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ARTICLE

Creating the Modern Iranian Policeman: 1911–1935

Kamran Scot Aghaie

Middle East Studies & History, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA
Email: kamranaghaie@austin.utexas.edu

Abstract

1911 to 1935 was a chaotic, yet foundational, period in the transformation of the police force in Tehran and Iran more broadly. The nationalization of modern Iranian policing can be traced back to this time period. This article explores the role of nationalism and anti-imperialism on policing, how the structure and process of policing underwent transformation, including how police were recruited, trained, and deployed. Localized and decentralized policing was slowly abandoned in favor of an integrated national force, with policing through mediation being replaced with the exercise of power in a top-down and center to periphery manner. Education of police officers also underwent transformation, as new strategies were pursued to create a modern nationalist Iranian police force.

Keywords: law and order; law enforcement; Iran; police; police education; security

A key aspect of Iran's modernization process was the development of a modern police force. This process was a slow one, with several early efforts, such as Amir Kabir's modest efforts in the mid-19th century, which primarily involved relatively minor changes such as stationing soldiers and other armed government personnel in guardhouses at key points in the city. Later efforts included the hiring of foreign officers such as the Italian Conte di Monteforte (1878–1889), whom Iranians generally referred to as "the Count," and a group of Swedish officers headed by Gunnar Westdahl and Sven Bergdahl (1911–1916).[1] Finally, in 1935–1941, under Rezā Shāh Pahlavi's government, the national and local police forces were restructured and expanded, leading to the police force that survived into later decades. During this later period, Rezā Shāh ordered the establishment of a series of police academies: some – such as Vakil and Takmili – trained students for between several months to a year, while others – such as the Dāneshgāh-e Polis (Police University) – provided higher-level education for higher-ranking officers.[2]

[1] A note on dates, as consistency with dates posed several challenges in this study. In the sources, the vast majority of dates are based on the solar Hijri calendar, a few are based on the lunar Hijri calendar, and only a handful are provided according to the Gregorian calendar. Since the start of the year in each of these three systems does not correlate, it is not possible to convert the dates precisely without having the exact day, month, and year for each date, which are usually not provided. If we only convert the year in question, the margin of error is only up to one year, which does not impact the type of analysis undertaken here. Therefore, the system used in this article is to convert all dates to Gregorian dates. The *Nazmiyeh* journal articles that are cited in footnotes constitute an exception to this pattern. These journal dates are cited using solar Hijri dates (as listed in the journal itself), with the corresponding Gregorian year provided in brackets at the end of the citation.

[2] Bakhtiyāri, Hoseyn, and Yousef Torābi, *Sayri dar āmuzesh-e āli-ye polis dar Irān tā 1370* (Iran: Dāneshgāh-e Olum-e Entezāmi-NAJA-Edāreh-ye Chāp va Nashr, 2006), pp. 95–111 (where the lengthy analysis begins).

There are numerous studies on both earlier and later patterns of policing in Tehran and Iran more broadly.[3] However, the period between roughly 1911–1935 is understudied, partly due to the difficulty of finding primary sources to assist in consistent analysis of this period, and further compounded by the inconsistent and decentralized nature of policing during this time. An important distinction needs to be made here between the various gendarmerie forces (such as the Cossack Brigade, the South Persian Rifles, or the Swedish-led Gendarmerie) and city police forces. For one thing, the gendarmerie forces have been studied much more, partly because they are far better documented and partly due to the fact that, at the time, both the Iranian state and foreign powers prioritized the gendarmerie forces. This prioritization resulted from the fact that the various gendarmerie forces, while carrying out some policing functions in rural areas and along roadways, were much more of a military and political force. These various gendarmerie forces have been studied by several scholars.[4] Additionally, one study even looks at the "Swedish Period" within the context of diplomatic relations between Sweden and Iran, mostly focusing on the Swedish-led gendarmerie with regard to policing.[5] While the developments that followed Rezā Shāh's reforms in 1935–1941, including the massive expansion of police training and organization, have thus far not be studied extensively by Western scholars, these developments have been studied by scholars within Iran, most notably in Hoseyn Bakhtiyāri and Yusef Torābi's monograph on the history of higher education for Iran's police.[6] However, much work still needs to be done for the two and a half decades leading up to the Pahlavi reforms in the mid-1930s. This period, namely the 1910s and 1920s, is the focus of this article. Here, the aim is to consolidate a limited set of primary sources in an attempt to give a better sense of how policing was carried out and how this time period served as the starting point for the Pahlavi regime's more ambitious, post-1935 transformations. Also, before diving into the topic, it is important to note that this article will not deal with the gendarmerie in Iran, as the police and gendarmerie were fundamentally different in their key characteristics, goals, and historical trajectories.

There are several key questions to be explored. How did the police fit in with nationalism, anti-imperialism, and the nation-building project? What strategies did the government pursue in the development of a national network of police forces for cities around the nation? How was the police force organized/reorganized? How were police officers recruited and trained, both rank-and-file and higher-ranking officers? How were they managed, supervised, and disciplined? How early, and in what ways, was instilling a sense of group identity, shared cultural values, and social solidarity among Iranian police officers enacted?

[3] See Tafreshi, Mortezā, *Nazm va nazmiyeh dar dowreh-ye Qājāriyeh* (Tehran: Nashr-e Tārikh va Farhang-e Irānzamin, 1983); Rajabi, Ali Asghar, *Kalāntar: maqām va mansab-e ān az Safaviyyeh tā Qājāriyyeh* (Tehran: Āyandegān, 2021); and Bakhtiyāri and Torābi, *Sayri dar āmuzesh-e āli-ye polis dar Irān tā 1370.* Willem Floor also has many articles related to this topic, including in the collection Floor, Willem, *Jostārhā'i az tārikh-e ejtemā'i-ye Irān dar asr-e Qājār,* trans. Abu al-Qāsim Serri (Tehran: Enteshārat-e Tus, 1987). Lastly, Farzin Vejdani has a forthcoming monograph, tentatively titled *Private Sins, Public Crimes: Policing, Punishment, and Authority in Iran,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2024), which is a comprehensive analytical study of the early stages of modernization vis-à-vis crime, policing, and law in Qajar Iran.

[4] Qā'emmaqāmi, Jahāngir, *Tārikh-e jhāndārmeri-ye Irān,* (Tehran: Artesh-e Shāhanshāhi-ye Irān, 1976); Cronin, Stephanie, *He Army and the Creation of the Pahlavi State in Iran, 1910–1026* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997); Afsar, Parviz, *Tārikh-e jhāndārmeri-ye Irān* (Qom: Chāpkhāneh-ye Qom, 1953); Sedāqatkish, Jamshid, *Mobārezāt-e mardom-e Fārs alayh-e polis-e jonub-e Irān,* (Tehran: Mo'assaseh-ye Motāle'at va Pazhuhesh-e Siyāsi, 2015); Rāzi, Monireh, *Polis-e Jonub-e Iran* (Tehran: Chāpkhāneh-ye Asnād-e Enqelāb-e Eslāmi, 2002); Safiri, Floridā, *Polis-e jonub-e Irān,* trans. Mansureh Ettehādieh (Nezām Māfi) and Mansureh Ja'fari Feshāraki (Tehran: Nashr-e Tarikh-e Iran, 1985); for the original, see Safiri, F, *The South Persia Rifles* (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1976).

[5] Ineichen, Markus, *Die Schwedischen Offiziere in Persien (1911–1916): Friedensengel, Weltgendarmen oder Handelsagenten einer Kleinmacht im ausgehenden Zeitalter der Imperialismus?* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002).

[6] Bakhtiyāri and Torābi, *Sayri dar āmuzesh-e āli-ye polis dar Irān tā 1370.*

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Local, national, and nationalist police

During this period, competition between foreign and nationalistic influences (i.e., of imperialism vs. anti-imperialism) around policing was a very sensitive issue, further complicated by several factors. Passionate disagreements raged over whether having foreign officers involved in modernizing the police force was a good idea at all. In previous decades, this path often led to reform efforts that were later aborted, only to be tried again years later. At this time, while modernizing nationalists did tend to believe that Western officers were well equipped to transform the police force, they also believed that foreign officers could never be trusted and should have as little influence as possible over any aspect of Iran's affairs, particularly internal affairs. This distrust was the result of a series of recent political experiences realted to imperialist influence in Iran. Firstly, starting in 1905–1906, the Iranian Constitutional Revolution unleashed strong political forces that included nationalism, anti-imperialism, liberalism, and a particular interest in the rule of law. Secondly, following the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the British and Russians divided Iran into spheres of influence, significantly compromising the sovereignty of the Iranian state. Thirdly, this situation was further exacerbated in 1914 by World War I, which in turn created further complications for the government and nationalists by creating all manner of crises and dilemmas more generally. The modernization of the police was directly affected by these forces, including both political and security issues and the ideological challenges posed by the contradictions between nationalism and imperialism. Finally, the rise of the Pahlavi regime under Rezā Shāh in the 1920s brought about a more fundamental restructuring of government, society, and, notably, policing.

In this time, a new style of law enforcement became a key new way to build the modern nation of Iran. Despite the overwhelming influence of nationalism, the process of developing a new police force was necessarily complex and nuanced, involving a delicate balancing of Westernization and nativist nationalism. For example, in these early years, it was inescapable that newly formed police forces around the country were the latest stage in a series of foreign, Western-led efforts to modernize Iranian law enforcement. On the other hand, nationalism was always "front and center" in all police activities. For example, a fiercely nationalistic tone is set in the first issue of *Nazmiyeh,* the professional journal for police published by the central police authorities. "There was a time in which the police of Iran were under the authority of foreign agents. During this time, not only did Iran not have police, but whatever it had was not for this nation!"[7] The issue goes on to discuss the need for strongly loyal and nationalistic police to take over the sacred responsibility of ensuring the safety and wellbeing of Iranian society.

The Iranian representative to the New York International Conference on policing in 1925, Abd Allāh Bahrāmi, is an excellent example of managing these two competing trends. At the conference, Bahrāmi began his lecture praising Iran's glorious history, saying: "It is unnecessary for me to recount Iran's political and civil institutions from ancient times, because you are totally aware that Iran is an ancient nation with cities and lands." He then went on to stress that modern "international" policing is of a different nature than those developed by other civilizations throughout human history. It is particularly noteworthy here that he said "international," not "Western" or "European." This was the general trend of the time, that the terms Westernization or Europeanization were rarely used when speaking about the modernization of policing. Instead, the more universal and general term "international" was almost always preferred. As Bahrāmi said,

> ...new organizations [i.e., police] of the world of civilization differs completely from what existed in the past... As far as I know most nations have accepted the new [methods of policing] – and it has been a half century since Iran became familiar with these

[7] "Afkār va Akhlāq," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 4.

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> new principles, and the situation [in Iran] is totally different from what it was fifty years ago. In those days, the police forces were used for collecting taxes, and scaring the people, and forcing them to submit to the whims of oppressive rulers...which typically involved beatings with sticks, strangling, amputations, which were considered ordinary punishments.[8]

At the same time, Bahrāmi expressed negative views of foreign advisors, specifically the Italian Count and Swedish officers involved in the early transformation of Iran's police force.

> ...they introduced the standard practices of their home countries to Iran. However, because of lack of experience in the matters of the nation [Iran] and lack of knowledge of the language and character of the people, they were unsuccessful. Creation of Iran's new police force is the product of Iranian thinking. They systematically searched the policing methods of Europe, and after taking over from the Swedish [advisors]. It is unnecessary for me to point out that the police of Iran is accepted as one of the best police forces in the world, in terms of its organization, facilities, and equipment, although it has still not reached the point we demand and what we are shooting for, and therefore we are striving very hard to complete our work by benefiting from the experiences of other police forces of the world.[9]

This attitude goes back to the earliest efforts to restructure the police in the Qājār period. For example, "The reforms of the Conte di Monteforte, from the very first months, encountered opposition on the part of the city's notables, elites, and ulama, saying that a Christian foreigner should not be in charge of Muslims."[10]13 Eventually, Nāser al-Din Shāh had no choice but to placate the ulama by removing the Count in the early 1890s. Similarly, in 1912, when Swedish officers were about to take over Tehran's police force, several officers – including Qāsem Khān –resigned from the force, as they did not want to work for foreign officers.[11]

Sven Bergdahl also wrote of the opposition the Swedish officers faced in starting their work with the Tehran police force.

> It was said that the officers of the police force strove by any means necessary to delay the start of our work, and if possible, to stop us from entering the police. In this regard the head of the police noticeably worked at this, and met constantly with ministers, elite ulama, and leaders of corporatist association [*asnāf*], stressing that it is not acceptable to have people running the police who are totally different from us in religion, ideology, etc.[12]

Bergdahl went on to say that, despite the pious and moral justifications put forth by such men, he believed the officers simply feared losing their jobs and were trying to preserve their positions. He also said that some members of the police accepted the Swedish officers, in no small part because their arrival meant that the Iranian police might start receiving the several months of pay they were owed. Things escalated quickly:

[8] "Kongereh-ye Bayn al-Meleli-ye Polis dar New York," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 94–95.

[9] "Rahbar-e Polis," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 99.

[10] Eftekhāri, Yahyā, *Nazmiyeh dar dawreh-ye Pahlavi: Khāterāt-e sarlashkar-e bāzneshasteh-ye polis* (Iran: Enteshārāt-e Ashkān, 1377/1999), 16–17.

[11] Eftekhāri, *Nazmiyeh dar dawreh-ye Pahlavi: Khāterāt-e sarlashkar-e bāzneshasteh-ye polis*, 22.

[12] Bergdahl, Sven, *Gozāresh-e nazmiyeh-ye Tehrān sālhā-ye 1912–1915*, trans. Abd al-Rezā Bahādor (Iran: Enteshārāt-e Dāstān, 1380/2001), 28–30.

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> ...on the nineteenth of March the situation changed completely. When the officer in charge of the uniformed police, who was the closest thing to a chief of police at the time, arrived at the central office, guards who had gathered in the square outside the building shot several bullets at him, although they all missed him.[13]

The gendarmerie, which had been successfully established by the Swedish officers a year and a half prior to this, had to be brought in to maintain order and avert a larger crisis.

Later, this attitude further intensified, as Rezā Shāh had always been against the Swedish officers, or any foreign officers, being in charge of policing in Iran. Additionally, like most military men, the shah believed that the police, gendarmerie, and other security forces should all be run from within the department of war.[14] This view must have been at least partly informed by his first-hand experience in the Cossack Brigade, started by the Russians. When Rezā Shāh came to power, he expelled foreign advisors and began a long process of reform and restructuring of the military, gendarmerie, and police, beginning with nationalization, standardization, and the centralization of power.[15]

One particularly interesting point to start our analysis happened a few years earlier, in 1913, in the form of the much-lauded course taught by Belgian instructor G. Demorgny at the Dār al-Fonun government school. While foreign advisors often had contempt for Iranians, sometimes viewing them as an inferior race, Demorgny represented a different, more successful category of advisors, remembered more positively by later generations of Iranians. Rather than stressing that modern policing in Iran was a break with local, Iranian, or Islamic traditions, Demorgny stressed the opposite. For example, at this time it was the norm to rely on the sayings of Imām Ali for both the ideals of law enforcement and symbolic legitimacy. In the first issue of the new police journal *Nazmiyeh*, the lead article on "Morality and Ideals" (Akhlāq va Afkār) began with a quote by the first imām, Ali Ibn Abi Tālib, to explain the police's best rules of engagement, etiquette, and moral conduct in undertaking their "sacred" responsibility.[16]

We see this clearly in Demorgny's curriculum for the police officer training course he taught and supervised, and in which a variety of elite leaders and government officials participated as both speakers and students. Lectures from this course were published in several official Iranian publications and widely disseminated to law enforcement personnel and government officials more generally, thereby having tremendous influence on later courses on the subject. The course's students consisted of nineteen employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, thirty-two employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, eleven students from the political science program, and an unstated number of advanced students from the St. Louis School and Ilyas French School.[17] Not surprisingly, many of the elite officers who appear later in this article participated in this or later iterations of this course, and throughout which Imām Ali's ideas and sayings were frequently quoted.[18] In fact, the first page of the report was a quote from Imām Ali. Additionally, in the long discussion of how individual rights underpin virtually all aspects of law and law enforcement, Imām Ali was also quoted: "As has been transmitted in Hadith and Akhbār (*al-nās musallatuna 'ala amwālihim wa anfusihim*)" (People are sovereign over their property and selves).[19] Similarly, the Qur'an

[13] Bergdahl, *Gozāresh-e nazmiyeh-ye Tehrān sālhā-ye* 1912–1915, 28–30.

[14] Eftekhāri, *Nazmiyeh dar dawreh-ye Pahlavi: Khāterāt-e sarlashkar-e bāzneshasteh-ye polis*, 25.

[15] Amini, D., *Tārikh-e do hezār va pānsad sāleh-ye polis-e Irān* (Tehran: Publisher unknown, 1966), 49–50.

[16] *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 2.

[17] Demorgny, G., *Masdraseh-i Dowlati-e Dār al-Fonun: dowreh-ye hoquq-e edāri, amali* (Tehran: Matba'eh-ye Dowlati, 1912), 1–7.

[18] Demorgny, *Madraseh-i dowlati-e Dār al-Fonun: dowreh-ye hoquq-e edāri, amali.*

[19] Ibid., 35–36.

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(3:104) was used to justify the role of the police: "Let there be among you a community encouraging the right and forbidding the wrong. They are the ones who shall prosper."[20]

This course went much further in embedding modern-style training within indigenous traditions and distancing its teachings from earlier Western-led efforts to modernize the Iranian police. Demorgny stated explicitly that this was his goal.

> I noticed very quickly that since young Iranians have innate intelligence and talent, and immediately familiarize themselves with any idea or principle, I can conform to some of the beliefs and local false impressions and cause them to reflect. They quickly were able to study and discern what is necessary; and they can understand and distinguish between old fashioned [outdated] ideals of the absolute authority of past Iranian rulers, on one hand, from the new ideals of the absolute authority of the law, individual rights, and constitutionalism. The sessions of the Ministry of Interior quickly became popular among Iranians, by means of selection of Islamic ideals and principles, and history was the best way to improved new teaching.[21]

This approach is clear in the content of the lectures provided in Demorgny's report. The course discussed how the police and gendarmerie were separate in medieval Andalusia and used Iran's 14th-century Ilkhānid rulers to show examples of regulation, inspection of weights and measures, and how to deal with crime. These examples were quoted directly from Ikhānid ruler Ghāzān Khān's decree on crime and law enforcement, which was also enforced by the 16th/17th-century Safavid ruler Shāh Abbās.[22] The course also drew on texts by Muslim scholars discussing the foundational ideas of law enforcement. In lesson eight on "commercial police," there was a detailed discussion of the ideas of the Muslim scholar Rashid al-Din of Hamadān (d. 1319) on the enforcement of weights and measures.[23] Using the writings of another Muslim scholar from the Ilkhānid period, Monshi Hendu Shāh (d. 1376), the police chief was equated with the traditional Islamic idea of a *mohtaseb*.[24] The course continued with a more detailed discussion of the role of the *mohtaseb* under the Ayyubid leader Salāh al-Din (d. 1193).[25] In lesson nine, the teaching of Ibn Hishmat (date unknown) on the *mohtaseb* were covered.[26] And finally, the course concluded with the famous 11th-century Arab scholar Abd al-Rahman al-Shayzāri's book on the *mohtaseb*, which consisted of forty chapters on methods of regulation and inspection, including categories such as: alleys and roads, weights and measures, merchants of flour and animal meats, bakers, medicines, perfumers, cloth sellers, etc.[27] Thus, in training these new officers, who would go on to lead the new police force, the role of the police chief was embedded within the centuries-old Islamic position of the *mohtaseb*, and the police force within the context of the *ehtisābiyyeh*. This is striking in that the focus was not on examples of legal theories, traditions, or institutions from Western police forces. Thus, Demorgny is one of the first and most effective advocates of indigenizing modern policing, placing it firmly within the traditions of Iran and Islam.

[20] Ibid., 119.
[21] Ibid., 12.
[22] Ibid., 98.
[23] Ibid., 101–108.
[24] Ibid., 108–109.
[25] Ibid., 109–115.
[26] Ibid., 115–120.
[27] Ibid., 120–123.

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Structure and organization of the police

As previously stated, Rezā Shāh expelled foreign advisors when he came to power, starting a long process of reform and restructuring of the military, gendarmerie, and police, beginning with nationalization, standardization, and the centralization of power. Unlike earlier police reforms under the Count, Swedish officers, and others, policing ceased to be local and regional. Increasingly, all cities, villages, and provinces were becoming centrally controlled, or at least guided.[28] Beginning with the hiring of the Conte di Monteforte, a fundamental change started slowly taking place, followed two decades later by the Swedish officers and culminating in the new system that emerged in the 1920s. Tehran had traditionally been divided into neighborhoods (*mahalleh*), with law and order maintained by a leader of the quarter (*kadkhodā*) who reported to a city-wide supervisor (*kalāntar*), who was often further assisted by a *dārugheh* in matters of safety and security. Historically, there had often been other positions, such as the *beyglerbeygi, gazmeh*, and of course the market inspector (with the older Islamic title of *mohtaseb*), who also undertook many of these roles.[29] The parameters of neighborhoods changed over the decades and centuries, as did the specific titles and organizational functions of these positions. However, the process of change that began in the 1880s involved an unprecedented transformation.

The older system was characterized by mediation, with power and justice typically negotiated. Falzin Vejdani has already conducted a thorough study of the system of policing throughout the Qājār period, and this article takes his work as its starting point for analysis.[30] Police functions typically took two forms: security on roads and frontiers and security in cities. Road and frontier security was usually a combination of state forces and diplomacy with regional forces, such as nomadic or tribal groups, or regional strongmen. Road security was slowly taken over by the modern gendarmerie. In cities, towns, and villages, safety and security had always been decidedly locally, in terms of funding, organization, and personnel. Within large cities, such as Tehran, the same general patterns existed within the city's quarters. While the governing elites connected to the ruler of the empire or governor of the province appointed the highest-level officials, the lower-level members came from local social and political groups. For example, a *kalāndar* or *mohtaseb* would be appointed by elites linked to the state, whereas the quarter head (*kadkhoda*) would typically come from the quarter and be someone invested with authority by residents of the quarter. Typically, it would be the richest or most respected member of the quarter who would work closely with other respected members to run affairs in the quarter. Furthermore, the head of the quarter would administer justice locally for all but the most serious crimes, or those with political implications for the state. Order, law, and justice were usually more like what we might call today "submitting to mediation," in that the goal was typically to find a satisfactory outcome for the parties involved, who usually knew each other and, thus, it was most often a very personal affair. For example, the focus in cases of theft was often on returning stolen property to the victims; even in the case of violent crimes, such as assault or murder, the focus remained on satisfying the victim or the victim's family through either punishment or compensation.[31] Instead of policemen or soldiers, the quarter would have their own local "muscle" (such as *lutis*, armed men from the neighborhood, or their own

[28] Amini, *Tārikh-e do hezār va pānsad sāleh-ye polis-e Irān,* 49–50.

[29] Eftekhāri, *Nazmiyeh dar dowreh-ye Pahlavi: Khāterāt-e sarlaskar-e bāzneshasteh-ye polis*, 12–16. For a detailed scholarly treatment of the evolution of the *kalāntar* and related institutions, see Rajabi, Ali Asghar, *Kalāntar: maqām va mansab-e ān az Safaviyyeh tā Qājāriyeh*. (Tehran: Āyandegān, 2021).

[30] For a detailed discussion of previous patterns of policing see, Vejdani, Farzin, *Private Sins, Public Crimes: Policing, Punishment, and Authority in Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2024). For a more narrow focus on the office of *kalāntar* and related positions, see also Rajabi, *Kalāntar: maqām va mansab-e ān az Safaviyyeh ta Qājāriyyeh*.

[31] Vejdani, *Private Sins, Public Crimes: Policing, Punishment, and Authority in Iran.*

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servants) to enforce authority.[32] Similarly, the state had its own enforcers, often soldiers, *farrāsh*s (servants of the ruler/governor, also including "enforcers"), or various military or irregular cavalry (*savār*).

The flow of power was thus typically a two-way process of negotiation and mediation, rather than a one-way flow of power. As the state modernized, however, the system evolved into a more centralized structure in which power flowed primarily in one direction, from top to bottom and from the center outward. As this pattern was implemented, the intention was that enforcement would become more and more a matter of strengthening state authority through the enforcement of laws and regulations in more standard ways, with less negotiation, mediation, or compromise. This was a major conceptual, cultural, and institutional shift that continued to progress in future decades. While divisions or quarters within cities (*komiseriyā*s) continued to be used, they were increasingly run directly by officials appointed by the state (i.e., the Ministry of the Interior or the city government), who usually had no direct connection with the neighborhoods in which they worked. Another big change was in the state's efforts to integrate networks of police forces for cities, towns, and villages, which would then be similarly centralized to form one large nationwide network of police overseen by the national police force (Shahrbāni-ye koll-e keshvar).

As there were still not means of properly training police officers, even in the capital, and the gendarmerie was already very well established, an arrangement was made at the beginning of the Swedish period (1911) for the gendarmerie to train 300 police recruits for three months at a time until there were 1,000 trained officers. Within months, the police established their own school for recruits, which also trained recruits from other cities and areas. After that, a more specialized school for training higher-ranking officers was also established.[33] This education for police was focused solely on Tehran, with little ambitions to expand beyond that, and did not involve reorganization of police elsewhere. Still, this was an important (if small) step towards establishing better policing standards across Iran's provinces. An additional change that occurred under the Swedish officers, with future repercussions, was the creation of eight specialized criminal investigative units that worked across the city's various precincts: 1) political affairs; 2) fingerprinting, photography, etc.; 3) entertainment sector; 4) theft; 5) the *bāzār*; 6) major crimes such as murder and robbery; 7) counterfeiting and fraud; and 8) misdemeanors.[34] While most of the many changes inplemented by teh Swedes did not survive their removal from the police force, this experience informed the Iranian state's later efforts and restructuring. Eventually, Tehran was expanded into twelve *komiseriyā*s, including *Shemirān* and the city of Ray. Each had at last three ranking officers in charge, and police officers worked on twenty-four-hour shifts on alternating days. Therefore, for a typical *komiseriyā* with sixty officers, thirty would be on duty at any given time.[35]

Recruitment, training, and supervision

A major aspect of this modernization program was, of course, how police personnel were recruited and trained. This period is of particular importance because it sets the stage for modernization efforts in later decades. Let us start with a top-down perspective, which is how it was conceived at the time. The hiring of higher-ranking officers (*sāhebmansab*) was of particular concern. For example, for the position of police chief, the ideal practice followed the below outline:

[32] There is no clear English translation for the term *luti*. A crude description would be something close to "tough street males," who ranged from honorable hero or anti-hero types to something akin to street thugs. There was an ethos of chivalry that *luti* claimed to follow to varying degrees, which included such things as protecting the weak, defending their quarter, and living an honorable life.

[33] Bergdahl, *Gozāresh-e nazmiyeh-ye Tehrān, salhā-ye 1912–1915*, 36–38.

[34] Ibid., 41–42.

[35] Amini, *Tārikh-e do hezār va pānsad sāleh-ye polis-e Irān,* 60.

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> The chief of police must be a ranking official with higher education, who is serious and eager to take on the job. He must be familiar with all the trends and duties of the police...and have spent time serving in the branches and circles of public safety, because the duties of these two branches of policing are in so many ways close and intersecting that if the chief of police is not familiar with matters of public safety it would be impossible for these two branches to cooperate and mutually support each other.[36]

Other higher-ranking officers who directly supervised uniformed police were also expected to have substantial education, knowledge, and experience in security services, with the ability to manage and discipline rank-and-file policemen, preferably graduates of government secondary schools with direct knowledge of policing. That said, graduating from security or military programs was not an absolute requirement during this period. In fact, promoting from within the ranks of regular policemen, regardless of formal education, was actually preferred.[37] This is consistent with international trends at the time, as articulated by Mr. Louwage – the Belgian representative to the New York Conference on Policing in 1926 – as part of a session translated into Persian for Iranian officers.[38]

Police chiefs around the country were given detailed instructions on how to structure and organize policing locally, thus creating a national network with central planning and guidance but local implementation. Each city's system had a variety of divisions and patterns of implementation. Firstly, there were vertical divisions: trainees or recruits (*dāvtalab*) with a probationary period of six to twelve months were at the bottom; uniformed policemen (*ājhān*, or agent) were the next step up; higher-ranking officers (*sāhebmansab*) and district commissioners (*komiser*) were the next level; and finally, the police chief (*ra'is-e polis*) sat at the top. There were also horizontal divisions between law enforcement and public safety, health, and civic order. These two halves of the system were complementary and overlapping. At the highest level of management, these two halves would be closest and overlap the most while, at the lower levels, they would interact in whatever ways higher-ranking officers determined as appropriate in a given place and situation. Thus, uniformed police officers supported and buttressed other public safety administrators.[39]

Another major horizontal division related to geography and demographics. A typical city was divided into areas called commissions, with a ranking officer – a commissioner (*komiser*) – responsible for each area. In current American English terminology, these roughly corresponded to a precinct and a precinct head. Each precinct was selected based on population and type of neighborhood or quarter. For example, the bazar precinct, which had both a very high population density and very complex commercial activities, required a far higher degree of policing than a quiet residential neighborhood. Each precinct would work in relative isolation, but held vehicles and policemen in reserve to support other precincts as needed. Each precinct had its own internal structure, from the highest office (the precinct head) down to the "beat cops" and trainees.[40]

Internally, there would still be a degree of horizontal division between uniformed policemen and their supervising (disciplining) officers, leaving the precinct head to take a broader view of the precinct as a whole, including other safety matters typically carried out by plain

[36] "Estekhdām," *Nazmiyeh* 4 (1306/1926): 166–167. Due to the state of the archive collection, this issue is incomplete and the issue number is unknown. While the issue number cannot be provided, it was one of the first of 1306/1926.

[37] Ibid.

[38] "Dar konferāns-e bayn al-melali-ye polis dar New York," *Nazmiyeh* 5 (1305/1926): 359; "Madreseh-ye polis," *Nazmiyeh* 9 (1305/1926): 465.

[39] "Rahbar-e polis," *Nazmiyeh* (1306/1926): 162–165.

[40] Ibid.

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clothes officers and officials (not uniformed policemen). Interestingly, while uniformed policemen were expected to gain experience in the precinct of their assignment, higher-ranking, plain clothes officers were expected to spend no more than several weeks at each precinct, as they were most effective if they remained unrecognizable and unfamiliar to local criminals. This allowed cross-precinct training and experience for higher-ranking officers.[41]

For rank-and-file policemen, the system of training included coursework, on-the-job training, and something akin to a supervised apprenticeship. In training these recruits, heads of police were instructed to carefully select those who were capable of being trained, alongside the below list of qualifications required of any trainee/recruit.[42] A trainee had to have or be:

1. [A] pious Muslim.
2. [An] Iranian citizen.
3. No convictions for rising-up or acting against the national government. No convictions for crimes or misdemeanors that required being banned from working for the government.
4. No convictions for corrupt beliefs, and no reputation for corrupt morals or debauchery. No bankruptcy and no drug addiction to opium, or contagious diseases.
5. Possession of certificate of sixth grade of middle level, or have passed an exam equivalent to sixth grade, and knowledge of a Western language (French, English, German).
6. Aged between 24 and 30.
7. Not shorter than 1.65 *gāz*.[43]
8. Must have a strong constitution and be able to carry out police duties.
9. Must not have any sort of conviction of wrongdoing in the past two years.
10. People who have not been disciplined or punished in honorable service to the state (clarification: among those who have the above qualifications, those who are married are allowed to apply).[44]

Instructions for selecting and training these recruits were disseminated in detail. The following is one representative sample.

> Recruits who have previous experience as agents of the police or armed forces can be hired directly, provided they have no negative past behavior, are literate, and are not older than 25 years old. The probationary period for a recruit is set at a minimum of six months, and if his trainers feel that he is not well suited for the police, he should be expelled. During the trainee stage (six to twelve months), in addition to military and police training, he must attend police courses at least three times per week, to learn the nation's laws, and police regulations. He must continue studying at this school as well as attending relevant conferences and workshops, until his education and training are satisfactorily completed. Once he begins to carry out his actual police duties, his supervising officers should continue to assess and monitor his conduct secretly, without his knowledge. During the first six months of being a police officer (*ājhān*),

[41] Ibid.
[42] "Rahbar-e polis va polis-e elmi," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 105.
[43] This is a non-standardized length of measure used at the time; it would be close to 1.5 meters or five feet.
[44] "Da'vat beh khedmat," *Nazmiyeh* 17–18 (1306/1928): 909–910.

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> the focus should be on building his athletic ability, such as running and jumping, and he should be trained in how to use firearms, starting with small arms. During the first years of his service as a policeman those who are young should be stationed in places in which the vigor, speed, and strength of their youth is useful, and those who are older should be stationed in more congested areas, focused more on regular duties, like those related to traffic and pedestrians.[45]

There were many components of this new training network for officers. For example, on the March 29, 1928, the establishment of a new police library containing local and foreign texts related to policing was announced. One of the aims of this library was to serve as a centralized repository of technical texts for police personnel from across the nation, not just in Tehran.[46] Perhaps more ambitiously, as a central part of this program to develop a national police network beyond Tehran, a professional journal entitled *Nazmiyeh* was created in 1925. Similar journals followed in later decades, including *Nāmeh-ye Shahrbāni, Māhnāmeh-ye Shahrbāni*, and *Majalleh-ye jhāndārmeri*. The *Nazmiyeh* journal had many functions, primarily education, training, guiding city police departments around the country from the center, and creating a new type of police officer.

> The primary purpose of publishing this magazine is to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and information that each agent [police officer] must know in accordance with their level and rank. This is because the level of education in our nation has not yet progressed to the point that all police personnel will have received the necessary scientific and technical education before starting their job...[47]

In *Nazmiyeh*, there were numerous recurring articles that served as a means of continuous instruction and administrative guidance for high-ranking officers. In the first issue, in the recurring article "Rahbar-e polis" (Leader of Police, or Police Leadership), higher-ranking officers in other cities and provinces were instructed to use the articles to train the officers under their supervision.[48] These articles consisted of serialized textbooks, manuals, and instructional lectures. For example, *Nazmiyeh* reprinted a translation of a sample curriculum from a police academy in Paris.[49] The journal also included a series of long articles, both translated from Western texts and original articles by Iranian police educators, such as an article by Naqibzādeh Tabātabā'i, an instructor of inspection, crime, and policing in the central officer training program, which consisted of portions of his curriculum.[50] "Polis-e elmi" (Science-Based Police) was another recurring article, which served as serialized textbook of the technical aspects of police work.[51]

These serialized articles included detailed instructions on fingerprinting, interrogation, identifying suspects, securing a crime scene, identifying shoe and tire tracks, criminal psychology, the use of firearms, police dogs, and photography. For example, *Nazmiyeh*'s first issue in 1928 included numerous articles on the following topics, themes, and forensic categories. The following is this issue's table of contents:

[45] "Rahbar-e polis va polis-e elmi," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 105–107.
[46] "Ketābkhāneh-ye polis," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1307/1928): 70–71.
[47] "Manzur-e omdeh dar enteshār-e majalleh," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 22–24.
[48] Ibid.
[49] "Polis-e elmi," *Nazmiyeh* 5 (1305/1926): 374–380.
[50] "Manzur-e omdeh dar enteshar-e majalleh," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 22–24.
[51] For representative examples in the first issue, see "Rahbar-e polis," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 24–28; "Ettelā'āt-e omumi," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 28–33. For representative examples of "Polis-e elmi," see "Polis-e elmi," *Nazmiyeh* 17 (1306/1928): 870–876; "Polis-e elmi," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1307/1928): 35–40.

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1) Correctional Facilities (rehabilitation rather than punishment)
2) Footprints
3) Killing (murder and manslaughter)
4) Examining firearms and bullets
5) Hair
6) Science-Based Police
7) German Armored Police Vehicles
8) Police, Religion, and Conscience
9) Crime Scene
10) Fingerprints
11) Humor Section
12) Photography
13) Swimming
14) Manners and Behaviors of Police Personnel with the Public
15) Qualities of the Agents of the Police.[52]

Nazmiyeh's coverage of the topics was truly comprehensive. The journal also regularly published new legal statutes, police regulations, and instructions on a wide variety of specific situations taught to and implemented by police personnel.[53] There were also statistics on crime and criminal cases, along with summaries of actual police reports and criminal court cases thought to be instructive for police officers.[54] *Nazmiyeh* also kept police abreast of international trends by printing relevant speeches given at the annual international police conference in New York.[55]

Great emphasis was placed on generating policemen with a particular character and social standing, as well as infusing such policemen with a group feeling that would continue into their future years of service. While these efforts were not nearly as ambitious as those seen from the 1930s onwards, this is the time when such efforts truly began to take shape. After accepting recruits, ranking officers were instructed to monitor these trainees' personal lives, ensuring they did not socialize with people or go to places that might be suspicious and instilling close friendships amongst them, as trainees lived with or near each other and had access to a range of important social spaces, activities, and facilities. "The above-mentioned space should include a large eating salon, a reading room, and some facilities for recreation, games, gymnastics, and football, which incidentally will contribute to the development of their physical fitness."[56] As such, trainees formed long-term bonds of friendship, becoming a social group or community. This environment was meant to serve as a sort of "secondary school," including maintaining a healthy lifestyle devoid of promiscuity and the use of alcohol, opium, etc.[57]

There was also an extreme emphasis on policemen serving as leaders and role models for the wider society, raising their status to a new level. Gone were the days of low status *farrāsh*s or *luti*s implementing the law. The Iranian policeman was to become a new type of educated, honorable, professional, and respected citizen; someone to look up to.

[52] "Fehrest-e mondarajāt," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1307/1928). This is the Table of Contents for the issue.

[53] For a representative example from the first issues, see "Mostakhrejeh az ahkām-e omumi-ye markaz koll-e tashkilāt-e nazmiyeh," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 45–48.

[54] For representative examples from the first issue, see "Akhbār-e jenā'i," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 40–41; "Jenāyāt," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 41–45.

[55] For a representative example, see "Kongereh-ye beyn al-melali-ye polis dar New York," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 91–99.

[56] "Rahbar-e polis va polis-e elmi," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 109.

[57] Ibid., 107–109.

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> The duty of the police is extremely sacred – responsibilities are not limited to standing guard, drilling, and pursuing criminals. Rather, all the details of society and moral character of society is sketched and written in his [the policeman's] program...In order to carry out such duties the officers who run the police department must be people of wisdom, with love for their nation, who are models of righteous social behavior, and also have judgment and vision.[58]

It goes on to emphasizethese points.

> Today we must do our job in ways that are appropriate for the current social order. We must change the character, habits, and behavior of yesterday's police by means of education, training, and conferences...we must strengthen within police personnel the spirit of justice, piety, honor, and moral character to such an extent that they will not be shaken by any event or crisis, nor any temptation or threat.

The article went on to argue that higher-ranking officers should serve as role models of piety and justice (*diyānat va edālat*) for the rank-and-file policemen, continuing:

> we must have our moral foundation reach such a point that that educated youth, from the best classes of society, will choose police service with eagerness, passion, and love. Look at the periodicals in Europe and see the high status and importance police have there, and how the people view them with respect and courtesy.[59]

Interestingly, religion (Islam) was brought up constantly, but only in abstract terms, such as the above-mentioned term *diyānat* (religious piety), which was often paired with *edālat* (justice) or *vejdān* (conscience). The presumption was that a pious Muslim was a good and moral person. However, details of specific Islamic doctrines, laws, rituals, or any aspect of orthopraxy were noticeably absent. For example, in one article in 1928, two points were made: that police must be held to a higher religious and moral standard than regular people and that their duty of saving lives was both religiously mandated (i.e., ending their own *salat* prayer to help someone) and morally mandated. They were to serve as leaders and role models in society.[60]

Rank-and-file policemen, unsurprisingly, could also be held up as role models for their peers. In an article in 1927, after explaining that policeman Khayr Allāh had died in a traffic collision in the line of duty, deliberately putting himself in danger to save others, *Nazmiyeh* printed the police chief's eulogy from the funeral alongside a photograph of the policeman in uniform. As the police chief said,

> The death of this dutiful colleague has once again shown to society the willingness of policemen to sacrifice their lives...his name will not be forgotten by brave and dutiful officers...and I remind all high-ranking officers and police personnel that we must all have this same brave spirit and learn how to carry out our duty from this noble, departed [policeman].[61]

Social, mental, and physical health were all critical to creating this new type of policeman, in both their work and personal lives. After stressing the critical importance of good

[58] "Rahbar-e polis," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 25.
[59] "Khedmat beh melk va mellat mowjeb-e taraqqi va ta'ālāst," *Nazmiyeh* 17–18 (1306/1928): 882–883.
[60] "Polis, mazhab, vejdān," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1307/1928): 41–43.
[61] "Qorbāni-ye vazifeh," *Nazmiyeh* 17–18 (1306/1928): 820–823.

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health and a strong constitution to officers' success in carrying out their duties, the article argued that this was not simply a job requirement; it was an overall lifestyle for a policeman, his family, and, by extension, Iranian society as a whole: "Officers who neglect their health prevent both themselves and their families from achieving happiness and cause them a variety of misfortunes." The article went on to identify four primary causes of illness and weakness of the constitution, "1) alcohol, 2) opium, 3) Syphilis, 4) gonorrhea," and promised that future issues would address these in greater detail. This article urged high-ranking officers to use *Namaziyeh*'s articles to guide their underlings and encouraged health officials to hold regular meetings and conferences to educate law enforcement personnel about such health issues.[62] An excellent example of a follow-up article on one of the four above-mentioned issues was entitled "Opium is Both a Medicine and a Poison," which again advised officers to maintain a healthy household. After stressing that opium was particularly dangerous to the kidneys of both the elderly and very young, the article warned of a common practice: "Unfortunately in Iran, women in the family, for their own ease, feed babies opium to help them sleep, which causes their babies to have a variety of illnesses, ending in serious harm."[63] The article then went on to argue that officers working with Rezā Shāh for Iran's development and progress were role models, and that they needed to work together to stamp out this crisis "that is the primary source of the degeneration of the Iranian people [*nejad-e Irani*], and which causes weakness of the body and prevents the political progress of society."[64]

There were other sections of the journal that were not necessarily used for training or pedagogy, nor does it seem that they were specifically intended to create a sense of shared identity among policemen. Such sections were more typical of what one might find in other newspapers, magazine, and journals. However, whatever their intent may or may not have been, these sections did contribute to the shared experience of professional colleagues, thereby reenforcing a sense of identity nationwide. There are many examples, such as a poem composed by Mahmud Khān Tandāri, the police chief of Qom.[65] There were also occasional articles devoted to police-related humor, such as the following jokes:

> **Two Cops Chatting:** The first one says, "In my opinion people who don't chose to be married should be investigated and kept under surveillance, and they should be punished harshly. The second cop says, "In my opinion, the best punishment for them is to force them to get married."
>
> **The Precinct Head and the Thief:** The precinct head said to the thief, "Once again I have captured you. Get lost! I don't want to ever see you again!" To which the thief said, "If this is really what you want, you need to request a transfer to another precinct."
>
> **The Head of the Court and the Drunkard:** The head of the court said, "Why do you drink so much wine? So far you have been arrested more than ten times for this crime. If this happens again, I will order much harsher fines for you!" The drunkard said, "It might be more financially sound [for me to become a regular subscribing member]. Can you please let me know what the subscription rate is?"[66]

[62] "Hefz al-sehheh," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1304/1925): 49–50.
[63] "Hefz al-sehheh," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 138.
[64] Ibid., 140.
[65] "Adabiyyāt," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 130.
[66] "Qesmat-e tafrihi," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1307/1928): 55.

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There were also numerous samples of crime fiction translated from the New York police journal, which both entertained and connected readers to a broader global culture of crime fiction and investigation.[67] There were also, of course, many competitions, quizzes, crosswords, etc. – some with prizes.[68] All of these combined to create shared group experiences of culture and entertainment, which can be understood as subtly helping to reenforce shared group identity. This is only the earliest stage in this trend, as in later police journals – such as *Nāmeh-ye Shahrbāni* and *Mahnāmeh-ye Shahrbāni-ye Koll-e Keshvar* – group identity is much more comprehensively and explicitly promoted.

Officers

So, who were these officers, how were they educated, and what career paths did they follow? As a comprehensive statistical survey is beyond the scope of this article, we use a relatively small sample of thirty-six high-ranking officers who, at some point during their careers, served as police chief.[69] While this is not a large enough sample to show comprehensive trends with extreme precision, it does show some general trends among these officers. It is important to note, however, that this sample does not include rank-and-file uniformed cops or low-ranking officers. These thirty-six officers are limited to those born between 1852–1918 and held the office of police chief between 1892–1973. Below, these officers are divided into three chronological groups of equal size (twelve officers in each) based on their dates of birth. Summary information is listed on Table 1 at the end of this article, while Table 2 provides some data points for analysis.

As it regards education, twenty-seven of the officers were educated and trained in Iran while fourteen pursued higher education abroad (mostly in France, Turkey, and Russia), with five doing both. The officers who studied abroad mostly received a military education before returning to Iran. One officer, Mehdi Qoli Alavi Moqaddam (1901–1984), interestingly studied veterinary medicine and served in the military and gendarmerie in areas involving cavalry and four-legged transportation, before later becoming police chief. Another exception was Mahmud Khān Ansāri (1871–1961), who studied at the Harbiyeh military school in Turkey and then studied Islam and religious sciences in Najaf and Karbalā before returning to Iran to join the military. In the first and second groups (chronologically) similar numbers of officers trained in Turkey, France, or Russia. However, a clear shift happened by the third group, when Turkey was largely abandoned in favor of a major shift toward France: from one or two officers studying in France from the first two groups to five (out of six) in the third group. Most of the officers who studied in France attended École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr.

Domestically, the numbers roughly doubled over the course of the three groups, beginning with schools such as Dār al-Fonun, the Nezām school, and especially the various gendarmerie officer training programs for the first group. In the second and third groups, there was a decided shift away from some of these schools toward the Dāneshkadeh-ye

[67] For examples of detective fiction, see "Sāhebmansab-e motaqā'ed," *Nazmiyeh* 5 (1305/1926): 381–391; "Yek sarmaktum," *Nazmiyeh* 7–8 (1305/1926): 439–451; and "Mordeh-ye ājori," *Nazmiyeh* 9 (1305/1926): 491–507.

[68] "Javāb-e mas'aleh-ye nomreh-ye yek," *Nazmiyeh* 4 (1304/1926): 150–154; "Mosābegheh ba jāyezeh," *Nazmiyeh* 3 (1304/1925): 121; and "Mosābegheh ba jāyezeh," *Nazmiyeh* 4 (1304/1925): 165. For an example of a crossword puzzle, see "Mas'aleh-ye nomreh-ye do," *Nazmiyeh* 1 (1307/1928): 72.

[69] Biographical information for these officers was extracted from the following sources: Āqeli, Bāqer, *Sharh-e hāl-e siyāsi va Nezāmi-ye mo'āser-e Irān* (Tehran: Nashr-e Goftār, Nashr-e Elm, 1380); Mokhtāri, Pāshā Lavā, *Tārikh-e haftād sāleh-ye polis-e Irān* (Tehran: Chāpkhāneh-ye Artesh, 1950); Amini, *Tārikh-e do hezār va pānsad sāleh-ye polis-e Irān*; Churchil, George P., *Biographical Notices of Persian Statemen and Notables* (Calcutta: Calcutta Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1905); Churchil, George P., *Farhang-e rejāl-e Qājār*, trans. Gholāmhosayn Mirzā Sāleh (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Zarrin, 1369); Tafreshi, Mortezā, *Nazm va nazmiyeh dar dowreh-ye Qājāriyeh* (Tehran: Nashr-e Tārikh va Farhang-e Irānzamin, 1983), https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C.

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Table 1. Breif Career Summeries and data points for Selected Officers.

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
I	**Abd al-Husayn Farmānfarmā**	*Salar-e Lashkar*	1852–1939	1897	Born in Tabriz, Abd al-Husayn Farmānfarmā was the son of Firuz Farmānfarmā; descendant of Abbās Mirzā and Fath Ali Shāh; and married to Mozaffar al-Din's daughter. After graduating from Dār al-Fonun, he worked for the court, then the military, and finally the police. He served as *Vāli* of Kerman and Boluchestan, mayor of Tehran, and minister of interior. He also served in the Ministry of War and Ministry of Justice (Vizārat-e Adliyeh).
I	**Mirzā Abu Torāb Khān Khājeh Nuri**	*Nazm al-Dowleh*	1858–1927	1892	Born in Tabriz, Mirzā Abu Torāb Khān Khājeh Nuri was from the notable Nuri family, also known as a strong military family. He studied with young Mozaffar al-Din (the late the shāh) and his teachers, and married the niece of Nāser al-Din Shāh. He was a translator for more than a decade and worked his way up the ranks of the police force, eventually serving as an assistant to the police chief, Conte Di Monteforte.
I	**Mohammad Ebrahim Khān (Āghā Bālā Khān)**	*Mo'āven al-Dowleh*	1859–1919	1897–1898	Mohammad Ebrahim Khān was the son of the powerful Qājār notable Farrokh Khān Ghaffāri, married into a powerful family, and worked in many ministries, including the Foreign Ministry and ministries of finance, post, telegraph, commerce, and public affairs. He also served as ambassador to Italy, Romania, and Tiflis.
I	**Karim Khān**	*Mokhtār al-Saltaneh*	?	1898–1900	Karim Khān rose through the military ranks to become head of the *Qazzāqkhāneh* and police chief of the *Shahrbāni*.
I	**Yeprem Khān**	*Khān*	1868–1912	1909–1912	An Armenian born in a Caucasian village, Yeprem Khān is best known as a leader of the resistance against the Ottomans and for his pivotal role in Iran's Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911). He is viewed as a national hero in Iran and was appointed police chief by the Iranian parliament in 1909.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
I	**Mahmud Khān Ansāri**	*Amir Lashkar*	1871–1961	1924	Mahmud Khān Ansāri's father was a high-ranking military commander in the Cossacks. Ansāri studied at the Harbiyyeh military school in Turkey and, after fifteen years in the Ottoman military service, he studied religion in Najaf and Karbala. He was then hired as a *sartip* in the Iranian Cossack Brigade. In 1300/1921–1922 H. Sh., he became governor of Esfahan and eventually reached the highest military rank of a*mirlashkar*.
I	**Homāyun Qāsem Khān Vāli**	*Sardār*	1874–1937	1912	Homāyun Qāsem Khān Vāli's father was a photographer and political notable in the Qājār era. Vāli graduated from the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr in France and served as the first *shahrdār* of Tabriz. He was also an officer in the Cossack Brigade, led several other military units in Azerbaijan and elsewhere, and was involved in the creation of the fist special royal guard. He served as governor of Tehran and became head of the Cossacks after foreign officers were expelled.
I	**Mozaffar Khān A'lam**	*Sardār Entesār*	1882–1977	1912–1916	Mozaffar Khān A'lam was born in Trabson, Turkey, the son of Mirzā Ali Akbar Khān Mo'tamed al-Vozarā Qazvini, a major foreign diplomat. A'lam studied in Bādkubeh and Tehran, went on to study at the Harbiyeh military school in Turkey, and then graduated from the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr in Paris. He was a diplomat, serving as minister of foreign affairs and consul to Syria. He then joined the Ministry of War and became the leader of the military forces in Khorasan. He replaced Yephrem as police chief and was later put in charge of the Central Brigade (the gendarmerie formed in 1295/1916, independent of the Cossacks). He also served as governor of Esfahan, Kurdestan, and other regions.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
I	**Mohammad Hosayn Āyrom**	*Sarlashkar*	1882–1948		Born in Baku, Mohammad Hosayn Āyrom attended military school in Saint Petersburg; he spoke Russian and French. Upon returning to Iran during the *Mashruteh* period, he joined the Cossack Brigade. He left to Russia briefly and then returned after the 1299 coup and joined the Iranian military, serving in numerous forces around the country and in Tehran. He replaced Zāhedi, who was fired for prison breaks under his watch. One of Āyrom's primary tasks was the creation of a political office that monitored and reported to the shāh on the activities of all political leaders and actors.
I	**Fazl Allāh Khān**	*Lavā' al-Molk*	?	1935	Fazl Allāh Khān studied at a military school in Iran and then continued his training in Europe. He first served in the military force in Esfahan and worked in the police force under Mokhtār al-Saltaneh.
I	**Abd Allāh Sayf**	*Sartip*	1885–		Born in Azerbaijan, Abd Allāh Sayf studied in Tabriz and at the American School in Tehran. He started his career with the *Shahrbāni*, and was one of the founders of the *Zendān-e Qasr*. He also served as police chief in both Gilan and Azerbaijan.
I	**Seyyed Mehdi Farrokh**	*Mobayyen al-Saltaneh; Mo'tazem al-Saltaneh*	1886–1973	1950	Seyyed Mehdi Farrokh was born to a notable family in Tehran. After completing political studies, he became a politician and technocrat, serving as the first minister of *sanāyeh* and *khārbār* (industry and food commodities). He served several terms as governor of provinces, ambassador, senator, and *majles* member. His was not focused on the military, gendarmerie, or police until his appointment as police chief.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
2	**Mohammad Khosrowpanāh**	*Sartip*	1886–1972	1945–1946	Mohammad Khosrowpanāh was the son of Agha Bala Khān Sardār; his original family name was Amir Sardāri, but he changed it to Khosrowpanāh. He studied at the Dār al-Fonun and Madreseh-ye Elmiyeh and the gendarmerie officers school. He moved up the ranks, eventually becoming head of the gendarmerie during the Pahlavi era. He eventually became head of the office of *Nezām* and *Nazmiyeh*, as well as head of the national *Shahrbāni*.
2	**Rokn al-Din Mokhtār**	*Sarpās*	1887–1971	1936–1941	Rokn al-Din Mokhtār was born in Esfahan, the son of Karim Khān Mokhtār al-Saltaneh,who had Ottoman roots. and also worked in the security services. Rokn al-Din did mostly police work, as well as some military service. He had a hand in creating the Iranian gendarmerie. He served as police chief under Rezā Shāh in Rasht and Kermānshāhan, and then replaced Āyrom as Iran's police chief. He was imprisoned for several years after the events of 1941. Rokn al-Din also assisted previous police chiefs, starting with Kutal. Major changes were going on in the government during Rokn al-Din's time in charge. Police departments were being greatly expanded and bureaucratized, and many more officers were sent to Europe for training (as was the case of other government technocrats and officials). For example, Sarpas Sayf was sent to London and New York for advanced studies and the Iranian police began regularly attending the New York police conference. Finger printing was greatly improved and perfected during this time, and the *Majalleh-ye Shahrbāni* magazine became a regular and professional quality publication. Travel between cities and provinces also became regulated and censorship greatly increased during his term.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
2	**Abd al-Ali**	*Sartip*	1888–1973	1942-1943	Born in Tehran, Abd al-Ali was the son of Adib al-Molk E'temād al-Saltaneh. Abd al-Ali trained at the *Qazzāqkhāneh* school and then joined the national gendarmerie. He also served in the domestic military and headed the Dezful troops, after which he returned to the gendarmerie. He also became head of the national *Shahrbāni* and head of the military in Tehran.
2	**Ebrāhim Zarrābi**	*Sarlashkar*	1889–1975	1946; 1947–1948	Ebrāhim Zarrābi was born in Kashan and studied at the military school. He was a cavalry officer, fought in Lorestan and Fars against tribal forces, became head of *amniyeh* in the south and Khuzestan, and served as commander of the military forces in Lorestan, Tehran, and Azerbaijan. Notably, he was twice the chief of the *Shahrbāni*.
2	**Daragāhi**	*Sarlashkar*	1890–1952	1923–1929	Born in Zanjan, Daragāhi studied at the gendarmerie officers school. He began his career in the Qom gendarmerie and later became general in the Iranian army. After being appointed as police chief by Rezā Shāh, he centralized command of all the country's police forces, previously under the control of provincial governors, in Tehran. Police departments also became more standardized during this time. Later, he fell out with Rezā Shāh and spent time in prison.
2	**Fazl Allāh Zāhedi**	*Sarlashkar*	1892–1963	1930–1931; 1951	Born in Hamedan, Fazl Allāh Zāhedi completed primary school at the Mozaffari school, attended secondary at the Alliance Israelite Universelle school, and then entered the *Nezam* school. He joined the military, served in many battles inside Iran, and held numerous high-ranking military posts. He is probably best known for defeating Shaykh Khaz'al in Khuzestan and later for his role in the events leading to the removal of Mosaddeq. He was also a very successful politician, serving as parliamentarian representing Hamedan and, later on, as prime minister. He was removed from the office of police chief as a result of high-profile prison breaks under his watch.

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Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
2	**Mohammad Sādeq Kupāl**	*Sarlashkar*	1893–1955	1929–1930; 1951–1952	Born in Khoi, Mohammad Sādeq Kupāl was the son of a merchant. After high school, he entered the military and completed officer training in Turkey. After returning to Iran, he pursued a career in the military, gendarmerie, and politics. During his forty-three years of service, he served as a diplomat in Turkey and Iraq, head of the office in charge of aircraft, head of the military service, head of the Fars gendarmerie, head of the national gendarmerie, and police chief. He also accompanied Rezā Shāh on his visit to Turkey.
2	**Mahammad Husayn Jahānbāni**	*Sartip*	1893–1954	1943–1944	Mahammad Husayn Jahānbāni was the son of Mirza Jahānbāni "*modir-e tupkhāneh*" and grandson of Sayf Allāh, one of the sons of Fath Ali Shāh. Mahammad Husayn was also married to the daughter of Nāser al-Din's doctor. He began his career in the Cossack Brigade and later transferred to the western military forces (Hamedan), but eventually returned to the gendarmerie. He served as commander of the military in Khuzestan and Kahgiluyeh and worked to disarm the tribes, eventually rising to the position of commander in the national army. Ironically, it was after serving a prison term that he became police chief.
2	**Hasan Baqāyi**	*Sartip*	?	1951	After completing his studies at Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari, Hasan Baqāyi joined the Mosaddeq government but was removed after ordering troops to open fire on protesters in 1951.
2	**Mohammad Ebrāhim Amir-Taymur Kolāli**	*Vazir-e Keshvar*	1894–1987	1951	Born in Khorasan, Mohammad Ebrāhim Amir-Taymur Kolāli was the son of Nosrat al-Mamālek, the head of the Kolāli tribe. Mohammad Ebrāhim continued in his father's role as leader of the tribe and served in Mosaddeq's cabinet and several terms as MP. He held many government posts.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
2	**Mohammad Kāzem Sāleh Shaybāni**	*Sartip*	1894–1976	1952	Born in Kashan, Mohammad Kāzem Sāleh Shaybāni graduated from the Madreseh-ye Afsari-ye Qazzāqkhāneh. He was primarily a military man, but also served as an MP. Mosaddeq appointed him head of the national *Shahrbāni*.
2	**Yahyā Rādsar**	*Sartip*	1894–1954	1941–1942	Born in Tehran, Yahyā Rādsar was the son of Adib al-Saltaneh and grandson of Khān Bābā Sardār; his nephew was Hovaydā. Rādsar accompanied his father to France, graduating from St. Louis University. Upon returning to Iran, he studied at Dāneshkadeh-e Afsari and worked as a French translator for the Swedish officers. Rezā Shāh promoted him quickly, and within two years he became head of the Tehran police. Under Mohammad Rezā Shāh, Rādsar became the national police chief. Most of his non-police work involved government positions in administration, politics, commerce, and the railway. He also played a role in the shāh's marriage to Fawziyeh.
3	**Shams al-Din Amir-'Alā'i**	*Vazir-e Keshvar*	1900–1994	1951	Born in Tehran to a notable family, Shams al-Din Amir-'Alā'i studied in Europe and then earned a law degree in Iran. He was primarily a politician. He was a founder of the Hezb-e Irān. Served as minister of agriculture, and as an MP. He joined the Jebheh-ye Melli and, under Razmārā, became governor of Gilān and then prime minister, working to reform the Ministry of Justice. Following the Islamic Revolution, he became ambassador to France.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
3	**Mohammad Ali Saffāri**	*Sartip*	1901–1988	1946–1947	Mohammad Ali Saffāri was born in Lārijān to a notable family and was educated at military schools in Russia and France. When he returned from training abroad, he served in the military and later became a naval officer, as well as serving as the *sardār* of all of Gorgān. He also ran the all-important office of bread and served as governor of Eastern Azerbaijan, Khorasan, and Mazandaran, as well as a senator and MP representing both Gilān and Lāhijān. He also served as the head of University of Tabriz.
3	**Mehdi Qoli Alavi Moqaddam**	*Sarlashkar*	1901–1984	1953–1960	Born in Tehran, Mehdi Qoli Alavi Moqaddam's father was an officer in the Cossack Brigade. After graduating from Madreseh-ye Nezam, he studied in Europe for the next two years, including at the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr, and received a doctorate in veterinary medicine. As a veterinarian, his military service involved dealing with horses and other four-legged military animals. He also served as head of *varzesh* and *farmāndehi-ye gard-e mosallah-e gomrok*, and became head of the national gendarmerie. He joined the Ministry of War and became military head of Tehran before being appointed as the national *Shahrbāni* police chief.
3	**Mansur Mozayyen**	*Sarlashkar*	1902–	1951	Mansur Mozayyen was born in Tehran and studied at the Madreseh-ye Moshir al-Dowleh and Dāneshgāh-e Jang. He also studied abroad. He rose through the ranks of the military, later serving as police chief.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
3	**Mohammad Daftari**	*Sartip*	1904–1983	1950	Born to a notable family, Mohammad Daftari was the son of Mahmoud Daftari Ayn al-Mamalek and grandson of the minister Mirza Hosayn Khān. Mohammad Daftari attended Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari and then studied in Europe. Upon returning to Iran, he taught at Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari. He rose through the ranks of the military and served as police chief.
3	**Abd al-Hosayn Hejāzi**	*Sartip*	1904–1969	1950–1951	Abd al-Hosayn Hejāzi was born in Tehran and graduated from Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari, after which he studied at the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr. He began his career in the gendarmerie and then moved to the military, serving as commander in the military forces of Khuzestan, Kerman, and Tehran. He taught at Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari and also served as head of the military and head of the national *Shahrbāni*. He was removed from office by Mosaddeq, but returned to service after the coup.
3	**Aziz Allāh Kamāl**	*Sepahbod*	1906–1990	1952	Aziz Allāh Kamāl was born in Tehran and graduated from Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari. He was the head of the Azerbaijan gendarmerie and was later put in charge of the national gendarmerie. He was also in charge of the military in Abadan.
3	**Mahmud Afshār-Tus**	*Sartip*	1907–1953	1952–1923	Mahmud Afshār-Tus was born in Tehran and graduated from Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari. He served in government posts, but was primarily a military man, who also served as head of the Shahrbāni. His wife was related to Mosaddeq.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. (*Continued.*)

Group	Name	Rank or Title	Birth Death Dates	Police Chief Dates	Selected Career Details
			Gregorian	Gregorian	
3	**Nāser Amir-Ansāri**	*Sartip*	?	1960	Nāser Amir-Ansāri graduated from Dāneshgāh-e Jang with a specialty in armored warfare and became commander of the first armored unit in the military. He was also head of the *Rāhnamā'i-ye Rānandegi-ye Keshvar* for four years under Mosaddeq.
3	**Ne'mat Allāh Nasiri**	*Sepahbod*	1910–1978	1960–1964	Ne'mat Allāh Nasiri was born in Semnan. He was interested in military service from early childhood and attended military schools for both primary and secondary education. He graduated with honors from Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari, after which he taught for ten years. He served in many military posts and as ambassador to Pakistan. He also became head of the *Shahrbāni* and the secret police, SAVAK. He was executed after the Islamic Revolution.
3	**Ja'far Qoli Sadri**	*Sepahbod*	1911–1978	1970–1973	Ja'far Qoli Sadri was born in Esfahan and graduated from Dāneshgāh-e Jang. He spoke English and French. He was primarily a military man, but also became police chief in the *Shahrbāni*.
3	**Mohsen Mobasser**	*Sepahbod*	1917–1996	1964–1970	Mohsen Mobasser was born in Sardrud, near Tabriz. He studied at the Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsar, specializing in artillery. He was primarily a military man but also held several government administrative posts.

Table 2. Some Important Career Trends for Selected Officers.

Career Paths	All Officers	Group One (1852–1886)	Group Two (1886–1894)	Group Three (1900–1917)
Education – Iran	27	6	10	11
Education – Abroad	14	5	3	6
Career – Military	25	8	7	10
Career – Gendarmerie	14	5	6	3
Career – Police	7	4	3	0
Career – Politician/Government Administration	17	7	6	4
Primary Career – Military	14	1	4	9
Primary Career – Gendarmerie	7	2	4	1
Primary Career – Police	5	3	2	0
Primary Career – Politician/Government Administration	9	4	2	3

Afsari in Tehran and, to a lesser extent, other government schools such as Dāneshgāh-e Jang. Study at the gendarmerie schools all but disappeared. The overall patterns of domestic study changed significantly while the patterns for study abroad are best characterized as "more of the same," but with a shift toward France. Police education efforts during this article's period of focus, 1911–1935, were characterized by strategies attempting to deal with the fact that, outside the gendarmerie schools, few options for educating police officers existed. After this period, this problem was resolved on the national level by the expansions undertaken by the Pahlavi regime, including the creation and expansion of schools such as Dāneshkadeh-ye Afsari and Dāneshgāh-e Jang.

The next question relates to these officers' career trajectories and how they became officers in the police force. Among them, there were four main career paths: military, gendarmerie, police, and politics/government administration. Most of these senior officers moved back and forth between these career areas, so there are two ways of looking at this: what careers did they take part in and which of these was their "primary" career path. For example, if we list the career path numbers for this entire period, twenty-five of the officers took the military path, fourteen followed the gendarmerie path, seven became police, and seventeen undertook politics/government administration. Most had careers in the military and a significant number had careers in governance and the gendarmerie; police careers comprised a far smaller number. Thus, for this whole period, only seven were career police (aside from their term as police chief).

As previously stated, one of the policing ideals during this period was the promotion of police chiefs from within the current ranks of the police, in line with international ideals of policing at the time. The above numbers indicate, however, that they failed quite spectacularly in achieving this goal. In fact, the situation looks even worse if the data is broken down by time period. Over the three groups, military careers increased slightly (from eight to seven to ten), gendarmerie careers decreased (from five to six to three), police careers

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decreased dramatically (from four to three to none), and political/government administration careers declined (from seven to six to four). Over time, the floor metaphorically "fell out" from under the police career path.

Restricting these numbers to "primary career paths," meaning their main path of promotion through the ranks, is even more telling. By looking at the numbers this way, the following trends emerge: officers with a primary military career dominated, with fourteen officers, and primary careers in politics/governance (nine), gendarmerie (seven), and police (five) followed in descending order. However, if we break these down over our three groups, the trends become more sharply defined. A career primarily in the military showed dramatic growth (from one to four to nine), careers primarily in the gendarmerie and police dropped dramatically (from two to four to one for the gendarmerie and three to two to none for the police), and those who were primarily politicians or government officers stayed roughly steady (from four to two to three). Thus, while professional police and gendarmerie officers were passed over, the police force was increasingly being put in the hands of military men or, to a lesser extent, politicians. We can therefore conclude that police chiefs were not the product of a professionalized police force that recruited, trained, and promoted from within its ranks.[70]

Conclusion

While it is difficult to give a complete picture of the state of policing between 1911–1935, this article explored the chaotic, yet foundational nature of this period in the transformation of the police force in Tehran and Iran more broadly. While the most dramatic transformations began taking shape in the late 1930s, the nationalization of modern Iranian policing can be traced back to this previous period. This important transition period covers roughly one decade before and one decade after Rezā Shāh Pahlavi's rise to power, and also fell right after the constitutional period, which, despite its successes and failures, helped to solidify the nationalist and anti-imperialist politics of the rest of the 20th century.

This article explored several questions, including how the police force was structured and restructured between 1911–1935, slowly laying the foundations for the modern, professionalized police force that later emerged. One interesting question is how this project fit with the growing influence of nationalism and anti-imperialism that dominated the politics of the time. While the expertise of Western officers was deemed useful, even necessary, it was also greatly feared, resulting in a complex process of Indigenizing modern policing concepts. The structure and process of policing underwent transformation, including in how police were recruited, trained, and deployed. There was a change from mediated patterns of policing, according to which the exercise of power within the realm of law enforcement had previously flowed in multiple directions, toward a more top-down, center-periphery power dynamic. While the educational infrastructure did not yet have the capacity to provide all the necessary training for the police force, there was a slow shift away from small-scale schools – such as officers schools within the gendarmeries – and a near-total reliance on foreign military education toward a centrally led and guided educational strategy. Over time, reliance on foreign educational institutions (especially in France) continued, but state-run officer education institutions increasingly became the norm. Another major change was seen in the deliberate cultivation of a nationally integrated police force to replace the decentralized/localized police forces of each city or province. While centralization was very weak during this period, there is no doubt that it was a major strategic goal and central

[70] There is an interesting trend in terms of these officers' origins. While the information is not always complete (especially for the late 19th century), it is clear that these officers were more likely to have been born in other regions (far from Tehran) in the first period, including Baku in the Caucasus and Trabzon in northern Anatolia, and more likely to be from Tehran in the second and third groups. This reflects the rapid rise of Tehran's population as well as its increasingly unrivaled status as the center of Iran's politics, economic activity, and education.

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concern of all policing plans. As part of this broad trend, the internationally accepted ideal of police officers being trained and promoted from within the ranks and led by one of their own, instead of by political or military personnel, was never realized in Iran. Finally, this period also saw the beginnings of the effort to create a new identity around the profession of policing, involving a sense of belonging, an ethos, a particular lifestyle, and a higher social status. This approach carried over into later decades, as this social identity group become firmly rooted in both the state-led nationalist project and Iranian society more broadly.

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