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Kenji Kuroda*

After the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, Islamic jurists have played an important role in the political arena of the new establishment. This paper aimed to describe changes in the Shī'ite jurisprudence academia in contemporary Iran, especially after the revolution. Thus I focused on Ḥowze-ye 'Elmīye (Shī'ite learning institution) in Qom before and after the revolution. Then I figured out the changes in the educational aspect and the administrative aspect. In addition, I tried to reveal a part of the relationship between the jurisprudence academia and Iranian politics by focusing on the participants in the administration. Consequently, it became clear that it was necessary for Islamic jurists who wanted to get power in Iranian politics to take over the Ḥowze-ye 'Elmīye.

I. Introduction

As a result of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, the political establishment of the “Islamic Republic” was established. It was based on Ayatollah Khomeini’s “Velāyat-e Faqīh (Guardianship of Islamic Jurist)” theory and it empowered the Islamic jurists in various spheres, especially political sphere. In addition, the renewal constitution of 1989 went a step further by not only giving the supreme leader more power, but also by giving the Assembly of Experts (Shūrā-ye Khobregān) the right to elect and dismiss the supreme leader. Recently however, many researchers have focused on the development of the Iranian parliament and the role of the president. After the inauguration of the Moḥammad Khātāmī government, there has been an increase in the number of political parties established. In addition, many institutions which were part of the structure of the establishment, like the Islamic Revolutionary Guards, have changed into the political organizations. Moreover, the neo-conservatives, consisting of non-jurisprudent technocrats, came to the fore in the president election in 2005 and parliamentary elections in 2004 and 2008. Although these phenomena have occurred, Islamic jurists have continued to play an important political role. Therefore, research on their political function has been increased.

However there has not been enough research on the relationship between jurists and their participation in the politics, and I believe that focusing on this relationship is the key to grasping the whole of Iranian politics. Therefore, in this paper, I attempt to focus

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on their educational institution, namely the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye (In Arabic Ḥawza al-‘Ilmīya) which has been the basis of Shī‘ite jurisprudence academia. Thus, by analyzing changes in the Ḥowze al-‘Elmīye since the Islamic revolution in Iran, I will attempt to rethink the relationship between Islamic jurists and their participation in the political realm. Moreover, I will attempt to describe the mechanism of this participation in politics among the jurists’ society.

II. The Howze-ye ‘Elmīye under the Pahlavi regime

1. The Revival of Qom as a Shi‘ite academic center

In this section, I will attempt to describe how the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom¹ developed under the Pahlavi regime. That is to reveal how the Howze-ye ‘Elmīye changed after Islamic Revolution in Iran. It is necessary to make a clear exposition of the concept of Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye.

Concerning the concept of ‘Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye’ or ‘Ḥawza al-‘Ilmīya’, there are two usages in former studies. The first is to describe a Shī‘ite educational center, namely a madrasa. For example, this usage can be found in Shahrough Akhavi and Roger Shanahan. The second is to describe a complex of madāris (pl. of madrasa). Akhavi used it as “a center of religious education” and Shanahan used it as “a Shī‘a center of learning”(Akhavi 1980: x; Shanahan 2005: 140). The other is a Shī‘ite academic institution. For example, this usage is found in Faleh Abdul-Jabal and Kazuo Morimoto. Abdul-Jabal used it as “a college of religious schools” and Morimoto used it as “a complex of seminary schools”(Abdul-Jabar (ed.) 2002: 8; Morimoto 2007: 291). Moreover, Fischer bridged between the two usages, describing it as “a center of religious learning, composed usually of a group of madrasas”(Fischer 1980: 290). In addition to his usage, Jamal Sankari’s usage is also interesting. He distinguishes ‘Ḥawza’ alone from ‘Ḥawza al-‘Ilmīya’, describing the former as an informal academic circle and the latter as a traditional learned establishment.²

As I have explained above, ‘Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye’ has two meanings. However, in this paper, I use ‘Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye’ for a learning establishment composed of a group of madāres. At the same time, in case of an educational center, I use ‘madrasa’ to avoid

¹ Qom has historical importance in the Shī‘ite history. As was common among Arab tribes immigrating to other Iranian cities, one Arab tribe, the Ash‘arī tribe, immigrated to Qom in the early 8th century and played an important political role in the city. Some members of the tribe had connections with the Shī‘ite Imam, and gradually Imāmī faith extended to not only other members but also citizens. Unlike other cities in which Shī‘ites lived, which had a mosaic feature, almost all the citizens in Qom were Shī‘ite. Therefore, religious conflict did not happen in Qom. In addition, Fāṭima, sister of the seventh Imam ‘Alī Riḍā, died there in 816, and the city started to become an important shrine city. Also in the 9th century, some Imami jurists started to reduce the severity of the extreme Imami hadith.

² Ḥowze in the shī‘ite started in Buwayhid dynasty, so Shaykh Ṭūsī, prominent Imami scholar in the time, held his intellectual circle(Sankari 2005).

misunderstanding.

Next I will attempt to describe how the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom developed under the Pahlavi regime. Since the inauguration of the Uṣūlī school in the 18th century, the Shrine cities of Atabāt in Iraq have held hegemony as the Shi‘ite academic centers. Then in 1921, Ḥā‘erī Yazdī³ who had lived in Arāk moved to Qom and instructed Islamic sciences. Before then, Feyz Qommī⁴ held his academic circle (ḥalqa-yi dars) around 1916-7. Bāfeqī also started living in Qom in 1919-20 (Shīrkhānī 1386: 32). However, no other factors are more important than Ḥā‘erī Yazdī’s moving to Qom. This move gave momentum to Qom’s transformation into a Shi‘ite academic center (e.g. Karbāschī 1380: 25; Shīrkhānī 1386: 33).

Ḥā‘erī Yazdī pioneered the establishment of the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Arāk where about 300 ṭalaba who received 6 riyāls a month studied (Shīrkhānī 1386: 31). He also invited Moḥammad Taqī Khwānsārī⁵ who was exiled for his part in Iraqi Revolution of 1920 (Shīrkhānī 1386: 31). He was persuaded to move to Qom by Bāfeqī⁶ and his students followed him. At this time, he was supported economically by Mīrzā Maḥmūd, a wealthy merchant of Tehrān (Karbāschī 1380: 26-7). From this point, the revival of Qom as Shi‘ite academic center started.

It was not only the existence of Ḥā‘erī Yazdī, but also Iraqi resistance to the English regime in 1920 which contributed to the revival of Qom. Iraqi resistance was based on a corroboration of tribal alliances with Shi‘ite jurists in Iraq. When it failed, many prominent scholars were forced into exile and many of them fled over Iraqi border to Iran. Therefore, this movement of personnel is also part of the background to this story.

³ ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā‘erī Yazdī. He was born in the Mehrjerd region of Yazd in 1850-1. After studying in Yazd, he went to Sāmarrā in Iraq to study Islamic science under Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī. In 1900-1, he moved from Najaf in Iraq to Arāk in Iran and established the basis of Arāk’s Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye (Shīrkhānī 1386: 31). In 1906, he left Arāk for Najaf and Karbalā in Iraq to study, but the people of Arāk called him to come back and he complied with their request in 1913-4. It has been said he became a marjī‘ in 1920. After continuing to teach Islamic science in Arāk, Bāfeqī requested him to settle in Qom and he accepted this proposition. After moving to Qom, he revived the importance of Qom in Shi‘ite academia. He passed away on January 29th, 1937 (‘Abbās-Zāde 553-61).

⁴ Moḥammad Feyz ibn ‘Alī Akbar Qommī. He was born in Qom in 1876-7. After he had studied primary Islamic science there, he continued his studies in Tehrān and Najaf, Sāmarrā. Generally speaking, his master was Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī. He came back to Qom around 1912-3. He died in 1950. (Morimoto 2002b: 382).

⁵ Moḥammad Taqī Khwānsārī. He was born in Khwānsār in 1851. He studied Islamic Sciences under Ākhund Khrāsānī (Muḥammad Kāzīm Khurāsānī) and Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī. As a result of the failure of the Iraqi resistance to the English regime, he was exiled to Iran. At that time, he stayed with Ḥā‘erī Yazdī in Arāk. When Ḥā‘erī Yazdī moved to Qom, he also moved there. After the death of Ḥā‘erī Yazdī, he became one of the chief teachers there. He died in 1952. (Īdram 1382: 617-23)

⁶ Moḥammad Taqī Bāfeqī Yazdī. He was born as a son of Moḥammad Bāqer Tājer Bāfeqī at Bāfeq district in Yazd in 1875-6. He moved to Najaf in 1902/3 and engaged in the debates of Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī. After that, he came back to Iran and lived in Qom. He attempted to revive Qom as a Shi‘ite academic center and invited Ḥā‘erī Yazdī. He died on 14th April 1946. (Ibrāhīm-Zāde 1386: 273-92)

Under Ḥā'eri Yazdī, many scholars who would later become prominent jurists such as Khomeini, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ṣadr⁷, Sharī'atmadārī⁸, Reżā Golpāygānī⁹ studied (Shīrkhānī 1386: 33). Ḥā'eri Yazdī not only exerted himself to revive Qom as a Shī'ite academic center, but also participated in social affairs. He made his students take part in the emergency restoration work in 1934 when Qom was damaged by flooding, and he engaged in the building of the first hospital in Qom (Karbāschī 1380: 33-4).

Simultaneously with the beginning of the reconstruction of Qom as a Shī'ite academic center, the Pahlavi regime was established in 1925. Following the example of the Qajar dynasty, the Pahlavi monarchs attempted to promote modernization. As part of this project in 1928, the parliament passed the Male Dress Act, which banned men, except for Islamic jurists, from wearing traditional clothes and ordered them to wear western clothes. By doing this the government clearly distinguished those who were Islamic jurists (Momen 1985: 250). This Iranian style of secularization led to a decrease in the number of madrasas. Then in 1931, the parliament decided to close the Sharī'a court.

It was in this climate that Ḥā'eri Yazdī died in 1937. After him, Muḥammad Taqī Khwānsārī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣadr, and Āya Allāh Hojjat administrated the Ḥawza in Qom (Karbāschī 1380: 96; Shīrkhānī 1386: 34), but there were problems because they did not command the comprehensive authority and respect held by the former administrator. So the three administrators requested the renowned scholar Borūjerdī¹⁰ to come and teach in Qom, and he began teaching from 1944 (Shīrkhānī 1386: 34). Borūjerdī was the most learned of the Shī'a jurists and almost all the Shī'ite laymen accepted and obeyed his legal opinion. Under Borūjerdī, Qom became as important as Najaf as an

⁷ Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣadr. He was born in Najaf, but moved to Mashhad. He also moved to Qom and participated in the debates of Ḥā'eri Yazdī. After the death of his master, he engaged in the administration of the Ḥowze-ye 'Elmiye in Qom cooperating with colleagues such as Muḥammad Taqī Khwānsārī. He was the father of Mūsā Ṣadr. (Abāzari 1382: 785; Shīrkhānī 1386: 34).

⁸ Moḥammad Kāẓem Sharī'atmadārī. He was born in Tabrīz in 1905 and studied primary Islamic science there. After that, he moved to Qom and took part in the debates of Ḥā'eri Yazdī. After the death of Borūjerdī, he became one of the Marāji al-Taqlīd and engaged in the administration of the Ḥawza in Qom in cooperation with Mar'shī Najafī and Reżā Golpāygānī. After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, he opposed Khomeini and his supporters. After the anti-revolutionary movement under Ṣādeq Qotbzāde had appeared in April 1982, he was put under house arrest and died in 1986. (Harr 1997: 329)

⁹ Reżā Golpāygānī. He was born in Iranian Golpāygān on March 20th. 1899 and he was a son of Seyyed Moḥammad Bāqer Emām. After he studied Islamic science in Golpāygān, he continued to studying it under Ḥā'eri Yazdī in Arāk. When his master moved to Qom, he also moved there. It has been said that he became one of the *marāji'* after the death of Borūjerdī and under the reign of the monarchy, he was engaged in running the *ḥawza*. He passed away on December 9th. 1993 (N. D. 1382: 945).

¹⁰ Ḥoseyn Ṭabāṭabā'ī Borūjerdī. He was a son of Seyyed 'Alī ibn Seyyed Aḥmad Ṭabāṭabā'ī, born in April 1875. He was said to have become a *marji'* only after the death of Seyyed Āqā Ḥoseyn ibn Moḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī in 1947. During this time, he was well-known for making Qom a center of Twelver Shia learning. Except for his participation in the anti-Baha'i campaign and the anti-land reform protest, he was not active politically. He passed away on March 31, 1961, and was buried in Masjed-e A'zam ('Abīrī 1382: 662-72; Hairī 2004: 157-8).

academic center(Momen 1985: 247).

After the death of Borūjerdī in 1961, his position as the sole Islamic legal authority was divided among several high-level jurists residing in Qom, Mashhad and Najaf. The Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom was administrated by three Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd (pl. of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd) , namely Sharī‘atmadārī, Reżā Golpāygānī, and Mar‘ashī Najafī^{11, 12}. In this situation, Reżā Shāh, the second Pahlavi monarch, showed support for Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm,¹³ who lived in Najaf and warned against the Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd who lived in Iran. At the same time, Khomeini resumed his open criticism of the Pahlavi regime and was sent into exile. However, Khomeini had strong influence over many young jurists, and they began to organize an anti-Pahlavi movement.

2. The Education system and Administration in the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom

What were the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye which grew in the Shī‘ite academic centers developed under Ḥā’erī Yazdī and Borūjerdī like? Fischer researched the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye that developed under the Pahlavi regime. He compared it to universities in medieval Europe, which developed as a free academic arena. In this section, I will attempt to describe the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye that developed under the Pahlavi dynasty, which Fischer studied, and I will compare them with the latter in another chapter.

There was no specific entrance season and no defined semesters, and anyone who wanted to be Islamic jurist would arrange his own study schedule based on his academic ability and his own life plan(Sakurai 2001: 92-3). What was important for students was who they studied Islamic science under, not which department they entered, so they wandered from one madrasa to another begging the masters to accept them until they were admitted.(Sakurai 2001: 93). According to Fischer, there was no difference in the academic levels between the madāres, and a student would choose his specialty and even his master based on his will, ability, and orientation(Fischer 1980: 61).

There were three levels: primary (Jāme‘-e Moqaddamāt), intermediate (Dars-e Soṭūḥ), and advanced (Dars-e Khārej). According to Fischer, it took about 16 years to

¹¹ Shahāb al-Dīn Mar‘ashī Najafī. He was born in Najaf in 1897/8 and his father was Seyyed Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Mar‘ashī. He studied Islamic science under Aḥmad Kāshif al-Ghiṭā, and studied in Karbalā and Tehrān in Iran. In Qom, he studied under Ḥā’erī Yazdī and taught young jurists. It has been reported that he became one of the *marāji‘* after the death of Borūjerdī. He was not active in politics and passed away on August 29, 1990(Amānī 1382: 938)

¹² Shīrkhānī pointed out that Khomeini as a Marji‘ al-Taqlīd also had taken part in management of the Howze-ye ‘Elmīye after death of Borūjerdī.(Shīrkhānī 1386: 36). However, following the memoir of Reżā Hamadānī, it is difficult to regard him as a Marji‘ al-Taqlīd at that time(Nīkbakht 1382: 34-5).

¹³ Muḥsin ibn Maḥdī al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī al-Ḥakīm al-Najafī. He was born in Najaf in 1889. He studied with Ākhund Khurāsānī and Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī and so on. He taught Islamic science in Najaf. After the death of Borūjerdī, he became a prominent Marji‘ al-Taqlīd. He was opposed to socialism and communism, which had become popular in Iraq. He died in Najaf and was buried there.(Momen 1985: 313)

pass through all the levels¹⁴. The educational methods were divided into two styles. The first method was to study texts like “(*Kitāb al-Maqāṣib*” or “*Kifāya al-Uṣūl*” and so on. It was used mainly at the primary and intermediate levels. In this case, having learned the material, students would debate the content of the texts with each other (Fischer 1980: 66). In the second method, employed at the advanced level, a student debated with his master about a given subject. In this case, there were no defined texts, as the students had already mastered jurisprudence (fiqh) and the source of law (uṣūl al-fiqh) at the text level (Fischer 1980: 63).

These styles seem to be traditional methods, but they were gradually rationalized into a more modern, effective method by bringing in new texts (Fischer 1980: 81). For example, *Ṣarf-e Sāde* and *Naḥv-e Sāde* for learning the Arabic and *Bedāyat al-Ḥekma*, written by ‘Allāme Ṭabāṭabā’ī for a course in Islamic philosophy, were introduced. In addition to the new texts, the importance of learning foreign languages was stressed (Fischer 1980: 81). Moreover, a madrasa for women was established in 1973 and 150 female students were enrolled by 1975 (Fischer 1980: 84). However Shī‘ite academies were not limited only to education centers. For example, missionary work was also carried out. There were some missionary centers like the “Institute of the Way of Truth (Dār-e Rāh-e Ḥaqq)” for domestic operations, and “‘Alī Ḥoseynī School (Madrās-e-ye ‘Alī Ḥoseynī)” an educational institution for international preachers and missionaries¹⁵ (Fischer 1980: 76, 83-4). In addition to training centers for missionaries, many Islamic centers were built in European countries under Borūjerdī, and some magazines were also issued¹⁶. This shows that the institutions of the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye were not only for experts but also open to the society at large, and this could also be said about educational affairs. In the mid-1960’s, the Missionary Center (Dār al-Tableghāt) was established by Sharī‘atmadārī. It linked modern school education and Islamic science, providing 4 years to prepare for the entrance examination, and a 5-year educational curriculum with examinations (Fischer 1980: 84).

According to Akhavi, these affairs were sustained by an informal network of jurists (Akhavi 1980: 21) that developed around the Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd, (Shīrkhānī 1386: 32-5). However, this did not mean they had exclusive control. According to Fischer, the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom was mainly administrated by three Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd and two prominent jurists, Qodūsī¹⁷ and Makārem Shīrāzī¹⁸. Around that time, the Pahlavi

¹⁴ It took about 10 years to pass through the primary level and intermediate level, and another 6 years to pass through the advanced level.

¹⁵ It was established in 1971. The school had a plan to send preachers and missionaries to Africa and Pakistan (Fischer 1980: 83-4).

¹⁶ For example, there were three Persian magazines, namely, “Islamic Lecture (*Maktab-e Eslām*),” “*Message of Happiness (Payām-e Shāde)*” for the aged, and “*New Generation (Nasl-e Now)*” for the young. There was also the Arabic magazine “*Leading (al-Hādī)*”.

¹⁷ Āya Allāh ‘Alī Qodūsī. He was born in Nehāvand in July-August 1920. His father, Ākhond Mollā

monarch regarded the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye as an obstacle standing in the way of modernization, so they appointed jurists to administrate the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye out of concern for control of the students (Fischer 1980: 85).

3. Marji‘ al-Taqlīd as a Leader in Ḥowze before the Revolution

As discussed previously, Hā‘erī Yazdī added momentum to the revival of Qom as a Shī‘ite learning center and Borūjerdī advanced it. Moreover, Sharī‘atmadārī, Reżā Golpāygānī and Mar‘ashī Najafī played an important role in the administration of the Ḥowze after the death of Borūjerdī. All of them were Marji‘ al-Taqlīd.

The Marji‘ al-Taqlīd is recognized as the highest jurisprudence authority in the Twelver Shī‘a, but the form in which it is found in today’s centralized authority only began to appear in the mid-19th century. Since the 18th century, the Uṣūlī scholars started formalizing a hierarchy of jurisprudence for the purpose of organizing their school and establishing a centralized authority for settling disputes between the Akhbārī scholars, the Shaykhī scholars, and the Baha’īs (Cole 1983: 33-46; Mousavvi 1996: 279; Walbridge 2001a: 4). Gradually, a clearly distinguished hierarchy of jurisprudence and a comprehensive Islamic authority were established in the mid-19th century. Namely, Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī assumed the position of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd, the supreme authority on Islamic law, after the death of Ḥasan al-Najafī. Following al-Anṣārī, an outstanding jurist would be recognized to the position of supreme authority as Marji‘ al-Taqlīd after having been selected by a panel consisting of Uṣūlī scholars and laymen.

It is true that there were also jurists who had held the title of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd before al-Anṣārī, but it was merely a title and they did not have comprehensive authority (Calmard 1991: 551). At the same time, many Twelver Shī‘ite laymen and scholars assert that Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd have continued to exist since the ghayba (the last Imām’s occultation). However, they also distinguish between the time before al-Anṣārī and the time after him by the fact of there being a centralized authority or not (Tājīk 1377; Honarī 1379). This shows that a centralized authority for jurisprudence was just starting to appear around the mid-19th century.

While it is clear when the birth of the modern version of the Marji‘ al-Taqlīd

Aḥmad, was also an Islamic jurist. He studied Islamic science under some prominent scholars such as ‘Allāme Ṭabāṭabā’ī. He died after the Islamic Revolution in Iran on September 5, 1981 (Qodūsī 1382: 859-65).

¹⁸ Nāṣer Makārem Shīrāzī. He was born in Shīrāz in 1926. After graduating from elementary school, he started his Islamic studies. After studying in Qom, he moved to Najaf to study there. He studied mainly under Sharī‘atmadārī. Later, he became the head of the “School of Leaders among Laymen (Madrāse-ye Amīr al-Mo‘menīn)” and supported the Ḥawza in Qom before the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In post-revolutionary Iran, he continued to support the Ḥawza, together with Reżā Golpāygānī, and was selected as a member of the supreme administrative council for the Ḥawza. Moreover, after the death of ‘Alī Arākī, JMHEQ promoted him to Marji‘ al-Taqlīd. (<http://www.makaremshirazi.org/persian/modules.php?name=Static&page=biographi.htm>)

started, the actual qualifications for becoming one are ambiguous. Generally speaking, the conviction of laymen is a common condition, but what are the criteria? In previous studies, it has been stated that six basic qualifications were required, namely, bulūgh (maturity), ‘aql (intelligence), īmān (faith), ‘adāla (justice), ṭagārat-e mawlid (being of legitimate birth), and *dhukūra* (being of the male sex)(Calmard 1991: 554).

However, they have played not only a religious role, but also an important role in social movements. For example, they played important roles in the Tobacco Boycott Movement, which started in 1891, and in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, which started in 1906. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī, in the former case, and Ākhund Khurāsānī, in the latter case, were deeply involved in these movements. However, the Marji‘ al-Taqlīd has not always exerted influence over society. Ḥā‘erī Yazdī, the young Khomeynī’s master and teacher, and Burūjerdī, who played a central role in law and academic circles, were not politically active. This brings us to the question of why and what changed political inactivity into political activism in the case of Khomeynī. I suggest that this may have been brought about by economical and structural changes in the institution of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd itself.

After the death of Borūjerdī in 1961, many prominent jurists became new Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd and this led to the dispersion of power. This situation enabled Moḥammad Reżā-shā, the second Pahlavī monarch, to enforce land reforms in 1962. This agrarian reform had a deep significance for the ‘ulamā’ because their economic foundation mainly depended on income from the renting of land. The land reform deprived them of their economic foundation and forced them to require alternative means of support. In this situation, they made use of the khums¹⁹ which they primarily collected from bazaar merchants. In addition to utilizing the khums, they sought to increase it by starting to collect *khums* from all laymen instead of from only the merchants(Fischer 1980: 85; Halm 1991: 122-3).

This economical change brought about two changes in the law academia. Firstly it led to the jurist holding the position of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd having much more power among the Twelver Shī‘ite law academia, because it was only the Marji‘ al-Taqlīd who had the right to collect the khums. Secondly, by collecting the khums from ordinal people, it became necessary for Islamic jurists to participate in society and politics²⁰. Thus

¹⁹ The tax of one-fifth of one’s income. In Sunni Jurisprudence, it was banned by Umar al Khatab, the second khalīfa ‘ but among the Shī‘a, it continued to be enforced. The object of the tax was booty originally, but in Shī‘a context, it includes wealth obtained from the sea, deposits, minerals and so on. Recipients include the Prophet’s family “Ahl al-Bayt”, orphans, the poor, and travelers. In the time of the Imāms, they received it and distributed to Imām (sahm al-imām) and Sayyid (sahm al-sāda). By the time of the absence of the Imam, it became important problem that jurists collected it in spite of there being no Imām. In the 13th century, Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī judged it was permissible but that it could not be received by other scholars, but by the 17th century, it was possible for just *mujtahid* to collect it(Gleave 2004: 533-4).

²⁰ It is clear that the ‘ulamā’ had already participated in the Iranian constitutional revolution, but at that time, there were some different opinions about the constitution within the jurisprudence academia. As such,

Khomeynī issued his legal opinion, which ordered the overthrowing of the monarchy, and the people acted upon it.

As discussed previously, Marji‘ al-Taqlīd not only played an important role in the administration of the Ḥowze, but also an important role in politics. What did the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye change after the revolution and how did their positions change? Next, I will attempt to describe the changes in the Ḥowze after the revolution.

III. The Islamic Revolution in Iran and the social influence on the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye in Qom

1. Changes in the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye after the Islamic revolution

As a result of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 and a series of movements to purify the academia of non-Islamic influences, the Guardianship of Jurisprudence (Velāyat-e Faqīh), an establishment in which Islamic jurists played important political roles, was established. In this situation, many former studies have tended to concentrate on the influence of the revolution from a political aspect. In this section, to evaluate the influence of the revolution on Islamic jurists, I focus on changes to the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye from an educational aspect and an administrative aspect.

Since the inauguration of the Uṣūlī school in the 18th century, the Atabāt, centers of learning in Iraqi Shī‘ī sanctuaries had held hegemony as Shi‘ite academic centers, but from the 1920’s, Qom gradually became the alternative center. Moreover, after the revolution, Qom became more important not only among the Shi‘ite Academia but also in the Iranian society. Concerning this phenomenon, Sakurai wrote, “it has been necessary to work very hard in Qom, because there are many prestigious religious schools with highly capable teachers such as Madrasa-ye Feyzīye.”(Sakurai 2006: 217-8). At the same time, she mentioned, “Because educated jurists in Qom had political authority, Qom gained an established position in Shi‘ite society both educationally and politically.” (Sakurai 2006: 217).

The revival of Qom plays a very important role among contemporary Shi‘ite Islamic jurists. At the same time, it suggests that the position of ‘Atabāt, Iraqi shrine cities, have changed. Figure 1 shows the final educational destination of the members of JMHEQ who studied the Islamic sciences after the revival of Qom²¹. Many Islamic jurists who were born before the 1940’s finished their studies in Najaf. On the other hand, the Islamic jurists who were born after the 1950’s finished their studies in Qom. Generally speaking, Islamic jurists finished their studies at 30 years old. Therefore, we

they were divided and confused(Arjomand 1988).

²¹ This is limited to Iranian Islamic jurists and does not include Maḥmūd Hāshimī Shāhrūdī, who was born in Najaf.

can conclude that Qom became the most important shī‘ite learning center among Iranian students after the 1970’s.

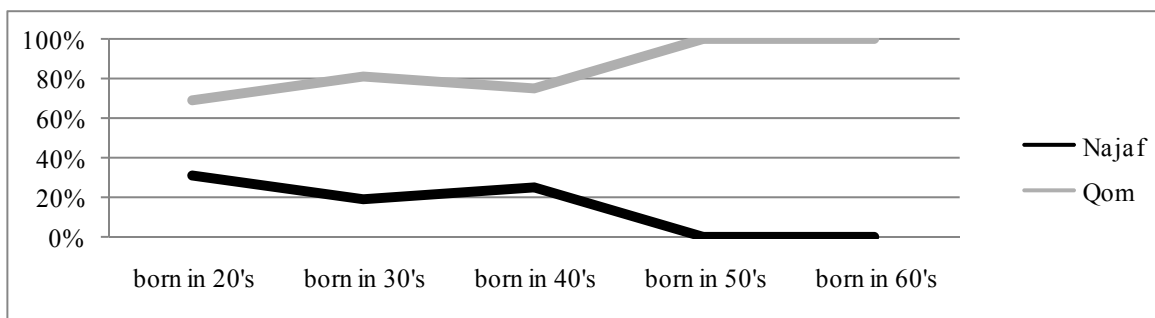


Figure 1 The shift in the final educational destination among members of JMHEQ
Based on(Şāleḥ (ed,) 1385: Vol. 3)

During this changing of status, there were some changes from an educational aspect. One of those changes was that completion of a high-school-education became necessary to enter the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye. In addition to this, it became necessary to pass the entrance examination. According to Shīrkhānī, entrance examinations were held twice a year²². Regarding the curriculum, it took ten years to complete the primary and intermediate levels, just as it did before the Revolution(Shīrkhānī 1386: 133-4)²³. However, the curriculum was now unified and it was necessary to pass examinations to advance to the next level. Moreover, some changes had been made to the curriculum. For example, the importance of ethics was stressed and a program for studying ethics for 30 hours a year from the first year to sixth year was added to the curriculum. Such an ethical program could not be found before the Revolution. In addition, there was a change in the textbooks. For example, “*Source (Uṣūl)*,” written by Moṭahharī, was adopted in the men’s ‘source of the law’ class and “*Knowledge of Philosophy (Āshenā’ī bā Falsafe)*,” also written by Moṭahharī, was used in the women’s Islamic philosophy class(Shīrkhānī 1386: 307, 317)²⁴.

In addition, cooperation between the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye educational institutions

²² According to Shīrkhānī, 186 Madāris held an entrance examination on Khordād, and 9500 people took it. Then 168 Madāris held an entrance examination on Shahrīvar, and 6000 people took it(Shīrkhānī 1386: 111).

²³ Primary level describes the period from the first year to the third year in the curriculum. At this level, students study Arabic grammar, basic jurisprudence and source of law, just as before the Revolution. The first year has formal classes for 650 hours, the second year for 610 hours, the third year for 650 hours. In addition to these formal classes, there are some semi-formal classes. For example, there are classes about the Qur‘ān and Islamic history. Following this primary level, there is an intermediate level from the fourth year to tenth year. At this level, the curriculum has four purposes. The first is to advance in understanding the original texts of jurisprudence and the source of law. The second is to train scholars to draw a conclusion (istinbāt) based on the Qur‘ān and Akhbār. The third is to master the text level of jurisprudence and the source of law completely. The last is to give students a general knowledge of culture and belief(Shīrkhānī 1386: 134).

²⁴ See appendix 2.

and secular educational institutions began. After the Iran-Iraq War, economic reconstruction became an important social priority, and practical people who had graduated from university were in demand at various government agencies. In this situation, two plans evolved for the madrasa student to prepare to fit into the society. One was to be enrolled at both a madrasa and a national university, and to earn both credits (Sakurai 2006: 218). The other was to establish a new-style university which educated students only in the madrasa like Mofid University, built by Mūsavī Ardabīlī²⁵ (Sakurai 2006: 218)²⁶.

These changes developed under a series of new administrative institutions. After the revolution, madāres in Iran began to be administrated according to three blocks. First, is the block of Mashhad, which controls the madāres in the North Khorāsān, Reżavī and South Khorāsān districts. The Ḥowze in Mashhad controls the Madāris in Khorāsān and Āya Allāh ‘Abbās Vā‘eż Ṭabasī leads it. Second, is the block of Eşfahān, which controls the madāres in Eşfahān city. The Ḥowze in Eşfahān controls only the Madāris in their city, and Āya Allāh al-‘Ozmā Mażāherī leads this organization. Third, is the district of Qom, which controls the rest of the madāres, namely, almost all the madāres. At the same time, the Ḥowze in Qom has been the most institutionalized in its administrative aspect.

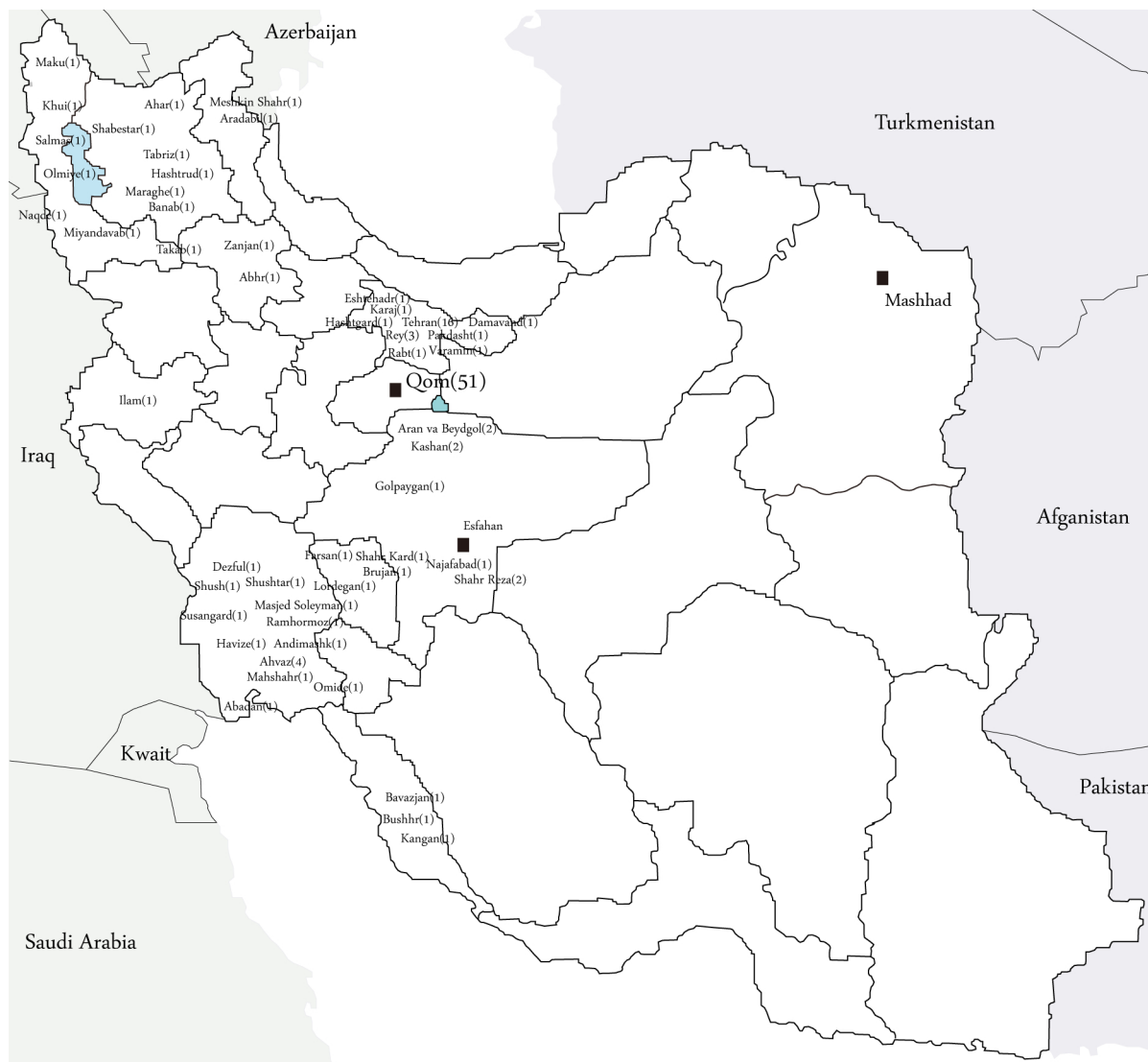
In the 1980’s, they developed under Administrative Council of Ḥowze-ye Elmīye in Qom (Shūrā-ye Modīriyat-e Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye-ye Qom). That institution was built based on conferences in 1979 in which three representatives of Khomeini, three representatives of Reżā Golpāygānī and three ambassadors of JMHEQ (Jāme‘-e Modarresīn-e Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye-ye Qom) had taken part. They discussed the institutionalized administration of the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye in that conference (Shīrkhānī 1386: 55). In the next year, the Administrative Council of the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye in Qom was established and proceeded to institutionalize the functions of the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye. Thus, the role of the Administrative Council of the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye in Qom was in full swing from 1981 (Shīrkhānī 1386: 45).

In 1981, the administrative institution drew up seven administrative plans. The first was for the improvement of the curriculum at the primary and intermediate levels. The second was to register the students at administrative institutions. The third was the planning of language education and ethics education in the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye. The fourth

²⁵ Seyyed ‘Abd al-Karīm Mūsavī Ardabīlī. He is a son of Seyyed ‘Abd al-Raḥīm and he was born in Ardabīl in Iran on January 27, 1926. After studying primary Islamic science there, he studied under Reżā Golpāygānī and other prominent scholars in Qom from 1943/4. After studying in Qom, he went to Najaf in Iraq like many contemporary young jurists to complete his studies. After the Islamic Revolution, he became attorney general in February 1980 and then held the post of chief justice from June 1981 until 1989. While he was chief justice, he was a member of first assembly of experts. (<http://www.ardebili.com/Pet/about/default.asp>)

²⁶ At the start of this university, educated students in the madrasa were limited, but nowadays this is not the case.

was to build establishments to rationalize the education. The fifth was the introduction of examinations in formal academic subjects. The sixth was an administrative establishment to oversee the madāres and the students' accommodations. The last was to build an establishment to administrate madāres.



**Figure 2 Map of Madāres Administration under Qom
based on(*Shahr-vande-Emrūz* 1387)**

On the 19th of February in 1992, following the restructuring plan which evolved when the supreme leader Khamenei went to Qom and held a conference, these plans were taken over by a new institution. This new institution established the Supreme Council of the Ḥowze-ye Elmīye in Qom (Shūrā-ye ‘Ālā-ye Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye-ye Qom) as its supreme decision-making body and the Administrative Center of the Ḥowze-ye ‘Ilmīye (Markaz-e Modīriyat-e Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye) as its enforcement office²⁷.

²⁷ Now, 228 Madāris are under the control of this institution (see Appendix 2).

IV. The Change in the Leaders of the Ḥowze after the Revolution

1. The Appearance of New Leaders and Their Participation in Iranian Politics

In the former section, I attempted to describe the changes in the Ḥowze ‘Elmīye in Iran, especially those in its administrative aspect, which occurred after the Islamic Revolution. In this chapter, I will attempt to show the influence of leaders of the Ḥowze on the political situation. Therefore, I will discuss the new leaders and their participation in Iranian politics.

There can be no doubt that a new leader of the Ḥowze in Qom will be a member of JMHEQ. Six jurists, namely, Āzarī Qommī, Ebrāhīm Amīnī, ‘Alī Meshkīnī, Montazerī, Qodsī and Rabbānī Shīrāzī, set up JMHEQ in 1962 when many Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd appeared after the death of Borūjerdī. This occurred during a series of politicalizations of Islamic jurists. The members also took part in the anti-shah movement (Jav ādzāde 1385). This growing political importance led them to participate in the new administration of the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom after the revolution.

As referred to above, the members of JMHEQ participated in the administration with the representatives of Khomeynī and Rezā Golpāygānī in 1980’s. After 1992 and the increased institutionalization of the administration, JMHEQ members gained a strong position in the Ḥowze. After the implementation of elections for members in the supreme council of the Ḥowze every four years, JMHEQ members won all the seats. This result was affected through their participation in Iranian politics after the revolution.

It has been revealed that the supreme leader and his people interfered in Iranian politics. For example, interference in the elections of the president or parliament by the Guardian Council (Shūrā-ye Negāhbān), which was composed of six jurists and six Islamic jurists whom supreme leader appointed, has often been reported. The people around the supreme leader, that is, not only the Guardian Council, but more importantly the Assembly of Experts (Shūrā-ye Khobregān), had a strong influence over the supreme leader. This assembly was composed only of Islamic jurists who were selected by national election and had the right to appoint or dismiss the supreme leader. Therefore, it was the basis of the supreme leader’s support.

What I would like to make clear here is the relationship between the Assembly of Experts and the Ḥowza-ye ‘Elmīye. As I have already mentioned, JMHEQ is the dominant group in administration of the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye. At the same time, JMHEQ has played an important role in the elections of the Assembly of Experts. The elections of the Assembly of Experts were carried out in 1983, 1991, and 1999. JMHEQ compiled the list of recommended candidates for these three elections (see table 1). In the first election in 1983, 59 candidates from 79 recommended candidates won. In the second election in 1991, 55 candidates from 64 recommended candidates were elected. In the third election

in 1999, 69 candidates from 85 recommended candidates won. These results show that since the Islamic Revolution it has been necessary for candidates to be recommended by JMHEQ, and JMHEQ has become the authority to validate which Islamic Jurists are adequately qualified for Iranian politics.

Table 1 Result of Elections of the Assembly of Experts

Constituency	Winner	Winner/ recommended by JMHEQ	Winner	Winner/ recommended	New constituency	Winner	Winner/ recommended by JMHEQ
Āzerbāyjān (East)	6	5/7	7	5/8	Āzerbāyjān (East)	5	4/5
					Ardabil	2	1/2
Āzerbāyjān (west)	3	2/3	3	3/3	Āzerbāyjān (west)	3	2/3
Esfahān	4	4/5	5	5/5	Esfahān	5	4/5
Īlām	1	1/1	1	0/0	Īlām	1	0/0
Bākhtarān	2	2/2	2	2/2	kermanshā	2	2/2
Būshhr	—	invalidation	—	—	Būshhr	1	1/1
Tehrān	13	12/13,	16	14/16	Tehrān	16	14/16
					Qom	1	1/1
Chahār Maḥāl Bakhtiyārī	1	1/1	1	1/1	Chahār Maḥāl Bakhtiyārī	1	1/1
Khorāsān	9	6/8	8	8/8	Khorāsān	8	7/8
Khūzestān	5	4/5	3	3/5	Khūzestān	6	4/6
Zanjān	3	2/3	5	0/0	Zanjān	1	1/1
					Qazvīn	2	1/2
Semnān	1	1/1	1	1/1	Semnān	1	0/1
Sīstān wa Balūchestān	2	2/2	—	invalidation	Sīstān wa Balūchestān	2	1/2
Fārs	5	1/5	5	0/0	Fārs	5	3/5
Kordestān	1	1/2	2	2/2	Kordestān	2	2/2
Kermān	3	1/3	3	0/0	Kermān	3	1/3
Kūhkīlūye va Būyer-Aḥmadī		invalidation	1		Kūhkīlūye va Būyer-Aḥmadī	1	1/1
Gīlān	2	1/3		invalidation	Gīlān	4	4/4
Lorestān	2	2/2		invalidation	Lorestān	2	2/2
Māzandarān	6	5/6	6	5/6	Māzandarān	4	4/4
					Golestān	2	2/2
Markazī	3	3/3	2	2/2	Markazī	2	2/2
Hormozgān	1	0/1,	1	1/1	Hormozgān	1	1/1
Hamadān	2	2/2	2	1/2	Hamadān	2	2/2
Yazd	1	1/1	1	1/1	Yazd	1	1/1
Total 24 constituencies	75	59/79	75	55/64	Total 28 constituencies	86	69/85
elected percent		75%		86%			81%

Based on (Şāleh 1385)

However, their influence has not been limited to political sphere alone, but has also spread to the social arena. For example, after the death of ‘Alī Arākī,²⁸ who had

²⁸ He was born in Iranian Arāk on Dismember 23, 1894, and his father is Mīrzā Farāhānī. He learned under Ḥā‘erī Yazdī and Khwānsārī and prominent scholars in Arāk. Moving with Ḥā‘erī Yazdī to Qom, he kept

been recommended as a Marji' al-Taqlid, JMHEQ announced seven prominent new Islamic jurists as new Maraji' al-Taqlid, and moreover, JMHEQ issued this statement during the resulting political confusion. It has been treated as a compliance with the supreme leader and his circle, because their statements were similar to the official statements, but in many cases, their statements actually preceded the official statements. Therefore, it cannot be simply concluded that they were acting in conformity with the government.

2. The development of Marji' al-Taqlid after the Revolution

In the former section, I described the appearance of new leaders in the Howze-ye 'Elmīye in Qom and their development. In this section, I attempt to show the changes in Marji' al-Taqlid after the revolution. As discussed previously, Maraji' al-Taqlid had been the leader of the Howze-ye 'Elmīye before the revolution. But after the revolution, the seat was taken by JMHEQ members. From this result, can we conclude Marji' al-Taqlid's power has declined? To answer this question, I will focus on the development of Maraji' al-Taqlid in politics after the revolution.

Many researchers have attempted to reveal the existence of Marji' al-Taqlid in a political issues after the revolution. Certainly, it is important to reveal it, because the supreme leader was required by Article 109 of the new constitution to have the qualification of Marji' al-Taqlid. So after the death of Khomeyni, it became an important concern in the political arena. In those days, no one who was on the side of the establishment was qualified and all the eligible Maraji' al-Taqlid had some demerit such as being anti-establishment or indifferent to political matters. Then the Shura-ye Khobregan (Assembly of Experts) appointed Hujjat al-Islam wa Muslimin Khamene'i as supreme leader and eliminated the necessity for the qualification of Marji' al-Taqlid by amending Article 109. Moreover, the new establishment recommended Khomeyni's laymen to give their obedience to 'Ali Araki as the new Marji' al-Taqlid (Milani 1992).

In those days, there was another solution which was to in some way push Khamene'i up to the position of the Marji' al-Taqlid, and some people kept attempting to do this. For instance, the chairman of the assembly of experts, Meshkini, and the attorney general Mohammad Yazdi were involved in this group. During this time, some respected Maraji' al-Taqlid to whom many laymen had showed obedience passed away. Mar'ashi Najafi died in 1991, Khomeyni in 1992, and Reza Golparygani in 1993, and so Khamene'i was pushed up, but he himself publicly rejected the promotion. Moreover, the lay supporters

studying Islamic science in Qom. After the Islamic revolution, he was appointed Friday prayer leader. After the rest of Khomeyni in 1989, the establishment recommended him as a *marji'*. On October 15, 1994, he passed away (Khomeyni 1382: 951-4).

of Khū'ī did not accept the promotion of Khāmene'ī to Marji' al-Taqlīd and many of them gave their obedience to 'Alī Sīstānī who was the most prominent student of Khū'ī.

In spite of all this, Khāmene'ī did step into the shoes of the Marji' al-Taqlīd after the death of 'Alī Arākī, mainly due to the support of JMHEQ, which had introduced six jurists with him as a new Marji' al-Taqlīd (Ṣāliḥ (ed.) 1385: vol.VIII, 213-4)²⁹. The underhanded way that Khāmene'ī succeeded 'Alī Arākī with the support of domestic and foreign political supporters is often spoken of negatively (cf. Walbridge 2001b: 234). At the same time, it is often said that his position as Marji' al-Taqlīd was much weaker than Khomeynī's and that he couldn't monopolize it as a political tool in the way that Khomeynī had. During this time, many seasoned jurists such as Ṣāfi, Ardabīlī, Jannāī were recognized as a new Marji' al-Taqlīd. It can be said that the increasing number of Marji' al-Taqlīd was a way of covering the relative weakness of Khāmene'ī's authority, but at the same time, it reveals the possibility of creating multiple channels of access to power and a variety of legal opinions.

This discussion shows that they lost power in not only the Ḥowze but also on the political stage. However, this is not true for every member of the Marji' al-Taqlīd. Certainly, many of them have not participated in the new administration and have not engaged in politics. But like Ṣāfi and Ardabīlī, some of them have not only participated in the new administration of the Ḥowze-ye 'Elmīye in Qom indirectly but also shown their political stance. They have had common characteristics. For example, they have held important posts in the establishment. In addition, like Fāẓel Lankarānī and Makārem Shīrāzī, they have participated in the new administration directly and exercised much influence on the political stage. Finally, they have also been members of JMHEQ.

V. Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to show the mechanism of the game among Islamic jurists to attain hegemony in Iranian politics. I then attempted to describe the relevant background by focusing on the development of the Ḥowze-ye 'Elmīye both before and after the Islamic revolution in Iran.

First, I sought to describe the revival of Qom as a shī'ite learning center under the Pahlavi dynasty as well as its development, even including the curriculum of its learning centers. In addition, I tried to portray the leader, namely, Marji' al-Taqlīd, and his role in the society. Next, I tried to show how the educational and administrative aspects of the Ḥowze-ye 'Elmīye changed after the Islamic Revolution, how their role in Iranian society also changed and how they contributed to educational reform in the

²⁹ The seven jurists were Khāmene'ī, Mīrzā Javād Tabrīz (d. 2006), Moḥammad Fāẓel Lankarānī (d. 2007), Moḥammad Taqī Behjat (b. 1911), Ḥoseyn Vāḥid Khorāsānī (b. 1921), Mūsā Shobeyrī Zanjānī (b. 1928) and Nāser Makārem Shīrāzī (b. 1926).

society. Then with the universal adoption of the ethics program into the educational curriculum, it became clear that there has been cooperation between the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye and the universities to adapt Islamic jurists to perform social roles. In addition, the administration of the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye in Qom has gradually become institutionalized after the revolution.

I showed that in this situation, a group from the Ḥowze al-‘Elmīye, JMHEQ, has played a central role in the new institution and has also participated in Iranian politics. Likewise, I discussed the development of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd, the former leader of Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye, after the revolution. The primary goal of JMHEQ was to get political power following Ayatollah Khomeini’s death and Khamenei’s succession. Similarly, after Khamenei’s entrance into Marji‘ al-Taqlīd, many notable Islamic jurists joined Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd and the power of Marji‘ al-Taqlīd grew at an accelerated rate. However, some Marāji‘ al-Taqlīd have shown their powerful presence, and they have been members of JMHEQ. After analyzing this phenomenon, it is possible to say that it is necessary for Islamic jurists who want to get power in Iranian society to take over the Ḥowze-ye ‘Elmīye. Thus, this has been the situation both before and after the revolution.

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Appendix

The Curriculum of Madāres in Qom District

First Year

Class (men)		Class (women)		Recital
Morphology 1	140 h	Morphology 1	170 h	<i>Easy Morphology (Sharf-e Sāde)</i>
Morphology 2	80 h			
Syntax 1	40 h	Syntax 1	230 h	<i>Introductory Textbook of Syntax (Nahv-e Moqaddamāt)</i> <i>The Lead (Hidāya)</i> : A Grammar book written by Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Zamakhsharī <i>Ṣamadīya</i> : Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn ‘Āmilī wrote this grammar book for his cousin ‘Abd al-Ṣamad (Nasr 1987: 167)
Syntax 2	100 h			
Syntax 3	80 h			
Decree (ahkām)	60 h	Decree	90 h	<i>The Training of the Decree (Āmūzesh-e Feqh)</i>
Faith (‘aqāyid)	40 h	Faith	45 h	Men: <i>The Source of the Faith (Oṣūl-e E’teqādāt)</i> Women: <i>The Training of the Faith (Āmūzish-e ‘Aqāyed)</i>
Method of reading the Qur’ān	40 h	Method of reading the Qur’ān	50 h	<i>The Spiritual Leader and Holy Qur’ān (Ravān-khānī va tajvīd-e Qur’ān)</i>
Ethics	30 h	Ethics	30 h	
Islamic History 1	—	Islamic History 1	—	Research Subject: <i>Open the Door to the Islamic prophet (farāzkhā-ye az zendegī-ye peyāmbar-e Eslām)</i>
Qur’ān 1	—	Qur’ān 1	—	Research Subject: Memorize and translate the Qur’ān
Persian Grammar 1	40 h	—	—	
Sentence Analysis and Construction (tajziyye va tarkīb)	20	—	—	
—	—	Logic 1	35 h	
Total	650 h	Total	660 h	

Second Year

Class (men)		Class (women)		Recital
Syntax 4	80 h	Syntax 2	150 h	Men : <i>Suyūfī’s Commentary Book for Ibn Mālīk’s Thousand Lines Poem (Sharḥ al-Suyūfī ‘alā Alfīya Ibn Mālīk)</i> : Commentary book of Jamāl al-Dīn Suyūfī for Book of Ibn Mālīk who was a grammarian in Andalus in 13th Century (Nasr 1987: 167). Women : <i>Suyūfī’s Commentary Book for Ibn Mālīk’s Thousand Lines Poem</i>
Syntax 5	80 h			
Syntax 6	80 h	Syntax 3	170 h	<i>Ibn ‘Aqīl’s Commentary Book for Ibn Mālīk’s Thousand Lines Poem (Sharḥ Ibn ‘Aqīl ‘alā Alfīya Ibn Mālīk)</i>
Logic 1	30 h	Logic 2	170 h	Women : <i>Muẓaffār’s Logic (Mantiq al-Muẓaffār)</i> written by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muẓaffār (1904-64)
Logic 2	50 h	Logic 3	80 h	
Logic 3	80 h			
Faith 2	60 h	Faith 2	60 h	Women : <i>Shī’a in Islam (shī’e dar Eslām)</i>
Ethics 2	30 h	Ethics 2	30 h	
Islamic History 2	—	Islamic History 2	—	Research Subject : <i>Open the Door to the Islamic prophet (farāzkhā-ye az zendegī-ye peyāmbar-e Eslām)</i>
Qur’ān 2	—	Qur’ān 2	—	Research Subject: Memorize and translate the Qur’ān
Sentence Analysis and Construction 2	40	—	—	
Decree 2	40	—	—	
Persian Grammar 2	40	—	—	
Total	610 h	Total	660 h	

Third Year

Class (men)		Class (women)		Recital
Syntax 7	80 h	Syntax 4	170 h	Women : Richness of Refinement (<i>Mughnī al-Adīb</i>) Reformed Edition of Ibn Hishām's <i>Richness of Intelligence</i> (<i>Mughnī al-Labīb</i>)
Syntax 8	80 h	Syntax 5	110 h	
Syntax 9	80 h			
Sentence Analysis and Construction 3	40 h	Sentence Analysis and Construction	60 h	
Faith 3	60	Faith 3	120	Women: <i>The Training of the Faith</i> (<i>Āmūzish-e 'Aqāyed</i>) vol.1~3
Faith 4	40			
Ethics 3	30			
Rhetoric 1	160	Rhetoric 1	170	Women : <i>Jewels of Rhetoric</i> (<i>Jawāhir al-Balāgha</i>) written by Aḥmad al-Hāshimī
Islamic History 3	—	Islamic History 3	—	Research Subject
Qur'ān 3	—	Interpretation of the Qur'ān 1	—	Research Subject
Logic 4	80	—	—	
Total	650 h	Total	660 h	

Fourth Year

Class (men)		Class (women)		Recital
Source of Law 1	90 h	Source of Law 1	170 h	Men : <i>The Source</i> (<i>Oṣūl</i>) written by Moṭahharī
Source of Law 2	80 h			Women : The Study of the Source of Law (<i>Usūl al-Fiqh</i>) written by Muḥaffar + The Summary (<i>al-Mūjaz</i>) written by Āyat Allāh Ṣobkhānī
Jurisprudence 1	80 h	Jurisprudence 1	170 h	<i>Comments on Flashlight</i> (<i>Sharḥ al-Lumu'a</i>) : Commentary book of Zayn al-Dīn Shahīdal-Thānī on Dimashqī's Flashlight. (Up to the Chapter on Earning)
Jurisprudence 2	80 h	Jurisprudence 2	170 h	
Jurisprudence 3	80 h			
Rhetoric 2	120 h	Way of Rhetoric 1	30 h	<i>The Way of Rhetoric</i> (<i>Nahj al-Balāgha</i>) : Biography of 'Alī
Faith 5	60 h	Faith 4	120 h	Women: <i>Leading Scholarship</i> (<i>Hidāya al-Ma'ārif</i>)
Islamic History 4	—	Islamic History 4	—	Research Subject
Study of the Qur'ān	40 h	—	—	
Ethics 4	30 h	—	—	
—	—	Interpretation of the Qur'ān 2	—	Research Subject
Total	660 h	Total	660 h	

Fifth Year

Class (men)		Class (women)		Recital
Source of Law 3	80 h	Source of Law 2	170 h	<i>The Study of Source of Law</i>
Source of Law 4	80 h			
Jurisprudence 4	80 h	Jurisprudence 3	170 h	<i>Comments on Flashlight</i> Men: Up to the Chapter on Marriage Women: Up to the Chapter on Divorce
Jurisprudence 5	80 h			
Jurisprudence 6	80 h	Jurisprudence 4	170 h	
Jurisprudence 7	80 h			
Faith 6	60 h	Faith 5	120 h	Women: <i>Leading Scholarship</i> (<i>Hidāya al-Ma'ārif</i>)
Islamic History 5	—	Islamic History 5	—	Research Subject
Interpretation of the Qur'ān 1	40 h	—	—	
Ethics 5	30 h	—	—	
—	—	Way of Rhetoric 2	30 h	<i>The Way of Rhetoric</i>
—	—	Study of the Qur'ān	—	
Total	610 h	Total	660 h	

Sixth Year

Class (men)		Class (women)		Recital
Source of Law 5	80 h	Source of Law 3	170 h	<i>The Study of the Source of Law: To the end of Vol.2</i>
Source of Law 6	80 h			
Jurisprudence 8	100 h	Jurisprudence 5	150 h	<i>Comments on Flashlight: To the end of Vol. 2</i>
Jurisprudence 9	80 h			
Jurisprudence 10	20 h			
Jurisprudence 11	60 h	Jurisprudence 6	170 h	
Jurisprudence 12	40 h			
Philosophy	20 h	Knowledge of Philosophy	20 h	Women : <i>Knowledge of Philosophy (Āshenā ī bā Falsafe)</i> Written by Moṭahharī
Interpretation of the Qur'ān 2	120 h	Interpretation of the Qur'ān 3	70 h	Women: <i>Flower of Interpretation (Nukhba al-tafāsīr)</i>
Islamic History 6	—	Islamic History 6	—	Research Subject
Faith 7	40 h	—	—	
Ethics 6	—	—	—	Research Subject
—	—	Āyīn-i Nigārash	50 h	
—	—	Way of Rhetoric 3	30 h	
—	—	Study of Hadīth	—	Research Subject
—	—	Erfān	—	Research Subject
Total	650 h	Total	660 h	

Based on (Şīrkhānī 1386: 308-17)

List of Madāris under Modiriyāt-e Howze-ye ‘Elmiye-ye in Qom

District	No.	City	Name of Madrasa
Āzerbāyjān sharqī	1	Ahar	Madrasede Emām Şādeq
	2	Tabriz	Madrasede Vali-‘Aşr
	3	Panāp	Madrasede ‘Olūm-e Eslāmi va Vali ‘Aşr
	4	Shabestar	Madrasede Emām Khomeyni
	5	Marāghe	Madrasede Amir al-Mo’menin
	6	Hādi Shahr	Madrasede Rasūl Akram
	7	Hashtrūd	Madrasede Vali-‘Aşr
Āzerbāyjān Gharbi	8	Qomiye	Madrasede Emām Khomeyni
	9	Takāb	Madrasede Rasūl Akram
	10	Khū’i	Madrasede Namāzi
	11	Salmās	Madrasede Emām ‘Ali
	12	Mākū	Madrasede Emām Khomeyni
	13	Miyāndavāb	Madrasede Emām Rezā
	14	Naqde	Madrasede Emām Şādeq
Ardabil	15	Ardabil	Madrasede Mirzā ‘Ali Akbar
	16	Meshkin Shahr	Madrasede al-Mehdi
Eşfahān	17	Arān va Beyd gol	Madrasede Amir al-Mo’menin
	18		Madrasede al-Mehdi
	19	Būrak	Madrasede Emām Mūsā Kāzem
	20	Khorāsegān	Madrasede Emām Şādeq
	21	Shahr Rezā	Madrasede Şāheb al-Zamān
	22		Madrasede Madīna al-‘Olūm Şāheb al-Zamān
	23	Kāshān	Madrasede Āya Allāh Madni
	24		Madrasede Āya Allāh Yashrabi
	25		Madrasede Dār al-‘Olūm Eslāmi
	26	Golpāygān	Madrasede Āya Allāh Goplāygāni
27	Najaf Ābād	Madrasede Jame’e al-Emām al-Montazer	
Īlām	28	Īlām	Madrasede Īlām
Būshhr	29	Bawāzjān	Madrasede Chahārda Ma’sūm
	30	Bandar-e Būshhr	Madrasede Emām Khomeyni
	31	Kangān	Madrasede ‘Ali Ebn Abi Tāleb
Tehrān	32	Eshtehārd	Madrasede Amir al-Mowmenin
	33	Pākdasht	Madrasede Ja’fariye
	34	Tehrān	Madrasede Āya Allāh Mojtabehi
	35		Madrasede Ahmadiye Sharq
	36		Madrasede al-Emām al-Qā’em
	37		Madrasede Emām Hoseyn
	38		Madrasede Emām Khomeyni
	39		Madrasede Emām Rezā
	40		Madrasede Īrvāni
	41		Madrasede Baqer al-‘Olūm
	42		Madrasede Panjtan Āl-e ‘Ābā
	43		Madrasede Hojjat Ebn ‘Ali
	44		Madrasede Khātam al-Awşiyā’
	45		Madrasede Khān Mohanmadiye
	46		Madrasede Sheyh ‘Abd al-Hoseyn
	47		Madrasede Filsūf al-Dowle
	48		Madrasede Qā’em Cheyzar
	49		Madrasede Marvi
	50		Damāvānd
	51	Rabāt Karīm	Madrasede Emām Khomeyni
	52	Rey	Madrasede Emām Hoseyn
	53		Madrasede Jame’e Amir al-Mo’menin
	54		Madrasede Hazrat-e ‘Abd al-‘Azīm
	55	Shahr Bār	Madrasede Emām Ja’far Şādeq
	56	Karaj	Madrasede Emām Şādeq
	57	Lavāsān	Madrasede Emām Hasan Mojtabā
	58	Varāmīn	Madrasede Emām Şādeq

	59	Hashtgard	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
Chahār Maḥāl Bakhtiyārī	60	Borūjan	Madrase-ye Ḥazrat-e Mehdī
	61	Shahr Kard	Madrase-ye Emāmīye
	62	Fārsān	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	63	Farkh Shahr	Madrase-ye Qā'emīye
	64	Lordgān	Madrase-ye Valī-'Ašr
Khūzestān	65	Ābādān	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	66	Omīdiye	Madrase-ye Mehdīye
	67	Andimashk	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	68	Ahvāz	Madrase-ye Āl Ṭayyb
	69		Madrase-ye Āya Allāh Behbahānī
	70		Madrase-ye Emām Khomeynī
	71		Madrase-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
	72	Abze	Madrase-ye 'Alī Ebn Abī Ṭāleb
	73	Bāgh-e malek	Madrase-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
	74	Bandar-e Māhshhr	Madrase-ye Šāḥeb al-Zamān
	75	Dezfūl	Madrase-ye Āya Allāh Qāzī
	76	Rāmhormz	Madrase-ye Bāgh al-'Olūm
	77	Sūsangard	Madrase-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
	78	Shād-e Gān	Madrase-ye Emām Mūsā Kāzem
	79	Shūsh	Madrase-ye Emām Moḥammad Bāqer
80	Shūshṭar	Madrase-ye Jazā'eriye	
81	Masjed-e Moslemīn	Madrase-ye al-Mehdī	
82	Havīze	Madrase-ye Reżaviye	
Zanjān	83	Abhr	Madrase-ye Amīr al-Mo'menīn
	84	Khodāvande Qaydār	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	85	Zanjān	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	86	Heydej	Madrase-ye 'Alavī
Semnān	87	Bastām	Madrase-ye Bāgh al-'Olūm
	88	Dāmghān	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	89	Shāhrūd	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	90	Garamsār	Madrase-ye Javad al-A'emme
	91	Mehdī Shahr	Madrase-ye Valī-'Ašr
Sīstān va Balowchestān	92	Īrānshahr	Madrase-ye al-Emām Amīr al-Mo'menīn
	93	Chābahār	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	94	Zābol	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq (Marḥūm Sharīfī)
	95	Zāhedān	Madrase-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
Fārs	96	Ābāde	Madrase-ye Ethnā 'Ashariye
	97		Madrase-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
	98	Arsanjān	Madrase-ye Sa'idiye
	99	Estehbān	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	100	Jahrom	Madrase-ye Emām Khomeynī
	101	Dārāb	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
	102	Sepīdān	Madrase-ye Emām Ḥasan 'Askarī
	103	Sarūstān	Madrase-ye Emām Mehdī
	104	Shīrāz	Madrase-ye Āqā Bābā-Khān
	105		Madrase-ye Āya Allāh Dasteghīb
	106		Madrase-ye Reżaviye
	107		Madrase-ye Moḥammadiye
	108	Fasā	Madrase-ye Emām Mehdī
	109	Kāzerūn	Madrase-ye Šāleḥīye (Maktab al-Šādeq)
	110	Garāsh	Madrase-ye Bāgh al-'Olīm
111	Lārestān	Madrase-ye Emām 'Alī Ebn Abī Ṭāleb	
112	Lāmard	Madrase-ye Reżaviye	
113	Marvdasht	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq	
Qazvīn	114	Qazvīn	Madrase-ye Emām Šādeq
Qom	115	Qom	Madrase-ye Āya Allāh Golpāygānī
	116		Madrase-ye Mar'ashī Najafī
	117		Madrase-ye Abū al-Šedq
	118		Madrase-ye Emām al-Hoseyn
	119		Madrase-ye al-Emām al-'Askarī
	120		Madrase-ye al-Emām al-Mehdī
	121		Madrase-ye al-Emām al-Hādī

	122		Madrasede al-Rasul al-A'zam
	123		Madrasede al-Seyyed Hasan al-Shirazi
	124		Madrasede al-Vandiyeh
	125		Madrasede Emam Khamene'i
	126		Madrasede Emam Baqer
	127		Madrasede Emam Hasan Mojtaba
	128		Madrasede Emam Khomeyni
	129		Madrasede Emam Sadeq
	130		Madrasede Emam Hadi
	131		Madrasede Amir al-Momenin
	132		Madrasede Ba'that
	133		Madrasede Jabr Ben Hayyan
	134		Madrasede Jame'e-ye al-Zahra' (for woman)
	135		Madrasede Ja'fariye
	136		Madrasede Hajj Seyyed Sadeq
	137		Madrasede Hajj Ghazanfar
	138		Madrasede Hojjatiye
	139		Madrasede Hasaniye
	140		Madrasede Hazrat-e Ma'sume (for woman)
	141		Madrasede Dar al-Shefa'
	142		Madrasede Rasul Akram
	143		Madrasede Sa'adat
	144		Madrasede Sharf al-Din 'Amili
	145		Madrasede Shahabiye
	146		Madrasede Shahid Sadr
	147		Madrasede Shahidin
	148		Madrasede Sadeqiye
	149		Madrasede Seduq
	150		Madrasede 'Ala Qozai
	151		Madrasede 'Alavi
	152		Madrasede Fatemiyeh
	153		Madrasede Feyziye
	154		Madrasede Qadiriye
	155		Madrasede Kermāni-hā
	156		Madrasede Ma'sumiye
	157		Madrasede Mehdi Mow'ud
	158		Madrasede Na'ini
	159		Madrasede Vahidiye
	160		Madrasede Vali 'Asr
	161		Madrasede Madine al-'Olum
	162		Madrasede Mo'ahed al-Derāsāt al-Eslāmiye
	163		Madrasede Maktab al-Mehdi
	164		Madrasede Maktab-e Towhid
	165		Madrasede Amoliye
Kordestān	166	Bijār	Madrasede Emam Sadeq
	167	Qarve	Madrasede Emam Sadeq
	168	Kāmiyārān	Madrasede Emam Baqer
Kermān	169	Jirāft	Madrasede Emam Sadeq
	170	Rafsanjān	Madrasede Emam Khomeyni
	171	Zerand	Madrasede Ja'fariye
	172	Shahdād	Madrasede 'Ali Ebn Abi Taleb
	173	Kermān	Madrasede Ebrahimiye
	174		Madrasede Ma'sumiye va Salehiye
	175	Kahnūj	Madrasede Vali 'Asr
Kermānshā	176	Eslām-Ābād Gharb	Madrasede Emam Khomeyni
	177	Shāhne	Madrasede Amir al-Momenin
	178	Sanfar Kalyā'i	Madrasede Emam Khomeyni
	179	Kermānshā	Madrasede Emam Khomeyni
	180	Kangāvor	Madrasede Vali 'Asr
Kihkilūya wa Būyer-aḥmadī	181	Dah-Dasht	Madrasede Vali 'Asr
	182	Gachsārān	Madrasede Emam Ja'far Sadeq
	183	Yāsūj	Madrasede al-Emām 'Ali bn Mūsā al-Rezā
Golestān	184	Bandar-e Torkamān	Madrasede Emam Sadeq

	185	Rāmbān	Madrāse-ye Sa'īdiye
	186	Gorgān	Madrāse-ye Emām Khomeynī
	187		Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	188	Gonbad	Madrāse-ye Emām Moḥammad Bāqer
	189	Meynūdasht	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
Gīlān	190	Lāhījān	Madrāse-ye Jāme'
	191	Rasht	Madrāse-ye Madāres-e 'Elmiye-ye Rasht
	192	Rūdsar	Madrāse-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
	193	Langarūd	Madrāse-ye Šāheh al-Zamān
Lorestān	194	Alīgūderaz	Madrāse-ye Mehdiye
	195	Bortijerd	Madrāse-ye Vali-'Aṣr
	196	Kūh-e Dasht	Madrāse-ye Bāgh al-'Olūm
Māzandarān	197	Āmol	Madrāse-ye Abū al-Ḥasan Amīr al-Mo'menīn
	198	Bābol	Madrāse-ye Khātām al-Anbiyā'
	199		Madrāse-ye Rūhiye
	200		Madrāse-ye Feyziye (va Madāres Tābe'e)
	201	Bohshahr	Madrāse-ye Emām Ja'far Šādeq
	202	Qā'em-e Shahr	Madrāse-ye Moḥammadiye
	203	Kalār Dasht	Madrāse-ye Emām 'Alī
	204	Kūtanā	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	205	Nekā	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	206		Madrāse-ye Masjed-e Jāme'
	207		Madrāse-ye Mehdiye
208	Rāmsar	Madrāse-ye al-Mehdi	
Markazī	209	Āshkebān	Madrāse-ye Šāheh al-Amr
	210	Arāk	Madrāse-ye Emām Khomeynī
	211		Madrāse-ye Hājji Moḥammad Ebrāhīm
	212	Tafraresh	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	213	Sāve	Madrāse-ye Vali-'Aṣr
	214	Mahallāt	Madrāse-ye al-Qā'em
Hormozgān	215	Bashāgerd	Madrāse-ye Šāheh al-Zamān
	216	Bandar-e 'Abbās	Madrāse-ye al-Nabi
	217	Rūdān	Madrāse-ye Vali-'Aṣr
Hamadān	218	Bahār	Madrāse-ye Āya Allāh Bahārī
	219	Sāman	Madrāse-ye Vali-'Aṣr
	220	Fāmenīn	Madrāse-ye al-Emām Amīr al-Mo'menīn
	221	Molāyer	Madrāse-ye 'Alī ebn Abī Ṭāleb
	222	Nehāvānd	Madrāse-ye Emām Khomeynī
	223	Hamadān	Madrāse-ye Ākhond
Yazd	224	Ardakān	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	225	Bāfeq	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	226	Mehrīz	Madrāse-ye Emām Šādeq
	227	Meybod	Madrāse-ye Hojjat bn al-Ḥasan
	228	Yazd	Madrāse-ye Emām Khomeynī

Based on (*Shahrvand-e Emrūze* 1387)