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Original Research Article

Explaining the Effects of the Socio-Economic Institution of Waqf on the Urban Spatial Organization (Case Study: Mashhad in the Safavid Era)

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Abstract

Problem statement: Under the influence of Imam Reza (AS) holy shrine, the Waqf institution has played a serious role in the spatial organization of Mashhad in different periods, especially in the Safavid era, but this issue has been less studied due to the difficulty in representing the urban spatial organization of previous eras.

Research objective: The present study intends to explain the effects of the Waqf socio-economic institution on the spatial organization of the city by representing the urban spatial organization in the Safavid era and examining the endowments of Mashhad in this period.

Research method: First the map of Mashhad urban spatial organization in the Safavid era was drawn based on maps, documents, and historical books, and in the next step, by examining historical sources and endowment letters, 45 identifiable endowed properties were located in the map and finally the location of these endowed properties in the relationship with the urban spatial organization were analyzed.

Conclusion: The result shows that the most important endowment-based change of the city of Mashhad in the Safavid era is the construction of the main street called “Chaharbagh (Khyaban)”, “Atiq Square” and two gates of Bala Khyaban and Paen Khyaban. Urban spatial organization, including urban spaces, the arterial network of the main city, centers of activity, urban landscape and landmarks, natural organs, socio-cultural structure, and political-security structure, has been seriously transformed by endowment-based changes. Endowment-base changes while maintaining the organic connection with the old structure, changing the north-south structure of the city to the east-west direction structure. It organizes the centers of activity and the key elements of the urban and metropolitan scale, such as educational, religious, Sanitary, accommodational, and commercial land uses (which have been mainly endowed) in this axis. This has facilitated access to the holy shrine to the two gates and Arg-e shahi, making the two unique visual corridors and creating four significant landmarks.

Keywords: *Waqf, Safavid, Spatial organization, Khyaban, Chaharbagh, Urban Space.*

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Introduction

Waqf is one of the religious instructions of Islam which has been highly emphasized by religious scholars and for centuries and it has left significant effects on the economic, social, political, and physical dimensions of Muslim cities. The word waqf literally means “detention or stopping” (Nour, 2015). The Shahid-e Awwal expresses the meaning of waqf in Islamic jurisprudence as “imprisonment of property and abandonment of advantage”¹ (Dadmarzi, 1999). Waqf is a religious endowment, a property giving revenues, as regulated by Islamic law (Saduman & Aysun, 2009). It insured permanent services and incomes for the deprived persons and thus strengthened the social cohesion in the Muslim cities (Nour, 2015). Its actual purpose was to gain, keep, and circulate the usufruct of the waqf properties under the shelter of Islamic law (Toru, 2018). Waqf is generally observed all over the Islamic lands. There are more than 490,000 registered Islamic endowments in India, inclusive of an area of 600,000 acres (about 240,000 hectares) (Obaidullah, 2016). A similar situation existed in the Ottoman Empire, Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia. Waqf has been studied in various studies as a socio-economic institution (Efendic & Bisić, 2020; Nabi, Islam, Bakar & Masduzzaman, 2019; Suhaimi, Rahman & Marican, 2014; Zuki, 2012) and its analysis in correlation to the urban structure has also been considered by many researchers (Deguilhem, 2008; Kana'an, 2001; Keser & Kurt, 2016; Lteif & Soulard, 2019). In Iran, with the advent of Islam, the institution of waqf in cities, especially religious cities such as Mashhad, developed significantly. The existence of Imam Reza holy shrine has attracted the attention of benefactors from different social classes who donate for pilgrimage. The determination of the Shi'a as the official religion in the Safavid period is a turning point in the promotion and development of the Waqf institution. Safavid rulers, especially Shah Abbas I who had 9 journeys to Mashhad², paid special attention to

Mashhad and donated a lot of assets to the shrine of Imam Reza (AS). In addition to the endowments of the holy shrine, many public places and services were dedicated to the public during this period, including Madrassas, caravanserais, cisterns, Qanats, public baths, mosques, and various watermills. This research, using historical documents, books and maps, seeks to answer these questions:

What are the components and elements of the urban spatial organization in the Safavid era?

How are the endowments of the Safavid period distributed throughout the city and what is their impact on the urban spatial organization?

In general, what is the relationship between the socio-economic institution of the Waqf and the urban spatial Organization of Mashhad in the Safavid era?

Research method

The method used is analytical-documentary, in which books, documents, endowment letters, and historical maps of Mashhad and interviews with experts were used accordingly. In the first step, using historical maps, the map of urban spatial organization in the Safavid era was drawn with the required accuracy. In the second step, the locations of identifiable endowments of the mentioned period (45 endowments) were determined on the map using historical books, documents, and endowment letters, and then the position and effects of endowments on the urban spatial organization were analyzed. The area of the present study is the area enclosed in “Tahmasebi Fort”, which covers an area of about 600 hectares.

Geographically speaking, many endowments were located outside of Mashhad in the Safavid era (outside of the Tahmasebi fort) (Fig. 1) and they are not discussed in this study. Also, this research has not dealt with endowments before and after the Safavid period. In the urban structure of the Safavid era, several endowments were donated to the pre-Safavid period, and some endowments were donated to the Safavid era for pre-Safavid

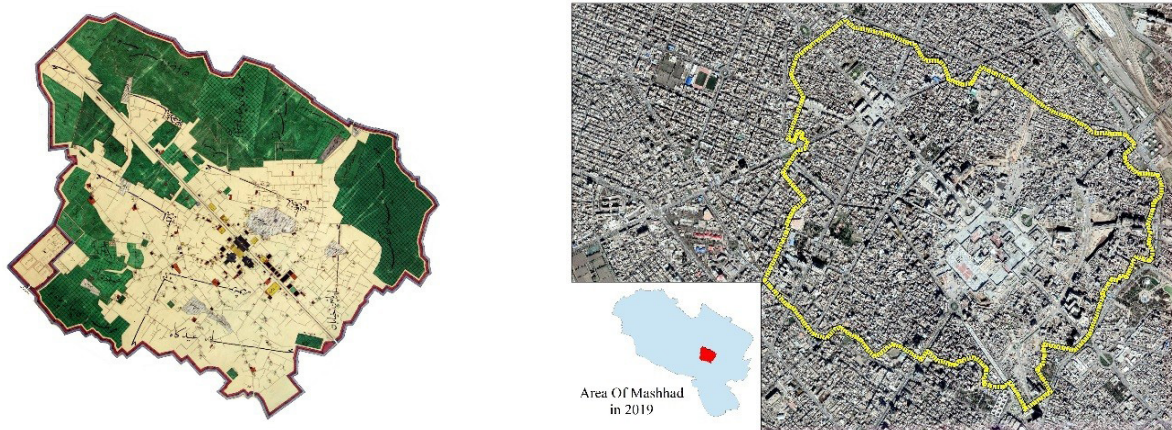


Fig. 1. Area of Study: right: Tahmasebi Fort in Dulmage map, 1869; left: 2019 aerial photo(left). Source: Authors.

endowments. Both are outside the scope of the present study. Therefore, among the countless endowments with documents and specifications, in this research, only the immovable endowments that were donated to the Safavid era are examined.

Urban spatial organization of Mashhad in the Safavid era

The spatial organization is a quality of the spatial arrangement of the urban main elements that helps the citizens to recognize and perceive this order, as well as to orient and move in it (Zekavat, 2011). The Safavid era is a period of prosperity and big physical changes and, consequently, the revolution of the spatial organization in the city of Mashhad, so that part of the organization that has emerged continues to exist after four centuries. There are four main reasons for these changes: 1- Existence of the holy shrine of Imam Reza (as): In the pre-Safavid centuries, especially the Timurid period, Mashhad was considered by kings due to the presence of the holy shrine of Imam Reza (AS). The Safavid era was no exception to this rule. 2- Recognition of Shi'a in the Safavid era: This caused the government to pay special attention to the prosperity of Mashhad as the burial place of the eighth Imam of the Shi'a. One of the signs of Safavid rulers' interest in Mashhad Reza (AS) is the burial of Shah Tahmaseb I³, Allahverdi-Khan⁴, the general of the Safavid Empire, and Sheikh Baha'i⁵,

a famous Safavid scientist, near the holy shrine of Hazrat Reza (AS). 3- Shah Abbas paid homage to the rulers of Khorasan. Shah Abbas owed his monarchy to the rulers of Khorasan and for this reason, Mashhad flourished during his reign. The kings of Khorasan elected Abbas Mirza (son of Shah Mohammad Khodabandeh, who lives in Herat) as a king and declared independence. After that, following the war and conflict over the capture of Abbas Mirza, Murshidqoli-Khan Estajloo won and entered Mashhad with Abbas Mirza. In 1586, next to Kuhsangi, by placing a royal crown on his head, he officially introduced him as the Sultan of Iran (Rezvani, 2005, 153). 4- Creating lasting security in the region through the military reinforcement of the city of Mashhad: Mashhad had been attacked by Uzbeks, and ensuring its security was a serious concern for the government. In the following, the most important physical changes of the city that caused evolution in the spatial organization of Mashhad in the Safavid era are discussed.

• **Fort and gates:** The construction of Tahmasebi fort is the most important change in the urban structure of Mashhad in the Safavid era. Shah Tahmaseb ordered the construction of the city fort in 1529 to counter the Uzbek invasion and completed it in 1536⁶ (ibid., 153). After the construction of the fifth and last fort by Shah Tahmaseb, the city had four gates named Noghan (north), Idgah (southeast), Sarab (west), Mir Ali

Amouyeh (northeast), and the construction of the main street called “Khyaban” in the era of Shah Abbas, He also added Bala Khyaban and Paeen Khyaban gates (Motevali Haghighi, 2013, 446). The latter two gates gradually became more important than the others and played a regulating role in urban structure in relation to the “Khyaban”. In the post-Safavid period, these two gates also increased their importance because the main centers of activity, especially the caravanserais, expanded in the backbone of the city, the “Khyaban” and received many pilgrims and commercial caravans. Also, these two gates, along with the western and eastern entrances of the Sahn-e Atigh, are the most important urban landmarks that emerged in the Safavid era.

• **Neighborhood:** Mashhad had five neighborhoods of Noghan, Sarshur, Idgah, Chaharbagh, and Sarab before the Safavid era and Bala Khyaban and Paeen Khyaban neighborhoods were added after the construction of the Khyaban. The largest neighborhood was called Noghan which was one of the important populated centers of Tus province along with Radkan, Troughband, and Tabaran, and in the early centuries of Islam was the capital of this province (Pakzad, 2011, 194). Noghan after the Mongol invasion, the destruction of Tabaran, and the construction of Tahmasebi fort became a neighborhood of Mashhad. Sarab neighborhood was considered the oldest neighborhood of Mashhad after Noghan. This neighborhood was located in the southwest of the city and the village of old Sanabad (Motevali Haghighi, 2013, 450). Sarshur neighborhood was in the south of the holy shrine and the Zanjir and Sarshur markets were formed in its length. The Idgah neighborhood was located southeast of the holy shrine and adjacent to the Idgah gate. Bala Khyaban neighborhood, approximately from Bala Khyaban and north of Sarab and Chaharbagh neighborhoods, was identified after the construction of the “Khyaban” and gradually became one of the aristocratic areas of the city, and Paeen Khyaban neighborhood with

the construction of the “Khyaban” and the Khyaban gate also became one of the most important service areas in the east of the city.

• **Markets:** The most important markets of the city in the Safavid era were located around the holy shrine. Zanjir and Sarshur markets in the southwest, Sangtrashha⁷, Noghan, Hakkak-Ha, and Haj Aghajan markets in the north, Abbasgholikhaneh, and Siah-Ab or Siabon linear markets in Paeen Khyaban were among the city markets that generally existed before Safavid and had a north-south structure (Aerial Photo Of Mashhad, 1956; Dulmage, 1869; Kavarianian, 1975; Khanykov, 1996; Lashkar-e 8th Khorasan, 1954; Mahvan, 2004; McGregor, 1987; Modarres Razavi, Fayyaz, Moayed Sabeti, Molavi & Farrokh, 2006; Motevali Haghighi, 2013; Pakzad, 2011; Rahnama, 2011; Tash Consulting Engineers, 2006). With the development of the Sahn-e Atigh, the North-south market was divided into two sections and Bast-e Bala Khyaban and Bast-e Paeen Khyaban were created in the west and east of Sahn-e Atigh, which led to the formation of two new markets with an east-west structure perpendicular to the old market. Gradually, various shops and services were developed in Paeen Khyaban and Bala Khyaban and towards the city gates, and over time, this area became the most important and prosperous center of activity in the city (Fig. 2).

• **Road network:** Before the Safavid period, the general structure of urban roads follows the north-south pattern. One of the main streets was the street that connected Noghan Gate to Idgah Gate. The other main street in the direction of Mashhad main market starts from Noghan neighborhood and connects to the holy shrine and then enters Sarshur neighborhood. “In the time of the Timurids, the historical axis of Mashhad market, which connects the two neighborhoods of Noghan and Sarshur, by placing buildings such as Goharshad Mosque, Prizad Madressa, Balasar Madressa, Dodar Madressa and two tombs of Amir Shah Malek and a Gonbad-e Kheshti⁹ became one of the

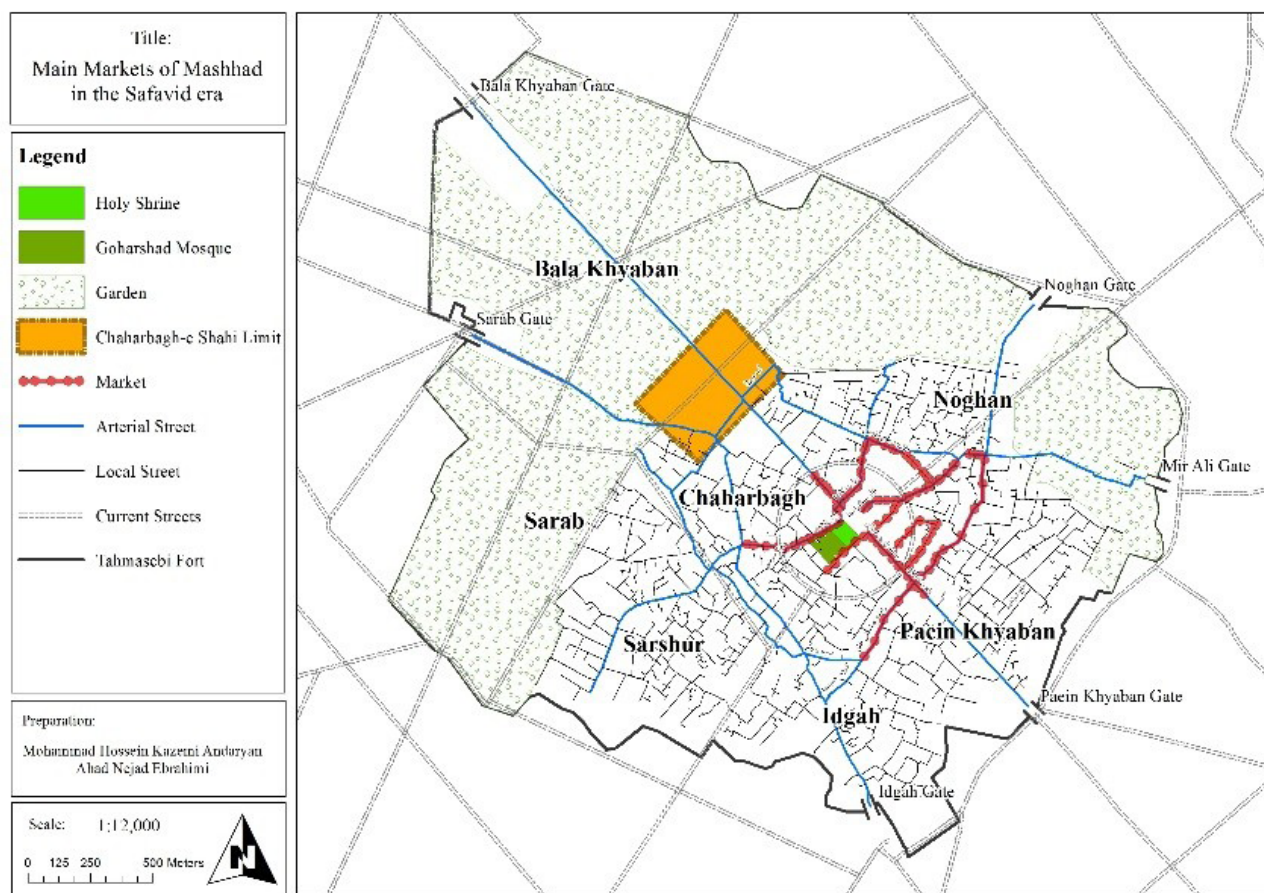


Fig. 2. Main Markets of Mashhad in the Safavid era. Source: Authors⁸

most valuable historical axes of Iran”(Mokhlesi, 1995, 626; Pakzad, 2011, 370). Another north-south street connected Noghhan to the aristocratic and governmental neighborhood of Chaharbagh. In addition, there are three east-west arteries two of which connect Arg-e Shahi to the three gates of Idgah, Sarab and Mir Ali Amouya. The first street starts from Mir Ali Amouyeh Gate in the northeast and ends at Arg and the second street starts from the gate of Idgah in the southeast and after passing through Arg-e Shahi in Chaharbagh neighborhood, leads to the gate of Sarab. The third street starts parallel to the recent passage from Idgah neighborhood and leads to Chaharbagh neighborhood (Aerial Photo Of Mashhad, 1956; Dulmage, 1869; Kavarianian, 1975; Khanykov, 1996; Lashkar-e 8th Khorasan, 1954; Mahvan, 2004; McGregor, 1987; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006; Motevali Haghighi, 2013; Pakzad, 2011;

Rahnama, 2011; Tash Consulting Engineers, 2006, 13). The construction of the “Khyaban” with a length of 3200 and a width of 30 meters in 1642 added the fourth and most important east-west axis to the city. In addition to the four gates of Idgah, Sarab, Noghhan, and Mir Ali Amouyeh, Arg was also connected to the fifth and sixth gates (Fig. 3). This physical intervention in the ancient context of Mashhad, which is unique in its kind, was carried out 250 years before Haussmann’s interventions (in the middle of the nineteenth century) in the central context of Paris. After the construction of the Khyaban that divides the city into northern and southern sections, a new order prevails in the spatial organization, which leads to the development in the direction of the east-west backbone of the city.

• **Urban significant land uses:** The three elements of the holy shrine complex, Goharshad Mosque,

and Arg-e Shahi, like the Timurid period, were the most prominent elements of the city in the Safavid era. With the construction of the Khyaban, the Holy shrine and the Goharshad mosque were directly connected to Chaharbagh-e Shahi and the distance between this Chaharbagh and the Holy shrine became one of the most important urban axes. Before the construction of the Khyaban, the main elements of the city such as mosques, Public Baths, caravanserais, Madressas, etc were located along the “North-South linear markets” such as Noghan and Sarshur, but the construction of the “Khyaban” was oriented centers of activity in the east-west direction while maintaining the organic connection with the ancient components.

Endowments of Mashhad in the Safavid era

One of the policies of the Safavid dynasty for

the development of Mashhad was the use of the endowment institution for creating and maintaining places. The holy shrine in the Safavid period went through a significant development to cover its current affairs and the costs of maintenance and management of places (such as feeding pilgrims, cleaning places, lighting, etc.) by donating abundant assets by Safavid rulers and sultans to the shrine of Imam Reza (AS). In addition, several places were created in the city with different land uses. The endowments of the city of Mashhad in the Safavid period are examined in two categories: “endowments of the holy shrine” and “other endowments”.

• Endowments of the Holy Shrine

The exact number of endowments of Holy Shrine and other urban endowments of Mashhad is not very clear because many documents and some endowments themselves have been destroyed due

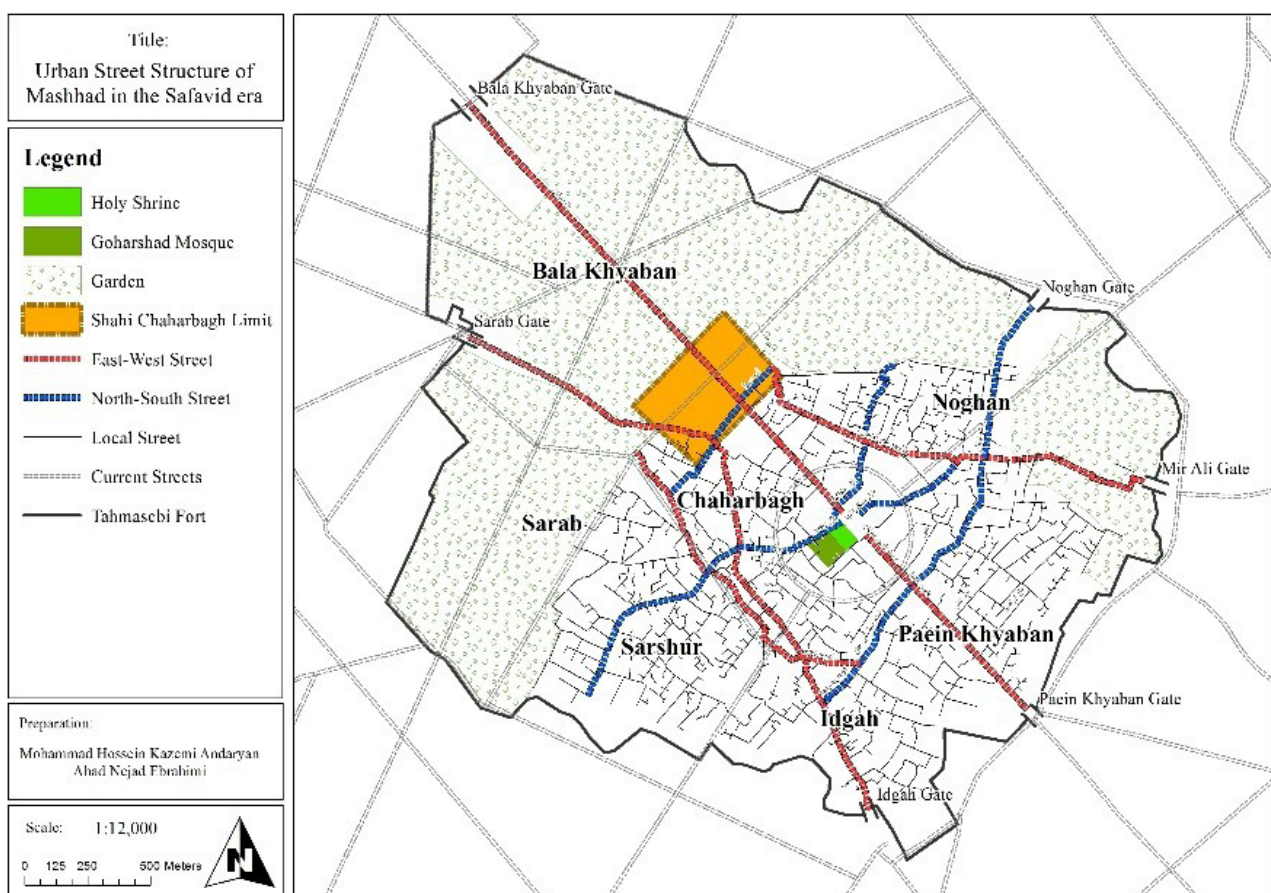


Fig. 3. Urban Street Structure of Mashhad in the Safavid era. Source: Authors¹⁰.

to repeated attacks by enemies, some have been seized by sultans and rulers and some have been seized by profiteers. However, among a large number of endowments with documents and specifications, this study examines immovable endowments that were endowed in the Safavid era. Hassanabadi has mentioned 73 endowments in the Safavid period (Hassanabadi, 2012, 22-25), of which many are outside the scope of Tahmasebi and are not discussed in this study. In the following section, the endowments located in the area of Tahmasebi fortification will be briefly introduced. One of the most important endowments of this period is the “Nahr-e Khyaban”. Amir Alishir Navaei, Minister of Sultan Hussein Bayqara Teymouri, solved the problem of water shortage in Mashhad by transferring the water of Golasb(Gilas) spring from a distance of 44 km the northwest of Mashhad to the city of Mashhad itself (Fig. 4). After the construction of the “Khyaban” in 1021, Shah Abbas Safavid bought the water of Golasb spring from its owners, built the “Nahr” in the middle of the “Khyaban” in 1023, and dedicated it to the holy shrine. He had emphasized in the endowment letter that the construction of a branch pipe for carrying water to the house, garden, or agricultural land was forbidden (consumption is only limited to the need and water was allowed to be taken using a container). He had said, Nahr must reach the holy shrine and after leaving the city fort must use for the “Khyaban farm” (which was also dedicated to the holy shrine) and its income should be used for the kitchen of the holy shrine to feed the pilgrims¹¹(Astan Quds Razavi, 1857, 9-11).

Other endowments of the holy shrine in this period included three Public Baths (Sarsang(Mahdi Gholi Beyk), Aghcheh (Hazrati) and Shahvardi-khan), three caravanserais (Sultanom, Shahvardi-khan, and Allahverdi-khan), Dar al-Shifa, a cistern and a cemetery whose specifications and locations are presented in Table 1 and Fig. 5. It is noteworthy

that, except for Dar al-Shifa, which has a nameless benefactor, most of the benefactors were sultans and kings of the Safavid dynasty.

In addition to the items mentioned in Table 1, documents are mentioned three qanats named Mehdi Gholi Beyk (1617), Atiq Ali Munshi (1524), and Haji Jalaluddin Mohammad; Four watermills named Allahvardi-khan, Haji Jalaluddin Mohammad, Shah Sultan Hussein, and Amir Alaeddin Mohammad, one public bath named Abul Hassan Sahib Nasagh, and one caravanserai named Mohammad Hadi Sharif Vazir-Khan. Unfortunately, there isn't exact information about these places. Endowment letters also refer to numerous shops, houses, and lands, which are difficult to locate due to the lack of precise addresses.

• Other endowments of the city

Apart from the endowments that were dedicated to cover the expenses of the holy shrine during the Safavid period, several religious, educational, sanitary, and accommodational land uses were also built during this period and were dedicated for public use. The characteristics of these endowments are examined below.

- Religious land use

Mosques can be considered the oldest and most important endowments because since the advent of Islam, almost all mosques have been dedicated to the public and there wasn't private ownership for these religious places. The Safavid era is no

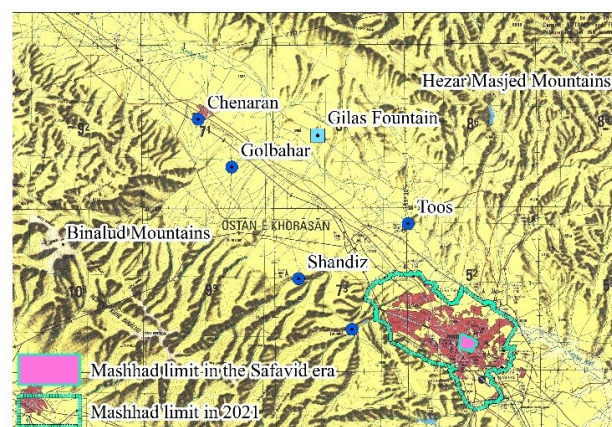


Fig. 4. Location of Gilas fountain. Source: Authors ¹².

Table 1. Details of endowments of the holy shrine in the Safavid era. Source: Authors.

Row	Type	Name	Waqif	Year	Location	Explanation	Source
1	Creek	Nahr-e Khyaban	Shah Abbas	1614	Along Bala Khyaban and the Paen Khyaban	In 1966, with the cutting of old trees on its sides, it was covered	(Mahvan, 2004; Roshani Zaferanloo, 1977, 202; Shahidi, 2015, 186) and numerous other sources
2		Sarsang Mahdi Gholi Beyk ¹³	Mahdi Gholi Beyk	1618	In Chahar Sogh ¹⁴	With adjacent shops ¹⁵	(Seyyedi, 2003, 55)
3	Bathroom	Aghcheh (Hazrati)	Atiq Ali Munshi	1525	-	This bath is also attributed to the wife of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (Aghche)	(Shahidi, 2015)
4		Shahverdi-Khan	Shahverdi Beyk	1680	North side of the Paen Khyaban	With caravanserais and adjoining shops	(Kavianian, 1975, 474; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 57-97; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 551)
5	Dar -al-Shafa	-	-	-	Zanjir market	Opposite the entrance of Goharshad Mosque	(Valian, 1977, 65)
6	Cistern	Mehrab-Khan ¹⁶	Mehrab-Khan	-	Noghan	It is located on the ground floor of Mehrab-Khan Mosque	(Rahnama, 2011, 81)
7		Sultanom ¹⁷ / Sultani	Prince Sultanom	-	Sarshur market	It was destroyed in 1975	(Atarodi, 2001; Abdul Hamid Molavi, 2010, 119-134; Rahnama, 2011, 208)
8	Caravanserai	Shahverdi-khan	Shahverdi Beyk	1680	North side of the Paen Khyaban	With bathroom and adjoining shops	(Kavianian, 1975, 474; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 57-97; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 551)
9		Allahverdi-khan	Allahverdi-khan	1588	North side the Paen Khyaban	-	(Rahnama, 2011, 73; Sheibani, 2001, 15-16)
10	Cemetery	Paen Pa ¹⁸	Shah Abbas	1603	Paen Pa	The income is for the holy shrine	(Kavianian, 1975, 214)

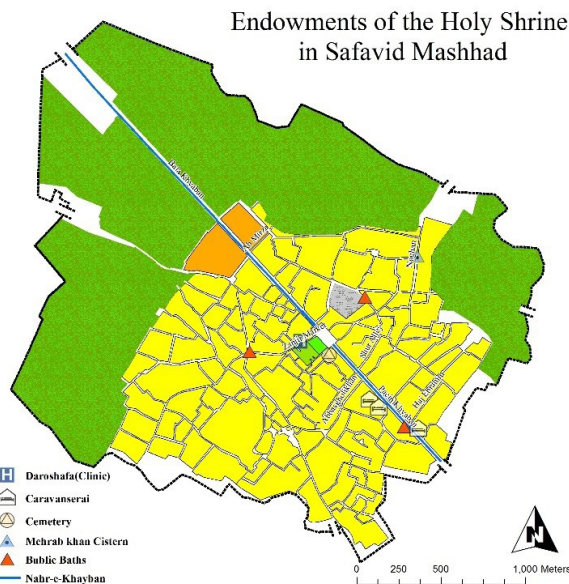


Fig. 5. Endowments of the Holy Shrine in Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors.

exception to this rule and in various sources, a total of 9 important mosques have been attributed to this period. In addition to the mentioned

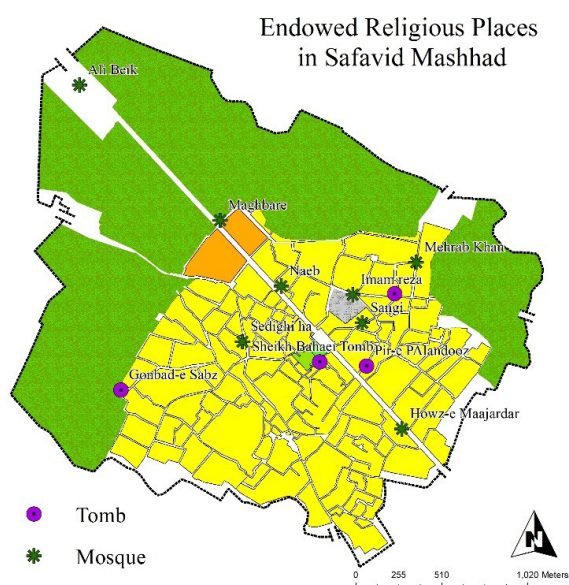
mosques, the Mosalla Paen Khyaban was built outside the Paen Khyaban gate to be used for special rituals such as Eid al-Adha, Eid al-Fitr, and the prayer of Ayat that the Grand Mosque could not accommodate a large crowd of prayers. The former Mosalla of Mashhad was located near Torogh (southeast of Mashhad). After being destroyed by an earthquake, a new Mosalla was built in 1667. Three important tombs, Pir-e Palanduz, the Gonbad-e Sabz, and the Gonbad-e Kheshti (which still exist today), belong to the Safavid period. The general characteristics and approximate locations of religious places are shown in Table 2 and Fig. 6.

- Educational land use

In the Safavid era, educational places grew significantly so that 11 Madrassa named Nawab, Abbasgholi-Khan, Khairat-Khan, Mirza Jafar, Baqirieh (Samieieh), Behzadiieh (Haj Hassan), Fazel-Khan, Saadiyeh (Paen Pa), Abdal-Khan,

Table 2. Details of religious and pilgrimage spaces built in the Safavid era. Source: Authors.

Type	Name	Waqif	Year	Location	Explanation	Source
Mosque	Imam Reza (AS) Mosque (Ghatlgah Mosque)	Mahdi Gholi-Khan Ishik Aghasi Bashi	1603 ¹⁹	Ghatlgah Cemetery	Destruction due to the development of the holy shrine	(Khorasani, 1962)
	Naeb mosque	Naeb	The 17th century,	Adjacent to Nawab Madressa,	Reconstructed in 1997	(Rahnama, 2011, 165-166)
	Mehrab-Khan Mosque ²⁰	Mehrab-Khan (the ruler of the Merv city)	About 1603	Noghan linear market	In use	(Atarodi, 2001, 233-234; Ghassabian, 1998)
	Howz-e Maajardar Mosque	Khajeh Beyk	1643	The Paen Khyaban	Mosque was destroyed in 2017	(Cultural Heritage, 2019; Khorasani, 1962)
	Sangi mosque	Unknown	Safavid era	Gonbad-e Kheshti alley	It was destroyed Around 2000	(Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 110)
	Gonbad-e Kheshti Mosque	Haji Mirza Ali	Shah Abbas era	adjacent to the existing Gonbad-e Kheshti	In use	(Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 112)
	Maghbare Mosque	Shah Abbas	1623	on the Khyaban (adjacent to Naderi Garden)	In use	(Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 113)
Mosalla	Ali Beyk Mosque	-	Shah Abbas era	near the gate of the Bala Khyaban	Has been renamed to Heidariha Mosque	(Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 113-221)
	Siddighi Mosque	-	-	-	-	-
	Mosalla- Paen Khyaban	Shah Soleiman-Safavi ²¹	1668	the Paen Khyaban	In use (outside the Tahmasebi Fort)	(Rahnama, 2011, 187)
Tombs and domes	Gonbad-e Kheshti Tomb	-	Shah Abbas era	Tabarsi Street	Tomb of Imamzadeh Mohammad	(Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 139-140; Rahnama, 2011, 182)
	Gonbad-e sabs dome	Shah Abbas II	1648	Khaki Street	Tomb of Sheikh Momen Astarabadi	(Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 140,224)
	Tomb of Pir-e Palanduz ²²	-	1577	the Paen Khyaban	The tomb of Mohammad Aref Abbasi	(Rahnama, 2011, 184)
	Tomb of Sheikh Baha'i	-	1621	Southwest of the holy shrine	Safavid scientist	(Rahnama, 2011, 184-185)

Fig. 6. Endowed Religious Places in Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors²³.

Khaje Rezvan (Hji Rezvan) and Amir Nasser were dedicated. This level of development is unique in the history of Mashhad. Educational endowed places had endowments for educational expenditures. Table 3 summarizes the status of each Madressa with its endowments and Fig. 7 shows their approximate status.

Sanitary land use

Public baths have been a constant urban land use in different eras. In the city of Mashhad, due to the numerous pilgrimage and commercial caravans in the city in the Safavid era, this need has become more important than ever. Apart from Mahdi Gholi Beyk and Aghcheh Public Baths, which were inspected in the endowment section of the holy shrine, some endowed public

Table 3. Details of endowed educational land uses and their endowments in the Safavid era. Source: Authors.

Row	Name of Madressa	Waqif	Year	Location	Endowments (inside Tahmasebi Fortress)	Source
1	Nawab ²⁴	Mirza Saleh ²⁵	1675	East of Holy shrine	Sarshur public bath and Timcheh connected to the public bath, a house and lands connected to the public bath and also 16 shops connected to the Madressa	(Khorasani, 1962, 851; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 93; A.H Molavi, 1965; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 251)
2	Abbasqholi-khan ²⁶	Abbasqholi-khan	1667	The Paecen Khyaban	Bath and caravanserai Connection of public to the Madressa with 128 rooms, all shops of market located at the bottom of the Madressa and caravanserai (100 chapters), shops in north and east of the Madressa and market (49 chapters)	(Dehghan, 2016, 369; Khorasani, 1962, 851; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 251; Seyyedi, 2003, 162-163)
3	Khairat-khan ²⁷	Khairat-khan ²⁸	1648	The north side of the Bast-e Paecen Khyaban	16 shops connected to the Madressa	(Dehghan, 2016, 323; Khorasani, 1962, 851; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 251; Seyyedi, 2003, 156)
4	Mirza Jafar ²⁹	Mirza Jafar	1649	Northeast Sahn-e Atiq	30 shops, a watermill, 2 caravanserai and Timche and two public baths	(Khorasani, 1962, 851; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 251; Seyyedi, 2003, 159)
5	Baqirieh (Samieieh)	Mohammad Samie ³⁰	1672	The Bast-e Bala Khyaban ³¹	-	(Dehghan, 2016, 327; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 93-99; Rahnama, 2011, 143)
6	Behzadie ³²	Malek Behzad-Khan	1674	Between Baqirieh and Nawab Madressas	-	(Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 252; Seyyedi, 2003, 171)
7	Fazel-Khan (Fazelieh) ³³	Fazel (Toni) Brothers	1669	South side of the Bast-e Baka Khyaban	-	(Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 251; Seyyedi, 1999, 198-199; 2003, 168)
8	Saadiyeh (Paecen Pa) ³⁴	Saad al-Din Mohammad, Minister of Khorasan ³⁵	1675	Behind the tomb of Sheikh Baha'i	Adjacent Timche to the Madressa	(Dehghan, 2016, 328; Khorasani, 1962, 853; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 93)
9	Abdal-khan ³⁶	Abdal-khan ³⁷	1682	After the building of Pirpalandoz, adjacent to Shoor alley	-	(Dehghan, 2016, 329; Rahnama, 2011, 142; Seyyedi, 2003, 173)
10	Khajeh Rezvan / Haji Rezvan ³⁸	Khajeh Rezvan	1685	Idgah neighborhood	-	(Kabiri, 1336, 44; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 220; Rahnama, 2011, 143)
11	Amir Nasser	Saaduddin Mohammad	1680	The end of Abbasgholi-khan alley	-	(Khanykov, 1996, 119,285)

baths were responsible for serving the people and pilgrims. The specifications of these Public Baths are listed in Table 4 and their approximate position is shown in Fig. 8.

- Accommodational -service land use

Caravanserais have been the most important manifestation of accommodational-service spaces in the past eras, due to the high prosperity of Mashhad in the Safavid period,

their construction has been noticed. Among the various caravanserais of the Safavid period, at least 3 caravanserais (except for the 3 endowed caravanserais of Astan-e Quds) were built in the city of Mashhad (Noei, 2016). The location of these Caravanserais is shown in Fig. 9. The other two caravanserais, Salar (built during the reign of Shah Tahmaseb and near the holy shrine) and Dar al-Zawar (built in 1680 on the north side

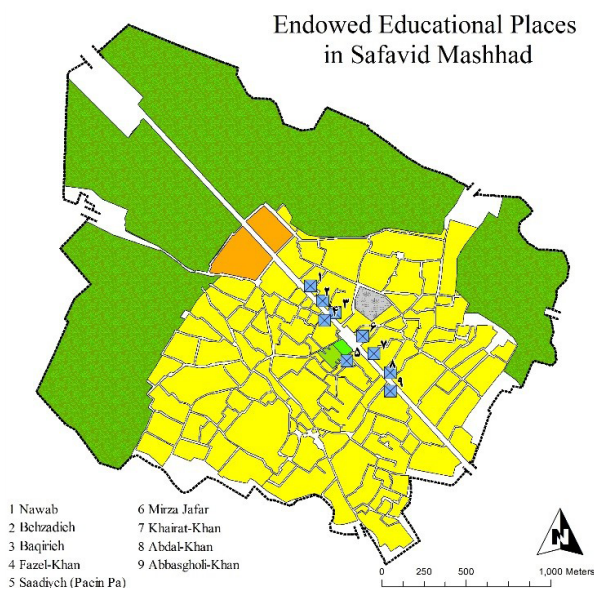


Fig. 7. Endowed Educational Places in Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors³⁹.

down the Khyaban) are not well known and their endowment status is unclear (Khanykov, 1996; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006).

- Other land uses

Cisterns and watermills are among the endowed land uses of this period. The construction of the Nahr-e Khyaban on the west-east axis of the city paved the way for the construction of cisterns and watermills. Among the watermills, only one watermill has been mentioned in the documents, about which detailed information is not available. Regarding the cisterns, apart from

the Mehrab-Khan cistern, which was examined in the section of the holy shrine endowment, at least three other cisterns have been dedicated in this period, the characteristics of which are shown in Table 5, and their approximate position is shown in Fig. 10.

Waqf institution and spatial organization of Mashhad in the Safavid era

After explaining the urban spatial of the Safavid era and stating the characteristics of the endowments of this period, in this section, the relationship between endowments and the urban spatial organization and their mutual effects are investigated.

• Urban spaces

The analysis shows that the main motivation for the construction of the “Khyaban” is the creation of urban space, a public garden, and a magnificent and suitable path to access the Holy Shrine complex (as the largest endowed complex of the Age of Pages). This unique urban space in combination with two other elements, namely the gate and the Sahn-e Atiq, makes the Khyaban appear from the urban space. The Khyaban, which was built in the style of Isfahan’s Chaharbagh, with four rows of trees and a stream in the middle, started at the gate of Bala Khyaban and

Table 4. Details of endowed public baths of the Safavid era. Source: Authors.

Row	Name	Waqif	Year	Location	Explanation	Source
1	<i>Mahdi Gholi Beyk</i> (Sarsang public bath) ⁴⁰	<i>Mahdi Gholi Beyk</i> ⁴¹	1618	In Chahar Sogh	Adjacent to the tomb of Amir Shah Malek ⁴²	(Mustofi, 1938; Seyyedi, 2003, 55)
2	Aghcheh (Hazrati)	Atiq Ali Munshi ⁴³	-	Hazrati Bazaar	-	(Shahidi, 2015)
3	Zeynab Beygom ⁴⁴	Zeynab Beygom	-	Bozorg Market	Destroyed in 1975	(Atarodi, 2001)
4	Abbas qoli khan	Abbās-qolī Khan	1667	Adjacent to Abbasgholi-khan Madressa	Endowment of Abbasgholi-khan Madressa	(Mahvan, 2004, 437; Noei, 2016)
5	<i>Mirza Ibrahim</i>	-	-	-	-	(Shahidi, 2015)
6	Darvaze	-	-	-	-	(Astan Quds Razavi, 1857; Shahidi, 2015)
7	<i>Mahdi Gholi Beyk</i> (Sarsang public bath)	Mahdi Gholi Beyk	-	In Chahar Sogh	Adjacent to the tomb of Amir Shah Malek	(Mustofi, 1938; Seyyedi, 2003, 55)

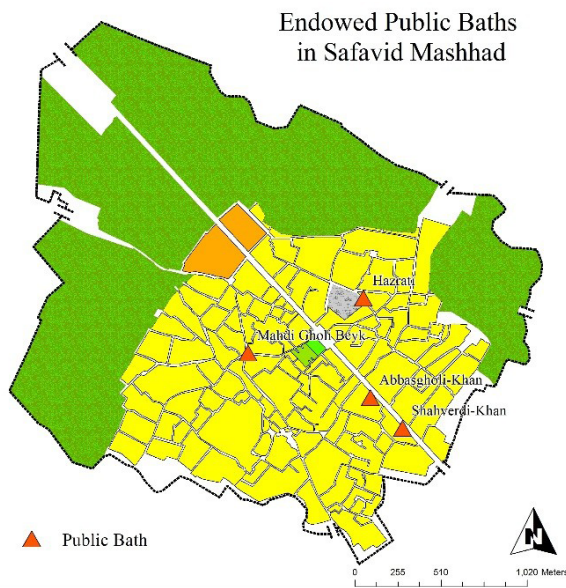
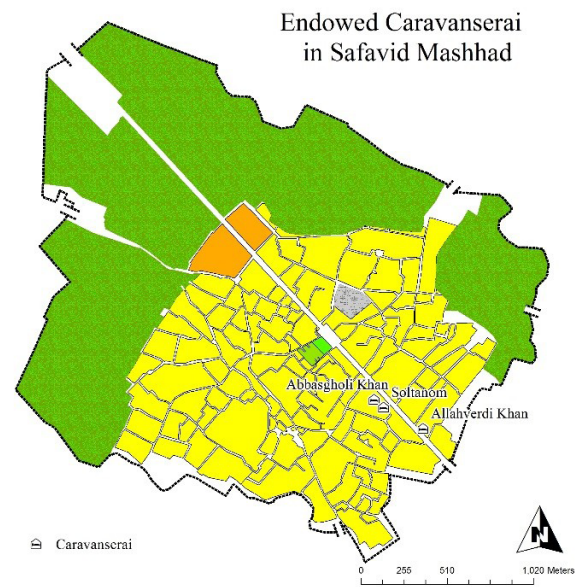
Fig. 8. Endowed Public Baths in Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors⁴⁵.

Fig. 9. Endowed Caravanserai in Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors.

Table 5. Details of endowed water mill and cistern of the Safavid era. Source: Authors.

Row	Type	Name	Waqif	Year	Location	Explanation	Source
1	Cistern	Mahdi Gholi Beyk	Mahdi Gholi Beyk Shamlou	1603	Next to the Ghatlgah mosque	-	(Astan Quds Razavi, 1857; Shahidi, 2015)
2		The Paen Khyaban ⁴⁶	-	-	The Paen Khyaban	Known as the Howz-e Majardar	-
3		Howz-e Borji	-	-	Southeast of the Holy shrine	The end of Karbala street	(Rahnama, 2011, 106)
4	Water mill	Bala Khyaban	-	-	Bala Khyaban	-	-

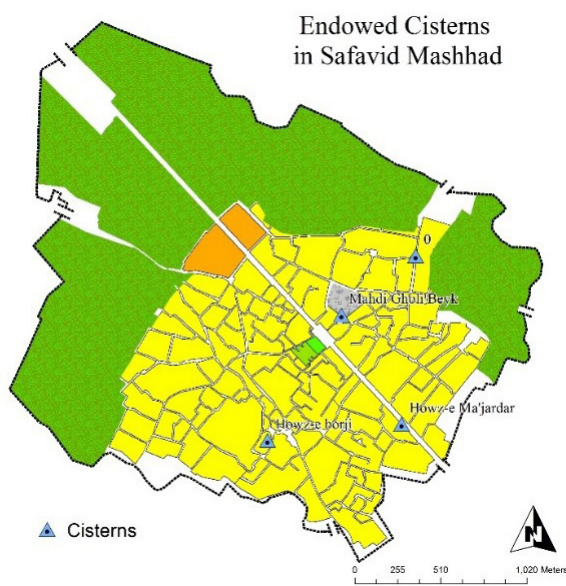


Fig. 10. Endowed Cisterns in Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors.

after intersecting with the Sahn-e Atiq, reached the gate of the Paen Khyaban.

• Network of Main Road

The construction of the Khyaban as a new urban space not only improved the spatial qualities of the city, but also this endowment-based change had serious effects on the structure of the city, the most important of which was the creation of a unique east-west street and transformation of the north-south structure. As discussed in the previous sections, the city's markets such as Noghan and Sarshur, which operated on the north-south axis of the city and also played the role of urban streets, but the construction of the Khyaban by splitting these two important linear markets introduce itself as the backbone and the

main pillar of the ossification of the city and due to its special features, it has become an unrivaled artery of the city and directs development in the east-west direction. On the other hand, The Khyaban connects the north-south streets of the city, connecting them and facilitating access on a regional and local scale. The third effect of The Khyaban on the structure of the city's streets was the creation of two new gates called the Paen Khyaban and the Bala Khyaban (at the eastern and western ends of the city and overlooking the holy shrine) to communicate with the city outside so that travelers could enter the city and directly access the holy shrine and Arg as soon as possible.

• Socio-cultural construction

The structure of the neighborhoods has been changed by the construction of new neighborhoods and two new neighborhoods have been added to the city. These two neighborhoods gradually became two important neighborhoods of Mashhad and in the present era they are still called that the same name. On the other hand, the construction of 11 Madressas during the Safavid period, according to available sources, at least 9 of them were located in the direction of the "Khyaban" and near the holy shrine, causes the metropolitan cultural-educational center in the "Khyaban" to be active and continue to exist for centuries.

• Centers of activity

After the construction of the Khyaban and in its central part, the area that leads to the Bast-e Bala Khyaban and the Bast-e Paen Khyaban, an east-west linear market is formed, which connects the north-south linear markets and cause them synergic to create a powerful activity center. Also, the study of the spatial distribution of Safavid endowments shows that a significant part of them in contrast to the works of previous periods which were formed along the north-south linear markets, following the east-west structure of the "Khyaban", have been located in the new

ossification of the city. At least 4 mosques, 8 Madressas, 3 caravanserais, two public baths, and a large number of shops are among these endowments.

• Urban landscapes and landmarks

The construction of two new gates and their direct connection to the Holy shrine and the construction of the Sahn-e Atiq (with two prominent and lofty entrances on the east and west sides), which were visible as soon as entering the city, create two very strong visual corridors in the city. These corridors lead to a central landmark, the Holy shrine. In fact, combining the "Khyaban" with four urban landmarks doubles the importance of the "Khyaban".

• Natural organs

One of the most important works of endowment on Safavid Mashhad can be considered as the endowment of Nahr-e Cheshmeh Gilas by Shah Abbas. The endowment of Nahr and its combination with the Khyaban (similar to the Chaharbagh pattern in Isfahan) creates a strong structure that is not limited to just one water canal and performs at least three special functions: 1- A serious change in the natural construction of the city by creating a green and vibrant urban space between the Bala Khyaban and the Paen Khyaban gates to the holy shrine, which stimulates the development of urban functions in the vicinity of the Khyaban. 2- Supply of drinking water needed by the pilgrims 3- Irrigation of the agricultural the Paen Khyaban (which were also dedicated by Shah Abbas to the Holy shrine) In fact, the "Khyaban" was the most magnificent urban space in the history of Mashhad which brought four rows of trees and brought the most important change in the natural construction of the city; a Chaharbagh with a width of about 30 meters between the two eastern and western gates of the city.

• Political-security construction

The connection of Arg-e Shahi to the fifth and

sixth gates, ie the Bala Khyaban and the Paeen Khyaban, is another fundamental change in the structure of the city. Prior to that, Arg was connected to the four gates of Sarab, Noghan, Idgah, and Mir Ali Amouyeh, but the construction of the Bala Khyaban and the Paeen Khyaban gates and their easier and direct access, the importance of the gates of Noghan, Idgah and Mir Ali Amouyeh decreased in proportion to Arg. Another important effect of the Khyaban construction is the direct connection between the power institution and the religion institution. Although those had access to each other in at least two ways, the construction of the Khyaban for the first time caused the two institutions to be directly connected with the shortest distance. Chaharbagh Shahi or Arg complex was built during the Timurid period, and the construction of the Khyaban passing through Chaharbagh caused the government to access Bala Khyaban gate from the west and to be located at the closest distance from the holy shrine to the east. The direct connection of Chaharbagh to the holy shrine gives the impression that one of the goals of the construction of the “Khyaban” is the direct and easy connection of these two important institutions to each other. Table 6 shows the effects of the endowment institution on the spatial organization of Safavid Mashhad, Fig. 11 shows the urban spatial organization of Mashhad Before the Construction of the Khyaban. Fig. 12 shows the endowment map of this era in relation to the city’s spatial organization after the construction of the Khyaban.


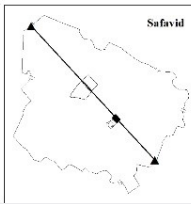

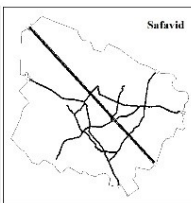

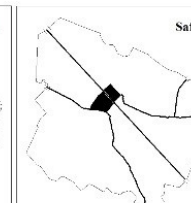


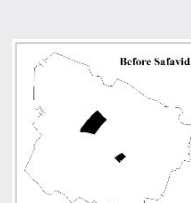


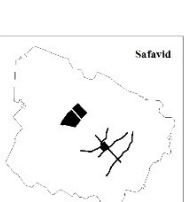
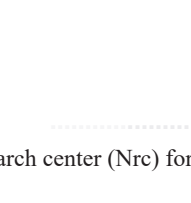
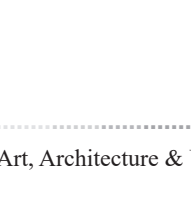
Conclusion

The present study explained the position of the socio-economic institution of the Waqf in the urban spatial organization of Mashhad in the Safavid era by examining documents and historical maps. The study has shown that the construction of the “Khyaban” with creating appropriate and direct access to the holy

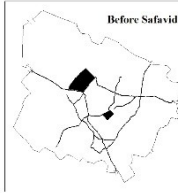
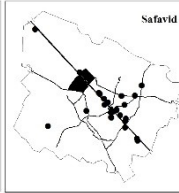
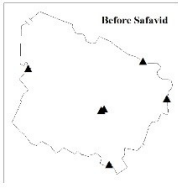
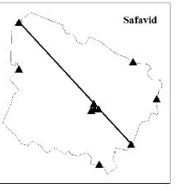


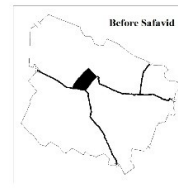
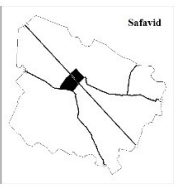
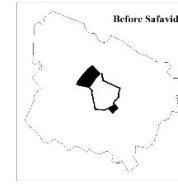

shrine through two gates was considered an endowment-based action. The khyaban changed the structure and spatial organization of the city and while maintaining the organic connection with the ancient structure, replaces the north-south structure of the city with an east-west structure. The “Khyaban-e Chaharbagh”, which in combination with the Sahn-e Atiq created the most important urban space of the eras of Mashhad, adds two new neighborhoods “Bala Khyaban” and the “Paeen Khyaban” to the city by connecting the fort to the gate of Bala Khyaban, it becomes doubly important. On the other hand, Chaharbagh-e Shahi connects to the holy shrine in the closest possible way and in combination with four new urban landmarks (two gates called the Bala Khyaban and the Paeen Khyaban and two western and eastern entrances to the Sahn-e Atiq, creates two beautiful visual corridors. Gradually, with the formation of urban endowments, especially Madressas, Caravanserais, public baths, mosques, etc., new centers of activity will appear along the Khyaban and near the holy shrine, make Mashhad one of the prosperous cities of its time in terms of urban facilities. In general, it should be emphasized that the urban spatial organization of Mashhad was formed from the beginning based on an endowed complex, namely the holy shrine and underwent a slight growth until the Safavid period, but in this era, The spatial organization was changed in such a way as to achieve the greatest harmony with the pilgrimage function of the city. To achieve simultaneously with this action, a set of religious, educational, sanitary, accommodational, etc. endowment functions were formed in the direction of the new organization and made it a more prosperous and vibrant city. The entry of the city into the period of modernity caused fundamental changes in the network of urban endowments to find a different destiny:

1. Preservation of the physical body and

Table 6. The effects of endowment institution on the spatial organization of Mashhad in the Safavid era. Source: Authors.

	Explanation	City map before and after the changes of the endowment of the Safavid era	
		Before Safavid	Safavid
Urban Spaces	<p>“Kkyaban” was the most important urban space in Safavid Mashhad, which was built in the pattern of the Khyaban-e Chaharbagh in Isfahan, and the river that passed through it was dedicated to the holy shrine. Khyaban with desirable spatial quality and in combination with the Sahn-e Atiq and two gates of the Bala Khyaban and the Paen Khyaban, created a unique urban space.</p>		
Main Streets of the city	<p>The construction of the Khyaban as a unique east-west arterial street reduced the importance of the two main north-south linear markets called Noghan and Sarshur and stimulates development in the east-west direction.</p>		
	<p>The Khyaban connected the north-south streets of the city with a straight axis and facilitates access to the old texture.</p>		
	<p>The two Bala Khyaban and Paen Khyaban gates, which were built at the same time and in combination with the “Khyaban”, provided direct and fast access to the holy shrine and Arg.</p>		
Socio-cultural construction	<p>The creation of the Khyaban and two gates called Bala Khyaban and Paen Khyaban adds the two neighborhoods the “Bala Khyaban and the Paen Khyaban” to the five old neighborhoods of the city. These two neighborhoods gradually became two important neighborhoods of Mashhad to the extent that in the present era they are called more or less the same name.</p>		
	<p>The construction of at least 9 Madressas along the “Khyaban” and near the holy shrine, activates the cultural-educational focus of the city in the “Khyaban”, which lasts for several centuries.</p>		
	<p>In the central part of the “Khyaban”, that was, the area that connects the holy shrine from the east and west, an east-west linear market is formed, which also connects the north-south linear markets of the city as a transverse joint, causing them to synergistic.</p>		

Rest of Table 6.

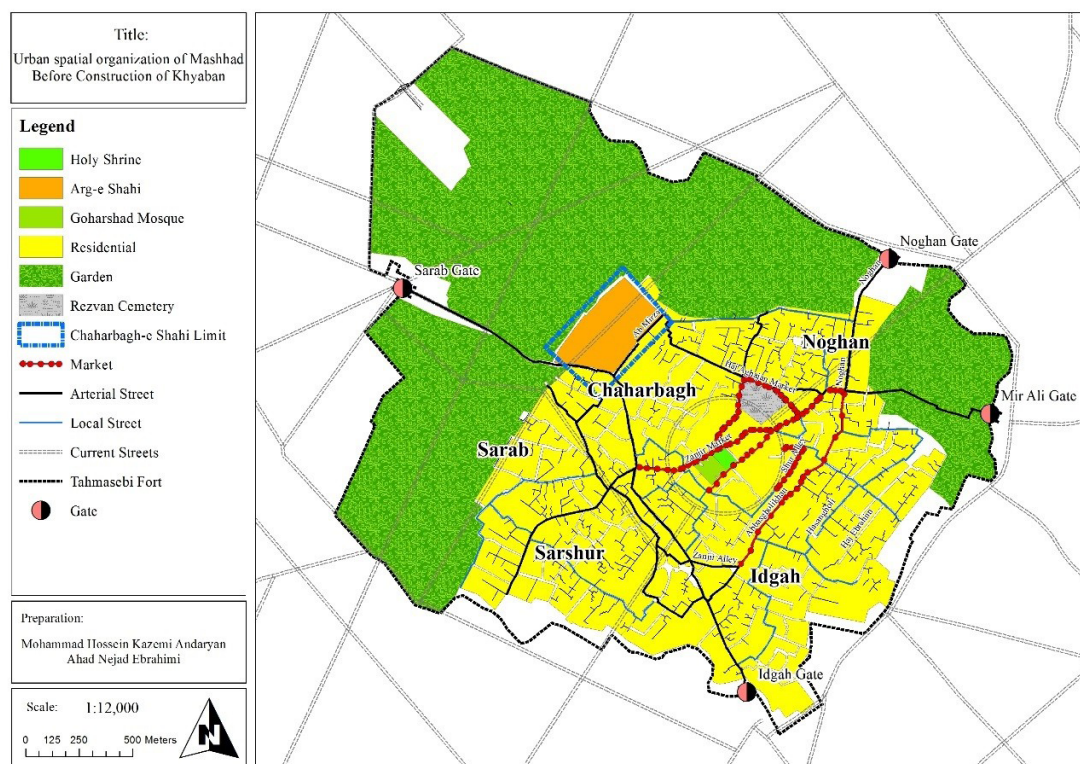
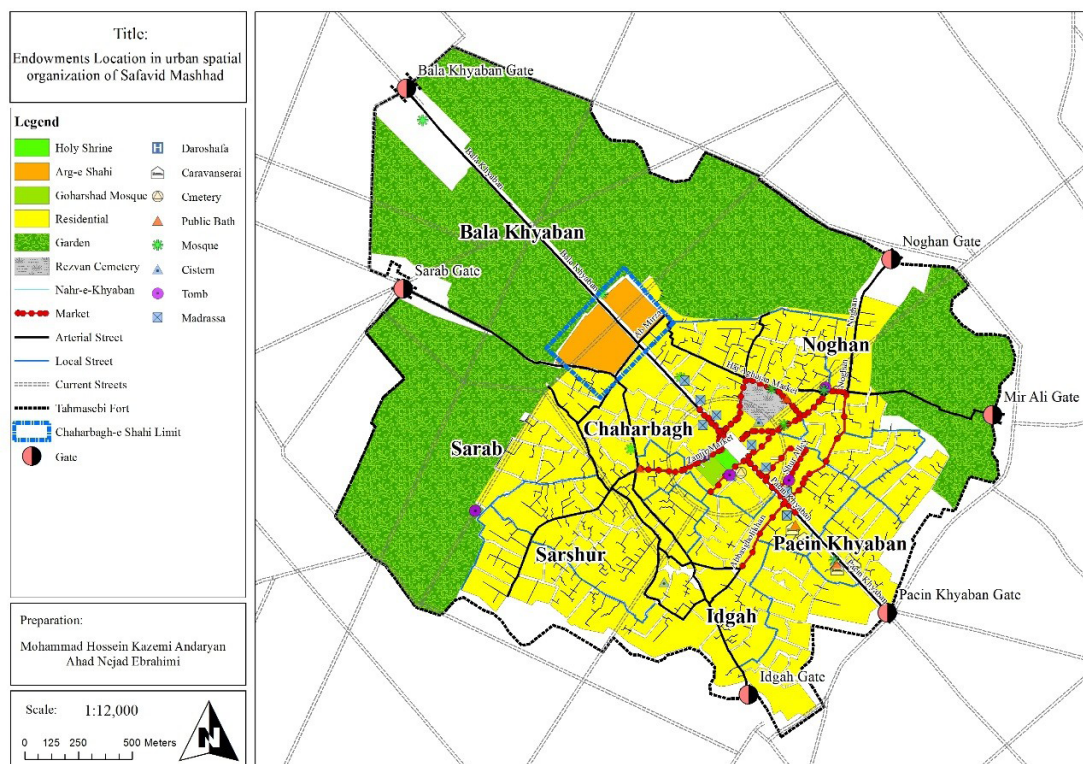
		City map before and after the changes of the endowment of the Safavid era	
Explanation		Before Safavid	Safavid
Urban landscape and landmarks	At least four mosques, eight Madressas, three caravanserais, two public baths, and a large number of shops are among the endowments located along the "Khyaban". The density of these urban elements in the area around the holy shrine created a new center of activity in the east-west direction of the city.		
	In the Safavid era, four unique urban landmarks were created in the city: the gate of the Bala Khyaban, the gate of the Paen Khyaban, the western gate (clock tower), and the eastern gate (Naqareh Khane tower) of the Sahn-e Atiq, all these landmarks were connected by a strong visual corridor, the "Khyaban".		
	The "Khyaban" as the most magnificent urban space in the history of Mashhad, which had a "Nahr-e Khyaban" and four rows of trees, also brought the most important change in the natural construction of the city; The creation of a 30-meter-wide Chaharbagh was between the two eastern and western gates of the city.		
	The Khyaban connected Arg with a straight axis to the two gates of the Bala Khyaban and the Paen Khyaban so that the two gates can be easily seen from inside Arg. The movement of military forces from this axis is done more quickly and easily. Arg has access to six gates from this period.		
Political-security construction	Although the institution of power and the institution of religion (the holy shrine) had access to each other in at least two ways, the construction of the Khyaban caused the two institutions to be directly connected for the first time with the shortest distance.		

continuation of the function: Some of the endowments of the Safavid era have continued their function until the present era by fully preserving the function or by reconstructing the body. These endowments have mostly a religious function and include two Madressas. Abbasgholi-khan Madressa, Nawab Madressa, Mehrab-Khan Mosque, Naeb Mosque, Heydariha (Ali Beyk) Mosque, Maghbareh Mosque, Gonbad-e Kheshti Dome, Pir-e Palanduz Tomb, Gonbad-e-Sabz Dome are among these endowments.

2. Preservation of body and change of function: Some endowments such as Mehdi Gholi Beyk public bath have changed their function and become museums due to the passage of time and the obsolescence of public baths.

3. Integration in the collection of pilgrimage spaces of the holy shrine: Endowments such as Paen pa Madressa were destroyed due to the development of the holy shrine, and merged into it and became a new space.

4. Destruction: part of the endowments was

Fig. 11. Urban spatial organization of Mashhad Before Construction of the Khyaban. Source: Authors⁴⁷.Fig. 12. Endowments Location in the urban spatial organization of Safavid Mashhad. Source: Authors⁴⁸.

destroyed due to the physical development of the city and the construction of north and south passages and two squares with a radius of 180 and 320 meters from the holy dome, such as Abdal-khan, Fazel-Khan and ...

Based on the studies, it can be concluded that the Waqf socio-economic institution has been closely integrated with the city spatial organization during the last four centuries so that in some cases it has caused a fundamental change in the structure and organization of the city on a large scale.

Endnotes

1. That is, the waqf should place the property in a situation which it is not legally possible to seize it, which causes the property to be removed from the Ownership, except in exceptional cases (Dadmarzi, 1999, 226).
2. Kavianian mentions 9 trips of Shah Abbas to Mashhad during more than 4 decades of his reign, which is summarized as follows: 1- The year 1576 for the burial of Shah Tahmaseb Safavid (Shah Abbas was the ruler of Herat at that time) 2- The year 1579 to suppress Morteza Gholi-Khan Turkman 3- The year 1600 for pilgrimage 4- The year 1601 the journey from Isfahan to Mashhad (after the victory over the Uzbeks) 5- After the conquest of Balkh in the year 1603 (dedication of the Pain pa lands was done during this trip) 6- A trip from Qazvin to Mashhad in 1607 (in this trip he dedicated various treasures, objects and properties to the holy shrine) 7- A trip in 1612 (in this trip he ordered the development of the Sahn-e Atiq and the construction of a Khyaban) 8- Travel in 1614 (in this trip, he ordered the water of Golasb spring to flow in the Khyaban and bring it to the holy shrine) 9- In 1622 and after the conquest of Kandahar (in this trip, Seyyed Aboutaleb-e Razavi, the benefactor of Sadat Razavi endowment, made manager of the holy shrine) (Kavianian, 1975, 213-217).
3. Kaviani considers his burial place in the shrine of Shah Tahmaseb in the holy shrine (Kavianian, 1975, 220). However, it is said that the tomb of Shah Tahmaseb was attacked by Uzbeks several times, but each time it was said that this grave did not belong to him. (Kavianian, 1975, 220).
4. Allahverdi-khan built a beautiful dome on the northeastern side of the holy shrine, after death, he was brought from Isfahan to Mashhad and was buried under the dome.
5. is buried in the porch of Sheikh Baha'i of the holy shrine.
6. Some sources attribute the initial construction of the fort to Shah Ismaeil and its restoration and completion to Shah Tahmaseb.
7. One of the reasons for allocating this part of the market to stonemasons has been its proximity to the historical cemetery of Ghatlgah (Bagh-e Rezvan) and the supply of tombstones. (Mahvan, 2004, 425-426).
8. Using: (Aerial Photo Of Mashhad, 1956; Dulmage, 1869; Google Earth satellite photo of Mashhad, 2019; Kavianian, 1975; Khanykov, 1858; Lashkar-e 8th Khorasan, 1954; Mahvan, 2004; McGregor, 1987; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006; Motevali Haghighi, 2013; Pakzad, 2011; Rahnama, 2011; Tash Consulting Engineers, 2006).
9. Gonbad-e Kheshti belongs to the Safavid period.
10. Using: (Aerial Photo Of Mashhad, 1956; Dulmage, 1869; Google Earth satellite photo of Mashhad, 2019; Kavianian, 1975; Khanykov, 1858; Lashkar-e 8th Khorasan, 1954; Mahvan, 2004; McGregor, 1987; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006; Motevali Haghighi, 2013; Pakzad, 2011; Rahnama, 2011; Tash Consulting Engineers,

2006).

11. In the documents of Astan-e Quds administrative organization related to the Safavid period, Nahr-e Khyaban is mentioned in 215 cases and it is sometimes referred to as the Nahr-e Mobarak-e Khyaban. These documents show that the mentioned creek was inspected and attention was paid to its purification and the builders who were doing the purification work were paid as a reward from Astan Quds. (Shahidi, 2015) Schindler, the agent of creating the telegraph in the era of Nasser al-Din Shah, in his travelogue to Mashhad, has mentioned the trout of Nahr-e-Khayban. (Roshani Zaferanloo, 1977) In 1966, with the cutting of old trees on its sides, it was covered. (Mahvan, 2004, 186).
12. Base Map: (National Imagery and Mapping Agency, 1999).
13. Mustofi has mentioned the bath as the endowment of Dar al-Shifa (Mustofi, 1938).
14. Adjacent to the tomb of Amir Shah Malek, known as the Shah Mosque.
15. Provided that the surplus bath water is given to the Goharshad Grand Mosque and its overflow is spent on agriculture outside the city of Mashhad, and revenues of them (Qanat, bath, villages and shops) is spent on the threshold of Hazrat Reza's blessed for pilgrims (Seyyedi, 2003).
16. Mehrab-Khan was one of the great men of the Safavid era and the agents of that government. He ruled in Merv for some time and died in 1623. Mehrab-Khan also dedicated a farm in the northeast of Mashhad to the holy shrine. This farm has now become a residential area and is known as Kuy-e Tollab and Mashhad railway station is located in the lands of Mehrab-Khan. (Atarodi, 2001).
17. Sister of Shah Tahmaseb I.
18. Shah Abbas in 1602, after the conquest of the Balkh War dedicated the lands of Astane buildings, courtyards, and the Pain pa lands located in the holy shrine (at that time, courtyards and buildings had not been built) for the Muslims burial. Sadat Razavi and the crew of the holy Shrine should be buried free of charge. They should receive as much burial as possible from others and spend the said income on the repairs of the holy Shrine (Kavianian, 1975, 214).
19. Some sources consider this date as the date of repair of the mosque.
20. The mosque and its cisterns are dedicated to the holy Shrine (Etemad-ol Saltane, 1884, 246).
21. Some have considered Mirza Abu Saleh Naghib (benefactor of Nawab Madressa) as the founder of Mosalla. (Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 100).
22. Some attribute the construction of the tomb to Sultan Mohammad-e Khodabandeh and others to the father of Shah Abbas, who was also called Khodabandeh (Rahnama, 2011, 184).
23. Using: (Atarodi, 2001; Cultural Heritage, 2019; Ghassabian, 1998, 233-234; Khorasani, 1962; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 110-224; Rahnama, 2011, 165-187).
24. It was rebuilt after the revolution of 1979.
25. From Naghibian-e Sadat Razavi (descendants of Shah Abbas) (Mufakhm Payan, 1966, 17).
26. Governor of Mashhad.
27. Khairat-Khan school, while expanding the holy shrine, was demolished and rebuilt in the years after the Islamic Revolution, and along with Mirza Jafar school, has become part of Razavi University of Islamic Sciences. (Seyyedi, 2003, 157, 159).
28. From the khans of Shah Abbas II (Rahnama, 2011, 142).
29. Khorasani merchant living in India (Mufakhm Payan, 1966, 16).
30. Prescribed by Mullah Mohammad Baqer-e Khorasani-e Sabzevari, Friday prayer Imam of Isfahan (Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 99).
31. It was destroyed during the construction of Hazrat Square development plan in 1975 (Kabiri, 1336, 43).
32. It was destroyed during the construction of Hazrat Square development plan in 1975 (Rahnama, 2011, 141).
33. It was destroyed during the construction of Hazrat Square (Seyyedi, 2003, 168).
34. In the Pahlavi era, the school was destroyed and turned into a

ceremonial hall and courtyard of Museum (Seyyedi, 2003, 57).
 35. From the men of the Safavid state.
 36. It was destroyed during the construction of Hazrat Square development plan in 1975 (Rahnama, 2011, 142).
 37. From the khans of Abdol-abad Torbat Jam (Rahnama, 2011, 142).
 38. From the nobles and elders of the Safavid era (Rahnama, 2011, 143).
 39. Based on: (Dehghan, 2016, 323-369; Khorasani, 1962, 851,853; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006, 93,99; A.H Molavi, 1965; Rahnama, 2011, 142-143; Sani-ol Douleh, 1983, 251-260; Seyyedi, 2003, 159-199)..
 40 It has become an anthropological museum.
 41 Aghasi Bashi in Shah Sultan Hussein era (Kavianian, 1975, 476)
 42 Khknown as Shah Mosque.
 43 Some sources attribute this bath to the wife of Sultan Hussein Bayqara.
 44 Daughter of Shah Tahmaseb Safavid (Atarodi, 2001).
 45. Based on: (Atarodi, 2001; Document and Press Center Managment of Astan quds Razavi, 1603; Mahvan, 2004; Mustofi, 1938; Noei, 2016; Seyyedi, 2003; Shahidi, 2015).
 46. Under the Maajardar mosque has been built.
 47. Based on: (Aerial Photo Of Mashhad, 1956; Dulmage, 1869; Google Earth satellite photo of Mashhad, 2019; Kavianian, 1975; Khanykov, 1858; Lashkar-e 8th Khorasan, 1954; Mahvan, 2004; McGregor, 1987; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006; Motevali Haghighi, 2013; Pakzad, 2011; Rahnama, 2011; Tash Consulting Engineers, 2006).
 48. Based on: (Aerial Photo Of Mashhad, 1956; Dulmage, 1869; Google Earth satellite photo of Mashhad, 2019; Kavianian, 1975; Khanykov, 1858; Lashkar-e 8th Khorasan, 1954; Mahvan, 2004; McGregor, 1987; Modarres Razavi et al., 2006; Motevali Haghighi, 2013; Pakzad, 2011; Rahnama, 2011; Tash Consulting Engineers, 2006).

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