/2006, p.846

⁴¹⁴ Munes al-Doule: *Ḥāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadime-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāṣer al-Din Šāh*, ed. by Sirus Sa'dvandiān, 2.Edition, Zarrin, Tehrān-1386š/2007, p.137

⁴¹⁵ In the original script it is written "Behešt"

there was a small porch with two pillars added to the mausoleum entrance in the west, the brick facade is changed anomaly and is made of red and white bricks.”⁴¹⁶

It is stated in *Nozhat al-Qolub* (8th/16th century):

“The family of the prophet is buried in Rayy and holy people such as Ebrāhim Ḥavvāṣ, Kasā’i [...], Moḥammad Ebn-e al-Ḥasan al-Faqih, Hošām, Šayḥ Ğamāl al-Din Ab al-Fotuḥ, and Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb...”⁴¹⁷ (Images 4-96)

8. Emānzāde ‘Abd Allah –(Catalogue: Sa-2)

Moṣṭafavi writes:

“This old building belongs to the Safavid period with a large porch in the east of the shrine. There is a door from the porch and another from the shrine, both opened towards the south, adjacent to the old road of Qazvin-Rayy. Remaining of the mentioned road is the patch-like line passing Emānzāde ‘Abd Allah and it continues to the northwest from the south of the mausoleum and Mirzā Kāẓem Ḥān Neẓām al-Molk, the founder of the Neẓāmiye building whose paintings of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s time are famous – and he is the son of Mirzā Āqā Ḥān, the prime minister - has built the eastern and the current porch instead of the old one. The main entrance of the mausoleum is located to the east, and he has built a dome on the top and a porch in the north of the shrine as well.”⁴¹⁸

It should be mentioned that there are a lot of architecturally valuable family tombs in the area, but not enough attention is paid to them. (Images 4-97, 4-98, 4-99, 4-100, 4-101, 4-102)

⁴¹⁶ Moṣṭafavi: *Āṣār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, pp.168-169

⁴¹⁷ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi: *Nozhat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, p.54

⁴¹⁸ Moṣṭafavi: *Āṣār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, pp.162-163

9. Ebn-e Bābawayh Monument – (Catalogue: Q-1)

There is no doubt that Ebn-e Bābawayh, known as Šayḥ Šaduq, is buried in Rayy. But for years, researchers believed his mausoleum belonged to the Safavid or the Faḥ 'Ali Šāh epoch.

“This octagonal mausoleum is located near Toḡrol tower, and according to Mr. Moštafavi, the building was completely built in the Faḥ 'Ali Šāh Qajar period and there is no old script or artwork in there. Ebn-e Bābawayh is Abu Ğa'far Moḥammad Ebn-e 'Ali Ebn-e al-Ḥoseyn Ebn-e Musā Ebn-e Bābawayh Qomi, known as Šaduq. His book of “Man lā Yaḥzara al-faqih”⁴¹⁹ is one of the four holy books of the Shiites. He died in 381/991 and was buried in Rayy.”⁴²⁰

Sayyed Aḥmad Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā'i has alluded to an image in the book 'Flandin & Coste' of Toḡrol tower (which he considers to be Ebrāhim Ḥavvāš's Mausoleum) in 1366š/1987, explained what is seen in the background quoting from Mr. Nuri in the book “Badāye' al-Ḥakam” and a verbal narration of Moḥammad Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā'i (his father) from Kāzem 'Aṣṣār, and reminded the forgotten historical events which led to a misunderstanding about the history of the Ebn-e Bābawayh Monument:

“First, that the perspective of the building located behind the tower from the south angle and viewed in a not very far distance is not a long distance away from Ebn-e Bābawayh, are considered the same, but the matter that this Monument attributed to Ebn-e Bābawayh had not been constructed yet in the 6th or 7th decade of the 13th century [4th decade of the 19th century] to be drawn by the French painter was not paid attention to; but some decades later, a heavy flood occurred in Rayy's ruins and caused severe damage to the foundation and the remains of the old tombs, a dead body was found in a tomb in sound condition, which attracted people's surprise and attention and some even considered it to be Ebn-e Bābawayh's body whose tomb location was not made clear in any scripts and so this became common belief. Following that, this mausoleum was restored and developed in the late decades of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh's dynasty and was

⁴¹⁹ من لا يحضره الفقيه

⁴²⁰ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.424-425

considered the valid courtyard for the Shiites in 'Abd al-'Azim's shrine. Therefore this mausoleum was not founded when Flandin and Coste wrote their journey to adopt the scene behind the tower of the mausoleum and this author's deduction is not well-documented."⁴²¹

The construction of this monument is estimated to have happened in the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh epoch. Meanwhile, the tombs of some celebrated people such as 'Ali Akbar Dehḥodā and Ġolāmrezā Taḥṭi are located there. (Images 4-103, 4-104, 4-105)

- Castle and Fortresses

1. Raškān Castle – (Catalogue: BI-5)

Raškān Castle is located on a large hill northeast of ancient Rayy and half of it lies in ruins today due a cement factory cutting into the northern part of the mountain in the recent 80 years. Fortunately, the cement factory of Rayy has recently been moved to another place, but the damage is irreparable. This fortress has had many names during the course of history.

“About applying various names to this Fortress it can be assumed that in the Arsacid and during the Sassanid period ([...] Rayy's border guardians in this period were from the Mehrān family and the Arsacids/Parthian) it was called “Aškān Fortress”. In the 'Abbāsīd period, due to Naṣr Ebn-e 'Abd al-'Aziz, Rayy's ruler, staying there and restoring a part of it, it was called “Naṣr Ābād”. [...] It was called “Faḥr Ābād” in the Buyids dynasty after Faḥr al-Doule restored the monuments and the fortress. And finally, it was called “Raškān Castle” again in the Seljuk period and thereafter.”⁴²²

Ker Porter wrote about the fortress' location in 1820:

“A very strong citadel appears to have occupied a high and rocky promontory that juts out considerably beyond the other huge buttresses of nature which here start from the different clefts in the mountains. Along the perpendicular sides of this height we easily discovered the foundations of its embattled works. And directly from its base a line of

⁴²¹ Seyed Aḥmad Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā'i: “Gonbad-e Solṭān yā Gur-e Darviš”, in: *Keyhān-e Farhangī* 47 (1366š/1987)

⁴²² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.298

massy fortification appeared, reaching southward and apparently defending the eastern face of the city, till it terminated in an immense square bulwark, flanked with towers and making a fortress in itself.”⁴²³ (Images 4-106, 4-107)

But since 1312š/1933, when the cement factory was established north of this mountain, its soil was used to make cement, and the sustained damage was irreparable. Moṣṭafavi wrote a report on the location of the Fortress in 1332š/1953 But he called it “Ṭabarak Fortress” and noted the Sorsore (Slide) mountain as “Ṭabarak Mountain” by mistake:

“Ṭabarak Fortress is located on Ṭabarak Mountain with some parts located in the south plain and there are giant ramparts on top of the mountain and in the plain’s bed, too, which were uncovered during diggings and mountain cuttings for the cement company and the Fortress gradually fell into ruin during other construction activities.”⁴²⁴ (Image 4-108)

Ḥoseyn Karimān interviewed the manager of the ore mine of Rayy, who offers valuable information about this fortress, on Monday, March 29 in 1965 (32 years after the company was founded and 12 years after Moṣṭafavi).

“According to the ore mine manager of Rayy, there were various essential buildings on top of the mountain. The traces of the bathroom, west of the fortress on top of the mountain, and the pool in the East can still be seen there. The king’s belongings were protected through the castle with its three defence walls. [...] The ore mine manager of Rayy claims that some underground houses were found during diggings which showed the building conditions of that period. The fortress is located on the top towards the southern slope, and there were strong towers from west to east on top of the mountain. The holes around the west wall from which they could shoot at enemies towards the north are still preserved. Several ancient graves are still there near the eastern slope.”⁴²⁵

⁴²³ Ker Porter: *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (vol.1), pp.358-359

⁴²⁴ Moṣṭafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, p.143

⁴²⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.295

Rante wrote an article about this fortress in 2007, saying that in the remains of a building south of this mountain (known as Sorsore [Slide]), some decorative bricks from the first half of the early 9th century (the first Islamic period), comparable to those of Eşfahān (Isfahan) Jame's Mosque and Fahrağ, were found.⁴²⁶ He has estimated the total area of the fortress to be about 3.6 hectares and, by studying and comparing Coste's and Ker Porter's map, showed firstly that the defensive wall continued to the top of the hill, and secondly that a moat surrounded the hill (on top of which the fortress stood).⁴²⁷ Nothing is mentioned about this historic hill or mountain with a fortress on top before Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh. Karimān pointed to a mountain as Zora' which is likely to be this one quoting from the book "Ğannat al-Na'im".⁴²⁸ But after Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh ordered to build a slide in the south slope for play and entertainment of the Royal family, this mountain was known as 'Sorsore (Slide) Mountain'. Several researchers like Rante in Rayy attributed 'Šāre'-e Sorr' in historians' books to 'Sorsore (Slide) Mountain'. Today, we are registering that this mountain was first called by this name about 200 years ago and therefore it cannot have been named like this in a 1000-year-old script⁴²⁹. A review of the ruined stone encarvings of this mountain will be provided later.

2. Ṭabarak Fortress or Zeynabdi Fortress –(Catalogue: BI-9)

The name 'Ṭabarak Fortress' is mentioned in many ancient scripts and apparently it is a fortress on top of a small mountain or hill southwest of Rayy Mountain. The name of this fortress is not mentioned in any scripts of the first Islamic period, but the name of 'Ṭabarak Mountain' is. Therefore, it can be assumed that this fortress has been built in the Islamic period. Meanwhile, another fortress is referred to in these texts called 'Zeynabdi Fortress', which matches in location with Ṭabarak Fortress and, interestingly,

⁴²⁶ R. Rante: "The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLV (2007)

⁴²⁷ R. Rante: "The Iranian City of Rayy: Urban Model and Military Architecture", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLVI (2008)

⁴²⁸ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.516

⁴²⁹ Rante: "The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period"

it has been built before Islam. As this fortress was destroyed and then restored several times it can be assumed that its name changed to Ṭabarak Fortress in an unknown period. Karimān writes:

“This event was first mentioned in Fotuḥ al-Boldān of Balāzori describing Rayy’s conquest. It is quoted from Ğa’far Ebn-e Moḥammad Rāzi there: ‘Zibandi Fortress was located inside Moḥammadiye (= both the Šārestān (town) and castle together) and al-Mahdi ordered its restoration and stayed there’. It was possible to see the Jame’ Mosque and Dār al-Emāreh (the governor’s palace) from there, and several years later they built a prison there. Apparently this place has been there at the time of conquering Rayy, because in this book it is mentioned:

‘The last person who conquered Rayy was Qarzat Ebn-e Ka’b-e Anšāri in the Abu Musā period in Kufa on behalf of Osmān Caliph. Then, Rayy was peaceful and functionaries descended to the Zeynabdi Fortress’.[...] Ebn-e Faqih wrote in Moḥtaṣar al-Boldān, quoting from Ebn-e Kalbi: ‘The Zeynabdi Fortress was located inside Rayy town and al-Mahdi wanted it to be restored, and it was adjacent to the Jame’ Mosque and Dār al-Emāreh (the governor’s palace), and afterwards, a jail was built there, but then it was ruined and later Rāfe’ Ebn-e Harsame restored it in 278/891. However, Rayy’s residents destroyed it after his emigration.’

According to Ebn-e Faqih, Zeynabdi jail was located in the town or Šārestān of Rayy, and in Moḥammadiye, according to Balāzori. The whole area of the ancient fortress and the town is called Moḥammadiye. Because it was possible to see al-Mahdi Mosque and Dār al-Emāreh (the governor’s palace) from jail, it is deducted that it was near those two monuments. Al-Mahdi Mosque [...] was located between Naqāre Ḥāne and Taqi Ābād. Therefore, Zeynabdi jail must have been located there as well.”⁴³⁰

Being located on Jame’ Mosque and Dār al-Emāreh (the governor’s palace), this fortress is assumed to have been located on heights. Historically, Abudolaf mentioned Ṭabarak, by which he means large mountain of Rayy, for the first time in the 4th/10th century:

⁴³⁰ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.517-518

“There is a magnificent city with iron gates and a tall wall in the center of Rayy. This city has a Jame’ mosque and a tall mountain in the middle, on top of which there is a castle founded by Rāfe’ Ebn-e Harṣame which lies in ruins nowadays. ‘Ṭabarak Mountain’ is near this city. This mountain is adjacent to the city and contains ancient Iranian buildings and stone coffins.”⁴³¹

Ebn-e Houqal mentioned the existence of a fortress on top of Rayy town in this century (4th/10th century):

“There is a nice and famous fortress in Rayy... Rayy also has a town on top of which there is a fortress.”⁴³²

Ṭabarak Mountain is referred to in *Syāsatnāme* in the 5th/11th century as well:

“there was a rich Gabr called Buzarḡamid Dizu. He built an Ossuary on top of Ṭabarak Mountain for himself which is still there.”⁴³³

Yāqut mentions Ṭabarak as a fortress in the 7th/13th century:

“Ṭabarak [...] is a fortress on top of a mountain near Rayy, to the left of a traveler to Ḥorāsān and therefore Rayy Mountain would be on his left, and Ṭabarak is adjacent to Rayy’s ruins.”⁴³⁴

Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi mentions Ṭabarak as a fortress north of Rayy in the 8th/14th century:

“Ṭabarak Fortress is located on the slope of a mountain in the north and Qasrān village is on the same mountain as well.”⁴³⁵

As it was mentioned before, Ebn-e Faqih writes about Zeynabdi Fortress that Rāfe’ Ebn-e Harṣame restored it in 278/891. Abudolaf also mentions a fortress in the same place which Rāfe’ Ebn-e Harṣame established. Therefore, there was a fortress on a mountain in the middle of Rayy, which Rāfe’ Ebn-e Harṣame restored in the 3rd/9th century. Since Ṭabarak was the only mountain in the middle of the city in the Islamic

⁴³¹ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, pp.72-73

⁴³² Ebn-e Houqal: *Ṣurat al-Arṣ*, Beirut- (n.y.), p.321. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.177

⁴³³ Neẓām al-Molk: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, p.225

⁴³⁴ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo’ġam al-Boldān*, p.7. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.488

⁴³⁵ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi: *Noẓhat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, p.53

period, it is very likely that these two fortresses are one and the same building with two names in different periods. There is no precise information about the founder of this construction. Historians of the early Islamic period attribute it to Manučehr, the mythical king of Iran. Ebn-e Esfandiyār writes in the history of Ṭabarestān:

“Afrāsiyāb stayed where it was Dulāb and Tehrān and conquered over Manučehr, therefore Manučehr ordered to establish Ṭabarak and he was the founder of it. And the year he was deposed, he took shelter in there.”⁴³⁶

As it was mentioned above, Balāzori quoted from Ğa’far Moḥammad Rāzi that al-Mahdi ordered to restore Zeynabdi Fortress in addition to building new monuments and if we consider this fortress the same as Ṭabarak then it is possible to assume that the first restorations were conducted in the 2nd/8th century. Rāvandi has written about basic restorations of this building in 561/1165:

“Inānġ was disappointed and frightened, so he asked Ḥārazm Šāh for help, the king went to Hamedān and the minister went towards Āzarbāyġān, and Rayy was yielded to ‘Omar ‘Ali Bār, and he built Ṭabarak Fortress.”⁴³⁷

But this construction has been destroyed and rebuilt several times:

“Omar ‘Ali Bār constructed Ṭabarak in 561/1165, but Solṭān Arsalān Ebn-e Ṭoġrol Ebn-e Moḥammad ruined it after he captured and murdered Inānġ in 564/1168. [...] It was reconsolidated on Tekeš Ebn-e II Arsalān’s command by Ṭamqāġ in about 588/1192, therefore Solṭān Ṭoġrol Ebn-e Arsalān recaptured Rayy in this time and [ordered its destruction].”⁴³⁸

Le Strange misunderstood the historical source. He writes:

“To the north of the city Mustawfi [Mostaufi] says was the hill of Ṭabarik [Ṭabarak]-presumably not that on which the castle already mentioned as built by the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdi had stood-where a silver mine was worked at much profit to the state.

⁴³⁶ Ebn-e Esfandiyār: *Tāriḥ-e Ṭabarestān*, vol.1, Ed. by ‘Abbās Eqbāl Āštiyāni, Padide-ye Ḥāvar, 2.Edition, Tehrān-1366š/1987, p.61

⁴³⁷ Rāvandi: *Rāḥt al-Šodur va Āyat al-Sorur*, ed. by Moḥammad Eqbāl, London-1921, p.293

⁴³⁸ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.513-516

This Fortress of Ṭabarik, according to the chronicle of Ṣāhir-ad-Din [Ṣāhir al-Din], was founded by Manuchahr the Ziyarid [Ziyārid] at the beginning of the 5th (11th) century. Yāḩūt [Yāqut] states that it was destroyed in 588 (1192) by Tughril II [Ṭoġrol II], the last Saljūḩ Sultān [Salġuk Soltān] of 'Irāḩ ['Irāq], and a long account is given of the siege of this famous stronghold. The Ṭabarik hill, he adds, lay on the right of the Khurāsān [ḩorāsān] road to a traveller leaving Ray [Rayy], while the Hill of Ray (presumably the site of the castle built by al-Mahdi) lay to the left of one leaving the city gate."⁴³⁹

In all probability, all of the above notes are incorrect. In the history told by Ṣāhir al-Din Mar'aši (9th/15th century), taken from the book 'Tāriḩ-e Ṭabarestān' by Ebn-e Esfandiyar (6th & 7th/11th & 12th century), something is mentioned about a war between Manuḩehr and Afrāsiyāb, the mythical kings of Iran and Turān, not the Zayārid ruler Manuḩehr in the 5th/11th century.⁴⁴⁰

Not a word is mentioned of the Zayārid ruler Manuḩehr as the founder of a fortress in Rayy. Concerning the fortress, which the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdi founded in Rayy, there are several possibilities. If the old fortress of the city is meant, this was not located in the mountain at all, yet Ṭabarak Mountain was said to be located in the midst of it. If it means Zeynabdi Fortress (whose restoration he ordered), it was the same as Ṭabarak Fortress and not a single word is said about building a fortress on the large mountain of Rayy (Bibi Šahrbānu). Today, just ruined bricks of this famous fortress have remained and nothing else on top of Ṭabarak Mountain. This name (Ṭabarak) is applied to both the hill and the fortress on it, and sometimes to the town of Rayy (Kohandež) in the Islamic period or to the whole mountains of Rayy.⁴⁴¹ (Image 4-109)

⁴³⁹ Guy Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, Frank Cass & Co. LTD., 3. Edition, London-1966, pp.216-217

⁴⁴⁰ See ḩoseyn Karimān: *Barḩi Āsār-e Bāzmānde az Rayy-e Qadim*, 2.Edition, Danešgāh-e Melli-ye Iran, Tehrān-2536šš/1977, p.126

⁴⁴¹ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.498

3. Gabri Fortress - (Catalogue: BI-4)

The most distinctive fortress remaining in Rayy's plain (and not mountains) is Gabri Fortress which appears both in Ker Porter's and Coste's map. This monument should not be mistaken with the 'Tower of Silence', north of the Large Mountain of Rayy called Gabri Fortress. (Images 4-110, 4-111, 4-112)

It is astonishing that there is not a word about the great fortress mentioned in any historical texts. Karimān advocated a hypothesis supposing that "Dar-e 'Ābes" in ancient scripts meant "Ābes Fortress", which was the last name of the Gabri Fortress, but there is no valid reason to accept this claim.⁴⁴² Yaḥyā Koṣari excavated this fortress for 20 days in 1370š/1991. He believes this fortress and its ramparts were made simultaneously, and they were restored, renovated and even expanded several times. This is a summary of the research:⁴⁴³

The external dimension of this fortress is 187*165 m² and the internal dimensions of the fortress are 148*136 m² and, in all likelihood, there was a moat around it. Thick clay walls are used in this building with a length of about 1m, a height of approximately 60–70 cm and composed of sand and mud. In high heights the row of mud bricks is 10*40*40 cm and there is a grout of mud with a 2 cm. (Image 4-113)

The current entrance door of the Fortress, which has become known as the main entrance by mistake, is on the eastern side between the second and third towers. A new brick wall was made on both of its sides and there is no floor, but it is located up high, and so it was possible to pass a moat and reach the main entrance with a ladder or movable bridges. The most planar layer belongs to the Seljuk Dynasty and there are no earthen goods found after this period. Earthen goods of the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th century were observed in a depth of one to two m belonging to the Buyid dynasty and non-glazed earthen goods of the Parthian period were found in a depth of three m with grey paste and red coverage. This earthenware is mostly wheel-made, with cream

⁴⁴² See Ibid., p.245

⁴⁴³ See Yaḥyā Koṣari: "Paḏuheši dar Qal'e Gabri-ye Rayy-e Bāstān", in: *Maḡmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.3, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996

coloring, and simply decorated with parallel and vertical lines drawn on them. Some additional designs can also be seen on them, such as plants, geometrical figures, animals, and sometimes portraits of humans. Most of the glazed earthenware belongs to the time period from the 3rd to the 5th /9th to 11th century and includes three kinds of enamels: uni-colored enamels of blue, turquoise, green, or dark brown and simple geometrical designs; earthenware with scattered enamels and drawings of heads, circular scattered spots, thin and thick lines with dark or light green on it and the enameled earthenware known as “dark or blue or green painted”, which are only introduced in the discoveries of Šuš (Susa) till now and consist of geometrical designs or plant designs of black, blue, or green colors on green or white mud coverage under crystal lead enamel, and belong to the time after the 4th and 5th /10th and 11th century. Koşari concludes that although this region was affected by both sides due to its location between the East and West of the Iran Plateau, Rayy’s earthenwares are more similar to those of Šuš rather than Neyšābur (Nishapur)’s due to a uni-political system of the region, governed by the Buyid dynasty in previous periods. Another discovery made in Gabri Fortress was very simple broken glass pieces, none of which belong to Rayy. Other findings such as beads of a necklace, metal beads, spindles, and metal tools, showing the inhabitation of this fortress, indicate that people connected to the military lived there with their families. A final conclusion on these issues can only be made after further archeological studies. (Image 4-114)

- The Ramparts of Rayy – (Catalogue: BI-6)

What remains of Rayy’s Rampart consists of some parts in the north, around Češme ‘Ali and Sorsore (Slide) Mountain, and in the South (Gabri Fortress), and some parts in the East. (Image 4-115)

Two European travellers (Sir Robert Ker Porter in 1820 and Pascal Coste in 1840-41) provided a map of Rayy’s ramparts in the Qajar period, when a considerable part of

them still remained intact and the foundations, which lay in ruins, could be seen.⁴⁴⁴

Rante's studies show that this wall belongs, at the very least, to the Parthian period:

"The rampart reflects ancient defensive traditions. This is demonstrated not only by the structural evidence but also by the pottery found during the excavation. In fact, the excavation of the rampart and the Shahrestan [Šahrestān=town] brought to light a very large quantity of grey pottery, which we propose to date to the Parthian period. Buff pottery (cf. "salmon ware"), light pink to orange, is also copious. Among grey pottery there is an important frequency of "céramique sonore" grey pottery"⁴⁴⁵ (Image 4-116)

This survey shows that the external part of the defensive wall is made of mud bricks of the size of 45 x45 x 15 cm and was made in ancient Media and central Asia while the internal wall is made of mud bricks of the size of 38 x38 x 10/12 cm. (Image 4-117)

Four different phases were distinguished in the rampart of Rayy by archeological studies in this survey. Phase (1) is placed on a 6-meter defensive wall (S1) and its core is founded by clay wall blocks of 40/45 x 40/45 x 12.5 cm. or sometimes 50 x 50 x12 cm. What is interesting in phase (2) is the restoration and renovation of internal and external facades and the indentation (S8) which in its shape is similar to the Arsacide-Sassanide architecture of Qumes city in Dāmġān, for instance. The external parts of the wall were rebuilt and the ruined parts restored with stronger materials. (3rd and 4th phase).⁴⁴⁶ (Image 4-118)

Archeological studies in Rayy in 1354š/1975, 1355š-1356š/1976-1977, 1367š/1988, and 1369š/1990 on the defensive wall of Rayy led to finding pottery belonging to the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th century which show the Buyid dynasty in Rayy.⁴⁴⁷ This great wall was preserved in various historical periods and was expanded especially during the islamic period. The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī, in the 2nd/8th century, is the first person

⁴⁴⁴ See Section "3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location" in this thesis

⁴⁴⁵ Rante: "The Iranian City of Rayy: Urban Model and Military Architecture"

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ See Kouşari: "Pažuheši dar Qal'e Gabri-ye Rayy-e Bāstān"

who restored the rampart of Rayy. According to Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş (6th/12th century):

“Al-Mahdi, the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Manşur’s son, went to Ḥorāsān on his father’s command and ordered to build a wall for the city. He built many palaces, towns, and a Jame’ mosque, which he named Moḥammadīe after himself. And this place is now known as Rayy, and the old city was destroyed, which is replaced here, as it was mentioned.”⁴⁴⁸

Rayy has been the capital in the Buyid period and some important parts were added to the city in this period and the rampart was restored several times as well. Rante believes that the actual size of the bricks of the wall was 42 x42 x 12/13 cm and it was strengthened with bricks of 27.28 x 27.28 x 9/10 cm similar to bricks of the Buyid period.⁴⁴⁹ Yāqut has written about Faḥr Ābād:

“Faḥr al-Doule, son of Rokn al-Doule, son of Buyid Deylami, reconstructed the old castle of Rayy and equipped it with guns and weapons and named it Faḥr Ābād. Faḥr Ābād faced towards flowing water and gardens and was cleaner and more scenic [...]”⁴⁵⁰

It is written in “al-Naqż” about the construction (and probably restoration) of the rampart of Rayy in the Seljuk period.

“Amir Abu al-Faẓl ‘Irāqī was a decent and respected gentleman in Ṭoğrol’s time. He first constructed the rampart of Rayy and Qom and Aqīq Mosque of Qom and the domes [...]”⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ *Moğmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş*, ed. by Seyf al-Din Nağm Ābādi; Siegfried Weber, Deux Mondes, Edingen-Neckarhausen – 2000, p.406

⁴⁴⁹ Rante: “The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period”

⁴⁵⁰ Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Moğam al-Boldān*, p.855. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.208

⁴⁵¹ ‘Abd al-Ġalīl Qazvīni-ye Rāzi: *Naqż*, ed. by Mir Ġalāl al-Din Moḥaddes, Anğoman-e Asār-e Mellī, Tehrān-1358ş/1979, p.119 ; See section “3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy’s Location” in this thesis

- Gates of Rayy

Rayy has had many gates towards all points of the compass in Islamic times, of which only the names have remained in the respective literature. Some of these gates are recognizable, as their names reveal their direction; but many of the other names are unknown and it is apparent where they were located in the city. Especially when there are names of the “inner city” gates in old scripts (the rampart gates), determining the location is impossible. Le Strange writes:

“The town was strongly fortified and Ibn Ḥawḳal [Ebn-e Ḥouqal] mentions five gates; the gate of the Bātān [Bātān/ Bāṭān] Arch opening (S.W.) on the Baghdād [Baḡdād] road, Bāb Balīsān [Bāb-e Balisān] (N.W.) towards Ḳazvin [Qazvin], Bāb Kūhak [Bāb-e Kuhak] (N.E.) towards Ṭabaristān, Bāb Hishām [Bāb-e Hešām] (E.) on the Khurāsān [Ḥorāsān] road, and Bāb Sīn [Bāb-e Sin] (S.) towards Ḳum [Qom].”⁴⁵²

According to Karimān’s study, the names of 20 gates were provided of which most were gates of the inner city (town) (and these are possibly named differently in distinct times of history). He has, with some doubt delineated the names of the found gates of ancient Rayy as following on a map.⁴⁵³

- 1- Āhani (Iron) Gate
- 2- Bātān Gate
- 3- Belisān Gate
- 4- Ġārub Bandān Gate
- 5- Bāb al-Ḥarb
- 6- Ḥanẓale Gate
- 7- Ḥorāsān Gate
- 8- Dulāb Gate
- 9- Ra’s al-Rude Gate
- 10- Raškān Gate (Rašqān)
- 11- Zāmahrān Gate

⁴⁵² Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, p.214

⁴⁵³ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.236-261

12- Bāb-e Sin or Bāb al-Şin (= China Gate)

13- Bāb al-Ṭabarīn

14- 'Ābes Gate

15- 'Asāb Gate

16- Kande Gate

17- Kuhakin Gate

18- Bāb al-Madīne or Gate of the Town

19- Moşleḡāh Gate

20- Hoşām Gate

(Image 4-119)

- Prison of Rayy

The name of Rayy's prison was first mentioned in connection with Zeynabdi Fortress, which probably existed before Islamisation, too. Al-Mahdi had it restored and it was, in all likelihood, used as a prison in later years. Rāfe' Ebn-e Harsame restored it in the 4th/10th century after a long state of dilapidation, but natives of Rayy destroyed it after Rāfe's exit. There is no reference to this fortress after the 4th/10th century, but the name of Ṭabarak, the other Fortress at the exact same location, is mentioned which was totally destroyed in the 6th/12th century and of which just some bricks remain today.⁴⁵⁴ Abudolaf, however, mentioned the name of a jail in Gil Ābād, east of Rayy, in the 4th/10th century, founded by Mardāviḡ Zyāri.

“There is a place east of Rayy called Jil Ābād, which has nice buildings, porches, high arcs, pools, and astonishing sights, founded by Mardāviḡ. Everyone who sees these artworks will definitely think they were old buildings of the Sassanid period. There is a large and dreadful jail here, surrounded by a deep lake on top of which there is a strong clay fortress on an earthy porch. This fortress is so strong that nobody can ever leave it,

⁴⁵⁴ See: “Ṭabarak Fortress or Zeynabdi Fortress” in this thesis.

and no criminal can escape from there in any way. I have never seen such a fortress.”⁴⁵⁵

Moḥammad Taqī Moṣṭafavi offered reports about two individual buildings one kilometer away from each other, both similar to a prison, and, coincidentally, both of them are called prisons as well.

“There is a separated and remote building three Km north of Ḥorāsān road and 12 Km east of Tehrān, adjacent to a village with the same name (prison). Its building is wholly made of stone and plaster, but the roofs of the second floor are made of brick. The facade of the building and its brick size shows this building belongs to the Buyid and Seljuk time (4th and 5th [10th and 11th] century). There are four rooms in the four corners of every two floors of this building and there are wide corridors between them and a central area. Its entrance is a chink at the southern end of the corridor in the second floor. About 1 kilometer north of the mentioned building, following a small valley, there is another individual building called prison as well, and it is similar to the previous one, the underground of which is wholly dark individual cells and its entrance was the chink, and the guardians room was probably upstairs.”⁴⁵⁶

Ḥoseyn Karimān believes this building is the so-called “Farḥān Ebn-e Zeynabdi’s Fortress”. (Not to be confused with “Zeynabdi fortress”)

“Apparently, this is the very same Fortress whose restored remains can be observed east of Amin Ābād, known as the prison next to a village with the same name. Its location was a place called Sorr and it is said to be located near Mafāze [= dry desert], east of Rayy, in Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, which is just a little away from the city. The Farḥān Fortress was known as Ğosaq (= Kušk) as well, and Yāqut noted in al-Moštarak: ‘Kušk is a fortress in Rayy, known as Farḥān fortress’.”⁴⁵⁷ (Image 4-120, 4-121, 4-122)

⁴⁵⁵ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, p.73

⁴⁵⁶ Moṣṭafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, pp.122-123

⁴⁵⁷ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.551-552

- Baths

The number of baths in a city is a symbol of the city's largeness, just as the number of its markets, mosques, and caravanserais. In Haft Eqlim's book, the number of baths is figured at 400 baths, which gives an idea of the size of Rayy City. The 400 baths of Rayy are named in the Haft Eqlim's Books, which, although exaggerated, shows the magnitude of the city⁴⁵⁸.

The preserved baths in Rayy mostly belong to the Qajar period on the map of 1342š/1963. (Image 4-123)

- Factories

1. Cement Factory – (Catalogue: P-1)

This building, which is considered the first cement factory in Iran, was established in 1312š/1933.⁴⁵⁹ It was placed behind Sorsore (Slide) Mountain, which was the main cause of its destruction. Fortunately, it is relocated and dedicated to the Āzād University of Rayy now. (Image 4-124)

2. Glycerin and Soap Factory of Rayy – (Catalogue: P-2)

This building was bought from Germany in 1316š/1938 and started working in the mid 1319š/1940.⁴⁶⁰ It is located south of Sorsore (Slide) Mountain and is the main cause of the destruction of the inner city of ancient Rayy. (Image 4-125)

3. Other Factories and Workshops:

Studying the map of 1342š/1963, we can distinguish the various factories of Rayy City. Here is a list of these workshops: cloth-weaving, vegetable oil, leather making, flour factory, and stone-cutting factory. The great number of carpet washing workshops in

⁴⁵⁸ Amin Aḥlad Rāzi: *Haft Eqlim*, ed. by Ğavād Fāzel, Tehrān- (n.y.), According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.107

⁴⁵⁹ "Kārḥāne-ye Simān", in: *Irān-e Emruz* 6 (1319š/1940), p.37. According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.290

⁴⁶⁰ "Kārḥāne-ye Glycerine va Šābun", in: *Irān-e Emruz* 3 (1320š/1941). According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.290

Rayy is another point; even today there are lots of carpet washing workshops around Češme 'Ali.

- Housing of Rayy

Except for several semi-ruined houses from the Qajar or Pahlavi periods, there are no other old houses in Rayy to show the architectural life of the past. Some pillars and short walls appeared in archeological excavations of Češme 'Ali, which the architect of Schmidt's board has made sketches of, but they have not been analyzed so far and no information about them is provided either.⁴⁶¹ It is said in the scripts of ancient geographers that the people of Rayy have built their houses underground to keep them safe from enemies.

“Due to the enemy armies ambushing and arrogating the houses, the people of Rayy used to build their houses underground, to which entering was back-breaking, cumbersome, and very dark.”⁴⁶²

As it was said above, there are only a number of houses in Rayy's statistics report which are not registered in the Cultural Heritage List yet, as mentioned below:⁴⁶³

- 1- Qomi's House – (Catalogue: Q-2)
- 2- Refāhi's House – (Catalogue: Q-4)
- 3- Saqafi's House – (Catalogue: Q-5)
- 4- Mo'ini's House – (Catalogue: Q-6)
- 5- Kelid Dāri's House – (Catalogue: Q-7)
- 6- Farzāne's House – (Catalogue: Q-8)
- 7- Malek's House – (Catalogue: Q-10)

⁴⁶¹ To see the inhabitable areas in Češme Ali, refer to “4.3.3 Pre-historic Settlement of Češme 'Ali” in this thesis and Image 4-132

⁴⁶² Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p. 336

⁴⁶³ For more information see: The Catalogue in this thesis

- Pigeon House

There are two paintings by Colonel F. Colombari from 1844, showing a pigeon house built by Ḥāġi Mirzā Āqāsi in Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim.⁴⁶⁴ (Image 4-126)

- Subterranean Canals of Rayy (Qanāt)

A source of providing water for the cities in the central Iranian plateau, lacking permanent rivers, have been subterranean canals or Qanāts. A subterranean canal is a horizontal canal with a little gradient located under the ground which transfers the underground water from the upper levels to the lower ones and then to the surface. A complete subterranean canal includes a main well (the source of underground water) and a horizontal route with a very small gradient (from the main well to the place on the surface where the water is coming to) and a series of middle wells between them which make digging and layering possible in later years. The place where the water of a subterranean canal comes to the surface and flows is called the source. The length of a subterranean canal varies from some kilometers to more than hundreds of kilometers and depends on the underground water source's distance from where water is required. (Image 4-127)

Since the gradient is from the northwest to the southeast in Rayy, most current water flows in the same direction. The names of various subterranean canals are noted in ancient historic and geographical books of Rayy. The names of several subterranean canals are recorded, such as Šāhi, Naṣr Ābād, 'Abd al-Vahhāb, and Qarši Qanāt, according to Karimān's studies:

“1- Šāhi Qanāt:

It is written in the facsimile version of Masālek [al-Mamālek] about this Qanāt: 'The Qanāt flows in the middle of the town.' In Eṣṭaḥri's book: 'There is a Qanāt called Šāhi, and it passes Sārebānān.' It can be inferred from these two notes that this Qanāt flew

⁴⁶⁴ Lynne Thornton: *Images de Perse- Le Voyage de Colonel F. Colombari á la cour du Chah de Perse de 1833 á 1848*, Paris-1981, p.37

over Ğilāni River and inevitably, its source must have been in Raškān Castle, for only in these area water could reach Sārebānān and then the town due to the gradient.”⁴⁶⁵

2- Naṣr Ābād Qanāt:

“Its name is noted in the facsimile version of Masālek [al-Mamālek] in Leyden along with the Šāhi Qanāt, as they both ‘flew in the middle of Madineh (town)’ [...] It is also noted in Mo’ğam al-Boldān that Naṣr Ābād is an area on top of Rayy, related to Naṣr Ebn-e ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Rayy’s ruler in the Abbasid caliph al-Saffāh’s time.”⁴⁶⁶

The location is not very certain and Karimān believes it must be Faḥr Ābād next to Raškān Castle.

3- ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Qanāt:

It is noted in the facsimile version of Eṣṭaḥri’s: [‘Abd al-Vahhāb Qanāt flows in Rude (bazaar).]”⁴⁶⁷

4- Qarši Qanāt:

“It is noted in the fake version of Eṣṭaḥri’s: ‘[...] Qarši Qanāt flows in the Felisān area.’ Therefore the Qarši Qanāt flowed over the present Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb’s garden and fields based on this note. It is noted in an article written by Moṣṭafavi in 1331š/1952: ‘There is a big spring emerging from the southern hills of ‘Ali Ābād a little away from the Ğavānmard mausoleum. [...] This water passes from the front of the Ğavānmard garden as well.’ ”⁴⁶⁸

The names of the subterranean canals (Qanāts) are mentioned in the studies and researches by Mrs. Mahbube Sāberi in the Mirās-e Farhangi University (Cultural Heritage University) in 1375š/1996 as follows:

1- Firuz Ābād Qanāt:

⁴⁶⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.147. Refer to Bazaars Section for “Sārebānān”

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.148-150

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., p.150

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., p.150

“The Firuz Ābād Qanāt is the largest and oldest Qanāt of Rayy which is about 750 years old. The source of this Qanāt is in Qom road next to the al-Rezā Mosque in Rayy. The main well of this river is below the great bazaar of Tehrān and rumor has it that it is located below Nāṣer Ḥosro Street. The Firuz Ābād Qanāt contains about 50 Sang (=500 lit/sec)⁴⁶⁹ of water. This number has decreased a lot compared to the past. Before laying pipes in Rayy, the drinking water of a large part of the city from Ḥaram (Holy Shrine) to Hāšem Ābād and Nafar Ābād was provided from the Firuz Ābād Qanāt. The rest flows towards the lands of vegetables in Rayy and was used as ‘hourly’ water. In 1335š/1956, this Qanāt was blocked due to Tehrān’s sewage flowing towards Rayy, till in 1374š/1995, the municipality of Rayy transferred the sewage canal out of the city and the covering and restoring of Firuz Ābād which is being executed now started on residents’ request.”⁴⁷⁰

2- Taqi Ābād Qanāt:

“Its source is in Barut Kubi next to Sorḥe Ḥeṣār River and its main well is in the Afsariye Junction southeast of Tehrān. This Qanāt has been laid up due to Tehrān’s sewage passage. It was restored by the governor and the Sewage Organization in 1367 /1981 and some of it is used by Taqi Ābād residents, and the rest of it will be taken to Varāmin’s lands and divided between farmers through the Varāmin-Rayy canal along with some more Qanāts, including Moširiye, ‘Aziziye, Deyr-e Bozorg and Deyr-e Kučak, Moḥammad Bāqer Ḥāni, Ṣadr-e A’zami, etc.”⁴⁷¹

3- Dehḥeyr Qanāt:

“It contains two Qanāt chains and its source is Dehḥeyr village and the main well is in Rayy.”⁴⁷²

4- Alyamān (Alyamun) Qanāt:

⁴⁶⁹ The author’s (Maḥbube Ṣābery) measurement is not accurate about “Sang” and exchanging it to liter per sec. (50*0.066= 3.3 m³/s =3300 lit/s).

⁴⁷⁰ Ṣābery: *Manābe’-e Āb-e Šorb-e Šahr-e Rayy*, pp.21-23

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., p.23

⁴⁷² Ibid., p.24

“It belongs to Alyamān village. Its source is in Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb, and its end is located in the South Terminal which has been blocked for over 20 years due to construction work, but some of its water is used by a small number of farmers in Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb.”⁴⁷³

5- Amin Ābād Qanāt:

“Its source is the Eġlāl al-Doule Garden and its main well has been located towards the Dulāb Gate of Tehrān.”⁴⁷⁴

6- Ašraf Ābād and Zamān Ābād Qanāts:

“Their sources have probably been in front of the old cement factory (current Islamic Azad University) located in Fadā’yān-e Islam with three Qanāt chains. Their main well has been located in the Šāh Square (current Qiām Square).”⁴⁷⁵

7- Other Qanāts of Rayy:

“There are two Qanāt chains in Doulat Ābād-e Qeysariye whose water flows towards farms and which are known as Qeysariye. Some dried Qanāts of Rayy are Bāleš Kuh in Šafā’iye and Šāh Tower (Ṭoġrol Tower).”⁴⁷⁶

Studying the map of 1342š/1963, we encounter various Qanāts with specified names. On the map, these Qanāts are appointed the following numbers: (Image 4-128)

NO. 1: Zāhir Ābād Qanāt system

NO. 2: Zamān Ābād Qanāt system. There is something mentioned on page 1 of the Hāġi Mollā ‘Ali Kani’s deed about the entire endowment of this Qanāt. But it is emphasized on page 10 that this Qanāt has been destroyed.

“[...] the ex-Qanāt of Zamān Ābād village, and the old Qanāt of Kamāl Ābād, and the Qanāt of Ašraf Ābād Garden were all turned to ruins in that time”⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p.24

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p.24 (Eġlāl al-Doule Garden remained unknown)

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.24-25

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., p.25

⁴⁷⁷ Mollā ‘Ali Kani: “Vaḡfnāme”, in: *Godār*, p.10

[http://godarchitects.com/blog/?p=722\(Date:30.1.2013\)](http://godarchitects.com/blog/?p=722(Date:30.1.2013))

NO. 3: Taqi Ābād Qanāt system

NO. 4: Dabir Bozorg Qanāt system⁴⁷⁸

(Its source is two blocks down the Doulat Ābād Garden north of the ancient wall)

NO. 5: Doulat Ābād Qanāt system on top of Dabir Bozorg

NO. 6: Taqi Ābād Qanāt system. Includes two parts joining each other in the Doulat Ābād Graveyard, and the source must be a little down the garden east of the road

NO. 7: Dabir Qanāt system divided into two branches reaching the top of Češme 'Ali⁴⁷⁹

NO. 8: Aqdasiye Qanāt system

NO. 9: Bibi Zobayde Qanāt system

(These two include sub-branches as well)

NO. 10: Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb Qanāt system

NO. 11: Vali Ābād Qanāt system, the continuation of Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb Qanāt

NO. 12: Alyamun Qanāt system reaching Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb from 'Ali Ābād. Some parts of it are totally blocked on the map and some deep wells can be found along its way

NO. 13: Firuz Ābād Qanāt system which in this map follow a short distance to the south from the flour company (Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb area and near Firuz Ābād River).

Obviously, this Qanāt is the continuation of the Alyamun Qanāt

NO. 14: Aqdasiye Qanāt system northeast of Sorsore (Slide) Mountain

NO. 15: Maḥmud Ābād Qanāt system northeast of Sorsore (Slide) Mountain

NO. 16: Šams Ābād Qanāt system northeast of Sorsore (Slide) Mountain

NO. 17: Another Qanāt system which is nameless and starts southeast of the glycerin factory and moves parallel to the "Taqi Ābād floodway" to the southeast. Obviously, this Qanāt is the continuation of the Zamān Qanāt, or the top of Qanāt no. 22

⁴⁷⁸ E'temād al-Saltāne writes about Dabir-al-Molk Qanāt in 1303 Hijri (1886): "Building and planning Rayy's lands which were endowed to Mirza Moḥammad Hossein Farahani Dabir-al-Molk for three Qanāts on the mentioned date, and this oasis is this very Hossein Abad named after Dabir-al-Molk.". See: E'temād al-Saltāne: *Al-Ma'āser v- al-Āsār*, p.99

⁴⁷⁹ See above.

NO. 18: Another nameless Qanāt system which start from Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain and flow towards southeast. Considering that this Qanāt is the only Qanāt flowing towards Amin Ābād, it is probably the one of “Ḥāǧi Mollā ‘Ali Kani” endowment as “Qanāt-e Bāǧ”:

“Qanāt-e Bāǧ, whose source lies in front of Amin Ābād village”⁴⁸⁰

NO. 19: Vali Ābād Behešti Qanāt system which starts from Dodānge village (beginning of Andarmān road) and flows south and reaches Faṭḥ Ābād

NO. 20: Another Qanāt system which seems to be a continuation of the Vali Ābād Behešti Qanāt system and continues towards the south

NO. 21: Another nameless Qanāt system which starts south of Ġeybi Square (This square does not appear on the map of 1342š/1963) towards Vali Ābād which could be the continuation of the Firuz Ābād Qanāt (No. 13)

NO. 22: Another nameless Qanāt system which starts 400 m east of Gabri Fortress (next to Bibi Sang on map of 1342š/1963 west of Taqi Ābād and the intersection of Mošṭafā Ḥomeyni Street and Dināvard on the map of 1390š/2011) and flows south. It could be the continuation of Qanāt No. 17

NO. 23: Another Qanāt system, which starts south of Nemune Hospital (current 7th Tir Martyres) and passes Vali Ābād Behešti and flows south

Studying these Qanāts, it can be inferred that the sources of several of these are located north of ancient Rayy, that their water entered Gilāni River (current Ašraf Ābād Floodway), and this output stream provided water to the lower parts not only in rainy seasons but during the whole year. These Qanāts were destroyed by natural disasters, through neglect or due to new constructions. Even in Nāšer al-Din Šāh’s epoch, many of them fell into ruin, as Jakob Eduard Polak notes:

“The subterranean canals which supplied water for consumption for the 500,000 residents of ancient Rayy lie in a state of decay to such an extent they can hardly

⁴⁸⁰ Mollā ‘Ali Kani: “Vaqfnāme”, p.8

provide enough water for the small population of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim, built on ruins of Rayy"⁴⁸¹

- Āb Anbār (Water Reservoirs)

As it was mentioned before, another source of providing water for cities has been gathering of water in reservoirs in rainy seasons. A water reservoir is an underground tank which is usually built in a circular fashion (there are some other shapes like rectangular, etc.) and it has a stairway for fetching water, and people pour it into their containers from a place called 'Pāšir'. Water Reservoirs usually have a louver (for air conditioning) and sometimes other utilities not relevant here. Rayy had lots of water reservoirs similar to other cities on the margin of the desert which have mostly fallen into ruin in recent years.

1- Motevalli Water Reservoir:

This has been one of the largest water reservoirs of Rayy and was placed beside Ḥaram (Holy Shrine) and provided water for Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim in the Qajar period.

"The Motevalli Water Reservoir with a large capacity could provide the residents and pilgrims of Rayy with water for six months. Its building date and builder is unknown, but according to residents, it is about 480 years old. This water reservoir belongs undoubtedly to the Safavid period. This monument fell into ruin in 1352š/1973, because the water reservoirs were useless due to piping process, therefore the poor used the damaged stairways for washing clothes[...]. Right now, in the process of developing Ḥaram, a public prayer is being built in this place. Because this water reservoir was owned by Ḥaram's guardians it is called by this name [...]. Its source was Alyamān River which flew from the Češme 'Ali lands towards the Holy Shrine's endowed farms."⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹ Polak: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, pp.346-347

⁴⁸² Šābery: *Manābe'-e Āb-e Šorb-e Šahr-e Rayy*, p.29

2- Sar Taht Water Reservoir:

“It was the second largest water reservoir of Rayy whose source was from Şādeq Ābād Runnel. The reason it is called by this name is its flat roof, which was a feature of most of Rayy’s water reservoirs. This water reservoir belongs to the Safavid period.”⁴⁸³

Based on the map of 1342š/1963, “Sar Taht” was the name of one of the local areas in Rayy northwest of Haram and the mosque and bath of Sar Taht were located there as well.

3- Emāmzāde Abu al-Ḥasan Andarmān Mausoleum Water Reservoir:

Moştafavi writes:

“There is a water reservoir near the mausoleum porch like Emāmzāde ‘Abd Allah for pilgrims.”⁴⁸⁴

4- There were other water reservoirs in Rayy as well of which only names or ruins remain, including: Bazaar, Takye, Maşged, Kuče Bağ, Şāh Ġolāmiān, Ḥazrati, Ḥāġii Ra’is, Dabbāġi, Ḥāġi Abu al-Qāsem Eşfahāni (Isfahani), Arbāb Seyf-Allah, Lab-e Čāle Sorḡ, and other water reservoirs located in caravanserais.⁴⁸⁵ (Image 4-129)

4.3.3 Pre-historic Settlement of Čeşme ‘Ali

In the highest part of ancient Rayy, a spring gushes from under the cliffs and flows in the plains of Rayy, which was called “Soren” in ancient texts, and today is called Čeşme ‘Ali. One of the most important and ancient places of Rayy is located here which includes layers of thousand years from the late Neolithic period and early metal period to the Islamic period. Čeşme ‘Ali is located in 28°, 51’ longitude, and 36°, 35’ altitude, and 1080 m above sea level, which makes it the highest area in ancient Rayy⁴⁸⁶. The first excavation was conducted by a French board, lead by the G. Pazar & G. Bondoux

⁴⁸³ Ibid., p.31

⁴⁸⁴ Moḥammad Taqi Moştafavi: *Āşār-e Tāriḡi-ye Tehrān*, p.167

⁴⁸⁵ Şābery: *Manābe’-e Āb-e Şorb-e Şahr-e Rayy*, pp.31-36

⁴⁸⁶ Moḥammad Ḥosein Pāpeli Yazdi: *Farhang-e Ābādiḡā va Makānhā-ye Mazḡabi-ye Keşvar*, Bonyad-e Pažuheşhā-ye Islāmi-ye Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavi, Maşhad-1367š/1988

Company in 1909⁴⁸⁷. Then Jacques de Morgan, the French archeologist, did some research in 1912, neither of which was presented. Charles Fossey, another French archeologist whose studies failed in Hamedān, started excavating in Rayy from the winter of 1913 to the spring of 1914. ⁴⁸⁸ There is no recorded report of this excavation either. Dayet, a French diplomat started excavating Češme 'Ali in 1924⁴⁸⁹, However, Erich F.Schmidt made the first scientific excavation from 1934 to 1936, which was only published in a short report. The worst aspect is that, due to incorrect preservation, destruction occurred on the site and the historic artwork was damaged during the next years, in part also due to his early death.⁴⁹⁰ Keall writes:

“The site was not tested on any systematic basis, but only where the opportunity and the possibility of interesting results occurred. The limits of the Islamic settlement, then, were never defined. Apart from the Islamic material, Parthian and Sasanian remains of lesser extent were uncovered.”⁴⁹¹

Actually the main problem is, that Schmidt's investigations were conducted in disparate areas. Moreover no investigation has been made in the area where the early-Islamic city was located, accordingly no connection could be established among the different parts of Rayy over time.⁴⁹²

Of the 118 pieces of pottery found in Češme 'Ali by Schmidt, 56 of them are kept in the National Museum of Iran in the pre-historic section, 31 in the Orientals Association of Chicago University, and 31 in the Louvre Museum. The designs of the pottery is

⁴⁸⁷ Yaḥyā Koušari: “Rayy az Gozašte-ye Ḥod Soḥan Miguyad”, in: *Me'māri-ye Irān*, ed. by Ā. Javādi, Mojarad, Tehrān-1363š/1984, p.194

⁴⁸⁸ Nicole Chevalier: “Hamedān 1913:Ma'muriati Farāmuš Šode”, Trans. by Kāmyār 'Abdi, in: *Āšār* 2 (1380š/2001)

⁴⁸⁹ L. Vanden Berghe: *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden-1959, P.121. According to H. Fazeli; R.A.E Coningham: “Cheshmeh-Ali Revisited: Towards an Absolute Dating of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Iran's Tehran Plain”, in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLII (2004), p.13

⁴⁹⁰ Āzarmidoḥt Esfandi-yāri: *Ĝāigāh-e Farhang-e Češmeh 'Ali dar Falāt-e Markazi-ye Irān*, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-e Kešvār, Tehrān -1378š/1999, p.1

⁴⁹¹ Keall: “The Topography and Architecture of Medieval Rayy”. in: *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.-10. September 1976*, pp.537-538

⁴⁹² Ibid.

various, including simple geometrical drawings like spots and vertical lines, and animal paintings like pelicans and gazelles, or human figures.⁴⁹³ (Image 4-130, See Image 4-17)

Ḥasan Fāzeli Našli operated some excavations in Češme 'Ali in 1997 and 1998, on which a report was published in a magazine in 2004.⁴⁹⁴ He datelined the discovered objects utilizing radiocarbon method and presented its relative chronology. (Image 4-131)

Other findings of this area include coins of the Islamic period which show its settlement in this area. Ṭoğrol's and Šāhroḡ Timurid's coins were found there.⁴⁹⁵

Timothy Matney provided a new report of Češme 'Ali by re-studying Schmidt's discoveries and studying his script in the 1990s. A spatial plan map of the Settlement and the burial ceremonies in this place are the most important items of his report.⁴⁹⁶ (Images 4-132, 4-133); (See Catalogue: BI-2)

4.3.4 Qajar Gardens in Rayy

The wealthy city of Rayy, which has often been the political capital of the rulers of surrounding lands, is placed at an advantageous position in the vicinity of fertile fields, and was able to create grand promenades due to its many aqueducts (Qanāts).⁴⁹⁷ The oldest of the aforementioned gardens can be traced back to the third century (ninth century) and was mentioned by Ya'qubi. In the Seljuk (Salğuk) era, the "Šorbā" garden was mentioned as "Amir Inānği House"⁴⁹⁸. Since then and until the Qajar period, there is no accurate information about the conditions of Rayy's gardens. But in the Nāşer al-Din

⁴⁹³ Esfandiyāri: *Ġāigāh-e Farhang-e Češmeh 'Ali dar Falāt-e Markazi-ye Irān*, pp.21-31

⁴⁹⁴ H. Fazeli; R.A.E Coningham: "Cheshmeh-Ali Revisited: Towards an Absolute Dating of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Iran's Tehran Plain", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLII (2004), pp.13-23

⁴⁹⁵ Esfandiyāri: *Ġāigāh-e Farhang-e Češmeh 'Ali dar Falāt-e Markazi-ye Irān*, p.15

⁴⁹⁶ Timothy Matney: "Reviews and Reports. Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-Ali", in: *Expedition*, vol.37, no.2 (1995)

⁴⁹⁷ Refer to "Water Supply in Rayy" in this thesis.

⁴⁹⁸ See Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.341-342

Šāh Qajar era, new construction efforts were undertaken and expanded. As an example of these activities, the construction of gardens in the city of Rayy can be named. “Many gardens in Northern Rayy can be seen with Lair walls,”⁴⁹⁹ writes Madam Dieulafoy, who was visiting Iran at the same time, in 1881. Many of these gardens’ names were passed down in historical books while others have been forgotten.

1- Garden of Țoġroliye

In 1301/1884, Țoġrol Tower was repaired under Nāšer al-Din Šāh’s orders and a garden was constructed around it, of which only a small court has remained.

“And the other is the garden of Țoġroliye, located in the city of Rayy before the graveyard of the great Šeyḥ Moḥammad Ebn-e ‘Ali Ebn-e Bābawayh Šaduq, like the Tower on the Tomb of Țoġrol-Beyk 1 Seljuk’s graveyard, which was an antique building and needed to be repaired in such situations. After its reparation under the command of the Šāh, this garden was constructed and resorted and was named after the late Šāh.”⁵⁰⁰ (Image 4-134)

The point to be remembered is that before the renovations in Nāšer al-Din Šāh’s period, the tower was famous by the name of “Tower of Yazid” and was mentioned under the same name in many of the European designs (such as Eugène Flandin). But according to E’temād al-Salṭane’s research in Nāšer al-Din Šāh’s period, the tower was recorded and known as the Țoġrol Tower. Some researchers have doubted the assignment of this structure.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ Jane Dieulafoy: *Irān. Kaldeh va Šuš*, Trans. by ‘Ali Moḥammad Farahvaši, 5. Edition, Danešgāh-e Tehrān-1371š/1992, p.146

⁵⁰⁰ E’temād al-Salṭane: *Al-Ma’āšer v-al-Āsār*, p.85

⁵⁰¹ See Seyed Aḥmad Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabāṭabā’i: “Gonbad-e Solṭān yā Gur-e Darviš”, in: *Keyhān-e Farhangī* 47 (1366š/1987)

2- Garden of Mahd-e 'Oliā

The other garden was the representative of Rayy's government in the Qajar period, known as Mahd-e 'Oliā, the title of the Šāh's mother, as E'temād al-Saltāne wrote in 1301/1884:

"They had lunch in the garden of Mahd-e 'Oliā, which now is Ḥażrat-e 'Abd al-'Aẓim's government office."⁵⁰²

It is also mentioned in *Al-Ma'āser v-al-Āsār*: "Restoration of the garden of Mahd-e 'Oliā in Ḥażrat-e 'Abd al-'Aẓim, which is the government office."⁵⁰³

We are not exactly sure of the location of this garden, but according to 'Eyn al-Saltāne in 1311/1894, it was in an alley near the Bazaar of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's Shrine.

"This is a dirty autumn, with no rain for a long time. After reaching Ḥażrat-e 'Abd al-'Aẓim's Bazaar, which is located in a cozy alley that is the garden of Mahd-e 'Oliā, we left the horses there and visited the holy shrine."⁵⁰⁴

In a remaining letter of Mahdi Ḥān, one of the closest courtiers, the privy of Mirzā 'Ali Aşğar Ḥān Atābak and the special adjutant of the youngest son of Farroḥ Ḥān Amin al-Doule, about the assassination of Nāşer al-Din Šāh in the shrine of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim, he described this event to his brother Moḥammad Ebrāhim Ḥān Mo'āven al-Doule, the general consul of Iran in Tbilisi (Tiflis). It is pointed out in the letter that Nāşer al-Din Šāh was taken to the Foruğ al-Saltāne graveyard after he was shot.

"Amin Ḥāqān and Ḥāğii Ḥoseyn 'Ali Ḥān assisted to lift and take the Šāh to the Foruğ al-Saltānes⁵⁰⁵ graveyard and fetched a couple of pillows [...] to put them under his head."⁵⁰⁶

The Garden of Foruğ al-Saltāne (Ĝeyrān) was one of the two gardens located on the sides of the shrine, writes Munes al-Doule:

⁵⁰² E'temād al-Saltāne: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāterāt*, vol.1, ed. by Irağ Afşār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385ş/2006, p.297

⁵⁰³ E'temād al-Saltāne: *Al-Ma'āser v-al-Āsār*, p.114

⁵⁰⁴ 'Eyn al-Saltāne: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāterāt-e 'Eyn al-Saltāne*, vol.1, ed. by Mas'ud Sālur; Irağ Afşār, Asātir, Tehrān-1374ş/1995, p.556

⁵⁰⁵ Foruğ al-Saltāne is the title of Ĝeyrān (Šāh's Wife)

⁵⁰⁶ Ḥoseyn Maḥbubi-ye Ardakāni: "Qatl-e Nāşer al-Din Šāh", in: *Yağmā* 273 (1350ş/1971)

“Those who have passed through the city of Rayy and Ḥaẓrat-e ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim know that there are two gardens in the east and west of the courtyard: one is known as Ṭuṭi (parrot) garden and the other as Ğeyrān garden’.”⁵⁰⁷

Confirming Mahdi Ḥān’s words and quoting Šeyḥ Moḥammad Ḥān Eḥyā al-Molk, ‘Abd al-Ḥoseyn Šeyḥ al-Molk (Orang) accepts the Ğeyrān garden as the same garden in which Nāṣer al-Din Šāh is buried in.

“Then Atābak got on the Šāh’s carriage and took it from Ğeyrān garden southwest of the exit, which is still the garden of the Šāh’s graveyard, tied the horses and moved toward the city.”⁵⁰⁸

According to this, Ğeyrān garden was located south of ‘Ṭuṭi garden’. Furthermore it is unlikely that they carried Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s body from Emāmzāde Ḥamze’s graveyard to such a remote distance. This courtyard was also called the Šāh’s courtyard on the map of 1963, therefore it seems that Munes al-Doule used the words “west” and “east” carelessly, because Ğeyrān and ‘Ṭuṭi garden’ are both located on the western part of the shrine that is called ‘the courtyard of Āyat Allah Kāšāni’ nowadays. (Images 4-135, 4-136)

The interconnection of the courtyard of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim and Mahd-e ‘Oliā Garden is precisely mentioned.

“The carriage was prepared at the gate of Mahd-e ‘Oliā Garden and everybody was discharged.”⁵⁰⁹

According to all of the aforementioned, we can locate Mahd-e ‘Oliā Garden, once considered to be the borough of Rayy’s government of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓim, at approximately the western side of the holy shrine, where Reẓā Šāh’s graveyard was once located and today a seminary. (Image 4-137)

⁵⁰⁷ Munes al-Doule: *Ḥāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadīme-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāṣer al-Din Šāh*, ed. by Sirus Sa’dvandiān, 2.Edition, Zarrin, Tehrān-1386š/2007, p.229

⁵⁰⁸ Šeyḥ al-Molk (Orang), ‘Abd al-Ḥoseyn: “Vāqe’-e-ye Qatl-e Nāṣer al-Din Šāh”, in: *Yağmā* 50 (1331š/1952)

⁵⁰⁹ Maḥbubi-ye Ardakāni: “Qatl-e Nāṣer al-Din Šāh”

3- Ašraf Ābād Garden

This garden is mentioned in Hāġ Mollā 'Ali Kani's deed of endowment:

"The ex-Qanāt of Zamān Ābād village, and the old Qanāt of Kamāl Ābād, and the Qanāt of Ašraf Ābād Garden were all turned to ruins in that time"⁵¹⁰

Ašraf Ābād is located a couple of kilometers southeast of Rayy. Therefore the garden was not located in Rayy itself.

4- Garden of Doulat al-Doule

The other garden known as Doulat al-Doule, in which only women were allowed access to, has today become the location of the Firuz Ābādi hospital:

"This group of pilgrims on the carriage couldn't stay on the shrine of Bibi Šahrbānu, for it was not an appropriate place to receive them and after the pilgrimage they came to Ḥazrat-e 'Abd al-'Aẓim and had lunch in the Doulat al-Doule garden which was a women's resort. Now, the Doulat al-Doule garden is the Firuz Ābādi hospital."⁵¹¹ (Images 4-138, 4-139, 4-140)

5- Garden of Malek al-Toġġār

This garden is mentioned as "the first mansion I passed" at the entrance in the south of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim town in Sadid al-Saltāne's itinerary.⁵¹² Therefore the building has to be located in the southernmost part of the former town. The title of Malek al-Toġġār belonged to "Hāġ Moḥammad Kāẓem Malek al-Toġġār", father of "Ḥoseyn Malek", the founder of the Malek library and museum in Tehrān at that time.⁵¹³ This same garden is

⁵¹⁰ Mollā 'Ali Kani: "Vaḡfnāme", in: *Godār*, p.10

<http://godarchitects.com/blog/?p=722>(Date:30.1.2013)

⁵¹¹ Munes al-Doule: *Ḥāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadime-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāšer al-Din Šāh*, ed. by Sirus Sa'dvandiān, 2.Edition, Zarrin, Tehrān-1386š/2007, p.137

⁵¹² Moḥammad 'Ali Ḥān Sadid al-Saltāne: *Safarnāme-ye Sadid al-Saltāne*, ed. by Aḥmad Eqtedāri, Behnašr, Tehrān-1362š/1983, p.132

⁵¹³ Qadir Afrund: *Gozāreš-e Pažuheši va Barresi va Šenāsā'i-e Āsār-e Bāstāni va Tāriḡi (Ḥouze-ye Rayy)*, vol.1, Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Tehrān-1381š/2002 (Unpublished), p. 300

mentioned in Neẓām al-Molk's itinerary. Only a small part of the garden and the buildings has remained until today.⁵¹⁴

Neẓām al-Molk writes:

"To eat lunch, they went to the garden of Ḥāġi Malek al-Toġġār on their way, where they were welcomed wholeheartedly."⁵¹⁵ (Images 4-141, 4-142)

6- Ṭuṭi (Parrot) Garden

This garden, which is mentioned in several texts, is clearly visible on the map of 1335š/1956. However, what matters is that it was used as a small graveyard due to its adjacency to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim's Mausoleum. It is probable that this area just carried the word "Garden" as a name and that it was a graveyard from the very beginning. In the present day, many cemeteries are called *garden* or *paradise*. (Refer to Image 4-135)

7- Garden of Mo'ez al-Molk

Another garden belonged to Mo'ez al-Molk which was not located in the city but in the southern part of it, between Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim and Kahrizak, and was called 'Dehḥeyr' and 'Ḥeyr Ābād' in the E'temād al-Saltāne part.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ "Safarnāme-ye Tehrān be Širāz-e Neẓām al- Molk", ed. by Iraġ Afšār, in: *Farhang-e Irānzamin* 13 (1344š/1965), p.195

⁵¹⁶ It seems that "Ḥeyr Ābād" and "Dehḥeyr" are just two names for the same village. Both names exist in two encyclopedias: *Farhang-e Ğoġrāfiā'i-ye Irān* (Encyclopedia of Iranian Geography)* and *Farhang-e Ābādihā-ye Irān* (Encyclopedia of Iranian Villages)**, with nearly identical locations. In the "Neẓām al- Molk" itinerary the name "Dehḥeyr" has been used, not "Ḥeyr Ābād" to describe the village of "Mo'ez al-Molk": "After having lunch and coffee, we left, and many of them went with us to the village Dehḥeyr, which is the village of Mo'ez al-Molk". (See "Safarnāme-ye Tehrān be Širāz-e Neẓām al- Molk", P.195)

* *Farhang-e Ğoġrāfiā'i-ye Irān*, Dāyereh-ye Ğoġrāfiā'i-ye Setād-e Arteš, 1328š/1959

** Loṭf Allah Mofaḥḥam Pāyān: *Farhang-e Ābādihā-ye Irān*, Sāzmān-e Ğoġrāfiā'i-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1339š/1960

“Saturday, 17 Šavvāl 1309 [15 May 1892], I’ll travel to ‘Iraq in the morning, God willing. I’ll visit Ḥaẓrat-e ‘Abd al-‘Azim in Mo‘ez al-Molk’s garden, between ‘Abd al-‘Azim and Kahrizak and towards Ḥeyr Ābād to have lunch.”⁵¹⁷ (Images 4-143, 4-144)

8- Prince E‘tezād Garden

‘Aliqoli Mirzā E‘tezād al-Salṭane, Nāṣer al-Din Šāh Qajar’s uncle was a modern and ambitious man. The name of his garden is only highlighted in Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s itinerary without being clear on the location:

“We entered the holy shrine of Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim. [...] I went there for the pilgrimage. I prayed to God and went to Prince E‘tezād’s Garden.”⁵¹⁸

9- Garden of Doulat Ābād

Another garden in the Qajar era was Doulat Ābād, which was Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s and considered as a Royal Greenhouse.

“Češme ‘Ali is located between Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim’s borough and Doulat Ābād village and garden, which is the government’s blessed garden.”⁵¹⁹

Carla Serena writes about it:

“We got on the carriage in Tehrān and went on towards our destination through the new road. In the middle of the way there is a small palace where the Šāh will stop to go on a pilgrimage to the famous mosque of ‘al-Šağare’.”⁵²⁰

Ernest Orsolle, facing a strong storm in 1882 and not specifying his route, talks about his stop in a castle on the way which is probably the aforementioned Doulat Ābād Kušk:

“The same day, when returning from Rayy, we witnessed a strange event: a huge yellow cloud rose to the sky, surrounding the horizon. Surprisingly, a cold dark sun-like ball could be seen in the middle. A hot wind started to blow, passing all the plain. We

⁵¹⁷ E‘temād al-Salṭane: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, p.810

⁵¹⁸ Nāṣer al-Din Šāh: *Šahriār-e Ġādehā*, ed. by Moḥammadrezā ‘Abbāsi & Parviz Badi‘i, Sāzmān-e Asnād-e Melli, Tehrān-1372š/1993, p.228

⁵¹⁹ E‘temād al-Salṭane, Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān: *Merāt al-Boldān*, vol.4, ed. by ‘Abdolḥosein Navā‘i; Mirhāšem Moḥaddes, Tehrān (University Tehrān)-1368š/1989, pp.2216-2217

⁵²⁰ Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā‘inhā dar Irān)*, p.202

found ourselves in a pillar of sand that burned our eyes when we opened them. The weather was so gloomy and dusty that we could not breathe. We rode the horses towards Nağaf Ābād rapidly where we visited a French man, called Mr. Andrio, the manager of the Royal Greenhouses, who welcomed us kindly. The sand storm lasted for an hour and after severe lightning, rain showers started. The sun was in its common state when we moved towards Tehrān again, the road was dry, but hot and dry air was the sign of hot winds to blow.”⁵²¹

The Nağaf Ābād estates, which Orsolle has mentioned, were located in the southeast of Tehrān and inside the new ramparts on ‘Abd al-Ġaffār Ḥān’s map (Image 4-145), of which the railroad gate was considered its entrance. Although the railroad has not been run yet, these premises were located outside the new ramparts on the map by the engineer ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ḥān Bağāyeri. (Image 4-147)

Mirzā Ebrāhim issued a meticulous report on the history of the construction of the garden and its status in Nāṣer al-Din Šāh period:

“About Doulat Ābād, he possesses a garden half a parasang away from the capital whose primary founder was the late ‘Abbās Mirzā [Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s grandfather], peace be upon him. The latter owner was Z̄ell al-Solṭān [‘Ali Mirzā Z̄ell al-Solṭān, ‘Abbās Mirzā’s brother] from whom the possession was taken by Moḥammad Šāh [Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s father] up until it was handed to Nāṣer al-Din Šāh the majesty. There are quite a lot of andaruni (halls), upper and lower mansions, the pool, fruit and non-fruit trees, flowers, tulips, and a vine tree. There are six gardeners as well, the head of whom would be Karbalā’i Akbar. The rent would be 75 tomans last year from which the gardeners took 60 tomans and passed the rest.”⁵²²

Jakob Eduard Polak also accounts the Doulat Ābād garden as a distinct garden, but meanwhile he reports that the trees were cut down for timber. There are two distinct gardens:

⁵²¹ Orsolle: *Safarnāme-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, p.303

⁵²² Mirzā Ebrāhim: *Safarnāme-ye Astarābād va Māzandarān va Gilān*, ed. by Mas’ud Golzāri, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, Tehrān-2535šš/1976, p. 3

“The garden in Kan and its trees, two miles from Tehrān, and the Doulat Ābād garden near Rayy’s ruins, but both are scavenged for timber.”⁵²³

This garden is clearly mentioned on the map of Tehrān and the suburbs of engineer Abd al-Razzāq Ḥān Baġāyeri in 1910 (Image 4-147) and on the map in 1944 (Image 4-146):

In the aerial photograph from 1956, you can still see the forts of this garden in parallel with horizontal axis in the Doulat Ābād area, but there is no sign of any buildings there. In the new aerial photographs of the garden it can be seen, shaped like a green landscape. (Images 4-148, 4-149, 4-150)

It can be concluded from all historical contexts that many traditional gardens existed in Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm’s borough, today called the city of Rayy, in Nāṣer al-Din Šāh’s period of which unfortunately only the names have remained. But only the Doulat Ābād garden remains in its actual size, which requires strenuous effort to preserve before it completely decays. (Image 4-151)

4.3.5 Historic Roads of Rayy

As mentioned earlier, Rayy was one of the most important cities of the Mountain (Ĝebāl) Province and the most important road to reach the eastern cities of Iran passed through it, too. Le Strange writes about the four important cities of this province.

“Four great cities -Kirmîsîn [Qermasin] (later Kirmânshâh [Kermânšâh]), Hamadân [Hamedân], Ray [Rayy], and Isfahân [Eşfahân] -were from early days the chief towns of the four quarters of this province. In Buyid times, namely in the 4th (10th) century, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal [Ebn-e Ḥouqal], the offices of the government were at Ray”⁵²⁴

He believes Rayy was the most important city of the Ĝebāl (Mountain) province in the 4th/10th century:

“In the 4th/10th century Ray [Rayy] appears to have been the chief of the four capital cities of the Jibâl [Ĝebāl] province; ‘except for Baghdâd [Baġdâd], indeed, it is the finest

⁵²³ Polak: *Safarnâme-ye Polak*, p.78

⁵²⁴ Le Strange: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, p.186

city of the whole east' Ibn Ḥawqal [Ebn-e Ḥouqal] writes, 'though Naysâbûr [Neysâbur/ Neyšâbur] in Khurâsân [Ḥorâsân] is more spacious: and Ray [Rayy] covered at that time an area of a league and a half square."⁵²⁵

Rayy was one of the most important cities of Iran and was communicating with other important cities in various cases; therefore it must have been located at the most important roads of the time. In other words, the known roads leading to Rayy were considered the most important ways of communication in the ancient world. Le Strange writes about the most significant roads of the Ğebâl (Mountain) province before the Mongol attack.

"The chief highway through the Jibâl [Ğebâl] province was part of the great caravan road, commonly called the Khurâsân [Ḥorâsân] road, which, as already described in the introductory chapter, went from Baghdâd [Baġdâd] to Transoxiana and the farther east. Entering the province at Ḥûlwân [Ḥolvân] this high road passed through it diagonally, coming first to Ķirmîsîn [Qermasin] (or Kirmânshâh [Kermânšâh]), then to Hamadân [Hamedân], from which town Sâvah [Sâve] was the next point, thence finally north to Ray [Rayy], beyond which it passed eastward out of the Jibâl [Ğebâl] province into Ķûmis [Kumes/ Qumes], and through this to Khurâsân [Ḥorâsân]".⁵²⁶

However, after the Mongol attack, and the subsequent looting and destruction of most Iranian cities, including Neyšâbur (Nishapur) and Rayy and Solţâniya, the capital, the roads changed directions.

"After the Mongol conquest and the establishment of the dynasty of the Îl-Khâns [Ilḥân] in Persia, Sulţânîyah [Solţâniye] became the capital, and hence the centre of the road system. In the itineraries of Mustawfî [Mostaufi], therefore, instead of starting from Baghdâd [Baġdâd] and going east, the roads start from Sulţânîyah [Solţâniye], and towards Baghdâd [Baġdâd] the reverse direction is of course followed. From Ḥûlwân [Ḥolvân] to Hamadân [Hamedân] (to revert to the older order of the route) the stages are however practically the same in both systems. But from Hamadân [Hamedân]

⁵²⁵ Ibid., p.214

⁵²⁶ Ibid., pp.227-228

instead of going by Sâvah [Sâve] to Ray [Rayy], the Mongol high road goes north direct to Sulṭânîyah [Solṭâniye] across the Darguzîn [Dargazin] and Kharraḡan [Ḥaraqān] districts. No great towns, however, are passed, and the stages on the road, as given by Mustawfî [Mostaufi], being names of villages are all extremely uncertain”⁵²⁷

Indeed, a road is described before the Mongol attack in a different manner from that of Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi (after the Mongol attack) by Ebn-e Ḥordâdbeh, Ebn-e Hawḡal, and Maqdesi. Le Strange writes:

“From near Kirmânshâh [Kermânšâh], at the hill called ‘Sumayrah's Tooth’, Sinn Sumayrah [Sin Somayre] the road to Marâghah [Marâġe] in Adharbâyjân [ĀzARBĀYĠĀN] and the north turns off from the great Kharraḡan [Ḥaraqān] road, running first to Dînavar [Dinavar] and thence to Sîsar [Sisar] and the Jibâl [Ġebâl] frontier. This route, of which the continuation through Adharbâyjân [ĀzARBĀYĠĀN] will be described presently, is given by both Ḳudâmah [Qodāme] and Ibn Khurdabih [Ebn-e Ḥordâdbeh], and the earlier portions of it are found in Ibn Ḥawḡal [Ebn-e Ḥouḡal]. From Kirmânshâh [Kermânšâh], from Kanguvâr [Kangāvar] and from Hamadân [Hamedân] roads branched to the right, going south-east to Nihâvand [Nahāvand] whence, and from Hamadân [Hamedân] direct, the way went by Burûjird [Boruġerd] to Karaj of Abu Dulaf [Karaġ-e Abudolaf] and thence on to Isfahan [Eṣfahān]. Mustawfî [Mostaufi] gives the stages from Kanguvâr [Kangāvar] to Nihâvand [Nahāvand] and then on by a devious route to Isfahan [Eṣfahān]; while from Karaj [Karaġ] Muḡaddasi [Maqdesi] gives the direct road to Ray [Rayy] going *via* Âvah [Āve] and Varâmîn [Varāmin] [...] The number of marches between the towns to the west of Ray on the high road to the Adharbâyjân [ĀzARBĀYĠĀN] province is given by Ibn Ḥawḡal [Ebn-e Ḥouḡal] and others, also those from Zanjân [Zanġān] north to Ardabîl [Ardebil]. The stages on this route, however are found in fullest detail in Mustawfî [Mostaufi]. Between Sulṭânîyah [Solṭâniye] and Ray [Rayy] the road passed through Abhar to Fârisjîn [Fârseġin], leaving Ḳazvîn [Qazvin] to the north, and thence reached a stage called Sûmġhân [Sumġān], where it bifurcated. The Kharraḡan [Ḥaraqān] high road went straight onward by the shrine of ‘Abd-al-‘Azîm

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p.228

[‘Abd al-‘Azim] to Ray [Rayy], and thence to Varāmîn [Varāmin]; while branching to the right southwards, the Isfahân [Eşfahân] road went first to Sagzâbâd (or Sagziâbâd) [Sagz Ābâd/ Sagzi Ābâd], and thence on to Sâvah [Sâve] as already described.”⁵²⁸ (Image 4-152)

- **The roads of Tehran to Rayy in the Qajar (Qāğār) period**

The restoration of Rayy in the Qajar period started with a small village next to the Šāh (Shah) ‘Abd al-‘Azim shrine, known as prince ‘Abd al-‘Azim’s village. Since Rayy lay in ruins, along with its holy shrines, it was considered Tehran’s pilgrimage and entertainment resort in the Qajar period. In addition, the roads connecting Tehran and the southern areas (for instance Qom, Isfahan, etc.) passed through there and at least two main roads connected the capital to Rayy in this period (of which only its ruins remained next to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim’s village). Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E’temād al-Saltāne writes about these two roads:

“It is possible to go to the holy shrine and to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim from Tehran on two roads: one is straight and more common, and the other is from the Češme ‘Ali (Cheshmeh Ali) road which is a little further from the straight road. Češme ‘Ali is located between Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim’s village and the Doulat Ābâd garden, which is a governmental garden.”⁵²⁹

The common main road mentioned by E’temād al-Saltāne was known as “Ĝavanmard-e Qassāb” road, and Moḥammad Taqī Moşţafavi writes about it:

“In the past when people used to walk and use animals to commute, they had to pass through Ĝavanmard-e Qassāb and Darvāze Ĝār (Ĝār Gate) of Tehran to ‘Ali Ābâd, which was a pathway to the south, and then after some kilometers, before reaching the

⁵²⁸ Ibid., pp.228-229

⁵²⁹ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E’temād al-Saltāne: *Merāt al-Boldān*, ed. by ‘Abdolḥosein Navā’i; Mirhāšem Moḥaddes, Tehrān (University Tehrān)-1368š/1989, pp.2216-2217

Bibi Zobeyde lands, next to a stream, they passed over a bridge and entered the Ğavanmard-e Qassāb shrine.”⁵³⁰

Qahremān Mirzā ‘Eyn al-Saltāne also states:

“Moḥammad Mirzā, son of Sir Molk Ārā, was going to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm when we reached them behind our house, then together we went through Ğavanmard-e Qassāb.”⁵³¹

In another article, he mentions the Češme ‘Ali road:

“After lunch, we got on and went to Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm. That is, we went to Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Mirzā's house and we accompanied each other in every possible way. After ten days, it was sunny today. It was so muddy, but it was much better than in the city center, we prayed and went on a pilgrimage, and then came to the city from Češme ‘Ali.”⁵³²

This road, known as “Ĝāde-ye No” (new road), was passing from Češme ‘Ali, and the small palace of Nāšer al-Din Šāh was also located on this road and the Doulat Ābād lands, about which Carla Serena writes:

“We got on a carriage in Tehran and passed through the new road. There is a small palace in the middle of the road in which the Šāh stopped for a short time while going on a pilgrimage to the “al-Šağare” mosque.”⁵³³

This road was the first leveled road in Iran, which had a cistern, its floor was paved with stone, and the engineer was from Belgium.

“This new leveled road which became well-known was built after Nāšer al-Din Šāh’s return from Europe. Its construction started on 10 March 1874 and was finished in June the next year. A great ceremony was held the day its foundation was established, flags

⁵³⁰ Moḥammad Taqī Moštafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, ed. by Mir Hāšem Moḥaddes, 2.Edition, Garus, Tehrān-1375š/1996, p.168

⁵³¹ Qahremān Mirzā ‘Eyn al-Saltāne: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e ‘Eyn al-Saltāne*, ed. by Mas‘ud Sālur; Irağ Afšār, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1374š/1995, p.318

⁵³² Ibid., p.653

⁵³³ Carla Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā‘inhā dar Irān)*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aşğar Sa‘idi, Zavvār, Tehrān-1362š/1983, p.202

were put on the road sides and a massive number of people stood on towers and walls to see this interesting event. Two hours after noon, a big cart full of stone and decorated with flags entered the neighborhood. Yaḥyā Ḥān, the minister, came forward and took a stone and then put it at the beginning of the road. Then, in a short speech, he asked God for help for the construction activities, started on the Šāh's command, to be finished as soon as possible. After his speech, after which everybody clapped, the first foundation stone of a leveled road that was built in Iran was strengthened with a hammer and a trowel. The date of construction was engraved on white marble with golden letters and was put over the cistern, pilgrims to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim drink water from when passing that large, dry and barren desert."⁵³⁴

Fortunately, Carla Serena has recorded the epigraph:

"From the Qajar dynasty to the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh dynasty, the first Iranian leveled road was established with Mirzā Ḥoseyn Ḥān Mošir al-Doule's help and cooperation. Mr. Ashraf Yaḥyā Ḥān, Mo'tamed al-Molk, the special minister, laid the first stone with complete ceremonies on 15th Rabi' al-Avval [2.May 1874]. Baron de Norman was in charge of executing the construction activities."⁵³⁵

The Baron de Norman cannot be anyone else than the Belgian Baron Louis de Norman whose name can be found at least in two articles from the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh era:

First, he was employed to establish the first railroad by Mirzā Ḥoseyn Ḥān Sepah Sālār on Nāṣer al-Din Šāh's first travel to Europe, and provided a detailed report of the trans-railway in Iran. But his contract didn't come to an end.⁵³⁶

Second, when the first newspaper in French was published in 1876, called "Vatan" (La Patrie), only one number was produced with Mirzā Ḥoseyn Ḥān Sepah Sālār's cooperation, the prime minister of Nāṣer al-Din Šāh, and then it was banned under Nāṣer al-Din Šāh's orders.⁵³⁷ It should be mentioned that the Češme 'Ali road existed in

⁵³⁴ Ibid., pp.202-203

⁵³⁵ Ibid., p.203

⁵³⁶ See 'Abd al-Rafi' Ḥaqiqat: *Tāriḥ-e Nehzatha-ye Fekri-ye Irāniān*, vol.2, Šerkat-e Mo'allefān va Motarġemān-e Irān, Tehrān-1368š/1989, p.1217

⁵³⁷ Djavad Hadidi:"La presse de langue française en Iran", in: *Luqman*, vol.V, No.2, printemps - été- , (1989), p.9-21

the form of a common way before, as in the map of 1280/1863 (11 years before Carla Serena's report), and also, it can be seen in Pascal Coste's map in 1840 (34 years before Carla Serena's report). This road was transformed into a leveled one called "Ġāde-ye No" (New Road). Qahremān Mirzā 'Eyn al-Salṭane addresses another path called "Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain Road". However, it seems that this was not an independent path, but was a road branched from the Ćešme 'Ali road near Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain.

"Moḥammad Ḥasan Mirzā was supposed to be there, but he didn't show up. We had to wait. We passed through Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain, but there was nothing to hunt."⁵³⁸ This road passes along Ćešme 'Ali on Coste's map as an independent road and continues to Bibi Šahrbānu. 'Eyn al-Salṭane continues writing about the road to the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine:

"We had tea near an old ruined fortress. There were several camels. Then we went to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim."⁵³⁹

Therefore, a part of this road passed along Gabri Fortress and went to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim. Now there is no other fortress or castle than Raškān Castle and Gabri Fortress. But since he talks about "many camels in the Fortress", he may possibly mean Gabri Fortress, because Raškān Castle is located on an elevated position and it is unlikely that they took camels there. (Images 4-153, 4-154, 4-155)

Orsolle, who faced a strong storm in 1882, without specifying his location, talks about staying in a palace located on the middle of the route, which must have been Doulat Ābād Palace.⁵⁴⁰

"The same day, when returning from Rayy, we witnessed a strange event, a huge yellow cloud raised to the sky, surrounding the horizon. Surprisingly, a cold dark sun-like ball could be seen in the middle. A hot wind started to blow, passing all the plain. We found ourselves in a pillar of sand that burned our eyes, when we opened them.

⁵³⁸ 'Eyn al-Salṭane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e 'Eyn al-Salṭane*, p.256

⁵³⁹ Ibid., p.256

⁵⁴⁰ See "4.3.4 Qajar Gardens in Rayy" in this thesis

The weather was so gloomy and dusty that we could not breathe. We rode the horses toward Nağaf Ābād rapidly, where we visited a French man, called Mr. Andrio, the manager of Royal greenhouses, who received us, kindly. The sand storm lasted for an hour and after severe lightning, showers started. The sun was in its common state when we moved toward Tehran again, the road was dry, but hot and dry air was the sign of hot winds blowing.”⁵⁴¹

Nağaf Ābād’s estates, mentioned by Orsolle, were in the southeast of Tehran and inside its new border on ‘Abd al-Ġafār Ḥān, and the Railway Gate was considered its entrance, although this railroad was not yet established at this time.

- **Tehran-Rayy Railroad**

The first Iranian railroad was built in the Nāṣer al-Din Šāh epoch between Tehran and Rayy (or Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim village in those days). There was serious conflict about whether to build the railroad in Iran, and who would be in charge, that postponed the project several times. Many believed that it was not economical to start such a project in Iran. Benjamin, who came to Iran in 1883 as the American ambassador, believed the essential condition to start the project was as follows:

“Steam railroad cannot be beneficial in Iran, unless all the construction materials are provided from the country and the equipments are made from iron of Iran and it uses the coal of Iran. So when this road was finished, it was run on the lowest costs. For the workers’ payment is low in Iran and the climate is such that it won’t be destroyed very soon.”⁵⁴²

In his opinion, the first route of railroad should be between Tehran and Rayy, and in fact this route was completed in 1305/1888.

“The actual situation in Iran was that the first two or three horse railroads should be built in the central plain of Iran, and since horses are cheap in Iran, such a railroad would be

⁵⁴¹ Orsolle: *Safarnameh-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aşğar Sa‘īdi, Pažuheşgāh-e ‘Olum-e Ensāni va Moṭāle‘at-e Farhangī, Tehrān-1382š/2003, p.303

⁵⁴² Benjamin: *Irān va Irāniān*, Trans. by Raḥim Reżāzāde Malek, Golbāng-1363š/1984, p.494

beneficial indeed. When people get used to this, it is probably possible to replace the horses with small steam machines gradually, and in this way, a real railroad could slowly become popular. For instance, such a road between Tehran and Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim would be efficient, and afterwards can be continued to Shemiran (Šemirān). Also, if a horse railroad was built from Tehran to Qazvin and another railroad from Qom to Isfahan (Eṣfahān), it certainly would be more economical. As improvement results from these ways, gradually the steam railroad would become regular as well.”⁵⁴³

More than technical issues, the monopoly to build the railroad was the main problem of its construction. Benjamin writes:

“In addition to the present problems, there is another problem that is the monopoly which Baron de Reuter [Paul Julius Freiherr von Reuter] had gained to build the railroad in Iran. Even though the Šāh, in the best interest of the Iranians, had cancelled the monopoly – which was given to Baron de Reuter without caution –, the fact is, if other foreigners tried to make a railroad in Iran, Baron de Reuter’s letter of condition would be reactivated. No other foreigner than Baron de Reuter has the right to make a railroad in Iran. Unless they pretend it is under the Šāh’s command. And pay some money to the Šāh annually.”⁵⁴⁴

In any case, the Šāh had firmly decided to build the railroad. The equipment was purchased from Belgium and transported to Iran from Russia. The length of this line was only 8700 m.

“Among plans and maps and monopolies of the railroad in Iran, first the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim railroad in Rayy of the length of 8700 m was built. According to statistical reports of that time, it was estimated that 300,000 people went on the pilgrimage of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim annually, which made it a fixed source of income. On the other hand the continuation of this railway from Tehran to the south must have started from this part. To do this, Boatal [co.] attempted to get the monopoly, but it was sold to a Belgian company. [...] Considering that there was still no leveled road in Iran, the issue of

⁵⁴³ Ibid., p.494

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p.494

transporting equipments from Russia to Tehran came up. The locomotive, wheels, and essential devices, made in Brussels, were brought to Iran from Russia under great expense. On the way, the mentioned devices were taken apart and at the destination they were re-assembled. In short, this railroad, of which the rails' distance to each other was no more than 80 cm, was built to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim in 1305/1888 and was ready for opening, which was done the same year."⁵⁴⁵

'Abd Allah Mostaufi has also mentioned the same date of opening and named the first chief "Mousier Dani".⁵⁴⁶

However, the establishment of a north-south Iranian global railway was in the government's agenda, but was never realized. E'temād al-Saltāne mentioned this in *al-Ma'āser v-al-Āsār*:

"And another line was established in Māzandarān, from Maḥmud Ābād Port, by Moqarrab al-Ḥaqaṅ, Hağ Moḥammad Ḥasan Esfahāni the depositary of Dar al-Żarb (Mint). And the image of this great Šāh is reflected on the connection line between the Caspian Sea shore and the Persian Gulf and in the right of completion. So the completion of the work was given to and performed in the name of Sir Yaḥyā Ḥān Qazvini Mošir al-Doule, who was the minister of foreign affairs."⁵⁴⁷

But the situation of Tehran's railroad to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim was not the same at the beginning of its establishment compared to the next years. It can be inferred from some diaries that this method of transportation was employed regularly in the beginning, but after some years it succumbed to chaos. Qahremān Mirzā 'Eyn al-Saltāne, has written various reports about the situation of this railroad in his diaries. He reports on its establishment as follows:

"The train departed last Tuesday. It has been working for some time, but it was not for the public till then. It was announced last Monday. It has three price types: 2 Hezār, 1

⁵⁴⁵ 'Abd al-Rafi' Ḥaqiqat: *Tāriḥ-e Nehzatha-ye Fekri-ye Irāniān*, p.1219 ; See Zahrā Mirzā'i Pari: "Qarānāme-ye Rāh Ahan-e Tehrān-Šāhzāde 'Abd al-'Aẓim" in: *Ganġine-ye Asnād* 59 (1384š/2005)

⁵⁴⁶ See 'Abd Allah Mostaufi: *Šarḥ-e Zendegāni-ye Man*, vol.1, 'Elmi, Tehrān-1324š/1955, p.601

⁵⁴⁷ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E'temād al-Saltāne: *Al-Ma'āser v-al-Āsār*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 2. Edition, Asāṭir-1374š/1995, p.130

Hezār and 10 Šāhi⁵⁴⁸. For a while, they have spent a lot to get it ready. I don't know what will happen. It has ten trips every day, each taking one hour. A quarter to go, a quarter to return, 30 minutes stop at Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim. They intend to establish a horse railroad in the streets of the city and also to Šemirān, Dhu al-Qi'dah (Zīqa'de) in Tağriš 1306 [July 1888]."⁵⁴⁹

He also mentions the foreign railroad officials, the law forbidding smoking in the "smoke machine" and the contraventions by those who are called "Mašdi".⁵⁵⁰

"A wagon which is made for 25 people contains about 100 people these days. They earn 500 Tomans or 600 Tomans everyday and many people cannot get a ride. The customers bother the foreigners [railroad officials] in a way that cannot be written. In the middle of the way suddenly 1000 people started saying: "Ya 'Ali", which frightened the foreigners. Some Armenians smoked in the wagons and were fined 1 Qerān. Some Mašdis were smoking a pipe (Čopoq), and as the foreigner wanted to reprimand them, he was slapped on the face. The foreigners were afraid of the Mašdies. They could tell everybody off, except the Mašdies. The railway station is like a Ta'zie⁵⁵¹ when it's finished and people want to leave. I haven't left yet, I will stay until it is not this crowded."⁵⁵²

He reports about the special wagon a year after the establishment of the railroad.

"Today, his majesty arrived at the railroad. I didn't go to the railroad on the first day, but today I would accompany Him. I went there four hours before sunset. There were a lot of people, and also soldiers, music, and police in the station. Some others were also there. After half an hour, his majesty arrived. After watching for some time, he ordered us to have a seat. Everybody went in the carriages. His majesty was not supposed to sit. Without knowing, some people had a seat in the carriage of his majesty. Five carriages are specified which are not closed in the daytime, because they are just for

⁵⁴⁸ 1 Šāhi equals 1/20 Qerān (Rials or Hezār). Therefore 10 Šāhi equals half a Qerān (=0.5 Hezār).

⁵⁴⁹ 'Eyn al-Saltane: *Ruznāme-ye Hāterāt-e 'Eyn al-Saltane*, pp.170-171

⁵⁵⁰ Mašdi or Mašhadi = old hooligans of Tehran

⁵⁵¹ A religious theatre in Iran that the theme is Imam Ḥosayn's demise. Here is meant "chaos"

⁵⁵² Ibid., p.171

his majesty's traveling. The ride was very smooth. Many people were in the carriages which were so precious. The train moved very slowly."⁵⁵³

E'temād al-Saltāne, mentioning people's extreme usage of trains, reports a sad event in the railway station in 1306/1889, which caused anarchy and a shooting there:

"The new events today are that going on pilgrimage to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim has become usual these days. When the railroad was established from Tehran to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim, most of people's commuting was this way. Today, four hours to the sunset, many people were going on a pilgrimage by the steam carriage. A bakery worker, who was in the carriage, threw himself out before the carriages stopped. His robe was caught under the wheels of the train and he fell under the wheels. His feet and waist were cut and he died on the spot. Those rude people in the carriages attacked the foreign Russian ticket collector and shouted why he didn't stop the carriage so that their friend would not face such an accident. The foreigner escaped to the control-station and spread some coins among people to keep them busy. Then he targeted them with a shotgun. Five bullets missed, but one hit the chest of a tailor who died immediately. After that, people attacked him with sticks and bats and stones and hit the foreigner very hard and injured him. The ruler of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim arrived and took the injured foreigner to his house. As the rioters saw this, they started breaking all the carriages of the railroad and burning them. There was another carriage to Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim which was coming from the city and Amin al-Doule was in it. Its driver, who was a foreigner, had heard the story on his way, so he freed the horses and escaped to the city. Amin al-Doule and some of the people who were in the carriage stayed in the desert for some time until a carriage was sent for them, but the rioters who had paid money before reaching the destination started to break the windows and curtains and seats of the carriage. They didn't care about Amin al-Doule's prevention. This event happened four hours before the evening. For the ruler of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim was Amin al-Doule, nobody had reported it to the Šāh, when finally Adib al-Molk [...] told him. The Šāh became very angry and tried sort it

⁵⁵³ Ibid., p.176

out before 6 o'clock with Amin al-Doule and Nāyeb al-Salṭane and the minister. These days it rained a lot, it was like heaven."⁵⁵⁴

In 1307/1890, 'Eyn al-Salṭane provided a report about the anarchy on the railroads:

"Sunday 17th Rağab al-Morağğab [9th March]– I went to Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim yesterday. His majesty had already departed the previous night. We arrived there at lunch time. I went by train which took a long time. Iranian trains don't have a specific timetable."⁵⁵⁵

The situation got worse in 1311/1894:

"The train hadn't showed up yet, we had to wait about one hour and a half in a cold, big room. They announced that the train arrived; we went out and sat down in the first class wagon. We found out that the wagons had been brought by hand from Doulat Ābād. The locomotive had gone to the mountains to carry stones and was kept at the junction. We had a delay there for another hour. In the evening, the train moved. It was so disordered and chaotic; they didn't burn coal in wagons to make the passengers warm. It didn't depart on time but whenever they wanted."⁵⁵⁶

The peak of these disorders and anarchy of the train and the station, which may be a small example of the country's anarchy in 1313/1896, is reported by 'Eyn al-Salṭane:

"I will explain a little about the order and convenience of this railroad. I haven't gone there for some time and was completely uninformed. What a railway! What a station! What anarchy! Along the corridor, there was a low wall, half of it for selling tea and the other half for selling dried nuts, potatoes, dried bread, and water. Each of the vendors was sitting in a corner, shouting like Iranian vendors usually shout. The poor were begging and disturbing others. Two or three dervishes were narrating stories on top of their lungs in the tea-house, the rooms and the corridors. The walls and doors were full of written memos and meaningless images drawn with coal. If someone wanted to examine the indecent words and curses, it would take two days, especially those funny ones about women. It was an exact resemblance of caravanserais, and even worse.

⁵⁵⁴ E'temād al-Salṭane: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385š/2006, pp.600-601

⁵⁵⁵ 'Eyn al-Salṭane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e 'Eyn al-Salṭane*, p.263

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.571

There are two rooms which don't have doors to the corridor. Each room has two benches. By bench here I mean a seat and a backrest. It didn't have color, cover, etc. and it was broken and out of order. [...] The rooms and corridors were full of dust, seed shells, and fruit skins. Everybody was drowned in his dream. There was no room to sit, so we stood for one hour. There was no reasonable person to lead the decent people to the eastern balcony to get rid of noise and anarchy. The door opened. Whether it was one person and one hundred machines or vice versa, they rushed like a cattle of sheep which are afraid of the wolf, so in this rush, some hats fall down, some people fall down, shoes come off of feet, which caused more delay. When they enter, nobody cares about the ticket, so everybody goes wherever they want. Then they ask about the details of the railway and rooms. Then everybody goes to his place by force or on his own wish. The wagons were dirtier than the rooms in the station, and God knows the covers of the benches were so full of dust that the real red color was changed. Instead of glasses on the windows, they had put tin, and not the white tin, but the black one in which they brought oil from Russia. The tracks were damaged and we were thrown back and forth."⁵⁵⁷

This railroad station in Tehran (known as Smoke Machine Station) was about 10000 m², and can be seen in 'Abd al-Ġafār's plan over the railroad gate. This station is Koşar Park today and its building was changed into Koşar Culture House. The station is located further than the main square from Rayy, which is changed to Zakariā Park today. But on a map of 1342š/1963 of the Topography Organization and in the air photo from 1335š/1956 it can be seen clearly. (Images 4-156, 4-157, 4-158, 4-159, 4-160, 4-161)

4.3.6 Rock Reliefs

- Two Damaged Rock Reliefs – (Catalogue: BI-10)

There is an incomplete rock relief of the Sassanid period northeast of ancient Rayy, which was wiped clean under Faṭḥ 'Ali Šāh's orders and his depiction, in which he is

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.838-839

attacking a lion with a spear, was engraved instead on the mountain on top of Raškān castle. Many travellers have written about this Sassanid drawing. Four people have drawn it and the others have just described it, and some others have just written about this artwork of Fath 'Ali Šāh. Eqbāl Āštiāni provided a report about these people:

“Two of them have drawn the depiction, one is Price in his book “Journal of the British Embassy to Persia”, and the other is Sir William Ouseley in his itinerary in 1812.”⁵⁵⁸

Those who have described the drawing are:

“First Morier, 1224/1809, came to visit Rayy in Fath 'Ali Šāh's 12th year of Dynasty, the next is Price, in 1226/1811, who saw the mentioned depiction and described it in his itinerary, then Sir William Ouseley passed Rayy in 1226-27/1811-12, and eventually Ker Porter came to Rayy in 1234/1818, the 22th year of Fath 'Ali Šāh's Dynasty, and wrote a description of the mentioned mountain drawing in his itinerary along with some precious information about historic and ancient artworks of this country.”⁵⁵⁹

And those who have not observed this Sassanid drawing but have described it are:

“Some travelers after them visited Rayy and its ruins on the mountain with Fath 'Ali Šāh's depiction; who mentioned the Sassanid stone carving is listed as follows:

Fraser in 1250/1834, Stuart in 1251/1835, Sheil in 1267/1850, Binning in 1267/1851, Ussher in 1278/1861, however, not a single one of these people ever observed this depiction because it was destroyed before their visit and Fraser talked about the cleaning of this depiction by Fath 'Ali Šāh in 1250/1834, when Fath 'Ali Šāh demised.”⁵⁶⁰

Some other points should be added to Eqbāl Āštiāni's remarks: Morier and Sir Robert Ker Porter also modeled the design of this sculpture in addition to Price and Ouseley. We place the four drawings next to each other to compare and present their differences. The depiction of Fath 'Ali Šāh is clear enough and does not need any additional explanation. (Images 4-162, 4-163, 4-164, 4-165, 4-166, 4-167 and also Image 4-107)

⁵⁵⁸ 'Abbās Eqbāl Āštiāni: “Yeki az Noquš-e Rayy”, in: *Maqalat-e 'Abbās Eqbal Aštiāni*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Siāqi, Donyā-ye Ketāb, Tehrān-1369š/1990

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

Moṣṭafavi writes:

“Sorsore (Slide) or Ṭabarak Mountain of Rayy is where the cement factory of Rayy is located in its north with towers and massive chimneys and bulky equipments from which the smokestack fire and smoke come out and darken the atmosphere around the factory and divide the mountain into two parts and it caused a wide fissure in the middle of this mountain in order to shorten the way for carrying soil and stone from the southern part to the factory. The embossed engraving of Fath ‘Ali Šāh killing a lion with a long spear is carved a little further along the mentioned fissure in the southern slope and a place is improvised for sliding before the porch and that explains the name Sorsore (Slide). [...] This engraving, as it is said on the epigraphs ‘was finished by ‘Abd Allah Ḥān the architect and painter and the engraving by Āqā Moḥammad Qāsem the engraver’ in 1246/1831, a year before Fath ‘Ali Šāh’s death. Fortunately, the cement factory restored this historic painting well in 1328/1949 and recently, they decided to cover it with barbed-wire in order to avoid more damage by cutting stones of the mountain and put an epigraph next to the depiction.”⁵⁶¹

There are two errors in Moṣṭafavi’s report: first, he considers Sorsore (Slide) and Ṭabarak Mountain to be the same, which according to Yāqut in the 8th/14th century is not possible.⁵⁶² The second error concerns the date of Fath ‘Ali Šāh’s death, which according to Moṣṭafavi must have occurred in 1247/1831, but the accurate date is actually 1250/1834.⁵⁶³ The aforementioned ‘Abd Allah Ḥān was a famous portraitist of Fath ‘Ali Šāh’s epoch, whose works remained in various places such as the Soleymāniye Palace in Karağ. (Image 4-168)

According to Karimān’s report, this drawing was destroyed due to stone cutting and fell down one decade after Moṣṭafavi’s report.

⁵⁶¹ Moṣṭafavi: *Āsār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, pp.141-143

⁵⁶² See section “3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy’s Location” in this thesis.

⁵⁶³ ‘Abbās Amānat: “Fath-‘Alī Shah”, in: *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fath-ali-shah-qajar-2> (Date: 12.8.2013)

“The cliff which this image is engraved on was eradicated due to cutting stones of the mountain and has fallen down the hill; there is going to be a leg prepared in a proper place near the factory to install this stone there.”⁵⁶⁴

Unfortunately, this engraving is completely destroyed today. There are various opinions about this incomplete Sassanid depiction and the name of the king in it. Āštiāni writes:

“Ker Porter, the explorer, believed this face belongs to Ardešir Bābakān who attacked Ardavān V, the last Parthian king, but Sir William Ouseley on the contrary believes that this image belongs to Šāpur I, Ardešir’s son. The only thing that both travelers have the same opinion about is that the portrait was not completed by whomever it was started.”⁵⁶⁵

Moṣṭafavi, quoting Malekzāde Bayāni, believes this depiction belongs to Ardešir I, Šāpur I, or Bahrām V (Bahrām Gur).

“Ms. Bayāni, the curator of the Iran-e Bāstān Museum, has compared this depiction with coins and the shape of the Sassanid king’s crowns, and, considering the incompleteness of the engraving, the drawing possibly belongs to one of the three Sassanid kings (Ardešir I, Šāpur I, Bahrām Gur or Bahrām V). Since some plaster moldings were done including the image of Bahrām Gur found in Rayy’s excavations several years ago, it is more likely that the incomplete embossed engraving of Ṭabarak Mountain depicts Bahrām Gur.”⁵⁶⁶

This was written while Ms. Bayāni assumed that this embossed engraving belongs to Bahrām VI (Bahrām Čubin) in an article in 1354/1975. So either Mr. Moṣṭafavi has made a mistake or Bayāni has changed her mind in the following years.

⁵⁶⁴ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.300

⁵⁶⁵ ‘Abbās Eqbāl Āštiāni: “Yeki az Noquš-e Rayy”, in: *Maqalat-e ‘Abbās Eqbal Aštiāni*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Siāqi, Donyā-ye Ketāb, Tehrān-1369š/1990, pp.183-184

⁵⁶⁶ Moṣṭafavi: *Āšār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, p.143

“Is this incomplete Sassanid embossed engraving not Bahrām Čubin which his followers did not dare to complete, even after Ḥosro II (Parviz), despite the Mehrān dynasty’s power in Rayy?”⁵⁶⁷

Karimān, too, believes this depiction belongs to Bahrām Čubin, despite its being incomplete and the short period of his reign in Rayy, reasoning there was not enough time to complete it.⁵⁶⁸ (Images 4-169, 4-170, 4-171, 4-172)

‘Eyn al-Salṭane made a sarcastic comment in Nāṣer al-Din Šāh about the depiction which was drawn by ‘Abd Allah Ḥān and engraved by Āqā Moḥammad Qāsem:

“In Faṭḥ ‘Ali Šāh’s depiction he is shown while killing a lion by a spear on a horse, engraved on Sorsore (Slide) Mountain, while Faṭḥ ‘Ali Šāh has just wounded the poor lion by a gun in Širāz, but the painter has engraved it this way.”⁵⁶⁹

Comparing Flanden’s picture, Sevruguin’s epigraph, and Moṣṭafavi’s report shows a great difference: this carving is frameless and without any epigraph around it, while in Sevruguin’s depiction (drawn less than a hundred years later) there is a complete frame and an epigraph around it, a confirmation of Moṣṭafavi’s report. Incidentally, it collapsed the same way as that of Faṭḥ ‘Ali Šāh of the Sassanid epigraph: another person destroyed it!

- Rock reliefs in Češme ‘Ali – (Catalogue: Q-11)

What is interesting about Češme ‘Ali is the rock relief of Faṭḥ ‘Ali Šāh and some princes engraved on top of the Češme ‘Ali in 1248/1832.

“Faṭḥ ‘Ali Šāh’s dynasty used to go there to be entertained and he ordered to flatten the top of Češme ‘Ali and engrave His and some Princes’ depiction there and make poetic epigraphs to inform posterity in 1248.”⁵⁷⁰ (Images 4-173, 4-174, 4-175, 4-176, 1-177)

⁵⁶⁷ Malekzāde Bayāni: “Pažuheši darbāre-ye Sekkehā-ye Bahrām VI (Čubine)”, in: *Barresihā-ye Tārihi* 56 (1354š/1975)

⁵⁶⁸ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.301

⁵⁶⁹ ‘Eyn al-Salṭane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāterāt-e ‘Eyn al-Salṭane*, vol.1, p.256

⁵⁷⁰ E’temād al-Salṭane: *Merāt al-Boldān*, vol.4, p.2217

'Abd Allah Ḥān has drawn this depiction in other places such as the Soleymāniye Palace of Karağ in 1228/1813. (Images 4-178, 4-179)

Tancoigne, who visited Iran during Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh's reign, considered fishing in Češme 'Alī to be restricted to the king.⁵⁷¹ Carla Serena provided a report during Nāṣer al-Din Šāh's reign:

“There are two embossed depictions engraved on cliffs one kilometer from each other, one of them shows Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh on horseback next to a lion. In the other one, Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh is sitting on the throne with his children and ministers standing by him. A spring gushes below the cliff. This monument was provided to present a celebration in Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh's reign and is next to the ruins we visited. This engraved depiction mirrors another similar depiction on the Māzandarān road showing Nāṣer al-Din Šāh and his ministers on the stone. The passing of time in Iran never changes the customs and traditions which are prevalent among the people.”⁵⁷²

But Ernest Orsolle made a mistake about the Sassanid depiction in Sorsore (Slide) Mountain while reporting on the rock relief. He thought that the depiction was located in Češme 'Alī.

“A little further from the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine, some springs gurgle from below the cliff and their water gathers in a small circular pond. This spring is called Češme 'Alī. A picture of a Sassanid king with a long epigraph in Pahlavi is engraved on the surface of the cliff, but unfortunately Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh ordered to destroy this interesting sculpture in a childish temper and ordered to engrave him sitting on the throne with ten of his children standing in a line next to him. This image is very similar to the wall drawings of the Negārestān palace. Four other children of Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh can be seen in the left part of the main embossed engraving with his minister. Another drawing of Faṭḥ 'Alī Šāh is

⁵⁷¹ J.M.Tancoigne: *Nāmeḥa'i darbāre-ye Irān va Turkye-ye Āsiā*, Trans. by 'Alī Aşğar Sa'idi, Naşr-e Češme, Tehrān-1383š/2004, p.218

⁵⁷² Serena: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā'inhā dar Irān)*, p.204

engraved on the right side with a servant holding an umbrella over of his head and an eagle sitting on his hand.”⁵⁷³

This part of Rayy has become a resort for people from the Qajar period to the present day.⁵⁷⁴

4.3.7 Cemeteries of Rayy

Karimān writes that all throughout and under the north mountain of Rayy has been a large cemetery, where in the pre-Islamic period Zoroastrian people put the bones of their dead people in an ossuary, and Muslims buried their dead people on the slopes of that mountain. Rayy was related to Zoroaster and the holy city of the Zoroastrians. They believed it to be impermissible to bury the dead under ground or throw them into a river or burn them because they would contaminate the four holy classical elements with corpses. Therefore, they put the corpses in a crypt or on heights as food for scavengers and put the clean dried bones into an ossuary made of stone, lime, or mud. Abudolaf wrote that there is a mountain in front of Rayy which is a place for the dead.⁵⁷⁵ According to Abudolaf: “There is a mountain near this city called Ṭabarak and there are ancient Iranian buildings and stone coffins there.”⁵⁷⁶

Burying Zoroastrian bodies in the mountains of Rayy with the Islamic tradition was an interesting aspect in the pre-Islamic centuries. Moḥammad Taqi Moṣṭafavi writes:

“Entombing the dead in the mountains was an old tradition of the Iranian people before Islam; meaning the corpse, according to Islamic orders, was placed between a hole dug in a stone as a grave, instead of the plateau, therefore there are lots of individual small mountains south of Ṭabarak, [...] which were all graves in the Buyid and Seljuk period.”⁵⁷⁷ (Images 4-180, 4-181, 4-182)

⁵⁷³ Orsolle, Ernest: *Safarnāme-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, p.299

⁵⁷⁴ See section “4.2.2 Pilgrimage and Sightseeing” in this thesis.

⁵⁷⁵ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.366

⁵⁷⁶ Abudolaf: *Safarnāme-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, pp.72-73

⁵⁷⁷ Moṣṭafavi: *Āṣār-e Tāriḫi-ye Tehrān*, p.121. (By Ṭabarak, he means Rayy Mountain)

Based on archeological studies from 1975, two cemeteries were found on the west, at the top and bottom of Bibi Šahrbānu. According to this study, the tombs of these cemeteries belonged to the time from the 10th to the 12th centuries⁵⁷⁸ (See Image 3-19) - (See Catalogue: BI-3)

4.3.8 Coins minted in Rayy

The oldest coins found in Rayy belong to the Arsacide (Parthian) period. Mint houses were only founded in the very important cities in this period, one of which was Rayy. The found coins of this period are marked by a special imprint of the mint house of Rayy:

“The names of the mint houses are minted especially on quarters and some bronze or copper Dirham coins of the Parthian period with a special sign or initials on the back of the coins. These signs or initials usually introduce the beginning of the city’s name next to the main design on the back of coin.”⁵⁷⁹ (Images 4-183, 4-184)

Rayy was an important city in the Sassanid period as well and many coins were minted there. Bahrām VI (Bahrām Čubin) was a Sassanid authority in power for a short time. He had some coins minted in his name:

“There are gold coins (Dinār) and silver coins (Dirham) of Bahrām VI somehow similar to the coins of Hormoz IV in design and carving style. Bahrām Čubin’s image on the coin shows a young thin man with attractive eyes, small nose, and delicate ears, with a mustache, and a short beard.”⁵⁸⁰ (Images 4-185)

The coins discovered in Rayy from of the Islamic period were minted from the 1st/7th century to 733/1332 in this city. The place of minting was engraved as ”الرّی“ (al-Rayy) by 148/765, and after new constructions of Rayy by the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (149/766), this city was known as “Moḥammadīe” which was used in the Buyid epoch as

⁵⁷⁸ Chahryar Adle: “Construction Funéraires à Rey, Circa Xe-XIle Siècle”, in: *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für iranischen Kunst und Archäologie*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979

⁵⁷⁹ Malekzāde Bayāni: “Žarrāb Ḥāneha-ye Pārti”, in: *Barresihā-ye Tāriḫi*, 53 (1353š/1974)

⁵⁸⁰ Bayāni: “Pažuheši darbāre-ye Sekkehā-ye Bahrām VI (Čubine)”

well. The Ġaznavids were the first after a longer period to strike coins with the mint-name ar-Rayy “الرّی” on them. The coins of 21/642 are in Pahlavi and not Arabic. Some sentences were engraved on coins such as “بسم الله”, “بسم الله ربّی”, and “ولی الله” from 26 to 74 [646-693]. All the coins are engraved in Arabic from 81 to 733 [700-1332]. There are coins from the Mongol period in 701/1301 in Rayy, many of which do not have names (the Mongol attack began in 617/1220). However, the coins of Soltān Moḥammad Ḥodābande (Olğāito) who tried a lot to restore Rayy, belong to 704/1304.⁵⁸¹ Until now no coins were found that had been engraved in Rayy after 733/1332. (Images 4-186, 4-187)

4.3.9 Agricultural and Dairy Products

Animal husbandry has been considered the oldest occupation in the province known as Ġebāl (‘Irāq-e ‘Aḡam) in which Rayy is located⁵⁸². Karimān writes:

“Eṣṭaḥri says: ‘The Ġebālians mostly keep sheep and their routine food is often milk and other dairies, and even their cheese is exported to other cities.’ [...] As Ebn-e Ḥouqal states: ‘Animal husbandry is the Ġebālians’ occupation, and milk and other dairies are their food. They have different kinds of dairy products (yogurt, Doogh, oil, curd, etc.), and they export a lot of delicious cheese to many countries.’ [...] Exporting Rayy’s oil along with cotton and pottery containers and so on is mentioned in some resources in the 4th/10 century. It is mentioned in Ḥodud al-‘Ālam: ‘Burlap, Bord, cotton, pottery containers, oil, and wine are produced there’.”⁵⁸³

But it should be noted, from an agricultural vantage point, that Rayy is geographically located in a small distance to the high Alborz mountain ranges, with long cold seasons and short hot seasons, and in the central desert of Iran with boiling hot weather and little rainfall, and fertile soil in the plains. Therefore, various types of tropical and polar agricultural products are gained from nearby villages of Rayy, regarding its mountainous

⁵⁸¹ See George C.Miles: *The Numismatic history of Rayy*, New York- 1938

⁵⁸² See section “3.3 The Relation of Rayy to the Provincial Order of Iran in History” in this very thesis

⁵⁸³ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.589-590

and/or plains location. Chardin (17th century) considers the soil of Rayy in which different kinds of products can be grown to be very fertile:

“The lands of this city, in which different kinds of fruits are grown, are highly fertile. But its climate is unhealthy, and turns the skin yellow and causes fever.”⁵⁸⁴

Abudolaf (4th/10th century) writes about the Qaṣrān Mountains in Rayy of which most of Rayy’s fruits are obtained from, he recalls especially its tomatoes and apricots:

“Most of Rayy’s fruits are provided from this mountain. There are four months of blossom in Rayy in which apricots and plums are eaten in abundance.”⁵⁸⁵

Maqdesi mentions peaches and melons of Rayy in the 4th/10th century:

“Rayy’s melons and peaches [...] are famous.”⁵⁸⁶

E’temād al-Saltāne (13th/19th century) mentions a kind of melon called “Dabiri”, considered the best kind of melon, grown by Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Ḥān Dabir al-Molk in Rayy in the Qajar period:

“Dabiri melons are grown by Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Ḥān Dabir al-Molk in Rayy, its seed is from Gorgāb in Eṣfahān (Isfahan) and is planted in ‘Ali Ābād in Varāmin soil, and therefore it is unique among the various kinds of melons in Iran.”⁵⁸⁷

Qazvini (8th/14th century) talks about Rayy’s mulberries and figs, and especially praises its juicy grapes known as “Malāḥi”:

“Fruits like berries, figs, and grapes are abundant and cheap in that season, and grapes cannot be stored until colder days. And there is a kind of grape called Malāḥi. And its grape is as big as dates and its bunch is as a bunch of dates, sometimes its weight reaches a hundred Raṭṭ (1 Raṭṭ= 0.5 Man=416 gram), and with so much grapes, it can be preserved till winter, and is brought to Qazvin from Rayy with this much pit, its skin is very smooth and its taste is great. And there is another type of grape [like] Rāzeqy

⁵⁸⁴ Jean Chardin: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Eqbāl Yağmā’i, Tus, Tehran-1374š/1995, p.518

⁵⁸⁵ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, pp.75-76

⁵⁸⁶ Maqdesi: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fi Ma’refat al-Aqālim*, p.592

⁵⁸⁷ E’temād al-Saltāne: *Al-Ma’āser v-al-Āsār*, p.157

grape, however, it is very soft and weak, and is put in the shadow to be dried, and it is very delicious and tasty and is exported to other countries.”⁵⁸⁸

Abudolaf is not exaggerating in his report about making “excellent” wine in Rayy with this fine kind of grapes in the 4th/10th century:

“There was a Mağus (Zoroastrian) man in that city who passed away in 333 [945] and I had seen him. He used to provide a very fine wine for the Ḥorāsān army and its comrades and corporations every year. It is said that his wine jars, sent annually to people from his home, were worth about 50,000 dirham.”⁵⁸⁹

Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi mentions grain and cotton in the 8th/14th century:

“Its grain and cotton is fine and abundant and cheap indeed, there is rarely a famine, and grain and other cereals are exported to many countries.”⁵⁹⁰

The utilization of Rayy’s storage, at the time of famine in Širāz in the Karim Ḥān Zand period, is also mentioned in Rostam al-Tavāriḥ (18th century) as follows:

“And in the end of his blessed government for seven successive years, edible locusts in Fārs and instar in Eṣfahān (Isfahan) and ‘Irāq turned to be food, and a piece of wheat bread, weighing 1 Man of tabriz, cost 250 Dinārs in Širāz [...]. On his command, all the people in the government and headquarters and the animals, such as camels and mules and donkeys, were taken to Rayy, Qazvin, and Āzarbāyğān, loaded grain, which was 1400 Dinārs per three kilos, from ministerial storages and brought it to Širāz to feed the people.”⁵⁹¹

Eduard Polak mentions opium of Rayy, which is of poor quality:

“Opium, also known as poppy or Kukanār, in Iran cannot be grown in regions south of Rayy (35°), or in the high northern plains. Regarding planting areas, these kinds are seen [...] The poor quality from Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Azim, Kāšān, and Qom, is sold in the

⁵⁸⁸ Qazvini: *Āsār al-‘Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, p.157

⁵⁸⁹ Abudolaf: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, p.73

⁵⁹⁰ Ḥamd Allah Mostaufi-e Qazvini: *Nozhat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, Leyden-1915, p.54

⁵⁹¹ Rostam al-Ḥokamā: *Rostam al-Tavāriḥ*, ed. by Moḥammad Moširi, 2.Edition, Amir Kabir, Tehran-1352š/1973, p.243

market in light brown tubes which is usually mixed with herbs and starch remains and can only be called a fraud.”⁵⁹²

Predecessors have talked of a rose, also known as “Qaṣrāni” flower, acquired from Rayy’s Qaṣrān area:

There is a kind of rose called “Qaṣrāni” and it is described by Ebn-e Aṣir in al-Kāmel about Aḥmad Ebn-e Sahl Ebn-e Hāšem Ebn-e al-Valid Ebn-e Ğablat Ebn-e Kāmkār Ebn-e Yazdġerd in 307 [920] as follows: “Kāmkār was a farmer in Marv to whom the Kāmkāri flower is attributed and it is very red, and it is attributed to Qaṣrān in Rayy Qaṣrāni and in ‘Irāq (Iraq) and the Ğazire and Šām Ğuri, and Qaṣrān is a village in Rayy and as Ğur (= Gur) which is one of Fārs’ cities.”⁵⁹³

‘Eyn al-Salṭane mentions a rose in Damāvand (Qaṣrān area) that has never been seen before:

“This valley was so green and fresh that it cannot be described, wind was blowing, it was cold. The roses and Meškiġe [Rosa canina?] were blossoming beautifully. The roses here were of a special color and freshness. I have never experienced such a color and smell in a Tehrān rose.”⁵⁹⁴

‘Eyn al-Salṭane talks about the “rice and coal of Rayy” in the Qajar period which was very expensive in Ask (on the Harāz River) and very cheap in Tehrān:

“Everything is expensive in Ask. For instance, Rayy’s rice is 8000 [Dinār]⁵⁹⁵ and its charcoal

is 4000 [Dinār], while charcoal and rice are much cheaper in Tehrān.”⁵⁹⁶

Mirzā Ebrāhim writes about rice growing in Ḥātun Ābād village near Rayy in 1860:

“Every year they grew much rice. They shifted it to Forun Ābād this year due to drought. If there is no crop failure, the government will enjoy the benefit of crop yield up to 300 kilograms a year.”⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹² Polak: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, p.433

⁵⁹³ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.591-592

⁵⁹⁴ ‘Eyn al-Salṭane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e ‘Eyn al-Salṭane*, vol.1, p.760

⁵⁹⁵ Dinar is a very old currency. 10000 Dinar was defined as one Rial in the year 1929.

⁵⁹⁶ ‘Eyn al-Salṭane: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e ‘Eyn al-Salṭane*, vol.1, p.764

The total rice growing in Tehrān has been 363 tonnes, of which 336 tonnes (92.5%) have been grown in Rayy, according to the information from the Management and Planning Organization of Iran. Nowadays 3166 families live as farmers in Rayy and Rayy is after Varāmin the second largest wheat and barley producer in the Tehrān province.⁵⁹⁸ Other agricultural products of Rayy are: Cotton, tomato, cucumbers, eggplant, pistachio, olive, pomegranate, persimmon, grapes, walnut and fig.⁵⁹⁹ It needs to be mentioned that even today, the cantaloupes, watermelons, and melons of this region known as “Varāmin” are famous.

Conclusion

This chapter thoroughly established the forming factors of the cultural landscape of Rayy, studying them in three general categories of natural factors as the context and the two categories of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Since (as Küster states) the most principal factor in recognizing a cultural landscape is to study its history, this study is not content with showing only the remains which have survived until today, but also meticulously presents every single detail about Rayy in various accessible sources. Therefore, the damage done to the cultural landscape of Rayy can be studied now and some probable methods for the preservation of this worthy landscape are to be presented in the end.

⁵⁹⁷ Mirzā Ebrāhim: *Safarnāme-ye Astarābād va Māzandarān va Gilān*, p.4

⁵⁹⁸ *Sālnāme-ye Āmāri-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1383*, ed. by Akbar Badi'i, Sāzmn-e Modiriat va Barnāmerizi-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1384š/2005, pp.183,203

⁵⁹⁹ “Mazāre'-e Panbe-ye Šahrestān-e Rayy Niāzmand-e Tavağğoh-e Bištar-e Mas'ulān”, in: *IRNA*
<http://www.irna.ir/fa/NewsPrint.aspx?ID=80464887> (23.8.2014)

Chapter 5 - Damage Report

Chapter 5

Damage Report

Preliminary Note

This chapter studies the natural and cultural damage sustained in the area. The first part considers damage sustained throughout history, such as earthquakes, wars, etc., and the other part considers the damage sustained in the present day. The point to be considered is that, in contrast to damage done to a building, there are innumerable and complicated reasons why a city may incur damage, many of which have to be studied through law, sociology, economy and other fields of study. Since the causes of these detrimental effects occur throughout Iranian society, they are not exclusively applied to Rayy, but the effects can be recognized in comparable cities. This chapter attempts to uncover the damage done to the cultural and natural layer as much as possible, though unearthing all of it is inconceivable.

5.1 Damage Sustained throughout History

In this part, the, often forgotten damage is examined sustained by Rayy during its history. These are classified in three general categories, namely natural disasters, damage caused by human beings, and losses due to social-political anarchy. Sometimes the damage incurred had long-term effects and at other times their effects were only briefly felt.

5.1.1 Natural Disasters

Natural disasters are events which happen due to natural activities on one hand and catastrophies in the cultural history on the other. For the first, earthquakes, for the second epidemic disease like cholera are typical disasters in the studied region:

Earthquakes

Rayy has encountered various earthquakes during history, and some of these events were so intense that the city was devastated completely. The focal point of some of the earthquakes was close to Rayy and some others happened far from it but affected the city nevertheless. Therefore, the documented earthquakes are listed briefly in the following:

The first recorded earthquake in Iran happened in 4 B.C. (in the Seleucus I period), which completely destroyed Rayy. - A major earthquake took place in 855, which was severely felt in Qom and Kāšān. In the year 856, a major earthquake pertains Kumeš that shook Rayy and Ğebāl areas severely, too. An further intensive quake, which ruined many houses and killed a lot of people, occurred in 864 in Rayy. Then, in the year 958, a horrible earthquake happened In Rayy and Tāleqān which totally destroyed all villages of the region. Damage was dealt to Qom and Kasha as well. Conveyed earthquakes in the region took place in the “Ğebāl” area in 1130, but it was mostly the western part which sustained damage, and in the southern slopes of Alborz. The last ensued in 1177 from Bu'in Zahrā to Rayy. Especially Rayy and Qazvin and villages of Karaj were devastated. In addition to the damage listed above, Rayy and Qazvin were the regions which were struck by earthquakes two to five times in the kings' reign (622 to 1258). During the rule of the Mongols and Turkmen (up until 1600), merely two to five earthquakes were recorded. Major earthquakes have occurred in Rayy in 1384 and 1495, but an earthquake took place only once in Rayy and Qom in 17th and 18th centuries and two to five times in Qazvin in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶⁰⁰ In addition to these, Hoseyn Karimān has mentioned two other earthquakes, referring to ancient texts. The first is based on the “Tabšarat al-'Avām” book in 236/851, which is more likely to be a religious tale:

⁶⁰⁰ N.N. Ambraseys; C.P. Melville: *A History of Persian Earthquakes*, Cambridge University Press- 1982,pp36-110

“Motevakkel ordered to furrow and cultivat Imam Ḥoseyn’s and the martyrs’ cemetery in order to prevent people from pilgrimage. An earthquake happened in 236/851 and 45000 people perished in that time.”⁶⁰¹

The second case happened in 8th/14th century (during the Timurid dynasty). But the source of this statement is a forged biography and not very reliable, attributed to Timur, written by Marcel Brion:⁶⁰²

“It is said in late 8th/14th century in Timurid period, a massive earthquake totally devastated Rayy.”⁶⁰³ (Images 5-1, 5-2, 5-3, 5-4)

In modern times, an earthquake in Bu’in Zahrā destroyed 91 villages in 1962. 12.200 people were killed. This earthquake caused some losses in Tehrān, especially in its south, and about 50 houses were damaged there.

Droughts, Famines and Cholera

Rayy is located next to the central desert of Iran, and it faced droughts similar to many other cities. In the past, if this event was accompanied by other natural or human disasters, the city would be engulfed by famine and disease, too. Two cases of these droughts have happened in 280 and 281/893 and 894:

“Water dried up in Rayy and Ṭabarestān in 280 [893], in a way that 3 Raṭl of water (each Raṭl= 1/2795 kg) was sold for 1 Dirham, and prices soared [...] There was drought and famine in Rayy and Ṭabarestān in 280 [893] as of last year.”⁶⁰⁴

A massive famine occurred in the late 5th/11th century due to war and massacres.

“And such famine must have happened in 494 [1100], for Ḥakim Ṣanā’i has observed it. Neither before nor after this date has any famine happened in Rayy and the cities around it. If so, it has not been recorded. According to “Kāmel al-Tavāriḥ”, a book by

⁶⁰¹ Seyed Morteżā Ebn-e Da’i al-Ḥasani Rāzi: *Tabṣarat al-’Avām fi Ma’refate Maqāmāt al-Anām*, ed. by ‘Abbās Eqbāl Āštiyāni, Tehrān-1313š/1934, p.196 according to Ḥoseyn Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371š/1992, p.243

⁶⁰² Marcel Brion: *Tamerlan*, Albin Michel, Paris-1963

⁶⁰³ According to Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.246; Ambraseys & Melville: *A History of Persian Earthquakes*, p.44

⁶⁰⁴ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, p.246

Ebn-e Aṣir, and “Moḥtaṣar al-Doval” by Ebn-e al-‘Ebri, it is mentioned that famine happened due to the military campaign of Solṭān Moḥammad and Barkiyāroq, his brother, Malek Šāh’s sons, in that province. Solṭān Moḥammad escaped to Ğorġān after war and was being defeated by Barkiyāroq, his brother, and asked for help from Saṅġar, his parental brother, the governor of Ḥorāsān that time, and then both brothers went to Rayy. Dāmġān’s frightened natives fled to the mountains. The war caused such a huge drought and famine that people were eating carrion and dog meat for some time.”⁶⁰⁵

One of the most significant epidemic diseases in ancient time has been cholera. According to Ebn-e Aṣir in “al-Kāmel”, two cases of spreading cholera are documented for the 4th/10th century.

“A serious cholera occurred in 344 [955] in Rayy and killed numerous people [...] Cholera killed too many people in 347 [958] in Ğebāl cities (including Rayy).”⁶⁰⁶

A further epidemic disease prevailed in the late 19th century. Droughts, famines and cholera have been responsible for the death of lots of people and the neglect and disregard of the peoples’ property and the town quarters were they lived. These “soft factors” have often been neglected during the analysis of the damage process of the built heritage of mankind. Nevertheless, their should be more emphasis on this issue and more detailed study are necessary.

5.1.2 Damage Caused by Human Individuals

This section deals with the damage caused by humankind. At least three distinct categories are indicated in the diaries of different people in Rayy.

⁶⁰⁵ Moḥammad Taqi Modarres Rażavi: *Ta’liqāt-e Ḥadiqat al-Ḥaqiqat*, ‘Elmi, Tehrān-1344Š/1965, p.686

⁶⁰⁶ Karimān: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, pp.246-247. It should be noted that contagious diseases are likely to result in destruction in some parts of the city and construction or foundation in other parts of the city. In other words, the mentioned factor could be effective on the city. However, since the shape and internal divisions of Rayy are not clarified yet, not a firm opinion can be declared in this case.

War

The most important events to cut of the life time of cultural heritage objects are war catastrophies and the destruction by warfares. As mentioned in detail in Chapter 3, being located on the most important commercial routes of Iran, Rayy was constantly attacked, destroyed, and reconstructed. The oldest war relates to the Arab attack on Iran. Rayy reached its grandeur and glory once again in the 10th, 11th, and 12th century and was destroyed in the 13th century by Mongols. However, several less significant wars happened between these incidents which also caused destruction. (See Chapter 3)

Unplanned Excavations in the Qajar Period

Wipert von Blücher reported the unplanned excavations in the Qajar period, which were conducted merely to find antiques. These excavations were done both by antique dealers and by political boards of other countries.

“Among the ancient historic centers, Rayy, whose ruins are in the southern margin of the capital, is more available to Tehrān residents rather than other cities. In the past, it was customary to set some horse riding excursion to Rayy on Sundays by the Tehrān board. Diplomats used to search and excavate the ruins at random. However, since Moẓaffar al-Din Šāh traveled to Paris and had a delicious lunch, and promised a monopolistic concession to excavate throughout Iran to the French, the French ambassador has been worried about whether the political board violates this right. There was not any vestige of this monopoly anymore and most of undisciplined excavations were done by antique and monument dealers rather than by the political board.”⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁷ Wipert von Blücher: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Keykāvus Ğahāndāri, 2.Edition, Ḥārazmi- 1369š/1990, pp.241-242 (1. Edition:1363š/)

Utilizing Construction Materials of Historic Buildings in New Monuments

The ruins of Rayy have been used as a supply for construction materials. There are various reports from the Qajar period and the early Pahlavi period about the plundering of historic building materials and utilizing them in new buildings in Tehrān.

“Villagers have been exploiting these ruins as a deposit recently, meaning they disassemble the bricks that once were placed over each other to build tall and high-rise buildings, and sell them to architects of Tehrān.”⁶⁰⁸

Heinrich Brugsch confirms Orsolle’s opinion:

“It is said that the ruins of Rayy helped Tehrān to flourish so much. For people provided their construction materials from those ruins, and used to build their houses utilizing bricks and tiles of Rayy.”⁶⁰⁹

E‘temād al-Saltāneh provided a report about villagers using bricks of palace-like monuments in Qal‘e No village (south of Rayy).

“The building is more like a palace; what is questionable for me is whether this was a residential monument or a crypt. There is a vestibule under this building and people around the village still take the bricks.”⁶¹⁰

5.1.3 Damage due to Political-Social Crises, from the Mongol to the Safavid Period

Iran’s political and social turbulences, especially from the Mongol to the Safavid period caused the previous ruins to remain as they were. Ġāzān Ḥān (Casanus) was the one who tried to re-develop Rayy. But his efforts were inconclusive. Rašid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni quotes the reasons for the destruction caused by Ġāzān Ḥān (Casanus) as following:

⁶⁰⁸ Ernest Orsolle,.; *Safarnāme-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, Trans. by ‘Ali Aşğar Sa‘idi, Pažuheşğāh-e ‘Olum-e Ensāni va Moṭāle‘at-e Farhangi, Tehrān-1382ş/2003, p.301

⁶⁰⁹ Heinrich Brugsch: *Safari be Darbār-e Soltān-e Şāhebqerān*, Trans. by Ḥosein Kordbaçe, Eṭṭelā‘āt- 1367ş/1988, p.191

⁶¹⁰ Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān E‘temād al-Saltāneh: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, ed. by Irağ Afşār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385ş/2006, pp.1041-1042

“He summoned the men of state, stated that these ruined provinces and uncultivated lands belonged to our ancestors and now belong to us, with governmental capacity, and some belong to people, and not a single thing has ever been inherited to anyone in this land, therefore people who intend to develop it do not start developing it for they fear it belongs to other people.”⁶¹¹

5.2 Current Situation

In order to plan for an improvement of the situation, it is essential to get familiar with the current state of the damage sustained, and then offer some methods to solve these issues. This section deals first with the damage to the natural and cultural layers, and afterwards their influence on the urban fabric are being examined.

5.2.1 Damage to the Natural Layer

This chapter considers the damage done to water resources, weather, soil, and the plant and animal species of Rayy.

Pollution of Water

In a study compiled from 1375š/1996 to 1382š/2003 on Rayy’s underground waters, the following results were collected which concern the pollution of water resources:

“The result of the model shows that due to a lack of sewage drain net in the city center, the nitrate concentration will increase. In the east-west zones of Rayy, due to the sewage net effect, the amount of nitrate of the Aquifer is reduced to less than 30 mg/l, and gradually, this reduction of nitrate of the Aquifer will be expanded from the west and southwest to the central areas. In the southeast, east and northeast of Rayy, the nitrate

⁶¹¹ Rašid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni: *Ĝāme’ al-Tavāriḡ*, vol.1 ed. by Moḡammad Rošan; Mošṭafā Musavi, Alborz, Tehrān-1373š/1994, p.1529

concentration is increasing, and also we will observe the highest gradual curve move of Aquifer's nitrate in the central zones towards the east and northeast of Rayy."⁶¹²

There is a report from 1386š/2007 about agriculture around Rayy.⁶¹³ It is obvious that the pollution of the water resources of Rayy is due to a lack of refinery in parts of the city. Therefore, wells and qanāts have become polluted. In spite of a sewage drain refinery establishment in Rayy in 1390š/2011, the historical area next to the shrine is still without sewage and uses absorbing wells. Parts of this sewage enter water streams in the streets. (Image 5-5)

Digging deep wells and not cleaning them caused to dry up qanāts as the most valuable water transportation system. Nevertheless there is some news which has been published concerning the piping in some qanāts of Rayy. The qanāts of Vali Ābād and Doulat Ābād⁶¹⁴ are two examples of this.⁶¹⁵

Air Pollution

The air pollution of Rayy is not separate from Tehrān's. Daily trafficking of millions of automobiles in Tehrān, the existence of several workshops and factories, and, in recent years, the dust caused air pollution. In 2012, a report was published showing that the air pollution rate of Rayy has become a serious problem in a certain period of the year.⁶¹⁶

Soil Pollution

Since the damage to the soil is different in various areas and is caused by different destructive factors, they will be reviewed for the mountain soil and the soil in the plains.

⁶¹² 'Ali Šarifi; Mağid Ehtešāmi: "Arzyābi-ye Model-e Ābhān-e Šahr-e Rayy" in: *Pāygāh-e Eṭelā'āt-e 'Elmi (SID)*
http://sid.ir/fa/VEWSSID/J_pdf/69213853102.pdf (7.5.2013)

⁶¹³ Maḥmud Rezā Sa'id Pur: "Ābyāri-ye Zaminhā-ye Sabzikāri ba Fāzelāb", in: *Tehrān-e Emruz*.
<http://www.rey20.blogfa.com/8611.aspx> (Date: 22.7.2013)

⁶¹⁴ See Image 4-128: Map of Qanāts in Rayy (Nos. 5 & 11)

⁶¹⁵ "Raf-e Ḥaṭar az Ğān-e Šahr-vandān-e Rayy ba Tağ'ir-e Masir-e Qanāt-e Šahri", in: *Bāšgāh-e Ḥabarnegārān*.
<http://www.yjc.ir/fa/news/4182173> (7/6/2013)

⁶¹⁶ "Šāḥeš-e Āludegi-ye Havā dar Šahr-e Rayy az Marz-e Ežterār Gozašt", in: *ILNA*.
<http://www.ilna.ir/news/news.cfm?id=24989> (7.6.2013)

The damage incurred by Rayy's Mountain can be placed in two categories: those caused by humans and those by nature. The most influential damage is soil erosion which results from the weathering and the removal of soil material induced by water and wind transportation processes. In addition, irreversible damage of the landscape is caused by humans and is significant and of great importance for the preservation of the most valuable cultural landscape. It consists of instances connected to construction, mining, building of roads, tourism to a damaging extent, picking flowers and plants, littering, etc. For instance, half of Sorsore (Slide) Mountain, on which Raškān's Parthian fortress is located, has been ruined due to a cement factory's previous activities. Now, the mythical Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain is used as a mine for raw materials for Tehrān's cement factory. (Image 5-6)

On the other hand, Rayy's plains, which once was one of the most fertile zones of Iran, had the most polluted soil of Tehrān in 2006, according to the former director of the Tehrān Natural Environment Organization.⁶¹⁷ He mentioned the unplanned dumping of domestic and industrial sewage on the one hand and farmers' improper usage of chemicals, the effects of which will last up to 40 years, on the other hand, as the reasons for this pollution. Fortunately, the "Administrative Executive Law of Sewage Management" was passed by the board of ministers in 1384š/2005 and Rayy's sewage refinery was opened in 1390š/2011.⁶¹⁸

Hazard of Flora and Fauna

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Tehrān has various species of plants belonging to the Red List, of which a large percentage still remains. But the over-pollution of air, water and soil has affected or destroyed a lot of these rare species:

⁶¹⁷ "Šahr-e Rayy va Varāmin Aludetarīn Ḥāk-e Tehrān ra Darand", in: *Āftāb*.

http://www.aftabir.com/news/view/2009/jan/14/c4c1231938779_social_enviroment_pollution.php (7.6.2013)

⁶¹⁸ "Takmil-e Porože-ye Faželāb-e Rayy", in: *Ḥabargoyāri-e Fārs*.

<http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13900708000523> (7.6.2013)

“More than 2 million vehicles operating in the city, the release of the poisonous lead carbon dioxide, and the heat of the combustion engines near the surface of the city grounds combined with relentless physical expansion have created an inhospitable and sterile environment for vegetation to grow.”⁶¹⁹

The major factor of the extinction of animal species, especially birds in the area is either air pollution or human aggression towards their environment which caused their escape to other regions. But today, the expansion of and air pollution in Tehrān causes for example birds to migrate from Tehrān. A report was published in 1388š/2009 which indicated crows’ migration, following the migration of other birds.⁶²⁰ The Environmental Protection Agency has warned about the destruction of genetic variety of wild life in Tehrān province. According to Rasul Ašrafi Pur, the general manager of the Tehrān province Environmental Protection Agency:

“Genetic exchange does not occur among species in Tehrān gardens and we are now observing genetic unity among species. Ğāğ Rud, Hoğeyr, Sorḥe Hešār, and Verğin regions were connected to each other someday, but now they are formed like islands. Were species not going to country and winter quarters? But we do not have any immigration now, for there is no facility to do so, and humans have made highways.”⁶²¹

In summary, there was a rich variety in flora and fauna in the environment of Tehrān’s suburbs. Now, however, a description such as this may only be found in books of old. Road making, constructions of buildings, the horizontal expansion of Tehrān, industrial life, air pollution, environmental pollution, contamination of water and soil have led to the devastation of animals’ habitats and single plant residues, and they have either become extinct or migrated. Those who have remained, have such limit spaces that their genetic

⁶¹⁹ A.Ghahreman; F. Attar: *Biodiversity of Plant Species in Tehran Megalopolis*, Tehran University Press, Tehran-2001, p.1

⁶²⁰ “Ḥattā Kalāghā ham az Tehrān Farār Kardand”, in: *Zistgāh*.

http://zistgah.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=155&Itemid=1 (Date: 6.2.2013); Also see the part 4.1.5 Fauna Situation - Animal Species

⁶²¹ “Āsib-e Tāze be Guneha-ye Ğānevāri-ye Tehrān”, in: *Tābnāk*.

<http://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/197712> (Date: 6.2.2013)

variety, and thus survival, is being threatened. It may be concluded, therefore, that the main source of all damage to the natural elements of the cultural layer of Rayy - in addition to the destructive activities by humans - is air, soil, and water pollution which not only affects plant and animal species, but also affect each other.

5.2.2 Damage to the Cultural Layer

Damage to the cultural layer generally encompasses four categories: damage due to regulations, caused by economic and social factors, by natural factors, and by human actions. It is noteworthy that the social and economic damage is so complicated in some cases that it is not reasonable to separate them from each other. In addition, all the damage is visible in the physical framework of the city. In fact, the damage resulting from regulations, economy, and society often causes physical damage in the city.

Damage due to Regulations and Rules

The Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim village in the Safavid period, formed close to the Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim mausoleum with an organic structure, preserved its main frame by the end of Qajar period. Since the Pahlavi 1st period, the comprehensive time of modernization for Iranian society, some planned and unplanned actions caused interruptions in different parts of the town, which gradually, in its development towards Tehrān, led to a unity of Rayy and Tehrān and devastated a large part of the historical area. The situation is described as follows: The actions in the Rezā Šāh Pahlavi period were mostly physical alterations done without consideration of its social and economical results. These actions were performed following a modernization pattern execution, and the purpose was to change the physical structure of the city and make it similar to the western ones.⁶²² Changes and alterations of cities in this time (not limited to Rayy) have a close connection with the changes in the power structure which was accompanied by four main factors:

⁶²² Nāṣer Mašhadizāde; Dinā Moravveġi: "Gožari bar Tāriḡ-e Šahrsāzi-ye Irān dar Dore-ye Ğadid", in: *Maġmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḡostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.4, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996

- The development of a sense of duty by modern governments.
- New bureaucratic network and way of operation.
- Direct interference by the military in urban planning
- Establishment of modern organizations and institutions in historic areas.⁶²³

The first program for modern urban planning in this period dates back to 1312š/1933 which had been conducted superficially without considering regulations of urban planning. This legislation was revised in 1320š/1941 and was named “passages developing law”. These actions can be outlined as follows:⁶²⁴

- Creation of streets and squares large enough and suitable to the needs of present urban planning in city centers, especially old neighborhoods and inappropriate urban planning.
- Creating highways around large cities as a far street where the service boundary of the city is determined by these streets.
- Demolishing non-adjustable places and cemeteries located in the city center and converting them into public parks
- Encouraging and, in some cases, forcing people to beautify buildings, especially those next to the established or underdeveloped streets.
- Determining a plan of suitable routes in the vast areas not yet being constructed, and are located in the suburbs, the construction of which are probably to begin in the near future.

The next step of urban construction plans was comprehensive and Guide Plans were drawn up in the 1330š/1950s: The Ministry of the Interior (Iran) took action to prepare the first urban development plan by foreign consulting engineers and experts as a “comprehensive plan” in the early 30s (1330-1335 š) [1950s] However, these comprehensive plans were prepared with a western approach and without considering

⁶²³ Maḥmud Moḥammadi: “Taḡiir-e Sāḥtār-e Qodrat dar Irān va Taḡiir-e Šekl-e Šahr”, in: *Maḡmu’e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me’māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.2, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996

⁶²⁴ Mašhadizāde; Moravveḡi: “Gožari bar Tāriḡ-e Šahrsāzi-ye Irān dar Dore-ye Ġadid”

the necessities and local facilities, so they could not positively affect the development of Iranian cities. Following these actions in 1340s [1960s], an urban planning unit was established in the technical office of the “Ministry of the Interior (Iran)”, supervised by Fridrich Phail (the urban planner), who was in charge of providing a comprehensive plan of Isfahan in Kükes Consulting Engineers co., and Seyyed Morteżā Musavi (the architect). This unit, which took action in preparing and planning partial plans and road construction in the city hall, began to prepare urban developing plans called “Guide Plans” after some time. City development plans were prepared and executed for hundreds of cities based on these planning methods very actively.⁶²⁵ Damage due to regulations can be formulated as follows:

▪ **Damage due to Irrelevance of Urban Development Plans and Historic Areas**

One of the most significant problems of these regulations is their irrelevance in urban development plans and historic areas, and the concentration on development and broadening the routes and building construction. Farivar Şadri pointed out that current rules lack clear criteria for determining the relation between city development and the historic structure of cities. In these regulations and rules, there is no sign of awareness that the centralization should be reduced, the advantages of the remaining centralization should be used and that it is essential to spend some resources to preserve, restore, and reconstruct that historic area. Due to a lack of effective social and legal institutions which control the urban development, this development is mainly based on local advantages, and regulations which control this development are prepared considering concepts such as “route development”, “expansion”, route expansion and “demolition”. These regulations and rules of construction and urban planning in contemporary urban areas do not consider architectural heritage and accomplishments of Iran and the world. In addition, urban plans lack ideas and foresight, and are conservative, too detailed, and treat symptoms rather than causes.

⁶²⁵ Bahrām Farivar Şadri: “Taḥavvolāt-e Şahrsāzi Irān dar Nim Qarn-e Aḫir”, in: *Mağmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Şahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.2, Sāzmān-e Mirāş-e Farhangi-ye Keşvar, Tehrān-1375ş/1996

Social conditions on the one and official bureaucracy on the other hand cause delay and ignorance in approving urban plans. Therefore this is not a proper method of decreasing the damage and the ever-increasing burden on the historic structure.⁶²⁶ Adventitious expansion in historical areas next to the market, construction of poly-story buildings, creating roads for cars in historical passages constitute some of the damage in Rayy. For example Image 5-7 shows an expanded route and new tall houses in the historical area. (Image 5-7)

- **Damage due to Inappropriate Implementation of Approved Urban Planning Programs**

There is a famous proverb in Persian saying: “a bad rule is better than no rule”. Although these plans were incorrect and imperfect, if they had been implemented well, the historical cities’ condition would have been better than it is today. Legal problems and the lack of legal responsibilities of the related organizations were the most important reasons for the incorrect implementation of those plans.⁶²⁷ For example the dissension between the Municipality of Tehrān and the Cultural Heritage Organisation over historic areas leads to the alternation of influential power between these two organizations, which accordingly results in disregarding the determined standards related to the maximum height of new buildings. The consequence of such inconsistent control over time is that within one area and even one street there are different levels of building heights.

- **Damage due to the Non-Democratic System of Urban Planning**

Following Farivar Šadri, the centralized and non-democratic system of decision making due to people’s absence in managing the country development, especially in cities, disconnected the very limited relations with the past culture, too. [...] In addition,

⁶²⁶ Moḥammad Reżā Ḥā’eri: “Ṭarḫi az Kālbād-e Šahr-e Irāni. Barresi-ye Gunešenāsāne-ye Bāfthā-ye Šahri-ye Irān”, in: *Irānnāme* 40(1371š/1992)

⁶²⁷ Farivar Šadri: “Taḥavvolāt-e Šahrsāzi Irān dar Nim Qarn-e Aḫir”

municipalities which could rule the cities and connect their governments and residents as the only local organization couldn't take the main responsibility for this due to affiliation and self-existence of government on the one and severe limitation in their responsibilities and authorities on the other hand.⁶²⁸ The construction plan of a cement manufacture of Rayy and a glycerin factory next to the Raškān castle, a development plan of the Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim Shrine and the destruction of a part of the historical area, establishing a park on the ancient area of Cheshmeh Ali, among many aothers, outlines some of the damage. (Images 5-8, 5-9)

▪ **Damage due to Non-Scientific Plans of Preserving Historic Monuments**

The plans for inappropriate preservation of historic monuments can be mentioned as another source of damage sustained by the city, which ironically should guarantee the continuation of historic structures; however they have transformed into a destructive factor due to a superficial and non-scientific worldview. An exclusively archeological viewpoint to the historic monuments is another incorrect viewpoint, which just pays attention to the date and the renovation of a historic monument and not on how it affects social life. In this point of view, these monuments exist without any relationship with the environment and conditions and are only "preserved" in the urban development plan⁶²⁹. Legal limitations which owners of these constructions encounter and the lack of proper economic alternatives have also forced people to take up a position against these monuments, and eventually led to more weariness in regard to historical structures. In this regard, we can refer to some historic houses. Statutory provisions for restoring historic houses which do not take into account the living conditions can be considered as an important reason why people rather demolish their houses and build new ones.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

Economic and Social Damage

Rayy, where factories have been founded as part of an industrial zone from the 1st period of Pahlavi, was expanded towards and attached to Tehrān ⁶³⁰ and now is its 20th zone. It was an area for workers, and since workers have always been the most vulnerable and poorest part of society, so Rayy feels like a poor city due to a lack of facilities. This outlines a short review of the education level, the job variety, and the immigration process done by Puraḥmad and ‘Ebādi in 1379š/2000. ⁶³¹ They determined the employment rate and variety and found that 64.4% of Rayy residents were employed, 20.2% were unemployed, 11.4% were retired, and 4% were in other cases. In the employment category, 40.1% were workers, 38.2% were self-employed, and 21.7% were employees. The statistics reveal that employees are mostly workers and then self-employed. The types of businesses mostly include shop keeping in the market and around it. In summary, nearly 80% of the questioned people were workers and self-employed. The reasons of which are likely to be the suitable situation in the old area and its trading facilities around the bazaar. Further reasons are the illiteracy and the low percentage of educated people and specialists higher than a diploma in which 35% were a diploma (high school graduate), 26.60% elementary, 23.3% junior high, 10.1% illiterate, and only 5% were higher than a diploma and University graduate. An additional grievance is the situation of the Afghan (Afgān) immigrants who often work as workers. The following diagrams are prepared based on the information above: (Images 5-10, 5-11, 5-12)

- **Effects of Poverty and its Urban Appearance**

The economic and social specifications of Rayy are determined by Poor-Ahmad and ‘Ebādi as follows:⁶³²

⁶³⁰ See Section “3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy’s Location” in this very thesis

⁶³¹ Aḥmad Puraḥmad; Ğāvid ‘Ebādi: “Naqš-e Ekoloži-ye Eġtemā’i dar Bāft-e Qadim-e Šahr-e Rayy”, in: *Pažuhešhā-ye Ğoġrāfiā’i* 39 (1379š/2000)

⁶³² Ibid.

- 87.3% of the residents of the old area are workers and self-employed with the mentioned conditions.
- Illiteracy and lack of suitable jobs affects most of the residents, of which only 10% of people have a higher education than a diploma (employers and others).
- There is a small number of people whose wives are employees, reaching 9.2% in total.
- Residence of most people is in unseemly conditions, and most blocks are in a state of decay. Additionally, the houses of more than 50% of the people have one or two rooms only.
- The best facilities and equipment are only found in 4.9% of people's homes, and even the most essential facilities for instance refrigerators cannot be found in 5% of the households.
- Half of Rayy's residents do not go to the hospital when they have a health problem.
- 66% of the people walk or take public buses to their daily work to prevent additional expenses, and only 14% of the people have their own cars.
- People's leisure is limited to watching TV and visiting relatives and neighbors for 85% of the people.
- The results of economic data show cost increase regarding income.

These specifications, either a result from poverty or vice versa, are considered the results of economic poverty. The mutual relation between economic poverty and the urban appearance can be studied as an inefficient cycle: due to the low rent of old houses in the eroded structure of Rayy, poor people and immigrants who are unable to restore and preserve their neighborhood inhabit them. The reason for the low figure of rent in Rayy seems to be responsible for the state of decay of the houses that may be already destroyed. Specific issues and difficulties of the old areas of Rayy are that Afghan (Afgān) tenants are unable to pay high rents, as Afghan (Afgān) families live in each room equal to the number of rooms; each family lives in one room.⁶³³ Another

⁶³³ Ibid.

reason for rents being low, causing immigrants and the poor residence, is that the lands in Rayy are endowed (Vaḳf). Endowment (Vaḳf) is an action which according to law, the original object (except for some cases) is not tradable and the advantages (by renting, etc.) are utilized by the endower. Endowment is to block the object itself and consume the interest considering the endower's end.⁶³⁴ Basically, endowment is one of the effective reasons in the economic value of lands in this region. Due to the fact that according to Islam, endowed (Vaḳf) lands are not sellable, just rentable, and since it is more economical to rent endowed lands than to buy non-endowed ones, therefore most of the endowed lands are occupied by immigrants and poor people in the urban development process and have been changed to residential usage, which, after several years, the endowment organization prepares a lease contract for and hires out the land to the occupant, however the superstructure belongs to the landlord, for example in Ġavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb area.⁶³⁵ According to statistics and information from Endowment Organization of Rayy, the endowments of Rayy were over 717 in 1385/2006, which are dividable to 9 levels, and each level has a subset called "Raḳabāt", and their number in municipality is 13043.

1. Religious: mosques, Ḥoseyniye, Takyeh, Mausoleum, churches, Ḥānqāh, temple
2. Commercial: shop, garage, storage, workshop, hotel, shrine
3. Residential: house porch and yards, apartments
4. Lands: farming land, residential area, and commercial area
5. Educational: Hawza (=Ḥouze= Traditional School)
6. Remedial: hospital, clinic
7. Garden
8. Orphanage
9. Water supply: qanāt, qanāt right, well.

⁶³⁴ 'Aliakbar Dehḥodā: *Loḡatnāme-ye Dehḥodā (Dehḥodā Dictionary) Site:*

<http://www.loghatnaameh.org> (Date: 11.9.2010). For instance, some shops are rented in a bazaar to keep a mosque or pay for the annual education expense of distinct people, etc.

⁶³⁵ Raḥmat Allāh Farhudi; Maḥbube Sādāt Šafi'i: "Ta'sir-e Vaḳf dar Gostareš va Tose'e-ye Fiziki-Kālbadi-ye Šāhr-e Rayy", in: *Mirās-e Ġāvdān* 61 (1387š/2008)

From which the most endowment belongs to religious ones for instance mosques, Hoseyniye, Takyeh, and mausoleum.⁶³⁶ Another role of endowment in the development of Rayy has been the establishment of special elements such as railway, subway, factories, highways, etc. in endowed (Vaqf) lands. In order to establish these elements more space is needed, therefore they are considered and used more by the landlords. While their establishment leads to a decrease in value of the lands beside them, and people, especially the immigrants who cannot afford to pay for these lands, turn to these lands, and set up some inappropriate residences with numerous issues and difficulties of construction, safety, facilities, etc. However, their other impact is on the urban development of Rayy and the changing of villages and fields to urban usage, which made it possible for Rayy to change the usage through urban development. Existence of Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim shrine, the most important pilgrim attraction in this area, caused the densest residential area in Rayy and most of the endowments are located next to the holy shrine. This residential area next to Emāmzāde 'Abd Allah in Varāmin intersection, lands around Ğavānmard-e Qaṣṣāb Mausoleum, endowed to farming and mill usage 200 years ago and now used for residential and commercial purposes, and residential area near Ebn-e Bābuye lands are all included in these endowed lands.⁶³⁷

Dividing the lands of Rayy into smaller tracts is another reason for the destruction of the historical area of Rayy, for the value of old houses is considered by their lands and the building itself is not priced. Smaller tracts will lead to a decrease in prices and therefore are easier to sell.

“The tendency of dividing lands in low-income regions will usually be fulfilled sooner financially, while the tendency to access associations or large lands to construct towers depends on particular official and political conditions and providing bank credits, collecting financial deposits, and trusting the customers' financial ability, therefore it

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Farhudi; Šafi'i: "Ta'sir-e Vaqf dar Gostareš va Tose'e-ye Fiziki-Kālbadi-ye Šāhr-e Rayy"

would have a slow trend.”⁶³⁸ If a low rental amount and the value of lands have led to make poor neighborhoods and an influx of settlers towards Rayy, the value increase of lands in the margins of the bazaars has led to the destruction of historical constructions and profitable commercial buildings on the other hand. This issue is generally seen in all historical areas. Following Ḥa’eri, the concentration of institutions and commercial-official activities of the city in one or two urban areas has led to a price increase of lands in these parts. Both the government and the private sector intend to settle in these areas. Therefore, by increase in land values of these areas, private owners are motivated to sell historic monuments. The ancient form of these lands included old and historic superstructures, which have been demolished in most cases, and profitable commercial buildings matching with the bazaar pattern, were constructed instead.⁶³⁹ On the other hand, during the process of unnatural modernization of the Iranian society in the 1340s and 1350s šamsi/1960s and 1970s, the social and productive relationship changed, and these transformations affected the appearance of cities as well. The social conditions changed, poor and rich regions developed, residents of historical areas moved to new and better neighborhoods and the settlers and job applicants rushed towards the urban areas which were in a state of decay.⁶⁴⁰ In the 1340s šamsi/1960s, poor residential areas developed near the Tehrān-Rayy road, next to each factory unit, and when these areas adjoined, Rayy was expanded towards Tehrān. This problem seems to exist in all the industrial cities of the country. Since the 1340s šamsi [1960s], supplemental to polarizing the urban functions, the population polarizing was changed. In addition to poor neighborhoods, which existed in Iran from the past, slum housing has been growing in cities, causing severe poverty. Today, urban development has become so poor in connecting roads, large lands around cities with no specific owner, and around manufactures and industrial factories and rustic areas.

⁶³⁸ Fariborz Re’isedānā: “Iḡād-e Rānt(Aržeš-e Māzād) Zamin-e Šahri va Farāyand-e Taḥrib-e Bāft”, in: *Maḡmu’e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me’māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.3, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996

⁶³⁹ Ḥa’eri: “Ṭarḥi az Kālbad-e Šahr-e Irāni. Barresi-ye Gunešenāsāne-ye Bāfthā-ye Šahri-ye Irān”

⁶⁴⁰ Puraḥmad; ‘Ebādi: “Naqš-e Ekoloži-ye Eḡtemā’i dar Bāft-e Qadim-e Šahr-e Rayy”

Concentration of residential buildings, especially in recent areas and suburbs, has increased in comparison to other constructions, and for using lands to build network connections, urban facilities and installations, public areas have been decreased. Dividing land into smaller tracts has caused the residential building density to appear horizontal, which lack essential equipment and supplies.⁶⁴¹ (See Image 3-34: decrease in basic structure concentration and development towards Tehrān)

The intensification of commercial and civil services was another reason for leaving historical areas and immigration. Old settlers moved to better regions earning enough income and new settlers occupied their places, which was another reason for exceeding destruction of the historical areas of Rayy in the next decades. According to Ḥā'eri after rushes of villagers and earning income, they moved to other neighborhoods and Afghans (Afgāns) took their previous place, as we can see both these groups in the historic area of Rayy today. There is only a limited number of families who are dependent on their ancient place and love living beside Ḥaram and are affiliated to their ancient place of living, and expressed their dissatisfaction about both groups in a report. This shows these people will abandon this region very soon.⁶⁴²

- **Traffic Situation: Damage due to an Increased Number of Cars**

The increase of cars in the 1970s caused a lot of problems,⁶⁴³ air pollution on the one and destruction of old structures (suitable just for pedestrian crossing) through the entering of cars on the other hand.⁶⁴⁴ However, not only did it lead to a demolition of the structures, but eliminated the issue of the, no longer required, adjacency to the departmental and commercial services and thus undermined the important historical area of Rayy, which was next to the bazaar (For example in Tabrizi st. or Ḥasanḥāni

⁶⁴¹ Ḥā'eri: "Ṭarḥi az Kālbād-e Šahr-e Irāni. Barresi-ye Gunešēnāsāne-ye Bāfthā-ye Šahri-ye Irān"

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ The total number of automobiles in Tehran was 200.000 in 1349Š/1970 and reached over 1 million in 1356Š/1978.

See: Taqi Ebtokār: "Gozāreš-e Nahā'i-ye Ṭarḥ-e Kontrol-e Dud-e Vasāyel-e Naqliye-ye Benzini dar Tehrān", in: *Mohiṣšenāsi* 10 (1359Š/1980)

⁶⁴⁴ Farivar Šadri: "Taḥavvolāt-e Šahrsāzi Irān dar Nim Qarn-e Aḥir"

st.). Therefore, the margins of this area served the function the the bazaar once had, residents of Rayy left consequently and immigrants settled there.⁶⁴⁵

Damage to the Cultural Layer Caused by Natural Factors

Since there is a limited life span for construction materials, simply the time passing and natural concussive factors such as wind, rain and freezing cold can cause damage to them. In case of deficient maintenance and the lack of renovation of buildings, this damage will keep increasing and eventually result in the building's destruction. Lack of maintenance occurs due to two major reasons:

- 1) Abandonment of a building
- 2) Financial inability of the residents

Damage to the Cultural Layer Caused by Human Actions

This kind of damage, which results from incorrect human behavior, is closely connected to the two aforementioned factors: inaccurate and inefficient laws as well as economic and social difficulties. An absence of laws in many cases ends in wrong interferences. Disregard or ignorance or even bypassing laws have caused major damage to the historical urban fabric of the city.

5.3 Summarizing the Damage of the Urban Structure of Rayy

As mentioned before, effects of the damage sustained are visible in the city. We will mention the most important factors concerning Rayy in the following:

Discontinuous Urban Development

Since Rayy was a place for establishing factories and workshops in the south of Tehrān in the 1st Pahlavi period, it developed very soon, and residential areas around factories

⁶⁴⁵ Puraḥmad; 'Ebādi: "Naqš-e Ekoloži-ye Eġtemā'i dar Bāft-e Qadim-e Šahr-e Rayy"

and villages joined the city gradually without formation of urban installations, or continuous communicative lines with other parts of the city.⁶⁴⁶ (Image 5-13)

Unightly Appearance around Water Paths and Inappropriate Exploitation of Lands

Although there is no large river in Rayy, canals and water streams similar to small rivers have caused health problems for people due to a lack of attention. The environment around it is unsightly and detested, too. For example Ašraf Ābād stream has an unsuitable landscape around it. (Image 5-14)

Deterioration of the Urban Fabric

Due to the mentioned reasons in previous parts, the old urban fabric of Rayy has been eroded. Many historical houses are exposed to complete decay or at least some parts of them are partially damaged. Even the restored parts are not any better than the ancient parts due to the low quality of their construction and materials. Only the central core of the city (including Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim and other shrines and bazaars) is restored. Meanwhile, the remains of old urban fabric are threatened by recent constructions and Ḥaram expansion. (Images 5-15, 5-16)

Inappropriate Urban Appearance and Inadequate and Disharmonic Buildings

Recent constructions in the old areas (especially next to Ḥaram) and a lack of regulations and obstructive controls have led to a visual revolt in the appearance of Rayy. Various disharmonic aspects next to diminished and destroyed buildings have created one of the most repulsive urban appearances in this ancient city. (Image 5-17)

Inadequate Street Layout inside the Areas and the Tearing Apart of Historical Areas

Since the 1st Pahlavi period up until now, the old area of Rayy has been diminished by inadequate street layout. The first step was to establish the Main Square of the city,

⁶⁴⁶ For more information about Rayy's areas and the spread of residential areas near factories in routes ending in Tehrān in 1342Š/1963, refer to image 3-34 and compare with image 5-13 taken in 2012

drawing two vertical lines over each other. Yet, this square is a little away from the historical area and does not have a direct effect, but displaces its main core. This has continued to date, and the development of Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim and the street layout around it has created a critical situation. (Images 5-18, 5-19)

Chaotic Transportation Network and Lack of Separation of Vehicles and Pedestrians

Disorder in the transportation network is a public problem in Iranian cities. However, in historic areas of cities, it causes serious damage. Not separating vehicles and pedestrians, especially in parts which are not suitable for automobiles, has added to the mentioned damage. Car entrance to the historic part of Rayy has disturbed its central order, and the daily traffic adds to the current damage. Fortunately, in recent years, the bazaar and Ḥaram have been specified as pedestrian parts. (Image 5-20)

Severe Lack of Service Units and the Gradual Stagnation of Old Service Units

A lack of new service units and the gradual stagnation of old ones is another problem in the historic area of Rayy. Not restoring and destroying these buildings completely or granting new usage to them has caused the historical area to be totally stagnant, among which caravanserais and public baths of the bazaar or quarters can be mentioned. (Image 5-21)

Stagnation of the Quarter's Center and its Diminution due to Attraction of New Streets

After new constructions and Rayy's development towards Tehrān and the centralization of new urban areas, the old neighborhoods near the bazaar were used as side spaces or warehouses, and the center of the city has gradually stagnated due to immigration which led to more diminishment and a new period of immigration.

Chaos and Disorder in the Function of the Bazaar

Rayy's bazaar (or indeed the Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim Village's bazaar) belongs to the Safavid period. The population of this village and the required careers played a role in the shape and dimensions of the bazaar. Today, the population of this area has become ten times

as big and many new functions (Phone Shop, Ice Cream Parlour ect.) have replaced the previous ones. (Image 5-22)

Unbalanced Condition between the Growth of Residential Units and Urban Services

The imbalance between the growth of residential units and the urban services due to the quick growth of the immigrants' and workers' population in Rayy; chaos in proper eco-residential condition due to the centralized population; growth in the industry and increase of motor transportation, and eventually the dissolution of an urban environment system led to the emergence of a situation called "unbalanced situation".⁶⁴⁷

Adventitious Interferences in Historical Areas

The most severe interferences in historical areas include two separate cases: First the spreading interference of the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Shrine custodians to expand it, establish new constructions such as a museum and a traditional school (Madrasa) in the historical constructions' anatomical buffer zone, etc. This interference in some cases even included destruction of historical areas in excuse of establishing a parking lot for the Shrine. (Images 5-18, 5-19) Second the establishing of modern official service constructions such as a police station in the historical area. This process has started in the 1st Pahlavi period, but today, with a development of the city towards other regions, it has almost stopped.

Placement of Previous Non-Residential Elements in Current City Structure

Inhabitable buildings of the last decades, such as factories, manufactories, etc. which once were located outside of the city, today are located inside Rayy. Even the old cemeteries of Rayy such as Ebn-e Bābuye, in which no funerals are taking place any more, are still in cemetery format inside the city and no other suitable use could be found for it.

⁶⁴⁷ Hā'eri: "Ṭarḥi az Kālbād-e Šahr-e Irāni. Barresi-ye Gunešenāsāne-ye Bāfthā-ye Šahri-ye Irān"

Horizontal Expansion of the City and Demolition of Ecological Resources

Many villages, gardens, farms, and qanats were ruined by the expansion and development of Rayy. The greater risk today is the development of the city towards the east and southeast, where not only farms and gardens, but also the historical city of the Islamic period is located in it, and no archeological studies have been done there yet. (Images: 5-23, 5-24)

Expanded Demolition of Historical Monuments

One of the largest sources of cultural damage to Rayy is the destruction of historical monuments, to build new constructions in their stead. As stated before, the most important example is the establishment of a cement and glycerin factory and the destruction of the Raškān castle as well as the epigraph of Fath Ali Šāh.⁶⁴⁸ Other examples are the construction of roads and widespread buildings around the Ṭogrol tower. (Image 5-25, 5-26)

⁶⁴⁸ See "Raškān Castle" and "Two Damaged Rock Reliefs" Sections in this thesis

Damage Type	Factors of Damages			
	Human Function	Natural Factors	Regulations	Social and Economic Issues
Discontinuous Urban Development			*	*
Unightly Appearance around Water Paths and Inappropriate Exploitation of Lands around it			*	
Deterioration of the Urban Fabric		*		*
Inappropriate Urban Appearance and Inadequate and Disharmonic Buildings in Old Areas			*	*
Inadequate Street Layout inside the Areas and Tearing Apart of Historical Areas	*		*	
Disorder of Transportation Network and Lack of Separation of Vehicles and Pedestrians	*		*	
Severe Lack of Service units in Quarters and the Gradual Stagnation of Old Service Units				*
Stagnation of the Quarter's Center and its Diminution due to Strong Attraction of New Streets			*	*
Chaos and Disorder in the Function of the Bazaar			*	*
Unbalanced Condition between the Growth of Residential Units and Urban Services			*	*
Adventitious Interferences in Historical Areas	*		*	
Placement of Previous Non-Residential Elements in Current City Structure			*	*
Horizontal Expansion of the City and Demolition of Ecological Resources			*	*
Expanded Demolition of Historical Monuments and Archaeological Site	*		*	*
Hazard of Flora and Fauna	*		*	
Pollution of Soil	*		*	
Pollution of Air	*		*	
Pollution of Water	*		*	

Image 5-27: Overview Table of Damages

Final conclusion

The present damage is the result of four major factors as mentioned in the beginning: inaccurate and inefficient laws and rules, the economic and social difficulties of Rayy's residents, deteriorated materials and lack of periodical restoration, and eventually, incorrect human interference. It is of note that the damage, due to all of its causes, will eventually show up in the urban fabric. What caused a city rupture in Rayy must be the expansion and development of the city with plans inaccurate and ignorant of the historic region and the residents. The deterioration of the historic urban fabric, the unsightly appearance of the city, disruption of ecological resources, resulted in a degrading quality of living and was followed by emigration of the native population and enormous immigration of the destitute social class of other cities or illegal immigrants to Rayy. This caused more decay to the urban life and has been repeated frequently. However, studying the overview table of the overall damage supports the fact that most of it is caused due to the lack or inefficiency of laws and rules. Therefore, the most principal enterprise to eliminate the issues of Rayy is to improve the present rules and to legislate new ones to prevent further damage. It must be mentioned here that Tehrān has a new comprehensive plan now. Although the new plan is still suffering setbacks in some aspects, fortunately many of the above mentioned problems have been solved in the new plan. The new plan as well as the suggestions for its improvements will be clarified more in Chapter 6.

To conserve the cultural landscape of Rayy, developing cultural landscape layers and their connections and conserving the composing elements of these layers have to be acknowledged. This leads to a modification of urban laws and an improvement of urban development plans regarding the ecosystem and historic statues of the city and could be effective in refining the quality of life.

Chapter 6 - Concepts of Conservation

Chapter 6

Concepts of Conservation

Preliminary Note

This chapter examines the concepts and ways to conserve the cultural landscape in Rayy. As it was mentioned earlier, a cultural landscape results from the interaction between humans and nature. The constructive layers of the cultural landscape of Rayy were introduced in chapter 4 under the three titles “natural layer”, “tangible cultural layer”, and “intangible cultural layer”. This chapter first considers the present statutes of Rayy and compares it with other areas in Tehrān. To achieve this, the present land use in Rayy and other areas are introduced briefly to present the conditions of land user distribution in Rayy with their weaknesses and strengths. Then the comprehensive plan of Tehrān in the 20th zone (Rayy) will be introduced in short to present the future role of Rayy as the southern area in Tehrān from the urban planners’ point of view, and eventually there will be a short review of the plan. The next step in this chapter is to present a general strategy to conserve the cultural landscape of Rayy. A number of suggestions are presented to conserve the natural layer, tangible cultural layer and intangible cultural layer based on this strategy. In the end, a priority list of what should be conserved is presented, which should be implemented on every conservation plan in Rayy.

6.1 The Current Comprehensive Plan of Rayy (20th Zone in Tehrān)

In the early 1950s, the first comprehensive urban plans were prepared in Iran and the foreign engineers presented the first comprehensive plan of Tehrān in the 1960s.⁶⁴⁹ After that, there was another comprehensive plan drawn up for Tehrān in 1370š/1991,

⁶⁴⁹ Nāṣer Mašhadizāde; Dinā Moravveġi: “Gozari bar Tāriḡ-e Šahrsāzi-ye Irān dar Dore-ye Ğadid”, in: *Maġmu’e Maqālāt-e Naḡostin Kongere-ye Me’māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.4, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996

which was not implemented. The present comprehensive plan was finally approved in 1386š/2007.⁶⁵⁰

6.1.1 Land User Distribution in Tehrān

The primary studies regarding this comprehensive plan, published in 2003-4, specify the present land user distribution in Tehrān's condition. A brief summary of these studies is given in the following.⁶⁵¹

Population density in Rayy

Based on the table of gross population density, this component is 128 persons per hectare in the 20th Zone in Tehrān (Rayy), which is considered a zone with average-low density.⁶⁵² (Image 6-1)

Commercial spaces distribution

With 0.63 m² per capita, Rayy has one of the lowest commercial spaces per person in Tehrān. This amount from 9.11 m² in the 19th Zone to 5.1 m² in the 18th and 4.18 m² in the 17th Zone. Only the 5th, 7th, and 8th Zones are similar to Rayy). The total space per capita in Tehrān is 2.1 m² which is in another range of commercial activity. (Image 6-2)

Administrative spaces distribution

In general, Tehrān lacks a central area for administrative spaces. The southern and eastern zones of Tehrān specifically include less administrative spaces. The amount is

⁶⁵⁰ "Šahr-e Tehrān Brand-e Ğahāni Nadārad", in: *Ğavān Online*. <http://www.javanonline.ir/vdcj8vev8uqeymz.fsfu.txt> (Date:7.5.2013)

⁶⁵¹ "Moṭāle'āt-e Kārbari-ye Arāzi", in: *Irān Šahrsāz*.

<http://www.iranshahrsaz.com/attachment.php?aid=2576> (Date:7.5.2013)

⁶⁵² Ibid., p.22

0.36 m² in the 20th Zone, which equals a quarter of Tehrān's total space per capita (1.3 m²).⁶⁵³ (Image 6-3)

Green spaces distribution

The 20th Zone with 2.56 m² per capita green space is one of the poorest zones . Tehrān's total space per capita green space is 8.2 m².⁶⁵⁴ (Image 6-4)

Educational Space Allocation

The 20th Zone with a 1.22 m² per capita in educational spaces is one of the average zones. Tehrān's total space per capita in educational spaces is 1.00 m².⁶⁵⁵ (Image 6-5)

Military Space Allocation

Fortunately, the space used by the military is zero in Rayy. Tehrān's total space used by the military per capita is 7.6 m².⁶⁵⁶ (Image 6-6)

Industrial Spaces Allocation

Rayy, with 6.85 m² per capita of industrial functionalities, is one of the average zones in Tehrān regarding this aspect. Tehrān's total space of industrial functionalities per capita is 5.1 m².⁶⁵⁷ (Image 6-7)

Entertainment Spaces Allocation

Most entertainment resorts of Tehrān are located in its north. Rayy includes zero per capita entertainment functionalities while Tehrān's total space for entertainment per capita is 0.2 m².⁶⁵⁸ (Image 6-8)

⁶⁵³ Ibid., p.25

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., p.27

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., p.28

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., p.30

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., p.31

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p.33

6.1.2 20th Zone (Rayy) Specification Summary⁶⁵⁹

Recognizing individual specifications of each zone in Tehrān has been an essential target of consulting engineers' studies in Tehrān. Typical use and functions of each zone and the role of each in the Tehrān metropolitan area is clarified through a land use case study of each zone. The 20th zone's (Rayy) role and specification are mentioned as follows:

- Several historic monuments of ancient Rayy (Češme 'Ali, Toğrol's Tower, etc.)
- The Šāh 'Abd al-'Azim Shrine and other pilgrimage centers such as the Ebn-e Bābawayh and the Emānzāde 'Abd Allah Shrine
- Centralization of industrial centers, workshops, and warehouses
- Dense residential structure in most areas and complex building flourishes
- Wide view and the Bibi Šahrbānu heights

These features indicate that Rayy could have varied potentials, on the one hand due to its historical monuments and nature, the city has a large potential for tourism, and on the other hand the diverse craft centres and industrial places could make Rayy a region with good economic situation. But its densely populated residential neighbourhood and the low level of living in Rayy can be regarded as two negative points. The comprehensive plan however should take the potentials into consideration in order to improve the living conditions and offer solutions for the problems.

6.1.3 The Present Land Use Plan for the 20th Zone (Rayy) ⁶⁶⁰

Some points are summarized in specifying land use, considering plan scales in an A4 size report. Commercial and administrative functionalities are merged and reflected as commercial use on the plan. Service functionalities such as educational, hygienic, athletic, etc. are marked as services. Green space, transportation, warehousing, military, etc. functionalities are each time marked with individual colors. Indeed, the centralized area of urban, commercial, and administrative services is marked as an

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.44- 48

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., p.113

activity zone on these plans and other significant functionalities are presented as well. (Image 6-9)

As one can see in the plan the biggest residential area is located in the central part of the city, where commercial and administrative segments are widely scattered, and green spaces are rare. Agricultural fields lay southern and south-eastern of Rayy while industrial areas are in the north and north-east.

6.1.4 Strategic-Structural Development and the Constructive Plan of Tehrān, 2007

This document, which in fact is a “long-term development outlook of Tehrān”, specifies the urban development strategies. This plan only provides a general scheme of the regulations and the details should be given more thoroughly in other plans. Comparing to previously made plans which only consider the superficial modernization of the city, the current plan contains more advantages, although there are still some problems that needed to be solved and will be explained briefly in chapter 6.1.5. This plan is presented by the municipality of Tehrān. Some essential items are mentioned below. Numbers next to each article are the same numbers in the plan document.⁶⁶¹

- **Preventing further urban development**

2-1-1: Preventing the development of the Tehrān metropolitan area and consolidation of its borders in the north, south, east, and west of the city.⁶⁶²

2-1-3: Tehrān’s municipality is to create and organize the urban green line parallel to the city border with a green use complex (wild and domestic parks, fruit and entertainment gardens, etc.) while marking the borders.

2-1-4: Limiting residential construction adjacent to the city borders and allocating the lands adjacent to the border to particular functions, including entertainment, leisure, or multipurpose activities with the least density and occupation level of green space.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹“Sanad-e Aṣli-ye Moṣavvab-e Taṛḥ-e Ğāme’-e Šahr-e Tehrān-2007”, in: *Irān Šahrsāz*.

<http://shahrsazi-mhud.ir/Tehran/sanad.pdf> (Date:1.4.2011)

⁶⁶² Ibid., p.2

- **Social development and organizing population habitation**

2-4-4: Equalizing inequalities and providing the services and public environment needed for the population, particularly in southern and central areas, and organizing the condition of service and commercial spaces with local use distribution appropriate to the citizens' needs.

2-4-5: Providing security and health in residential areas by organizing proper access networks and pedestrian passageways for walking in neighborhoods and residential areas, especially for invalids.⁶⁶⁴

- **Economic improvement and flourishing of urban activity**

2-5-6: Gradual replacement of average and small industries with clean technology instead of contaminating big industries and existing warehouses obeying the rules.⁶⁶⁵

- **Improving of the social network condition and transportation and traffic system**

2-6-6: Developing pedestrians' and cyclists' areas of movement in the city, and particularly in its historic districts.⁶⁶⁶

- **Conserving the natural environment**

2-7-1: Guaranteeing the constancy of conserved zones and the ecosystem's variety, conserving gardens and agricultural lands, and developing green spaces in the boundaries, buffer zones, and urban complexity in Tehrān.

2-7-2: Refining activities and transferring contaminating centers of industry and transportation terminals to the suburbs.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ Ibid., p.2

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., p.4

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., p.4

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., p.5

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., p.5

- **Organization of the limits and banks of the rivers and dry-rivers**

2-10-5: Organizing and preventing constructions in the qualitative borders of surface and sub-surface water sources.⁶⁶⁸

- **Improving and promoting the conditions and organizing the urban structure**

2-11-4: Identification of urban structure, emphasizing neighborhood identity and considering historic structure particularly of the valuable central area which is the result of joining and developing the three main historic cores of Tehrān, Rayy, and Tağriš.

2-11-5: Moderation of the habitation settlement pattern and proper activities with natural and historic necessities of the city and preventing space interruption and duality with coherent, extensible, and viable structure foundation.⁶⁶⁹

- **How to use land**

2-12-3: Exertion of persuasive policies to concentrate land, particularly in residential areas, to reduce scattered residential units in the city.⁶⁷⁰

- **Conservation of natural, historical, and cultural heritage**

2-13-1 Conserving and organizing the hilly mountains and mountain slopes near the city by creating a green line, and mobilizing the rivers of the valleys and leading and intervening in the hilly mountains lands' usage in the urban boundaries and borders.

2-13-2: Conserving and organizing the natural water ways (dry waters, seasonal rivers, and important canals) in the city's boundaries and creating attractive and green resorts in the waterways.

2-13-3: Conserving, developing, and organizing gardens, conserved zones, wild and natural parks and the natural-historical area of Bibi Šahrbānu and Češme 'Ali in the city's boundaries and borders.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p.7

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., p.8

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., p.9

2-13-4: Revitalizing the centers and organizing the historic areas, and the residential organic cores of the city (valuable rural areas), following relevant rules.

2-13-5: Conserving, revitalizing, and organizing historic and local cemeteries, monuments, holy shrines, and ancient areas.

2-13-6: Organizing, developing, and equipping mosques as the most conspicuous sign of identity in all levels in urban and rural areas.⁶⁷¹

- **Urban landscape and appearance**

2-14-4: Restoring the Iranian-Islamic architecture and urban planning of every transition and change in the city.⁶⁷²

- **Developing green, public, resort, and entertainment spaces**

2-15-1: Developing green spaces with an urban, regional, zonal, and local useage scale to provide at least 10 m² per capita green space in Tehrān with moderate distribution in the city.

2-15-2: Conserving, organizing, and utilizing of wild parks' capability, following conservation and utilization laws for jungles promoting functions to create proper space for leisure, play, sports, entertainment, tourism, and crisis management.

2-15-3: Organization of rivers, dry rivers.

2-15-4: Allocating a particular area of the city to entertainment, specifically in the suburbs of Tehrān including the bortheast, east, south (Bibi Šahr̄bānu), and northwest.

2-15-5: Providing essential facilities to promote the service levels needed for the tourism industry and locating proper urban spaces to settle residential and entertainment centers with global standards.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., p.9

⁶⁷² Ibid., p.9

⁶⁷³ Ibid., p.10

- **Organization of urban services**

2-16-1: Increasing the per capita urban service complexes including educational, remedial and hygienic, cultural, religious, sports, tourism (leisure and entertainment) and urban facilities and equipments in local, regional, zonal, and urban scales to about double (about 13 m² in addition to the green space) according to the plan.

2-16-5: Organizing and developing public education, culture, religion, sports, and creating proper complexes, particularly in the present heterogeneous functionalities including abandoned land, intruding industries, obsolete warehouses, and spare urban land.⁶⁷⁴

- **On areas with damaged structures**

2-17-1: Supporting and supervising area renovations that require limited restoration and intervention, applying persuasive policies through creating and employing proper and needful management institutions.

2-17-2: Necessity of intervention in areas with damaged structures, emphasizing the strengthening and organizing of local organizations to consult pertaining to probable methods while creating valid management and establishing these interventions with a residential and local identity conservation and constancy approach.

2-17-3: Preparing particular plans for a united development of neighborhoods and damaged areas of the city (approved by the Architecture and Urban Planning Council of Iran) with an efficient economical approach and obeying the ecological, social, and cultural rules, and in zero monetary balance for Tehrān's municipality, providing essential feasibility studies before preparing the intervention plan utilizing spare areas of urban renovation simultaneously with a united design pattern.

2-17-4: Applying persuasive policies to integrate and organize lands to improve and renovate damaged areas and monuments.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., p.10

2-17-5: Applying persuasive policies for improvement, with people's cooperation in the boundaries in need of strength through support, conservation, upkeep, looking after, strengthening, and restoration.

2-17-6: Restoring damaged structures in need of effective intervention, particularly supplying services and substructures equipped with investment and financial sources.⁶⁷⁵

- **Decentralization of the spatial structure of Tehrān**

5-1-2: Urban and suburban centers of Tehrān

- A. Commercial-entertainment urban center of Tağriš
- B. Media-art suburban centers (Media and others)
- C. Social-Cultural suburban center of Tehrān ('Abbās Ābād Hills)
- D. Innovative activities suburban center of Tehrān (north of Enqelāb Street)
- E. Historic-Commercial suburban centers of Tehrān (Bazaar and the Historic Tehrān area)
- F. Global economical centers of Tehrān (the area between Be'sat and Šuš, between the Railways square and Fadā'iyān-e Eslām)
- G. Historic-Religious urban centers (Rayy)
- H. Global connection center of Tehrān (Milad Tower).⁶⁷⁶ (Image 6-10)

- **City zoning structure**

Tehrān zoning structure' is the main leading and controlling document of structural revolutions and supervising constructions in Tehrān to prevent unnecessary and inappropriate interference in functionalities and promoting quality and efficiency in urban environment. The land utilization in Tehrān is based on specific rules as mentioned below, according to tables and attached maps of four different extended areas of "habitation", "activity", "complex", and "conservation" (green and open):

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., p.11

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., p.16

5-3-1: The “Habitation area” is the urban area in which the dominant function is residence, and except for the purely residential parts, includes a road network and supportive service networks. To provide safety and security in this area, an extensive range of activities should be prohibited or conditioned and only the commercial activities and seven services in the local and zonal scale regarding the basic needs of residents, are permitted.

5-3-2: The “Activity area” is the urban area in which the dominant function is work and activity, habitation is limited and depending on the work’s and activity’s general order.

5-3-3: The “Complex area” is the urban area that has emerged and organized from the continuous growth of the work and activity area in residential areas, or includes areas capable of a multipurpose of work, activity, habitation, etc.

5-3-4: “Conservation area” is the urban area that consists of public and private green and open spaces, wild parks, gardens, agricultural lands, boundaries, and conserved borders in the urban range which considering its role and importance in promoting the environment and appearance quality of Tehrān, it is conserved and equipped and construction is very limited or even prohibited regarding the rules, and it is mostly used to expand tourism and entertainment and bring atmosphere to the urban environment.⁶⁷⁷ (Image 6-11)

▪ **Separation and integration of the parts**

6-4-1: Separating estates and lands in all the urban areas less than 1000 m² is forbidden, regarding revised sites (with residential use) and less than 2000 m² (with other use). However, in case of a separation request for the lands and properties more than the mentioned limits, the area acquired from separation must not be less than 500 m² in residential functionalities and 1000 m² in other ones.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., pp.18-19

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p.23

- **Conserving the historic heritage of the city**

6-7-1: Conserving historic, cultural, and contemporary monuments of Tehrān, including conserving all registered monuments and the ones that will be registered in the future and respecting the limitations of the registered complex, and any encroachment on the mentioned monuments is forbidden.

Note: (12) Alteration of registered monuments' use to the public is permissible regarding the agreement and rules of the Cultural and Tourism Heritage Organization.

Note: (13) To conserve architectural works in Tehrān and some residents' memories, any interference in the about 2300 residential valuable houses will be done by a coordination of the Tehrān municipality and the Cultural and Tourism Heritage.

Note: (14) Rules relevant to monuments to be recognized in the future include all registered buildings, areas, and residential structures as national works of art.

6-7-2: Construction rules (restoration, renovation, improvement, and rebuilding) in all the monuments and historic and cultural areas by the Cultural Heritage Organization, including plates located in valuable historic residential sub-areas (R221), regarding the approved rules by the Cultural Heritage and relevant to other parts located in the mentioned area, are to keep to the rules issued in the attached table No. 2 of this document and the comparative plan of the commission article (5) of Tehrān.

6-7-3: Changing the facade of valuable historic monuments is prohibited, and every action regarding securing these monuments and changing their internal parts can only be done with permission of the Cultural and Tourism Heritage Organization.

6-7-4: Conserving every element and part of the natural-historic and cultural heritage of Tehrān, including ancient areas, historic structure and complexes, the natural-historic axis, old gardens and Qanāts and springs is a necessity.

Note: (15) Releasing recognized ancient areas and to be recognized areas for excavation and conservation is essential.

Note: (16) Any construction adjacent to or in the buffer zone of registered monuments that acquires a permit of the Cultural and Tourism Heritage Organization is allowed.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., p.26

6.1.5 A Review of Tehrān's Comprehensive Plan

A brief study of the above mentioned items clarifies that designers have paid particular attention to certain goals. The most important items are preventing improper expansion of Tehrān, considering the development of green spaces and entertainment resorts, attending the conservation of cultural heritage of the city, and reducing the air, visual, and sound pollutants.

There are two targets considered simultaneously regarding the prevention of an improper expansion of Tehrān, with the plan of a green space around the city. Among other plans, conserving the gardens and agricultural land on Tehrān's outskirts and considering the ecosystems are noteworthy. In regards to developing entertainment spaces in this plan, allocating particular areas to tourism and developing service and cultural spaces in damaged structures have also been. For the conservation of the cultural and natural heritage of Tehrān, various methods are presented. Among them, improving and restoring damaged structures, the continuous renovation and conservation of the cultural and natural heritage, establishing historic-religious (Rayy) and historic-commercial (Bazaar and Tehrān's boundaries in the Naseri era) urban centers, the conservation and organization of mountains and rivers, and the conservation and renovation of historic cemeteries can be mentioned.

Different methods of decreasing sound, visual and air pollutants are suggested in the comprehensive plan. Among them are a gradual replacement of big and pollutant industries with small and clean ones, increasing the system of walking and cycling, particularly in the historic area, deploying persuasive policies to concentrate small residential lands, and transferring contaminating centers to the outskirts. Other positive factors in the plan are in general:

- Preventing construction in the city's exurbs
- Developing public places in southern areas of the city with hitherto limited facilities
- Developing special areas for pedestrians and cyclists. This is rarely seen in Tehrān.

- Organizing banks of rivers and watercourses
- Considering Rayy as one of the three historic cores of Tehrān
- Considering Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain as a main touristic sight
- Alter usage of abandoned lands, deserted warehouses, pollutant industries, etc. to entertainment, sports and cultural use
- Reconstruction of damaged areas
- Shielding identified archaeological areas for conservation and research
- Respecting the Cultural Heritage Organization's expertise about construction in the vicinity of historical sites.

To focus on the Rayy area, the plan should be modified for the specific demands of the cultural landscape:

- 1- Regarding transferring load carriage terminals and contaminating centers of industry to the outskirts, it should be considered that the Rayy of the Islamic era must be conserved as an ancient area in the southeast of the 20th zone, and any transferring of the aforementioned items should therefore be forbidden. As of now, the cement factory of Tehrān is active there and uses the slopes of the Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain to produce cement.
- 2- In regards to conserving waters, rivers and dry waters, not enough attention has been paid to conserving and revitalizing Tehrān's Qanāts, although it has been mentioned in the Historic Heritage of the City section.
- 3- In Tehrān's city structure, where Rayy has been appointed as a "historic-religious center", only the central core of the city around the Šah 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine was focused. The historic wall of the city and its surrounding is not part of the plan.
- 4- In the city zoning section, the southeast of the Bazaar and the Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim shrine, in which the historic area is located, is considered as "commercial-administrative and service axis and developments" and not the historic residential area, while this section is marked as a "historic-religious" center on the city's spatial structure map.

- 5- There is a highway passing through the historic area and a top main axis passing over cemeteries and the historic wall of Rayy. (Image 6-12)
- 6- The historic area close to Šāh 'Abd al-'Azīm's shrine is presented as a "damaged area" and not as a "historic area" in the plan. Since there are two entirely distinct ways on how to deal with damaged versus historic areas, the major destruction probability of the site escalates. "Supporting the renovation" in the area or "Applying incentive policies to aggregate the land" are both to be noted here, to present destructive factors for historic urban fabric.
- 7- In the plan, the connection between Rayy and the two other historic cores is not included. This ignorance concerning the issue leads to a loss of concept for these three historic cores.
- 8- A lack of attention to the spatial structure of historic cities of Iran and respect for hierarchy in roads and streets of historic areas are considered as other flaws of the plan. (see Chapter 3). This leads to a disintegration of the neighborhoods in these areas.

Overview

The comprehensive plan of Tehrān is considerable and efficient in many aspects. The plan could be utilized as fundamental plan to organize and remedy the issues in Tehrān. Considering environment, health, cultural heritage, and tourism, it is revealed that the planners view "modernism" and "improvement" in a wider and more positive light: unlike former plans, constructing highways, factories and cement houses is not their only intention. However, there are still a number of flaws in the recent plan. The primary flaw is a lack of attention to the connection between various issues and instead presenting singular solutions. This leads to the plan turning against itself and thereby obstructs it from reaching its goal.

6.2 Conservation Strategy for the Cultural Landscape of Rayy

Appointing conserving strategies for this cultural landscape, it is essential to direct the methods. This includes:

6.2.1 Preservation of Constructive Elements of Cultural Landscape Layers

The aim of Preservation is to safeguard the quality and values of the resource, protect its material substance and ensure its integrity for future generations.⁶⁸⁰ The methods are supposed to achieve the following aims: Assist recognition of the heritage in the society; prevent its further destruction; eliminate the damage and restore it if possible.

Preservation of the Natural Layer

- Preventing mountain demolition
- Preventing contamination of water sources and their efficient consumption
- Protection and enriching of native plant species
- Protection and resettlement of native animal species of the region
- Preventing soil erosion
- Preventing air pollution

Preservation of the Intangible Cultural Layer

- Persuasive policy of developing handicraft
- Persuasive policy of developing agriculture in the region
- Persuasive policy of cultural tourism
- Policy of identifying the city, by introducing great men, historic events and unique specifications of the city to the citizens

Preservation of the Tangible layer

- Preservation historic areas

⁶⁸⁰ Bernard M. Feilden, Jukka Jukilehto: *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, ICCROM, Rome-1998, p.14

- Preservation historic monuments
- Preservation historic cemeteries and using their space
- Reconstruction and sustainable preservation of the remaining Qanāts

6.2.2 Considering Various Landscape Layers and their Relationship

What must be considered in regards to cultural landscapes are their different layers, their relation and their effect on each other. The formation of religious myths in the Bibi Šahrbānu mountain slopes and its transformation into a holy shrine can be mentioned as an example; or the relation of the hunting-ground zone in Rayy, after the Safavid era until the end of the Qajar era, with various animal species can be considered.⁶⁸¹ A list of the relations can be mentioned, summarizing the basic relations with regard to the sustainable cultural heritage preservation. These relations are not limited to the list, and neither should a sufficient list be set in stone, but be flexible for future amendments.⁶⁸²

The relation between natural and intangible cultural layers

- The relation between the Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain and religious myths
- The relation between the Soren River (Češme 'Ali) and ancient myths and legends
- The relation between the plant and animal species of Rayy and hiking and hunting during history
- The location and geographical specification of Rayy in Iran with merchandise trade

The relation between natural and tangible cultural layers

- The relation between Rayy topography and the traditional water supplies
- The relation between the region and the appearance of the historic monuments

⁶⁸¹ For more information on the quality of each of these elements, refer to the mentioned section in Chapter 4.

⁶⁸² See Hansjörg Küster: „Attraktionen eines Agrarlandes“, in: *Spurensuche in Niedersachsen*, ed. Christian Wiegand, Hannover (2005), p. 25

- The relation between the Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain and the historic cemeteries on the slopes
- The relation between water and the formation of ancient societies in Rayy
- The relation between the soil and mines of Rayy with handicraft
- The relation between the old gardens in Rayy and the water sources

The relation between tangible and intangible cultural layers

- The relation between religious shrines and the urban development around them
- The relation between the space structure of the Bazaar and handicrafts
- The relation between burial types before and in the Islamic period and mausoleum architecture
- The relation between historic gardens in Rayy and tourism
- The relation between pilgrimage culture and the architecture of the holy shrines
- The relation between safety and commerce and the rampart and fortresses of Rayy
- The relation between residency type and the historic area
- The relation between epigraphs and water and tourism in Rayy

6.2.3 Considering the Authenticity of the Surrounding Environment

According to the Nara document on authenticity:

“The understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories.”⁶⁸³

Feilden writes, that considering this authenticity includes:

- Considering the values of the landscape and townscape
- Considering the relation between the environment and historic monuments ⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸³ “The Nara Document on Authenticity”, in: *UNESCO*, www.whc.unesco.org/document/9379 (20.8.2014)

⁶⁸⁴ Feilden; Jukilehto: *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p.73

6.3 Methods and Recommended Designs for the Preservation of Rayy Cultural Landscape

6.3.1 Preservation Methods for the Natural Layer

The Preservation and improvement and development of the environment and the prevention of every contamination and destructive action causing disorder in the environment are the goal of this part.⁶⁸⁵

Mountains

The main mountains and hills of Rayy and its suburbs include Bibi Šahrbānu, Ṭabarak, Kuhak, Tappe Mil (Mil Hill), and Sorsore (Slide) mountain. All mentioned are considered as archeological sites and connected with Rayy history and its myth. Therefore, their buffer zone is the same as the archeological sites' buffer zone. Preservation method for Rayy mountains are as follows:

- Prevention of any unpermitted construction in the mountain's buffer zone
- Prevention of mining and utilizing mineral sources of the mountain
- Prevention of road making in the mountain's buffer zone
- Proper stabilization of the soil
- Consideration of and for the richness of the plant and animal species
- Organization of a plan for clean tourism in the mountains and preparation of adequate tourism facilities
- Installation of guidelines to present the mountains and their historic and mythical value

⁶⁸⁵ The law of conservation and improvement of the environment: "Qānun-e Ḥefāzat va Behsāzi-ye Moḥiṭ-e Zist", in: *Edāre-ye Moḥiṭ-e Zist-e Hamedān*. [http://www.hamedan-doe.ir/persian/doc/zist-hmd\(8\).pdf](http://www.hamedan-doe.ir/persian/doc/zist-hmd(8).pdf) (26/5/2013)

Rivers

The two existing rivers in Rayy are Hoseyn Ābād, which is called “Gilāni River” in historic texts, and the other is Češme ‘Ali, known as “Soren River”, or “Rude River” after Islamisation.⁶⁸⁶ Preservation method for Rayy rivers are as follows:

- Specification of a buffer zone in the riversides and prohibition of constructions there
- Revitalization of land in the riversides
- Improvement and conservation of the river environment
- Prevention of the destruction of vegetation in the riversides
- Revitalization of the plant and animal species in the river
- Prevention of river bank erosion
- Preparation of entertaining facilities in the rivers and their banks
- Prevention of a transfer of contaminated water to the rivers
- Introduction of the historic and mythical features of Rayy rivers with plans, images, exhibitions, etc.

Soil

Some of the methods are identical to the ones mentioned in the mountains section. Other methods of preserving the soil of the zone are as follows:

- Prevention of erosion and stabilization of the soil with engineering methods
 - Non-mechanical conservation (such as utilizing proper vegetation)
 - Mechanical conservation (such as utilizing traces, etc., in case of emergency)
- Prevention of contaminating elements becoming part of the soil
- Consideration of visual features of the landscape and elimination of intruding elements, such as asphalt roads and buildings deemed not valuable, inside the landscape buffer zone
- Prevention of the accumulation of litter

⁶⁸⁶ See section “4.1.2 Natural Resources of Water in Rayy” in this thesis

- Utilization of the mineral soil of the area to revitalize the handicraft, such as clay making

Plant and Animal Species

As it was mentioned in the related section, there are various plant species in Rayy of which some are unique. Preserving methods for Rayy's plant species are as follows:

- Preparation of a comprehensive inventory of the plant species in Rayy
- Establishment of a Botanical Garden, also called plant science(s) or plant biology
- Planting and revitalizing local plant species in a developed way
- Introducing and selling local plant species for medical purposes

What is left of the animal species in Rayy is a small part of local species of this area. As it was mentioned earlier, the human intrusion to these animals' territory, the air pollution, the unlimited hunting of them in the past decades, etc., caused their extinction, decimation or migration. Therefore, establishing a nature reserve is the first action for conserving and revitalizing the animal species of Rayy. Preserving methods for Rayy's animal species are as follows:

- Preparation of a comprehensive list (Red List) of existing and extinct animal species
- Prohibition of unlimited fishing in Češme 'Ali and hunting of the species
- Utilization of the green space around Tehrān to establish a preserved zone
- Conducting scientific studies and a survey plan
- Increasing existing species and revitalizing some of the extinct species
- Utilization of various electronic methods and systems to control and conserve species
- Creation of a wildlife park in the green space around Rayy to introduce various animal species to people

Preventing air pollution

The presence of dust and fumes, automobiles, and factories are the principal factors of air pollution not only in Rayy, but in most of modern cities in non-developed countries.

Techniques to improve the air cleanliness are as follows:

- Replacing personal cars with public transportation in high-traffic areas.
- Preventing cars from entering the city centers
- Transferring pollutants-producing industries to the outer areas of the cultural landscape district
- Devising particular cycling paths inside the city
- Devising green spaces in the margin of cultural landscape to reduce the amount of dust in the city

6.3.2 Conservation Methods in a Tangible Layer

To be more coherent in the conserving methods, this layer will be divided into several groups in general: archeological areas, residential structure, historic gardens, historic monuments, historic routes, traditional water supplies. It is a necessity to use a buffer zone in all these groups, as described by Feilden:

“Buffer zones of sufficient size should be established in order to protect the landscape or historic town context from intrusive elements that diminish cultural values. Planning at local and regional level should take into account the *genius loci* and the enhanced status of a World Heritage site, and ensure that negative threats of all types are prevented or strictly controlled.”⁶⁸⁷

The definition of the buffer zone distance from these monuments (buildings, etc) depends on how they are located in their land environment and ground geomorphologic condition that would connect inhabited complexes to their surroundings. Items like

⁶⁸⁷ Feilden; Jukilehto: *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p.74

Distance, Visual cone, Remaining height and Quality of articles and materials must be considered in determining boundaries.⁶⁸⁸

Archeological areas

According to the ICOMOS definition Archaeological Heritage is

“that part of the material heritage in respect of which archaeological methods provide primary information. It comprises all vestiges of human existence and consists of places relating to all manifestations of human activity, abandoned structures, and remains of all kinds (including subterranean and underwater sites), together with all the portable cultural material associated with them.”⁶⁸⁹

These areas are places in which either archeological excavations have been done and their value has been cleared, or which have just been identified and no excavation has been done there. In any case, conserving these areas either as documents of civilization or as the areas to be excavated is essential. Additionally, land usage has to be controlled and altered in complementary policies to protect the archeological heritage.⁶⁹⁰

Looking at Rayy these areas are at first the Monuments in Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain and Češme 'Ali area and the Relief. Next the lower cemetery area, fortesses and defense systems have to be stressed. Points of interest are Kāsni Fortress, Gabri Fortress, Raškān Castle and the Ancient Wall of Rayy. An especial group of archeological objects are the Monuments in Ṭabarak Mountain and the fire temple on Mil Hill. Čāl Tarḥān area and the ancient area of Rayy from the Islamic period are noteworthy to better and severe protection.

Possible approaches in archeological areas:

⁶⁸⁸ See Moḥammad Maṣṣūr Falāmaki: *Harimgozāri Bar Servatha-ye Farhangi-ye Irān*, Mo'ssese-ye 'Elmi va Farhanhi-ye Fazā, Tehrān-1384š/2005, pp.88-89

⁶⁸⁹ “Charter For The Protection And Management Of The Archaeological Heritage (1990)”, in: *ICOMOS*. <http://www.icomos.org/icaahm/documents/charter.html> (Date:17.5.2013)

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

- Prevention of any activity inside the buffer zone without permission by the Cultural Heritage Organization
- Elimination of the constructed buildings inside the buffer zone
- Conservation of the agricultural landscape in some spots to prevent further destruction of the site
- Conservation of the natural landscapes
- Establishment of green spaces in some areas to prevent destruction of the site and to serve tourists
- Settlement of facilities and convenience for tourism (such as furniture, parking lot, restaurants, cafés, etc.)
- Establishment of hiking trails and cycling paths in proper places
- Introduction of the area to visitors
- Construction of an archeology museum in suitable places (See: Image 6-13)

	Prevention of any activity inside the Buffer zone	Elimination of the constructed buildings inside the Buffer zone	Conservation of the agricultural landscape	Conservation of the natural landscapes	Establishment of green spaces	Settlement of facilities and convenience for tourism	Establishment of hiking trails and cycling paths	Introduction of the area to visitors	Construction of an archeology museum
Monuments in Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain				*		*		*	
Češme 'Ali	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
The lower cemetery area	*		*	*			*	*	
Kāsni Fortress	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	
Gabri Fortress	*	*		*		*	*	*	*
Raškān Castle	*		*	*		*	*	*	
The ancient wall of Rayy	*	*		*		*	*	*	
Monuments in Ṭabarak Mountain	*	*		*		*	*	*	
The fire temple	*			*		*	*	*	
Čāl Tarḥān area	*	*		*		*	*	*	*
The ancient area of Rayy from the Islamic period	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	

Image 6-13: Executive Approaches Table of the Archeological Zones in Rayy

Residential Area

The remaining historic area in Rayy is the same historic area of the Šāh 'Abd al-'Azīm village in the Qajar era. As it was stated earlier, the historic area of Rayy in the Islamic period, now located outside the present boundary, is placed in the southeast of Ṭabarak Mountain, which is marked as farming or arid land on the map and has to be examined archeologically before other use and the findings should be saved for future. The other part is completely constructed (in the north and northeast of the Šāh 'Abd al-'Azīm holy shrine) and nothing is left of the historic buildings. The remaining part is going to be ruined dramatically as are large parts of it already.⁶⁹¹

According to ICOMOS, "the conservation of historic towns and urban areas" is proposed as those steps "necessary for the protection, conservation and restoration of such towns and areas as well as their development and harmonious adaptation to contemporary life"⁶⁹²

In this charter, the one specification to be conserved in these areas is them being historic: Urban patterns as defined by lots and streets; Relationships between buildings and green and open spaces; The formal appearance, interior and exterior, of buildings as defined by scale, size, style, construction, materials, colour and decoration; The relationship between the town or urban area and its surrounding setting, both natural and man-made; and The various functions that the town or urban area has acquired over time.⁶⁹³

Approaches in historic areas:⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹¹ See Section '3.6 Historic Replacement of Rayy's Location' in this thesis

⁶⁹² "Charter For The Conservation Of Historic Towns And Urban Areas (1987)" in: *ICOMOS*.

http://www.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf (Date:20.5.2013)

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ Moḥammad Ġavād Dastmālčyān: "Bāfthā-ye Tāriḫi-ye Šahremān rā Ḥefz Konim", in: *Maḡmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.4, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996 ; Moḥammad Ḥoseyn Ġahānšāhi: „Taḥlil-e Bāfthā-ye Farsude va Moškelsāz-e Šahri va Rāhbordhā-ye Ān“, in: *Ġostārhā-ye Šahrsāzi* 5 (1382š/2003)

- Consideration of the spatial structure of historic areas (Bazaar, cultural and religious centers, service centers, residential sections) and their internal evaluation
- Improvement of the access hierarchy and vehicles' and pedestrians' access methods
- Limit the riders' movement to special paths, prioritizing the pedestrians• Organization of the appearance of the city, keeping the unity and improving the facades and the streets' body
- Improvement of streets
- Improvement of urban infrastructure (such as bus stations, lanterns, etc.)
- Improvement of the surface water vacuum system
- Establishment of new green spaces in particular zones of the residential areas
- Growing of plants to cover unpleasant sceneries
- Keep and maintain the existing trees
- Revitalization and development of traditional constructive materials and techniques
- Revitalization and activation of old buildings in today's life
- Establishment of cultural centers in the historic areas
- Holding of seminars and lectures and improving the idea of proper behavior with the areas and the old culture among the people

Historic Gardens

According to ICOMOS, a historic garden is “an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public from the historical or artistic point of view. As such, it is to be considered as a monument.”⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁵ “Historic Gardens (The Florence Charter 1981)”, in: *ICOMOS*.

http://www.icomos.org/charters/gardens_e.pdf (Date:20/5/2013)

Ṭoġroliye and Doulat Ābād gardens are the remains of the historic, restorable, gardens in Rayy.⁶⁹⁶ What remained from other gardens is just the name. Mostly new buildings have been constructed in their places.

Restoration and preservation methods for Rayy historic gardens:⁶⁹⁷

- Creation of a survey about gardens and finding their original plans and different parts
- Studying various plant species, their distance and their height
- Consideration of the spatial relation of a garden and its inner building
- Consideration of static and current waters in the gardens and the sky's reflection on them
- Revitalization of the historic walls of the garden, considering both its remains and the present aerial photographs
- Proper floor covering for better access to different parts of the gardens
- Providing consumers with proper facilities (such as public bathrooms, traffic signs, etc.)
- Introducing the gardens and their historic value in a variety of ways to the visitors

Historic Monuments

The historic monuments of Rayy are located in different places in an either scattered or concentrated way. To present a couple of options for conserving these buildings, they can be divided into the categories of historic buildings located in archeological areas, in historic area, and in non-historic area (scattered buildings). To restore the buildings with regard to each category, its special condition must be considered, because they are different due to the following reasons:

1. Differently defined buffer zone
2. Homogeneity or heterogeneity of the shape, solid, and use between the effect and its surrounding area

⁶⁹⁶ See "4.3.4 Qajar Gardens in Rayy" in this thesis.

⁶⁹⁷ Items in this section are written considering the Historic Gardens charter of ICOMOS (Florence- 1981).

Conservation methods for historic buildings:

- Historic buildings located in archeological areas
 - The buffer zone of these buildings depends on its area's buffer zone
 - Ruins must be conserved and the necessary actions must be done to conserve and keep up the architecture's constructions and the discovered objects permanently⁶⁹⁸
 - For each building, a proper restoration plan must be prepared and implemented
 - These buildings may be introduced to the visitors in various ways (plans and maps, 3D plans, models, films, etc.)
- Historic buildings located in historic areas
 - The buffer zone of these buildings depends on the buffer zone of the historic areas
 - To protect these buildings, a restoration plan and their owners' cooperation is essential⁶⁹⁹
 - If possible, keeping the use or defining a new use is essential for these buildings,
- Historic buildings located in non-historic areas (scattered buildings)
 - The physical and visual buffer zone of these buildings must be specified
 - To protect these buildings, a restoration plan along with their owners' cooperation is essential
 - If possible, preserving its use or defining a new one is essential for these buildings
 - These buildings may be introduced to the visitors in various ways (plans and maps, 3D plans, models, films, etc.)

⁶⁹⁸ Article 15 of the "International Charter For The Conservation and Restoration of Monuments And Sites (1964)" in: *ICOMOS*.

<http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/hommedecin.pdf> (Date:22.5.2013)

⁶⁹⁹ Article 3 of the "Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (1987)" in: *ICOMOS*.
http://www.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf (Date:20.5.2013)

Historic routes⁷⁰⁰

Except for sideways, the historic routes of Rayy are divided into five general categories today:

- The historic routes of Rayy to Tehrān in the Qajar era, which are now local access roads
- The railroads' route of Rayy to Tehrān, which has changed to local access roads
- The historic road of Rayy to Qom, of which the parts closer to Rayy have been destroyed completely
- The historic road of Rayy to Varāmin which has been changed into a highway. The Fire Temple and Čāl Tarḥān path passes this axis
- The historic road of Rayy to Čāl Tarḥān which has been destroyed near the farming lands and industrial centers

Conserving methods of historic routes:

- Archeological excavations to recover the ruined historic routes and limiting them
- Active enlarging and presenting of present historic elements
- Placement of markers and traffic signs to introduce the historic routes in short intervals
- Paving the parts of the routes where the historic objects are located
- Establishment of cycling lanes on the way, with tourism service centers from Rayy to the Sassanid Fire Temple routes in Tappe Mil (Mil Hill) and the remains of the Sassanid palace in Čāl Tarḥān

⁷⁰⁰ See "4.3.5 Historic Roads of Rayy" in this thesis

Traditional Water Supply ⁷⁰¹

The remains of some reservoirs and Qanāts still exist in Rayy. Identifying and organizing a plan to conserve the Qanāts and adopting particular policies to restore and properly use reservoirs is of high importance. Some methods for preserving traditional water supplies:

- Specification of a Buffer zone for reservoirs' and Qanāts' routes
- Constant dredging and periodical repairs of Qanāts with water
- Introduction of the Qanāt system through establishing a museum in a dry Qanāt
- Restoration of reservoirs and creating new uses for them (museum, exhibition, national library, etc.)

6.3.3 Safeguarding Methods of the Intangible Cultural Layer

Preserving or revitalizing the intangible cultural layer is the most cumbersome, because this layer is basically not tangible and only its effects can be comprehended. The intangible cultural elements of Rayy that are mentioned here include handicraft (ironing, pottery, glass art, texturing, carpet weaving, making wooden objects, etc.), commerce, animal and agricultural farming, religion, myth and famous people of Rayy. Although handicrafts, dairy and agricultural products are included in the tangible cultural heritage, they are included in this category as well, because their production methods are of interest here. The methods for each part are as follows:

Handicraft methods of production

Handcrafts of Rayy include metalworking, pottery, glass-blowing, textile-weaving, carpet-weaving, and wooden arts. The mentioned handcrafts are in some instances completely destroyed and in others some remains of them were found in a few villages. The following actions could be useful to revive or reinforce the mentioned cultural remains.

⁷⁰¹ See Subterranean Canals of Rayy (Qanāt) and Ābanbār in section “4.3.2 Various Kinds of Buildings in Rayy” in this thesis.

- Establishing handicraft courses in Rayy's University
- Establishing various handicraft workshops in the historic area of the city and training workers
- Free training courses for the villagers of the suburbs
- Providing more handicraft selling grounds such as holding periodical exhibitions, rural festivals, etc.
- Organizing short-term training courses for volunteers
- Establishing a handicraft museum

Commerce

- Establishing trading centers, medical herbs, and animal and farming products individually in different parts of the city
- Holding periodical bazaars in nearby villages

Animal and Agricultural methods of production

- Flourishing scientific agriculture among villagers
- Convincing farmers to produce various products
- Establishing veterinary centers for villagers
- Establishing a dairy and agricultural processing industry

Religion

Possessing several holy shrines, Rayy is a Shiites center in Iran and many pilgrims visit it every week. However, considering its religious variety in the past, and other religion's effects (such as the fire temples and Zoroastrian crypts), this city can be transformed into a center of religious exchange and variety. Recommended actions to achieve this goal are listed below:

- Establishing various religious studies courses in Rayy's University
- Establishing centers for interfaith dialogue
- Organizing speeches and seminars

Literature and Scholarly Works from Rayy

Introducing the famous literature and scholarly works and the important people of Rayy is a great help to promote Rayy's identity as a part of Tehrān to its real level. Proper actions to achieve this goal are listed below:

- Organizing talks, festivals, seminars to promote an appreciation of these people and their actions
- Naming streets after famous people
- Erecting statues of famous people in different locations
- Introducing these people and their works on suitable notice boards on tourist routes

The Myths Connected to Rayy

The myths belonging to Rayy represent a fascinating part of its intangible heritage. The three following methods are recommended to safeguarding them:

- Establishing mythologic studies courses in Rayy's University
- Installing notice boards in proper places to explain the myths and their connection to other elements of the cultural landscape
- Creating short animation films regarding the myths of Rayy and displaying them in the museum of Rayy

6.4 Prioritizing the Conservation of Constructive Elements of the Cultural Landscape in Rayy

The first thing to be done, with regard to conserving the aspects which constitute the cultural landscape, is to designate a priority list, from a conservation and restoration point of view. Obviously, priorities will vary completely depending on the individual viewpoint. To prioritize the conservation of the very heritage it is necessary to put elements in jeopardy in three levels: high/medium/low danger. Then, to row elements' recognition value for Rayy in three levels: highly crucial/important/of little importance.

The very first factor has the most influence on prioritizing in a conservationist's viewpoint, meaning that even if an element is considered crucial in recognition of the city, though not in danger, it has less priority compared to that of an element that is not considered important, but is in danger of being destroyed. In other words, the second factor is solely utilized to compare two elements in an equal amount of danger. Each factor includes three levels and there is an individual level in every factor of an element. Image 6-15 indicates the name of a constructive element of the cultural landscape, accompanied by its level of being in jeopardy and its recognition value for Rayy. According to this, three tables of constructive elements of the cultural landscape may be drawn, based on the level of being in jeopardy. (Images 6-15 to 6-18)

Elements to Form a Cultural Landscape	Amount of Risk			Recognition Rate for Rayy		
	High	Average	Low	High	Average	Low
Monuments in Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain	*			*		
Češme 'Ali	*			*		
The Lower Cemetery Area	*			*		
Kāsni Fortress	*				*	
Gabri Fortress	*			*		
Raškān Castle	*			*		
The Ancient Wall of Rayy	*			*		
Monuments in Ṭabarak Mountain		*		*		
The Fire Temple		*		*		
Čāl Tarḥān Area		*			*	
The Ancient Area of Rayy from the Islamic Period	*			*		
Residential Area	*			*		
Ṭoġroliye Garden			*	*		
Doulat Ābād Garden	*			*		
Malek al-Toġġār Garden	*			*		
Historic Buildings Located in Archeological Areas	*			*		
Historic Buildings Located in Historic Area	*			*		
Historic Buildings Located in Non-Historic Area (Scattered Buildings)	*					*
The Historic Route, Which Now Are Local Access Roads			*	*		
The Railroads' Route			*		*	
The Historic Road of Rayy to Any Cities		*			*	
Qanāts	*			*		
Reservoirs	*			*		
Mountains		*		*		
Rivers	*			*		
Soil		*				*
Plant and Animal Species	*				*	
Air	*					*
Handicraft			*			*
Commerce			*			*
Animal and Agricultural Products			*			*
Talks Among Religions			*			*
Introducing the Famous and Important Literature And Scholarly Works			*	*		
Myths		*		*		

Image 6-15: Table of constructive elements of the cultural landscape of Rayy, their level of being in jeopardy and their recognition value for the city

Elements Highly at Risk	Recognition Rate for Rayy		
	High	Average	Low
Monuments in Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain	*		
Češme 'Ali	*		
The Lower Cemetery Area	*		
Reservoirs	*		
Gabri Fortress	*		
Raškān Castle	*		
The Ancient Wall of Rayy	*		
The Ancient Area of Rayy from the Islamic Period	*		
Residential Area	*		
Doulat Ābād Garden	*		
Malek al-Toġġār Garden	*		
Historic Buildings Located in Archeological Areas	*		
Historic Buildings Located in Historic Area	*		
Rivers	*		
Qanāts	*		
Kāsni Fortress		*	
Plant and Animal Species		*	
Air			*
Historic Buildings Located in Non-Historic Area (Scattered Buildings)			*

Image 6-16: Table of constructive elements of the cultural landscape of Rayy that are in high jeopardy and their recognition value for the city

Elements Averagely at Risk	Recognition Rate for Rayy		
	High	Average	Low
Monuments in Ṭabarak Mountain	*		
The Fire Temple	*		
Mountains	*		
Myths	*		
The Historic Road of Rayy to Any Cities		*	
Čāl Tarḥān Area		*	
Soil			*

Image 6-17: Table of constructive elements of the cultural landscape of Rayy that are in medium jeopardy and their recognition value for the city

Elements Lowly at Risk	Recognition Rate for Rayy		
	High	Average	Low
Ṭoġroliye Garden	*		
The Historic Ways, Which Now Are Local Access Roads	*		
Introducing the Famous and Important Literature And Scholarly Works	*		
The Railroads' Route		*	
Commerce			*
Animal and Agricultural Products			*
Talks Among Religions			*
Handicraft			*

Image 6-18: Table of constructive elements of the cultural landscape of Rayy that are in low jeopardy and their recognition value for the city

Overview

As it is presented, archeological sites and the buildings connected to them form the predominant part of the “constructive elements of cultural landscape of Rayy in high jeopardy” that are considered the first priority for the conservation of the cultural landscape of Rayy. Amongst the most principal sites, the historic ramparts of the city and the Islamic part of Rayy in the southeast, being culturally untouched, could be indicated. Furthermore, the urban fabric of the shrine in “Šāh ‘Abd al-‘Aẓīm town” is in jeopardy and has to be conserved soon. Further are Monuments in Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain, Češme ‘Ali, the Lower Cemetery Area, reservoirs, Gabri Fortress, Raškān Castle, Doulat Ābād Garden, Malek al-Toğğār Garden, historic buildings located in archeological and historic area, rivers and qanāts. Final priorities, due to not being acutely in danger, are registered monuments, protected by the cultural heritage organization, and the heritage destroyed earlier, like handcrafts or Toğroliye Garden, which need to be revived as Rayy’s recognition values. Thus the first immediate step to be taken to prevent further damage to historical monuments is to register them as cultural heritage which have not been yet listed as such. The next step is to identify the damage to the constructive elements of Rayy’s cultural landscape. Afterwards a restoration plan should be made for each individual element. It is essential to improve Teheran comprehensive plan in such a way that it takes into account Rayy’s cultural landscape, its potentials as well as its problems. (See Image 6-19)

The next important step is an archaeological investigation in the south-east of current Rayy in order to identify the walls as well as the boundaries of the medieval Rayy which have been already studied in this thesis based on the sources of old geographers. Moreover no building projects should be allowed unless the whole site is thoroughly investigated.

Restoration of historic urban areas of Rayy and its Bazaar is one of the most significant actions for preserving the historic identity of this city. Setting up a museum for protecting and presenting discovered objects of Rayy as well as establishing a professional archive for those documents which could help the researchers towards better

understanding of Rayy can be regarded as crucial actions. All the above-mentioned measures would result not only in preserving the constructive elements of Rayy's cultural landscape but also helping to improve the living conditions.

Final Comments

The ancient city of Rayy, for long considered a human residence, has always been particularly important due to its geographic and strategic location. It was destroyed many times, though it has always been rebuilt by mankind after years or decades. Human habitation over millennia in this area has developed a “Cultural Landscape of Rayy” through interaction with nature, an alteration of environment to improve living conditions (e.g. creating qanāts under the ground for urban water supplying), to reflect human culture and traditions in respect to nature (e.g. building various temples or tombstones over centuries), and making sense of nature within their belief systems (myths of Bibi Šahrbānu or river Suren), etc..

In order to have a wider recognition of Rayy as a cultural landscape and its characteristics, its history and historical geography have been studied. For a more detailed examination, the constructive elements of the cultural landscape are divided into three general categories which can be located over one another like archaeological layers. These layers can be referred to as the natural elements layer, the tangible cultural layer and the intangible cultural layer. In order to examine these elements, previous studies have been utilized however for the elements for which no studies can be referred to, new researches have been done in this thesis, such as Qajar Gardens in Rayy, Historic Roads of Rayy, and the research on Qanāts in Rayy. But the cultural landscape is severely damaged and the values, which must be conserved, are getting infringed upon by urban modernism. In chapter 5 the historic and recent damages which affect Rayy and its cultural landscape have been studied separately and a relative table is presented at the end of the chapter. The table indicates that the considerable amount of damage in Rayy’s cultural landscape is due to the inappropriate rules and regulations in addition to the social and economic issues. Unplanned landscaping, highway-constructing, gas piping, and many more factors are all actions which are potentially detrimental to the cultural landscape, and need to be done according to a plan, under supervision of the Cultural Heritage Organization. Furthermore, the inappropriate

condition of this area of Tehrān has turned it into a poor neighborhood with expatriate (non-native) residents, who will relocate as soon as their finances permit them to.

In the final chapter first the current comprehensive plan is presented with its advantages and disadvantages. Afterwards a conservation strategy is proposed and the guidelines for preserving the cultural landscape of Rayy are offered. At the end of this chapter the prioritization for the conservation of the constructive elements is examined and these elements are categorized based on the following features: the extent and risk of damage and the value of each individual element in the recognition of Rayy. Accordingly a list of tables relative to such classification is also presented. Such prioritization is essential as a basis for Rayy's restoration negotiations according to which the ancient wall of Rayy, the residential area of Šāh 'Abd al-'Aẓim Village, monuments in Češme 'Alī and Bibi Šahrbānu Mountain, the Lower Cemetery Area, reservoirs, Gabri Fortress, Raškān Castle, Doulat Ābād Garden, Malek al-Toğğār Garden, historic buildings located in archeological and historic area, rivers and qanāts have the highest priority for the restoration of Rayy cultural landscape and if they get destroyed, a large part of Rayy's cultural landscape identity will be lost. It must be emphasized again:

An attempt to reintroduce Rayy as a cultural landscape is of great importance and needs to be done parallel to improving the living conditions in Rayy. To do so, it is necessary to recognize the underlying criteria of the cultural landscape, their connection and the quality of conserving them, as well as considering the environmental authenticity of a cultural landscape. Upon taking the recommended courses of action, the living capacity of the area as a cultural landscape will improve and increase the quality of life of its residents.

Bibliography

- Abudolaf, Mas'ar Ebn-e Mohalhal: *Safarnāmeḥ-ye Abudolaf dar Irān*, ed. by Vladimir Minorsky, Trans. by Abolfazl Ṭabāṭabā'i, Farhang-e Irānzamin, 1342š/1963
- Adle, Chahryar: "Construction Funéraires à Rey, Circa Xe-XIle Siècle", in: *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für iranischen Kunst und Archäologie*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979
- Adle, Chahryar: "Notes préliminaires sur la Tour disparue de Rey(466/1073-74)" in: *Memorial Volume of the VIth International Congress of Iranian Art & Archaeology*, ed. by Muhammad Yusuf Kiyani, Oxford, September 11-16th 1972, Tehran-1976
- Adle, Chahryar: "Notes sur les Première Et Seconde Campagnes Archéologiques à Ray", in: *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran*, ed. by François Vallat, Paris-1990
- Afrund, Qadir: *Gozāreš-e Pažuheši va Barresi va Šenāsā'i-e Āsār-e Bāstāni va Tāriḫi (Ḥouze-ye Rayy)*, Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Tehrān-1381š/2002 (Unpublished)
- Ambraseys, N.N.; C.P. Melville: *A History of Persian Earthquakes*, Cambridge University Press- 1982
- Arik, Rüchan: "Architectural Tiles from the Kubad-Abad Excavations", in: *Çanak. Late antique and medieval pottery and tiles in Mediterranean archaeological contexts*, Ed. by Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Ali Osman Uysal, Johanna Witte-Orr, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, Istanbul-2007
- Āyati, Abd al-Mohammad: *Tahrir-e Tāriḫ-e Vaṣṣāf*, 2. Edition, Mo'ssese-ye Moṭāle'āt va Taḥqiqāt-e Farhangi- 1372š/1993 (1. Edition: 1346š/1967)
- Balāzori, Aḥmad Ebn-e Yaḥyā al-: *Fotuh al-Boldān*, Brill, Leiden-1866
- Barthold, Wilhelm: "Tuman", in: *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, ed. by M. Th. Hautsma a.o., E. J. Brill, Leiden- 1987
- Barzin, Parvin: "Pārčeha-ye Qadim-e Irān", in: *Honar va Mardom* 59(1346š/1967)
- Bayāni, Malekzāde: "Pažuheši darbāre-ye Sekkehā-ye Bahrām VI (Čubine)", in: *Barresihā-ye Tāriḫi* 56 (1354š/1975)
- Bayāni, Malekzāde: "Zarrāb Ḥāneha-ye Pārti", in: *Barresihā-ye Tāriḫi*, 53 (1353š/1974)
- Bayāni, Širin: *Din va Doulat dar 'ahd-e Moḡol*, vol.2, Markaz-e Našr-e Dānešgāhi, Tehrān- 1371š/1992
- Benjamin, Samuel Green Wheeler: *Persia and the Persians*, Murray, London- 1887
- Blair, Sheilla S.: "[46]6/1073-74, tomb tower at Rayy", in: *The Monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Brill, Leiden-1992
- Blücher, Wipert von: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Keykāvus Ğāhāndāri, 2.Edition, Ḥārazmi- 1369š/1990 (1. Edition:1363š/1994) [Original Title: Zeitenwende in Iran]

- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund: *The Islamic dynasties. A chronological and genealogical handbook*, 2.Edition, Edinburgh- 1980 (1.Edition: 1967)
- Boyce, Mary: "Bibi Shahrbanu and the Lady of Pars", in: *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London vol.30, no.1, fiftieth Anniversary Volume, (1967): 30-44
- Brion, Marcel: *Tamerlan*, Albin Michel, Paris-1963
- Brugsch, Heinrich: *Safari be Darbār-e Soltān-e Šāheḡerān*, Trans. by Ḥosein Kordbače, Eṡṡelāāt- 1367š/1988 [Original Title: Reise der K. Preussischen Gesandtschaft nach Persien]
- Carlsson, Otto C.; Juliane Kirschbaum (Hrsg.): „Denkmalpflege und historische Kulturlandschaft“ in: *Denkmalschutz. Texte zum Denkmalschutz und zur Denkmalpflege*, Band 52, Deutsches National komitee für Denkmalschutz, Bohn-2007
- Chardin, Jean: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Eqbāl Yaḡmā'i, Tus, Tehran-1374š/1995 [Original Title: Voyages en Perse et aux Indes orientales]
- Chevalier, Nicole: "Hamedān 1913:Ma'muriati Farāmuš Šode", Trans. by Kāmyār 'Abdi, in: *Āsār 2* (1380š/2001) [Original Title:"Hamadan 1913: Une Missiaon Oubliée", in: *Iranica Antiqua*, vol.XXIV, Gent-1989]
- Claviju, Ruy Gonzáles de-: *Safarnāme-ye Claviju*, Trans. by Mas'ud Rajabniyā, 2.Edition, Šerkat-e Entesārāt-e 'Elmi va Farhangī, Tehrān-1366š/1987 (1.Edition:1344š/1965) [Original Title: *La embajada a Tamorlán*]
- Colombari, F. : *Images de Perse*, ed. by Lynne Thornton; Jean Saustiel, Paris-1981
- Corner, James: "The Hermeneutic landscape", in: *Theory in landscape Architecture*, ed. Simon Swaffield, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia-2002
- Daneshvari, Abbas: *Of Serpents and Dragon in Islamic Art*, Mazda, Costa Mesa-2011
- Dārā, Maryam: "Bibi Šahrbānu, Afsāneh ya Tāriḡ", in: *Ḥāfez*, 31(1385š/2006)
- Dastmālčyān, Moḡammad Ġavād: "Bāfthā-ye Tāriḡi-ye Šahremān rā Ḥefz Konim", in: *Maḡmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḡostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.4, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangī-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996
- Day, Florence E.: "Soieries persanes. By Gaston Wiet. Cairo. Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archoologie Orientale, 1947", in: *Ars Islamica*, ed. by Richard Ettinghausen, Vols. XV-XVI - 1951, P.231-244; and reply by F. E. Day, pp. 250-251
- Debevoise, Neilson Carel: *A Political History of Parthia*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London- 1969
- Dieulafoy, Jane: *Irān. Kaldeh va Šuš*, Trans. by 'Ali Moḡammad Farahvaši, 5. Edition, Danešgāh-e Tehrān- 1371š/1992 (1. Edition: Ḥayyām-1332/1953) [Original Title: La Perse. La Chaldée et la Susiane]

- Divān Beygi, Ḥoseyn: *Ḥāṭerāt-e Divān Beygi*, ed. by Irağ Afšār; Moḥammad Rasul Daryāgašt, Asāṭir, Tehrān- 1382š/2003
- Doulatābādi, Maḥmud: “Biābāni”, in: *Dāstān-e Kutāh-e Irān. 23 Dāstān as 23 Nevisande-ye Mo’āšer*, ed. by Moḥāmmad Bahārlu, Ṭarḥ-e No, Tehrān-1373/1994
- Eagleton, Terry: “*The Idea of Culture*”, Blackwell, Oxford-2000
- Ebn-e Esfandiyār, Bahā al-Din Moḥammad Ebn-e Ḥasan: *Tāriḥ-e Ṭabarestān*, Ed. by ‘Abbās Eqbāl Āštiyāni, Padide-ye Ḥāvar, 2.Edition, Tehrān-1366š/1987, (1.Edition:1320š/1941)
- Ebn-e Faqih Hamedāni: *Moḥtaṣar al-Boldān*, Leiden - 1884
- Ebn-e Ḥouqal: *Ṣurat al-Arz*, Beirut- (n.y.)
- Ebor, Donald (ed.): *The new English Bible with the Apocrypha*, 2. Edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press [u.a.]- 1970 (1. Edition: 1961)
- Ebtokār, Taqi: “Gozāreš-e Nahā’i-ye Ṭarḥ-e Kontrol-e Dud-e Vasāyel-e Naqliye-ye Benzini dar Tehrān”, in: *Moḥiṣṣenāsi* 10 (1359š/ 1980)
- Eqbāl Āštiāni, ‘Abbās: “Bendār-e Razi”, in: *Mehr* 71(1321š/1942)
- Eqbāl Āštiāni, ‘Abbās: “Lahğe-ye Tehrāni”, in: *Yādegār* 4&5 (1327š/1948)
- Eqbāl Āštiāni, ‘Abbās: “Yeki az Noquš-e Rayy”, in: *Maqalat-e ‘Abbās Eqbal Āštiāni*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Siāqi, Donyā-ye Ketāb, Tehrān-1369š/1990
- Esfandiyāri, Āzarmidoḥt: *Ġāigāh-e Farhang-e Ćešmeh ‘Ali dar Falāt-e Markazi-ye Irān*, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-e Kešvār, Tehrān -1378š/1999
- Eṣṭaḥri, Abu Ishāq Ebrāhim Ebn-e Moḥammad al-Fārsi: *Al-masālek al-Mamālek*, Leyden, 1870
- Eṣṭaḥri, Abu Ishāq Ebrāhim Ebn-e Moḥammad al-Fārsi: *Al-masālek al-Mamālek*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, ‘Elmi va Farhangi, 3. Edition, Tehran-1368š/1989, (1. Edition: 1347š/1968)
- E’temād al-Salṭane, Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān: *Al-Ma’āser v-al-Āsār*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 2. Edition, Asāṭir-1374š/1995, (1. Edition:1373š/1994)
- E’temād al-Salṭane, Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān: *Merāt al-Boldān*, vol.4, ed. by ‘Abd al-Ḥoseyn Navā’i; Mirhāšem Moḥaddes, Tehrān (University Tehrān)-1368š/1989
- E’temād al-Salṭane, Moḥammad Ḥasan Ḥān: *Ruznāmeḥ-ye Ḥāṭerāt*, ed. by Irağ Afšār, 6. Edition, Amir Kabir-1385š/2006, (1. Edition:1345š/1967)
- ‘Eyn al-Salṭane, Qahremān Mirzā: *Ruznāme-ye Ḥāṭerāt-e ‘Eyn al-Salṭane*, vol.1, ed. by Mas’ud Sālur; Irağ Afšār, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1374š/1995
- Falāmaki, Moḥammad Manšur: *Ḥarimgozāri Bar Ṣervatha-ye Farhangi-ye Irān*, Mo’ssese-ye ‘Elmi va Farhanhi-ye Fazā, Tehrān-1384š/2005
- *Farhang-e Ġoğrāfiā’i-ye Irān*, Dāyereḥ-ye Ġoğrāfiā’i-ye Setād-e Arteš, 1328š/1959
- Farhudi, Raḥmat Allāh; Maḥbube Sādāt Šafi’i: “Ta’šir-e Vaqf dar Gostareš va Tose’e-ye Fiziki-Kālbadi-ye Šāhr-e Rayy”, in: *Mirās-e Ġāvdān* 61 (1387š/2008)

- Farivar Şadri, Bahrām: “Taḥavvolāt-e Şahrsāzi Irān dar Nim Qarn-e Aḥir”, in: *Mağmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Şahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.2, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Keşvar, Tehrān-1375ş/1996
- Fāzeli Naşli, Ḥasan: “Barresihā-ye Bāstānşenāsi dar Daşt-e Tehrān”, in: *Mağalle-ye Dāneşgade-ye Adabiyāt va 'Olum-e Ensāni Dāneşgāh-e Tehrān* 160 (1380ş/2001)
- Fazeli. H; R.A.E Coningham: “Cheshmeh Ali Ware: a Petrographic and Geochemical Study of a Transitional chalcolithic Period Ceramic Industry on the Northern Central Plateau of Iran”, in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLVIII (2010)
- Fazeli. H; R.A.E Coningham: “Cheshmeh-Ali Revisited: Towards an Absolute Dating of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Iran's Tehran Plain”, in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies* ,Vol. XLII (2004)
- Feilden, Bernard M.; Jukka Jukilehto: *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, ICCROM, Rome-1998
- Ferrier, Ronald W.(ed.): *The Arts of Persia*, Yale University Press, New Haven& London- 1989
- Fulādvand, 'Ezzat Allah: “Bidād-e Maḥmud-e Ġaznavi ba Ketābhānehā va Ḥradmandān-e Rayy”, in: *Ḥāfez* 8 (1383ş/2004)
- Furukawa, Nobuyoshi: *Safarnāme-ye Furukawa*, Trans. by Hāšem Rağabzāde; Kiniji Eura, Anğoman-e Āşār va Mafāḥer-e Farhangi, Tehrān-1384ş/2005
- Ğā'fari, 'Abbas: *Ġitāşenāsi-ye Irān. Rudhā va Rudnāme-ye Irān* vol.2, Ġitāşenāsi, 2. Edition, Tehrān-1379ş/2000 (1. Edition: 1376ş/1997)
- Ğahānşāhi, Moḥammad Ḥoseyn: “Taḥlil-e Bāfthā-ye Farsude va Moşkelsāz-e Şahri va Rāhbordhā-ye Ān”, in: *Ġostārḥā-ye Şahrsāzi* 5 (1382ş/2003)
- Ghahreman, A.; F. Attar: *Biodiversity of Plant Species in Tehran Megalopolis*, Tehran University Press, Tehran-2001
- Ğoveyni, 'Alā'eddin 'Aṭā Malek: *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngoşā*, vol.1, ed. by Moḥammad Qazvini, Brill, Leiden-1911
- Ğoveyni, 'Alā'eddin 'Aṭā Malek: *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngoşā*, vol.2, ed. by Moḥammad Qazvini, Brill, Leiden-1916
- Ğoveyni, 'Alā'eddin 'Aṭā Malek: *Tāriḥ-e Ğahāngoşā*, vol.3, ed. by Moḥammad Qazvini, Brill, Leiden-1937
- Hadidi, Djavad :“La presse de langue française en Iran“, in: *Luqman*, vol.V, No.2, printemps - été, (1989)
- Hā'eri, Moḥammad Rezā: “Ṭarḥi az Kālbad-e Şahr-e Irāni. Barresi-ye Guneşenāsāne-ye Bāfthā-ye Şahri-ye Irān”, in: *Irānnāme* 40(1371ş/1992)

- Ḥanāci, Piruz; Parastu 'Ešrati: "Vākāvi-ye Ašlitarin Čālešhā-ye Maḥmud-e Maḥmud-e Farhangī bā Takye bar Bāzšenāht va Taḥlil-e Kār-nāme-ye Heḡdah Sāle-ye In Maḥmud dar Markaz-e Mirās-e Ġahāni-ye Unesco", in: *Nāme-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi* 7 (1390š/2011)
- Ḥaḡiqat, 'Abd al-Rafi': *Tāriḡ-e Nehzatha-ye Fekri-ye Irāniān*, vol.2, Šerkat-e Mo'allemān va Motarḡemān-e Irān, Tehrān-1368š/1989
- Ḥasan Beyg Rumlu: *Aḡsan al-Tavāriḡ*, ed. Abd al-Ḥoseyn Navā'i, Asāṭir, Tehrān-1384š/2005
- Hillenbrand, Robert: *Islamic Architecture. Form, Function and Meaning*, Edinburgh University Press- 1994
- Hinz, Walther: *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden E.J.Brill-1955
- Hunt, John Dixon: "Reading and Writing The Site", in: *Theory in landscape Architecture*, ed. Simon Swaffield, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia-2002
- Jackson, A.V. Williams: "*Persia Past and Present*", The Macmillan Company, London-1906
- "Kārḡhāne-ye Glycerine va Šābun", in: *Irān-e Emruz* 3 (1320š/1941)
- "Kārḡhāne-ye Simān", in: *Irān-e Emruz* 6 (1319š/1940)
- Karimān, Ḥoseyn: "Nažāri be Maqāle-ye Rayy Mondaraḡ dar Dā'erat al-Ma'āref-e Eslāmi", in: *Yādnāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorski*, ed. by Moḡtabā Minovi; Iraḡ Afšār, Danešgāh-e Tehrān, Tehrān-1348š/1969
- Karimān, Ḥoseyn: *Barḡi Āšār-e Bāzmānde az Rayy-e Qadim*, 2.Edition, Danešgāh-e Melli-ye Iran, Tehrān- 2536šš/1977 (1.Edition: 1350š/1971)
- Karimān, Ḥoseyn: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, 2.Edition, Danešgāh-e Melli-ye Iran, Tehrān-1354š/1975 (1.Edition: Anḡoman-e Āšār-e Melli-1345š/1966)
- Karimān, Ḥoseyn: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Danešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371š/1992 (1.Edition:1349š/1970)
- Kātebi, Seyyedi 'Ali: *Merāt al-Mamālek*, Trans. by Maḥmud Tafazzoli; 'Ali Ganḡeli, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, Tehrān-2535šš/1976
- Keall, E. J.: "The Topography and Architecture of Medieval Rayy". in: *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.-10. September 1976* (AMI Ergänzungsband 6), Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979
- Ker Porter, Robert: *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (vol.1), Longman, London- 1821
- Kleiss, Wolfram: "Qal'eh Gabri, Naqarah Khaneh und Bordj-e Yazid bei Reyy", in: *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Band 15*, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1982
- Koušari, Yaḡyā: "Barresi-ye Ostān-e Markaz (Šarq-e Rayy)", in: *Akten des 7. Internationalen Kongresses für iranischen Kunst und Archäologie* (AMI Ergänzungsband 6)e, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1979

- Kouşari, Yahyā: “Pažuheşi dar Qal'e Gabri-ye Rayy-e Bāstān”, in: *Mağmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Şahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.3, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Keşvar, Tehrān-1375ş/1996
- Kouşari, Yahyā: “Rayy az Gozašte-ye Ḥod Soḥan Miguyad”, in: *Me'māri-ye Irān*, ed. by Ā. Javādi, Mojarrad, Tehrān-1363ş/1984
- Krause, Karl-Jürgen: *Lexikon Denkmalschutz + Denkmalpflege*, Klartext, Essen-2011
- Küster, Hansjörg: “Attraktionen eines Agrarlandes”, in: *Spurensuche in Niedersachsen*, ed. by Christian Wiegand, Hannover-2005
- Küster, Hansjörg: “Landschaft-Naturlandschaft-Kulturlandschaft”, in: *Kulturlandschaften*, ed. by H.Küster, Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main- 2008
- Le Strange, Guy: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, Frank Cass & Co. LTD., 3. Edition London-1966. (1. Edition: 1905)
- Lockhart, Laurence: *Persian cities*, Luzac, London- 1960
- Maḥbubi-ye Ardakāni, Ḥoseyn: “Qatl-e Nāşer al-Din Şāh”, in: *Yağmā* 273 (1350ş/1971)
- Maleki-ye Miānġi, 'Ali: *Ġoġrāfia-ye Rayy*, Dār al-Ḥadis, Qom-1383ş/2004
- Maqdesi, Abu 'Abd Allah Moḥammad Ebn-e Aḥmad: *Aḥsan al-Taqāsım fi Ma'refat al-Aqālim*, Trans. by 'Ali Naqi Monzavi, Tehrān-1361ş/1982
- Maşhadizāde, Nāşer; Dinā Moravveġi: “Gożari bar Tāriḥ-e Şahrsāzi-ye Irān dar Dore-ye Ġadid”, in: *Mağmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Şahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.4, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Keşvar, Tehrān-1375ş/1996
- Maşkur, Moḥammad Ġavād: “Zādgāh-e Zartoşt”, in: *Vaḥid* 119 (1352ş/1973)
- Ma'şumi, Ġolāmrezā: “Naqş-e Boz-e Kuhi dar Sofālhā-ye Piş az Tariḥ-e Irān” in: *Barresihā-ye Tāriḥi* 27 (1349ş/1980)
- Matney, Timothy: “Reviews and Reports. Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-Ali”, in: *Expedition*, vol.37, no.2 (1995)
- Me'māriān, Ġolāmḥoseyn: *Āşnā'i bā Me'māri-ye Maskuni-ye Irāni, Gune Şenāsi-ye Darungarā*, Soruş-e Dāneş, Tehrān-1372ş/1993
- Meqdādiān, Humān: “Moḥavvaṭe-ye Tāriḥi-ye Tappe Mil”, in: *Aşar* 40-41 (1385ş/2006)
- Miles, George C.: *The Numismatic history of Rayy*, New York- 1938
- Mirḥānd, Mir Moḥammad Ebn-e Seyyed Borhān al-Din Ḥāvand Şāh: *Tāriḥ-e Rauzat al-Şafā*, ed. by 'Abbās Parviz, Tehrān-1339ş/1960
- Mirzā Ebrāhim: *Safarnāme-ye Astarābād va Māzandarān va Gilān*, ed. by Mas'ud Golzāri, Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, Tehrān-2535şş/1976
- Mirzā'i Pari, Zahrā: “Qarārnāme-ye Rāh Ahan-e Tehrān-Şāhzāde 'Abd al-'Azim” in: *Ganġine-ye Asnād* 59 (1384ş/2005)

- Modarres Rażavi, Moḥammad Taqi: *Ta'liqāt-e Ḥadiqat al-Ḥaqiqat*, 'Elmi, Tehrān-1344š/1965
- Mofahḥam Pāyān, Loṭf Allah: *Farhang-e Ābādihā-ye Irān*, Sāzmān-e Ğoĝrāfiā'i-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1339š/1960
- Moĝis al-Salṭane, Yusef: *Nāmeḥā-ye Yusef Moĝis al-Salṭane*, ed. by Ma'sume Māfi, Tehrān-1362š/1983
- *Moĝmal al-Tavāriḥ val- Qeşaş*, ed. by Seyf al-Din Naĝm Ābādi; Siegfried Weber, Deux Mondes, Edingen-Neckarhausen - 2000
- Moḥammadi, Maḥmud: "Taĝiir-e Sāḥtār-e Qodrat dar Irān va Taĝiir-e Šekl-e Šahr", in: *Maĝmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.2, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996
- Moḥammadi, Seyyed Moḥammad Ḥoseyn: *Oza'-e Eĝtemā'i-ye Rayy az Barāmadan-e Salĝuqiān ta Hoĝum-e Moĝol*, no Published, Master of Arts, Pažuhešgāh-e 'Olum-e Ensāni va Moṭāle'āt-e Farhangi, 1386š/2007
- Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabātabā'i, Moḥammad: "Rāzi dar Šahr-e Rayy", in: *Gohar* 1 (1351š/1972)
- Moḥiṭ-e Ṭabātabā'i, Seyed Aḥmad: "Gonbad-e Soltān yā Gur-e Darviš", in: *Keyḥān-e Farhangi* 47 (1366š/1987)
- Mollāzāde, Kāzem; Maryam Moḥammadi: *Qelā' va Esteḥkāmāt-e Nezāmi*, Sure-ye Mehr, Tehrān-1385š/2006
- Mošṭafavi, Moḥammad Taqi: "Banā-ye Tariḥi-ye Boq'e-ye Bibi Šahrbānu", in: *Maĝmu'e-ye Maqālāt*, vol.1, ed. by Mehdi Šadri, Tehrān-1381š/2002
- Mošṭafavi, Moḥammad Taqi: *Āsār-e Tariḥi-ye Tehrān*, ed. by Mir Hāšem Moḥaddes, 2.Edition, Garus, Tehrān-1375š/1996 (1.Edition: 1361š/1982)
- Mostaufi, 'Abd Allah: *Šarḥ-e Zendegāni-ye Man*, vol.1, 'Elmi, Tehrān-1324š/1955
- Mostaufi, Aḥmad: *Gozārešha-ye Ğoĝrāfiā'i-ye Hože-ye Masile*, Tehrān-1350š/1971
- Mostaufi-e Qazvini, Ḥamd Allah: *Nozḥat al-Qolub*, ed. by G. Le Strange, Leyden-1915
- Mostaufi-e Qazvini, Ḥamd Allah: *Nozḥat al-Qolub*, ed. by Moḥammad Dabir Siaqi, Tehrān-1336š/1957
- Munes al-Doule: *Ḥāṭerāt-e Munes al-Doule. Nadime-ye Ḥaramsarā-ye Nāšer al-Din Šāh*, ed. by Sirius Sa'dvandiān, 2.Edition, Zarrin, Tehrān-1386š/2007 (1.Edition: 1380š/2001)
- Nāderpur, Nāder: "Poli bar Farāz-e Nahr-e Suren", in: *Irānnāme* 44 (1372š/1993)
- Nāšer al-Din Šāh: "Ḥāṭerāt-e Nāšer al-Din Šāh dar Safar be Qom", ed. by Fāṭeme Qāziḥā, in: *Ganĝine-ye Asnād* 37&38 (1379š/2000)
- Nāšer al-Din Šāh: *Šahriār-e Ğādehā*, ed. by Moḥammadrezā 'Abbāsi & Parviz Badi'i, Sāzmān-e Asnād-e Melli, Tehrān-1372š/1993

- Naumann, Rudolf: "Tepe Mill, ein sasanidischer Palast", in: *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 3 (1964): 75-77
- Neẓām al-Molk, Abu-'Ali Ḥasan-e Ṭusi: *Siyar al-Moluk. (Syāsatnāme)*, ed. by Hubert Darke, 3.Edition, Bongāh-e Tarğomeh va Našr-e Ketab, Tehrān- 2535šš/1976, (1.Edition:1340š/1961)
- Orsolle, Ernest: *Safarnāme-ye Qafqāz va Irān*, Trans. by 'Ali Aşğar Sa'idi, Paẓuheşgāh-e 'Olum-e Ensāni va Moṭāle'at-e Farhangi, Tehrān-1382š/2003 [Original Title: Le Caucase et la Perse]
- Pāpeli Yazdi, Moḥammad Ḥosein: *Farhang-e Ābādihā va Makānhā-ye Mazḥabi-ye Keşvar*, Bonyad-e Paẓuheşhā-ye Islāmi-ye Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavi, Maşhad-1367š/1988
- Pāzuki Ṭarrudi, Nāşer: *Āşār-e Tāriḥi-ye Damāvand*, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-e Keşvar, Tehrān-1381š/2002
- Pāzuki Ṭarrudi, Nāşer: *Āşār-ye Tāriḥi-ye Firuzkuh*, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-e Keşvar, Tehrān-1381š/2002
- Pirnyā, Ḥasan: *Irān-e Bāstāni*, Donyā-ye Ketāb, Tehrān-1362š/1983
- Pirnyā, Ḥasan: *Tāriḥ-e Irān-e Bāstān*, vol.1, Donyā-ye Ketāb, Tehrān-1375/1996
- Polak, Jakob Eduard: *Safarnāme-ye Polak*, Trans. by Keykāvus Ğahāndāri, 2. Edition, Ḥārazmi, Tehrān-1368š/1989(1. Edition: 1361š/1982) [Original Title: Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner. Ethnographische Schilderungen]
- Pope, Arthur Upham: *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, 2. Edition Greenwood Press, Westport- 1970. (1. Edition: Dryden Press, New York- 1945)
- Puraḥmad, Aḥmad; Ğāvid 'Ebādi: "Naqş-e Ekolozi-ye Eĝtemā'i dar Bāft-e Qadim-e Şahr-e Rayy", in: *Paẓuheşhā-ye Ğoĝrāfiā'i* 39 (1379š/2000)
- Qadyāni, 'Abbās: *Ğoĝrāfiyā-ye Tāriḥi-ye Rayy*, Ārvan, Tehrān-1379š/2000
- Qazvini, Moḥammad Ebn-e 'Abd al-Raḥmān: *Āşār al-'Ebād va Aḥbār al-Belād*, vol.2, ed. by Seyyed Moḥammad Şahmorād, Daneşgah-e Tehrān, Tehrān-1373š/1994
- Qazvini, Moḥammad Ṭāher Vaḥid: *Abbāsname*, ed. by Ebrāhim Dehgān, Arāk-1329š/1950
- Qazvini-ye Rāzi, Naşir al-Din Abu al-Raşid 'Abd al-Ğalil: *Naqz*, ed. by Mir Ğalāl al-Din Moḥaddes, Anĝoman-e Aşār-e Melli, Tehrān-1358š/1979
- Rante. R: "The Iranian City of Rayy: Urban Model and Military Architecture", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol.XLVI (2008)
- Rante. R: "The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLV (2007)
- Raşid al-Din Fażl Allāh Hamedāni: *Ğāme' al-Tavāriḥ*, ed. by Moḥammad Roşan; Moşṭafā Musavi, Alborz, Tehrān-1373š/1994
- Rāvandi, Moḥammad Ebn-e 'Ali Ebn-e Soleymān: *Rāḥt al-Şodur va Āyat al-Sorur*, ed. by Moḥammad Eqbāl, London-1921

- Rāzi, Amin Aḥlad: *Haft Eqlim*, ed. by Ğavād Fāzel, Tehrān- (n.y.)
- Rāzi, Nağm al-Din: *Merṣād al-'Ebād*, ed. by Moḥammad Amin Ryāḥi, 5.Edition, Šerkat-e Entešārāt-e 'Elmi va Farhangi, Tehrān-1373š/1994 (1.Edition: Bongāh-e Tarğome va Našr-e Ketāb- 1352š/1973)
- Rāzi, Seyed Morteżā Ebn-e Da'i al-Ḥasani: *Tabṣarat al-'Avām fi Ma'refate Maqāmāt al-Anām*, ed. by 'Abbās Eqbāl Āštiyāni, Tehrān-1313š/1934
- Re'isedānā, Fariborz: "Iğād-e Rānt(Arzeš-e Māzād) Zamin-e Šahri va Farāyand-e Taḥrib-e Bāft", in: *Mağmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḥostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.3, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996
- Reżā'i, Bahrām: *Me'yārḥā-ye Ta'in-e Ḥarim-e Āsar-e Tāriḥi*, Mo'āvenat-e Ḥefz va Ehyā-ye Āsar-e Tāroḥi-ye Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi va Gardešgari-1384/2005
- Rostam al-Ḥokamā, Moḥammad Hāšem Āṣef : *Rostam al-Tavāriḥ*, ed. by Moḥammad Moširi, 2.Edition, Amir Kabir, Tehran-1352š/1973 (1.Edition:1348š/1969)
- Ruḥfar, Zohre: "Naqši Kohan bar Bafteḥā va Sofālinehā-ye Rayy", in: *Ketāb-e Māh-e Honar* 25&26 (1379š/2000)
- Rumi, Ğalāl al-Din Moḥammad Ebn-e Moḥammad: *Mašnavi-ye Ma'navi* vol.6, ed. by 'Abd al-Karim Soruš, 5. Edition, 'Elmi va Farhangi, Tehrān-1378š/1999 (1.Edition:1375š/1996)
- Šābery, Maḥbube: *Manābe'-e Āb-e Šorb-e Šahr-e Rayy*, Unpublished, Bachelor Thesis, University of Mirās-e Farhangi-1375š/1996
- Sadid al-Salṭane, Moḥammad 'Ali Ḥān: *Safarnāme-ye Sadid al-Salṭane*, ed. by Aḥmad Eqtedāri, Behnašr, Tehrān-1362š/1983
- Šadrā'i-ye Ḥo'i, 'Ali: "Tariḥ va Farhang-e Rayy dar Ā'ine-ye Ketāb-e Naqz", in: *Ā'ine-ye Pažuheš* 80 (1382š/ 2003)
- "Safarnāme-ye Tehrān be Širāz-e Neżām al- Molk", ed. by Irağ Afšār, in: *Farhang-e Irānzamin* 13 (1344š/1965)
- *Sālnāme-ye Āmāri-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1383*, ed. by Akbar Badi'i, Sāzmn-e Modiriat va Barnāmerizi-ye Ostān-e Tehrān-1384š/2005
- Šāyestefar, Mahnāz: "Negāhi bar Honar-e Nassāgi-ye Irān", in: *Ketāb-e Māh-e Honar* 120 (1387š/2008)
- Schiltberger, Johannes: *Als Sklave im osmanischen Reich und bei den Tataren*, Übertreger: Ulrich Schlemmer, Thinemann, Stuttgart- 1983
- Schmidt, Erich: *Flight Over Ancient Cities of Iran*, University of Chicago press, Chicago -1940
- Serena, Carla: *Safarnāme. (Ādamhā va Ā'inhā dar Irān)*, Trans. by 'Ali Aşğar Sa'idi, Zavvār, Tehrān-1362š/1983 [Original Title: Hommes et choses en perse]

-
- Šeyḥ al-Molk (Orang), 'Abd al-Ḥoseyn: "Vāqe'e-ye Qatl-e Nāṣer al-Din Šāh", in: *Yağmā* 50 (1331š/1952)
 - Sheil, Mary Leonora Woulfe: *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, Arno Press, New York-1973
 - Slaiby, Barbara; Nora Mitchell: *A Handbook for Managers of Cultural Landscapes with Natural Resource Values*, Woodstock, Vermont, Conservation Study Institute-2003
 - Stahl, A. F.: "Reisen in Nord- und Zentral-Persien", in: *Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes geografischer Anstalt*, Heft 118, ed. by A. Supan, Gotha-1896
 - Ṭabary, Moḥammad Ebn-e Ğarir: *Tāriḥ-e Ṭabary*, Trans. by Abo al-Qāsem Pāyande, Asāṭir (5. Edition), Tehrān-1375š/ 1996 (1. Edition: 1352š/1973) [Original Title: Tāriḥ al-Rosol va al-Moluk]
 - Tancoigne, J. M.: *Nāmeḥa'i darbāre-ye Irān va Turkye-ye Āsiā*, Trans. by 'Ali Ašğar Sa'idi, Našr-e Ćešme, Tehrān- 1383š/2004 [Original Title: Letters sur la Perse et la Turquie d'Asia]
 - *Tāriḥ-e Sistān*, ed. by Moḥammad Taqī Bahār, Zavvār, Tehrān-1314š/1935
 - Thompson, Deborah: *Stucco from Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad near Rayy*, Aris & Phillips- 1976
 - Thornton, Lynne: *Images de Perse- Le Voyage de Colonel F. Colombari á la cour du Chah de Perse de 1833 á 1848*, Paris-1981
 - Treptow, Tanya: *Daily Life Ornamented. The Medieval Persian City of Rayy*, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago-2007
 - Tsafirir, Nurit: *The History of an Islamic School of Law. (The Early Spread of Hanafism)*, Harward University Press, Cambridge- 2004
 - Tudela, Benjamin von: *Safarnāme*, Trans. by Mahvaš Nāṭeq, Kārang, Tehrān-1381š/ 2002 [Original Title: Jüdische Reisen im Mittelalter]
 - Vanden Berghe, L.: *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden-1959
 - Watson, Oliver: *Persian lustre ware*, Faber and Faber, London-1985
 - Wiegand, Christian: *Spurensuche in Niedersachsen*, Hannover-2005
 - Wishard, John G.: *Twenty Years in Persia*, Revell, New York-1908
 - Wöbse, Hans Hermann: „Die Bedeutung historischer Kulturlandschaftselement für die Eigenart und Schönheit von Kulturlandschaften“, in: *Kulturlandschaften*, ed. by H.Küster, Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main- 2008
 - Yāqut-e Ḥamavi: *Mo'ğam al-Boldān*, Ketābhāne-ye Asadi, Tehrān-[n.y.]
 - Ṣahir al-Din Neyšāburi: *Salğūqnāme*, ed. by Mirzā Esmā'il Afšar (Ḥamid al-Molk); Moḥammad Ramežāni, Našr-e Ḥāvar- 1332š/1953

Websites

- Algar, Hamid: "Shi'ism in Iran Since the Safavids" in: *Encyclopedia Iranica*.
<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-ix23-shiism-in-iran-since-the-safavids> (Date: 26.2.2015)
- Amānat, 'Abbās: "Fath-'Alī Shah", in: *Encyclopedia Iranica*.
<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fath-ali-shah-qajar-2> (Date: 12.8.2013)
- "Āsib-e Tāze be Gunehā-ye Ğānevāri-ye Tehrān", in: *Tābnāk*.
<http://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/197712> (Date: 6.2.2013)
- "Charter For The Conservation Of Historic Towns And Urban Areas (1987)" in: *ICOMOS*.
http://www.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf (Date:20.5.2013)
- "Charter For The Protection And Management Of The Archaeological Heritage (1990)", in: *ICOMOS*. <http://www.icomos.org/icahtm/documents/charter.html> (Date:17.5.2013)
- "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", in: *UNESCO*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> (Date: 12.7.2014)
- "Cultural Landscape" in: *UNESCO*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#1> (Date: 19.1.2013)
- Dehḡodā, 'Aliakbar: *Loġatnāme-ye Dehḡodā (Dehḡodā Dictionary)* Site:
<http://www.loghatnaameh.org> (Date: 11.9.2010)
- *Encyclopædia Iranica* Site:
<http://www.iranicaonline.org> (Date: 5.2.2015)
- "European Landscape Convention", in: *Council of Europe*.
<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Reports/Html/176.htm> (Date: 11.7.2014)
- "Ḥattā Kalāghā ham az Tehrān Farār Kardand", in: *Zistgāh*.
http://zistgah.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=155&Itemid=1 (Date: 6.2.2013)
- "Historic Gardens (The Florence Charter 1981)", in: *ICOMOS*.
http://www.icomos.org/charters/gardens_e.pdf (Date: 20/5/2013)
- "International Charter For The Conservation and Restoration of Monuments And Sites" in: *ICOMOS*. <http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/hommeDecin.pdf> (Date: 22.5.2013)
- *Islam For Your Information* Site:
<http://www.islam-fyi.com/islamic-words/mutakif> (Date: 25.1.2015)
- Kani, Mollā 'Ali: "Vaḡfnāme", in: *Godār*.
<http://godarchitects.com/blog/?p=722> (Date: 30.1.2013)
- "Mazāre'-e Panbe-ye Šahrestān-e Rayy Niāzmand-e Tavaġġoh-e Bištar-e Mas'ulān", in: *IRNA*
<http://www.irna.ir/fa/NewsPrint.aspx?ID=80464887> (23.8.2014)
- "Moṡāle'āt-e Kārbari-ye Arāzi", in: *Irān Šahrsāz*.

- <http://www.iranshahrsaz.com/attachment.php?aid=2576> (Date: 7.5.2013)
- “Qānun-e Heḫāzat va Behsāzi-ye Moḫiṭ-e Zist”, in: *Edāre-ye Moḫiṭ-e Zist-e Hamedān*.
[http://www.hamedan-doe.ir/persian/doc/zist-hmd\(8\).pdf](http://www.hamedan-doe.ir/persian/doc/zist-hmd(8).pdf) (Date: 26/5/2013)
 - “Raf’-e Ḥaṭar az Ğān-e Šahrvandān-e Rayy ba Taġ’ir-e Masir-e Qanāt-e Šahri”, in: *Bāšġāh-e Ḥabarnegārān*.
<http://www.yjc.ir/fa/news/4182173> (Date: 7/6/2013)
 - “Rec(95)9E on the integrated conservation of cultural landscape areas as part of landscape policies”, in: *Council of Europe*.
<https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=537517> (Date: 11.7.2014)
 - “Šāḫeš-e Āludegi-ye Havā dar Šahr-e Rayy az Marz-e Ezterār Gozāšt”, in: *ILNA*.
<http://www.ilna.ir/news/news.cfm?id=24989> (Date: 7.6.2013)
 - “Šahr-e Rayy va Varāmin Aludetarin Ḥāk-e Tehrān ra Darand”, in: *Āftāb*.
http://www.aftabir.com/news/view/2009/jan/14/c4c1231938779_social_enviroment_pollution.php
(Date: 7.6.2013)
 - Sa’id Pur, Maḫmud Rezā: “Ābyāri-ye Zaminhā-ye Sabzikāri ba Fāzelāb”, in: Tehrān-e Emruz.
<http://www.rey20.blogfa.com/8611.aspx> (Date: 22.7.2013)
 - “Šahr-e Tehrān Brand-e Ğahāni Nadārad”, in: *Ğavān Online*.
<http://www.javanonline.ir/vdcj8vev8uqeymz.fsfu.txt> (Date: 7.5.2013)
 - “Sanad-e Ašli-ye Mošavvab-e Tarḫ-e Ğāme’-e Šahr-e Tehrān”, in: *Irān Šahrsāz*.
<http://shahrsazi-mhud.ir/Tehran/sanad.pdf> (Date: 1.4.2013)
 - Šarifi, ‘Ali; Eḫtešāmi, Maġid: “Arzyābi-ye Model-e Ābhān-e Šahr-e Rayy” in: *Pāyġāh-e Eṭelā’āt-e ‘Elmi (SID)*.
http://sid.ir/fa/VEWSSID/J_pdf/69213853102.pdf (Date: 7.5.2013)
 - “Takmil-e Porože-ye Fazelāb-e Rayy”, in: *Ḥabargoyāri-e Fārs*.
<http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13900708000523> (Date: 7.6.2013)
 - “Tarḫ-e Bāznegari-ye Giāh Šenāḫti-ye Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehrān”, in: *Sāzmān-e Pārkhā va Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehran*.
<http://parks.tehran.ir/default.aspx?tabid=92&ArticleId=806> (Date: 6.2.2013)
 - “Tarḫ-e Parākaneš-e Zisti-ye Parandegān-e Tehrān”, in: *Sāzmān-e Pārkhā va Fazā-ye Sabz-e Šahr-e Tehran*.
<http://parks.tehran.ir/default.aspx?tabid=92&ArticleId=58> (Date: 6.2.2013)
 - “The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage”, in: *UNESCO*.
<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00006> (Date: 17.7.2014)
 - “The Historical Background of Environment Conservation Organization”, in: *Environment Conservation Organization website*.

<http://www.doe.ir/Portal/Home/Default.aspx?CategoryID=fb362077-4918-490b-806d-3851170a22eb> (Date: 12.7.2014)

- “The Nara Document on Authenticity”, in: *UNESCO*.
www.whc.unesco.org/document/9379 (Date: 20.8.2014)
- “The Statutes Law of Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran”, in: *Justice Department of Tehran’s law*
<http://www.ghavanin.ir/detail.asp?id=7785> (Date: 12.7.2014)
- “The Statutes of Cultural ICOMOS Institute of Iran”, in: *Iran ICOMOS*.
http://www.iranicomos.org/?page_id=40 (Date: 12.7.2014)
- “Topography-ye Tehran”, in: *Atlas-e Kalānšahr-e Tehrān*.
<http://atlas.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=166> (Date: 6.2.2013)
- “What are Cultural Landscapes? “, in: *The Cultural Landscape Foundation*.
<http://tclf.org/landscapes/what-are-cultural-landscapes> (Date: 21.1.2013)
- Zand Karimi, Atefeh; Bahareh Hosseini: “The Influence of Iranian Islamic Architecture on Traditional Houses of Kashan”, (Archi-Cultural Translations through the Silk Road- 2nd International Conference, Mukogawa Women’s Univ., Nishinomiya, Japan, July 14-16, 2012), in: *Mukogawa Women’s University Site*:
http://www.mukogawa-u.ac.jp/~iasu2012/pdf/iaSU2012_Proceedings_204.pdf (Date: 22.11.2014)

Image Credits

1. Adle, C.: "Construction Funéraires Á Rey, Circa Xe-XIle Sécle" in: *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, München, 7 bis 10. Septembert 1976, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin-1979
2. Afrund, Qadir: *Gozāreš-e Pažuheši va Barresi va Šenāsā'i-e Āšār-e Bāstāni va Tārihi (Houze-ye Rayy)*, Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Tehrān-1381š/2000
3. *Ā'in Nāme-ye Tarrāhi-ye Sāh̄temānhā dar Barābar-e Zelzele. Standard No.2800*, Markaz-e Taḥqīqāt-e Sāh̄temān va Maskan, No. Ž 253, Tehrān-1387š/1999 (English Title: *Iranian Code of Practice For Seismic Resistant Design of Buildings. Standard No.2800*)
4. *Aga Khan Museum*, Online Gallery
<http://www.akdn.org/museum/detail.asp?artifactid=1692> (Date: 22.10.2014)
5. Ambraseys, N. N.; C. P. Melvile: *A History of Persian Earthquakes*, Cambridge University Press-1982
6. *Aṭlas-e Tāriḥ-e Irān*, ed. by Moḥammad Madad, Sazmān-e Naqše Bardāri-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1378š/1999
7. 'Azizzāde, Farzān: Kātālog-e Muze-ye Āstāne-ye Ḥazrāt-e 'Abd al-'Azim, Senā, 2.Edition, Tehrān-1387 š/2008 (1. Edition :?)
8. Barjeste, L. A. Ferydoun; Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood: *Sevruguin's Iran*, Barjeste& Zaman, Tehran/Rotterdam-1999
9. Bāstāni Pārizi, Moḥammad Ebrāhim: *Ḥamāse-ye Kavir*, 'Elm, Tehrān-1382š/2003
10. Bremen Cathedral Museum, No. 18/578
11. Coste, Pascal Xavier: *Banāhā-ye Dore-ye Eslami-ye Irān*, Trans. by Ātusā Mehtāš, Tehrān-1390š/2011 (Original Title: *Monuments modernes de la Perse*)
12. Curzon, Georg N.: *Persia and the Persian Question-vol.1*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.-1966
13. Erdmann, Hana: *Iranische Kunst in deutschen Museen*, Frantz Steiner Verlag GmbH. Wiesbaden, 1967
14. Esfandiyāri, Āzarmidoḥt: *Ġāigāh-e Farhang-e Ćešmeh 'Ali dar Falāt-e Markazi-ye Irān*, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-e Kešvār, Tehrān -1378š/1999
15. Fazeli. H; R.A.E Coningham: "Cheshmeh-Ali Revisited: Towards an Absolute Dating of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Iran's Tehran Plain", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLII (2004), pp.13-23
16. Fazeli. H; R.A.E Coningham a.O.: "Socio-Economic Transformations in The Tehran Plain: Final Season of Settlement Survey and Excavations at Tepe Pardis", in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol. XLV (2007), pp.267-285

17. Ferrier, Ronald W.: *The arts of Persia*, New Haven u.a., Yale Univ. Press, 1989
18. Flandin, Eugene; Pascal Coste: *Voyage En Perse*, Imperial Organization for Social Services, Teheran-1976
19. Gall, Hubertus von: *Das Reiterkampfbild in der iranischen und iranisch beeinflussten Kunst parthischer und sasanidischer Zeit*, Gebr. Mann, Berlin-1990
20. Gaube, Heinz: "Arg-e Bam", in: *Naẓari Eġmālī be Šahrnešini va Šahrsāzi dar Irān*, Trans. by Kerāmat Allah Afsar, ed. by Moḥammad Yusof Kiāni, Tehrān-1365Š/1986
21. Geographical Armed Forces Organization (Sāzmān-e Ğoġrāfiā'i-ye Niruhā-ye Mosallah)
22. Ghahreman, A.; F. Attar: *Biodiversity of Plant Species in Tehran Megalopolis*, Tehran University Press, Tehran-2001
23. Göbel, Robert: *Sasanian Numismatics*, Klinkhardt & Biermann, Braunschweig- 1971
24. Godard, Andre: "L'Origine De La Madrasa, De La Mosquée Et Du Caravansérail À Quarte Īwans", in: *Ars Islamica*, vols. XV- XVI, New York- 1968
25. *Google map*:
<https://www.google.de/maps/place/Shahr-e-Rey,+Tehran,+Iran/@35.5929342,51.4594753,13z>
 (Date: 20.9.2012)
<https://www.google.de/maps/@35.7947835,51.3539385,10z/data=!5m1!1e4?hl=de> (9.10.2014)
<https://www.google.de/maps/place/Shahr-e-Rey,+Teheran,+Iran/@35.5881223,51.422898,11006m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x3f91feae7116e14d:0x> (Date: 10.10.2012)
26. Graefe, Axel v.: *Iran, Das neue Persian*, Atlantis- Verlag, Berlin-1937
27. *Ḥaram-e 'Abd al-'Azim Site*:
http://www.abdolazim.com/persiannet/pageview.aspx?na=gallery/fair_astan1.htm&h=1200&be=width=111100003541... (Date: 15.07.2011)
<http://abdolazim.com/persiannet/pageview.aspx?na=contactus/contactus.htm&h=500>
 (Date: 10.11.2014)
28. Ḥaram-e Šāh'abd al-'Azim, in: *Parsiāne*
http://parsianeh.blogspot.com/2007/12/blog-post_21.html (Date: 30.8.2012)
29. Huff, Dietrich: "Šahrhā-ye Sāsāni", in: *Naẓari Eġmālī be Šahrnešini va Šahrsāzi dar Irān*, Trans. by Moḥammad Raḥim Šarrāf, ed. by Moḥammad Yusof Kiāni, Tehrān-1365Š/1986
30. *Iran Site*:
<http://www.iran.ir/about/city/tehran> (Date: 10.10.2014)
31. *Irān Šahrsāz Site*:
<http://www.iranshahrsaz.com/attachment.php?aid=2576> (Date: 27.3.2013)
32. Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin.

-
33. Jackson, A.V. Williams: *Persia Past and Present*, The Macmillan Company, London-1906
34. Karimān, Ḥoseyn: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.1, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Melli-ye Iran, Tehrān-1354š/1975 (1.Edition: Anḡoman-e Āsār-e Melli-1345š/1966)
35. Karimān, Ḥoseyn: *Rayy-e Bāstān*, vol.2, 2.Edition, Dānešgāh-e Šahid Behešti, Tehrān-1371š/1993 (1.Edition:1349š/1970)
36. Ker Porter, Robert: *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia* (vol.1), Longman, London- 1821
37. Khansari, Mehdi; M. Reza Moghtader; Minouch Yavari: *The Persian Garden*, Mage Publishers, Washington. DC-1998
38. Kleiss, Wolfram: „Qal'eh Gabri, Naqarah Khaneh und Bordj-e Yazid bei Rey“, in: *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. Band 15, Dietrich Reimer, Berlin- 1982
39. Koušari, Yahyā: “Pažuheši dar Qal'e Gabri-ye Rayy-e Bāstān”, in: *Maḡmu'e Maqālāt-e Naḡostin Kongere-ye Me'māri va Šahrsāzi-ye Irān*, vol.3, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1375š/1996
40. Le Strange, Guy: *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, Cass, London-1966
41. Matney, Timothy: *Re-Excavating Cheshmeh-Ali*, University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania- 1995
42. Meqdādiān, Humān: “Moḡavvate-ye Tāriḡi-ye Tappe Mil”, in: *Asar* 40&41 (1385š/2006)
43. Moḡleši, Moḡammad 'Ali: *Polhā-ye Qadimi-ye Irān*, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-e Kešvār, Tehrān-1379š/2000
44. Morier, James: *A Second Journey Through Persia*, Longman, London-1818
45. Mošṭafavi, Moḡammad Taqi: *Āsār-e Tāriḡi-ye Tehrān*, ed. by Mir Hāšem Moḡaddes, 2.Edition, Garus, Tehrān-1375š/1996 (1.Edition: 1361š/1982)
46. Mošṭafavi, Moḡammad Taqi: “Banā-ye Tariḡi-ye Boq'e-ye Bibi Šahrbānu”, in: *Maḡmu'e-ye Maqālāt*, vol.1, ed. by Mehdi Šadri, Tehrān-1381š/2002
47. Mo'tamedi, Moḡsen: *Ġoḡrāfiā-ye Tāriḡi-ye Tehrān*, Markaz-e Našr-e Dānešgāhi, Tehrān-1381š/2002
48. National Museum of Tehran.
49. Nickles, Harry G.: *Die Küche des vorderen Orient*, Time-Live, Niederland-1977
50. Ouseley, William: *Travels in Various Countries of The East, More Particularly Persia*- Band.3, London-1823
51. *Panoramio* Site:
<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/42192749> (Date: 15.11.2014)
52. *Parthia* Site:
www.parthia.com (Date: 6.8.2011)

- The coin of Parthian Mehrdād III. <http://www.parthia.com/mithradates3.htm>
- The coin of Dāriush Shāh of Medes (70 B.C.). <http://www.parthia.com/Darius.htm>
53. Pope, Arthur Upham: *A Survey Of Persian Art*, vol. V, Soroush Press, Tehran, 1977
54. Pope, Arthur Upham: *A Survey Of Persian Art*, vol. XI, Plates 981-1106, Textiles, Soroush Press, Tehran, 1977
55. Pope, Arthur Upham: *A Survey Of Persian Art*, vol. XIII, Plates 1276-1482, Metalwork, Minor Arts, Soroush Press, Tehran, 197
56. Price, William: *Journal of The British Embassy to Persia- vol.1*, London-1825
57. Qučāni, ‘Abd Allah: Ganġine-ye Sekkehā-ye Neyšābur Makšufe dar Rayy, Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangi-ye Kešvar, Tehrān-1383š/2004
58. Rante. R: “The Iranian City of Rayy: Urban Model and Military Architecture”, in: *IRAN. Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies*, Vol.XLVI (2008)
59. Rante. R: “The Topography of Rayy during the Early Islamic Period”, in: *IRAN (Journal of the British Institute of Persian studies)- Vol. XLV* (2007)
60. Rāzi Image, in: *Wikipedia*
<https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Al-RazilnGerardusCremonensis1250.JPG> (Date: 8.2.2012)
61. Saḥāb Institute
62. *Šahrdāri-ye Tehrān* Site:
<http://www.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=209&cid=86&smid=604&tmid=598> (Date: 28.3.2013)
63. Schmidt, Erich: *Flight over ancient cities of Iran*, University of Chicago press, 1938
64. *Sehnsucht Persien*, ed. by Axer Langer, Scheidegger & Spiess, Zürich-2013
65. Sevruguin, Antoin: *Sevruguin’s Iran*, ed. by L. A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn; Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Barjesteh and Zamān, Rotterdam; Tehran- 2001
66. Silk Road, in: *Wikipedia*
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Seidenstrasse_GMT.jpg (Date: 26.8.2013)
67. Tehran Municipal Regions, in: *Wikipedia*
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tehran_municipal_regions.png (Date: 9.8.2014)
68. Thompson, Deborah: *Stucco from Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad near Rayy*, Aris & Phillips- 1976
69. Thornton, Lynne: *Images de Perse- Le Voyage de Colonel F. Colombari á la cour du Chah de Perse de 1833 á 1848*, Paris-1981
70. Topography Organization. *Aerial photograph in 1956*, (no. 5001 109- no. 5001 119), (no. 5001 161- no. 5001 173), (no. 565001 187- no. 565001 197)
71. Topography Organization. *Aerial photograph in 2002*, (no. 81 2840 21 52- no.81 2840 21 64), (no. 81 2840 22 54- no. 81 2840 22 66), (no. 81 2840 23 54- no. 81 2840 23 66), (no. 2840 24 54- no.81 2840 24 72), (no. 81 2840 25 56- no.81 2840 25 68)

72. Topography Organization. *Map of Rayy-1963*, (no. 31A3- no.31A5), (no. 31B3- no. 31B5), (no. 31C3- no. 31C5), (no. 31D3- no. 31D5)
73. "Topography-ye Tehrān", in: *Aṭlas-e Kalānšahr-e Tehrān*,
<http://atlas.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=166> (Date: 6.2.2013)
74. Viollet, Henry: *C.N.R.S. Monde Iranien*, Archives National de France.
75. Žiā'pur, Ğalil: "Barresi-ye Madārek-e Marbuṭ be Pušāk-e Irāniān va Residegi be Neveštehā va Nažariāt-e Šarqšenāsān dar Inbāre", in: *Iranian Cultural Heritage & Tourism Organization-Documentation Center*.
<http://www.ichodoc.ir/p-a/CHANGED/65/html/65-11.htm> (Date: 5.6.2011)