

**An Inhabitable Infrastructure**  
Rethinking the architecture of the bazaar

Dissertation  
for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor  
at Delft University of Technology  
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus Prof.dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen,  
chair of the Board for Doctorates  
to be defended publicly on  
Tuesday 11, December 2018 at 15:00 o'clock

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To my Parents Parvaneh and Farhad  
and  
To Raul



## Propositions

1.

In general terms, 'territory' is a superposition of various spatial regimes, concepts and practices and in its primary notion, it has been related to human's exercise on land. It is simultaneously a precondition, product, and process. In the context of Iranian Plateau, the territory should be explored in the symbiosis and encounter of nomadic and sedentary (dehqani).

This proposition pertains to this dissertation.

2.

The bazaar is an intermediate. Its territoriality is an encounter and assemblage of extensive territoriality of movement and intensive territoriality of inhabitation. Its territory is not fixed, rather it is in a process of becoming and transformation.

This proposition pertains to this dissertation.

3.

The bazaar is a place of exchange, production and at the same time a space of distribution in its most comprehensive sense. This production and exchange do not only entail material goods, but also the immaterial aspect, that of knowledge, [micro-structure] power, and social relations. The establishment of the bazaar as a space for movement and place for production, exchange [of material and non-material things] combines two ideas of 'common'- that of 'coming together' and 'being together'.

This proposition pertains to this dissertation.

4.

The bazaar's architecture is a collective work. It is not the output of a single project, author or design act. It occurs in the negotiation between individuals and collectives as well as city inhabitants, institutes, agencies and state.

This proposition pertains to this dissertation.

5.

The history of circulation space in the contemporary [Iranian] city cannot be written without the study of the bazaar.

6.

Architectural thinking and practice always occur in relation to other social, cultural, and philosophical discourses.

7.

Architecture is critical when it is considered to be an active process in relation to its context and not an autonomous product.

8.

Architectural discourse needs to become more inclusive. The cultural and contextual significance of architecture and the involvement of 'other' languages, histories and material sources should be therefore, considered in the formation of the architectural knowledge, both in academia and practice.

9.

Architecture is an art of territorial formation. It involves different scales as well as spatial orders and regimes and forces in the process of its formation. Hence, it is important to allow the multiplicity of narratives intersect in its reading.

10.

Any public building cannot be simply reduced to the taxonomy of its various functions, forms or structures. It cannot be reduced to the composition of its architectonic elements. This implies that pure structural and formal analysis is not enough in studying a public building.

*These propositions are regarded as opposable and defensible, and have been approved as such by the promotor professor dr. ir. Michiel Riedijk and copromoters professor dr. ir. Tom Avermaete and dr. ir. Marc Schoonderbeek.*

## Stellingen

1.

Een 'territorium' is, in algemene zin, een superpositie van verschillende ruimtelijke regimes, concepten en praktijken en is in haar primaire notie gerelateerd aan menselijk ingrijpen in het land. Tegelijkertijd is het een voorwaarde, een product en een proces. In de context van het Iraanse Plateau moet het territorium worden verkend in de ontmoeting en symbiose tussen het nomadische en het sedentaire.

Deze stelling heeft betrekking op dit proefschrift.

2.

De bazaar is een tussenvorm. Het territoriale van de bazaar is een ontmoeting en verzameling van extensieve territorialiteit van beweging en een intensieve territorialiteit van bewoning. Het territorium staat niet vast, maar bevindt zich in een proces van 'worden' en transformatie.

Deze stelling heeft betrekking op dit proefschrift.

3.

De bazaar is een plaats van uitwisseling, productie en tegelijkertijd een ruimte voor distributie in de meest brede zin. Productie en uitwisseling omvatten niet alleen materiële goederen, maar ook het immateriële; namelijk kennis, macht en sociale relaties. De vestiging van de bazaar als een ruimte voor beweging en een plaats voor productie en uitwisseling [van materiële en niet-materiële zaken] brengt twee ideeën van 'gemeenschappelijkheid' bijeen - dat van 'samenkomen' en 'samen zijn'.

Deze stelling heeft betrekking op dit proefschrift.

4.

De architectuur van de bazaar is een collectief werk. Het is niet het resultaat van een enkel project, één auteur of eenmalig ontwerp. Het ontstaat door middel van onderhandeling tussen individuen en collectieven, alsmede met stadsbewoners, instituten, agentschappen en de staat.

Deze stelling heeft betrekking op dit proefschrift.

5.

De geschiedenis van circulatieruimte in de hedendaagse (Iraanse) stad kan niet worden geschreven zonder het bestuderen van de bazaar.

6.

Het denken over en beoefenen van architectuur vindt altijd plaats in relatie tot andere sociale, culturele, en filosofische verhandelingen.

7.

Architectuur is 'kritisch' wanneer het wordt beschouwd als een actief proces in relatie tot haar context en niet als een autonoom product.

8.

Het architectuurdebat moet inclusiever worden. Het culturele en contextuele belang van architectuur en het betrekken van 'andere' talen, geschiedenissen en materiële bronnen moet daarom beschouwd worden in het formeren van architectonische kennis, zowel in de academische wereld als in de praktijk.

9.

Architectuur is de kunst van territoriale formatie. In het vormingsproces omvat architectuur verschillende schaalniveaus, ruimtelijke regimes en krachten. In de lezing van architectuur is het daarom belangrijk om een veelheid van narratieven toe te staan.

10.

Geen enkel openbaar gebouw kan simpelweg worden gereduceerd tot de taxonomie van de verschillende functies, vormen of structuren. Het kan niet worden teruggebracht tot een compositie van haar architectonische elementen. Dit impliceert dat een puur structurele en formele analyse niet voldoet in het bestuderen van een openbaar gebouw.

## Summary

The aim of this thesis is twofold. First, it offers a 'theoretical reading' of a historically important architectural entity – namely the bazaar – in order to propose a synthetic understanding of its complexity and to explore the multiplicity of forces and regimes involved in the bazaar's [historical] formation. Second, by conceptualizing the architecture of the bazaar, this thesis explores the relation between architecture and territory, inhabitation and infrastructure in the context of the Iranian Plateau. In doing so, this thesis contributes to the production of an architectural knowledge which encourages a contextual studying of complex spatial regimes and mechanisms as their prime forces for intervention.

The notion of the bazaar is complex. Not only does it have implications in diverse disciplines, but it also carries various definitions. Depending on the context in which it is used, the bazaar can be depicted as a place, a form of economy, a social class or a way of life, and thus it can embody the notion of a city, a territory or even it can be expanded to the region known as the Middle East or the Islamic world. Within this wide spectrum of possible meanings, the bazaar has been the topic of discourse in architecture and urban history, as well as anthropology, sociology, economics and political science.

The inherent complexity of the notion of the bazaar is attributable to its intermediate position, i.e. its relation to the territory and various ways of life, its spatial complexity, i.e. a space of movement and a place of public and the collective, and the superposition of different scales between architecture and the city. This implies that research on the bazaar needs to deviate from purely typological or urban morphological studies. Rather it needs to devote simultaneous attention to people as well as the numerous spatial interrelations involved in its formation. This means that an architecture is possible which gives form to the accumulation of complex cultural, social, economic and administrative relations. While it enables connection and integration, it provides scope for confrontation and encounter.

The first chapter provides an overview of various conceptions, definitions and perceptions of the bazaar. This chapter will demonstrate that a proper discursive framework that allows us to grasp the spatial complexity of the bazaar is, in fact, missing. While architecture and urban studies have focused mainly on describing and classifying the bazaar's structural and morphological presence, other disciplines have hardly recognized its physical importance in the process of forming various interrelations. This chapter concludes that the bazaar is not simply an architectural object, rather it is an entity which is territorial. This means that the bazaar's formation has been closely related to the ways in which the territory has been managed and inhabited.

Subsequently, this research conceptualizes the architecture of the bazaar by revisiting its 'whereness' and 'whatness', using the 'territory' as a theoretical framework. While 'whereness' addresses the characteristics of 'where' the bazaar is historically located, 'whatness' is

concerned with what the bazaar is and what it does. In this process, it is important to note that ‘whereness’ and ‘whatness’ are closely linked to each other, and they are both simultaneously a precondition and product.

The second part of the thesis – which includes chapters three and four – presents an understanding of the ‘whereness’. This part seeks means and lenses to open a discussion on territory both as a precondition and product. These two chapters discuss the geographical condition – and what I call the geopolitics of the in-between, through which two kinds of territorialities take form: i.e. the extensive territoriality of the nomadic spatialized through distribution and movement and the intensive territoriality of the sedentary spatialized through managerial knowledge of *dehqan* to inhabit a land. The coexistence, encounter and assimilation of these territorialities has had an impact on the state-form and the social and economic system on the Iranian Plateau in general and the spatial formation of the bazaar as an intermediate.

The third part of this thesis focuses on the issue of ‘whatness’. This part – chapters five and six – re-examines the established knowledge on the bazaar as a physical and spatial entity by experimenting within two kinds of territorialities proposed in the previous chapters. In other words, the bazaar is seen as an assemblage of various territorial regimes rooted in the extensive nomadic territoriality and intensive sedentary territoriality. This not only pertains to the relation between movement and inhabitation, space and place in the bazaar’s physical structure, but also in its social and legal organization, topology and logistical system. Thus, the bazaar goes beyond the mere circulation space; rather it is perceived as an infra+structure which is situated within the city and operated as the city’s main [public] place.

The present thesis examines the possibility of constructing a discursive platform for studying the bazaar as a complex architectural entity. It posits a critical reading of the bazaar’s primary spatial idea, suggesting that a territorial reading of the bazaar can provide a valuable alternative lens for looking beyond mere preservation concerns or the purely formal imitations that are normally applied when examining the current condition of the bazaar in Iranian cities. It can help to redefine the intermediate position of the bazaar as a way of discovering new orders and hierarchies within and without the city.

## Samenvatting

Het doel van dit proefschrift is tweeledig. Ten eerste biedt het een ‘theoretische lezing’ van een historisch belangrijke architectonische entiteit – namelijk de bazaar - om een synthetisch begrip van haar complexiteit voor te stellen en om het veelvoud aan krachten en regimes te verkennen die betrokken zijn bij de [historische] formatie van de bazaar. Ten tweede onderzoekt dit proefschrift, door de architectuur van de bazaar te conceptualiseren, de relatie tussen architectuur en territorium, bewoning en infrastructuur in de context van het Iraanse plateau. Hiermee draagt dit proefschrift bij aan de productie van een architectonische kennis die een contextuele studie van complexe ruimtelijke regimes en mechanismen als hun belangrijkste krachten voor interventie bevordert.

Het idee van de bazaar is complex. Niet alleen heeft het implicaties in verschillende disciplines, maar het heeft ook verschillende definities. Afhankelijk van de context waarin het wordt gebruikt, kan de bazaar worden beschreven als een plaats, een vorm van economie, een sociale klasse of een manier van leven. Het kan het idee van een stad omvatten, een territorium of zelfs de regio die bekend staat als het Midden-Oosten of de islamitische wereld. Binnen dit brede spectrum van mogelijke betekenissen is de bazaar het onderwerp geweest van discours in de architectuur- en stedenbouwgeschiedenis, alsmede in de antropologie, sociologie, economie en politicologie.

De inherente complexiteit van het idee van de bazaar is te danken aan zijn tussenpositie, dat wil zeggen zijn relatie tot het territorium en de verschillende manieren van leven, zijn ruimtelijke complexiteit, dat wil zeggen de ruimte voor beweging en een plaats van het publieke en het collectief, en de superpositie van verschillende schalen tussen architectuur en de stad. Dit impliceert dat onderzoek naar de bazaar zich moet onderscheiden van puur typologische of stedelijke morfologische studies. In plaats daarvan moet het tegelijkertijd aandacht besteden aan mensen en de verscheidene ruimtelijke relaties die met de vorming ervan zijn gemoeid. Dit betekent een architectuur mogelijk wordt die vormgeeft aan de optelsom van complexe culturele, sociale, economische en bestuurlijke relaties. Terwijl het verbinding en integratie mogelijk maakt, biedt het ruimte voor confrontatie en ontmoeting.

Het eerste hoofdstuk geeft een overzicht van verschillende opvattingen, definities en percepties van de bazaar. Dit hoofdstuk toont aan dat een degelijk discoursief raamwerk, dat ons in staat stelt om de ruimtelijke complexiteit van de bazaar te begrijpen, in feite ontbreekt. Terwijl architectonische en stedelijke studies zich voornamelijk hebben geconcentreerd op het beschrijven en classificeren van de structurele en morfologische aanwezigheid van de bazaar, hebben andere disciplines zijn fysieke belang in het proces van het vormgeven van onderlinge relaties nauwelijks erkend. Dit hoofdstuk concludeert dat de bazaar niet alleen een architectonisch object is, maar eerder een territoriale entiteit. Dit betekent dat de formatie van de bazaar nauw verbonden is met de manier waarop het gebied wordt bestuurd en bewoond.

Vervolgens conceptualiseert dit onderzoek de architectuur van de bazaar door zijn 'waar' en 'wat' in een nieuw daglicht te plaatsen, waarbij het 'territorium' als een theoretisch kader wordt gebruikt. Terwijl dit 'waar' de kenmerken van waar de bazaar zich historisch bevindt beschrijft, gaat het 'wat' over wat de bazaar is en wat het doet. In dit proces is het belangrijk op te merken dat het 'waar' en het 'wat' nauw met elkaar zijn verbonden, en dat ze tegelijkertijd een voorwaarde en een product zijn.

Het tweede deel van het proefschrift – bestaande uit hoofdstukken drie en vier - geeft inzicht in het 'waar' van de bazaar. Dit deel zoekt naar middelen en inzichten om een discussie over territorium te starten, zowel als voorwaarde en als product. Deze twee hoofdstukken bespreken de geografische conditie - en wat ik de geopolitiek van het tussengebied noem waarbinnen twee soorten territorialiteiten vorm krijgen: de uitgebreide territorialiteit van het nomadische, ruimtelijk gemaakt door distributie en beweging, en de intensieve territorialiteit van de sedentaire wereld, ruimtelijk gemaakt door middel van bestuurlijke kennis van dehqan om een land te bewonen. De co-existentie, ontmoeting en assimilatie van deze territorialiteiten heeft een impact gehad op de staatsvorm en het sociale en economische systeem op het Iraanse Plateau in het algemeen en de ruimtelijke vorming van de bazaar als tussenproduct.

Het derde deel van dit proefschrift richt zich op de kwestie van het 'wat' van de bazaar. Dit deel – bestaande uit hoofdstukken vijf en zes - heronderzoekt de bestaande kennis over de bazaar als een fysieke en ruimtelijke entiteit door te experimenteren binnen de twee soorten territorialiteiten zoals voorgesteld in de vorige hoofdstukken. Met andere woorden, de bazaar wordt beschouwd als een assemblage van verschillende territoriale regimes die geworteld zijn in de extensieve nomadische territorialiteit en intensieve sedentaire territorialiteit. Dit heeft niet alleen betrekking op de relatie tussen beweging en bewoning, ruimte en plaats in de fysieke structuur van de bazaar, maar ook in zijn sociale en juridische organisatie, topologie en logistieke systeem. De bazaar is meer dan alleen circulatieruimte; het wordt eerder beschouwd als een infra+structuur die zich bevindt in de stad en werkt als de belangrijkste (publieke) ruimte van de stad.

Het proefschrift onderzoekt de mogelijkheid om een discursief platform te construeren voor het bestuderen van de bazaar als een complexe architecturale entiteit. Het stelt een kritische lezing van het primair ruimtelijke idee van de bazaar voor en suggereert dat een territoriale lezing van de bazaar een waardevol alternatief inzicht kan geven ten opzichte van behoudskwesties of de puur formele imitaties die normaal gesproken worden toegepast bij onderzoek naar de huidige toestand van de bazaar in Iraanse steden. Het kan helpen om de intermediaire positie van de bazaar opnieuw te definiëren als een wijze om zowel binnen als zonder de stad nieuwe orden en hiërarchieën te ontdekken.



## Acknowledgement

Writing a dissertation is like stepping into an unknown territory. One has to leave aside all her/his assumptions and re-learn and re-establish knowledge. For getting the courage to take this journey, I am deeply thankful to my promoters Prof.ir. M. Riedijk and Assoc. Prof. dr.ir. M.G.H. Schoonderbeek.

I am delighted to get the chance of knowing and working with Prof.ir. M. Riedijk. His sense of humor, wholesome and consistent support and passion for teaching and learning and rigorous questioning has been a gift to this dissertation.

I am grateful to Assoc. Prof. dr.ir. M.G.H. Schoonderbeek for being my teacher tirelessly for more than ten years. His precession, creative, deep thinking has always pushed me to look into the things from different and unexpected angles. 'Borders and Territories' research group, in which this dissertation has been carried out, would not exist without his passionate and steady work and support. He has been a family, colleague and teacher to me during all years of my education in the Netherlands.

I am thankful to Professor T.L.P. Avermaete for accepting me in the first place as a PhD candidate and commenting and giving feedback on the text throughout the process of PhD.

I would like to thank my committee members, Prof. dr. M. Fraser, Prof.ir. C.H.C.F. Kaan, Prof. P.E.L.J.C. Vermeulen, Dr.ir. K. M. Havik, Prof.ir. D.E. van Gameren, for reading the dissertation and attending the defense ceremony. I also would like to acknowledge Patrick Healy for his critical and positive comments and feedback on the draft of the dissertation over the last months.

I am thankful to my colleagues at the chair of Public Buildings, with whom I spent the most time during last years. I learned a lot from teaching, traveling and working with Filip Geerts and Oscar Romens. My gratitude should go to my kindest and joyful college Sien van Dam for being so close to me; her presence has made my staying at TU Delft most enjoyable and lively. I am thankful to Dr. Susanne Komossa, whose enthusiasm and energy I truly appreciate. I enjoyed working and traveling with her. I am grateful to Alper Semih Alkan for being a great friend and college. I am happy to know him and work with him. And also, to Manuela Triggianese for our routine coffee chats in the corridors of the BK city.

Special thanks to Esin Komez and Caterina Micucci with whom I shared the most, for their absolute friendship, support and intelligence. I certainly will never forget the summers that we went to het nieuw instituut in Rotterdam to work on our PhDs, though somehow, we often ended up talking and wondering in the city. I could not finish the final editing and layout of the dissertation without the help of Caterina Micucci. She has been heavenly supportive. I am also very thankful to Nasim Razavian for her great work and passionate help with drawings and Jens Jorritsma for helping me with Dutch translations of the summary and propositions. I am thankful to Azadeh Mashayekhi, a great friend who shared the same passion and interest as me. The initial idea of this dissertation emerged from our talks and conversations seven years ago.

Many thanks to my best friends Elnaz Najar Najafi and Behnam Aboutorabian, for motivating me, inspiring me, and supporting me with all their means; providing me with their extensive library and archive whenever I was traveling to Iran. Our travels, wonderings, and explorations in Iran have been the best source of inspiration and thinking. I am also grateful to Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti, for following this dissertation and patiently listening and giving me advice and directions.

I am foremost thankful to my family: My parents Parvaneh Forouhar and Farhad Sanaan Bensi and my sister Azadeh Sanaan Bensi, who have always encouraged and inspired me in life. I could not take this journey without their unconditional love and support. Lastly, I am grateful to my beloved Raul Forsoni who has been my best friend and the closest person to me. His presence has given me the encouragement to continue my journey and never give up my ideals and dreams. Thanks for all the joy and love that he brought to my life. He will always remain my favorite architect!

November 27, 2018

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## **CHAPTER ZERO: Introduction**

0.1. Introduction to the topic

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0.3. Research context

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0.4. Structure of the research



## 0.1. Introduction to the topic

This thesis, by conceptualizing the architecture of the bazaar, explores the relation between architecture and territory, inhabitation and infrastructure. The main question is how to offer a ‘theoretical reading’ of a historically important architectural entity – namely the bazaar – in order to propose a synthetic understanding of its complexity and to explore the multiplicity of forces and regimes that are involved in and that are formed within the bazaar.

This question will be answered by pursuing four objectives. The first objective is to map and analyse existing definitions and conceptions of the bazaar in various disciplines. The term ‘bazaar’ is a complex notion. Not only does it have implications in diverse disciplines, but also it carries various definitions. The bazaar can be depicted as a place, an architectural edifice, a form of economy, a social class or a way of life, and thus it can embody the notion of the city, a territory or even a more expansive region such as the Middle East or the Islamic World. By taking on different roles, definitions or concepts, the bazaar has been the topic of discourse in architecture and urban history, as well as anthropology, sociology, economics and political science. Thus, by identifying and analysing the existing definitions and conceptions, this dissertation proceeds to its second objective.

The second objective is to identify the inadequacies of existing spatial and architectural conceptions of the bazaar by: 1. integrating the complexity of forces involved in the spatial formation of the bazaar and explicating how this complexity came about and why it was necessary in certain contexts such as the Iranian Plateau; 2. involving temporality into the spatial reading of the bazaar – in other words, the transformation and fluidity of the bazaar as a spatial and physical construct has been largely neglected by fixing it as a traditional architectural object; 3. overcoming the established separation between form and content within the bazaar’s disciplinary debates. This phase will help to position the dissertation in relation to the existing body of scholarly works and find alternative arguments and ways to support its hypothesis.

The third objective is to propose the ‘territory’ as an alternative theoretical framework to conceptualize the bazaar. This framework, based on the theory of the territory, can activate a synthetic reading of the bazaar’s complexity. It provides alternative lenses and tools to overcome the perceived shortcomings in the primary available definitions and conceptions of the bazaar. Indeed, this research argues that the bazaar is not simply an architectural object that can be dissected to its architectonic components with a clear form and function; rather the bazaar as an architectural ‘entity’ is ‘territorial’. This proposition leads to the fourth objective, which is to conceptualize the bazaar through two main lenses of ‘whereness’ – namely where the bazaar located, or more accurately what the characteristics and qualities of ‘where’ the bazaar is located are – and ‘whatness’ – what the bazaar is and what it does. These lenses provide the possibility to investigate the relationship between architecture and territory, infrastructural space and the place of inhabitation within the bazaar.

Therefore, it is important to distinguish between the object and subject of this dissertation.

The bazaar operates as the object of this research through which the subject of the research presents a territorial understanding of an architecture linked to the infrastructural space of our cities. The concern of this dissertation is therefore not only ontological, but also epistemological; by using alternative lenses as well as material sources, it seeks to go beyond the ‘epistemic frontiers’<sup>1</sup> found in studies focusing on Middle Eastern or Islamic cities. It aims to contribute to an existing body of architectural knowledge and explore the possibility of ‘giving form’<sup>2</sup> to the assemblage of increasing infrastructural spaces of our cities and the public places of inhabitation. Ultimately it seeks to encourage a contextual examination of complex spatial regimes and agencies as the prime forces for architectural intervention.

## 0.2. Why the bazaar?

During the last decades of modernization in Iran, the bazaar’s prominent role in the city was intensively threatened and questioned.<sup>3</sup> Since the 1960s there has been a wave of Iranian writers, movie makers and scholars who announced the ‘death of the bazaar’. For example, in a movie entitled *The bazaar weeps*, directed by the two students Reza Gharavi and Abbas Bagherian in 1976, a spatial impression of a dead bazaar was captured in the empty *rastebs*<sup>4</sup> of the bazaar in the old city of Bam, which once was considered the eastern gateway to the central region of Iran (basin of Kerman).<sup>5</sup> This state of emptiness was a departing point to criticize the economic deficiency and political instability of the country. But it was not limited to that: for example, the Grand Bazaar of Tehran is still today a commercially active hub in the city, through which more than 400,000 people pass every day.<sup>6</sup>

These critiques also referred to the physical decadence of the bazaar as a sign of its imminent death.

This state of ruin was an impetus to question the planning operations which were literally tearing apart the existing structure of the bazaar in many cities in Iran. In fact the bazaar was a critical vantage point through which it was possible to impeach the whole range of cultural,

Fig. 0.1  
Fig. 0.2

<sup>1</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, Madina V. Tlostanova, ‘Theorizing from the Borders: Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge,’ *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 9, Issue 2 (2006): 205-221.

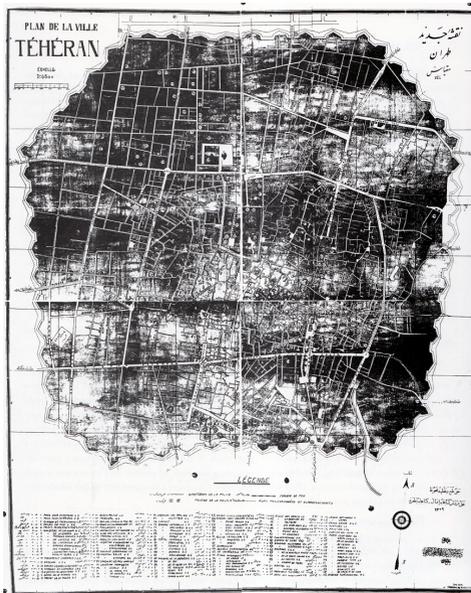
<sup>2</sup> Massimo Cacciari, ‘Nomads in Prison,’ *Casabella*, 705 (2002): 106-108.

<sup>3</sup> For further reading on this see Negar Sanaa Bensi and Azadeh Mashayekhi, ‘The Persistence of the Iranian Bazaars,’ *Volume Magazine, Aging: Fight or Accept*, no. 27 (2011): 116-123.

<sup>4</sup> *Rāsteb* is mainly referred to as the alley and main circulation space of the bazaar surrounded by rows of *bojrehs* or *dokans* (stall or shops). Literally, it means linear straight axes. But *rāsteb* also means classification and taxonomy of things (animals, plants, etc.). Perhaps it is not by chance that *rāsteb*s in the bazaar are a means of classifying guilds (*asnaf*).

<sup>5</sup> The debate on this issue still continues. Part of an issue of *Mehrnameh*, which is one of the most prominent magazines in Iran on anthropology and society, was specifically devoted to the question why the bazaar is not a bazaar anymore. Here, various scholars and writers approached the question mainly through the lenses of economics and social history. See: *Mehrnameh Magazine*, no. 5 (1389/2010): 130-147.

<sup>6</sup> Hasan Habibi, *Sargozasht-e Bazaar Bozorg-e Tebran dar Devast Sal-e Akhir or The Grand Bazaar of Tebran in the last two hundred years* (Tehran: Iranology Foundation, 1389/2010), 16.



0.1: The map of Tehran in the early 1930s, when under the reign of Reza Shah the great urban schemes were initiated. Drawn under supervision of François de Romeiser.

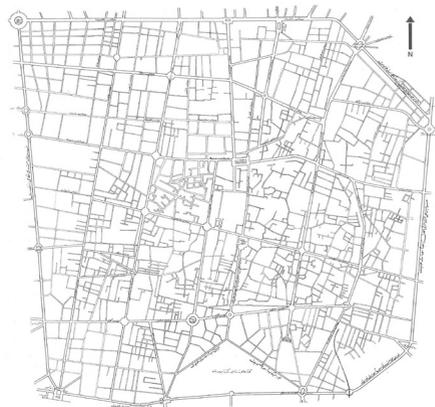
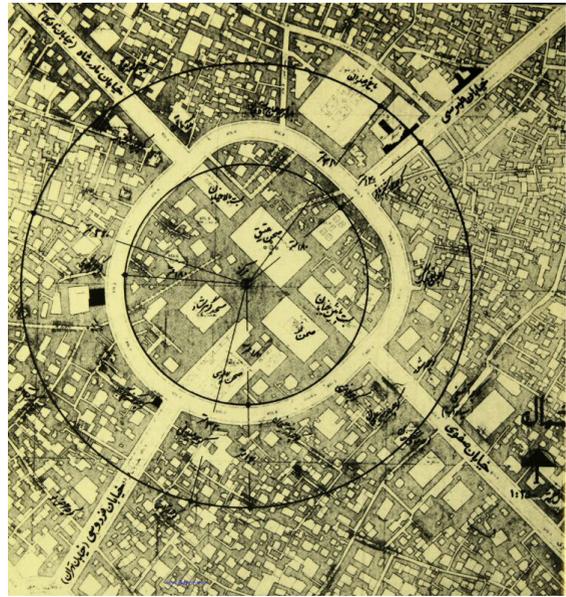


Abb. 16. Erweiterung- und Verkehrsplanung der Stadt von 1937. Maßstab des Wiedruges etwa 1:37.000  
50

0.2: Expansion and street planning of Tehran in the masterplan of 1937. The original plan, which is drawn on a scale of 1:10,000, is in the archive of the Iranian Ministry of the Interior. To see the position of the Tehran Grand Bazaar on the map, see Figure 2.2.



0.3: Isfahan, the northern historic city. The drawing shows the current street planning of Jiubarah Quarter with a hypothetical reconstruction of the Old Meydan and the main bazaar's *nastehs* over the existing street map of the city, which were largely demolished during the planning operations. The drawing was made by Lisa Golombek.



0.4: The Bazaar of Mashhad and the holy shrine old square with the new plan of the square drawn on top. The bazaar extends from the northeast of the map, entering to the central square of holy shrine, and next to the Goharshad Mosque it continues at the southwest of the square into the city. The bazaar was largely demolished during these planning operations.

political and economic transformations that were overwhelming the formation of the city, its territory and the life of its inhabitants.<sup>7</sup>

The planning operations of the Pahlavi regime began during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Reza Shah (1925-1941) came into power during a coup in 1921. The struggles in global politics and economy also affected Iran, resulting in a new bureaucracy and law-making apparatus, a new security system,<sup>8</sup> the discovery of oil, technological advancements and new infrastructural projects, the social transformations and the suppressing of tribal nomads in Iran as well as land reforms, just to mention a few.

It was during this period that new street plans were projected onto the existing fabric of the Iranian city, cutting, interrupting and in some cases isolating the physical structures of the bazaar.<sup>9</sup> This has led to the segmentation of the bazaar. This segmentation not only caused important spatial and physical disruptions, but it also, as Arang Keshavarzian argues in his book *Bazaar and State in Iran*, had the crucial social and political consequence 'of bringing together less heterogeneous groups'.<sup>10</sup>

Continuing the main principles of his father, Mohammad Reza Shah, the second king of the Pahlavi regime and the last king of Iran, clearly aimed to negate the bazaar. The proof of which resonated in his statement, only a year after his fall: 'I could not stop building supermarkets. I wanted a modern country. Moving against the bazaars was typical of the political and social risk I had to take in my drive to wmodernization.'<sup>11</sup> Clearly this statement not only referred to the replacement of an architectural object, rather it aimed to transform

Fig. 0.3  
Fig. 0.4

<sup>7</sup> *Bazaaris* have been extremely active during the last century of political upheaval in Iran. This political role has been discussed by various scholars. On the one hand, the economic benefits have been considered as the main impetus for their political role, see for example: Mahdi Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period: Contributions to the social-economic history of Persia* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1982). Or, on the other hand, the *bazaaris'* connections to the clergy and their religious dependencies is considered to be the driving force for their political contributions. See Ahmad Ashraf, 'Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions,' *Politics, Culture, and Society Vol. 1, No. 4* (Summer 1988): 538-567. Other writers, such as Willem Floor, who did extensive research on the history of guilds in nineteenth-century Iran, proposes that the political role of the *bazaaris* in Iran is essentially limited to the last century, and it is virtually impossible to prove the same political involvement in previous centuries. See Willem Floor, 'The Guilds in Iran: An Overview from the Earliest Beginnings till 1972,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 125, No. 1(1975): 99-116.

<sup>8</sup> Although it is important to mention here that many of these reforms were initiated during the previous regime of the Qajar dynasty, specifically by Naser al-Din Shah. For example the establishment of the municipality (*baladiyeh*) or police (*nazmiyeh*) goes back to the previous regime in the Qajar period, when Naser-al Din Shah decided to initiate new institutions, as well as reforms in the city of Tehran after visiting Europe several times.

<sup>9</sup> During 1930-1940 street plans and new circulation systems were superposed on many cities in Iran, such as Tehran (1930-1937), Isfahan (1931-1941), Shiraz, Mashhad, Hamedan (all during the 1930s and 1940s), Yazd (1931-1935) and so on. The street planning was an intensive operation which somehow neutralized many preconditions by extroverting the city. These operations were also legally and politically empowered. The Municipality Law enacted in 1930 gave considerable authority to cities to implement plans. For further reading, see Amin Banani, *The Modernization of Iran, 1921-1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 60.

<sup>10</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 45.

<sup>11</sup> Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to History* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980), 156. Quoted in Arang Keshavarzian, *A Bazaar and Two Regimes: Governance and Mobilization in the Tehran Marketplace (1963-the Present)* (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003), 193.

the way of living.

Despite this explicit statement, during the second Pahlavi period (1941–1979), the architecture scene in Iran – i.e. architects, artists, journalists and critics – began to integrate and address the bazaar in their writings on the historical city and architecture.<sup>12</sup> For example, an issue of *Art and Architecture Magazine* raised the issue of dispersed shopping areas in the city and provided an illustrated inventory of several bazaars in various cities. Here, on the one hand, the bazaar was addressed as the centre of commercial activity (i.e. a shopping centre), which had undergone transformations. On the other hand, instead of mourning its demise, it stressed the need to reconstruct and re-plan the bazaar.

Fig. 0.5

Moreover, the municipalities initiated several proposals for studying the possibility of renovating and rehabilitating bazaars in various cities. In most cases, the main point was not only how to restore the historic structure, but also how to reintegrate it into the city.

In fact, this new will to return the bazaar to the city has become an ongoing field of debate, proposals and projects for architects, city planners and municipalities. It has resulted in several controversial preservation projects, as well as constructed projects involving massive mega-structures dedicated to shopping which were initially inspired by the bazaar. These projects were sometimes diametrically opposed, in the sense that while one aimed to preserve and extend the old fabric, the other destroyed it in a large scale.

Fig. 0.6

Of course, these projects and reconstructions were not quiet and peaceful transformations; rather they were socially and politically charged and influential. One of the most intriguing examples of these bazaar projects was the Bazaar Reza in Mashhad, which was literally a replica of what was understood to be the ‘traditional’ bazaar.

Fig. 0.7

After the total destruction of a great part of the Bazaar of Mashhad caused by the street planning and the extension of the holy shrine square during the late 1960s, there was a great opposition from the *bazaaris*, specifically the goldsmith’s guild. The immediate response to this opposition was the reconstruction of a massive mega-structure, named after the holy shrine Bazaar Reza.

Fig. 0.4

This massive structure, built in 1976, tore away another large part of the old fabric of the city by building a huge *rusteh*-style interior with occasional spaces where one can pause called *charsus*<sup>13</sup> and an elongated massive multi-story building for wholesalers reminiscent of the old *caravanserais*. It was 750 metres long, 30 metres wide and 16 meters high, and it was built on two floors along the newly built street of Sheikh Tousi and between two newly constructed roundabouts. It was isolated from the surrounding neighbourhood by the lanes of traffic on all its sides. The materialization of this huge object was somehow a [false] replica of an old

<sup>12</sup> For example, *Art and Architecture Magazine* dedicated part of almost all of their issues to the historical studies of one or two cities. This was a topic that had somehow been absent in previous decades. Architecture magazines in the 1940s and 1950s had mainly focused on modern architecture and social housing.

<sup>13</sup> *Charsu* literally means ‘four directions’ and it refers to the junction and assembly point of the main *rustehs* of the bazaar. *Charsu* functions as a joint space. Architecturally, it is often more spacious and prominent than a bazaar’s *rustehs*. It can also serve as a gathering place within a bazaar’s circulation system.

شکل بازار نیز تغییر کرده است و فضاهای آن بر حسب نوع احیای عوض شده است. سنگی امور اجتماعی یا تبادله باورست که بازار علاوه بر نمایانهای اقتصادی، محیطی و مکانی برای فعالیتهای سیاسی و مذهبی و فرهنگی بوده است و گروههای مختلف بوده که با تعلق و علاقه و مشارکت در آن اجتماع میسر برقع مشکلات اجتماعی خود می‌برداشتند.

مجموعی در کنارها و محرمها و عدم وجود در و چهره، پیش از پیش در ترکیب بازاریان مؤثر بوده است و بدونکنگام اینچه های اجدادی در سالهای اخیر تنها بدون توجه به مسائل فنی و شرایط اقلیمی است بلکه، توسعههای بازار را فاقد ارزش و معنی نشان و زنده نمودند. سطح باید مسورت مسوره برای آنکه مشکلاتی از آن خود ایجاد می‌شوند.

هر سانسای برای خود نامشدهای داشته که تحت نظر مسالمتجاری مسائل تجاری و اجتماعی با حکومت وقت در میان می‌گذشت.

۴ - وضع موجود بازارهای شهر ایران و کویهای اقتصادی و اجتماعی کشور در سالهای اخیر تغییرات عمده یافته است و این تغییرات خود اثرات عمده ای در ساختن خرید و فروش و توزیع و آمدن های اقتصادی شهرهای ایران پدید داشته است مخصوصا در این زمینه است که از منطقه قلبی مرکزی ایران و در پیوند گامی جدید در سازهی بسیار میباید در واقع این مسائل تأت و سودی خدایانها رفاهت جدید شهرها

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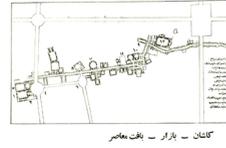
شیراز - بازار بافت سنتی



اسفهان - بازار - بافت سنتی



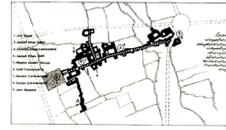
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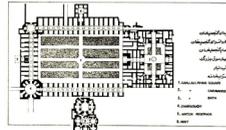
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کerman - بازار بافت سنتی



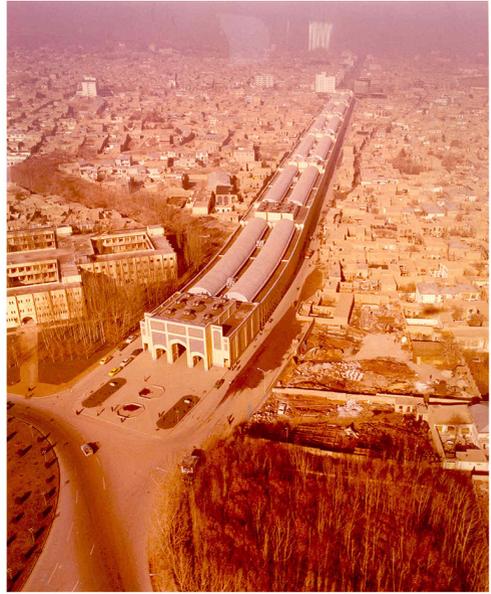
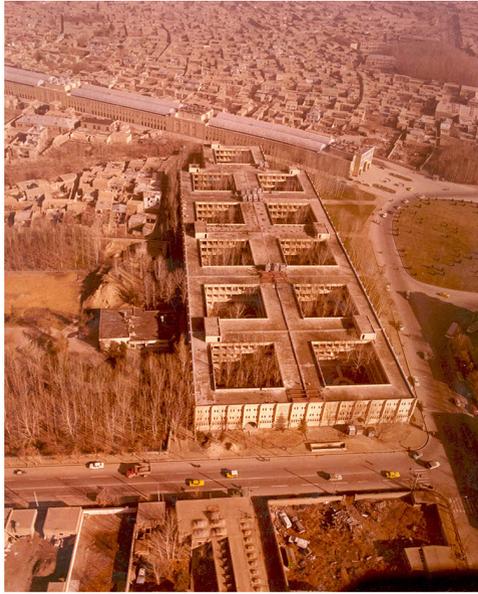
کerman - بازار بافت سنتی



کerman - بازار - مجموعه کهنه بافت

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0.5: Pages from *Art and Architecture Magazine* no. 33-34, 1976, dealing with the study of bazaars in various cities, showing their position in the city before and after street planning.



0.6: Some photos from the Bazaar Reza during and after the construction process (1976). The top left depicts the wholesale Serais. The top right presents a general view from the southern entrance (17 Shahrivar Square). The two pictures at the bottom show the bazaar during the construction process.



bazaar. While the structure was made of steel beams and columns with an arched roof, which perhaps was forced upon its architect Dariush Borbor<sup>14</sup> to speed up construction in order to placate voices of opposition, the whole building was then covered in brick cladding and the façade. Even the roof windows provided barely any fresh air or light and were eventually replaced by electric lighting and ventilation.

It seems that the only way to silence the voices of opposition was to quickly replace the bazaar, regardless of the many complexities that resulted from the construction of such a massive object. Interestingly, exact copies of Bazaar Reza were even built in other cities in Iran, such as Takestan-e Qazvin.

This debate on redefining, reformulating, revitalizing and reconstructing the bazaar is still continuing today, and as previously mentioned it involves various disciplines. In fact, the bazaar is a disputed topic which has played a part, on the one hand, in urban modernity narratives and socio-economic changes and socio-political uprisings in Iran during the last century. On the other hand, the bazaar has made a major contribution to the Islamic city discourse within a vast geography of research. However, and this will be extensively dealt with in the first chapter of this thesis, in architecture and urban studies the bazaar has been mostly approached as a fixed architectonic object and the debate has remained highly descriptive, lacking a proper theoretical framework. This has created a discursive gap between architecture and other disciplines and has remained a challenge for urban and architectural studies – a challenge which this dissertation addresses. Indeed, the bazaar presents an intricate topic for current Iranian urban debate and planning specifically and a challenge for studying a complex architectural entity, in general.

The problem with discourse and practice on the bazaar, as stated above, was also coupled with my personal experience while I was growing up in Mashhad, the intensity of which grew while studying architecture in Tehran by working during my final project on the notion of public space with a specific focus on the Grand Bazaar of Tehran. These doubts and fascinations were further propelled when I became distanced from these everyday spaces by moving to Delft to continue my education. In a way, it was impossible for me to disconnect from the architectural entity of the bazaar and all of the cultural, socio-political and socio-economic attachments that I had with it on a personal level. All of these aspects were what drove me to choose the bazaar as the object of this dissertation, to think about and ask the following questions about the bazaar: what does it do? And where is it? Which theoretical framework is capable of addressing these issues without objectifying the bazaar?

<sup>14</sup> At the time, Dariush Borbor was a young avant-garde Iranian architect, designer and painter. After the destruction of the Old Bazaar of Mashhad in 1968, he designed a renewal masterplan for the square around the holy shrine, with a multi-storey and programmatically hybrid series of buildings that surrounded the holy shrine. However, for various reasons that needs proper research, the plan was changed. A new square plan was implemented and the initial plan was replaced by Bazaar Reza. In 2016, I had the opportunity to speak briefly with Mr Borbor about this project. He clearly stated that Bazaar Reza was supposed to be a temporal structure, which is why it was designed and built all at once in a short time.

### 0.3. Research context

#### 0.3.1. Architectural historiography

Some recent architectural and urban historians and theoreticians – by questioning the conventional architectural historiography – have suggested including other forms of contextual, power and gender relations into architectural historiography. By citing a few examples of these critiques and suggestions, I will try in the following paragraphs to position this thesis among them and clarify how it responds to some of the problems raised by these scholarly works.

One of the main criticisms regarding this recent body of scholarly work has been the periodic, stylistic and linear approach to temporality in studying architectural production. For example, in his article ‘Temporal Flows’, Steve Basson questions the traditional viewpoint of ‘time’ in architecture and urban space for which ‘time’ is suspended along a ‘two-way corridor’, a linearity from past to present in a seamless ‘realm of the known’.<sup>15</sup> This comment is relevant for one of the questions that the first chapter of this thesis poses in relation to the existing historiography of the bazaar, in the search of its origin and its linear evolution vis-à-vis the city.

In most books and studies about the bazaar, a common approach has been first to identify a historiography or an origin of the bazaar. The first chapter of this thesis, however, after presenting several such examples and discussing their ideological and historical framework, shifts the question from ‘what is the origin of the bazaar?’ to what is the problem with these theories of origin? The rest of this chapter summarizes some of the more prominent conceptions, definitions and perceptions of the bazaar, suggesting that they are often unclear and riddled with ambiguity.

Second, the architectural theoretician Andrew Ballantyne, in agreement with Basson’s suggestion to allow for multiplicity of time and experiments in dealing with architectural historiography, states that ‘a multiplicity of narratives intersects in any building, and it is important for our understanding of them to realize that any single narrative will be seen to be reductive if it is claimed as the only narrative that really matters. For buildings to be given their proper due as evidence, they need to be included in narratives that are constructed in ways that allow for multiple perspectives.’<sup>16</sup> In this sense, the bazaar is a multifaceted architectural entity that gives form to a complex of cultural, contextual and territorial as well as legal and socio-economic forces. This is a crucial and simultaneously challenging point in the process of conducting this research and conceptualizing the bazaar, and I will return to it in the next few paragraphs.

Another point of critique regarding Western historiography concerns the exclusion of

<sup>15</sup> Steve Basson, ‘Temporal Flows,’ in *Architecture in the Space of Flows*, ed. Andrew Ballantyne, Chris L. Smith (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 166.

<sup>16</sup> Andrew Ballantyne, ‘Architecture as Evidence,’ in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Ozkaya (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 48.

'others'. The architectural historian Dana Arnold problematizes the dominance of the white male subject in the construction of historical narratives in architecture and urban studies.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Tom Avermaete acknowledges the 'Death of the Center: New Geographies of Planning'<sup>18</sup> as one of the dilemmas, which has been posed by various scholars and writers as a major challenge for planning historiography. This school criticizes the dividing line between 'First World' cities, which are seen as the ideal, generative of theory and policy, and 'Third World' cities, which are seen as problematic, requiring diagnosis and reform.<sup>19</sup> According to Avermaete, the first way of diminishing this dividing line is to broaden the scope of our studies, which certainly makes sense. However, I believe greater effort is needed to overcome the complicated dilemma of always resorting to the same, predefined perspective and finding instead a fresh lens through which to view the issues.

In fact, as Walter D. Mignolo and Madina V. Tlostanova state in their article 'Theorizing from the Borders: Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge', this 'Eurocentrism' has created an 'epistemology of the zero point of observation and of knowledge: a perspective that denied all other perspectives.'<sup>20</sup> This is woven into the language as well, meaning that the global distribution of intellectual and scientific labour and knowledge produced in certain languages have not needed to take into account knowledge in some of the others.<sup>21</sup>

This alternative view is especially vibrant in architectural studies. Not many works have been published about the bazaar, for example, at least not in architectural studies, which aim to develop a critical approach to 'construct another form of cultural domination'.<sup>22</sup> Zeynep Çelik, an architectural historian, in her short essay 'La Belle Fathma, c'est moi . . .'<sup>23</sup> in issue 41 of the journal *Assemblage*, states that even most of the critiques on the discourse of 'orientalism' have mainly taken place outside the discipline of architecture and architectural history.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In this regard, Arnold suggests that complicity and resistance are useful modes of analysis within the context of post-colonial historical work. Dana Arnold, 'Beyond a boundary: Towards an architectural history of the non-east,' in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Ozkaya (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 229-245.

<sup>18</sup> Tom Avermaete, 'Death of the Author, Center and Meta-Theory: Emerging planning histories and expanding methods of the early twenty-first century,' in *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, ed. Carola Hein (London: Routledge, 2017), 478-487.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, Madina V. Tlostanova, 'Theorizing from the Borders: Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge,' *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 9, Issue 2 (2006): 206.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>22</sup> Zeynep Çelik, 'La Belle Fathma, C'est Moi . . .,' *Assemblage*, 41 (2000): 17.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Although there are examples of studies on the bazaar which criticize orientalism and their established model of the Islamic city. See for example: Nasser Rabbat, 'Ideal-type and Urban History: The Development of the Suq in Damascus,' in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City: Design, Culture, and History*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 51-74. Or recent scholarly works which totally ignore the whole oriental discourse and turn to other methodological and theoretical lenses to explicate the bazaar. For example, Farzaneh Haghghi employs the Foucauldian notion of 'event' to investigate the potential spatial-political

Furthermore, despite all of the discussions about the overarching narrative of globalization and the internationalization of many architectural institutions in Europe and USA, as well as the active presence of European and American architectural offices in various parts of the world, the Western architectural paradigms and theory still dominate the discursive realm. As already mentioned, this of course goes beyond merely including certain architectural paradigms.

Although I sympathize with these endeavours, my aim is not to expand on or criticize these positions. Indeed, by using and interpreting the historical materials, this thesis introduces an alternative argument, first to respond to the problem of the ongoing debate on the bazaar, and second, to contribute to the contemporary architectural discourse by positioning the bazaar at the centre of its investigation. Hence, this thesis is not proposing to simply include the 'other' in the contemporary architectural debate, rather it seeks to overhaul it by positioning the bazaar as a kaleidoscope through which to look into the above-mentioned problems.

To summarize, while this thesis relies on historical sources and events, it is by no means intended to be a historiography of the bazaar. Most of the physical and textual remnants of the bazaar are from the post-Seljuk period, meaning after the eleventh century. However, this dissertation uses materials and examples related to the bazaar from mainly between the sixteenth until twentieth centuries. The aim of this dissertation is thus theoretical. For that reason, this thesis introduces the problem of historiography early on so that it can shift to conceptualization and theoretical engagement.

### **0.3.2. Concept (and its activation): On method**

The bazaar is a complex entity. In most architectural and urban studies, a common approach is to equalize the bazaar with a marketplace, a place of trade or a commercial centre. Then to demonstrate its complexity, other aspects are separately discussed; for example, the political role of the bazaar, its social and religious role, and so on. This approach hardly reflects the bazaar's spatiality. Indeed, this approach describes the bazaar as an architectural object consisting of various programmatic spaces: *rasteh*, *dalan*, *timcheh*, *caravanserai*, *meydan*, *madrese*, etc. The first problem with this approach is that it objectifies the bazaar as a composition of various programmatic elements, isolated from its context. Second, enumerating the bazaar's various spaces is misleading because it suggests that the bazaar has always included this variety of spaces. However, there is no historical evidence of exactly when and how such a proliferation of programmatic variety occurred in the bazaar. It is thus erroneous to assume that the bazaar has always been the same. Therefore, as previously mentioned, such an approach tends to separate the form and content of the bazaar and the space and event. This is a theoretical problem but also a methodological one,

multiplicity in Tehran's Grand Bazaar. For further reading see: Farzaneh Haghighi, 'The Deployment of Death as an Event,' *Fabrications*, 24/1 (2014), 48-71.

which will be addressed in the first chapter of this thesis in detail.

In this dissertation, I avoid juxtaposing the bazaar with certain archetypes. Instead, I will approach the bazaar from an interpretive framework and allow for multiplicity. As mentioned before, I look upon my work as a process of conceptualizing the bazaar. But what does ‘concept’ and its activation do?

Initially concerned about the question of spatial inhabitation, in her article ‘Deleuze, Theory and Space,’<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Grosz uses some of Deleuze and Guattari’s works to address the notion of concept. According to Grosz, the concept, among other things, attempts to address the problem which poses itself as a question. ‘The concept never answers or solves the problem; it transforms it, replaces it with other problems which eventually motivates and engenders experimentation.’<sup>26</sup> The concepts are animated by problems and the problems can be initiated by the singularity of events. While concepts can originate from pre-existing elements, specific to time or place, they are capable of working elsewhere. For that matter, concepts are not stable, and they only come alive when they are activated to develop an argument or inspire or generate a discussion.<sup>27</sup>

Concepts in this dissertation are occasioned by questions regarding the ‘whereness’ and ‘whatness’ of the bazaar, as explained previously. They provide lenses that will help to develop a theoretical framework for reading the bazaar. To address these questions several concepts are initiated in this thesis, such as nomad and *dehqan*, extensive territoriality and intensive territoriality, infrastructural space and inhabitable place, and so on. Each of these concepts provides a multiplicity of lenses through which the connections between various components can be made. These components can belong to multiple times, disciplines and points of views. They create a kaleidoscopic vision that ultimately becomes nestled in a certain framework.

To make this process more accessible, here I use the Persian art form of the miniature (*negar-gari*) as an analogy, where various objects, time and spaces are composed within a sequence of frames in various vision points. Here, the logic of the composition is not based on a single observer, nor does the scale of objects and spaces follow the perspective rule. In fact, the concern in *negar-gari* is mainly to communicate a conceptual register which is often a narrative and the relation between characters and spaces. Thus, the compositional logic also follows that conceptual register.

One of the common techniques in *negar-gari* is in fact based on the coexistence and composition of various vision points – a kind of kaleidoscopic dioramic view, like a composition of different frames of a narration (or a movie) within a single frame. In this, time, space and scale are folded within a single composition, and various actors and narrations are assembled within the limitation of a frame. While things develop certain relations with each

Fig. 0.8

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, ‘Deleuze, Theory and Space,’ *Log*, no. 1 (2003): 77-86.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 78-79.

other in each frame, the objects in different frames can also create a distinct composition (see for example Figure 0.8 where the pavilion in the upper frame illustrated in axonometric 90 degrees is related to the step box in the lower frame drawn in axonometric 45 degrees, making a distinct composition). In this sense, each frame might have something of the other frames. Thus, the illustration suggests a heterogeneity and plurality which eventually form a whole.

I would argue that this dissertation does the same. It assembles the time, place and viewpoints. And in doing so, it uses various forms of reasoning: either from generic to specific or from specific to generic. It retains the possibility of providing a synthetic reading of an architectural entity – namely, the bazaar – in addressing its complexity. So, the method in this case is not simply a recipe preceding the process of doing research. Instead, it is a way which slowly emerges throughout the process. As Agamben rightly states:

Contrary to common opinion, method shares with logic its inability to separate itself completely from its context. There is no method that would be valid for every domain, just as there is no logic that can set aside its objects.<sup>28</sup>

Method in this case is simultaneously connected to the object of the study (i.e. bazaar), on the one hand, and the context and period that has been nurturing my thinking, on the other. This is especially important when the verbal and visual material sources – such as drawings, models and treatises – upon which the architectural research relies are limited and rather dispersed. One might need a broader vision to find, interpret and use sources which are partly the result of conscious choices and partly the result of accidents and coincidences.

### **0.3.3. The discourse and sources used**

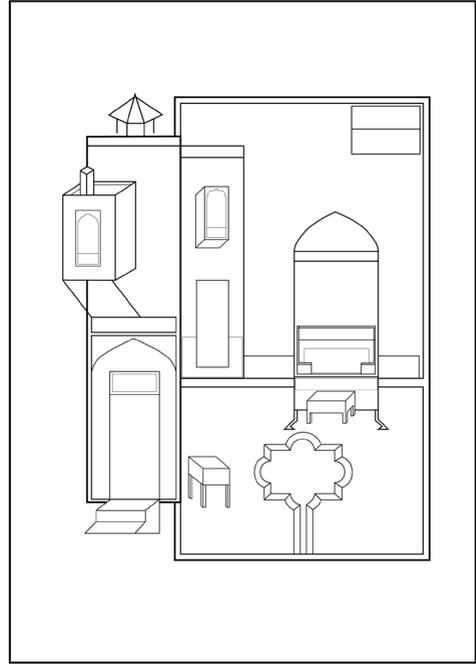
The complexity of the bazaar as well as the variety of available sources, raise some basic questions regarding the method and the framing of the dissertation. In fact, none of these questions are new. Perhaps Walter Benjamin's montage principles of juxtaposed chunks of texts on 'urban life such as handbills, tickets, photographs, advertisements, diaries, newspaper cuttings,<sup>29</sup> and so on had an inadvertent influence on how to approach this question, witness the long process of accumulation and collection of materials.

As Stan Allen states in the introduction to his book *Practice: Architecture, Technique and Representation*, architecture is a discipline of circumstance and situation, a complex variable of political, social, and historical dynamics.<sup>30</sup> Hence, the architectural discourse and practice do not occur in isolation from other cultural, social and theoretical developments. This condition creates difficulties to define clear disciplinary boundaries and produce systematic

<sup>28</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *The signature of all things: On method* (New York: Zone Books, 2009), 7.

<sup>29</sup> Mike Featherstone, 'The "Flâneur", the City and Virtual Public Life,' *Urban Studies* 35, no. 5/6 (1998): 909.

<sup>30</sup> Stan Allen, *Practice: architecture, technique and representation* (London: Routledge, 2003), xiv-xvi.



0.8: At the left: Folio from Safavid period (1501 - 1722) illustrates a scene where Solomon and Bilqis sit together and converse frankly, from Haft Awrang (Seven thrones) versed by Jami (d.1492). At the right the re-drawing of the miniature by the author.

principles in architecture. This is a problem that becomes apparent as one begins to delve into the available materials from various disciplines on the bazaar, for example.

Bearing in mind the difficulties and dilemmas mentioned in the previous paragraphs, doing an architectural thesis on a topic with a so-called 'oriental' context means avoiding and using the existing discourse simultaneously. This entails not only looking for other kinds of sources for research but also reinterpreting the sources and materials that have already been used. It entails finding niches that enable one to seek an architectural understanding of the ideas, interpretations and events. This research departs from these concerns to examine the possibility of constructing a discursive territory for studying the bazaar as a complex architectural entity. This is not necessarily an attempt to answer or solve problems but rather to offer an alternative plea to reformulate them, something which architecture is perhaps in dire need today.

In this thesis, I have combined archival work with both literary materials such as treatises and visual materials such as maps, with specific case studies. There are several books and sources which will be frequently referred to in this thesis. The PhD dissertation and book by the political economist Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace* (2007),<sup>31</sup> on the politics of Tehran's Grand Bazaar is one of the sources to which I will refer throughout this thesis. This book integrates various disciplines such as economics, politics, anthropology, sociology and urban discourses. Furthermore, this book is one of the first examples to provide an inventory of existing studies on the bazaar to establish an alternative conceptualization of Tehran's Grand Bazaar. Similarly, the first chapter of this thesis reviews existing conceptions, perceptions and definitions of the bazaar focusing on its architectural and spatial understanding.

Although Keshavarzian's focus is on the political transformation and social and economic structure of the bazaar, he is well aware of the importance of space [and to a lesser extent the bazaar as a physical construct]. His definition of the bazaar as a 'bounded space' containing a series of ongoing 'embedded network' surpasses many limitations that previous social, political-economic theories and to lesser extent urban historical studies put on the bazaar. However, Keshavarzian's thorough study focuses on a specific historical span within the Grand Bazaar of Tehran's socio-political shift, so his reflection on the bazaar as a spatial construct is inherently limited. In a way, this dissertation extends and even radicalizes this conception by focusing on the bazaar as a spatial and architectural construct.

Moreover, the extensive studies and maps of the Bazaar of Isfahan by the German urban geographer Eugen Wirth and his colleague Heinz Gaube, published as an atlas under the title *Der Bazar von Isfahan*,<sup>32</sup> provided important historical and morphological materials on the

<sup>31</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Arang Keshavarzian, 'A Bazaar and Two Regimes: Governance and Mobilization in the Tehran Marketplace: 1963-the present,' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003).

<sup>32</sup> Eugen Wirth and Heinz Gaube, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, Beihefte Zum Tübinger Atlas der Vorderen Orient

bazaar. But maps prepared by Tübingen Atlas of the Near East (TAVO)<sup>33</sup> were also helpful sources, which I accessed through Leiden University's archive. TAVO was originally a German research foundation and a collaborative research centre that organized interdisciplinary research projects at the University of Tübingen focusing on Near East countries between 1969 to 1993. In addition to these descriptive and visual materials, Wirth has also published his ideas on the theory of the bazaar in two extensive articles in German in *Der Islam* journal. These have been important sources in the sense that they represent the first theoretical attempts to study the bazaar.

Furthermore, I have studied several books and dissertations focusing on specific case studies of bazaars in Iranian cities. For example, a series of large-size books on chronicles of the bazaar in the three cities of Tehran, Tabriz and Yazd, were helpful sources for this thesis. This series of books is the result of extensive fieldwork commissioned by the Iranology Foundation, a research institute founded in 1997 in Tehran. They remain the most up-to-date source in Farsi to map the current situation of these bazaars. These examples are just some of the sources which have helped me to get to know the existing materials and establish my critical view towards them. For that I also relied on primary sources related to Iranian history and historical geography, mentioned throughout this thesis. For example, *Al-Muqaddimah* by Ibn Khaldun, *The extraction of hidden water* by Al-Karaji, Guy Le' Strange's *The lands of the eastern caliphate*. I also accessed and studied several archaeological reports, such as the *Excavations at Dura-Europos* (for example, Part I, *The Agora and Bazaar*) by M. I. Rostovtzeff or the archaeological reports by Erich Schmidt published in his seminal book as *Flight over Ancient Cities of Iran* and his extensive series of aerial photographs available online in the archive of the University of Chicago. I also visited archives in Iran, such as the Astan Qods Razavi in Mashhad and the Document Centre of Iran Parliament in Tehran.

In addition, I have relied on visual materials as a source for interpretation and observation – i.e. aerial photography, Persian miniatures, old maps, movies and drawings – partly during my visits to a few of the above-mentioned archives and sources and partly through my access to personal archives.<sup>34</sup> In the latter case, I use drawing not only as a representational tool, but also as a way of conceptualizing and studying the bazaar. As Maryam Mirzakhani, a noble Iranian mathematician, interestingly notes in one of her rare interviews:

Drawing is an inherent part of the thinking process and not a posteriori. When thinking about a difficult math problem, 'you don't want to write down all the details,' she said. 'But the process of drawing something helps you somehow to stay connected.'<sup>35</sup>

(TAVO), Nr.22 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1978).

<sup>33</sup> Beate Siewert-Mayer and Universität Tübingen, Sonderforschungsbereich 19, *Tübinger Atlas Des Vorderen Orients* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977).

<sup>34</sup> I am grateful to Behnam Aboutorabian, a young self-taught Iranian architecture historian for openly providing me with his private archive, library and collection of materials.

<sup>35</sup> Maryam Mirzakhani was an Iranian mathematician and professor of Mathematics at Stanford University and the

For example, while simply drawing the bazaar I encountered difficulties in defining its boundaries. This issue raised basic questions regarding how the bazaar is delineated from the rest of the city. Is it programmatic? Does it have something to do with the relation between public versus private? Does it involve a certain relation between inside versus outside? Does it concern certain ownership regimes? As the Steve Basson quote above illustrates,<sup>36</sup> relying solely on each of these single points is problematic. For example, there is no real agreement on precisely what programmatic spaces are considered to be part of the bazaar. Therefore, is it possible to state that, despite what Arang Keshavarzian and many other scholars have perceived, spatially the bazaar is not a fixed object but, like its content, it has been fluid over time?<sup>37</sup> This is a question that will be addressed in more detail in the first and second chapters of this dissertation.

#### 0.3.4. The question of scale

This thesis engages in a constant shift of scale, both in terms of the involvement of macro and micro narratives and in terms of the scale that shifts from territory to detail in fragments of the bazaar. In fact, it is not exactly the scale which is of concern here. Rather, what is important is the lens through which an argument is established. In this sense, using the variety of materials as sources of study becomes possible.

The issue of 'scale' is clearly addressed by Foucault in his lecture series on the *Birth of Biopolitics*. While Foucault's interest in the analysis of power relations is at the micro-political level, he rejects the methodological limit of his analytical work on the scale of those power relations. He states that governmentality as the way in which one conducts the men is an analytical grid for the power relations. According to Foucault this grid of governmentality might be valid for analysing the ways of conducting mad men, patients, delinquents and children but it can also be valid for a totally different scale of analysis, for example economic policy or the management of a whole social body. So, what Foucault's research does is that it establishes certain viewpoints to investigate historical phenomena.

What I wanted to do – and this was what was at stake in the analysis – was to see the extent to which we could accept that the analysis of micro-powers, or of procedures of governmentality, is not confined by definition to a precise domain determined by a sector of the scale, but should be considered simply as a point of view, a method of decipherment which may be valid for the whole scale, whatever its size. In other words, the analysis of micro-powers is not a question of scale, and it is not a question of a sector, it is a question

first and only woman to win a 'Fields Medal'. She died in her forties of cancer during the summer of 2017 when I was editing my thesis and finalizing my introduction, and it left a deep impression on me. To read her interview see: Erica Klarreich, 'A Tenacious Explorer of Abstract Surfaces,' *Quanta Magazine*, August 12, 2014, accessed July 30, 2017: <https://www.quantamagazine.org/maryam-mirzakhani-is-first-woman-fields-medalist-20140812/>.

<sup>36</sup> Basson, 'Temporal Flows,' 166.

<sup>37</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 45.

of a point of view.<sup>38</sup>

In this thesis, I am not necessarily concerned with the analysis of power relations. Although I do discuss the Iranian form of state and advocate the involvement of various mechanisms of security in the bazaar. But this is only one of the lenses one can use to look into the bazaar. Indeed, I argue in this thesis that studying the bazaar without the involvement and engagement of various scales is impossible. To put it more explicitly, for example, the relation that this thesis proposes between the nomadic and sedentary ways of life is not only addressed in various scales of the bazaar, but as it is also proposed in this thesis, it can be considered an alternative viewpoint through which territory, city and architecture can be understood differently.

So what this thesis introduces is a theoretical framework that articulates various viewpoints. This multiplicity of viewpoints aims to construct certain links at various scales and disciplinary levels. It is exactly for that reason that almost one third of this thesis does not speak about the bazaar directly or subjectively as the object of the study. Rather it discusses a larger territory which both has conditioned the bazaar and has taken form with it.

Although this thesis focuses more on the bazaar's past than on analysing current micro-structures and daily-life spaces in the bazaar, I suggest that the lenses established here are a valid viewpoint for looking at the bazaar and its territory today.<sup>39</sup>

#### **0.4. Structure of the thesis**

This thesis has six chapters. In general, these chapters are organized within three main frameworks: 1. Overview and problematization, 2. Proposition and formulation, 3. Conceptualization, for which the second part operates as an in-between.

The first part – Overview and problematization – includes chapter one, and its aim is to provide an overview of the primary definitions, conceptions and perceptions of the bazaar within the existing discourse and literature, their scholarly context, their outcomes and shortcomings. This chapter suggests that the reason why several scholarly works focused primarily on the search for an origin of the bazaar lay in the ambiguity of the definition of the bazaar and writers' ideological agenda. Thus the rest of the chapter provides a general overview of the existing perceptions, definitions and conceptions. In doing so, the chapter attempts to position existing definitions, perceptions and conceptions of the bazaar within the context of their scholarly works – i.e. theoretical, ideological and methodological background. It then formulates a critique of the conceptualizations employed in these debates, and finally it formulates questions regarding an alternative conceptual understanding of the bazaar.

<sup>38</sup> Michel Foucault and Michel Senellart, *The birth of biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 186.

<sup>39</sup> For one of the most recent studies on the Grand Bazaar of Tehran, which focuses on alternative modes of spatial thinking on a micro-political level by deploying the Foucauldian notion of event, see Farzaneh Haghghi, 'The Deployment of Death as an Event,' *Fabrications*, 24 /1 (2014): 48-71.

This overview consists of four sub-sections. The first three sub-sections focus on the existing materials, which have provided a perception and conception of the bazaar's physical and spatial aspects. These four sub-sections are: 1.3.1. *The bazaar as an exotic/romantic 'image'*, 1.3.2. *The bazaar as a component of the Islamic/Middle Eastern city 'model'*, 1.3.3. *The bazaar as an architectural 'type'*. In these three sub-sections, the sources used are diverse, ranging from film and photography to schematic drawings and literary studies by scholars in urban sociology, urban geography, architecture and urban history. This section reviews some of the major conceptions and perceptions of the bazaar's historical and physical account in textual, visual and archival sources, which have been often cited and which are still used today. The fourth sub-section – 1.3.5. *The bazaar as a socio-political or socio-economic 'organization'* – considers the bazaar mainly as a socio-political or economic system, institution, network or social class with hardly any reference to its physical aspect.

As the first chapter will discuss in detail, most of the studies of the bazaar focus either too heavily on specific case studies and are mainly concerned with describing these cases, or they attempt to define similarities in a vast geography of research, and as a result they end up bogged down in over-generalization and simplification. The presumed labels of being Islamic or oriental, which started a genre of discourse, developed mainly during the first half of the twentieth century, and it led to the construction of generic and comparative city models, with the bazaar as one of their main components. However, to a large extent Iran was excluded from the major case studies, understood to be oriental or Islamic. Therefore, these early literary works neutralized the specificity and flattened the complexity of the city firstly and the bazaar secondly. During the enhancement of 1960s and 1970s post-colonial discourse, however, a new wave of critique on orientalism emerged. In this period, during which the previous city models were still being used and further developed, a more context-oriented typo-morphological research began to emerge. It is during this period that Iranian studies came to the attention of the orientalists. Specifically, German scholars in urban geography and urban studies and social sciences were captivated by Iranian urban studies. Among those, Eugen Wirth and Heinz Gaube in particular focused on developing research on the bazaar and its mapping. These studies were highly helpful in documenting and analysing certain cases. Although their theoretical framework, which was based on a classification of the bazaar according to various categories (e.g. general structure, temporality, spatiality, etc.), somehow informed the complexity that is inherent to the bazaar, it was unable to communicate the bazaar as a whole. In other words, the bazaar became a system of programmatic and architectonic objects. Thus, these studies remained, to a large extent, descriptive and were unable to grasp the complexity and fluidity of the bazaar. In a way, they could not conceptualize what was described in their writings.

Moreover, as the bazaar is often equated with a 'marketplace', it has become the topic of research in other disciplines such as anthropology, economics and political science. However, as Arang Keshavarzian argues, most of these studies lack a spatial understanding of the

bazaar, which in his view has primary importance in its conceptualization.<sup>40</sup> Eventually, this chapter positions this thesis among the existing discourse and the gaps in the definition and approaches, by introducing the ‘territory’ of the bazaar both discursively and spatially.

The objective of this review is to demonstrate the prevalence of the socio-economic, socio-political and [urban] anthropology conceptions of the bazaar and the limitations that exist in both the quantities of literature and the quality of definitions that deal with the spatiality of the bazaar or its physical construct. This chapter argues that the growing number of interdisciplinary studies on the bazaar has largely excluded its spatiality and physical importance. This is despite the fact that within architecture and urban studies, the bazaar has been mainly understood as a multi-functional fixed architectonic ‘object’. Thus, going through different existing materials and studies, a gap emerges between the bazaar’s form and content.

The second chapter of this thesis, entitled *On ‘Territory’*, departs from the problems raised in the first chapter and proposes an alternative discursive framework to study the bazaar by hypothesizing it as a ‘territorial entity’. This chapter serves as a brief introduction to the discourse on territory. The reason for this concise introduction on territory is twofold. On the one hand, it intends to present the complexity inherent in the notion of territory. On the other hand, it highlights a certain momentum that arose when the discussion on territory became crucial within architectural discourse. Here territory is understood to be both spatial and temporal, and it constitutes a precondition, process, project and product. Although this introduction does not claim to be a comprehensive theoretical and historical review, its main concern is to employ a fresh lens for approaching and conceptualizing the bazaar as a ‘territorial entity’. Hence, the last part – *Conceptualization* – proceeds through the two main frameworks of ‘whereness’ and ‘whatness’, as explained above. On the one hand, by framing the notion of territory in the Iranian context the aim is to demonstrate its cultural and spatial specificities and decipher the characteristics of ‘where’ the bazaar is located. On the other hand, a territorial understanding of the bazaar makes it possible to engage with its spatial complexity, fluidity and multivalent forces involved in its formation.

This last part – *Conceptualization* – includes the last four chapters of the thesis. The aim of ‘whereness’ is to deliver a certain immanent understanding of the territory in a geographical and geopolitical sense (chapter three), and the territoriality as a way of world making (chapter four). These territorialities are discussed under extensive nomadic and intensive sedentary (*dehqani*) territoriality, coexisting on the Iranian Plateau. These two chapters do not directly discuss the bazaar, rather they experiment within a larger epistemic framework to formulate certain lenses to express the bazaar’s ‘whatness.’ By that I mean, what it is and what it does and how these various territorialities take form in the bazaar.

Finally, the last two chapters – five and six – represent a different reading of the primary

<sup>40</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 71-72.

spatial notion of the bazaar as a territorial entity. Based on the notions discussed in the previous chapters, the fifth chapter posits the bazaar as a space of infrastructure and the sixth chapter frames the bazaar as a place of inhabitation. Although separating these two chapters seems arbitrary, in fact, it is impossible to make a clean distinction between these notions. It is precisely for that reason that the content of these two chapters is extremely interwoven and interrelated. The aim of these two chapters is to discuss the bazaar's 'whatness' through the assemblage<sup>41</sup> of extensive nomadic territoriality and intensive sedentary territoriality, space/place, infrastructure/architecture and movement/ inhabitation. (see Appendix)

<sup>41</sup> There are many theoretical elaborations around the notion of assemblage. According to Manuel Delanda's reading of Deleuze and Guattari, the assemblage is not just a collection of things and practices. Rather, it is 'the synthesis of the properties of a whole not reducible to its parts' and 'the parts of an assemblage do not form a seamless whole'. So the whole is a 'contingent ensemble' within which the relations between parts and 'emergent properties' transcend the parts. As Stuart Elden explains 'the notion of assemblage seeks to capture the plural, heterogeneous, contested, and multiple elements that coalesce only to break apart and re-form in the urban fabric, its continual transformation and contestation.' In this thesis, I use the term assemblage in a descriptive manner rather than theoretically. As a descriptive term it provides possibilities to transgress modernist dualisms such as nature-culture, body-technology, infrastructure-inhabitation and inside- outside. In this sense, according to Colin McFarlane, it often functions as a way of knowledge production alert to compositional alignment and realignment. It involves both spatial and temporal multiplicities. Manuel De Landa, *A new philosophy of society: assemblage theory and social complexity* (London: Continuum, 2006); Stuart Elden, *The Birth of territory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 17; and Colin McFarlane, 'The city as assemblage: dwelling and urban space,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, v. 29 (2011): 649 – 671.



## **CHAPTER ONE: Conceptualizing the bazaar: An overview**

1.1. Introduction

1.2. The problem of the bazaar's origin

1.3. Overview

1.3.1. The bazaar as an exotic/romantic 'image'

1.3.2. The bazaar as a component of the Islamic/Middle Eastern city 'model'

1.3.3. The bazaar as an architectural 'type'

1.3.4. The bazaar as a socio-political or socio-economic 'organization'

1.4. Problematization



## 1.1. Introduction

The word *bazaar* has a variety of meanings. Not only does it have implications in different disciplines, but also it carries various definitions. Initially, this chapter discusses several historiographical narratives proposed by various scholars to qualify the origin of the bazaar. Indeed, it appears that these narratives are diverse and sometimes contradictory. The problem of the bazaar's genesis, as identified by this thesis, is strongly rooted in how it is defined and conceived in the first place. Hence, this chapter continues by mapping some of the key definitions and conceptions of the bazaar in different disciplines.

This overview does not claim to comprehensively cover the wide range of studies exploring the Iranian bazaar. To give an idea of the extent of available literature on the bazaar, a book was published in 1993 called *Bibliography of the Bazaar*, which listed approximately 1,500 books and articles that covered 'the architectural, cultural, economic, religious, and social aspects of the bazaar in the world of Islam'.<sup>1</sup> This publication came out two years after a colloquium – 'The Bazaar in the Culture and Civilization of the World of Islam' – organized by the Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation and the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization and it included books and articles in English, French, German, and Farsi.

One of the main efforts of this chapter is to first identify gaps in the existing definitions and conceptions, and then propose a terrain where these multivalent studies can converge. It stresses the need for an alternative theoretical argument that embraces the complexity of the bazaar's spatial presence, one that avoids the conventional presumptions and generalizations in existing discourses, on the one hand, and goes beyond the mere description of the bazaar's functions or forms, on the other.

This overview consists of four sub-sections. The first three sub-sections focus on the perception and conception of the bazaar's physical and morphological aspects in the available materials. The sources described in this section are diverse, ranging from film and photography to literary studies and schemes by scholars in urban sociology, urban geography, architecture and urban history. These sub-sections also review some of the major conceptions and perceptions of the bazaar in historical and physical accounts in textual, visual and archival materials. These materials have been frequently cited and are still used today.

The first sub-section – 1.3.1. *The bazaar as an exotic/romantic 'image'* – presents an image of the bazaar as it is often perceived and projected in photography and film. What is interesting here is not only how the bazaar has been projected as a romantic or exotic labyrinthine space, but also how these forms of media have succeeded in projecting the bazaar as an extensive interior.

The second sub-section – 1.3.2. *The bazaar as a component of the Islamic/Middle Eastern city 'model'* – questions some of the most debatable conceptions and definitions proposed by the

<sup>1</sup> Mahmoud Abdullahzadeh, ed., *Bibliography of Bazaar* (Tehran: Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation & Organization of Cultural Heritage, 1993).

'Islamic city' discourse. The original aim of these scholarly works was to establish a model of an 'Islamic city', which was sometimes also referred to as an 'oriental city'. Indeed, the bazaar was a main element in the structure of this model. The main sources used for these works were archival materials and, as will be discussed later, the bazaar became an important concept and conveyor of the 'Islamic' foundation of the city. Here, by constructing a comparative 'Weberian model', together with other elements such as the mosque, citadel and hammam, for example, the bazaar composed a 'model' for the 'Islamic city'.

The third sub-section – 1.3.3. *The Bazaar as an architectural 'type'* – outlines a shift that occurred in critiques of the discourse on the 'oriental' and the 'Islamic city' following the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in the 1970s. These critiques doubted and questioned the relevance of the 'Islamic' foundation of the city. Instead, the focus shifted to typo-morphological studies of the bazaar, field research and mapping. During this period, some valuable work was carried out mainly by urban geographers and urban historians. I refer specifically to the extensive studies by Eugen Wirth and Heinz Gaube, whose research focused on Iranian bazaars. In their studies, the bazaar was presented as a traditional architectural type with a multi-functional complex system.

The last sub-section – 1.3.4. *The bazaar as a socio-political or socio-economic 'organization'* – considers the bazaar mainly as a socio-political or economic system, network, institution or social class with hardly any reference to its physical aspect. Although this sub-section is rather short compared to the others, it constitutes a large part of bazaar's existing studies, both in terms of the quantity of output and the quality of the definitions, and it certainly dominates the studies that deal with the spatiality of the bazaar or its physical construct. This sub-section engages the social-historical studies of some prominent scholars such as Ahmad Ashraf, Nikki Keddie, Howard Rotblat and Clifford Geertz. In this section, I mainly rely on Arang Keshavarzian's commentary in his book *Bazaar and State in Iran* to provide a summary of the existing definitions and conceptions of the bazaar in other disciplines including sociology, anthropology and political economy.

This chapter concludes with an overview of how the bazaar has been perceived, received, defined and presented. The aim is to locate these various conceptions, definitions, perceptions and presentations within their scholarly context, and also to reveal the methods and tools that were used to grasp, project and present these definitions, conceptions and perceptions. This chapter renders their shortcomings and thus it formulates the research questions and its hypothesis.

## **1.2. The problem of the bazaar's origin**

In the search for the genesis of the bazaar, scholars have taken very different paths and made diverse assumptions. This diversity, as this sub-section intends to show, arises mainly from the problem of defining the bazaar. Historical studies of the bazaar can be subdivided

in two distinct categories: The first group of scholars delved into Greco-Roman heritage to search for the origin of the bazaar. To do this, these studies compared the different parts of the bazaar to various archetypes, such as ancient market halls or colonnaded street passages. Among this group of scholars, Jean Sauvaget, a French orientalist and historian, is credited as being a pioneer as a result of his use of French cadastral surveys.<sup>2</sup> Sauvaget's scheme, which represented the chronological '(d)evolution' of the Byzantine colonnaded street of Syrian cities (Damascus, Laodicea, Aleppo, etc.) to a 'teeming bazaar' of an 'Islamic city', is emblematic and has been often cited and reproduced by later scholars.<sup>3</sup>

Fig. 1.1

Another example can be found in an influential article from 1985 entitled 'From Polis to Medina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria'<sup>4</sup> written by Hugh Kennedy, a British medieval historian, specialised in the historical studies of the Islamic Middle East. In this article, Kennedy expanded Sauvaget's diagram to other areas of the Mediterranean. Although this article examines the chronological changes from the Greek and Byzantine city to the Muslim conquest and does not necessarily focus on discovering the bazaar's origin. Kennedy proposes several reasons for this transformation and eventually concludes:

City-based government and increased commercial activity resulting from the opening up of land-routes in the Middle East saw the emergence of a new type of city whose design derived not from the ordered urban environment of classical antiquity but rather from the chaotic plan of the sixth-century town out of which it grew.<sup>5</sup>

What is important to mention here is that this article was published in 1985, years after the emergence of the new critical view problematizing earlier statements and studies on the 'Islamic city'. Hence, Kennedy harshly questions the primacy of 'Islam' as the main factor for the transformation of the classical city to the formation of 'Islamic city':

Early Muslim society did not deliberately choose to develop towns with narrow winding streets out of any conscious aesthetic of cultural preference, and the idea that there is something in the spirit of the 'Islamic City' should not be entertained by serious urban historians.<sup>6</sup>

Although later scholars reviewed and partially criticized these ideas they confirmed Sauvaget's starting points. They continued breaking down the bazaar into various architectonic

<sup>2</sup> Giulia Annalina Neglia, 'Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City,' in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Jayyusi, Salma Khadra, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Sauvaget, R. P. R. Mouterde and R. P. B. Mouterde, 'Le Plan De LODICÉE-SUR-MER,' *Bulletin d'études orientales T. 4* (1934): 81-116, accessed September 10, 2015; Jean Sauvaget, 'Le plan antique de Damas,' *Syria. Tome 26 fascicule 3-4* (1949): 314-358.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Kennedy, 'From Polis to Medina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria,' *Past & Present, No. 106* (Feb., 1985): 3-27.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

elements to search for comparable archetypes in the context of Roman and Byzantine cities. These investigations mostly focused on certain case studies that did not include Iranian cities. However, out of these investigations a ‘model’ for the ‘Islamic city’ was derived which was considered relevant for a vast geography including the Iranian territory. For instance, Eugen Wirth, a German geographer, by referring to the ideas of Sauvaget about the origins of the bazaar stated that despite their similarities, antique shops are of course far from being a bazaar.<sup>7</sup> Although he considered these theories to be oversimplifications, he used the same point of departure – i.e. to break down the bazaar into several architectonic elements. However, he proposed a more complex and layered hypothetical procedure for this evolution.

Wirth suggested that in this hypothetical process the alleys of the bazaar evolved from Roman colonnaded streets, although he had his doubts about the origins of their coverage; the mosque replaces the agora; the bazaar’s halls (such as the *bedestan*, *qeysarieh* and *timche*) are the successors of basilicas; and khans, or what he defines as the courtyard buildings with a wholesale and foreign trade function, have their origins outside the city in those lockable buildings with arcaded courtyards, known to both Romans and Sassanid as *caravanserais*.<sup>8</sup> Wirth’s hypothesis about the genesis of the bazaar is significantly informed by his definition and conceptualization of the bazaar as a system that is composed of various functions: colonnaded alleys, *khans* and covered halls, which will be discussed in length later in this chapter.

The second group of rather recent scholars, mainly Iranian writers, investigated the origin of the bazaar as a place of trade that belonged chronologically to a pre-Islamic period and emerged geographically within the territory of Persian Empire. In this category of historical studies, one group renders the bazaar as an urban phenomenon. The archaeological finding of commerce and artisans’ workshops led this group to construct a history of the bazaar as a marketplace. For example, the seminal book by the Iranian architecture historian Husayn Sultanzade, *Bazaars of Iran*,<sup>9</sup> seeks the origins of the bazaar in the archaeological report entitled *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, co-edited by M.I. Rostovtzeff.<sup>10</sup> Rostovtzeff himself was an outstanding Russian ancient historian, considered a pioneer for combining philology and archaeology in the writing of ancient history and infusing archaeological findings into historiography.<sup>11</sup> Rostovtzeff led the excavation of Dura Europos in the 1930s, and *The Agora and Bazaar* is the first part of a series.

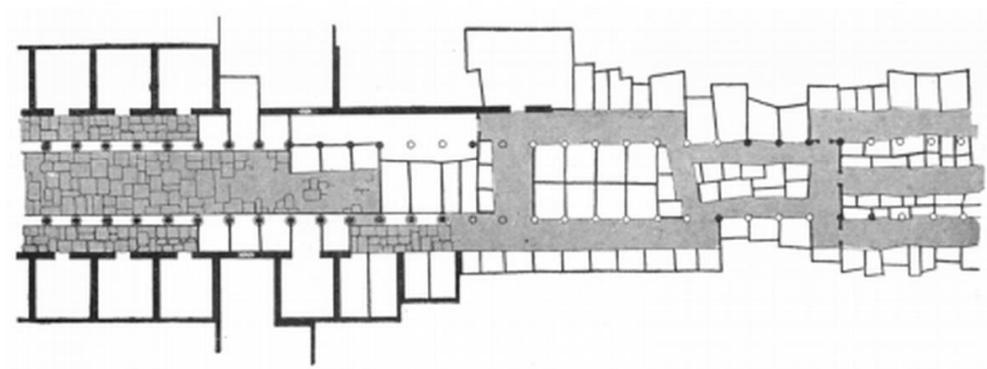
<sup>7</sup> Eugen Wirth, ‘Zum Problem des Bazars (Suq, çarsi).’ *Der Islam* 52/1 (1975): 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 6-12.

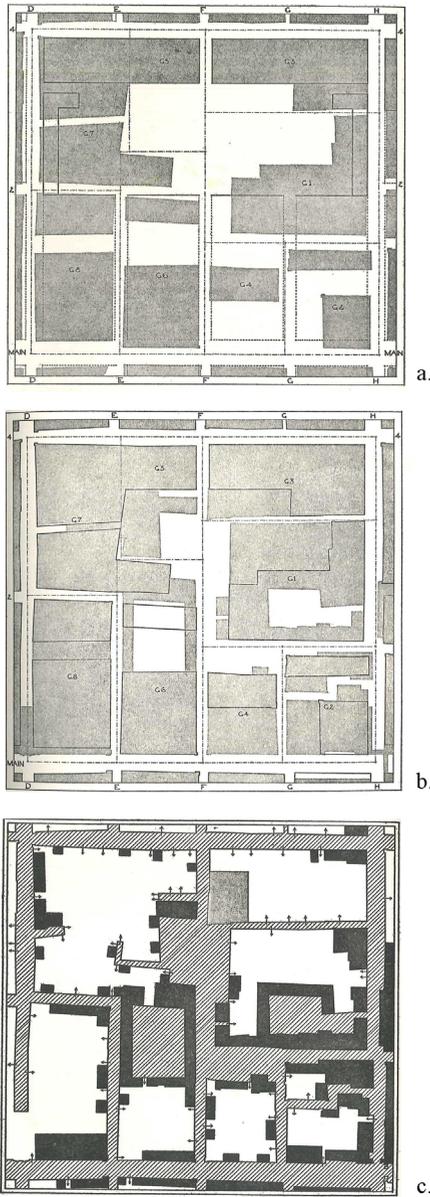
<sup>9</sup> Husayn Sultanzade, *Bazaar-ha-ye Irani or Iranian bazaars* (Tehran: Cultural research bureau, 2001), 12-20.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Part 1: The Agora and Bazaar* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944).

<sup>11</sup> G.W.Bowersock, ‘The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, by Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtzeff,’ *Daedalus* 103, no. 1 (1974): 15-23.



1.1: A scheme showing the transformation of an ancient *sug* from the colonnaded street (grey indicates the public axis, while the bold lines and bold circles correspond to ancient columns and masonry)



1.2: Dura Europos, Bazaar, Section G; the lines show the preexisting Seleucid structure of the section G, with the agora on top and the four residential blocks at the lower area of the section. While the gray filled surfaces illustrate the overlay of the new structures of the bazaar during the Parthian domination; (a) first century BC – second century CE. (b) second century CE – 256 CE.

In this report, Rostovtzeff proposes a transformative conversion from a Seleucid agora to a Parthian oriental bazaar. Controversially, in this transformation he only acknowledges the programmatic continuity from the agora to the bazaar as the focus of ‘the business life’ in the geographical centrality of the city, and he refrains from recognizing any formal or structural connection between these architectural entities:

Fig. 1.2

All our evidence indicates clearly that with the withdrawal of Seleucid rule and [of] direct and sustained Hellenistic influence on Dura was bound up the abandonment of the Greek conception of the agora as the characteristic expression of the economic life of the city. Neither as a formal concept nor as a reality could the agora subsist by itself under the new conditions.<sup>12</sup>

However, while Sultanzade refers to the bazaar’s central location in the plan of Dura Europos and Rostovtzeff’s excavation report, he mentions it as a Parthian city and totally dismisses the Hellenistic foundation. Furthermore, he does not distinguish between any conceptual, physical or formal characteristics in the bazaar of Dura Europos and what he studies in more detail in his book on Iranian bazaars after the Islamic period. Hence, here the bazaar is considered to be something between a place of trade, an economic urban centre and a marketplace, though the author does not specify exactly what constitutes the bazaar.

On the other hand, other scholars suggest that the bazaar has an anti-urban origin. One of the most cited books in this category is *Az Shar ta Shahr [de la Cité a la Ville]*<sup>13</sup>, written by Seyyed Mohsen Habibi, a well-established Iranian scholar in architecture and urban history and theory. This book focuses on the various forces at play in the formation and transformation of the Iranian city, which Habibi summarizes under three main categories: worldview, economy and environment, from the Median period until today. In this book, the bazaar is understood to be a place of trade and economy that originates from the [temporal] markets operating outside the city. Thus, the author describes a process in which the bazaar becomes integrated into the city centre from its outside. Drawing on the same familiar chronological Iranian history – based on monarchic periodization, Ahmad Purahmad, another Iranian scholar in urban geography, describes the same process of emergence of the bazaar outside the city and slowly penetrating into the city<sup>14</sup> in his book *Geography and Function*

<sup>12</sup> M. I. Rostovtzeff, ed., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, PART 1: The Agora and Bazaar* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944): 43.

<sup>13</sup> Seyyed Mohsen Habibi, *Az Shar ta Shahr [de la Cité a la Ville]* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 2006).

<sup>14</sup> Other scholars such as Ahmad Ashraf, who is one of the most prominent scholars of sociology and social history of Iran, argues in various articles for a similar periodic historical emergence of the bazaar as a socio-economic organization in the city. I will discuss Ashraf’s discursive contribution to the study of the bazaar later in this chapter. See Ahmad Ashraf, ‘Vijegi-ha-ye Tarikh-e Shahr Neshini dar Iran: Dore-ye Eslami (The characteristics of urbanity in Iran: Islamic period),’ *Name-ye Oloum-e Ejtema’i*, no. 4 (1353/1974): 7-49 and Ahmad Ashraf, ‘Tadavom-e Barkhi az Vijegi-ha-ye Tarikhi-ye Zendegi-ye Shahri dar Iran (The Continuation of some of the historical characteristics of urban life in Iran),’ *Arash*, no. 26 (1360/1981): 132-155. Though it must be noted that a proper discussion and review on these scholarly works is complex and beyond the scope of this thesis.

*of Kerman Bazaar*.<sup>15</sup>

My aim here, by providing this short overview of existing scholarly works on the origin and genesis of the bazaar, is not to examine the legitimacy of these various hypotheses; rather, I would argue that perhaps what is imprecise and even absent in this search for an origin is the definition of the bazaar itself. As Arang Keshavarzian states, even though the bazaar has had an important place in scholarly works in Iranian, Islamic and Middle Eastern studies during the last century and across various disciplines, its definition has not always received the necessary critical reflection. Scholars, writers and journalists 'take it as a matter of fact that the bazaar exists like it always has'.<sup>16</sup> When the bazaar is mentioned or studied, the assumption is that we all know where and what it is: the centre of economy, a centre of business or commerce, a market [place], a place of trade, etc. For that reason, most of the studies on the bazaar simply avoid defining or conceptualizing it.

... it is one of those epithets, not unlike 'rural' or 'provincial,' which conjures up ideals and stereotypes that embody both the pristine and the pejorative. For some, the bazaar and its inhabitants hark back to a pure and moral life, while others depict it as a bastion of mindless traditionalism and vulgar mercantilism. Moreover, western travelogues and popular culture envelop the bazaar's traditionalism with exoticism and otherness.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, it seems necessary here to have a closer look at these various definitions and conceptions. By providing a summary of the ways in which the bazaar has been presented, framed and defined, we might even ask if in general the search for a specific origin, rooted in a specific time and place, makes sense at all.

### 1.3. Overview

This section draws on some of the most commonly used definitions, conceptions, perceptions and presentations of the bazaar. The first three sub-sections focus on conceptions and definitions that crystallize the bazaar's physical and spatial presence. The point of convergence here is the acknowledgement of the bazaar as an urban or architectural construct. The aim here is to identify the architectural terms, conceptions and presentations used to describe the bazaar, but also to contextualize them within the main body of their scholarly work and discourse.

The last sub-section, however, renders the bazaar as a socio-economic and socio-political class, system or institution. The authors of these scholarly works consider the physical aspect of the bazaar as something secondary or unimportant. They are concerned with what

<sup>15</sup> Ahmad Purahmad, *Geography and Function of Kerman Bazaar* (Kerman: Markaz-i Kirmānshīnāsī, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 40.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

Keshavarzian calls the content of the bazaar,<sup>18</sup> such as the interrelations between *bazaaris*: i.e. their organization, the politics of the trade and their power relations, their form of economic or social interaction and so on.

In that sense, it seems necessary to clarify the meaning of the term *bazaari* here, since it will recur throughout the dissertation. '*Bazaari*' literally means 'attributed to the bazaar' or 'from the bazaar', and it often refers to those who have their shops and workshops in the bazaar or somehow operate within the bazaar.<sup>19</sup> Defining the term *bazaari* is riddled with as much uncertainty as defining the bazaar, and I will encounter this problem throughout my overview. However, what is of interest in the literal meaning of the word is its attribution to the bazaar itself, suggesting that the bazaar is somehow crucial in defining *bazaari*. This is a point that most studies of the bazaar seem to have missed, as we will see.

### 1.3.1. The bazaar as an exotic/romantic 'image'<sup>20</sup>

In this section I will touch on some of the dominant elucidations and representations of the bazaar in non-academic writings, public media, cinema, and photography and travelogues. What this sub-section aims to show is that the bazaar's depictions both spatially and as a way of life have been constantly shifting between certain stereotypes: from the romantic to exotic, and from backward and greedy, to moral and chivalrous. Which of these stereotypes one tends to lean towards depends on the context in which the bazaar is discussed and the dominant ideologies prevailing in the debate.

In the introduction to the book *The Persian Bazaar: Veiled Space of Desire*, which is a rather random collection of architectural depictions of the bazaar, mainly photographs and some drawings, Oleg Grabar, a well-known art historian focusing on Islamic art, writes:

For all those who have been in an Iranian bazaar, even in a relatively, modern one like Tehran's, there lingers forever the memory of a wonderfully mysterious area in which known and unknown goods emerged from unexpected places, and people, dressed in many different ways, wandered under beautiful arches and domes of baked brick. It seemed like a remote and exciting world of its own, unique and changeless.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Keshavarzian uses the term 'content' while trying to explain how the different guilds in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran have been replaced by new ones in terms of their content. In this and next chapter, I will return to this point to make some concluding remarks about it.

<sup>19</sup> Dehkhoda Dictionary, s.v [bazaar].

<sup>20</sup> The term 'image' in this section indicates in a broader sense an act of representing and picturing. So in that sense, it not only refer to the visual representation of things, ideas or events, but it also includes textual and mental forms of reflection.

<sup>21</sup> Oleg Grabar, 'Trade, Shopping, and Architecture,' in *The Persian Bazaar, Veiled space of Desire*, ed. Mehdi Khansari and Minouch Yavari, (Mage Pub: 1st edition, August 1993), 7.

The architecture of the bazaar was an experience of discovery; it created a mystery in which both men and things played a strange role, only partly defined through their specific function of selling and making or of buying and waiting to be bought. By its skilful manipulation of light and of built surfaces, this architecture sought to attract and to fascinate. Together with the noises, the smells, and the visual festival of colourful items on display, it proclaimed the complexity of life and something of its illusory quality. Everything may be possible and available, but perhaps nothing is real.<sup>22</sup>

These descriptions can be referred to as the 'locus classicus' for the presentation of the bazaar. and by that I mean its publicly recurrent presentation. It is something of an authoritative passage in the depiction of the bazaar as a past which remained the same 'since time immemorial'.<sup>23</sup>

These kinds of descriptions communicate the most immediate perceptual and spatial experiences that one might have by being in the bazaar, the narrow dark corridors with rhythmic skylights and the arrows of light, the crowds, the chaos, the confetti of colourful goods, smells, the ubiquitous open courtyards. A passage from *Persian Pictures*, a travelogue by Gertrude Bell published in 1928, depicts the Bazaar of Tehran as follows:

The whole bazaar resounds with talk, with the cries of the mule-drivers, the tinkling bells of the caravans, and the blows of the smiths' hammers. The air is permeated with the curious smell, half musty, half aromatic, of fruits and frying meats, merchandise and crowded humanity. The light comes from the top through a round hole in each of the countless tiny domes of the roof; through each hole falls a shaft of brilliant sunshine, cutting the surrounding darkness like a sword, and striking the hurrying multitude in successive flashes, white turban and bright-colored robe gleaming-fading, gleaming-fading, in an endless sequence of sun and shadow, as their wearers pass to and fro.<sup>24</sup>

These descriptions, including both Iranian and Western sources, tend to communicate a holistic impression of a 'traditional' bazaar and they might refer to either extend of a divagation on 'otherness'. 'Otherness' can be referred to as 'other that we were', i.e. an authentic image and an authentic past, or 'other that they are', i.e. something outside of a known realm, which therefore carries with it an element of curiosity and enigma as well as strangeness and uncertainty. Hence, depending on the context wherein the bazaar is depicted, it has been stereotyped as romantic and familiar, exotic yet romantic or exotic and uncanny.

In particular, the experience of walking through the narrow and semi-dark *rastebs*

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>23</sup> This static immortal image of the bazaar has often been presented in newspapers, public media and travel guides. For example, see *New York Times*, November 7, 1961.

<sup>24</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Safar nameh: Persian pictures* (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1894), 15-16.

(pathways) of the bazaar has been a dominant description.

More narrow, squalid streets bring you to the bazaar, where, though little really beautiful or precious is to be found, the thronging Oriental life is in itself an endless source of delight. Ride through it on a summer morning, when its vaulted coolness will offer you a grateful shelter from the sun, and before its activity has been hushed by the heat of mid-day.<sup>25</sup>

The crowded image of the bazaar fulfils the role of giving a cultural and geographical vantage point: you are somewhere in the Islamic world. Hence, it is presented as a typical image of the Orient, Persia or the Islamic world<sup>26</sup> which ‘takes you to the past’.<sup>27</sup>

This oriental vantage point used by Western observers has created a conception that depicts the bazaar as a labyrinthine and exotic space. For example, this is precisely the lens used in the Hollywood movie *Argo*, directed by Ben Affleck in 2012, to capture the bazaar scene. This movie narrates the CIA’s operation of using a fake sci-fi movie to rescue sixty-six American diplomats and citizens from Tehran during the 1979-1981 Iran hostage crisis. Overshadowed by the religious and political climate of the *bazāaris*, here the bazaar is depicted as a dark labyrinth full of bearded men and heavily veiled women. Objects are suspended everywhere. The dissonant noise of shouts and carriages fills the background of the main characters’ dialogues. The bazaar is a tortuous chaotic space that evokes feelings of estrangement in the main characters of the movie, i.e. the American diplomats. This feeling of estrangement and discomfort is also emphasized through the heavy gazes of *bazāaris*, who suspiciously watch the strangers. The space is unwelcoming and uncomfortable. The contrast between the dark space of the bazaar and the light coming from the ceiling’s openings is stressed, and occasionally a single ray of light illuminates the faces of the main characters. In this representation of the bazaar, the space has no depth; it is almost as flat as an image which is constantly repeated like a space folded upon itself; and hence it emphasizes this labyrinthine image.

The whole bazaar seems to be an inconsistent accumulation of people and goods. In this sense, the walk through the bazaar stresses the imbalanced presence of subjects and objects, and a building one could refer to as the bazaar is in fact missing. The impression of this space is supposed to communicate to the viewer a frightening and turbulent atmosphere in Iran during the years following the revolution of 1979, which led to the rise of an Islamic republic in Iran. The bazaar here deliberately frames the backward image of religious people: sceptical of Western strangers walking into their territory.

Fig. 1.3

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>26</sup> The bazaar is an essential element for the description of the Orient. But it was also an important element for defining a model of the Islamic city. I will further elaborate on this Islamic and oriental discourse in this chapter.

<sup>27</sup> Shahrokh Dastur-Tabar, ‘Hojrehha-ye Gadimi, Bozorgtarin markaz-e Dad va Setad-e Tehran’, *Talash* 75 (Day 2536, 1356 [January 1978]):57. Quoted in Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 53.



1.3: Some scenes from the movie *Argo*, directed by Ben Affleck in 2012.

This depiction of the bazaar as a labyrinth has a precedent in the writings of early orientalists. In her book *Re-imagining the city*, Somaiyeh Falahat promotes this labyrinthine image of the bazaar, on the one hand, and the 'Islamic city', on the other hand, which prevails in orientalist literature by European scholars in the early decades of the 20th century.<sup>28</sup>

In fact, an allegory of a labyrinth carries several references to the ways in which the bazaar was perceived. The construction of the idea of the labyrinth goes back to Greek mythology, where the labyrinth was an intricate structure created by Daedalus, the legendary architect. It was designed for Cretan King Minos to hold captive his wife's son: the Minotaur – a mythical creature with the body of a man and the head of a bull – who was eventually killed by Theseus. As a prison, the structure of the labyrinth was so complex that even Daedalus himself could barely escape after completing it.

The analogy of the labyrinth evokes a terrifying sense of haziness and confusion by virtue of being trapped. It delivers a complexity that is not only the result of the form of architecture, but which is also raised by its perceptual understanding. There is a fantasy of wandering connected to it, a territorial enclosure which goes beyond mere imprisonment. It demarcates a territory by imposing predefined movements and passages. It contains and intensifies the hope and desire for imagined emancipation. And through these spatial arrangements, the labyrinth communicates this metaphorical, perceptual and spatial haziness. Something which accurately represents the perception of the bazaar's scene captured in *Argo*.

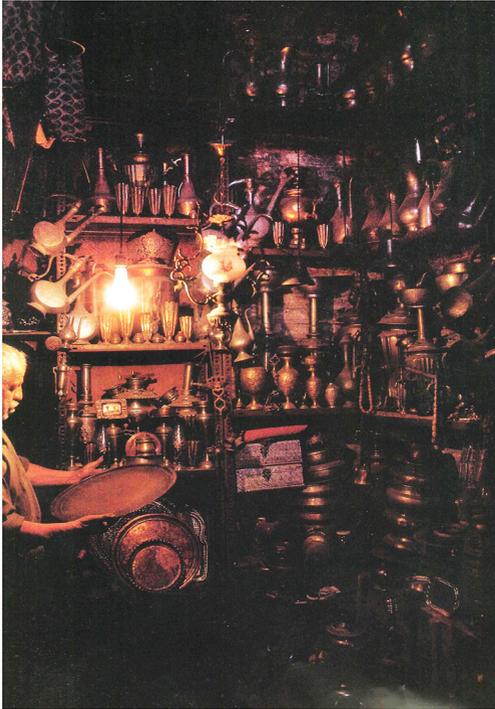
In another example, traveller and writer Walter M. Weiss and photographer Kurt-Michael Westermann envisage the bazaar as an enigma by describing it as a 'city within a city', to show that the bazaar 'is much more than just a picturesque maze of workshops and shops'.<sup>29</sup> In their book, *The Bazaar: Markets and Merchants of the Islamic World*, Weiss and Westermann directed their attention to the 'life' itself. They positioned the bazaar at the heart of life in the 'Orient', at the core of which is the religion of Islam as a spiritual phenomenon. The latter, in turn, functions as the main factor in regulating interaction and exchange anywhere in the 'Orient'. This book is an investigation into the bazaar with a brief history of trade, the influence of Islam and its teachings on trade. It also discusses the major trade routes. A section on *bazaaris* and their goods covers their techniques, daily life and the effects of modern life on their livelihood.

Fig. 1.4

Weiss and Westermann capture this historiographical description in a combination of text and photography that depicts various bazaars from Aleppo to Samarkand. This amalgam of text and photography proves to be effective in presenting a romantic view of

<sup>28</sup> In her book *Re-imagining the city*, Somayyeh Falahat delves into the historical and theoretical formation of the labyrinth and labyrinthine in European mythology, literature and architecture and their various interpretations. She promotes this recurrent image while describing the bazaar and to larger extent the city in the discourse on the 'Islamic city'. Eventually, by questioning its reasoning and relevance, she proposes an alternative concept 'inspired by the structure of mystery in the literature of the region'. For further reading, see Somayyeh Falahat, *Re-imagining the city: a new conceptualisation of the urban logic of the 'Islamic city'* (Wiesbaden: Springer Vieweg 2014).

<sup>29</sup> Walter Michael and Kurt-Michael Westermann, *The Bazaar: Markets and Merchants of the Islamic World* (New York: WW Norton & Co Inc, 2001), 7.



1.4: Photographs by Westermann from the book *The Bazaar: Markets and Merchants of the Islamic World*. Top left: the Madhat Pasha *suq* in Damascus. Top right: Qalamkar hand-printed fabric: a shop in the Qeysarieh Bazaar of Isfahan. Below: coppersmiths' bazaar, Isfahan.

an extraordinary normality. A normality which is also enigmatic, and which is presented through the specific framing of the bazaar, captured through the contrast of colours, light and shadow, and the detailed description of daily life.

Although in this book Weiss pays specific attention to some interesting issues such as ‘the importance and use of water’, the journey aims to present a kind of ‘otherness’ to the ‘collective imagination of the West’.<sup>30</sup> And as it turns out, the bazaar is a fitting choice as the focal of daily experience and normality.

The mass media tend to oversimplify; they see everything in black and white. In their search for ‘bogeyman’ they have found plenty of material in the Arab world in recent years. As so often since the time of the Crusades, East and West see each other, in different ways, as a threat. But in both East and West it is the aggressive propagandists and not the quiet thinkers who attract attention, and so in the collective imagination of the West every Muslim becomes a feared and unpredictable fanatic.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to Weiss’s critique of existing orientalist approaches in his introduction, he also tries to familiarize his readers with the sense of estrangement that they have with something that they perceive to be ‘exotic’. He describes the bazaar as a labyrinth which slowly becomes familiar as one walks through it.

At first, it can be slightly terrifying. As you enter the bazaar, your senses are assaulted by thousands of smells – blood and balm and spices and dung... but the longer you stroll through the labyrinth, the more you will be carried along by the flow. You will never tire, never get enough of it, and the chances are that your attention will soon be caught by some exquisite object.<sup>32</sup>

In this sense, the book concludes that:

However untouched many of the bazaars might seem at first sight, their traditional features – old buildings and trades, customs and values and aesthetic perceptions – are increasingly threatened by western technology and industry.<sup>33</sup>

That traditional static image of the bazaar seems to be evoked again here, but it is more of a romantic past and ‘otherness’ that is being threatened by ‘western technology and industry’. Similarly, Jalal Al-e Ahmad, a distinguished Iranian essayist and proto-Islamist social critic, wrote in his letter to the mayor of Tehran in 1958:

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Destroy the arches of the bazaar, so we can use more Japanese sheet metal and Belgian and Russian glass... I am surprised that there is no one in this huge municipality that knows that the spirit and authenticity (esalat) of Tehran is the bazaars.<sup>34</sup>

This persistence in perceiving the bazaar as something static and bound to the past is rooted in the question of modernity and applying modernization theories to the bazaar. In fact, referring to the bazaar as a traditional type, it is rendered as contrasting with modern, and thus the bazaar becomes an entity that is hardly relevant to today's condition. Here, the modern is used as a synonym for the West and to become modern is to act like the West.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, this transition reflects 'an organic procession from traditionalism to modernity',<sup>36</sup> and the Western experience is perceived as the obvious model for this process.<sup>37</sup>

This state of being traditional has been a stereotypical depiction of the bazaar that extends from its spatial description to the way it captures a way of life, which is also reflected in the Weiss's book. It encompasses 'economic forms, political sensibilities, social relations and ideological persuasions'. All of these fall under the title of 'traditional', which according to Keshavarzian has informed the ways in which *bazaaris* have been described and presented in both Iranian and Western writings, films and by the public media.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> This letter was published in *Shalamcheh* 2, no. 13 (Mordad 1376 [August 1997]): 6–7 and 10. Quoted in Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 53.

<sup>35</sup> Recent scholars have expressed serious reservations about this interpretation of modernity. Timothy Mitchell is among recent critics of this understanding of modernity. In his book, *Question of modernity*, he proposes a more complex, rigorous and multifaceted understanding of how the modern comes about by questioning both the geographical space and temporality of dominant modernization theories. Instead, he proposes to take the local, non-universal, non-Western element into account. In the case of the bazaar in Iran, this topic is highly intricate, and it includes the discussion on processes, agents, structures and [physical] elements and is certainly beyond the scope of this thesis. However, just to refer to a few simple and the most immediate examples regarding the role of the bazaaris in modernization processes: several 'modern' institutions and structures in Iran were initially supported by rich and powerful bazaaris and merchants. For example, Haj Amin Al-Zarb established the first public electric power service in Tehran. Furthermore, some of the early factories, as well as companies, banks and infrastructures in different cities, such as textile factory in Isfahan, were constructed by some of the well-known merchants of the time. This topic has not been explored properly yet, however, and it certainly deserves rigorous scholarly attention. Timothy Mitchell, ed., *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis [u.a.]: Univ. of Minnesota Press 2000), 1–34.

<sup>36</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 47.

<sup>37</sup> Among the Western literature, the book *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (1958) by Daniel Lerner is a classic text that specifically analyses a particular approach to the modernization of the Middle Eastern region. Ahmad Ashraf and Nikki Keddie, both prominent scholars of Iranian studies, are two examples who promoted this traditional image of the bazaar by relying on the tradition-modern duality in modernization theories. See: Ahmad Ashraf, 'Bazaar and Mosque in Iran's Revolution,' *MERIP Reports*, No. 113 (Mar. – Apr., 1983), 16–18. Nikki Keddie is a prominent scholar on the history of modern Iran with an emphasis on material culture and geography who used this traditional versus modern type of the bazaar. See Nikki Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 244. Michael Bonine's book, which he co-edited with Keddie, questions these fine 'divisions between the old and new, the traditional and Modern.' See: Michael Bonine, 'Shops and Shopkeepers: Dynamics of an Iranian Provincial Bazaar,' in *Modern Iran: the dialectics of continuity and change*, ed. Nikki Keddie and Michael Bonine (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 233–258. Also, several urban studies – i.e. urban morphology and history and its transformation – relied on the same mode of binary thinking of modern versus tradition in Iranian cities. See for example, Martin Seger, *Teheran eine stadtgeographische Studie* (Wien: Springer-Verlag, 1978).

<sup>38</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 47.

Several Iranian movies and TV series in the 1980s and 1990s depicted this chivalrous and moral way of life rooted in traditions and religious beliefs. For example, in a rather famous TV series directed by Iranian director Akbar Khajavi in the mid-1990s, the main character is an old *bazaari* who symbolizes the patriarchal, traditional father of a big family, living in one of the old neighbourhoods close to the Grand Bazaar of Tehran. The story narrates the challenges that this family faces as a result of the different world views of the father and his younger son.<sup>39</sup> Another example is the writings of the well-known Iranian writer, translator and intellectual Sadeq Hedayat,<sup>40</sup> where the *bazaari* often represents a religious, backward, opportunistic and greedy character.<sup>41</sup>

Contrary to the Western exotic presentation of the bazaar and its spatial discomfort, a movie directed in 1998 by the Iranian director Mohsen Makhmalbaf<sup>42</sup> chooses the bazaar as the ultimate place for the composition of sounds and symphony. Khurshid, the main character of this movie, is a young blind boy who works in a musical instrument workshop tuning the instruments. Every day on his way to work, he passes through the bazaar, where he accumulates and connects all the sounds which compose the fragments and concerns of his life, and in a way they are the culmination of all his sensory experiences: The landlord's knocking on the front door of the house, the metal workers in the bazaar and Khurshid himself humming the same notes as he tunes the musical instruments.

The last scene of the movie shows Khurshid, standing in the metal workers' *rasteh* of the bazaar conducting a symphony. In fact, the blindness of Khurshid forces the viewers to hear the bazaar. A celebration of sensory perception, in this movie Makhmalbaf uses Sufi images and anecdotes to communicate the 'authentic Persian culture'. He refers to the well-known anecdote in Sufi tradition in which Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi,<sup>43</sup> sometime after

<sup>39</sup> This popular TV series, like some others in that period in Iran, was trying to depict and in a way anticipate a common challenge that faced so-called a traditional society as it attempted to deal with the modernization process, in the hope of finding an alternative position that does not necessarily put the one above the other but rather assumes an in-between position in this transition.

<sup>40</sup> Sadeq Hedayat (1903-1951) is considered as one of the greatest Iranian writers of the twentieth century and an influential figure in the Iranian literary revolution – which favoured modernism, nationalism and social criticism – that occurred during the first half of twentieth century. Hedayat was exposed to both Eastern and Western influences in his upbringing and intellectual development. He is often discussed for his fictional nationalist writings, but Hedayat also dealt with the problems, issues and experiences of life, especially in his short stories, through his personal involvement in a cultural context which was unavoidably Iranian. For further reading on the life and works of Sadeq Hedayat, see Homa Katouzian, *Sadeq Hedayat: The Life and Legend of an Iranian Writer* (London, New York: LB. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2002).

<sup>41</sup> See for example Hedayat's *Haji Agha*, trans. G.W. Wickenn, introduction by Lois Beck (Austin, TX: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1979).

<sup>42</sup> Mohsen Makhmalbaf (born May 29, 1957) is an Iranian film director, writer, film editor and producer. Makhmalbaf is a controversial figure, which is also reflected in his movies. The themes of his movies ranges from religious proselytizing to ones that mainly deal with social problems, while his later movies deal with rather philosophical themes and his most recent are poetic films. (*New York Times*, June 8, 1997, by Neil Mac FARQUHAR, <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/06/08/movies/an-unlikely-auteur-from-iran.html>)

<sup>43</sup> Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi, also known as Jalal ad-Dan Muhammad Balkhi, Mawlānā, 'our master', Mevlānā, Mevlevî (*Mawlavi*) and more popularly simply as Rumi (1207–1273), was a thirteenth-century Persian poet,

the disappearance of his spiritual master Shams-e Tabrizi<sup>44</sup> and while walking through the goldsmith's bazaar, starts spinning after listening to the beating sound of hammers on gold.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout the movie, Khurshid's routine passage through the bazaar communicates the experience of his life in fragments of daily routines. And it is only in the final scene that the whole interior of a *rusteh* is shown as the accumulation of all those sensory experiences. Here the depth of the space is emphasized by the rhythmic positions of the lights and objects, and somewhere in the middle Khurshid stands under a ray of light conducting the symphony of the sounds and noises of the bazaar.

Fig. 1.5

Although these various presentations of the bazaar stem from culturally diverse viewpoints and different ideological agendas, what they have in common is this act of constructing an 'image' of the bazaar as an exotic, enigmatic or romantic space. They are recurring stereotypical images. In the first cases, it is the appropriation of an exotic or backward image that turns the bazaar into a stereotype. While others see the romanticization of the bazaar as a tool to look for authenticity in a culture. In all of these cases the media, whether film or photography, can effectively extend this exotic and romantic representation into the whole city and a way of living, by casting the bazaar within the experience of daily life. They all relate the bazaar to a past which is either backward, parochial, exotic and enigmatic, or romantic and authentic. The point here is that the main common problem among these descriptions and presentations is the static and unchanging image of the bazaar, to the extent that it seems to be difficult to relate it to the current state of the city, on the one hand, and ways of living, on the other.

Some of the sources mentioned above, such as the film *Silence* or photographs by Westernmann, depict the bazaar as an extended interiorized space through which one can walk on one's daily path. One can wander, but not necessarily to get lost, and even if so, this state of losing oneself in the space is not negative, rather it is a *dérive* or a way of experiencing the bazaar. Here, the exterior does not exist, what is important is the interior. Thus any comprehensive image of the bazaar as a whole and as an architectural object which has a specific form is missing.

Some other sources, such as *Argo*, give an impression of the bazaar as a labyrinthine space. In fact, this labyrinthine space has a strong architectural reference to any kind of enigma, uncertainty or complex escape. The labyrinthine presentation of the bazaar reflects the immediate experience or expression of estrangement. Perhaps Bernard Tschumi's

jurist, scholar, theologian, and Sufi mystic. Rumi's influence transcends national borders and ethnic divisions: Iranians, Tajiks, Turkish, Greeks, Pashtuns, other Central Asian Muslims, and the Muslims of South Asia have greatly appreciated his spiritual legacy for the past seven centuries. (Wikipedia, under Rumi).

<sup>44</sup> Shams-e-Tabrizi or 'Shams al-Din Mohammad' (1185–1248) was a Persian Sufi, who is credited as the spiritual instructor of Jalal ad-Dīn Muhammad Rumi and is referred to with great reverence in Rumi's poetic collection, in particular *Divan-e Shams-e Tabrizi* (*The Works of Shams of Tabriz*). *Shams* itself is an Arabic name which means 'sun' and it is no coincidence that the name of the young boy in the movie is Khurshid, a Persian name which also means 'sun'. (wikipedia, under Shams Tabrizi)

<sup>45</sup> Lloyd Ridgeon, ed., *Iranian Intellectuals: 1997–2007* (London and New York: Routledge 2008), 139.



1.5: Some scenes of the movie *The Silence* directed by Mohsen Makhmalbaf in 1998.

appropriation of the figure of the labyrinth as non-ideal and an immediate ontological experience in an architectural binary – opposing it to the Pyramid – helps to clarify this notion:

[...] the dark corners of experience [...] where all sensations, all feelings are enhanced, but where no overview is present to provide a clue about how to get out. Occasional consciousness is of little help, for perception in the Labyrinth presupposes immediacy.<sup>46</sup>

This reference is both perceptive and figurative and as Somaiyeh Falahat argues in her book *Re-imagining the city*, it refers to uncertainty, doubt, curiosity, confusion, intricacy and not having a clear understanding of the whole thing.<sup>47</sup>

In a totally different way, however, this lack of total understanding is compensated for in the debate on the ‘Islamic’ and ‘oriental’ city. In this case, the ‘model’ has been employed to simplify and project a totality of a city and its constituent components, of which the bazaar played an important part.

### 1.3.2. The bazaar as a component of the Islamic/Middle Eastern city ‘model’

The concept of the ‘Islamic city’ has long been a disputed topic in the field of ‘Middle Eastern’ and ‘Islamic’ studies. Since the first serious discussions on Islamic cities began around the turn of the twentieth century, much has been written about the formation of the discourse on the ‘Islamic’ and ‘Middle Eastern’ city, and it has remained an ongoing and contested debate.

A recently published book entitled *Is There a Middle East? The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept* problematizes the Middle East nomenclature and its ambiguity from the geographical, historical, cultural and socio-political perspectives. This book defamiliarizes the geographically familiar term ‘Middle East’, which according to Abbas Amanat, one of the editors of the book, has served as a frame for a large body of literature, conferences, university courses and even academic degrees. The ‘Middle Eastern’ city was a much-used term that has been constantly replaced, equated and confused with other terms, such as the ‘oriental’ or ‘Islamic’ city. In the same book, Abbas Amanat also refers to this confusion of terms:

In the accidental way, the Middle East nomenclature entered our geographical horizon enabled many specialists in the West, beginning especially from the late 1950s, to increasingly identify themselves with the nascent field of Middle East studies, then barely distinguishable from Oriental studies or Islamic studies. Decades of scholarship and teaching about this region and its history, society, culture, and politics does not seem to have resolved the Middle East as a puzzling entity.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Bernard Tschumi, ‘The Architectural Paradox’ in *Architecture theory since 1968*, ed. Hays, K. Michael (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000), 224.

<sup>47</sup> Somaiyeh Falahat, *Re-imagining the city*, 51-72.

<sup>48</sup> Michael E. Bonine, Abbas Amanat and Michael Ezekiel Gasper, eds., *Is there a Middle East? The evolution of a*

Despite the obscure<sup>49</sup> conceptual and geographical boundaries of the terms 'Middle Eastern' and 'Islamic' city, a great number of scholarly works in the twentieth century focused on creating and developing the concept of the 'Islamic city'. In 1994, two bibliographic publications on Middle Eastern and Islamic urban studies were issued. The first publication, *The Middle Eastern City and Islamic Urbanism*, is a thick book with more than 7,500 entries covering only Western literature, and what's more, the editors explicitly concentrated on German, English and French sources.<sup>50</sup> Though the second publication, *Islamic Urban Studies: Historical Review and Perspectives*, contains fewer entries (almost one fifth the number of the previous one), it does include important scholarly works and studies in the indigenous languages of Modern Arabic and Persian.<sup>51</sup> These vast lists of scholarly works confirm that there is a substantial ongoing debate on the topic.

My aim is not to discuss all this range of materials or to provide a critique on the concept of the 'Islamic city'.<sup>52</sup> Following the previous sub-section's remarks on how the bazaar has been perceived and described, it is important to show that the bazaar has played a role as an urban element for constructing a 'model' of the 'Islamic City'.

The proposition of a 'model' for the 'Islamic city' is itself debatable. The term 'model' has various connotations. As a noun, it is the representation of something, as an adjective, a 'model' implies a degree of perfection or an ideal, and as a verb 'to model' means to demonstrate, to reveal, to show what a thing is like.<sup>53</sup> While a model could potentially contain

*geopolitical concept*. Stanford (California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 1.

<sup>49</sup> This imprecision and confusion has been present in many publications and academic works. For example, in a publication on comparative urban research, the term of 'Islamic' city has been paired and equated with the 'Near Eastern', with 'Indian' and with 'Middle Eastern' city. See Singh Chiranjī Yadav, *Perspectives in urban geography* (New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co., 1986.), 41, 42 and 44.

<sup>50</sup> Michael E. Bonine, Eckart Ehlers, Thomas Krafft, and George Stöber, *The Middle Eastern city and Islamic urbanism: An annotated bibliography of Western literature* [Bonner Geographische Abhandlungen, Ht.91] (Bonn: Fer. Dümmlers Verlag, 1994).

<sup>51</sup> Masashi Haneda and Miura Tōru, eds., *Islamic urban studies: historical review and perspectives* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1994).

<sup>52</sup> During the 1960s and early 1970s, a wave of critique was levelled at the idea of the 'Islamic city'. Here, I shortly address some of the main points concerning this discourse: the trap of generalization, simplification and imprecision that these scholarly works often fell into, expanding the results of their research from a number of cities, mainly a few North African and Syrian cities, to encompass a much broader geography. These critiques warned about the colonial nature of these scholarly works specifically in the earlier stages of this discourse from the early 1920s to the 1950s. Moreover, they also questioned the overemphasis on Islam as the main force behind the formation of the city, which as a result was frequently replaced by 'Middle Eastern' city as a geopolitical notion. For further reading about these critiques see: Nezar Alsayyad, 'The Study of Islamic Urbanism: An Historiographic Essay,' *Built Environment* (1978-) 22, no. 2 (1996): 91-97, Nasser Rabbat, 'What is Islamic Architecture?,' In *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum* (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011), 17-29. and Falahat, *Re-imagining the City*, 7-46, and Janet L. Abu-Lughod, 'The Islamic city: Historic myth, Islamic essence and contemporary relevance,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May, 1987):155-176. For critiques on 'orientalism', see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: 1979, Vintage) and for a more extensive chronological review of the various sources in Islamic and oriental studies see: Giulia Annalinda Neglia, 'Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City with Particular Reference to the Visual Representation of the Built City,' *The City in the Islamic World*, Volume 1, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), 3-46.

<sup>53</sup> Russell L. Ackoff, *Scientific Method* (New York: Wiley, 1962), 108; and Russell L. Ackoff, 'On the use of Models in Corporate Planning', *Strategic Management Journal*, Vol.2 (1981): 353-359, quoted in Patrick Healy, *The Model and its*

all of these connotations simultaneously, they are often created since models are easily manipulated and speculated upon.<sup>54</sup> This is either because they are the result of an abstraction and a deliberate selection of relevant properties or a product of the implementation of some operations such as scaling, which leads to a better supervision. In this sense, the abstraction is not necessarily achieved through simplification. This means that the models are not necessarily less complex than an existing reality. A model can be envisaged through words, and then it becomes a verbal model. Or it might be presented through drawings or an image or constructed as an actual physical object. Each of these ways, as they define a conceptual composition or actual scaled object, may in fact enhance different levels of abstraction, idealisation or actuality.

Establishing a discourse on the 'Islamic city' goes back to the early 1920s, mainly with the writings of French scholars such as the Marçais brothers (William and George), Robert Brunschvig, Louis Massignon and some others, based on their studies of the Maghreb and North African cities. According to Giulia Annalinda Neglia,<sup>55</sup> since the knowledge of this group of scholars came from the actual conquest of extensive Mediterranean territories, their model of the 'Islamic city' represented a system of detailed descriptions in order to control these territories politically.<sup>56</sup> Over-emphasizing Islam as an urban religion, William Marçais proposed that the 'Islamic city' can be introduced through its physical elements. His quintessential model for the city was mainly accepted and repeated by the scholars after him. It reduced the city to a composition consisting of a 'Friday mosque' with a 'bazaar'<sup>57</sup> in its vicinity, which is surrounded by a series of baths [*Hammam*],<sup>58</sup> as the city was a prerequisite for practicing Islam.<sup>59</sup> Borrowing from William Marçais, George Marçais added some other physical characters to the existing model and created a rather clear morphological model for

*Architecture* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 2008), 7.

<sup>54</sup> According to Patrick Healy, scientific models have all of these connotations, in the sense that 'they are representations of objects, states and events. They are idealised in the way that they are less complicated than reality and hence easier to use for research purposes.' Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Neglia, 'Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City with Particular Reference to the Visual Representation of the Built City,' 3-46.

<sup>56</sup> Beginning in the eighteenth century, detailed encyclopaedic publications such as "*Description de l'Égypte*" and later the editing and drawing of cadastral surveys in addition to the detailed description of scholars' observations in the twentieth century, confirm this desperate objective. In Iran, it was mainly the work of Russian scholars that stood out. Indeed, several surveys were initiated by Russian military officers in the nineteenth century to draw new maps of the main strategically important cities and harbours. It is interesting how the bazaar was drawn in detail in most of these maps. Some of these maps will be discussed in chapter five of this dissertation.

<sup>57</sup> In this model, the bazaar was not merely a morphological ingredient of the Islamic city, but the prerequisite of an urban condition. Indeed, Marçais argued that the Arabs who chose to settle were primarily merchants and traders, thus the foundation of an Islamic bazaar favoured urbanity. See: William Marçais, 'L'Islamisme et la vie urbaine,' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 72e année N. 1(1928): 86-100.

<sup>58</sup> Falahat *Re-imagining the city*, 10.

<sup>59</sup> William Marçais, 'L'Islamisme et la vie urbaine,' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 72e année N. 1(1928): 86-100.

the 'Islamic city'.<sup>60</sup> He recognized that there was ethnic segregation among the residential quarters and between residential and non-residential quarters. He also proposed a certain order for the physical organization of the bazaar, which is not completely accidental, by providing a thorough description of the city (Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo). He then extrapolated this to the construction of a 'typical' model for the 'Islamic city.' 'L'urbanisme musulman' included a well-known description of how the markets – and by that he was referring to the bazaar – were organized in a 'typical' Muslim city, a description which since then has constantly appeared in the writings of later scholars.

... the centre [of the city] was occupied by the Great Mosque, the old political centre, the religious and intellectual centre of the city... Near the mosque, the religious center, we find the furnishers of sacred items, the suq of the candle sellers, the merchants of incense and other perfumes. Near the mosque the intellectual center, we find also the bookstores, the bookbinders and, near the latter, the suq of the merchants of leather and the slipper [*babouche*]-makers which also use leather. [Next comes] the clothing industries and the commerce in cloth, which occupy so large a place in the life of Islamic cities. The essential component is a great market, [composed of] a group of markets that carry the mysterious name, Qaicariya. The Qaicariya ... [is] a secure place encircled by walls where foreign merchants, above all Christians, come to display their cloth materials brought from all European countries. The Qaicariya [or Qeysariyeh] placed not far from the Great Mosque, as in Fez or Marrakesh, for example, is a vital center of economic activity in the city. Beyond the commerce of textiles, of the jewellers, the makers of hats [*chechias*], we find the makers of furniture and of kitchen utensils... Farther out are the blacksmiths. Approaching the gates, one finds places for caravans.<sup>61</sup>

Although, Marçais's description proposes a certain hierarchy in the physical organization of the bazaar, his perception of the bazaar revolves around the centrality of religion through a transition from the mosque as the heart of the city to the city gates. In fact, he is more concerned with drawing similarities among Islamic cities to construct a typical model rather than addressing and recognizing a territorial transition that forms and informs the bazaar. These descriptions and explanations reinforce Marçais's presupposition that there is a lack of any communal or municipal organization in the Islamic city,<sup>62</sup> which he felt was also reflected

<sup>60</sup> In his important article 'L'urbanisme musulman', George Marçais provides descriptions of the overall shape of the 'typical' model of the Islamic city: the city is usually rectangular and it is surrounded by walls. Often two main roads cross the city at the intersection of which one can find the main mosque and so on. He also mentions that it is along these main roads that markets (*aswaq*) or bazaars are located. George Marçais, 'L'urbanisme musulman,' in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'occident musulman, tome I, article et conférences de Goerge Marçais* (Algiers: Imprimerie, 1957), 211-31.

<sup>61</sup> George Marçais, *ibid*, 230-231. The quote is taken from Abu-Lughod's translation in her article: Janet L. Abu-Lughod, 'The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May 1987): 156-7.

<sup>62</sup> In this sense, Marçais borrows from Weber's propositions on the lack of any communal or municipal organization

by the fact that there was a lack of any ‘straight line as a route from one point to another.’<sup>63</sup>

In these early stages of the ‘Islamic city’ discourse, the proposed model was mainly related to a word model or a verbal description of a model. The model envisaged and specified an artefact (city with its elements) in words, without actually drawing or projecting it. In fact, the model was used as an agent and a methodological tool to articulate a particular order in a set of formal and structural criteria based on certain ideological and political considerations. Max Weber’s comparative studies of oriental and occidental cities may be regarded as having laid the theoretical groundwork for analysing the Islamic city. According to Weber:

To develop into a city-commune, a settlement had to be of the non-agricultural-commercial type, at least to a relative extent, and to be equipped with the following features: 1. a fortification; 2. a market; 3. its own court of law and, at least in part, autonomous law; 4. an associational structure (*Verbandscharakter*) and, connected therewith, 5. at least partial autonomy and autocephaly, which includes administration by authorities in whose appointment the burghers could in some form participate.<sup>64</sup>

Therefore, with the bazaar understood as being a market, its study was specifically important in the later discourse of ‘orientalism’ and the model of the ‘Islamic city’.

This early group of scholarly writings applied a process of simplification and rationalization to describe a city model composed of three or four elements, of which the bazaar was one, and yet it both compares to and contradicts its European counterpart. The main point of departure for the definition of a model in these studies was a Western European city. The city was investigated through pre-defined lenses, notions and concepts, which are based on a comparison [differentiation and segregation] between the Islamic or oriental city and the Western European city.<sup>65</sup>

This was specifically the case with a group of scholars known as the Damascus School, who focused their studies mainly on Syrian cities (specifically Aleppo and Damascus) with a Byzantine background.<sup>66</sup> Jean Sauvaget, as previously mentioned in this chapter, was one of

in Asian cities and his comparative model, based on the *ideal type* of the occidental city.

<sup>63</sup> George Marçais, ‘L’urbanisme musulman,’ 227. Andre Raymond, ‘Urban Life and Middle Eastern Cities: The Traditional Arab City,’ in *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*, ed. Youssef M. Choueiri (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 209.

<sup>64</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978), 1226.

<sup>65</sup> According to Sami Zubaida, emeritus professor of politics and sociology at Birkbeck, University of London, this is what can be called the ‘sociology of absence’, i.e. the creation of a scheme according to the unique development of Western capitalism in terms of which other civilization areas are interpreted. Constructing a comparative model, the ‘others’ are read through a grid of Western development: ‘What is it that the West had and they lacked?’ See Sami Zubaida, ‘Max Weber’s The City and Islamic City,’ *Max Weber Studies* 6.1 (London: London Metropolitan University, 2006): 111-118. Although this kind of criticism (see footnote 87 in this chapter) often recalls the strong ideological and political preconception of discourse; however, a detailed examination of these critiques is beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>66</sup> Until this time, there was a lack of studies on Central Asia and specifically on Iran. Thus, whatever was found

the most influential writers, whose emphasis was mainly on traces of Greco-Roman cities and their slow transformation under the dynamic forces of ‘Islamic society’, which were mainly evaluated negatively. He identified the elements of a ‘typical’ model for the ‘Islamic city’ as: the bazaar, an elevated citadel and irregular street patterns, which devaluated the previous regular plan of ancient Greco-Roman establishments. He writes:

One can attribute to it nothing but the dislocation of the urban centre... The work of Islam is essentially negative... and the city is an inconsistent and inorganic assemblage of districts... and is nothing so much as the negation of urban order... The Islamic city is no longer considered as an entity, as a complex and living being in itself; it is no longer anything but an assemblage of individuals and their contradictory interests.<sup>67</sup>

Sauvaget’s model envisages the city as a mosaic of separate quarters, in which only the central market [bazaar] – next to the mosque and city wall – created a certain level of unification. Though here again, throughout the text, Sauvaget used what Samir Zubaida calls as the ‘sociology of absence’, by making a comparison to the Greco-Roman city when creating the Islamic city model and its components, essentially asking the question: ‘What is it that the West had, that the others lacked?’<sup>68</sup>

Although slightly diversified in terms, methodology and point of departure, the definition of the bazaar in the early discourse on the ‘Islamic city’ was trapped in a circle of repetition. In this sense, the well-known article ‘The Structure of the Muslim Town’<sup>69</sup> in 1955 by Gustave Von Grunebaum can be best considered a compilation of all those earlier writings with hardly any critical or commentary addition. Taking from William Marçais’ depiction of the Islamic city, he mainly paraphrased their ideas and sentences and created his model of ‘the physical structure of the Islamic city’:<sup>70</sup>

The full-fledged Muslim town ... has two focal points – the Friday mosque and the market. The jâmi, as the spiritual center, is in general appropriately placed along the main thoroughfare or, where the plan of the town permits, at the rectangular crossing of the two main thoroughfares which is market by a spread-out square.<sup>71</sup>

Similar to the previous cases, Von Grunebaum provided a descriptive model of the city

while studying the cities of other regions was expanded to encompass the whole geography of Central and East Asia.

<sup>67</sup> Jean Sauvaget, *Alep essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941), 247-8. Quoted in: Falahat, *Re-imagining the city*, 13.

<sup>68</sup> Zubaida, ‘Max Weber’s The City and Islamic City,’ 111-118.

<sup>69</sup> Gustave von Grunebaum, ‘The Structure of the Muslim Town,’ *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), 141-158.

<sup>70</sup> Abu Lughod, ‘The Islamic City,’ 158.

<sup>71</sup> von Grunebaum, ‘The Structure of the Muslim Town’, 145-46.

with the bazaar as one of its components, which was equated with the Western market. Furthermore, he used George Marçais's description to propose an order for this bazaar, though he made barely any observation about its architecture, nor did he make any attempt to conceptualize it.

Despite several isolated attempts to extend the debate on the 'Islamic city' to other regions of the Islamic world and to deal with it from the perspective of its physical structure, rather than its presumed ideals or theories, until the 1960s the main focus of the studies continued to focus on North African cities in order to develop an urban model that would be valid for all the cities in the Muslim world.<sup>72</sup>

In the late 1960s and in the 1970s, some dissenting voices slowly began to revise the concept of the 'Islamic city'.<sup>73</sup> By this time, more attention was being paid to peculiarities – as opposed to constantly generalising – while other forces, such as social relations and spatial patterns, as opposed to only religion, were being addressed and analysed.<sup>74</sup>

Even though these scholars questioned the validity of the 'Islamic' idea of the city and criticized the notion that Islam's overshadowing reach was the main force behind the formation of the city through the region's entire vast geography, eventually many of these scholars ended up perpetuating the traditional stereotypes.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, it was then that the first efforts to draw a model for a city as a shared image were initiated. These models were mainly the outcome of the early tradition of German urban geographers to understand the city as a system.<sup>76</sup>

Fig. 1.6 In 1969 a German geographer named Klaus Dettmann<sup>77</sup> drew a diagram as a model for the Islamic city based on the city of Damascus. Drawing on previous descriptive models, Dettmann's circular scheme of the oriental-Islamic city juxtaposed the main Mosque or Friday Mosque in the centre with the *souq* or the bazaar surrounding it, which, taken together, constituted the centre of the city. According to Dettmann, the bazaar's important function as an exchange centre combined retail, wholesale and long-distance trade in a confined space. Representing Sauvaget's verbal model in the drawing too, the rest of the circle is filled up

<sup>72</sup> Neglia, 'Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City with Particular Reference to the Visual Representation of the Built City,' 12.

<sup>73</sup> A conference organized by Albert H. Hourani and Samuel M. Stern in 1970 was important for collecting and bringing together the most recent studies at the time and some alternative ideas. This conference preceded a publication called 'The Islamic City: A Colloquium'.

<sup>74</sup> Eugen Wirth (1975), A.H. Hourani (1970) and L. Carl Brown (1973) are among the most well-known scholars of this period.

<sup>75</sup> As a result, in many cases the word 'Islamic' was replaced by different words, such as Middle Eastern, Near Eastern or Muslim city. Yet the generalization and proposition of a unique simplified model continued.

<sup>76</sup> This period was also saw a methodological shift in which scholars began to appreciate geographical field research instead of theoretical approaches based on presupposed notions or relying solely on sources of literature.

<sup>77</sup> Klaus Dettmann, 'Islamische und westliche Elemente Im heutigen Damaskus,' *Geographische Rundschau* 21 (1969): 64-68 and Klaus Dettmann, *Damaskus: Eine orientalische Stadt zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1969).

with a series of segregated residential quarters with their sub-centres surrounded by a wall.

The schematic model is a naïve representation of what had been proposed up until that time. It lacked any spatial feature or any kind of clarity about how the different functional zones interacted with each other. In this model, the city wall, the main mosque and the bazaar and the *mahallehs* (or neighbourhoods) constituted the functional structure of an 'Islamic city' based on a central plan. And in a way, they resembled Carlo Cattaneo's description of 'oriental cities' as a 'walled encampment', quoted by Aldo Rossi in his book *Architecture of the city*.<sup>78</sup>

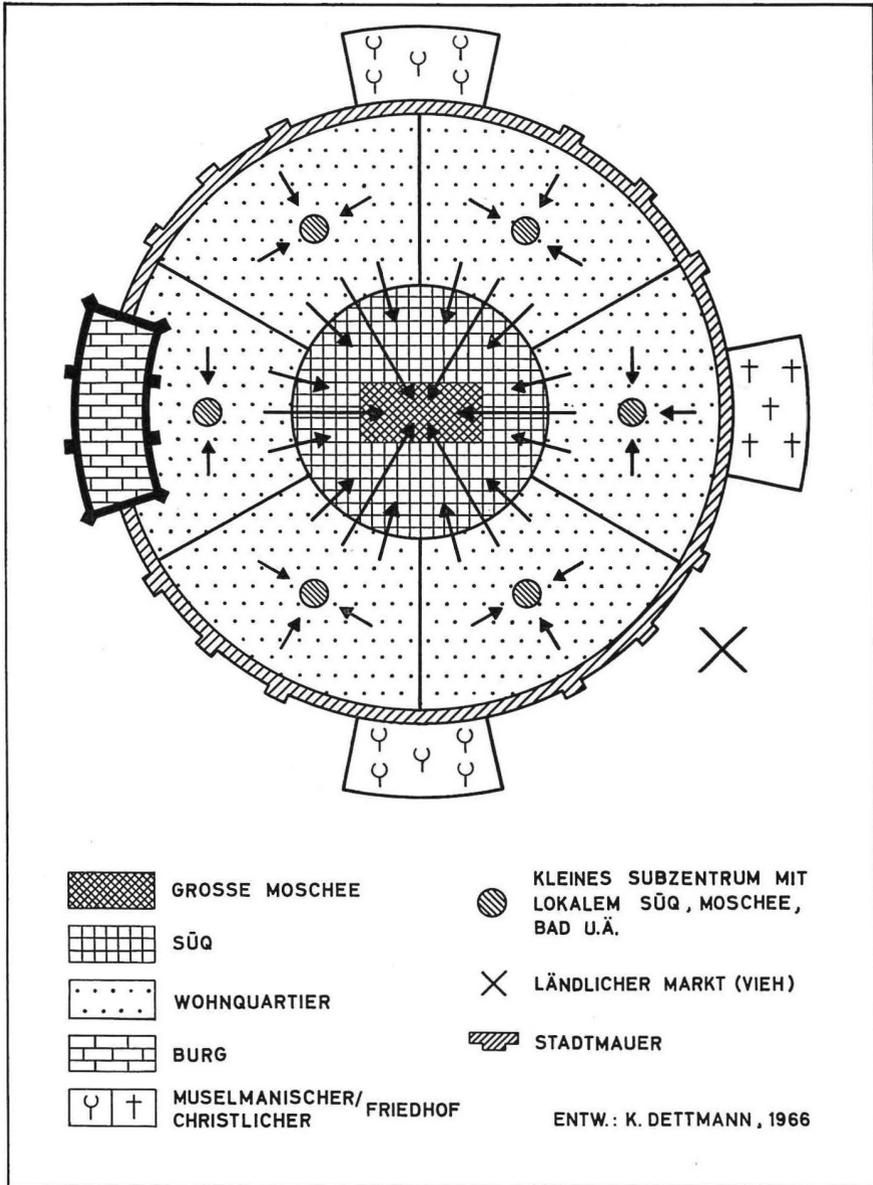
The irony is that an image becomes a diagram, certain main elements of which are rationally and forcefully ordered in a symmetrical and idealized way. This is somehow contradictory to the word 'model' envisaged by these writers, where the bazaar and the city is a chaotic place, ignorant of any forceful design. Despite all these inadequacies, Dettmann's model has been referred to as the reference model, and it was further developed by various scholars and writers in urban studies as the organizational model for an Iranian-Islamic city that addresses the relation between the bazaar and other urban components.<sup>79</sup>

Eugen Wirth, another German geographer, made a significant contribution to this critique. Methodologically, Wirth questioned the comparative approach developed based on the 'ideal type'<sup>80</sup> of occidental city and its elements. At the international conference in Carthage in 1979, Wirth presented a paper entitled 'Villes Islamiques, Villes Arabes, Villes Orientales?' in which he states that it is undeniable that there are numerous common features among cities in North Africa and Western Asia. If they are all to be called 'Islamic cities', then, he says, we must explain whether these common features occur as a result of the influence of Islam, and to what extent this is true. He categorizes five distinctive features

<sup>78</sup> By quoting Cattaneo in his book *The architecture of the city*, Aldo Rossi proposes that contrary to Greek and Roman cities, 'Eastern cities are nothing but the walled encampment.' I will elaborate on this notion further on in chapter two of this dissertation. See Carlo Cattaneo, 'La città considerata come principio ideale delle istorie italiane,' *Crepuscolo* n. 42,44,50,52 (17 and 31 October, 12 and 16 December 1858): 657-659, 689-693, 785-790, 817-821 quoted in, Aldo Rossi, *The architecture of the city* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1982), 136.

<sup>79</sup> This was true both for Iranian and non-Iranian scholars. For example, Martin Seger, a professor of urban geography, in his interesting and in-depth study on Tehran, refers to the same oriental-Islamic model of the city to redraw a new model for the city of Tehran. Or Sirous Shafaghi, a well-known Iranian professor of social and urban geography, implements the same organizational relation as Dettman and the earlier models of the 'Islamic city'. In fact, among Iranian urban scholars, specifically after the Islamic Revolution in 1979, the model of the Islamic city has been a constant point of reference, debate and a topic for conferences and academic writings. See Martin Seger, *Teheran eine stadtgeographische Studie* (Wien: Springer-Verlag, 1978) and Sirous Shafaghi, 'Pish-daramadi var Shahr-e Eslami va Efterah-e An ba Shahr-e Gharbi [An introduction to the Islamic city and its difference with the Western city,' (paper presented at the First Conference on 'Utopia of Islamic City', Isfahan, 4 Esfand, 1387 [22 February, 2009]) and Sirous Shafaghi, *Bazqar Bozorg-e Isfahan or The Grand Bazaar of Isfahan* (Isfahan: Cultural institute of Isfahan Municipality, 1385/2006).

<sup>80</sup> 'According to Weber, an ideal type is formed by 'the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.' It is a conceptual tool which allows for interpretation, nor is it hypothesis; rather 'it offers guidance to the construction of hypotheses.' See: Max Weber, 'Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy,' in *The methodology of the social sciences*, eds. Max Weber, Edward Shils, and Henry A. Finch (New York: Free Press, 1949), 49-113.



1.6: Model of a traditional Islamic city by Dettman presenting the bazaar around the core of the city, which is the main mosque.

of cities in the Islamic period, which have been discussed previously by various scholars.<sup>81</sup> According to Wirth, among these features it is only the bazaar (*sug*) as the commercial centre of the city that neither existed in the ancient Orient nor in Medieval Europe, while the rest had existed in the orient before Islam. Moreover, he proposes that of these five elements, the bazaar has the weakest connection with Islam as a religion. As a result, Wirth suggests that it would be more accurate to call these cities ‘oriental’ than ‘Islamic’.<sup>82</sup> Thus, in his book *Die Orientalische Stadt im Islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika*,<sup>83</sup> he used the title of the ‘oriental city’ to refute the hegemony of Islam as the mere logic and origin of these cities. By rejecting the idea of an Islamic-based urban identity, Wirth criticized the previous discourse on the ‘Islamic city’, yet he was attempting to recognize and describe a certain ‘city type’ and a model for the ‘oriental city’.<sup>84</sup>

As he attached great value to field work, Wirth and his colleague Heinz Gaube carried out extensive research on the bazaar in a few cities in Iran and North Africa. Indeed, they developed a method based on typo-morphological studies of the city, according to which Wirth then illustrated a new model for the ‘oriental city.’ In this model, the bazaar is considered to be the unique and authentic invention of Islamic cultural heritage.<sup>85</sup> The bazaar is presented as the main urban structure, which expands alongside the main access points connecting the inside and outside of the city. Here, the city is no longer presented as an entity consisting of segregated pieces with various functions with a centric circular model; rather, the main element remaining from previous models is the bazaar, which occupies a central position in the composition of the model. The bazaar’s morphological projection announces a structural linearity, connecting the inner city to the outside.

Fig. 1.7

The model refuses to attach a specific form to the city, and the emphasis is on the structure of the bazaar. In fact, the bazaar is the only urban element represented within the city walls.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, the proposition of the model in itself declares certain attachment to a process of simplification that is evident in the presentation technique of the model,

<sup>81</sup> These characteristics or features were summarized as follows by Wirth: 1) cities founded in the Islamic period were systematic and planned; their labyrinthine and unsystematic nature increased in later centuries; 2) blind alleys which riddled the space between the main access routes were consciously planned, not the result of haphazard development; 3) houses with an inner courtyard; 4) independent quarters or segregation of the neighbourhood; and 5) *sug* or bazaar. See Masashi Haneda and Toru Miura, eds., *Islamic Urban Studies, Historical Review and Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 40.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>83</sup> Eugen Wirth, *Die orientalische Stadt im islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika: Die orientalische Stadt im islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika: städtische Bausubstanz und räumliche Ordnung, Wirtschaftsleben und soziale Organisation*, 2 vols. (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002).

<sup>84</sup> What Wirth calls the oriental-Islamic city model was referring to the Middle East and North Africa, and he excluded other regions such as India, which were previously discussed as part of the discourse of the oriental city.

<sup>85</sup> Together with Henz Gaube, Eugen Wirth conducted research on the Bazaar of Isfahan, which until today is still seen as a unique source for various researchers in the field of urban studies.

<sup>86</sup> In fact, the outline of this model resembles the general plan of Isfahan and it shows the fascination Wirth had with the Bazaar of Isfahan and his extensive study of this bazaar in: Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, Beihefte Zum Tubinger Atlas de Vorderem Orient (TAVO), No. 22. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Wiesbaden 1978.

following the tradition of previous presentational tools for city models. As discussed, the bazaar was uniquely important for establishing a common model, as the majority of these scholars agreed on the lack of any precedence for the bazaar, in time and place:

Scholars studying the characteristics of the Islamic cities, in trying to present an ideal type, have compared cities with the pre-Islamic examples or such cities that were built up contemporaneously with Islam, and have pointed to characteristics common among them which show the identity and singularity of these cities. The Bazaars of the Islamic cities are among the greatest products of the Islamic civilization which were without similarity in the ancient east, as well as in Greece, ancient Rome or the Europe of Middle ages. At the time, Islam gained control over a large part of the world, [And the] bazaar became a common feature of the cities under its government.<sup>87</sup>

In fact, the bazaar was important to provide order to the 'chaotic' existence of these cities. The city was reduced to sets of relations between a couple of elements. In that sense, the model was constructed through a process of generalization and simplification, based on searching for commonality and typicality among diverse case studies. These models were diagrammatic tools which tend to explain a hierarchical relationship between few elements in the city that are mainly centred around an ideological and/or political core, i.e. the mosque. But also, these models pose a certain [morphological] order between these urban elements. Although my aim is not to completely devaluate the observations of this discourse, I also consider the [Islamic or oriental city] model to be inadequate in that it does not sufficiently address the complexities of the bazaar.

Moreover, the other question that this discourse raised was the way in which the bazaar was defined as the bazaar of the 'Islamic city' or simply 'Islamic bazaar'. Indeed, the use of adjectives such as Islamic, oriental and Middle Eastern were taken for granted and somehow used interchangeably. For example, in his book *The Grand Bazaar of Isfahan*, the Iranian geographer Sirous Shafaghi, who has written extensively on the bazaar, refers to the model proposed by Wirth as the model of the 'Islamic city' instead of 'oriental'.<sup>88</sup>

Therefore, although the adjective 'Islamic' is still commonly used in scholarly works to describe the bazaar, it has never been properly discussed. In other words, it is not clear whether this 'Islamic' feature of the bazaar is a legal and juridical issue or whether it is an ideological and political one, or whether it is related to what we referred to as 'the problem of the origin' at the beginning of this chapter.<sup>89</sup> This dilemma also pertains to the definition of

<sup>87</sup> Abbas Moghaddam, 'Bazaar, the achievement of the Islamic civilization: A short history of the Tehran Bazaar,' *The Newsletter of Chamber of Commerce* (Tehran: publication of the Chamber of Commerce, Industries & Mines of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Feb. 1994).

<sup>88</sup> Sirous Shafaghi, *Bazaar Bozorg-e Isfahan or The Grand Bazaar of Isfahan* (Isfahan: Cultural institute of Isfahan Municipality, 1385/2006).

<sup>89</sup> For example, in the collection of essays entitled *The bazaar in the Islamic city*, edited by Mohammad Garipour, he explains this issue in his introduction more in the context of its legal and juridical interpretation and the ideological

guilds (*senf* and in plural *asnaf*).<sup>90</sup> Howard Rotblat, an American sociologist who conducted an investigation on the Bazaar of Qazvin, states:<sup>91</sup>

The existence of religion as a common denominator among *bazaaris* is a fact which is taken for granted rather than used as an active basis for social solidarity in the bazaar.<sup>92</sup>

It was partially due to these doubts and questions that later some scholars began to put more emphasis on the urban geography and the use of typo-morphological and historical methods to study the bazaar.

### 1.3.3. The bazaar as an architectural ‘type’

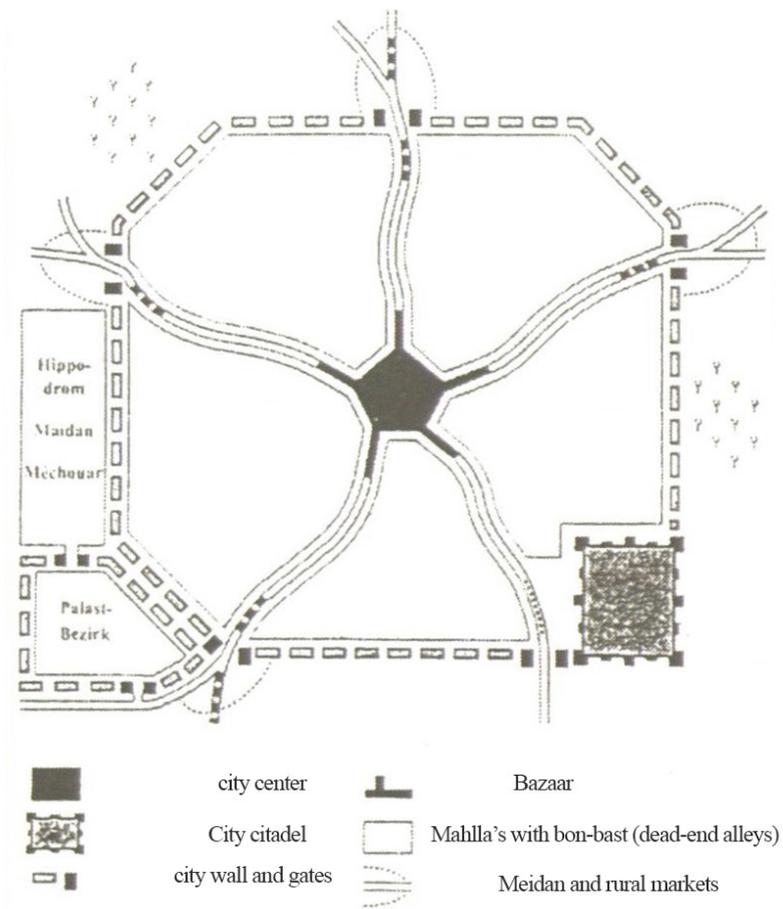
As discussed, voices of dissent began to appear in the discourse on the ‘Islamic city’ and its models in the 1960s. Since then, in the search of alternative methods and theories, a new generation of scholars who focused on the typo-morphological studies and urban

agenda of the prophet Muhammad. He states that the prophet Mohammad ‘drew a dividing line between what was lawful and beneficial to the public, and what was unlawful.’ Moreover, even in this collection of essays, scholars such as Nasser Rabbat, in his essay ‘Ideal-type and Urban History: The Development of the Suq in Damascus’ try to reject this Islamic model and engage instead in a contextualized morphological and historical study, from which they draw conclusions. See Mohammad Garipour, ed., *The Bazaar in the Islamic City* (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 15. Writers such as Mohammad Malayeri, meanwhile, might see the base of Islamic legal foundation more as a transition from a Sassanid legal system. As he states in his book: ‘One of the concern of the Arab Muslims when they dominated Madaen – the capital of Sassanid State which was called as the heart of Iranshahr- was the division of the lands among the Arab conquerors. Since this act faced many troubles; thus, Umar ibn Al-Khattāb- the Caliph of Muslim- ordered to betake the action and give back the lands to their owners and instead state received taxes from them in the same way as Anushirvan, the Sassanid king, did. Thus, he summoned the Dehqans of that region and asked them to engage this task.’ See Mohammad Malayeri, *Tarikh va farhang-e Iran, Doran-e enteqal az asr-e Sasani be asr-e Islam or The history and culture of Iran during the transition from Sassanid period to Islamic period* (Tehran: Toos publishing, 2000), 6-9. For further reading on ideas about the ‘Islamic bazaar’, see Seyyed Mohammad Kazem Rejavi, ‘Bazaar-e Eslami dar Nazariyed va Amal or Islamic Bazaar in Theory and Practice,’ *Ma’rifat-i Eghtesadi*, vol. 2, no.1 (Fall & Winter 2010-11): 93-118.

<sup>90</sup> *Senf* (plural: *asnaf*) can be considered the counterpart of the European guild. However, several theoretical studies avoid equating the system of *asnaf* with European guilds. Often the argument is that the Iranian/Islamic *asnaf* did not have the same [political] autonomy as European guilds, which eventually led to the establishment of the early institutions. Furthermore, there is considerable disagreement about the genesis and historical background of the *asnaf*. In the same way that the origin of the bazaar is in dispute, some researchers, such as V. Pigulevskaia, Hasan Habibi and Shahram Yousefifar, to name a few, have proposed that the *asnaf* system in Iran existed before the introduction of Islam, during the Sassanid Empire (224- 651 CE). Others, such as Willem Floor, reject this claim. Floor suggests that it is only after the thirteenth century (Ilkhanid period) that we can rely on accurate historical documents that confirm the presence of the *asnaf* in Iran. For further reading, see Willem Floor, ‘The Guilds in Iran – an Overview from the Earliest Beginnings till 1972,’ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 125, No. 1 (1975), 99-116 and Hasan Habibi, *Bazaar-e Bozorg-e Tebran or The Great bazaar of Tebran* (Tehran: Daftar-e Pajouhesh hay-e Farhangi, 2000) and Nina Viktorovna Pigulevskaia, *Tarikh-I Iran azdanran-I bastan ta sadda-yabjidabum*, trans. Karim Keshavaz (Tehran: Inteshahrat-I Payam, 1978).

<sup>91</sup> Rotblat himself reflects on the relation between religion and the bazaar’s operation in his writing. To summarize, he states that these influences manifest themselves in two ways: directly, through the formal structure of Islam; and indirectly, through religion’s effect on structuring the daily social interaction within the context of the bazaar. In another example, the anthropologist Gustav Thaiss investigates the ways in which Islam has hindered the modernization of the Tehran Grand Bazaar. For further reading, see Howard J. Rotblat, ‘Stability and Change in an Iranian Provincial Bazaar,’ *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 23, no. 2 (1975): 297-302 and Gustav Thaiss, ‘The Bazaar as a Case Study of Religion and Social Change,’ In *Iran Faces the Seventies*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

<sup>92</sup> Rotblat, ‘Stability and Change in an Iranian Provincial Bazaar,’ 298.



1.7: The model of an oriental Middle Eastern city by Eugen Wirth

histories on various cities in Iran, have made significant contributions to the discourse. As a result, there has been a growing awareness that ‘every urban organism has its own unique identity, which is different from others in terms of geographical and historical circumstances, the perception of the impossibility of using generalizations to describe a unified model determined a change of approach and a new attitude dominated the field of urban studies on the Islamic city.’<sup>93</sup> Therefore, more attention was paid to field studies and a more precise projection (description and drawing) of the physical aspect of the city.

The post-war period in Europe was marked by the announcement of a crisis in modern architecture and the need to re-establish a relation between architecture and the city. As a result, the typo-morphological investigation received specific attention, which raised the problem of continuity in the development of the urban form. A link was thus created between the empirical and theoretical ideas of geographers on the historical development of the built environment and the notion of typological process, particularly developed at the scale of individual buildings by architects.<sup>94</sup> Although the notion of ‘type’ and ‘typology’ as a discourse includes a variety of approaches and interpretations through time and place and in various fields, to put it in a nutshell, the birth of a type is conditioned by the fact that a series of buildings share a certain conceptual (idea or symbolic meaning),<sup>95</sup> functional, structural or formal analogy among themselves.<sup>96</sup>

In this period, German geographers made a considerable contribution by initiating

<sup>93</sup> Neglia, ‘Some Historiographical Notes on the Islamic City with Particular Reference to the Visual Representation of the Built City,’ 14.

<sup>94</sup> For example, in a book written by Gianfranco Caniggia and Gian Luigi Maffei – pupils of Saverio Muratori – entitled *Architectural Composition and Building Typology: Interpreting Basic Building*, they develop a theory of the historical development of the city, specifically in relation to the ideas of geographers on the historical development of the built environment. As J.W.R. Whitehand mentions in the second article in the same book: ‘There is a good deal of complementarity between the ideas explored in this volume and some of those geographical ideas, in that the Caniggian notion of the typological process has been particularly developed at the scale of individual buildings whereas the geographical ideals, notably M.R.G. Conzen’s [a German English-speaking geographer], are more about how the forms that make up urban areas fit together.’ For further reading, see Gianfranco Caniggia, and Gian Luigi Maffei, *Architectural composition and building typology: interpreting basic building* (Firenze: Alinea, 2001).

<sup>95</sup> The notion of type has been conceived diversely since it was theoretically formulated by Quatremère de Quincy in late eighteenth century as a logic of form, deeply connected with reason, use and history and nature. ‘Type’ in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, vol. 3, trans. Samir Younés, reprinted in *The Historical Dictionary of Architecture of Quatremère de Quincy* (London: Papadakis Publisher, 2000). During the nineteenth century Western architectural discourse, this formulation of type was applied in a completely opposite way. Type became an index of a programmatic and formal aspect of the architectural object and typology served as knowledge of the composition. In the modern movement of the twentieth century these notions of type were rejected in favour of the prototype and the modern industrial mass production. A great deal has been written on the notion of ‘type’ in architectural history and theory. For further reading, see Anthony Vidler, ‘The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Ideal,’ *Oppositions*, no. 8 (Spring 1977): 95-113; Rafael Monco, ‘On Typology,’ *Oppositions*, no. 13 (Summer 1978): 23-45; Alan Colquhoun, ‘Typology and Design Method,’ *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 71-74; Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the invention of a modern language of architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992); Nicola Marzot, ‘Beyond the Typological Discourse: The creation of the architectural language and the type as a project in the western modern city’ (PhD diss., TU Delft, 2014).

<sup>96</sup> Attilio Petruccioli, ed., *Typological Process and Design Theory* (Harvard university and MIT, Cambridge: Agha Khan program for Islamic Architecture, 1998), 11.

research, based on field work and typo-morphological studies in Iran.<sup>97</sup> Among them, Eugen Wirth was one of the early researchers who shifted the focus of the research from single archetypes to the relation between architecture and the city, territory and the geography of the city. While, as previously discussed, Wirth still maintained the tradition of drawing a model for the ‘oriental city’, his aim was to precisely describe the components of this model, of which the bazaar was the most prominent in his view.

Hence, the focus of Wirth’s research was on the urban form and structures and typological studies in the search of – in his own words – an ‘identical’, ‘genesis’ and ‘very essence of these cities’. In this sense, he considered the bazaar to be the main element for establishing these relations.

His research was accompanied by several drawings and detailed mappings of the bazaar (particularly of the Bazaar of Isfahan). In 1974-75, he wrote two series of essays more than one hundred pages long, which were published in the journal *Der Islam*. His aim was to propose a definition for the bazaar and formulate a theoretical foundation for studying the bazaar in the vast geography of the ‘orient’. Here the bazaar was defined as the economic centre of the city where the main trade and exchange, as well as production activities occur, while other political and religious functions were included as well. Having said that, Wirth was aware of the inadequacy of referring to the bazaar as the economic centre of the city. Therefore, to grasp its complexity, he introduced what he called a ‘model-like’ scheme in which the bazaar was depicted as a system with various functions.

Fig. 1.8 In this scheme, the bazaar is rendered as an economic system that performs various functions including all organizational and financial interrelationships, retail, intermediary services, foreign trade, finance and credit, crafts and trade. According to Wirth, each of the above-mentioned sectors usually has a specific location in the bazaar. Hence, he concludes that the bazaar is an extremely complex human interaction system, the spatial structure of which is conditioned by the functional interrelations of the system.<sup>98</sup>

Wirth’s diagrammatic model essentially relied on a functional abstraction. By synthesizing various interrelations, this model attempted to depict the complexity of the bazaar’s spatial structure. This arrangement was supposed to manage ‘the relative and iterative ordering of the parts to the whole’<sup>99</sup> and to organise this shared image ‘into an effective discourse

<sup>97</sup> During the first half of the twentieth century, most of the studies and researches on Iranian art and architecture were based on historiography and archaeology. These studies mainly focused on the description of and research on monuments, artefacts, inscriptions and physical surveys of edifices and their classification and categorization, ‘while making minimal contextual interpretation.’ Among those scholars who made an extensive contribution in this area are Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948), Arthur Upham Pope (1881-1969), Andre Godard (1881-1965) and Roman Ghirshman (1895-1979). For further reading, see Mohammad Gharipour, ed., *The historiography of Persian architecture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 1-14.

<sup>98</sup> Eugen Wirth, ‘Zum Problem des Bazars (sūq, çarşı),’ *Der Islam* 51/ 2 (1974): 218-223.

<sup>99</sup> Sam Jacoby, ‘Typal and topological reasoning: a diagrammatic practice of architecture,’ *The journal of Architecture*, vol. 20, no. 6 (2015): 956.

that states and outlines proof for a given case.<sup>100</sup> Strikingly, Wirth compared this multi-programmatic character of the bazaar to the modern office towers of the North American metropolises whose lower floors are often given commercial activities:

In terms of their functional diversity and complexity, the bazaars of the Orient are surprisingly similar to the modern office buildings of North American metropolises, which are often developed into shopping centres on the lower floors.<sup>101</sup>

Wirth explained this multi-functional complexity according to the fact that such a scattering of diverse commercial programmes will surely benefit the neighbourhood and provide the property owner with a completely crisis-proof income. Thus, in comparison to the previous discourse, Wirth established a methodology that simultaneously combines induction and deduction. This means that while he focused on empirical case studies, he also constructed a general framework to theorize the bazaar. In his research, Wirth combined field studies with interpretations, which he presented through a series of ‘propositions’. The aim of these propositions was to develop a bigger framework to ultimately construct a ‘model’ that is valid for all oriental or oriental-Islamic cities. So, in that sense, Wirth’s studies can still be considered part of the tradition of the oriental discourse.

Although Wirth’s studies and interpretations were based on typological and morphological readings of the bazaar, he never clearly defined what ‘type’ is. However, as one examines his studies, it becomes clear that Wirth’s use of typo-morphological studies was a way of indexing and dissecting the bazaar, which in my opinion reveals the inadequacy of such an approach for defining the bazaar. In one of his propositions, he suggested typifying the bazaar according to its formal structure.<sup>102</sup> He identified four types for this purpose: ‘linear bazaar’, ‘area bazaar’, ‘central retail bazaar with surrounding khans’ and ‘cross-form bazaar’.<sup>103</sup>

In another proposition, he introduced another series of types, according to a ‘special function’ or ‘predominant activity’:<sup>104</sup> ‘the central bazaar’, ‘the quartier bazaar’, ‘the suburban bazaar for sedentary peasants’, ‘suburban nomad bazaars’, ‘pilgrims bazaars’, and ‘the artisan bazaar’.

In explaining each of these types, he not only pointed out the specific activity occurring in the bazaar, but he also partially referred to their location in relation to the city. Furthermore,

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Wirth, ‘Zum Problem des Bazars (sūq, çarşı),’ 223.

<sup>102</sup> It seems that Wirth himself is uncertain about this classification as he states: ‘Although such typing initially emanating from the formal criteria, it should also allow statements on a different genesis and different acting forces.’ See: Wirth, ‘Zum Problem des Bazars,’ 250.

<sup>103</sup> As noted by Wirth in German in sequential order: ‘Sie seien nachstehend einmal “Linienbazar”, “Flächenbazar”, “zentraler Einzelhandelsbazar mit umgebenden Khanen” und “Kreuzbazar” genannt.’ Ibid, 250.

<sup>104</sup> Here Wirth refer to it as: ‘Sonderfunktionen ausgliedern.’ Ibid, 258.



he defined four types of space that form the bazaar: ‘the bazaar alleys’, ‘the khans’, ‘the halls’, and ‘the squares’. Wirth attributed various functions to these spaces. For example, he considered *qeyseriyeh* and *timche*<sup>105</sup> to be part of the hall type.

This methodological and theoretical framework makes it difficult to postulate which space type *serai*<sup>106</sup> or *dalan*<sup>107</sup> might be, however. It is also difficult to understand the relationship between these various typo-morphological categorizations. Despite the lack of clarity about the notion of type and typo-morphology, he used this approach not only to define the bazaar, but also to theorize it. In fact, Wirth was searching simultaneously for an analytical tool to dissect the bazaar and at the same time, he looked for an ingredient for his model of oriental-Islamic city. In this sense, he envisaged the bazaar not only as ‘the juxtaposition of various functional linkages,’ but also as a ‘mosaic-like blending of various types of buildings with different ages.’ So, in order to be able to distinguish its various components the bazaar needs to be dissected into identical pieces, at various levels. In this way the bazaar is objectified through a process of rationalization, a problem which Wirth himself seems to be aware of.

In his extensive book *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, which Wirth co-authored with Heinz Gaube, he provided an encyclopaedic catalogue of the elements of Isfahan’s Bazaar, from the various types of brick ornamentation to the plan of the different types of space, accompanied by a short description mainly referring to their historiographical background. This monograph on the Bazaar of Isfahan was initially a ‘booklet’ associated with the Tübingen Atlas of the Near East (TAVO); however, these two authors’ extended study of the Isfahan Bazaar was later published as a separate book. The drawing of the final map, included in TAVO, took several years (1968-1973) and it was a consequence of several visits to Isfahan.<sup>108</sup>

In the same way that Wirth conceptualized the bazaar as a complex of programmes and building types, the map itself is a composite of information on the programme, age,

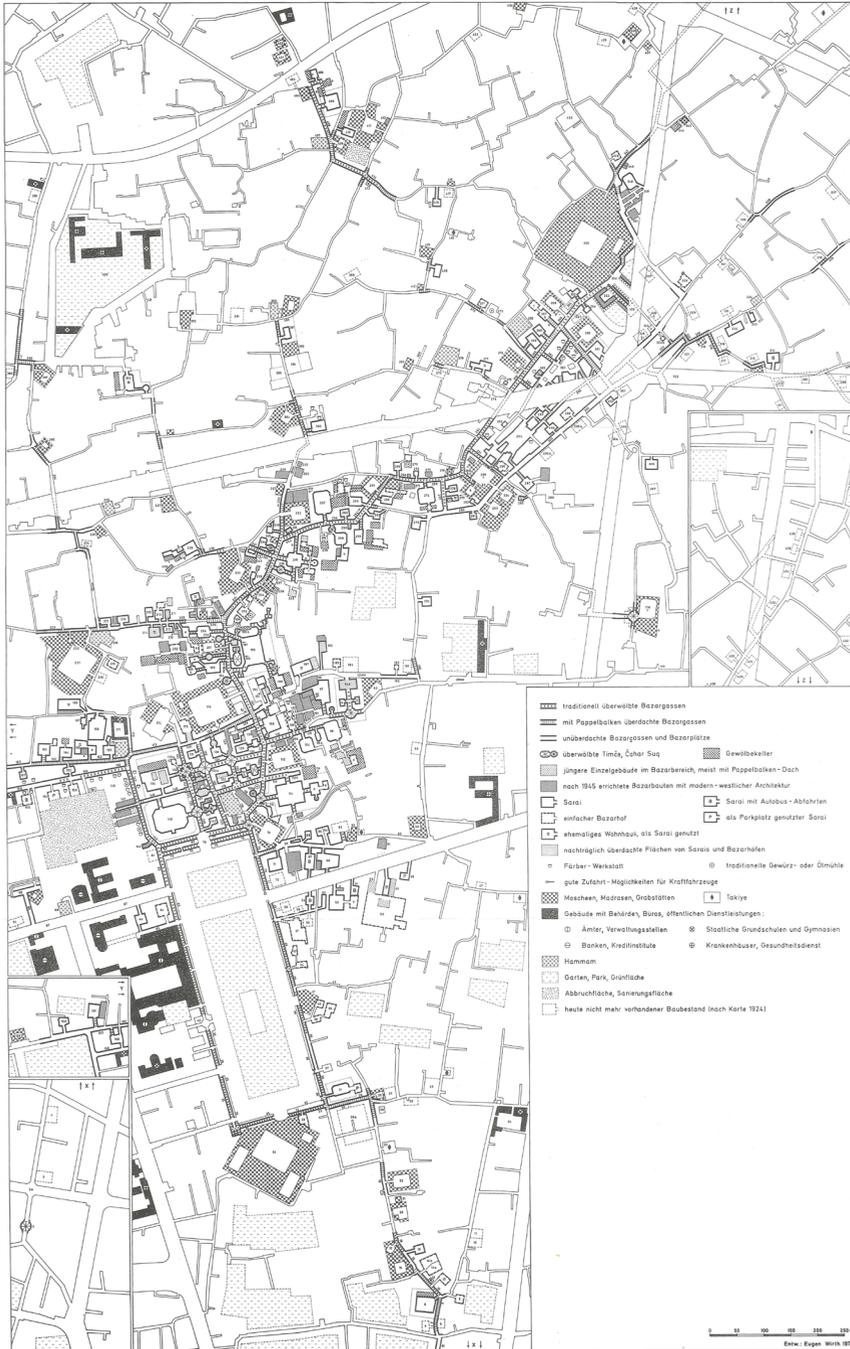
Fig. 1.10  
Fig. 1.11  
Fig. 1.12

<sup>105</sup> Wirth defines *qeyseriyeh* and *timche* as kind of halls used for the exchange of the precious goods. He does not clearly differentiate between them. He refers to their architectural style as often being very artful, brick-vaulting and their plan might be rectangular, oval or round shape. *Timche* (Tim+Che) means small *tim*. *Tim* is used for commercial uses and Wirth equates it with (caravan)serais with no possibility of temporal residence. *Tim* often has central courtyard, but it also might be covered. However, what Wirth does not explain is that why just few bazaars have *qeyseriyeh*. In fact, the presence of *qeyseriyeh* in certain bazaars in Iran implies to the position of those bazaars in larger territorial network of connections both in representational and functional sense.

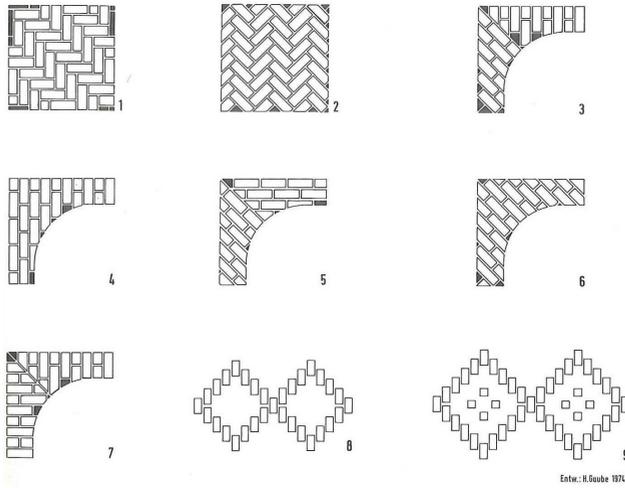
<sup>106</sup> *Serai*s are larger spaces built for increasing the commercial and exchange capacity of the bazaar. Sometimes they were used for wholesale and storage. They could have a courtyard, or they might be covered. *Serai*s are sometimes interchangeably referred to as *caravanserai*; however, *serai* lacks any residential function. Based on Ali Nourai’s *Etymological Dictionary of Persian, English and Dehkboda Persian Dictionary*, *Serai* originally implies the notion of ‘placeness’. It is used both as a separate term and as a suffix. It shares the same roots with Latin *terminus* meaning ‘boundary’. Exactly for that reason, in Farsi *Serai* also means ‘house’. Ali Nourai, *An Etymological Dictionary of Persian, English and Other Indo-European Languages* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 1999), 474.

<sup>107</sup> *Dalan* is often an in-between space which connects and mediates among various spaces in the bazaar.

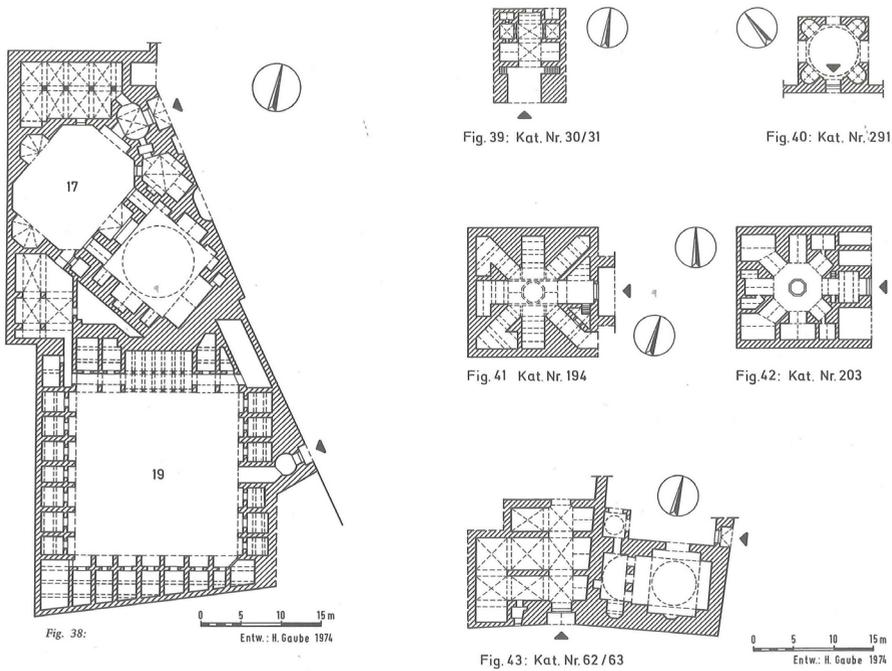
<sup>108</sup> Wirth’s first visit to Isfahan was in September 1966, which was followed by a second visit in order to complete the map, collect data and conduct a field study in April/May 1967. The next two visits to Isfahan were in the autumn of 1969, which enabled him to make great progress in drawing the maps. A joint Isfahan visit by the two authors (Wirth and Gaube) took place in September/October 1974. For further reading, see Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan: Beibefte Zum Tübingen Atlas de Vorderem Orient (TAVO), No. 22* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1978).



1.9: The Bazaar of Isfahan, by Eugen Wirth, the map works as an index for an encyclopaedic dissection of the bazaar



1.11: Eugen Wirth, Bazaar of Isfahan, brickwork decorations, types 1-9.



1.12: The encyclopaedic collection of the plan of various architectonic elements in the Bazaar of Isfahan by Eugen Wirth. The position of the plans and allocation of arrows pointing north follow Wirth's way of presentation. Fig 38: Sarutaqi-Bozorg Mosque on top (17) and the Sheikh Mohammad-Ali Madressah at the lower part of the plan (19) / Fig. 39: Bazarche Charsu Maqsud / Fig. 40: Charsu in Bazarche Harun Velayat / Fig. 41: Timche Atiqeh Forush-ha/ Fig. 42: Timche Nakh-chian / Fig. 43: Mosque and Bazarche Zalman

Fig. 1.9 material, and structure of the different parts of the Bazaar. Indeed, the map works as an index to the catalogue. It positions the Bazaar of Isfahan, before its partial destruction and street planning of the early twentieth century, in the circulation system of the city of Isfahan at the time of drawing.

Wirth's drawings and research combined diagrammatic schemes with documentation to mediate between an authorial subjectivity and the bazaar as an architectural object. He introduced the complexity of an architectural object as a whole and unified thing within the juxtaposition of various elements.

Until today, most scholarly works on the bazaar, specifically in the field of urban studies, borrowed the same categorizations from Wirth, albeit with some differentiation. For example, Mohamed Scharabi in his book *Der Bazar: das traditionelle Stadtzentrum im Nahen Osten und seine Handelseinrichtungen*, studied a wide range of bazaars from Morocco in the west to Iran in the east, based on a similar typological method.<sup>109</sup> The book is divided into two parts, analysis and catalogue. The analytical part is based on the examination of primary literature, like that of Eugen Wirth's and the development of a typo-morphological method. Defining the bazaar as the Middle Eastern marketplace, Scharabi categorizes them according to form and function. He identifies three different typologies in this extensive area: The first typology consists of urban complexes and retail streets; the second one includes the retail buildings, which can be regarded as special areas of the bazaar such as the *qeysariyeh* and *bedesten*; and the third part consists of trade facilities with the possibility of lodging such as the *khan* and *caravanserai*.<sup>110</sup>

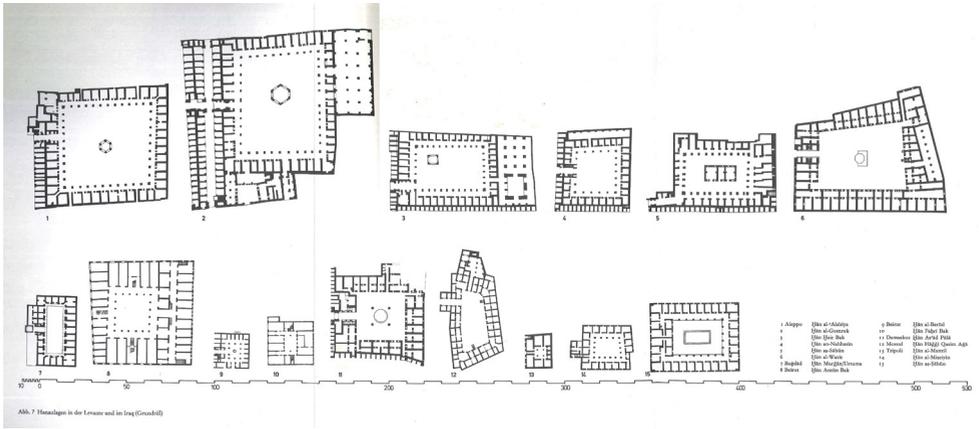
Fig. 1.13  
Fig. 1.14

Here again, the typology is the book's principle for dissecting, classifying and presenting the different bazaars of the Middle East. It is through typological analysis that Scharabi establishes a commonality based on a shared morphological, functional and structural examination of architecture. Even the collections of drawings of various architectural elements of the bazaar, mainly in the form of plans, with the same scale and method of representation, seek to emphasize these shared characteristics. Eventually, in the final part of this book, Scharabi comes up with what he calls the 'Katalog zum Bazar (Suq, Çarşı)' which is a short description of several bazaars listed by the author in the introduction of the catalogue.

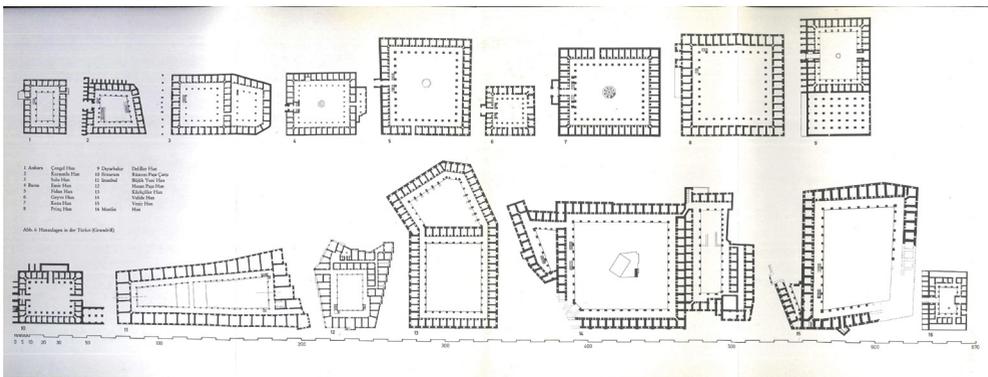
In general, it is possible to argue that although Scharabi's book does not so much reflect on the critiques related to the formation of Middle Eastern and Islamic cities, as discussed

<sup>109</sup> Mohamed Scharabi, *Der Bazar: das traditionelle Stadtzentrum im Nahen Osten und seine Handelseinrichtungen* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1985).

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 24.



1.13: Hans (khans) in Levant and Iraq.



1.14: Hans (khans) in Turkey.

previously in this chapter, and the bazaar's role in that development, the value of the book lies in the fact that with his systematic rigorous classification and dissection of the bazaars, he provides a consistent comparative analytical model for a vast geography of research. However, in doing so, and by drawing on similarities and dissimilarities, the book treats the bazaar as an object with a clear form, serving a particular purpose.

In another example, Husayn Sultanzadeh, an Iranian scholar of architecture and urban studies, specifically focuses on the study of Iranian bazaars. In his seminal work *Iranian bazaars*,<sup>111</sup> while Sultanzadeh relies on a similar typo-morphological analysis of the bazaar, he changes some of the previous classifications and develops a new categorization of the bazaar according to 'time,' where he introduces the temporal, periodical and permanent bazaar.<sup>112</sup>

Though his categorization of the bazaar's structure and his dissection of it into various functional elements raises several questions that are difficult to answer or explain. For example, why do some bazaars have a linear or compact structure? Or why are some functions such as baths are included in or excluded from the bazaar, in drawing a figure-ground plan of the bazaars? And why are various elements located in specific parts of the bazaar and what kind of relation do they have to the city?

Beside these general studies of the bazaar, some other scholars have focused on the historical morphology of specific cases. Examples include Sirous Shafaghi's book<sup>113</sup> on the Bazaar of Isfahan,<sup>114</sup> Hassan Habibi's series of books on the bazaars of Tehran, Yazd and Tabriz,<sup>115</sup> which are extensive studies of the historical and current condition of these bazaars, with documentation, maps and photography. Although, these works have great value in terms of documentation, they often confuse definition and description and do not provide many new insights [since Wirth's propositions] to the theoretical discourse. Therefore, the problems and questions posed in the previous pages are not necessarily only related to the studies with a larger geographical scope, but the same questions may even be raised when investigating specific cases. Hence, these questions, as stated before, are methodological and theoretical.

To conclude here, I can say that Wirth's studies have placed the bazaar within the discourse of urban geography, and they have infused it with a functional, morphological

<sup>111</sup> Sultanzade, Husayn. *Bazaar-ha-ye Irani or Iranian Bazaars* (Tehran: Cultural Research Bureau Publication, 1380/2001).

<sup>112</sup> To this list I can add several later publications. For example, Mina Jabbari divides the bazaar in a similar way into three types in her book, *Always bazaar*: The linear bazaar, the multi-axis bazaar and the cross-shaped bazaar. And later she identifies the different functional building types that act as the bazaars structural components. Ahmad Mahovan in his book *Bazaar is the culture of Iran* uses the same categorization too.

<sup>113</sup> In the foreword of his book *Der Bazar von Isfahan* Eugen Wirth thanks Sirous Shafaghi, who was a professor of urban geography at the University of Isfahan at the time, for providing him with study materials.

<sup>114</sup> Sirous Shafaghi, *Bazaar Bozorg-e Isfahan or The Grand Bazaar of Isfahan* (Isfahan: Cultural Institute of Isfahan Municipality, 1385/2006).

<sup>115</sup> Hasan Habibi, *Sargozasht-e Bazaar Bozorg-e Tebran dar Devist Sal-e Akbir or The Grand Bazaar of Tebran in the last two hundred years* (Tehran: Iranology Foundation, 1389/2010); Hasan Habibi, *Sargozasht-e Bazaar Bozorg-e Tebriz dar Devist Sal-e Akbir or The Grand Bazaar of Tebriz in the last two hundred years* (Tehran: Iranology Foundation, 1392/2013).

and structural complexity, and presented it as a topic of research for multiple disciplines. As Wirth clearly stated at the beginning of his two long articles in which he theorizes the bazaar:

The author of the following essay [Wirth] is neither an Oriental Philologist nor an Islamic scholar, neither an art historian nor an Archaeologist, neither an architect nor a surveyor, neither a folklorist nor an ethnologist, neither an economist nor a businessman – And he would have to be all at the same time if he wanted to deal with such a complex research object as the bazaar of Oriental-Islamic City and to capture it reasonably and adequately.<sup>116</sup>

Wirth's statement implies the importance of the bazaar as the topic for study in various disciplines, specifically in interdisciplinary studies. Hence, in the following section I will briefly refer to some of the main definitions of the bazaar in other disciplines, such as anthropology, political economy and social sciences.

#### 1.3.4. The bazaar as a socio-political or socio-economic 'organization'

As previously mentioned, the difficulty of providing an overview of the bazaar is not only due to the amount and extent of materials, but also due to the ambiguity with which the bazaar has been blended into the discussion on the political economy, market economy and social change. Viewed as a socio-economic organization and institution, the bazaar has been an important topic for study in Iranian society, the modernization process, and social and political change; and *bazaaris* are often considered an important force in forming a socio-political state opposition in those transformations, specifically during the last century of Iranian history.<sup>117</sup> In the latter case, the bazaar is understood to signify something beyond a purely economic institution, and it gets blended into the historical analysis of political change within society. There is a range of scholarly works from different disciplines that are interested in demonstrating the bazaar's (and/or *bazaaris*'s) capacity to unify and initiate collective acts with the majority of society to oppose the state. A deep investigation into this growing number of studies is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, here I confine my discussion to a few prominent theories and investigations by both Iranian and Western scholars. My conclusion of this section relies on the review and categorization of the sources proposed by Arang Keshavarzian in his book *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace*.

Ahmad Ashraf, a well-known Iranian scholar, whose writings have been influential on later scholarly works, discusses the bazaar within a context of socio-economic transformation and the machinery of commerce in Iranian history. In his article 'Historical Obstacles to the Development of a Bourgeoisie in Iran,' published in 1969, Ashraf draws on Karl Marx

<sup>116</sup> Eugen Wirth, 'Zum Problem des Bazars (sūq, çarşı),' *Der Islam* 51/ 2 (1974): 204.

<sup>117</sup> For example see: Vanessa Martin, *The Qajar Pact: Bargaining, Protest and the State in Nineteenth-Century Persia* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005) and Ervand Abrahamian, 'The Crowd in the Persian Revolution,' *Iranian Studies* 2, no. 4 (1969): 128-50.

and Max Weber's socio-economic tradition of theorising the social system to provide a historical analysis for understanding the problem of economic development in Iran from the Safavid period (sixteenth century) to the modern era.<sup>118</sup> In this paper, Ashraf does not define the bazaar itself; he is more concerned with the position of the bazaar in various periods in the social and economic structure of Iranian society. For example, he uses terms such as 'traditional bourgeoisie' to define *bazāaris* during early years of the twentieth century. He explores this class analysis in more detail in other articles such as 'The Roots of Emerging Dual Class Structure in Nineteenth-Century Iran,'<sup>119</sup> in which he refers to the bazaar communities or *bazāaris* ('men of trade, men of crafts, workers, peddlers, slaves and beggars') as one of the strata of preindustrial Iranian society before the twentieth century. According to Ashraf, the *bazāaris* next to other strata (peasant and tribal communities in the rural sector) were superposed by a semi-colonial situation and set the stage for the beginning of 'modernization' along the lines of dependent capitalism. The result was 'an uneven and flawed development of capitalism, leading to the emergence and growth of a dual societal type in Iran'.<sup>120</sup> Perhaps Ashraf's most concrete reference to the bazaar is included in his article 'Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions', where he describes the bazaar and mosque as 'inseparable twins' that played an influential role during Iran's protest movements over the past century:

In the Islamic city, the bazaar has long been: 1) a central marketplace and production centre for handicrafts, located in old quarters of the town; 2) the primary arena (together with the mosque) of extra-familial sociability; and 3) the embodiment of traditional urban lifestyles. In contemporary Iran, the bazaar, which in spite of the country's rapid modernization, has shown remarkable economic resiliency and growth, and has performed two additional roles. It is the financial and political power base of the Shi'i religious establishment and the bastion of nearly all popular political protest movements. This alliance between the bazaar and the mosque has been the central driving force in such major political movements in Iran's modern history as the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911, the oil nationalization movement of 1950-1953, and the Islamic Revolution of 1977-1979.<sup>121</sup>

According to Ashraf, the main aim of this article is 'to explore the dynamics of the bazaar-mosque alliance in Iran's protest movements over the past century'. Here, the bazaar is defined as 'a religious and commercial whole' and a 'main arena of extra-familial sociability

<sup>118</sup> Ahmad Ashraf, 'Historical Obstacles to the Development of a Bourgeoisie in Iran,' *Iranian Studies* 2, no. 2/3 (1969): 54-79.

<sup>119</sup> Ahmad Ashraf, 'The Roots of Emerging Dual Class Structure in Nineteenth-Century Iran,' *Iranian Studies* 14, no. 1/2 (1981): 5-27.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ahmad Ashraf, 'Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions,' *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 4 (1988): 538.

and the main public centre of the community of believers'. The distinction between the bazaar and the *bazaaris* is not clear since, as mentioned previously, the focus is on socio-political unity. Even in the passage quoted above, there is hardly any reference to the bazaar's spatiality or any further clarification of the bazaar as a physical construct. Furthermore, the descriptions of the bazaar as being 'located in old quarters of the town' and 'the embodiment of traditional urban lifestyles' are somehow problematic in the sense that they treat the bazaar as an isolated entity that is related to the past.

Efforts in treating the bazaar (and *bazaaris*) as a social class with an economic base are also traceable in the writings of Nikki Keddie, an American scholar on Eastern and Iranian cultural and historical studies. In her book *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, Keddie discusses the bazaar alongside Iran's socio-economic and political developments and the various opposition movements that led to the Iranian Revolution of 1979.<sup>122</sup> On several occasions in her book, she says 'the bazaar class' belongs to the 'traditional' and 'popular class'. Although she also wisely questions *bazaaris* as a class in the Marxist sense. She writes:

Bazaaris are not a class in the Marxist sense, as they have different relations to the means of production; the journeyman artisan or worker in a small bazaar factory is in a different position from a banker or moneylender, who may be quite wealthy; nonetheless the expression "bazaar" has meaning in its involvement with petty trade, production, and banking of a largely traditional or only slightly modernized nature, as well as its centering on bazaar area and traditional Islamic culture. These people are sometimes called "petty bourgeois," but this term seems inadequate, as some are rich wholesalers and bankers and some workers...<sup>123</sup>

In this book, Keddie further emphasizes the relation between *ulama* (clergy) and the bazaar as a form of autonomous socio-political state opposition, which despite the modernization of Iran remained the focal point of major political movements throughout the twentieth century until the revolution of Iran. In fact, Keddie, hardly refers to the physical aspect of the bazaar. Although, she claims in a passage that the physical aspect of the bazaar in Mashhad and its density helped to unify *bazaaris*,<sup>124</sup> in another passage she refers to *bazaaris* as being independent from the bazaar itself and instead considers their role in [traditional and not modern] trade as an important factor for being a *bazaari*. She thus dismisses the importance of the spatial aspect of the bazaar in defining the *bazaaris* and their unification.

... the bazaaris, meaning not only those who had shops in the bazaar but also those who carried on retail and export trade and manufacture

<sup>122</sup> This book is a revised and expanded version of Keddie's 1981 book. See Nikki R. Keddie and Yann Richard, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2003).

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 226.

<sup>124</sup> She also refers to the physical destruction by the government of the bazaars of Mashhad and Tehran to disturb the unified opposition of the *bazaaris* during Second Pahlavi (Mohammad Reza Shah, 1941-1979). Ibid, 223.

of a traditional rather than a modern type.<sup>125</sup>

These statements already show the difficulty and intricacy of conceptualizing the bazaar in a purely socio-economic sense and within a class structure. In another example, the sociologist Howard Rotblat carried out empirical and analytical research on the Bazaar of Qazvin during 1968-1970 to investigate the changes and continuities in the provincial Bazaar of Qazvin, and the forces behind them. He defines the bazaar as a 'traditional economic organization' and a 'marketing system'.<sup>126</sup> Although Rotblat does not clearly state exactly what constitutes the bazaar,<sup>127</sup> his study is interesting in the sense that it provides a thorough description and analysis of the social, family and economic interrelations and interactions among *bazaaris* and the ways in which the Bazaar of Qazvin<sup>128</sup> operate within certain cultural and geographical circumstances. In this sense, this research relies on rich empirical evidence, and he discusses the involvement of religion in the bazaar's operation within the cultural, social and economic context, rather than simply presuming it. Though even here Rotblat treats the bazaar as a 'traditional economic organization' and simply a 'marketplace', incapable of change and adaptation.

In the second chapter of his book *Bazaar and State in Iran*, Keshavarzian advocates four main conceptions of the bazaar, and he provides a fascinating critique and commentary on existing definitions by cutting across various disciplines (economics, politics, anthropology and sociology, and to a limited extent urban studies).<sup>129</sup> The main argument of this book revolves around a comparison of the controversial outcomes of economics and politics of the Tehran Grand bazaar under the Pahlavi regime and its subsequent revolutionary regime, the Islamic Republic of Iran.

I will conclude this section, as there is a vast amount and diversity of sources dealing with the bazaar as a socio-economic and socio-political organization, institution or class, by briefly going over Keshavarzian's inventory of existing conceptions of the bazaar and the main critiques of those conceptions. Throughout his review, Keshavarzian discusses a number of scholarly works, and he categorizes the various perspectives through which the bazaar has been conceptualized into four groups, namely: a traditional type; a class; an informal economy; and a product of informational scarcity.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 226.

<sup>126</sup> Howard J. Rotblat, *Stability and Change in an Iranian Provincial Bazaar* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1972).

<sup>127</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 40.

<sup>128</sup> Qazvin is a city about 100 km north-west of Tehran. It was the capital of the Safavid dynasty between 1548-1598, and an important city on the Silk Road route.

<sup>129</sup> For the further reading on the critiques of the existing discourse on the bazaar, see chapter 2 in Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Arang Keshavarzian, 'Dar Jostejou-ye mafhoumi baraye bazaar' or 'In Search of a conception for the bazaar,' *Goftegoo Magazine* No. 42 (1383/2004), 141-173; and Arang Keshavarzian, 'Bazaar-e Tehran: Tadvom ya Degargooni' or 'The bazaar of Tehran: Continuity or Transformation,' *Goftegoo Magazine* No. 41 (1383/2004), 11-48.

- 'The bazaar as a traditional type':<sup>130</sup>

This conception of the bazaar is mainly concerned with the question of modernity and the implementation of modernization theories onto the bazaar as a fitting process, meaning that the bazaar becomes an object of study to prove the relevance and legitimacy of those theories. This conception of the bazaar shares certain views with those discussed in the first section of this chapter, i.e. 1.3.1. *The exotic/romantic image*- and that is this static presentation of the bazaar, being unable to change. The focus of this definition is on the word 'traditional'. In fact, by evoking the traditional Keshavarzian refers to a genre of discourses that sets tradition in opposition to the modern. The traditional type is thus static as it is not relevant to today's problems.

Here change means 'an organic procession from traditionalism to modernity',<sup>131</sup> and the Western experience is perceived as the explicit model for this process. For example, Howard Rotblat in his survey on the Bazaar of Qazvin states that:

The bazaar is not only viewed as a remnant of the past, but also as an institution incapable of change, and, therefore, a major impediment to Iran's continued economic development. Because of this, government policy is being directed towards replacement of the bazaar with modern marketing structures in hopes of hastening the national economy's growth.<sup>132</sup>

In his conclusive critique, Keshavarzian claims that the approach of this group of scholars is tautological and hence he considers it to suffer from circular reasoning. He states: 'The bazaar is described as traditional, and the traditional is static; therefore, the bazaar is unchanging.'<sup>133</sup>

- 'The bazaar as a class':

Although this category was already discussed in the previous pages, I will use some notes and comments by Keshavarzian to frame the discussion. According to Keshavarzian, while Marxist theories and terminologies have been highly influential in this category, as was shown in the lines quoted from Nikki Keddie, much work has been done to show that Iran's conditions do not fit within these theories and concepts. This conception of the bazaar is often advocated in studies that reflect on the relationship between social forces with(in) the recent revolution(s) of Iran during the last century. By addressing the role of the bazaar as a prime social class in these political changes, it is tightly defined through economic notions such as wealth and status. For example, Keshavarzian refers to Ervand

<sup>130</sup> Here the word 'type' is used in a general sense, meaning sort or kind.

<sup>131</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 47.

<sup>132</sup> Rotblat, 'Stability and Change in an Iranian Provincial Bazaar,' 1.

<sup>133</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 51. This transitional narrative from traditional to modern or westernization is even evident in the writings of Eugen Wirth or Martin Seger on the bazaar.

Abrahamian's<sup>134</sup> meticulous work *Iran between two revolutions*, in which he defines the 'bazaar community' as a '[traditional] middle class'. In fact, the difficulty arises when we need to define the characteristics of this class. While socially the bazaar might be conceived as a coherent community, economically it can be divided into various classes. Abrahamian, for example, argues that merchants, traders and craftsmen constitute part of what he calls the 'propertied middle class', while others, such as hired artisans, apprentices and journeymen fall under 'working class'.<sup>135</sup>

Keshavarzian, in his article 'Regime Loyalty and Bazari, Representation under the Islamic Republic of Iran,' questions those perceptions of the *bazariis* as a unified social class and with a single-vision of political and economic status. He states that these sorts of perceptions have prevailed within the academic realm, policy circles, and the media both inside and outside Iran. He instead proposes that the bazaar is a 'kaleidoscope of cross-cutting and cumulative cleavages that refract politics in [a] complex and dynamic way'.<sup>136</sup>

- 'The bazaar as informal economy':

The third category has developed a discourse based on the ideas of a society's 'self-organized' sectors, specifically within the realm of the urban economy, which did indeed emerge in the mid-1980s.<sup>137</sup> Here, the central tenet concerns that part of society which 'remains largely outside the purview of the state's supervision'.<sup>138</sup> In some cases, the discourse has introduced valuable notions such as 'common' and 'collective'.<sup>139</sup> For instance, Guilain Denoëux's study of informal networks in the Middle East defines the bazaar as an informal economy that mobilizes itself against the state through a series of occupational and social networks.<sup>140</sup> Keshavarzian considers these scholarly works to have made an important contribution as they distance themselves from generic, cultural factors and instead introduce networks and ties. However, like the first group of scholarly works introduced previously, he criticizes them for being stuck in a dichotomy of formal versus informal.

<sup>134</sup> In his thoroughly researched book, Ervand Abrahamian, a CUNY distinguished professor of Iranian and Middle Eastern history and politics, basically focuses on the ways in which socio-economic forces transformed Iranian politics during the period between the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909 and the Islamic Revolution of 1977-1979.

<sup>135</sup> Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran: Between Two Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 9-37.

<sup>136</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, 'Regime Loyalty and Bazari Representation under the Islamic Republic of Iran: Dilemmas of the Society of Islamic Coalition,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41, no. 2 (2009): 242.

<sup>137</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 60.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> For example, Keshavarzian's analysis mentions the study of informal activities in urban Egypt. Here, Singerman discusses for the 'family' as the basic core of an informal network through which it connects with the formal institution. See: Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family Politics and Network in Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

<sup>140</sup> Guilain Denoëux, *Urban Unrest in the Middle East: A Comparative Study of Informal Networks in Egypt, Iran, and Lebanon* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

[...] while this approach might work for the marginalized urban poor, it is too rigid a strait-jacket to analyse the vast Tehran Bazaar that includes institutionalized and legal relations with state agencies.<sup>141</sup>

Exactly for this reason, writers such as Mehran Kamrava, in his study of political history in *The Modern Middle East*, enumerates the limitations of formal versus informal categorization. He, then positions the bazaar in between these two extremes by introducing a third term: 'semiformal'.<sup>142</sup> This confirms Keshavarzian's critique that it is difficult to conceptualize the bazaar merely as an economic entity. To add to this criticism, I would also argue that most of these studies, because of their focus on current conditions, lack a wider view to explain the reason behind these definitions of the bazaar, and they often remain in a state of trying to find enough evidence to back up their readings.

- 'The bazaar as a product of informational scarcity':

In this category, the bazaar is defined by the role that information, communication and knowledge play in exchange processes. In his study on the Bazaar of Sefru, well-known anthropologist Clifford Geertz states that: '[I]n the bazaar information is poor, scarce, maldistributed, insufficiently communicated, and intensely valued. ...'<sup>143</sup> Hence Geertz interprets much of how the bazaar is organized and functions and how the various participants operate within it, as a way to avert and inhabit this scarcity. For him, the bazaar is a 'system of social relationships' and a 'particular kind of economy' that is distinct from industrial or primitive ones, and it is as much an analytic idea as a theoretical one. In explaining this organization, Geertz makes some interesting spatial observations. For example, he considers the intensive 'spatial localization' and 'ethnic specialization' to be factors that facilitate this informational scarcity.<sup>144</sup>

Furthermore, in explaining his case study, namely the bazaar in Sefru, he states: 'There are two sorts of bazaar there: I) a permanent one [and] II) a periodic one, ... which meet at various spots.'<sup>145</sup> And later he adds: 'The two sorts of bazaar are distinct but their boundaries are quite permeable....'<sup>146</sup> In fact, or at least the way that I think we should interpret his statement, while Geertz proposes a certain typification of the bazaar, as we have seen previously in this chapter, he simultaneously observes that the boundary between them is not

<sup>141</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 62.

<sup>142</sup> Mehran Kamrava, *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War* (California: University of California Press, 2012), 274- 285.

<sup>143</sup> Clifford Geertz, 'The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing,' *The American Economic Review* 68, no. 2 (1978): 29.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-32.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

static as ‘they operate on broadly the same principle’.<sup>147</sup> In fact we might say that he perceives a wider territory for the bazaar with certain localities as being permanent or periodic in this case. And this is mainly due to his definition of bazaar based on informational scarcity and cultural localization.<sup>148</sup>

According to Keshavarzian, the informational approach to the bazaar is an important step in relating ‘the cutting-edge economic theories to the cultural studies’. Even though, being focused on specific case studies in rural peasant markets, the outcome of these studies is rather limited and not necessarily valid for Iranian bazaars.<sup>149</sup>

Based on what is discussed till now several definitions and conception are problematised: the bazaar is not a fixed traditional kind, it is not a homogenous economic organization, it is not a socio-economic class in Marxist term, nor can it be limited to an analysis of social and economic interactions. After providing an inventory of existing definitions and conceptions of the bazaar at the end of the second chapter of his book *Bazaar and State in Iran*, Keshavarzian proposes an alternative and more flexible conception of the bazaar that defines it as both a ‘bounded space’ and a ‘network’. Though Keshavarzian’s background is in political studies, he positions his work in an inter-disciplinary realm of research where ‘comparative political sociology, political economy of space and scale’ can meet. This conception indirectly addresses a challenging tension between the co-existence of an expanded space (network) and the well-delineated (or bounded) space of the bazaar. This is an issue that will be present at the core of this dissertation in the coming chapters.

#### 1.4. Problematization

In most books and studies about the bazaar, a common approach has been first to identify a historiography or an origin of the bazaar. This chapter, however, after presenting several such examples and discussing their ideological and historical framework, shifted the question from ‘what is the origin of the bazaar?’ to what is the ‘problem’ with these theories of origin? After demonstrating that the definitions and conceptions of the bazaar are often unclear and riddled with ambiguity, the rest of this chapter provided an overview of the ways in which the bazaar has been perceived, received, conceptualized and presented in various scholarly works and material sources. The first three sub-sections of this overview examined the materials and sources that focus on the bazaar’s spatiality and physical construct. The first sub-section discussed the way that the mass media, photography and film often perceive

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> It is important here to mention that Geertz is well known for his cultural approach to anthropology and bringing culture into the realm of symbolism and semiotics and his methodological use of ‘thick description’: ‘In any case, the culture concept to which I adhere has neither multiple referents nor, so far as I can see, any unusual ambiguity: it denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.’ See Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 1-125.

<sup>149</sup> Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 64-65.

and project the bazaar as something exotic or romantic. They have presented the bazaar as an idealised and authentic past or a labyrinthine space that plays an important role in consolidating the 'other', i.e. the other that we were or the other that they are. In both cases, the bazaar is an extensive interiorized space, cemented in its past, and as a result there is no real sense of what the bazaar is as a whole.

The second sub-section looked into some of the most debatable conceptions and definitions, proposed by the 'Islamic city' discourse. Together with other elements such as the mosque, citadel and hammam, here the bazaar mainly served as one of the main [urban] components for constructing a 'model' of the 'Islamic city'. The bazaar was simply defined as the 'central market' or the 'commercial centre' which appeared as a result of the influence of the Islam.

The third sub-section examined the bazaar as an architectural type and looked at definitions in typo-morphological studies. This sub-section discussed a shift that occurred as a result of critiques of the 'oriental' and 'Islamic city' discourse, which questioned the relevance of the 'Islamic' foundation of the city. This section discussed some valuable work that was carried out mainly by urban geographers and urban historians. These studies were extremely helpful in documenting and dissecting certain cases. Although their theoretical framework, which was based on a classification of the bazaar according to various categories such as general formal structure, temporality and spatiality, succeeded in demonstrating the complexity inherent in the bazaar, it was unable to communicate the bazaar as a whole. In other words, the bazaar became a composition of programmatic and architectonic objects.

All of these conceptions and perceptions used the bazaar's spatial and physical importance as a reference point. However, this approach often resulted in a static definition of the bazaar. By limiting themselves to describing the bazaar or resorting to priori concepts, these theories and descriptions have been largely unable to communicate its inherent complexity. Many of these sources, as we have seen, reduced the bazaar to an architectonic object which can be typified and dissected according to its structure, function or temporality, without a clear explanation of how these layers of categories might be related to each other.

Some of these scholarly works are extremely valuable and I will be using their investigations in my thesis. For example, Wirth's detailed, descriptive mappings and studies were pioneers at the time, even though his conceptualizations were rooted, if not completely then at least to a certain extent, in the discourse of the 'Islamic city'. Moreover, many of these scholarly works reduce the bazaar to a backdrop of activities and a fixed architectonic object that is related to the past. Though some of these studies are extremely analytical and provide precision in factual readings of the bazaar's morphology and historical description, they become limited to punctual situations regarding time and place. Thus, it becomes difficult to provide a wider conceptualization of the bazaar. On the other hand, to solve this problem another group uses a general category such as Eastern, Middle Eastern or Islamic, which in fact makes strong presumptions about the priority of certain factors in terms of perception

and definitions.

Furthermore, to establish a point of departure, the bazaar has primarily been equated with or translated into a *market* or *marketplace*, which relies on an a priori perception of the topic, either in relation to its function as a mere place of exchange, trade and commerce, or in relation to its physical comprehension and form. This is despite the fact that the bazaar, in its geographical context, has a certain complexity that requires one to avoid making presumptions.<sup>150</sup> Hence, if there is any tendency to equate the bazaar with other entities or terms, we will need to talk about more than just a marketplace but also a productive household, a forum, a piazza as well as a street. This means that the bazaar does not only become a meeting point for economic, political and social life, and thus a juxtaposition of these separate dimensions, but an entity where all of these notions converge, merge and assemble and eventually take form.

The last sub-section of this overview contextualized the definitions of the bazaar in the interdisciplinary field of socio-economic, socio-political and anthropological studies, where the focus has shifted towards social and economic networks and interrelations. Here, the spatiality of the bazaar and its physical aspect has largely been dismissed. Arang Keshavarzian aptly characterizes this lack of attention to the bazaar's spatiality as follows:

Space, however, has rarely been systematically incorporated into the discussions about the bazaar. This is an important oversight since the bazaar's essential meaning comes from its physical characteristics – narrow allies, vaulted ceilings, and historic structure.<sup>151</sup>

Considered here to be a socio-economic organization, the bazaar was defined either as a distinctive class that could be unified as an opposition force during important Iranian political upheavals, mass movements and revolutions against the state. Or the bazaar was defined as an informal economy simply because it did not fit within a state-regulated market system or it manifested itself as an economic system that operates through social and familial ties, what Geertz refers to as 'informational scarcity'. Although each of these studies proposed some interesting insights for understanding the bazaar, which I will use throughout my research, they have largely neglected the description and definition of its 'whatness' as a physical construct. Reading through these rich and detailed scholarly works, I thus sought to explain that these interdisciplinary studies have not addressed the bazaar's spatiality in much detail, nor have they integrated this spatiality into their analysis.

To conclude here, as the overview tried to show, the bazaar has been perceived, defined and conceptualized in different ways and by various means. On the one hand, this overview demonstrates the complexity of the bazaar as a topic for study in various disciplines. On the other hand, however, it shows that the bazaar extends beyond mere morphological concerns and forms a spatial construct that is inherently involved in the management of

<sup>150</sup> Indeed, Keshavarzian even uses the same keywords, i.e. marketplace, for the bazaar in the title of his book *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of Tehran Marketplace*.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, 71.

various interrelations – i.e. administration, production, socio-economic and exchange relations. Although concise, this overview poses several questions and problems regarding the studying of the bazaar.

First, there is a discrepancy between the social, political and economic theories and the way in which the bazaar has been mainly presented in urban and architectural studies. While the bazaar is mainly understood as a socio-economic network in other disciplines, or a system used to manage society, the architecture and urban discourse devotes more attention to the bazaar as a place with multiple functions. Yet limiting the bazaar to any of these views or definitions would be insufficient. As a result of this discrepancy, even if scholars such as Keshavarzian are aware of the primacy and the importance of the bazaar's spatiality, they still discriminate between what he calls the bazaar's form and content. To demonstrate how the social structure and guild organization in Tehran's Grand Bazaar has constantly transformed through time, Keshavarzian states that:

While the Bazaar is spatially fixed, its contents have been fluid over time. In many cases entire trades have moved within, as well as out of the Bazaar. For instance, today you will be hard pressed to find a shoemaker or seller in the Shoemakers' Bazaar. The Ironmongers' Bazaar has now become a centre for the sale of dried fruits and nuts...<sup>152</sup>

While the works of the various urban geographers and their typo-morphological studies mentioned above were a fruitful attempt to address this discrepancy, or ideas such as the 'extensive interior' depicted in movies and photography suggest that there is some kind of relationship between these two larger realms of definition, it still seems we need an overarching discourse that includes various apparent dichotomies and inhabits a different architectural conceptualization of the bazaar.

Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, apart from some commentary made by urban geographers in some of the existing sources, almost none of these studies have focused on the question of 'whereness' of the bazaar: where is the bazaar and what does this 'whereness' entail in the formation of such a complex entity? What are the contextual characteristics of 'where' the bazaar is located? Why has the bazaar, with such an overlay of social, economic and spatial relations, been necessary for the city and settlements? How are those structural, formal, spatial and temporal classifications mentioned by architectural and urban scholars actually related to the question of 'whereness' of the bazaar? What kind of relations inform the bazaar and take form with it? What role does scale play in the formation and operation of the bazaar? And is, as Keshavarzian suggested, such a kaleidoscopic spatial conception of the bazaar that avoids any single vision even possible?

Hence, what is needed is: A theoretical basis that on the one hand is able to address the bazaar's complexity and is flexible enough to include the time and involve changes, and on the other hand allows for a more contextual and situated reading of the bazaar. This

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, 45.

theoretical framework should incorporate a conceptualization of the bazaar that can involve both the 'whereness' and 'whatness'. It is not only important to discuss what the bazaar is, but also to define what the bazaar does and where it has historically been located and what kind of relationship can be discerned between this locality and space.

Therefore, in following chapters, the concern of this thesis will be to establish a discursive architectural ground and to investigate a conceptualization for the bazaar through addressing its 'whereness' and 'whatness'.





## **CHAPTER TWO: On 'territory'**

2.1. Introduction

2.2. On 'territory'

2.3. The territory and the superimposition of different regimes



## 2.1. Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to develop a theoretical architectural framework that will make it possible to conceptualize the bazaar. Of course, this challenge is closely related to the questions raised in the previous chapter, i.e. how do we define and how do we study the bazaar? Which discursive ground will enable us to conceptualize it and address its spatiality and the complexity of relationships embedded in the bazaar?

By referring to his interviews with *bazuaris* in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran, Keshavarzian brings our attention to the importance of ‘boundaries’ and ‘limits’ when defining the bazaar:

...From the internal perspective, the primary definition of the bazaar is the physical space. When I asked members of the [Tehran Grand] bazaar what bazaar or bazaari meant to them, they almost uniformly first turned to physical definitions – commenting that it was under the shadow of the Shams al-Emareh (or the Palace clock tower just north of the Tehran Bazaar) or simply described it as what lies within Mawlavi, Khayyam, 15th of Khordad, and Mostafa Khomeini streets.<sup>1</sup>

In this description provided by *bazuaris* in Tehran’s Grand Bazaar, the bazaar is defined through the thresholds that it establishes with other elements and entities in the city. In fact, this statement acknowledges that the bazaar – in this case Tehran Grand Bazaar – has a territory. However, its thresholds are not fixed. This is an important statement, one which will assist us in overcoming some of the shortcomings identified in the previous chapter. As we concluded in that chapter, the bazaar is a complex architectural and spatial entity. It is not possible to restrict the study of the bazaar to a description of an architectural object or a traditional type with a fixed form or function that is related to the past (i.e. fixed in place and time). This issue was discussed previously in relation to a critique regarding the proposed separation of form and content in the bazaar, by scholars such as Arang Keshavarzian.

Nonetheless, if we look at the morphological transformation of the Grand Bazaar of Tehran through time, it is possible to argue that the bazaar’s form, like its content, is not fixed. I have mapped and illustrated this morphological transformation, extension and expansion based on a series of historical maps of Tehran and the historical studies and descriptive materials available on the Grand Bazaar of Tehran. These transformations have occurred alongside larger social and geopolitical events and scenarios. The purpose of these maps is not to deal with these scenarios and theories, however. Rather, despite the fact that the bazaar is commonly perceived as a fixed object, the aim is to render the flexibility and capacity of the bazaar’s physical transformation.

Even if we consider that Keshavarzian’s statement (i.e. the Tehran’s Grand Bazaar has a fixed form), is only related the last century of the Bazaar’s history, I would argue that there has been a fairly distinct transformations in terms of its physical and spatial presence. Since the street planning of Reza Shah (1925-1941) in Tehran in the 1930s based on a grid

<sup>1</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 71.

system, Tehran's Grand Bazaar has been demarcated by clear borders.<sup>2</sup> It was as if the bazaar was suddenly caged and unable to expand any further, a policy which was also enforced by the next Pahlavi king Mohammad Reza Shah (1941-1979). Yet even after this period, Tehran's Grand Bazaar continued to grow within the borders created by these streets (i.e. within Mawlawi, Khayyam, Panzdah-e Khordad and Mostafa Khomeini streets). Despite that, within this huge block of the city, spatially and structurally the Bazaar was dramatically reconfigured.

Fig. 2.1  
Fig. 2.2

For example, during this period the *caravanserais* and *serais*<sup>3</sup> in Tehran's Grand Bazaar began to slowly turn into passages (pronounced as *pāssāzh* in Farsi),<sup>4</sup> to accommodate the new way of exchange and commerce that was finding its way into the life of Iranians. Hence, the Bazaar began to house new patchwork of iron, glass, and fibre glass montage constructions, the juxtaposition of shop signs, window displays of commodities, wires, cooling systems and illuminations. The construction of new passages and other elements have created a melange and a massively dense texture, different from the bazaar's previous state. Indeed, it would be wrong to view the Bazaar's form as being fixed, even if its threshold and boundaries seem to remain unchanged.

Fig. 2.3

Arguably, what seems to have changed is beyond a distinction between form and content (i.e. people and the existing interrelations). Thus the proposed theoretical framework and the bazaar's conceptualization in this dissertation should transcend such a distinction to be able to address its complexity through the involvement of various contextual, spatial, temporal and relational forces in the formation of the bazaar.

In his concise study of the Bazaar of Yazd, human geographer Michael Bonine provides an argument for negating the claim that the bazaar is a fixed object related to the past. Though in his article 'Shop and Shopkeepers: Dynamics of an Iranian Provincial Bazaar',<sup>5</sup> Bonine considers the *bazaaris* a 'traditional bourgeoisie class', a definition which was already criticized in the previous chapter, he develops an analytical framework based on statistics

<sup>2</sup> Tehran's Grand Bazaar was demarcated by four straight streets caging it on all sides: Panzdah Khordad Street (Buzarjomehri Street as it was called before the 1979 revolution) on the north side of the Bazaar, Mawlawi Street on the south side, Khayyam Street on the west, and Mostafa Khomeini Street (or Sirous Street as it was called before the revolution) on the east.

<sup>3</sup> Inner city *caravanseraï* originally served as a drop-off point for the caravans and goods and a place for exchange. While *caravanseraï* offered caravans the possibility of an overnight sojourn, the *serai* did not. A *serai* was mainly built to increase the bazaar's commercial capacity. For further reading on *caravanseraï* see section 5.4 of chapter five of this thesis, *From extra-urban circulation to intra-urban circulation*.

<sup>4</sup> Passazh can be viewed as an in-between commercial space derived from *serai*, the French 'passage' and the new mall. In fact these new *passazhes* emerged around the mid-twentieth century alongside many other changes in society: new [standardised] goods, the availability of building materials (e.g. steel and glass), etc. It is a topic that has not been addressed or studied yet, apart from a few dispersed writings. See, for example: *Journal of Culture and Architecture*, no. 30 (1386): 22-62.

<sup>5</sup> Michael E. Bonine, 'Shop and Shopkeepers: Dynamics of an Iranian Provincial Bazaar,' in *Modern Iran: the dialectics of continuity and change*, ed. Michael E. Bonine and Nikki R. Keddie (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 233-258.

and facts to examine the survival of the ‘traditional economy’ in the Bazaar of Yazd during the modernization and industrialization of the country. In this sense, Bonine focuses on the bazaar as ‘the economic dominance of the surrounding region’. This approach is simultaneously problematic and intriguing. It is problematic because the bazaar is once again defined mainly as an economic organization. As he writes:

The Iranian bazaar is a concentrated complex of craftsmen, retailers and wholesalers which traditionally was the commercial focus of the city and its hinterland. This central market comprises many linear, vaulted passageways, lined with small stalls on each side or the craftsmen and retailers; while large, open caravanserais for wholesaling filling the spaces behind and between the branches.<sup>6</sup>

It is intriguing because for the first time Bonine is suggesting that there is a territorial dimension embedded in the bazaar’s operation, by virtue of the relation between the city and its hinterland and the establishment of ties and networks of exchange within settlements and communities surrounding the city of Yazd, as well as places in the region further away. Because of his specialty and interest in human geography, he does this by providing an extensive list of the goods exchanged in this region. Although Bonine does not concern himself much with the discussion of the Bazaar’s spatiality and physicality in his article, his conclusion is interesting:

The extensive changes in shop types which occurred in the Yazd bazaar from 1971-77 indicate that the bazaar is continually changing, that this market place is dynamic and adaptable—even under the impact of what some call modernization.<sup>7</sup>

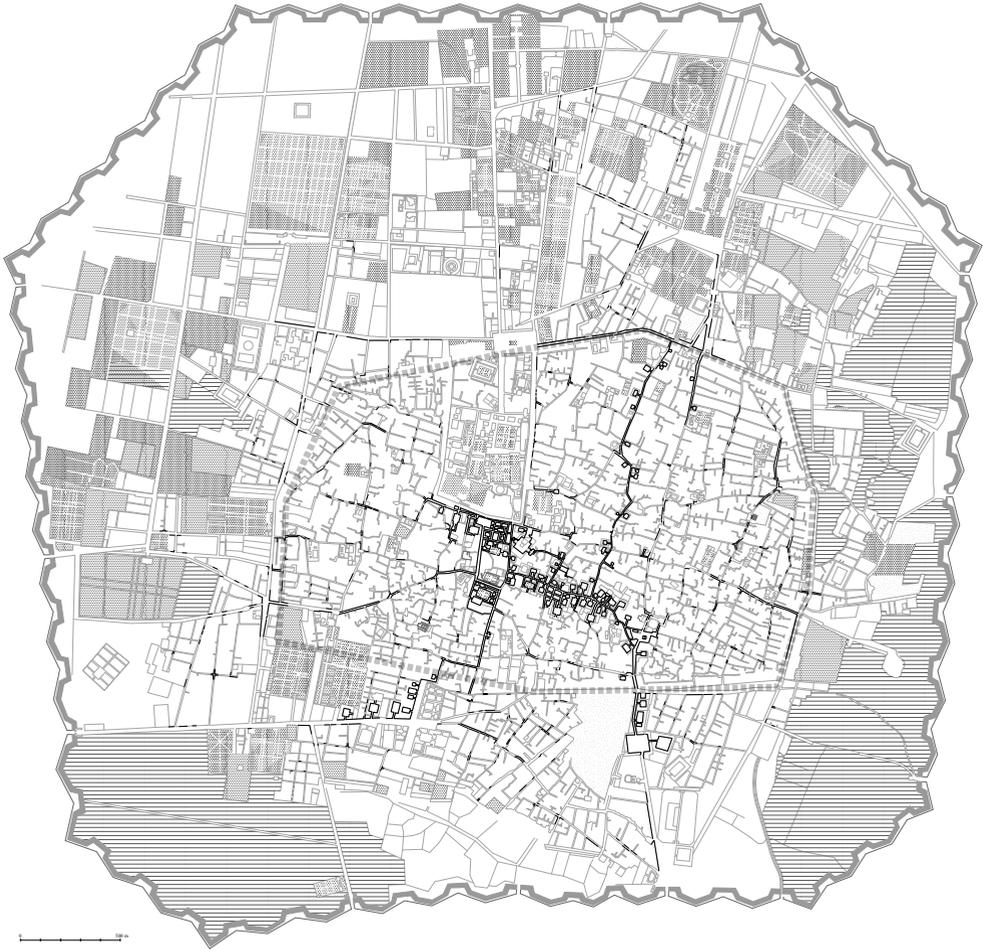
Despite the inadequacies of the above definition of the bazaar, which approaches it mainly as a commercial space and a centre of economic activity in the city, Bonine’s study proves that it is indeed simplistic to draw a line between the bazaar as a traditional fixed entity and the modern industry and shopping streets in the city of Yazd. Furthermore, he does not limit the bazaar to certain functions in the city. Rather, by mapping the various exchanges and movements between the Bazaar of Yazd and its surrounding region and other cities, it is possible to conceive a territory of the Bazaar of Yazd which goes beyond the composition of various functions described before by other scholars.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 233.

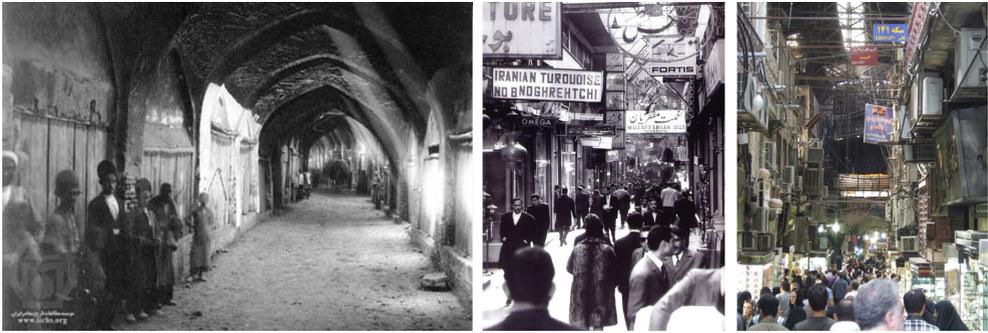
<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 258.



2.1: Mapping the Grand Bazaar of Tehran's morphological and structural changes alongside the growth of the city. From top to bottom: Tehran before Fath-Ali Shah Qajar (1834), Tehran between the reign of Fath-Ali Shah and Nasser Al-Din Shah (1834-1848), and the last map shows the Grand Bazaar in the city between 1848 until the destruction of the first city wall in the late 1860s and early 1870s. (illustrated by author.)



2.2: This map includes the growth of Tehran's Grand Bazaar within the map of the city after the construction of the new wall during Nasser Al-Din Shah's reign till nearly the end of the Qajar period in 1925.



2.3: Transformation of the interior image of Tehran's Grand Bazaar captured in three photographs of different *rastehs*, respectively from left to right in 1906, 1954 and 2012. Although the sequence of these pictures does not necessarily suggest a linear transformation from one state to another. Instead, a superposition of various states of the bazaar is visible in the current image of Tehran's Grand Bazaar, and that is also where its visual complexity emerges. The first picture was taken in 1906 during the events of Iranian Constitutional Revolution when the bazaaris closed their shops as a sign of strike in support of the constitution, an act which implies the politics of the space. The second image represents a different relation between signage (in different languages), people and space, as well as the materialization and organization of the shops and lighting systems. And the third image suggests an overlay of new elements related to the logistics of the space, such as cooling and electric devices, which cover a large surface of the inner façades. Indeed, a proper explication of these images would require a whole new dissertation.

Furthermore, in another article entitled 'Petty traders in Iran',<sup>8</sup> C. Tom Thompson focuses on the neglected importance of small traders in the 'economy of low productivity'. According to Thompson, 'petty traders are ubiquitous. They are found in cities as street vendors or traveling peddlers, or as owners of hand lorries; in rural areas, they are found as itinerant peddlers or as traveling merchants who go from village to village often as participants in periodic markets'.<sup>9</sup> Although Thompson's analysis might seem ambiguous as he sometimes contrasts these small traders with *bazāaris* by referring to the guild system [*senf*] as a distinct formal organization, his study is interesting as it sheds light on another side of the bazaar, which has to do with non-locality and the possibility of occupying a mobile space. Except for a few references to the ways in which these small traders occupy spaces, Thompson does not rely much on spatial and physical aspects. He states that their commonality comes from the fact that they do not own or rent a place or stall. Although they sometimes occupy defined areas, their main feature is that they are mobile, not static and dispersed. In the case of Tehran, for example, he says that these vendors are scattered on 'sidewalks', near *meydans* [squares] or traditional marketplaces, and by that he means *bazāarcheh* (neighbourhood bazaars). In the case of the city of Babol in northern Iran, he traces the presence of these petty mobile traders to the periphery of the city and peasants' periodic gatherings. What is interesting here for this dissertation is the way that this article sheds light on the involvement of time and the fluidity of space by exploring 'less permanently located' groups and the 'high degree of their mobility'.

Therefore, instead of solidifying the bazaar as an architectural object composed of other architectonic elements with specific functions, or purely encapsulating it as a marketplace, is it not possible instead to address its territory? In other words, can we render the complexity of the bazaar through the complexity of the territory that is taken form in and by the bazaar?

As already discussed, among those sources that specifically address the bazaar as a socio-economic or socio-political organization, the bazaar encapsulated a managerial system for the city and its territory. Indeed, the bazaar has developed through the city's constant need to establish relations with its territory and other settlements. These relations concern the primary need to manage production relations, accessibility, and allocation and assemblies, as well as exchanges that take place in and beyond the city. These relations certainly entail more than the mere functional utility or simple socialization of the bazaar's actors (*bazāaris*), as we saw in the scholarly works, which have difficulty discriminating between the bazaar and *bazāaris* and form and content. This means that the need for managerial knowledge of a territory has been embedded as a way of life in the architecture of the bazaar, encompassing its social and economic organization, administration as well as its physical and spatial presence. As Andrew Ballantyne states, one should look at architecture in connection with the life that produces

<sup>8</sup> C. Tom Thompson, 'Petty Traders in Iran,' in *Modern Iran: the dialectics of continuity and change*, ed. Michael E. Bonine and Nikki R. Keddie (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 259-268.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 259.

it.<sup>10</sup> Here, the concern is not to define a cause and effect relation, but rather by way of life I am referring to a complex of forces that interact to create an architectural product with a certain order, threshold and hierarchy. Of course, this does not mean that there is a single truth or narrative in understanding an architectural entity or a building.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, the bazaar as a spatial construct reflects a close relationship between movement and a city's places of assembly. This relation is also reflected in the ways in which various typo-morphological studies of the bazaar have attempted to identify various space-types in the bazaar, as discussed in the previous chapter, for example in Wirth's studies of 'the bazaar alleys', 'the *kehans*', 'the halls', and 'the squares', etc.<sup>12</sup> But why is that and how should we address this relation?

I would argue that to study the bazaar, we must first assume that as an architectural entity the bazaar is in fact territorial.<sup>13</sup> The next question, then, is: what does 'territory' as a theoretical and discursive premise provide that will enable us to conceptualize the bazaar?

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the discourse of territory. The reason for this concise introduction on 'territory' is twofold. First, it intends to present the complexity inherent in the notion of territory. Second, it indicates certain momentums when the discussion on territory started to gain importance in the architectural discourse. Although this introduction does not claim to be a comprehensive theoretical and historical review, its main aim is to find fresh lenses and tools that can be used to address the question of the bazaar's 'whereness' and 'whatness'. It seeks to approach the study of territory in the Iranian context, which makes it possible to render its cultural and spatial traits.

<sup>10</sup> In following sentences, Ballantyne emphasizes that in order to understand buildings we need to know something about the cultures through other sources other than only the buildings – perhaps from texts or from other smaller artefacts. Andrew Ballantyne, 'Architecture as Evidence,' 36.

<sup>11</sup> In a general sense, the reference to ways of life concerns certain manners and forms of living particular to an individual or a group. Giorgio Agamben attributes this description to *bios*. He makes a distinction between the two Ancient Greek terms *bios* and *zoe* to refer to 'life'. In this case, *zoe* represents the simple fact of living, while *bios* indicates the political life. However, here I am not so much focusing on the distinction between *zoe* and *bios* or the concepts of bare life and political life that Agamben explicates in his analysis of the condition of biopolitics, in which ultimately there can be no separation between *bios* and *zoe*. See Giorgio Agamben, 'Form-Of-Life,' in *Means without end: notes on politics*, Giorgio Agamben, trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 3-14.

<sup>12</sup> For further reading, see chapter one, 1.3.3. *The bazaar as an architectural type*.

<sup>13</sup> In *The Concept of Nature*, Alfred North Whitehead argues that nature is a complex of entities. In his view, 'entity' is simply the Latin equivalent for 'thing', and 'thing' in Bruno Latour's reference to HeideggereiHeidegger is a 'gathering'. While Heidegger distinguished between 'thing' [Ding] and 'object' [Gegenstand], Latour in his social criticism of science in 'Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern' (2004), proposes to go beyond such a distinction. It is not possible to provide a review of Latour's critique here. However, in the following chapters I will return to this notion of 'thing'. In a nutshell, 'The entity, bared of all characteristics except those of time and space, has acquired a physical status as the ultimate texture of nature...' See Alfred North Whitehead, *The concept of nature, Turner lectures delivered in Trinity College, November, 1919* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1920) and Bruno Latour, 'Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern,' *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 225-248.

## 2.2. On 'territory'

Creator of this material world, Thou Holy One! Where... is the Earth mostly gladdened? Ahura Mazda answered: Wherever grain is most produced, O son of Spitama, Zarathustra, and grass and fruit-bearing trees; wherever arid land is changed into water and marshy into dry land.<sup>14</sup>

The word *territory* derives from the Latin word *territorium*, meaning *the land around a town* and *terra* (*dry land* and *earth*, as opposed to *sea*) and 'specifically a Roman or a provincial city'.<sup>15</sup> In addition *terra* originated from the Indo-European word *ters* (*dry, to dry*). This indicates the very early exercise of city-making (and the possibility of life) on the wet marshy lands of Europe, while in Avestan *ters* transforms to *taršna* (thirst) and in modern Iranian it is used as *tešneh* (thirsty),<sup>16</sup> which means lack of water and thus what jeopardises life itself on the dry arid Iranian Plateau. In this case, as we will discuss in the next chapter, the 'thirst' both literally and metaphorically represents the urge and motive to search for ways and means of inhabiting the dry land.

In fact, initially territory was related to human exercise on land in order to inhabit it.<sup>17</sup> Today, territory has vast implications in various disciplines. As Stuart Elden<sup>18</sup> mentions, territory, like space, – despite its extensive use – emerges relatively late as a concept in Western thought.<sup>19</sup> Like 'space', territory has constantly appeared in various fields, from political and legal science to architecture and urban design, and has been interpreted and implemented differently. For example, 'to the geographer, it is the portion of space enclosed by boundary lines,'<sup>20</sup> the location and internal characteristics of which need to be described

<sup>14</sup> Vandidad iii. 4, quoted by Ann K.S Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Revised Edition (London: I.B. TAURIS, 1969), xix.

<sup>15</sup> Online Oxford Dictionaries, s.v. 'territory', <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/territory> (accessed September 16, 2014) and Online Etymology Dictionary, s.v. 'terrain', [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed\\_in\\_frame=0&search=terrain&searchmode=none](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=terrain&searchmode=none) (accessed September 16, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> Ali Nourai, *An Etymological Dictionary of Persian, English and other Indo-European Languages* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 1999), 476 and Persian Dictionary Dehkhoda, s.v. "قلمرو", <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?l=t&p=12> (accessed September 16, 2014).

<sup>17</sup> Claude Raffestin explains territory in relation to a transformation process resulting from the projection of labour onto the ecosystem. '[...] territory, as a result of the manipulation of eco-bio-anthropo-logics, is the most material expression there is of the needs of humans.' And thus, 'The construction of territory is the consequence of territoriality – defined as the ensemble of relations that a society maintains with exteriority and alterity for the satisfaction of its needs, towards the end of attaining the greatest possible autonomy compatible with the resources of the system.' Claude Raffestin, 'Space, territory, and territoriality,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, v. 30 (2012): 121- 141.

<sup>18</sup> Stuart Elden is a professor of political theory and geography at the Faculty of Arts at University of Warwick. His writings have addressed philosophy, politics, geography, literature and history. To explore his works in more detail, see: <https://progressivegeographies.com/>.

<sup>19</sup> Stuart Elden, 'How Should We Do the History of Territory?' *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, No.1 (2013): 7.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Gottmann, *The significance of territory* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1973), ix.

and explained. To politicians, 'territory means its population and resources therein'.<sup>21</sup> To the military scientist, it is about the topographic features that influence 'tactical and strategic considerations', distance and scope, and occasionally resources and local supplies.<sup>22</sup> 'To the jurist, territory is jurisdiction and delimitation'; to the specialist in international law it is both an attribute and the spatial extent of sovereignty;<sup>23</sup> and so on.

To frame the concept of territory, Elden addresses four registers – the economic, strategic, legal and technical – by referring to Foucault's question of territory.<sup>24</sup> According to Foucault, although the concept of territory has been constantly reformulated,<sup>25</sup> its early notion was related to the exercise of power in relation to land; or perhaps land at a large scale equates territory – though that land is not necessarily territory in itself:

Territory is no doubt a geographical notion, but it is first of all a juridico-political one: the area controlled by a certain kind of power.<sup>26</sup>

On what did the sovereign, the monarch, the state have a hold in the previous system and on what was its right to exercise this hold based, legitimized and founded? It was thing, lands [terres].<sup>27</sup>

So in this regard, the question regarding the concept of territory is sought in relation to place and power, which, as Elden states, 'needs to be thought in its specificity' both historically and geographically.<sup>28</sup>

The inquiry into an architectural definition of territory is rooted in the post-war architectural discourse, mainly with the writings and projects of Vittorio Gregotti, which in

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Jean Gottmann, *The significance of territory* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1973), ix.

<sup>24</sup> Elden, 'How Should We Do the History of Territory?' 7.

<sup>25</sup> Several of Michel Foucault's writings and lectures refer to these shifts based on the development of governments. For him, Machiavelli marks the end of an age, after which the exercised object of sovereignty shifted from things (land) to the subject (i.e. to the population). In this way, the role of the state has transformed from being the provider of land to the provider of peace for the population, 'where people will be protected from uncertainty, accident, damage, risk and illness, lack of work, tidal wave and delinquency.' Hence, the problem is no longer to demarcate the land and ensure the safety of the Prince. The state or territory might be ruled but not governed; those who govern are people. In his lectures, *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault argues that the government is not merely related to territory, although the qualities of territory might be important, such as 'population and its various attributes'. To summarize, Foucault explains these shifts in three stages, which roughly correspond to sovereignty, discipline and security. While the first two function with a sense of territoriality, the language of calculation permeates the third: mass, volume, density and extension. Therefore, the focus is on the qualities of the territory as far as Foucault is concerned. For further reading, see Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, ed. by Michel Senellart, trans. by Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and Stuart Elden, 'How Should We Do the History of Territory?' in *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, No.1 (2013).

<sup>26</sup> Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, 'Questions on Geography,' in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 68.

<sup>27</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 45.

<sup>28</sup> Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 1-18.

a way contrasts with the Foucauldian way of defining territory (i.e. as the reflection of the sovereign's power and the management of human capital). Instead, Gregotti views territory as a 'geographical totality of concrete things which are inseparable from their historical organization.'<sup>29</sup> And he adds: "This can only be done if we abandon the sociological or ecological or administrative notion of the environment as an imprisoned element and think of it instead as material for architecture."<sup>30</sup> Gregotti defines the nature of the architectural project by explaining the territory. In other words, the architectural project – by means of modifications,<sup>31</sup> measurement, situating and using the landscape – positions itself in continuation with a territory that took form by crystallizing the signs of history and nature (or the natural context). This implies that what the city inherited from its predecessors should dominate the formation of its architecture.

Gregotti's discussion on territory is considerably complex, and it addresses several concerns. In a nutshell, first it is a way of relating the architectural project to history. Second, it concerns the problem of connecting the city centre to its periphery and a new scale of architectural projects. This concern for the new scale of architectural projects is clearly manifested in an issue in *RASSEGNA*, edited by Gregotti, which focuses on the study of aqueducts. According to Gregotti, aqueducts, as they are almost always closely interconnected with the texture of the city, are a dialectic element: 'with the continuity of their itinerary and their dimension, directly measured on the landscape, they represent a vehicle, agent and reference with respect to the surrounding land.'<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, he states that the creation of modern urban culture is also accompanied by similar cumbersome contrasts in scale, both in the landscape and in the city:

The large bridges built with the new technologies (steel, cast iron), the railways and their engineering works, road bridges, tunnels, dams, the large harbour structures (the "pontstransbordeurs"), the silos, the artificial canals, the energy stations. Then, inside the city, the road systems and their interchanges, the transportation infrastructures, the vast industrial areas, the gasometers, the ventilation systems, and finally the monumentalization of the office high-rise. In some aspects, the model of the aqueduct, along with those of roads, monumental tombs and cathedrals, is the most significant corresponding ancient infrastructural symbol.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Vittorio Gregotti, 'Territory and Architecture,' in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965–1995*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 341.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Etymologically, 'modify' is from the Latin *modificare*, meaning 'to limit, control, regulate, restrain', from *modificari* ('to measure off, set bound to, moderate'), from *modus* ('measure') + *facere* ('to make'). See: Online Etymology Dictionary, accessed February 7, 2017. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/modify>.

<sup>32</sup> Vittorio Gregotti (general ed.) and Andre Guillerme (ed.), *Rassegna (Book 57): Aqueducts* (Bologna: CIPIA srl, 1979): 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

And third, it is through a territorial understanding of architecture that instead of seeing the architectural project as an isolated object, it becomes ‘a system of relations and distances, as the measurement of intervals’.<sup>34</sup> What is interesting for my study of the bazaar is precisely this dissolution of architecture as an isolated object and the attempt to replace it with a process, as Manfredo Tafuri argues in his discussion of Gregotti’s projects.<sup>35</sup> It is ‘the relationships between the things’ rather the ‘things themselves’<sup>36</sup> that is interesting for this research. Although Gregotti has continued to focus on the compositional and structural language of the architectural project in its relation to the [form of] territory,<sup>37</sup> as previously mentioned, my aim is to go beyond this and provide a reading of the bazaar as an architectural entity that is territorial.

In his *Le Territoire comme palimpseste et autresessais*, Andre Corboz, a historian of art and architecture, defines territory as a palimpsest of anthropogenic activities and natural or projective processes within a given area or, as he puts it, ‘the object of construction’, or a ‘type of artefact’ which from then on ‘becomes a product as well’.<sup>38</sup> By palimpsest, Corboz is referring to overlays of processes, projections, concepts and hence definitions, which are encountering, superposing, erasing each other over and over again.<sup>39</sup>

By seeing territory as a palimpsest, the time factor becomes a crucial dominator which participates in the dynamics of transformation.<sup>40</sup> This means that the territory is the result of various processes which affect its formation. Furthermore, territory reflects and incorporates features of the social, economic, political and cultural order that created it. Therefore, each territory differs, not only with respect to time but also place.

Corboz states that defining territory as merely land or a simple surface does not sufficiently address its complexity. This critique is also what at the heart of Stuart Elden’s journey to

<sup>34</sup> Gregotti, ‘Territory and Architecture,’ 342.

<sup>35</sup> Manfredo Tafuri, *Vittorio Gregotti, buildings and projects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 10.

<sup>36</sup> Rolf Jenni, Christian Inderbitzin and Milica Topalovic, ‘Interview with Vittorio Gregotti,’ *San Rocco: The Even Covering of the Field*, Issue 02 (2003):178-192.

<sup>37</sup> It is important to mention here that Gregotti’s discussion of the territory of architecture (*Il territorio dell’architettura*) is not only limited to an anthropogenic relation with nature, land or environment. He is also concerned with the territory of the discourse of architecture, and this is what the Italian term *il territorio* conceals. As Gregotti states himself: ‘In my 1966 book, I was playing with the profound ambiguity of the word *territorio*, because in Italian this word can have two meanings: it can be used to define the area in which a discipline operates, but it can also be used to define the physical geography of a place.’ Rolf Jenni, Christian Inderbitzin and Milica Topalovic, ‘Interview with Vittorio Gregotti,’ 190.

<sup>38</sup> André Corboz, ‘The Land as a Palimpsest,’ *Diogenes* 31, no. 121 (1983): 17.

<sup>39</sup> In this article, ‘The Land as Palimpsest’, perhaps the recurring shift between various terms, from territory to land to landscape and nature implies the shifting of the ways in which ‘territory’ was approached and conceptualized, either being exploited or instrumentalized (through maps), or conceived as the object of contemplation or presented with a phenomenal and sensory projection, or in a romantic perception as a surface in which the panoramic view is the most important character.

<sup>40</sup> Caterina Proidl. ‘Defining structure in the urban landscape of the Alpine Rhine valley,’ in *The Urban Project: Architectural Intervention in Urban Areas*, ed. LeenDuin (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2009), 259.

write the Western European history of the concept of territory.<sup>41</sup> However, unlike Elden, who emphasizes ‘territory’ as a distinct historical concept, Corboz argues that territory is the result of various processes: on the one hand, spontaneous transformations such as the subsidence of valleys, shifting terrain and volcanic eruption. On the other hand, there is the human activity. (i.e. irrigation, the construction of roads, dikes and tunnels, clearing and deforestation and so on). Although the nature of these interactions might differ in time and place, the land as a palimpsest in Corboz’s interpretation has been constantly erased and rewritten by these forces. Hence, the land is simultaneously a product.<sup>42</sup> Elden however, argues that although land and terrain are obviously important notions, they should not be equated with territory.

Land, terrain, and territory need to be conceptually distinguished, even if in many instances they are practically intertwined. Of course, it would be unusual or reductive to see the political-economic, political-strategic, legal, or technique-based models in strict isolation.<sup>43</sup>

Corboz takes it a step further by acknowledging that land is not only a product, meaning that the relation inhabitants develop with land is not only physical but also involves a variety of ideals and political intentions and a considerable number of other factors, the importance of which varies from case to case. In this sense, territory is also a project.<sup>44</sup>

In fact, territory is not only about its surface and boundaries. Indeed, if one examines its interrelations, a different projected territory might emerge which acknowledges more complete definitions. The involvement of various forces and relations in reading and defining a territory, should eventually help us to avoid settling on a definition based on a single criterion (e.g. geographic, ethnic and religious). The importance and involvement of various forces can also differ from case to case. Corboz cites cases in which the definition of land has caused tension since it did not include the involvement of various [ethnic] groups. For example, the Romans and the Germans confronted each other on the Rhenish limes while pursuing different territorial agendas. In other words, ‘the same geographical area was claimed by two incompatible groups, working on two contradictory projects.’<sup>45</sup> This is what he calls ‘double exposure (in the photographic sense of the term)’.

As suggested until now, the notion of territory has been constantly revisited with various concerns. This is either due to its relevance in discussions about the development in the

<sup>41</sup> Elden acknowledges that despite the centrality of territory in political theory, geography and international relations, the historical concept of territory has been under examined. According to Elden, territory has been either understood as an outcome of territoriality, or as a ‘bounded space’ or a ‘bordered power container’. See Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

<sup>42</sup> Corboz, ‘The Land as Palimpsest,’ 16-18.

<sup>43</sup> Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Corboz, ‘The Land as a Palimpsest,’ 16-18.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

concept of governance and the techniques [of surveillance] and control of space, or due to its proximity to notions such as land and terrain. But also, the territory is visited concerning its form, ways of perceiving it and means of its modification. Thus, it is interpreted as a precondition, a process and the product of those modifications and transformations.

I should reiterate here that my concern in this thesis is not the notion of territory itself. Instead, territory is implemented as a theoretical basis for conceptualizing the bazaar. The question that this chapter tries to respond to, therefore, is how to do that. In Jean Gottman's words, the complexity of territory can be dissected with a 'purely analytical approach':

Under a purely analytical approach, the notion of territory would break up and dissolve into a multitude of different concepts such as location, natural resources, population density, settlement patterns, modes of life, and so forth.<sup>46</sup>

My concern, however, is not to approach territory through an analytical lens. Instead I would like to approach territory as Stuart Elden proposes, through proximity to other notions and concepts relevant for the reading of territory in history.<sup>47</sup> This means that I would like to replace the question on territory [by its focus on the Iranian context] with sets of new questions that can guide me towards the study of the 'whereness' and 'whatness' of the bazaar. It is also important to keep in mind that most of these writers, e.g. Stuart Elden, Jean Gottmann, Michel Foucault and even Vittorio Gregotti, emphasize that their studies have mainly concerned the [Western] European context and thinking.

Gregotti's understanding of territory was very much rooted in the spatio-temporal context of post-war Italy, while, as Kate Nesbitt notes, his ideas are derived from a Heideggerian phenomenology of 'place'. By radically taking distance from reading territory as a political product, Gregotti disregards the ideas of nation and homeland in binding the modern displaced homelessness to territory, which he advocates as the task of architect. In fact, contrary to Foucault's definition of territory, Gregotti focuses on the individual's relation to the environment and nature, rather than on the [shared] relation among individuals who might claim a territory.<sup>48</sup> Other writers, such as Stuart Elden, approach territory through a political and conceptual reading of its history or through the spatial relation between geography and state power. As he clearly states in his lecture at AA School of Art and Architecture in 2015,

<sup>46</sup> Jean Gottmann, *The Significance of Territory*, by Jean Gottmann (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1973), ix.

<sup>47</sup> Stuart Elden's main concern is to give an account of the emergence of the concept of territory. He does this through a contextualized (historically and geographically) reading of the texts of that tradition, in which he focuses on one key question: what is the relation between place and power? This approach in a historical account is in a way unavoidable, simply because according to Elden, territory as a term does not appear in early political and philosophical texts. Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, 10- 18.

<sup>48</sup> For further reading on Gregotti's notion of territory, see Vittorio Gregotti, 'Architecture, Environment, Nature,' in *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: éditions RIZZOLI, 1993):399-401; Vittorio Gregotti, 'Territory and Architecture,' in *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture: an anthology of architectural theory 1965-1995*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 338-344; and Vittorio Gregotti, 'The Form of the territory,' trans. Filip Geerts, *OASE 80: On Territories* (2010): 7-24.

Elden does not focus particularly on the cultural understanding of territory.<sup>49</sup>

In a way, the political and power-oriented or anthropogenic approach to territory has positioned the definitions on either ideological side of the modernist divide: ‘one scholar’s prescription for self-identification becomes the other’s tool of automatized political control.’<sup>50</sup> This raises the question of whether a productive synthesis of these approaches is possible at all. Indeed, some more recent studies are on the cutting edge of architecture and urbanism, cultural history and political geography. They are written by scholars such as Antoine Picon, Eyal Weizman<sup>51</sup> and Ross Exo Adams.<sup>52</sup> These recent studies not only deal with the description and production of territory, but also its projection and representation. While for Picon these representations and projections are materials for understanding the historical production of territory, for Weizman, interrogating the field of presentation of territories and the overlay of forces and information is part of the goal of his research.

Antoine Picon renders territory in its relation with culture and technology, as well as nature, landscape, projects and institutions. On the one hand, this reading of territory and its history establishes a link between the form and politics of its management. On the other hand, it identifies concepts, tools and techniques through which such a linkage was implemented and represented. As Carolyn Merchants writes in her book *The Death of Nature*, the philosophic, cultural, economic and scientific changes occurring in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, gradually transformed the perception of territory as a somewhat feminine primeval fecund Mother Earth. It gave way to ‘a mechanistic world view in which nature was reconstructed as dead and passive, to be dominated and controlled by humans.’<sup>53</sup> According to this understanding, Picon characterizes territory ‘as a space mastered and policed by institutions and corporations’. Similar to what led to the ‘death of nature’ in the seventeenth century, ‘territorialised space became synonymous with a set of measurable, quantifiable and passive resources’ – e.g. mines, fields, people and their skills – in order to become fully exploited.<sup>54</sup> In other words, nature becomes something that is entirely

<sup>49</sup> To watch Stuart Elden’s lecture at the AA School, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-QiS714BXxc>.

<sup>50</sup> Maura Lucking, ‘The Form of the Discourse: A Contextual Hermeneutic of Vittorio Gregotti’s “Territory,”’ presented at the *Belonging: Cultural Topographies of Identity*, University College Dublin, June 2012: 23.

<sup>51</sup> Eyal Weizman, an architect and professor of visual cultures and director of the Centre for Research Architecture at Goldsmiths, University of London, who has focused on conflict territories and the spatial presence of geopolitical and legal forces within them in his writings and practical experimentation. Together with his Forensic Architecture Group he has developed and implemented various tools, such as mapping and 3D modelling, to use in his research. For further reading on Eyal Weizman and the Forensic Architecture Group, see Eyal Weizman, *Hollow land: Israel’s architecture of occupation* (London: Verso, 2007) and Forensic Architecture: <http://www.forensic-architecture.org/project/>.

<sup>52</sup> Ross Exo Adams is assistant professor of architecture at Iowa State University. His research looks at the historical and political intersection of circulation and urbanization. His writings focus on the inherent relations between architectural practice and geography, political and legal theory and philosophy.

<sup>53</sup> Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of nature: women, ecology, and the scientific revolution* (San Francisco [etc]: Harper & Row, 1983), xvi.

<sup>54</sup> Antoine Picon, ‘What Has Happened to Territory?’ *Architectural Design* 80 (2010): 95.

measurable and definable through quantities. Furthermore, the activation of long distance routes and the formation of private commercial and state endeavours equated the territory to a space for providing the easy circulation of goods and people through the construction of canals, roads, ports and other infrastructures.<sup>55</sup>

Hence, territory in western thought has been closely related to practices such as surveying and cartography, which are meant to provide a panoptic overview of what was available, where and in which quantities.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, the representation of territory through maps and cartography as well as various drawings of engineering machines and infrastructural constructions become essential material sources for Picon to read the territory.<sup>57</sup> Although, as Marc Schoonderbeek states, a ‘map can only fully describe the territory if the one exactly mirrors the other – it is always, by its very nature, a limited reading of the territory as well as a means to reveal specific insights into its modes of operation.’<sup>58</sup> Thus, Picon’s historical and theoretical works bind the discussions on the exercise of power and the management of territory to the historical and cultural particularities and the formal products. As David Gissen says:

Within Picon’s work [...], territory is an active process (more than a thing or locale) in which nature is under a constant state of transformability via human constructions within and outside it. For Picon, this is achieved via a dialectical relation between objects and representations (e.g. bridges and maps). This notion of territory as a representational and material project provides us with a less easily romanticized and ultimately more robust concept than many of its earlier iterations.<sup>59</sup>

In the following chapters, I also will try to dwell on the ‘representation’ of territory and the bazaar, both as a material source (limited available drawings) and for conceptualizing the bazaar (making new drawings). As a result of the limited availability of historical maps and drawings, however, other sources, such as aerial photography and Iranian miniatures, can be useful when interpreted properly. All these sources somehow provide a projection of

<sup>55</sup> Both Foucault and Ross Exo Adams also dwell on this point to address governmentality and shifts in the exercise of power from territory to population and bio-politics through the oceanification of territory or networked territory. For further reading, Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, ed. by Michel Senellart, trans. by Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and Ross Exo Adams, May 11, 2017, ‘Mare Magnum: Urbanization of Land and Sea,’ *MACHINES OF URBANIZATION*, accessed February 20, 2017. <https://rossexoadams.com/2017/05/11/mare-magnum-urbanization-of-land-and-sea/>.

<sup>56</sup> As Antoine Picon explains, this relation is visible from the systematic use of cartography in the colonial context, such as VOC or EIC. See Antoine Picon, ‘What Has Happened to Territory?’ *Architectural Design* 80 (2010): 94–99.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Antoine Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1992).

<sup>58</sup> Marc Schoonderbeek, ‘Place-Time Discontinuities: Mapping Architectural Discourse’ (PhD diss., TU Delft, 2015), 55-56.

<sup>59</sup> David Gissen, ‘Territory versus Territory,’ accessed September 10, 2016, <https://htcexperiments.org/2010/09/16/territory-versus-territory/>.

the territory, landscape and the interrelation of various forces involved in their formation, management and ways of life.

To conclude, I consider territory to be a notion that, in the first place, is *spatial* and *temporal* and in the second place something consisting of *interrelations* between various *concepts* and *practices*, which make a specific way of life and management of land and space possible (i.e. it conditions life and at the same time it is the result of a specific way of life). In this sense, territory is not only a product or a projection but also a precondition. The territory comprises a way of inhabiting the land, techniques for its management, as well as measuring and controlling. Hence, as Stuart Elden states:

Territory is a historical question: produced, mutable and fluid. It is geographical, not simply because it is one of the ways of ordering the world, but also because it is profoundly uneven in its development. It is a word, concept and a practice; where the relation between these can only be grasped genealogically. It is a political question, but in a broad sense: economic, strategic, legal, and technical. Territory must be approached politically in its historical, geographical and conceptual specificity.<sup>60</sup>

Hence, being mutable, the approach towards the definition and formation of territory might differ in space, place and time. This means that territory, as mentioned above, is not only a historical and geographical question but also something cultural, technical, legal, economic and political.

Furthermore, the spatiality of territory is not necessarily bounded. One of Elden's main critiques in his article 'Territory and Territoriality' regarding the use and definition of 'territory' is related to limiting it as a 'bounded space'. Here, I agree with Elden that territory is not necessarily a 'bounded space'. In other words, 'not all territories are bounded spaces; and not all bounded spaces are territories. Putting a boundary around something is not sufficient in its creation as a territory, yet this remains a much-used, indeed dominant, definition.'<sup>61</sup>

In architectural debates, territory appears as a discourse to address the new scale of the architectural project but also to reintroduce the complexity of relations between the form of architecture and its site and environment, which, for example in the case of Picon, is not separate from the legal, political and power relations involved in this process. In the same way, the bazaar's extensive scale requires that it be read as something beyond a purely architectonic object. Instead, reading it as a process and project relying on and responding to certain territorial conditions by giving them form can be helpful in surpassing some of the problems and issues raised in the previous chapter. It also needs much deeper understanding

<sup>60</sup> Stuart Elden, 'Land, terrain, territory,' *Progress in human geography*, 34/6 (2010):812.

<sup>61</sup> Stuart Elden, 'Territory-Territoriality,' forthcoming in Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies:1.

of the forces and practices (cultural, legal, economic and geopolitical) involved in a territory, 'where' the bazaar has been historically located.

Therefore, territory as an overarching discourse makes it possible to address the complexity of the bazaar and provide a coherent understanding of it not merely as a fragmented compositional object necessary to fill the gaps between the spaces of other architectural objects in the city, but as a coherent architectural entity which creates the possibility of negotiation, confrontation and exchange.

### 2.3. The territory and the superimposition of different regimes<sup>62</sup>

Fig. 2.4

In light of what has been discussed until now, I will conclude this chapter by posing a question about the possibility of reading and interpreting territory by means of an aerial photograph taken by Georg Gerster during his journey to Iran in 1976-78. This photograph frames (and thus constructs) the superimposition of various forces and practices affecting the territory. It is a representation of the territory. It captures something beyond a visual aesthetic in an apparent emptiness of a landscape. Therefore, how should we proceed further in reading an invisible complexity in scale and order of the constituent elements and traces of the image?

As explained in the book *Ancient Iran from the Air*, this photograph reveals 'a palimpsest of shafts of underground water infrastructures or *qanats* which criss-cross an area of recently formed fields.'<sup>63</sup> While the picture depicts different types of *qanat* structures – i.e. the rows of *qanats* with single rows of shafts with various distances, and *qanats* with double shafts for facilitating cleaning and maintenance – it also exhibits faint traces of much earlier *qanats*, which were replaced by new ones.<sup>64</sup>

However, in addition to this we can also discover various scales of order and a concurrence of different layers and elements. First, the ones which act vernacularly (locally), i.e. the pattern of division of farm lands, operating on a small-scale with a faster mutation than the second and third ones. Second, the ones that operate on a broader scale of a territory, i.e. the traces of the underground *qanats* and eventually the ones that are related to a bigger system of connections and distributions such as the road depicted at the very left bottom of this picture.

This understanding of the territory is similar to the way in which the writer and philosopher Sebastian Marot in his *Relative Manifesto for Sub-Urbanism*<sup>65</sup> identifies a superimposed complex

<sup>62</sup> I borrowed the term 'regime' from Sebastian Marot's identification of hyper-landscapes. Marot himself does not use the term with a specific definition or certain social, political or institutional denomination (*regere*: to rule) in mind; however, what seems important in this term is the convergence of a certain order and principle and mode of management.

<sup>63</sup> David Stronach and Ali Mousavi (eds.), Georg Gerster (photography) *Ancient Iran from the Air* (Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2012), 26.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> 'Palimpsestuous Ithaca: A Relative Manifesto for Sub-Urbanism' is the title of a lecture that Sébastien Marot gave at the Berlage Institute in the Netherlands in 2013. Sebastian Marot is a philosopher by training and a critic in

territory, where the various regimes of ordering converge.<sup>66</sup> By paying direct homage to J.B. Jackson, who provided a classification of different kinds of landscape(s) – that of the vernacular and political<sup>67</sup> – Marot proposes a third situation, consisting of various regimes of territorial ordering. His aim is to describe the contemporary territory, its ‘palimpsestuous’ character, depth and extent. He does this by rendering ‘a complex interrelation of local and territorial networks, urban natural and anthropic fragments which are juxtaposed and superimposed in a vertical layering.’<sup>68</sup> Marot defines this third situation as *hyper-landscape*.

This superimposition of various regimes not only concerns the intermingling of various scales of operation; it also refers to multiple regimes of occupation of the environment or of territorialities. So the focus of this superimposition is not only a horizontal or vertical physical composition of things, layers and strata, i.e. the farms being vertically juxtaposed on the *qanats* or horizontally placed next to the road; rather these various layers have a complex relation, reflecting the social, political and economic forces at play. For example, the legal issue of ownership as well as various systems of authorship regarding the controlling and maintenance of lands and infrastructures overlap here and influence the morphogenesis of the territory.

By referring to the intermingling of various scales of operation, the image also draws our attention to the ways in which the calculative and linear rationality of an infrastructure (either road or *qanat*) has to meet a situation or a locale. The important concern here are the ways in which these various disparate spatial systems coexisted in an orderly, productive and sophisticated assemble. This is perhaps one of the dilemmas of modern infrastructure, obsessed with precision in measuring and colonizing territory. It is what James Corner calls the ‘Aporia of modern measure’, characterised by ‘general confusion of meaning and relationship between art, science, culture and nature, or objectivity and subjectivity. Our modern culture, particularly our relationship with the environment, is constructed upon dichotomies and oppositions that cannot seem to find a common measure.’<sup>69</sup>

It is this process, (i.e. the superimposition of various territorial regimes, concepts and practices) that makes it possible to re-think the architecture of the bazaar. This understanding of territory is especially important for conceptualizing the bazaar, not only in the sense of the different scales of its operation, but also the intermingling of various territorialities, which take form in and with the bazaar and are reflected spatially through the superposition

architecture and landscape design.

<sup>66</sup> Although here Marot is mainly interested in the problem of ‘landscape’, and in fact he calls these territories hyper-landscapes, my concern in this thesis is not about landscape in the sense of forming and shaping the land, nor with whatever is necessarily visible.

<sup>67</sup> John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the vernacular landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 145-159.

<sup>68</sup> Francesco Marullo, ‘Underground Observatories: on Marot’s Palimpsestuous Ithaca,’ *The City as a Project*, September 10, 2011, accessed May 12, 2017. <http://thecityasaproject.org/2011/09/underground-observatories-on-marots-palimpsestuous-ithaca/>.

<sup>69</sup> James Corner, ‘Taking Measure: Irony and Contradiction in an Age of Precision,’ in *Across the American Landscape*, James Corner and Alex S. Maclean (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 25.



2.4: The superposition of various territorial regimes, Yazd, Iran; Aerial photograph by Georg Gerster, 1976-78.

of various social, ownership, managerial and organizational regimes.

Territoriality as a term denotes a condition or status of territory or something pertaining to it.<sup>70</sup> Here, by territoriality I am referring to a way of world-making and a way of life. It is the way in which one relates to sets of preconditions to define and form territoriality and to make life possible within it. Thus it is not only about strategies to manage space/place, but it is also about the processes and products (both physical and imagery). It is reflection and projection simultaneously, a reflection on what is there and a projection of what it can be.

According to David Delaney, 'territoriality is better understood as implicating and being implicated in ways of thinking, acting, and being in the world – ways of world-making informed by beliefs, desires, and culturally and historically contingent ways of knowing.'<sup>71</sup> Territoriality is the way in which 'human associations – cultures, societies and smaller collectives – and institutions organize themselves in space'<sup>72</sup> alongside and with the territory.

Hence, in the next chapters I will try to use territory as a framework to unfold the 'whereness' and 'whatness' of the bazaar. I will do this by analysing some of the approaches, lenses and concepts discussed in this chapter in order to advocate certain preconditions and processes as well as spatial products in the geographical and geopolitical sense within the Iranian Plateau, but also in relation to the form of state and legal and ownership systems. The aim is to activate the concept of territory by creating interrelations between various notions discussed in this chapter. I will also focus on the notion of territoriality as a way of world-making. It addresses the ways of life and the management of a territory as a projected world constantly in the process of making. The next two chapters (three and four) propose some concepts and lenses which supposedly take form in and with the bazaar, leading to a conception of the bazaar's 'whatness' in the final two chapters.

<sup>70</sup> Stuart Elden in the introduction to his book, *The Birth of Territory*, states that today territoriality has lost this definition, and it has under-examined territory as a distinct concept. 'It is equally important to recognize that there are conflicting traditions in the use of the term, in the more modern sense: the first biological, the second social.' For further reading, see Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, 3-6.

<sup>71</sup> David Delaney, *Territory: A Short Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 12.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.



## **CHAPTER THREE: Geography and the geopolitics of the in-between**

3.1. Introduction

3.2. Flight over the Iranian landscape: From surface to depth, from territory to object

3.3. An insight into the geographical and geological condition of the Iranian Plateau

3.3.1. The geopolitics of the in-between and spaces of movements: The roads

3.3.2. Extraction of hidden waters: A hypothetical territorial section of the city

3.4. The formation of different territorialities



### 3.1. Introduction

In a comparison to Roman and Greek cities, it has often been stated that the Eastern or oriental city was isolated phenomenon and the one which is detached from its territory. For example, Aldo Rossi in his book *The Architecture of the city* defines the ‘oriental’ city as an ‘isolated encampment’. Referring to Marcel Poëte, a French historian and urban planning theoretician (1866-1950), and Carlo Cattaneo, an Italian philosopher and writer (1801-1869), Rossi states ‘to Cattaneo, as also to Poëte, the different destiny of the polis of the Oriental cities, which were nothing but “great walled encampments” and barbarian installations and which “lived off their neighbours” (*per vicus habitant*), seemed very clear.’<sup>1</sup> He further emphasizes: ‘Cattaneo correctly intuited that the walled encampments of the East were completely detached from the region around them [...]’.<sup>2</sup>

I should mention here that an elaboration on this specific passage needs a proper discursive ground which is not the concern of this thesis. But what I can say is that the comparison Rossi makes, although very rough, is clear in arguing that the Greek polis is a city-state where the city is firmly related to its territory and ‘the city’s ties with the region were extremely strong’. It knows no limit, either physical (like Eastern city) or sacred (like Roman city). Rossi does not expand much on his statement about the Eastern/oriental city. Indeed, the statement merely serves to sharpen the focus on Athens ‘as a clear example for the science of urban artifacts,’ which ‘embodies the passage from nature to culture.’

However, the reason for such a claim in Cattaneo’s writings, for example, lies in the references to the tribal and nomadic background of the Orient, and for that reason he basically claims that no city in the real sense existed in the East.<sup>3</sup> While such a statement seems disputable, it somehow raises questions regarding the ways in which a territory can be claimed, managed and inhabited. It poses questions about the ways in which various ways of life relate to, define and project their territories. And what the physical and spatial outcomes of these interactions and projections might be.

In this chapter, I argue that what Rossi calls the oriental or Eastern city – and here I am specifically referring to cities on the Iranian Plateau – could not be an isolated encampment; rather it was related to its territory on various levels. This certainly does not mean that there were no limits or borders;<sup>4</sup> rather it suggests that, on the one hand, the cities were part of a network of settlements operating as a precondition for the cities’ continued existence. On the other hand, the city, or any settlement, had to have a close relationship with its

<sup>1</sup> Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the city*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1984), 136-137.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Carlo Cattaneo, ‘La città considerata come principio ideale delle istorie italiane,’ *Crepuscolo* no. 42,44,50,52 (17 and 31 October, 12 and 16 December 1858): 657-659, 689-693, 785-790, 817-821.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, the wall in the Iranian city was not primarily a defensive element, rather it was the constituent element of the city which formed the life. For further reading see: Hamed Khosravi, ‘Geopolitics of tabula rasa: Persian garden and the idea of city,’ *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 38:1(2014): 39-53.

territory and geography, which I will elaborate on in the following pages. In fact, the various levels of organization in the city – i.e. morphological, spatial, social and economic – were closely related to the territory. Indeed, the aim of the final chapters in this dissertation is to argue that the bazaar as an architectural entity represents this territorial relation between the city and the territory and for that reason the understanding of its ‘whereness’ propels the conceptualization of its ‘whatness’.

### 3.2. Flight over the Iranian landscape: From surface to depth, from territory to object

One of the most fascinating archaeological studies on the relation between the city and the territory was carried out by Erich Schmidt (1897-1964), a German-born American scholar who worked in Iran during the 1930s. Schmidt’s research is specifically important because of his way of conducting archaeological surveys based on the extensive use of aerial photography, drawing and map-making. *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran* (1940) is his most well-known and fascinating publication, which combines descriptions of his flights over a larger landscape – i.e. the relation between topography, roads, water infrastructure, agriculture farm and various settlements – as well as the description of architectural elements of the excavation sites and the archaeological objects found in each specific excavation site.

In this way, Schmidt’s text constantly shifts between different scales and various contents in history, geography and anthropology. What Schmidt is genuinely interested in is not only providing precise descriptions of his observations, but also looking into the relations between things. He wishes to learn about how the territory was inhabited in a general sense. As Manu P. Solti and Sahar Hosseini explain in their article ‘Re-examining “Persianate Civitas”’, Schmidt’s publication elevated archaeological survey to a new art form; the one which has its success in employing aerial surveying and photography together with archaeological excavations and describing things and their relations – e.g. objects, landscape and history – in the form of an enigmatic story.<sup>5</sup>

Relying on some important works by [geographical] historians of the medieval Islamic period, such as Le Strange’s *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Al-Muqaddasi’s (945–1005 CE) *Ahsan al-Ta’asim* and al-Tabari’s (838–923) *Tarikh al-Tabari*,<sup>6</sup> Schmidt’s search was based on rendering a multiplicity and interconnection of settlements within the immediate landscape and a larger region. This is reflected in his literal act of tracing in the drawings of excavation sites over his aerial photographs. As Solti and Hosseini explain, Schmidt’s research actually brought a new vision to the previous studies, which dealt mainly with isolated sites, by implementing new technology, such as aerial photography, to construct the

Fig. 3.1

<sup>5</sup> Manu P. Solti and Sahar Hosseini, ‘Re-examining “Persianate Civitas”: Networked Urbanities and Suburban Hinterlands in Erich Schmidt’s Flights,’ in *The historiography of Persian architecture*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

idea of ‘networked urbanities and suburban hinterlands’.<sup>7</sup>

Schmidt also realized that Persian urbanism and its genesis could be clarified through a fuller consideration of the physical form of these cities and the regional geographies that served to create a web of cities across the Islamic lands.<sup>8</sup>

The flight map prepared by Schmidt is indeed the representation of such an investigation. As he roams above the landscape to look for a broader understanding of a site, he frames the archaeological artifacts in connection with the larger territory and various spatial and physical elements. Moreover, his photographs and descriptions give equal importance to the water infrastructure, irrigation systems, farms, roads, settlements and cities, and the archaeological site and objects. For example, in the description of Bustam or Bastam, a small town in northern Iran, he writes:

A defence wall with many towers encloses the clusters of houses, the 9<sup>th</sup>-century tomb of Shaikh Bayazid, [...] and other interesting structures. Fields surround the town and reach as far as sweet water will reach; but beyond is steppe and desert.<sup>9</sup>

Or in his description of Turut or Torud, a small village in the south of the Salt Desert of Damghan, he writes:

Turut is one of these places at the rim of the infernal *kavir* [desert]. It is actually wedged between two salt deserts, the *kavir* of Damghan and the “great *kavir*.” It owes its existence to a threat of sweet water breaking from low range of hills which partly separates the lifeless plain.<sup>10</sup>

These descriptions and photographs capture a close relationship between a settlement and the territory. Schmidt’s study proposes a necessity for a constant shift and transition in scale and simultaneous juxtaposition of various lenses to understand such a relation, akin to what was discussed in the last chapter regarding territory as the superposition of various regimes, practices and forces. Both conceptually and methodologically, Schmidt’s studies navigate between the smooth space of movement and the circulation on the surface of territory (the airplane), captured places in relation to surrounding territory, which proposes a certain order and complexity (captured photographs of the settlements and specific architectural features), and then an in-depth excavation of specific locations (archaeological excavations) and the text that somehow binds all of these scales and lenses together. To further explore this territorial interconnectedness, the following sections address the geological condition of the

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 19-27.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>9</sup> Erich Friedrich Schmidt, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 35.

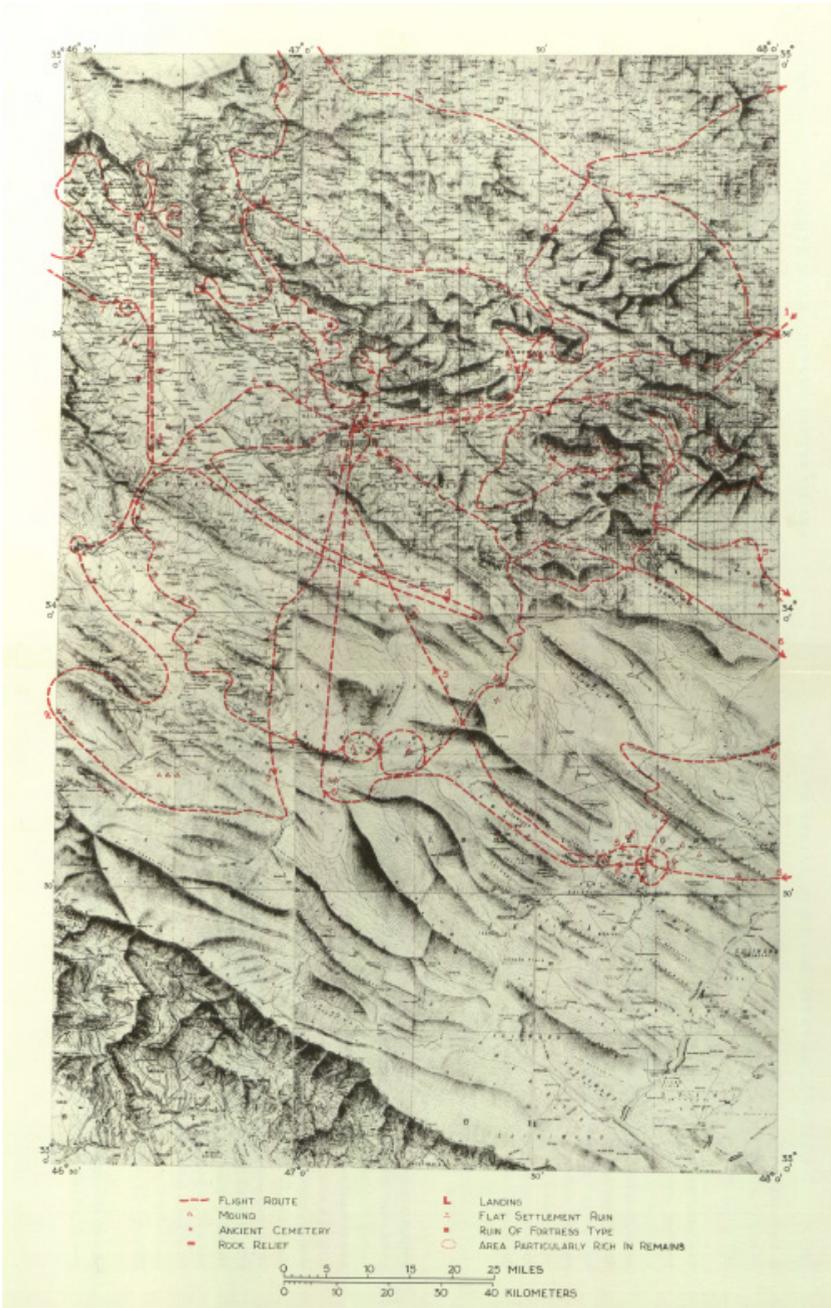
<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 36.



3.1: Vertical view of the site of Persepolis. 'In the form of a plastic map the system of fortifications with its towers, the complex of palaces, and the physical environs of the royal site are spread below.' Aerial photograph by Erich Schmidt, September 27, 1935. The left map is the edited version of the vertical view photograph in which the relation between elements, i.e. the topography, fortification, water infrastructure (*qanat*), road and other elements, are highlighted on tracing paper.



3.2: The historical settlement of Band-e Amir (whose name is associated with Amir dam or band) is captured within its territory in relation to the larger irrigation system and band-e Amir (or Amir Dam), built over Kur River in the Fars region in Iran during the Buyid dynasty (934-1055). Schmidt quotes Le Strange, who writes that 'Ten great water wheels raised the water to such a height level that three hundred villages could be supplied with the water, so precious in Iran; and at each wheel there was a flour mill.' Aerial photograph by Erich Schmidt, September 27, 1935.



3.3: The map projects the flight routes over the western and south-western regions of Iran: Kermanshah, Lorestan and Kordestan. Erich Schmidt, 1937.



3.4: Bustam (Bastam), a place of pilgrimage in northern Iran. Aerial photograph by Erich Schmidt, September 23, 1935.



3.5: Turut (Torud), a town in the Salt Desert; a clear border between inhabited territory and desert which absorbs the hidden underground water from the heart of the mountains. The rows of qanats are visible on the top of the photograph. Schmidt writes: 'On a tongue of solid land, south of the Salt Desert of Damghan, lies this strange little town. It owes its existence to a thread of sweet water and to a patch of fertile soil cultivated to the last inch.' Aerial photograph by Erich Schmidt, 23, 1935.

Iranian Plateau as well as the necessity of the road system and their close relationship with the cities as a result of what I term the 'geopolitics of the in-between'.

### 3.3. An insight into the geographical and geological condition of the Iranian Plateau

[In Iran] the water running down from the mountains was collected on the spot and with great care for dwellers on the periphery, a string of towns serving as staging-posts along the caravan routes.<sup>11</sup>

The geological and geographical features of the Iranian Plateau established preconditions for ways of inhabiting the land and managing the territory. According to many geologists, the Iranian Plateau<sup>12</sup> was formed and shaped by the uplifting and folding effects of three giant plates pressing against each other:<sup>13</sup> the Arabian Plate, the Eurasian Plate, and the Indian Plate.<sup>14</sup> As a result, a series of mountain chains, mainly in the north and south-west, enclose the interior basins of Iran.<sup>15</sup>

Fig. 3.6

Mostly consisting of desert and barren land, the uniqueness of Iran is the result of the intersection of two extreme geographical conditions: on the one hand, the country is part of the Eurasian mountain belt 'which runs from the Iberian Peninsula, through the Alps, the Balkans, the Carpathians, the Taurus and Pontus, and the Iranian highlands rims of the Elburz and Zagros'.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, Iran is also part of 'the arid belt of the Old World which stretches from the Sahara in the west across the Arabian Peninsula and the Iranian Plateau to the deserts of Central Asia in the east.'<sup>17</sup>

As a result, the northern and south-western mountain range and eastern highlines enclose the central bastion of Iran (including Dasht-e Kavir and Dasht-e Lut, *dasht* meaning open land in Farsi), leaving only a limited number of possible openings through which this area could be entered, thus creating important, major international route networks.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore,

<sup>11</sup> Maurice Lombard, *The golden age of Islam*, trans. Joan Spencer (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 31.

<sup>12</sup> The Iranian Plateau 'is a former seabed that dates from the Mesozoic era and found its present shape during the Quaternary period about 200,000 years ago', Masoud Kheirabadi, *Iranian cities, formation and development* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1991), 11. However, the exact definition of its boundary has been disputed, partly because of the political divisions and inclusion or exclusion of various highlands of distinctive countries, such as that of Afghanistan and the western part of Pakistan. W.B. Fisher, 'Physical Geography,' *The land of Iran*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 5.

<sup>13</sup> This pressing, uplifting and folding is a continuous process, which caused the formation of numerous faults on the edges of the folds, and it is the main reason why there is a constant threat of earthquakes along these faults.

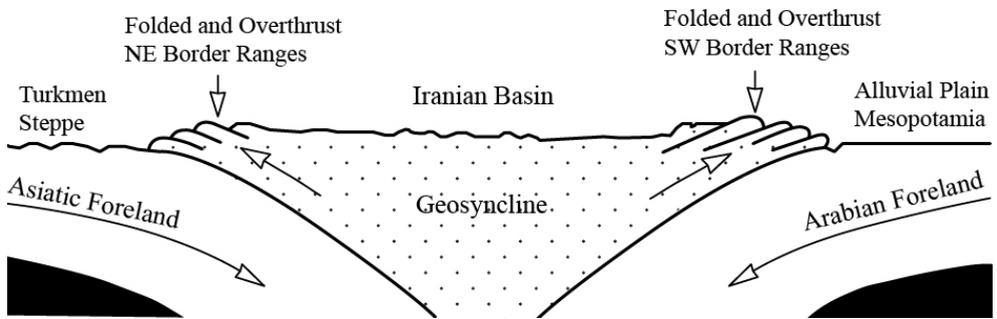
<sup>14</sup> J.V. Harrison, *Geology*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Iran, The Land of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 111-185.

<sup>15</sup> This central basin includes the central deserts, i.e. *Dasht-e-Lut* and *Dasht-e Kavir*, which are some of the driest and hottest spots in the world.

<sup>16</sup> Heinz Guabe, 'Iranian Cities,' in *The City in the Islamic World*, Vol. 2, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and Andre Raymond (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 160.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Lombard, *The golden age of Islam*, 33.



3.6: Diagram of the Iranian orogen by J.V. Harrosin, 'Much of Iran provides an example of a two-sided orogen. A lowland is situated on each side of the orogen from which mountain chains arise, and between these chains is a region of basins and ranges of lower hills. The Russian platform lies to the north of Iran, with the curving chain forming the Alburz Mountains south of it. Central Iran, consisting of basins with subordinate chains, has a complicated history. The Zagros range skirts its south-western side for 800 miles and beyond the Zagros are the plains of Iraq or Mesopotamia, the growing delta of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the Persian Gulf'

J.V. Harrosin, 'Geology,' *The Land of Iran, vol. 1 of The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 183.

while these mountains hinder the arrival of precipitation in the central depressed land, they are the main supply of water and fertile soil.

### 3.3.1. The geopolitics of the in-between and spaces of movements: The roads

The geological evolution and geographical features of the Iranian Plateau created a strategic situation there, in the sense that geopolitically this territory turned into a natural passage between the Mediterranean world with East Asia and the Indian subcontinent.<sup>19</sup> As a result, the main international road networks passed through the internal land, on the edge between the desert and mountain where the topographical features allow for the easiest passage.<sup>20</sup> This passage not only facilitated the movement and transition of military and commercial goods, but it also enabled the transmission of culture and knowledge.<sup>21</sup> It was not by chance that all the capital cities after the introduction of Islam to Iran – such as Mashhad, Qazvin, Soltaniyeh, Maragheh, Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz and Kerman – were located along the main international road networks that crossed the Iranian mainland.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the well-being of this passage, not only but also maintaining the monopoly of such a transition and communication system was likewise of significance.

Fig. 3.7

Until the sixteenth century, the main international roads passing through Iran were:<sup>23</sup>

- The route from China, which entered the north-east of Iran.<sup>24</sup>
- Two routes from India, one from north-west India entering the north-east of Iran, and another from the south-west, connecting today's Pakistan to the south-east of Iran.<sup>25</sup>
- The third route connected Europe to the north-west of Iran via the Anatolian Plateau.<sup>26</sup>
- The fourth route linked the Nile Delta and North and East Africa to the western parts of Iran.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Roloff Beny and Mitchell Crites, *Persia, Bridge of Turquoise* (New York: Graphic Society, 1975), 5.

<sup>20</sup> Indeed, in most of the available maps before the eighteenth century, the erroneous presentation of the northern edges of the Caspian Lake as opposed to the rather precise survey of its southern areas indicates the accessibility and the flow of [international] movement through the Iranian mainland as a transition region.

<sup>21</sup> For example, the Parthians spread Buddhism via the Silk Road from Central Asia to China and Islam was spread via this international road to India and Southeast Asia. For further reading on the importance of the role of these international road networks in the transmission of culture and knowledge, see Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti, Elnaz Najar Najafi and Behnam Aboutorabian, 'Where is Iran: Road as the Mirror of Iranian Culture,' *Pardisan Research Plan on Cultural Tourism*, December 27, 2011, <http://pardisanplan.com/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

<sup>22</sup> Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti, *The Story of Tehran* (Tehran: Cultural Research Bureau, 2016), 22.

<sup>23</sup> Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti, Elnaz Najar Najafi and Behnam Aboutorabian, 'Where is Iran: Road as the Mirror of Iranian Culture,' <http://pardisanplan.com/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

<sup>24</sup> Beginning in the central region of India, this route passed through Lahore, Kabul, Herat and Khvaf and arrived at Neyshabour in the north-east of Iran.

<sup>25</sup> Beginning in the southern region of India, this route connected the coastline of the Indian Ocean to the southern region of Pakistan, and from there it bifurcated, one fork passing through Qandahar and then arriving at Neyshabour, and the other entering the southern areas of Iran, passing through Baluchistan, Kerman and Yazd.

<sup>26</sup> This route passed through the Anatolian plateau or Caucasus corridor and arrived at Tabriz in the north-west of Iran.

<sup>27</sup> This route either passed through Palestinian, Levantine and Anatolian territory, arriving at Baghdad or it connected

These routes created intense crossroads where they reached each other in the inner part of Iran.<sup>28</sup> Maurice Lombard (1904-1995)<sup>29</sup> sees this territory literally taking shape through the intensity of these routes and their relation to the cities, which act as a series of urban islands linked together by routes.<sup>30</sup>

The main parts of these routes are positioned on an edge in between mountain and desert, and it is precisely along this edge where it is possible to access the underground water sources. This edge is where most of the cities were established and prospered throughout history. Therefore, roads and cities were closely related, and this relationship constituted an order and hierarchy within a region between the cities, smaller settlements and *caravanserais* as temporary resting points. However, as spaces of transition, exchange and movement, these roads were not only important for cities and settlements, but they also facilitated the constant flux of nomads into the inner plateau. In a way, they were a homage to a nomadic way of life.

Fig. 3.8

### 3.3.2. Extraction of hidden waters: A hypothetical territorial section of the city

The geological condition of the Iranian Plateau and the symbiosis of desert and mountain resulted in a condition that although the main part of the plateau is covered by dry land, the level of underground water, stored between layers of the folded ground and faults, is nonetheless quite high. The presence of subsurface water reservoirs provided potential<sup>31</sup> for human life within the scarce and harsh environment of this territory through underground water infrastructures called *qanats*, used for irrigation, and as a supply of drinking water.<sup>32</sup> In fact this was a territorial management – present on various spatial and physical, legal, social and cultural levels – which provided the possibility of accessing sweet water, as a potential source and precondition for life.<sup>33</sup>

the Nile Delta to Mecca, Medina and Baghdad through the Red Sea and then reached the west side of Iran.

<sup>28</sup> In addition to the land routes, there were some water routes that mainly followed the coast line. However, these routes over water were not as important as the land routes because of the limitations associated with sea journeys at the time.

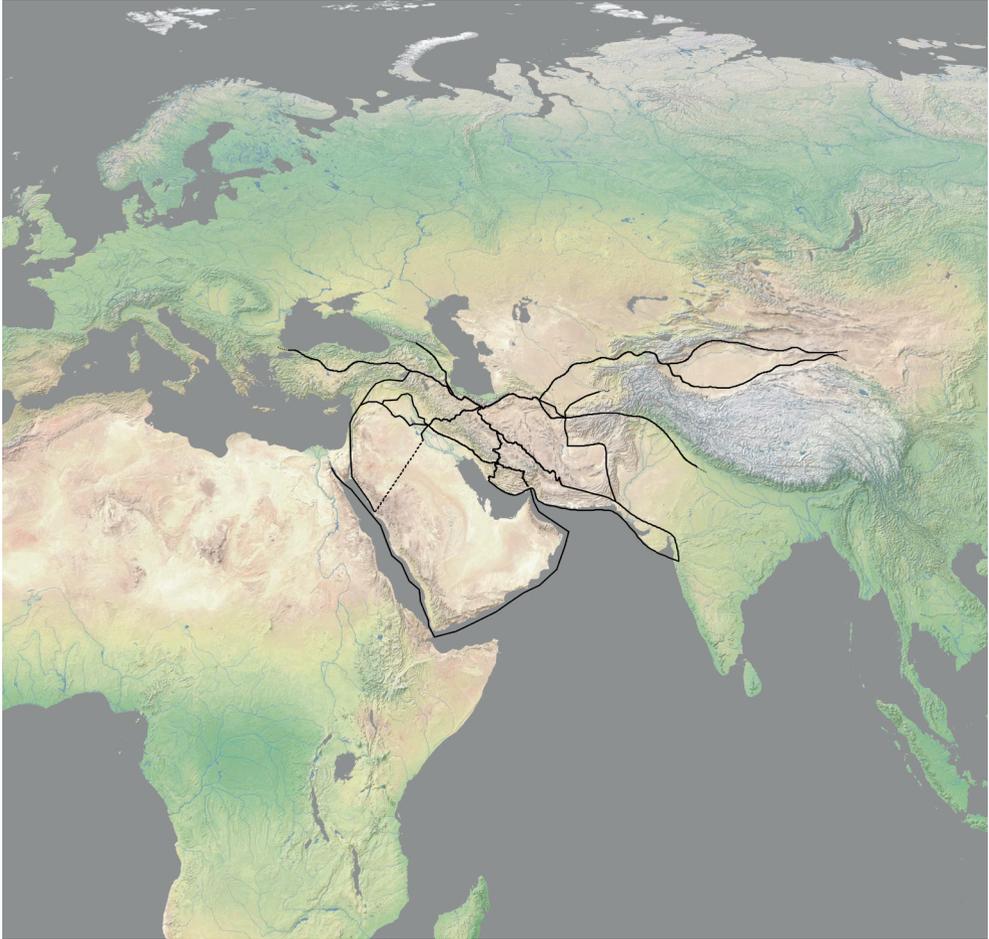
<sup>29</sup> Maurice Lombard is a well-known French historian who was inspired by influential historians such as Fernand Braudel and participated in theoretical discussions and writings on history at the *Annales School*. He sought to promote the interaction between history and all of the social sciences and geography instead of political narratives and diplomacy, which dominated historical publishing during the nineteenth century. Lombard was a specialist in medieval Islam. For further reading on the *Annales School*, see Philip Daileader and Philip Whalen, *French historians 1900-2000: New historical writing in twentieth-century France* (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 365-367.

<sup>30</sup> Lombard, *The golden age of Islam*, 10.

<sup>31</sup> When something has potential, it means that it has the capacity and possibility of existing but this capacity is latent. It needs to be activated and fulfilled. In a large area of the Iranian Plateau the basic resources such as water and fertile land were potentially there but not primarily available.

<sup>32</sup> 'Qanat' is an Arabic term which has become the preferred technical term following the Islamic conquest of the seventh century in western areas of Iran. However, before *qanat* the word *kariz* was used, a classical, Eastern (e.g., Khorasan, Baluchistan, Afghanistan) and Middle Persian form of *karēz* [*kar-* 'to draw furrows' and *rēz-* 'to flow'].

<sup>33</sup> Although *qanat* has been vastly used in various parts of the Iranian Plateau as a unique solution to the hidden sources of water in Iran, in various cities in Iran according to their specific location and potential, other techniques for accessing and storing the water were used, for example collecting the rainwater in the known historic port of *Siraf* on the shore of the Persian Gulf, or the round plan of the city of Qazvin, surrounded by the Hazelnut gardens,



3.7: The map shows the main international routes passing through the mainland of Iran until the sixteenth century. Slowly parts of these networks lost their importance and relevance in the seventeenth century and thereafter. The map was made based on mappings prepared by the Pardisan Research Plan on cultural tourism in Iran.



3.8: The map shows some of the main roads passing through the mainland of Iran with the main cities alongside. This map does not show the secondary winter routes and the winter and summer diversions of these routes. The map was made based on mappings prepared by the Pardisan Research Plan on cultural tourism in Iran.

*Qanats* are subterranean hydro-infrastructures that provide access to hidden underground water sources at the foot of mountains. Vertical shafts of successively increasing depth are connected by a horizontal underground tunnel (*dehliẓ*) that cuts through the sediment of an alluvial fan or other porous substrata and directs the water from subterranean aquifers through a slight slope to gardens, farms and settlements.

Fig. 3.9

According to Henri Goblot, a French geologist and expert on *qanats*, the slope of an underground canal (*dehliẓ*) should be 0.5/1000. This keeps to a minimum the erosion of the *dehliẓ*'s edges and bottom caused by the flow of water. This is indeed a very important and delicate technical issue, since it directly influences the point where water emerges on the surface of the ground (*farhang*)<sup>34</sup> and hence it affects the exact location of a settlement or farm. In this sense, arguably there is a direct relation between the slope of the ground and the ways water is managed.<sup>35</sup>

Fig. 3.10

While most of the scholarly works from various disciplines agree that *qanats* are a quintessential Iranian technology and 'there can be little doubt that their remains dominate the irrigated landscapes of Iran'<sup>36</sup>, the actual region in which they originated is now the subject of debate. Scholars such as Goblot have proposed that *qanat* is a technique for accessing underground water, similar to the technique of mine excavation – i.e. canals constructed during excavation work on mines to drain unwanted water seepage.<sup>37</sup>

Whatever the history of the *qanat*, what is important is that the development of this system has been extremely influential on various cultural, social, economic and political levels of territorial management and settlements on the Iranian Plateau as well as other regions in the Middle East. As Paul English states, *qanats* represent the imagination and the 'lifeworld' of the Iranian Plateau by:

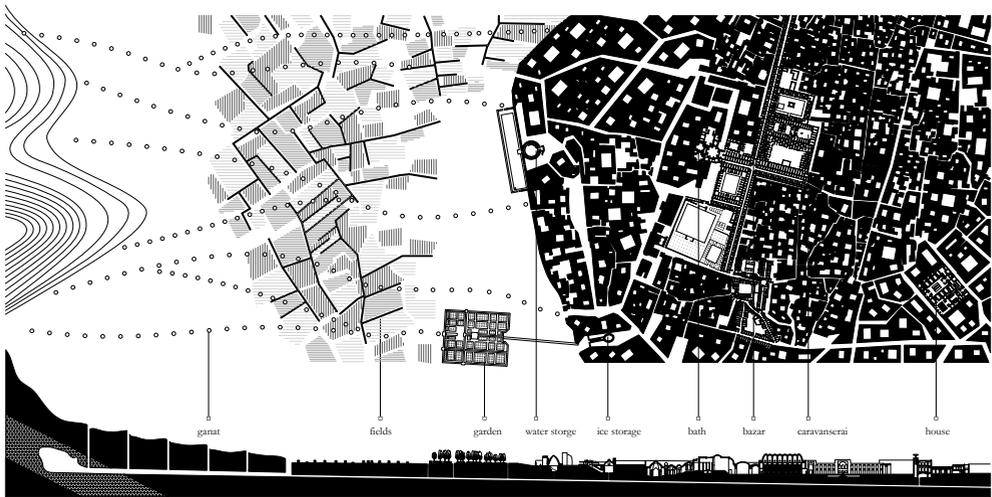
for halting and using the seasonal flood, or the delicate engineering needed to manage the extreme fluctuation of water in the river of Isfahan, are all examples that present diverse responses for providing life in Iran's harsh environment.

<sup>34</sup> *Farhang* is where underground water emerges over the ground. But *farhang* also means culture. The etymological roots of both *culture* and *farhang* refer to the tilling or cultivation of land, the training or improvement of the faculties, care (of a monument), upkeep and the cultivation of the acquaintance (of a person). See the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1968, 'cultūra' And *Dehkhoda Dictionary* under r "فرهنگ". Thus the importance of water in this region becomes apparent in the meanings of the use of the term *farhang*, both in the connotation of culture and where water emerges in the land's surface. In her PhD dissertation, Elnaz Najar Najafi conducts an interesting and detailed analysis of this claim. For further reading, see Elnaz Najar Najafi, 'To Build and to Be Built: Revisiting the Relation between Culture and Architecture' (PhD diss., Shahid Beheshti University of Tehran, 2015), 33-47.

<sup>35</sup> Where the slope is steep, water moves in a linear way and it is difficult to direct the water through a network of water systems. Gardens had this role of managing the linear flow of water into a network towards the city. The big ponds in the gardens were used to distribute the water. Thus, the position of the cities – in relation to the mountain – should be very precisely considered to be able to ensure the proper distribution of water through a vast network of smaller alleys.

<sup>36</sup> David Stronach and Ali Mousavi (eds.), Georg Gerster (photography), *Ancient Iran from the Air* (Darmstadt: Philipp Von Zabern Verlag, 2012), 16-20.

<sup>37</sup> Henri Goblot, *Les qanats: une technique d'acquisition de l'eau*, trans. A. Sarvqad Moqadam and M.H. Papoli Yazdi (Mashhad: Astan-e Qods, 1992).



3.9: A hypothetical territorial section showing how the qanat system, together with various architectural constructs such as the *chabrbaqh* (garden), *ab-anbars* (or water storage) and *yakhchal* (ice storages), provided water for settlements and farms. Hence it established a delicate managerial system of the territory that created the possibility of accommodating life. The drawing shows a general typo-morphological condition of the city in relation to the topography and geology, and it presents a collage of elements from several other cities. Drawing by the author and Raul Forsoni.



3.10: Golpayegan, Iran. This photo shows the point where ‘a qanat comes to the surface, having carried pristine water deep beneath the bare, uncultivated dasht (whence the word ‘desert’) to its intended destination. Below an initial, walled stretch of the surface stream, three separate irrigation channels then serve to direct the water towards the adjacent fields and settlements.’  
Aerial photograph by Georg Gerster, 1976-78.



3.11: Yazd, Iran. The picture illustrates an *ab-anbar* (water storage) or domed cistern ringed by six tall wind-catchers, each of which was designed to capture the wind from all directions, for ventilation and to cool down the water. In its foundation, a perimeter wall protects the base of the dome of ab-anbar and also guides the run-off after the occasional heavy rainstorm into the cistern. Aerial photograph by Georg Gerster, 1976-78.



3.12: Sirjan. The picture shows an ice-making and storage structure or yakhchal. Two tall curved walls are used to provide shade for the shallow tanks, 'where, in winter, qanat water was turned into ice, chopped out and then stored in deep pits beneath the stepped, domed ice houses.'  
Aerial photograph by Georg Gerster, 1976-78.

(1) determining settlement location; (2) structuring built environments within settlements; and (3) requiring social cohesion in water allocation, water distribution, water use, and system maintenance. These lifeworlds framed the horizons of everyday life in plateau settlements, encompassing people's firsthand involvement with the practical world, the world of values, and the world of goods.<sup>38</sup>

Together with various architectural constructs such as *chahrbagh* (garden) for distribution, *ab-anbar* (water storage) or *yakhchal* (ice storage)<sup>39</sup> for storing and preserving the water, settlements and farms (as the consumption destination of water), *qanats* created a delicate organisational system of the territory. Indeed, *qanats* presented a hypothetical territorial section through which they provided the possibility of allocating life in a settlement.

The importance of this kind of territorial management is not only about the technique used to construct *qanats* but the way in which this system allows a territory to be inhabited through a process of bringing and revealing the hidden water to the surface. Due to the scarcity of water, the difficult process of accessing it and the associated expense and importance, *qanats* have played a major role in forming the social structure and the physical pattern of Iranian settlements.<sup>40</sup>

The complexity of that territorial management becomes clear when we refer to the treatise of Abu Bakr Muhammed Al-Karaji,<sup>41</sup> an Iranian Muslim mathematician and engineer from the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Entitled *Inbat al-miyah al-khafiya*,<sup>42</sup> this treatise is one of the oldest surviving instances of an excellent manual on hydraulic water supplies. In addition to his main interest in hydrology, Karaji also argued in his treatise the legal dimensions of water management, which he considers it as a technological-scientific discipline 'closely related to society and the economy'.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> P. W. English, 'Qanats and lifeworlds in Iranian Plateau villages,' *Yale Forestry and Environmental Studies Bulletin* 103 (1998): 187-205.

<sup>39</sup> *Yakhchal* (يخچال) literally means ice hole or fridge, and it refers to infrastructures that were used to produce and store ice in arid environments. This was accomplished by using the shade created by high walls and the great difference of temperature during day and night in the desert, as well as the difference in temperature between underground and above ground.

<sup>40</sup> Masoud Kheirabadi, *Iranian cities, formation and development* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1991), 93.

<sup>41</sup> Although not all the details of Al-Karaji's life are certain, his treatise demonstrates that he was familiar with the concepts and principles of his time regarding the hydrological cycle, the classification of soils, the description of aquifers, and the search for groundwater as a process. In fact, Karaji observed these processes and practices during his lifetime and organized them scientifically and according to his educational background in this treatise.

<sup>42</sup> The title of the book contains a word worth commenting on. According to Mohammed Abattouy, 'The *inbat*, like *istikbraj*, means precisely "extraction" of underground water, to show what is hidden and to extract ground and hidden waters for economic and social benefit. The term may have to do with the mathematical concept of *istinbat*, meaning "deduction by reasoning". If this is verified, the link between the two is natural, as Al-Karaji would have coined the term in the aftermath of his long experience as a mathematician.' Mohammed Abattouy, 'Muhammad Al-Karaji: A Mathematician Engineer from the Early Eleventh Century,' *Muslim Heritage, Foundation for science, technology and civilization*, <http://www.muslimheritage.com/article/muhammad-al-karaji-mathematician-engineer-early-11th-century> (accessed November 10, 2014).

<sup>43</sup> Muhammad Al-Karaji, *Estekbraj-e Ab-ha-ye Penban* or *The Extraction of Hidden Waters*, trans. Hosein Khadiv Jam in Farsi (Tehran: Iranian National Commission for UNESCO PRESS, 1373/1994), 72-79.

Fig. 3.11  
Fig. 3.12

Fig. 3.9

In this treatise, Karaji studied and referred some older writings, which he perceived as inadequate. He writes: 'I know no profession more beneficial than the extraction of hidden water, as it gladdens the earth and makes life possible.'<sup>44</sup> Motivated by these reasons and as a mark of gratitude to the support and encouragement of the minister Abu Ghanim Maruf ibn Muhammad, he wrote this book after returning to his home region from Baghdad.<sup>45</sup>

Beginning by providing a basis for the treatise in terms of scientific knowledge, as 'it contextualizes hydrology in the larger field of natural science and geology'<sup>46</sup>, the author provides the reader with his vast knowledge on the modes of finding and treating water, and methods and instruments of building and preserving the *qanat*.<sup>47</sup> The first chapters introduce the water as a system which is constantly changing and moving from one place to another, either like a vein in a body or by changing its form in the water cycle. In fact, this understanding of water as a system is fundamental in the development of *qanats* as a non-pervasive technique that deals with water as a renewable resource, in contrast to deep wells, for example. In this sense while the *qanat* contributes to accessing and transporting water from the source to the destination because it is controlled by the level of the underground water table, it does not drain the aquifer.<sup>48</sup>

Fig. 3.13

Afterwards, by focusing on underground waters, Karaji discusses ways of finding underground water sources. He explains the geological condition and the geographical situation where the water is naturally stored underground. He addresses the topography, type and colour of the soil and stone, the plant types, etc. In the next chapter, he describes different kinds of water, their sources and their use, and the ways of cleaning and purifying them. In the following pages, he raises miscellaneous topics related to water. For example, how earthquakes influence underground water, or how to know if a dried well still contains water, and so on.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 22.

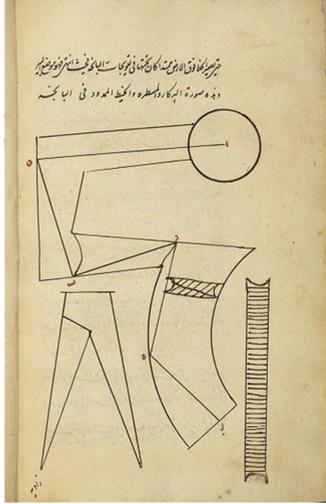
<sup>45</sup> Karaji writes in the introduction to his book that he wrote his treatise after returning from Baghdad to the iqlim of Jabal or mountain region. The Jabal region is one of the Iranian regions described by Muqaddasi in his geography book *Absan al-taqasim*. This region was part of the current western Iranian territory and included Ray, Hamadan, Kermanshah and Isfahan. While Karaj, with which Al-Karaji's name is associated, according to Muqaddasi is located on heights full of farms and villages, with tasty, cold and clean water coming from several water sources. Muqaddasi. *Absan al-taqasim fi ma'rifat al-aqalim*, Vol 2, 590.

<sup>46</sup> Mohammed Abattouy, 'Muhammad Al-Karaji: A Mathematician Engineer from the Early Eleventh Century'.

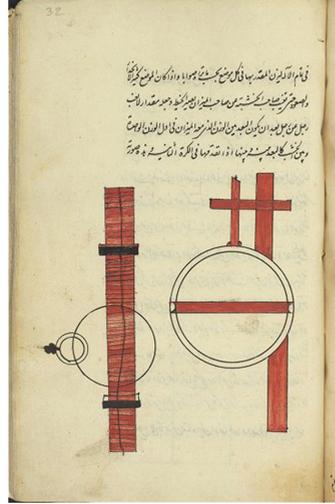
<sup>47</sup> Abū Bakr ibn Muhammad Ibn Al Husayn al-Karajī (ابوبکر محمد بن حسین (حسن) کرچی), "Inbāt al-miyāhal-khafiyah (إنباط المياه الخفية)," Penn Libraries, [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN\\_4825651&rotation=0&currentpage=4](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_4825651&rotation=0&currentpage=4) (November 1 2014).

<sup>48</sup> Paul W. English, 'Qanats and lifeworlds in Iranian plateau villages,' Yale F&ES Bulletin 103 (1998): 187-205.

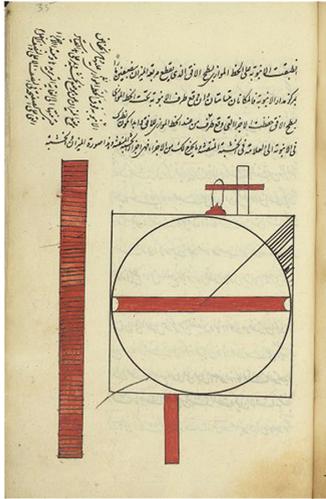
<sup>49</sup> For a recently published article on the relation between qanat's location and earthquake fault lines and the intertwining of seismic landscape of arid and semi-arid areas and the landscapes of risk and resilience (or the coexistence of life and death inherent in the specific locations of many Iranian cities, see Michaela Ibrion, Haakon Lein, Mohammad Mokhtari, and Farrokh Nadim, 'At the Crossroad of Nature and Culture in Iran: The Landscapes of Risk and Resilience of Seismic Space,' International Proceedings of Economics Development and Research 71 (2014): 38-44.



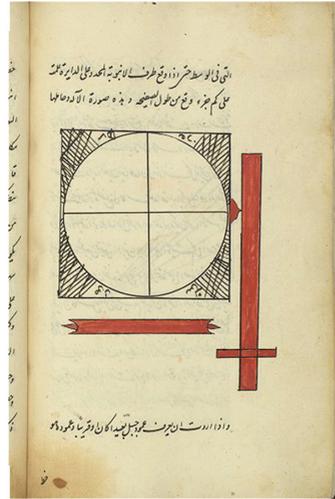
.a



.b



.c



.d

3.13: Pages from the book *The Excavation of Hidden Water* by Al-Karaji

Figure a (indicated in the archive as page 45v) is related to a chapter discussing the tools and methods of digging the underground tunnel connecting the wells in the construction of a qanat. The drawing is a diagrammatic plan of this underground tunnel. It shows how to project the underground tunnel on the surface of the ground to be able to site and dig the well. In the drawing, a compass and a ruler are illustrated. Figure b (indicated in the archive as page 32r) and c (indicated in the archive as page 35r) are illustrations of leveling tools. These figures are included in a chapter which explains the leveling tools and techniques for surveying the ground. This surveying process for understanding the topography and height differences along the qanat's path is crucial in the construction process. Figure d (indicated in the archive as page 37v) is an illustration of a tool for measurement of topographical distances and it is part of a chapter which describes the ways and tools for defining the height of a mountain, the distance between a mountain and where an observer stands and as well the distance between the summit of different mountains.

In the final chapters of this treatise, Karaji argues for the territorial and legal dimension of *qanats*. In last chapters, he establishes a legal argument according to a discourse on the various Islamic schools of law (*Fiqh*)<sup>50</sup> concerning *qanats*, their digging, characteristics and use. This is rather complex since in fact it concerns the ownership not only of the surface of the land but also its section. In other words, he clarifies the legal situation when various ownership regimes overlap and superimpose each other.

According to Karaji, these legal principles differ depending on whether the hydro-infrastructure is a *qanat*, well or canal, and whether they are constructed for use on a farm, for animals or in the city. To that end, Karaji discusses various situations. For example, what is the legal and ownership situation when a *qanat* constructed by someone for use in a city or settlement passes underneath someone else's farm? And how should the *qanat* then be repaired and accessed? These legal principles also pertain to the geological condition of the land on which the *qanat* is constructed. For example, he advocates different territorial ownership principles when a *qanat* or well is constructed in soft porous soil than in muddy or hard soil.

As a knowledge concerned with the measurement of the earth, geometry therefore does not only focus on the surface and its numerical, dimensional, and quantitative aspects; rather it encompasses all of the complexities and contradictions that result from the act of measuring. As James Corner puts it, measurement is not only an autonomous and instrumental part of human technologies, which is used to dominate and control the world; rather it is a way 'to reveal culturally significant forms of order'.<sup>51</sup> In this respect, the measurement is closely related to the management of territory. The *qanat* as an infrastructure stems from this geometrical knowledge used to manage the territory. The purpose of this managerial process is not only to extract water, but also to inhabit a territory. For that reason, this managerial process concerns the whole production process, as well as legal and power relations, social hierarchies and cultural features.

For example, one of the important notions that is extensively explained in relation to the legal system and ownership regimes on *qanats* is the law of *harim* ('borders'). *Harim* law gave protection to the owner over the territory surrounding the *qanat* and prohibited the digging of new mother-wells or any other construction within a certain defined distance of existing *qanats*.<sup>52</sup> As mentioned above about the ownership of the *qanat*, in the same way, the *harim* law is not about fixing a distance homogeneously everywhere. Instead, as it becomes clear in the

<sup>50</sup> *Fiqh* or *Feqh* (فقه) is the Islamic jurisprudence. The word is an Arabic term which literally means 'deep understanding' or 'full comprehension'. Technically it refers to the body of Islamic law extracted from detailed Islamic sources. Norman Calder, 'Feqh,' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. IX, Fasc. 5 (1999), 504-511.

<sup>51</sup> Although James Corner critically states that modern technologies, being obsessed with efficiency and utility, characterize only an instrumental aspect of measurement or the means taken to secure a particular end. See James Corner, 'Taking Measure: Irony and Contradiction in an Age of Precision,' in *Across the American Landscape*, xvii-xix.

<sup>52</sup> Paul Ward English, 'The Origin and Spread of Qanats in the Old World,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 112, no. 3 (1968): 170-181.

discussion of Karaji, this distance depends on type of hydro-infrastructure, type of *qanat*, its length and depth, the geological condition of the soil, the location of the mother-well and so on. Thus, the importance of *barim* goes beyond protecting the right of ownership. In fact, *barim* law defines a measurement for the protection and usage of underground water sources.

Furthermore, the hypothetical territorial section explained earlier, directly influenced the social structure and the morphogenesis of the city. For example, the wealthier families often had private and direct access to water networks, or they lived somewhere closer to the outlet or upstream. While the rest of the city's inhabitants used the collective and public services available in each *mahalleh* (neighbourhood), for example *ab-anbar* or water storage. This act of sharing and maintaining common basic resources also had an impact on the close social relationship within a neighbourhood. Furthermore, the main public institutions such as mosques, baths, and schools, which were part of the bazaar's structure, had direct access to fresh water.<sup>53</sup> This means that the bazaar had a close relationship with this territorial organisational section. I will discuss this topic extensively when addressing the 'whatness' of the bazaar in the last two chapters of this thesis.

Acknowledging the complexity of such a managerial system is especially important, because during World War II many *qanats* were replaced by deep wells, introduced in Iran by the allied forces. Indeed, this represented much more than a simple technological change in the use of water. Rather it signalled a complete shift in the management of territory, which changed the hypothetical territorial section of the city, shifting from a collective legal act to exploitation according to individual interest.<sup>54</sup> As Paul English writes:

The profound importance of qanats in shaping the lifeworlds of villagers in pre-modern Iranian plateau settlements has meant that the shift towards reliance on deep well systems has had ramifications for plateau society that go far beyond water resource exploitation.<sup>55</sup>

### 3.4. The formation of different territorialities

Thus far we have seen that the existence of primary resources in the main part of the Iranian Plateau, such as hidden underground water, created possibilities to establish cities and settlements. These resources, however, were not readily accessible. This meant that the

<sup>53</sup> Michael Bonine, in his article 'The Morphogenesis of Iranian Cities,' shows this close relationship between the irrigation system of the city and its morphogenesis in the city of Yazd as a case study. For further reading, see Michael E. Bonine, 'The Morphogenesis of Iranian Cities,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (1979): 208-224.

<sup>54</sup> The main reason for the vast use of deep wells was the consideration in construction cost. However, '*qanats*, unlike the pumped wells, are in balance with nature and their discharge is regulated by the groundwater table, while wells control the groundwater and can be abused' (Masoud Kheirabadi, *ibid*, 93). It is important to add that according to the latest news on ISNA, the plain of Tehran has had the biggest ground subsistence in the world in 2014 as the result of the disappearance of the underground waters because of extreme use of deep wells. <https://www.isna.ir/news/93082411830/دشت-تهران-رگورددار-فرونشست-زمین-در-دنیا>.

<sup>55</sup> P. W. English, 'Qanats and lifeworlds in Iranian Plateau villages,' in *Yale Forestry and Environmental Studies Bulletin* 103 (1998): 187-205.

prospect of settling in this territory required the managerial and technical know-how to make these resources accessible, regulate their use and maintain them. But what else was required?

Henri Goblot, who went to Iran at 1940 and spend twenty years there to investigate *qanats*, wrote a book on the subject, *Les qanats: une technique d'acquisition de l'eau*.<sup>56</sup> The work is an important contribution to the study of the *qanat*, its history, technology and geography. Goblot considers *qanats* to be one of the most imaginative engineering feats in the history of humankind. In fact, the extraction of hidden water and the construction of oases and gardens in a landscape of seeming *tabula rasa*<sup>57</sup> cannot be done without imagination. This imagination can create a hallucination, like a mirage in a desert when one is very thirsty. But this thirst can also drive one to seek, to imagine and to create one's own world.

As Xavier de Planhol, a professor in historical geography [with a main interest in Iran] at the University of Paris-Sorbonne, rightly acknowledges:

The sites of towns are among the most important of the truly autochthonous features of Iran. Throughout almost the whole of the country the locations of early villages were determined by the availability of water. Even though some towns, such as Isfahan and Ahvaz, may be situated on rivers, most are supplied by *qanat*. The most favourable site of all for town growth is thus a gentle slope some short distance from the foot of the hills that feed the *qanat*.<sup>58</sup>

Hence, it is possible to conclude that the city in the Iranian Plateau were closely related to their territory in two ways: first, the city was intricately informed by the road networks, which gave rise to the notion of circulation and being connected to larger networks of settlements and territory; and second, it was closely related to its territorial setting in the geographical and geological sense. Thus, despite what was stated at the beginning of this chapter about what writers such as Rossi claim, the city cannot only be an isolated encampment detached from its territory.

The prosperity and continued existence of a city depended on this very delicate geographical connection and on the economic, administrative relations with other settlements and the rest of the territory.<sup>59</sup> In this sense, the location (*gab* or *Jay-gab*) of the city is not an isolated problem; rather it is a territorial one. The notion of *gab* in Farsi connotes more than just a 'place'; it includes time but also refers to a 'situation.' It is a territory of superimposition and the concurrence of various regimes and forces in a specific moment. It has an order

<sup>56</sup> Henri Goblot, *Les qanats: une technique d'acquisition de l'eau*, trans. A. Sarvqad Moqadam and M.H. Papoli Yazdi (Mashhad: Astan-e Qods, 1992).

<sup>57</sup> Hamed Khosravi, 'Geopolitics of *tabula rasa*: Persian garden and the idea of city,' in *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 38:1 (2014): 39-53.

<sup>58</sup> Xavier de Planhol, *Geography of settlement*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Iran. The Land of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 435.

<sup>59</sup> This is different from considering the road only as a way of connecting (either as a means of control or for better access).

which can be hierarchical. It is not fixed, and it might/should change.

On the other hand, it was also possible to inhabit a territory by constantly moving in search of readily accessible and available resources. That is a nomadic way of life prevalent in a large part of central Asia. The latter was also facilitated by what I previously called the 'geopolitics of the in-between' and a constant influx of different nomads to the inner part of Iran throughout history. In other words, while providing access to a vast region, these geopolitical spaces of circulation and transition simultaneously made it possible for the nomads to constantly march into the mainland of the Iranian Plateau.<sup>60</sup>

What has been discussed in this chapter enables us to conclude that the idea of inhabiting a territory in the Iranian Plateau should actually be sought in the interaction between the act of settling through the management of potential resources and the movement in search of accessible resources, and hence between these different ways of life. This means the formation of various territorialities. As was explained previously, territoriality is understood as something that implicates and is implicated 'in ways of thinking, acting and being in the world.'<sup>61</sup> Territoriality is the way in which human associations, societies and collectives are organized and embedded in the territory<sup>62</sup> (e.g. different ways of life, managing and relating to land and to each other, and their spatial products).

Thus, the next step will be to explain which territorialities were formed on the Iranian Plateau and what was the result of their encounter and meeting. For example, Manu Sobti in his dissertation on the study of Central Asian cities states that: 'the urban and the rural appear to have formed a continuum of geographical and ecological traits, also percolating into the socio-cultural lifestyles of several populations. In the region of Central Asia, nomadism made this phenomenon particularly dramatic through the course of urban developments witnessed by the region, and in several cases, cities began to express the complex characteristics of the urban, rural and the intermediate fringe conditions.'<sup>63</sup> How was such a thing possible? And how was it possible to administer and manage such a continuum? How was this spatialized?

In the next chapter, I will delve further into the question of how territory can be inhabited, managed and defined, and explore what kind of spatio-temporal characteristics these territorialities constitute. How were they represented and formalized?

<sup>60</sup> To have a historical overview of the constant transitory presence of nomads and the development of their interaction with sedentary society in Central Asia, see J. Harmatta, et al. (eds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Volume II, The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Paris: UNESCO, 1992).

<sup>61</sup> Delaney, *Territory: A Short Introduction*, 12.

<sup>62</sup> Here by territoriality I am not referring to the biological, and my aim is not to evaluate Elden's discussion about the relation between territoriality and territory as cause and effect.

<sup>63</sup> Manu P. Sobti, 'Urban Metamorphosis and Change in Central Asian Cities After the Arabic Inversions' (PhD diss., Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, 2005), 376.





## **CHAPTER FOUR: Territoriality and ways of life**

4.1. Introduction

4.2. Territorialities: encounter and/or assimilation

4.3. The extensive territoriality of the nomadic way of life and its representation

4.4. The intensive territoriality of the settled way of life: Dehqan as the territorial sapient

4.5. Framing a movement: On habitation

4.6. Situating a movement: A bridge

4.7. The assemblage of extensive and intensive territorialities



#### 4.1. Introduction

In his lecture on 8 February 1987, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) discussed the idea of governmentality, its origin and forms of exercise, ‘in order to tackle the problem of the state and population’. In this lecture, which was part of a lecture series he gave at the Collège de France,<sup>1</sup> Foucault introduced the idea of ‘the paradox of the shepherd’.<sup>2</sup> Concerned with the techniques of governmentality, Foucault states that ‘the idea of governing people is certainly not a Greek idea, and nor do I think it is a Roman idea.’<sup>3</sup> Instead he proposes that we should look eastward for the origins of the ‘idea and organization of a pastoral type of power’ and ‘the practice of spiritual direction’.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he explains that the shepherd’s power is not territorial,<sup>5</sup> rather it is exercised over a multiplicity in movement, and it is a beneficent power for the sake of salvation. Foucault thus recognizes an inherent paradox in which the shepherd’s mechanism of power is exercised not only over the whole flock but also over each individual, which is deemed to be equally important.

Although Foucault’s concern here is to trace the influence and presence of such a model on the exercise of power in Western history (ancient Greeks and Romans) and not in the East, their differentiation on the exercise of power and the problem of explaining state formation in Asia – and more specifically for my concern here the Iranian context – has been long in dispute. How these power mechanisms have impacted systems of land ownership and whether we can talk about private land ownership or whether this was a kind of feudal system comparable to Western societies are some of the issues that scholars have been continuously addressing and discussing.<sup>6</sup>

Departing from the Marxist approaches used by previous critiques, scholars of Iranian studies have contributed to develop a more complex conceptual framework within which not a single mechanism of power is exercised and which instead proposes the superposition of different mechanisms. These scholarly works constructed their theoretical frameworks based on historical specificities, conceptualizations and interpretations. A brief review of some of these theories and debates can provide us with lenses that we can use to examine the notion of territory and territoriality in the Iranian context.

<sup>1</sup> Security, Territory, Population was a course delivered by Michel Foucault in 1978 through a weekly lecture series from January until April. This lecture series was recorded and later edited by Michel Senellart. According to Foucault ‘this analysis involves investigating where and how, between whom, between what points, according to what processes, and with what effects, power is applied.’ See Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, ed. by Michel Senellart, trans. by Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 161-175.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 168.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> By territorial, here Foucault is referring to the exercise of power in relation to land.

<sup>6</sup> The reason for starting this chapter by reflecting on the practice of power is that this has been the main mode of approaching territory in relation to the Iranian context. My aim is by no means to map the continuation of this state form and its relation to territory in the modern Iranian state. Rather my first and foremost concern is spatial. But also to find a lens through which I can grasp the bazaar’s complexity, specifically its ‘whereness’ and ‘whatness’. So again, my approach here is by no means historiographical.

Hence, continuing the previous chapter's explications on the territory from geographical and geological and possible relations to the land for making life possible, this chapter further examines the interchange and encounter of different ways of life to examine the notion of territory. Thus, departing from sources and materials that focus on explaining the Iranian state form, the chapter investigates and interprets the spatial presence of various ways of life related to specific forms of power and production that have been exercised on the Iranian Plateau.

#### 4.2. Territorialities: encounter and/or assimilation

According to Eckart Ehlers (1938), a German geographer, the Iranian Plateau was made up of two great 'societal types':<sup>7</sup> the nomadic and the sedentary, which practiced three different modes of production. The main areas of surplus appropriation in the sedentary society were agriculture, on the one hand, and industry and craftsmanship, on the other hand. In the nomadic society, in addition to craftsmanship, this mainly consisted of herding and trade as a result of moving.<sup>8</sup> The complexity, however, resulted from the interconnection of these various modes of production and their relation to the state formation and its administrative system. John Foran, an American sociologist who has written several books on sociological transformation in Iranian history, in an article evaluates various approaches to 'the modes of production' in seventeenth-century. He concludes:

Perhaps the most salient of these [connection or articulation among the several modes of production] is the nature of the contacts between the tribal sector and the settled population. Production for use within the tribe was supplemented by production for exchange within the village peasants or townspeople along the migration routes; ....<sup>9</sup>

Scholars have developed several theories regarding the mode of production and state-formation in Asia. Prominent among these scholars are those who have built their discourse on Marx's theory about pre-capitalist Asia in terms of an 'Asiatic mode of production'.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Eckart Ehlers is a German Geographer whose focus is on the cultural, economic and social geography on Islamic and Oriental studies. He has written several books and articles on Iran's geography, settlement and economy of land.

<sup>8</sup> Eckart Ehlers, 'Nomadism,' *Iranica*, February 11, 2011, accessed November 18, 2014. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nomadism>

<sup>9</sup> John Foran, 'The Modes of Production Approach to Seventeenth-Century Iran,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20, no. 3 (1988): 354.

<sup>10</sup> Although Marx and Engels were influenced by Hegel and Montesquieu's statements on oriental political despotism and its primitive stagnated socio-economic, the reference to 'Asiatic mode of production' did not appear in the initial theories on modes of production in Marx's *German Ideology* (1845). They began their studies of the East in the early 1850s, for which Engels began to learn, albeit it not successfully, Arabic, and later he started to learn Farsi. Although limited, this research was enough for them to conclude that 'the socio-economic structure of Asia was distinct from those of Europe'. During these years, Marx wrote a few articles on China and mainly India commenting on common-land property and village-based production. The first time Marx introduced the 'Asiatic mode of production' into a theory of stages of social development was composed in a thick manuscript in 1857-58 in preparation of his *Critique of Political Economy* and *Capital*, which was published under the title *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* in Moscow, 1939-41. There Marx writes that 'in broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the modern bourgeois modes of production as so many epochs in the progress of the

Here my concern is not to totally reject or criticize Marx's theory of the 'Asiatic mode of production', as his propositions and studies were certainly influential in provoking ideas about the socio-economic historical foundation of societies. What is interesting, even though it is implicit, in this debate on theorizing and explicating the socio-economic structure and state-form, is the recurring appearance of the primary role of nomadism or sedentarization (village and settlements) and their administrative organization, spatial and territorial formation.

For both Marx and Engels 'the absence of property in land' was the key to the whole of the East.<sup>11</sup> While Engels searched for the reason for this in geographical conditions (i.e. the aridity of the main part of Asia), urging a central government to provide the irrigation public works in the form of a bureaucratic despotism, Marx explained it through describing a fragmented society of semi-independent tribal communities and settlements, each of which possesses a separate organization.<sup>12</sup> So in a way, Marx was more interested in tribal or common property and their nomadic way of life.<sup>13</sup>

Other scholars have continued this discourse, mainly by building on one of these positions.<sup>14</sup> And hence, there have been many elaborations and critiques and additions on the 'Asiatic mode of production' and its diversion to other theories, mainly proposed by the Soviet Iranologists. They 'reconsidered pre-capitalist Iran as a feudal society' and some later Marxist researchers who maintain that 'both Asiatic and feudal modes existed in Eastern societies in an "articulated" form'.<sup>15</sup>

However, these concepts of the Asiatic and feudal modes of production as overarching theories for a large and ambiguous historical and geographical realm encounter some problems when they are closely examined.<sup>16</sup> According to Kamran Matin, each of these ideas as an overarching theory bears some inadequacies regarding the Iranian context. That

economic formation of society'. For further reading, see Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, trans. Jack Cohen, ed. E.J. Hobsbawm (New York: International Publishers, 1964), 9-67.

<sup>11</sup> Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, trans. Jack Cohen, ed. E.J. Hobsbawm (New York: International Publishers, 1964), 33-34.

<sup>12</sup> Ervand Abrahamian, 'Oriental Despotism: The Case of Qajar Iran,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 1 (1974): 6.

<sup>13</sup> Marx writes: 'Oriental despotism therefore appears to lead to a legal absence of property. In fact, however, its foundation is tribal or common property, in most cases created through a combination of manufacture and agriculture within the small community which thus becomes entirely self-sustaining and contains within itself all conditions of production and surplus production.' Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, 70.

<sup>14</sup> Karl Wittfogel's theory of 'hydraulic states' in his book *Oriental Despotism*, for example, mainly follows Engels' remarks on the centralization of irrigation systems.

<sup>15</sup> Kamran Matin, *Recasting Iranian Modernity: International Relations and Social Change* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 25.

<sup>16</sup> Of course, this commentary remains very general. Some recent scholarly works, by focusing on specific cases in particular periods, have elaborated on either of the approaches to the Asiatic mode of production. For example, Ervand Abrahamian developed his theoretical and historical study of Marx's remarks on socio-economic fragmentation to explain the despotic nature of the Qajar monarchy in Iran during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, even in this case these theories seem insufficient to explain the general concept of Iranian state-formation, which does not focus on a specific king or period. For further reading, see Ervand Abrahamian, 'Oriental Despotism: The Case of Qajar Iran,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no. 1 (1974): 3-31.

is because the main determinations, i.e. ‘the state’s role in the ecologically necessitated large-scale irrigation works in the first case and non-stratified village communes in the second one, were absent there’. As Ann Lambton, a well-known British historian on Iranian history<sup>17</sup> states in her book *Landlord and peasant in Persia*:

...the distribution of water, except in the case of the great rivers which were controlled by the state, rested upon the local community who appointed their own water officials...<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, the formally free status of Iranian peasants does not resemble the fragmented European system of feudalism, which was characterized by ‘juridical serfdom’. This is related to the difference in the nature of land ownership, as Kamran Matin explains in his book, *Recasting Iranian Modernity*:

Feudal ‘rent’ was appropriated on the basis of feudal lords’ juridical sanctioned private (albeit conditional) property in land. Asian ‘tax’, on the other hand, was seen as the expression of the absence of private property in land, and the formal ownership of all land by the state as the ‘supreme landlord’.<sup>19</sup>

After providing an extensive commentary on previous discourses, Matin provides a theoretical explanation for what he considers ‘the lack of private ownership’<sup>20</sup> compared to Western Europe. To approach this problem, Matin sees nomadism as being structurally differentiated from the forms of sovereignty that are based on private ownership of land.

... The relation to land cannot be other than transitory access rights, realized through and mediated by the tribe. These ‘rights’ would be incarnated in the person of the tribal chieftain who represented the ‘higher unity’ of the lineage-segmented tribe.<sup>21</sup>

To resolve these contradictions, Matin proposes a rather more complex theoretical framework. By conceptualizing the superposition of two social systems – i.e. the nomadic

<sup>17</sup> Ann Lambton was indeed a formidable historian and researcher, and she has left remarkable and detailed writings on the social organization, economic and political structure, and history and language of Iran. However, her role as a consultant to British officials on developments in Iranian-British relations has often been omitted. This role, especially during the crisis in 1951 when Iran’s Prime Minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh, gave rise to democratic movement by nationalising British oil interests in Iran, was important. See ‘Miss Lambton’s advice,’ Middle East Strategies at Harvard, August 20, 2008, [http://blogs.harvard.edu/mesh/2008/08/miss\\_ann\\_lambton\\_advice/](http://blogs.harvard.edu/mesh/2008/08/miss_ann_lambton_advice/).

<sup>18</sup> Ann K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991), xxxvii.

<sup>19</sup> Kamran Matin, *Recasting Iranian Modernity: International Relations and Social Change*, 25.

<sup>20</sup> Here private ownership is defined as being comparable to private property in land in Western European societies. The lack of private land ownership has been one of the reasons put forward by Marx to explain what he regarded as the barriers to capitalist development. For further reading on the nature of property ownership, see Ann K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia* and Homa Katouzian, *The political economy of modern Iran: despotism and pseudo-modernism, 1926-1979* (New York: New York University Press, 1981), 17-18.

<sup>21</sup> Kamran Matin, ‘Uneven and Combined Development in World History: The International Relations of State-Formation in Premodern Iran,’ *European Journal of International Relations* 13 (2007): 431.

and sedentary – involved in the process of Iranian state formation, he avoids the formal separation of political and economic spheres that has prevailed in previous Marxist scholarly works.<sup>22</sup>

[...] The resulting state-form was irreducible to either polity; it had a non-singular character which I conceptualized in terms of what I call ‘amalgamated state formations’: the dynamic, internationally generated combination (and not merely assimilation or external tributary relations) of the nomadic and agrarian polities in premodern Iran.<sup>23</sup>

Other scholars have developed similar frameworks to approach the aforementioned problem. For example, Massoud Karshenas devotes a chapter of his book *Oil, State and Industrialization in Iran* to the development and transformation of the Iranian state-form. He maintains that the ‘interaction between settled and nomadic modes of existence’ on the Iranian Plateau ‘had given rise to a peculiar stratification of ruling class’ that was realized by an ‘initial political coalition’ between these two.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, M.B. Rowton,<sup>25</sup> professor of Near Eastern languages and civilizations, developed a ‘topological’ reading of the social and political structure of Western Asian region in a series of thirteen articles. He called this a ‘dimorphic structure’ that is the result of close interaction between nomadic and sedentary societies.<sup>26</sup>

The bases for such theoretical frameworks can be found in the work of the fourteenth-century Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun.<sup>27</sup> In his treatise *Al-Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun brings

<sup>22</sup> By formal separation here I am referring to the differentiation of social space into the public political sphere of the state (*polis*) and the private economic sphere of household (*oikos*), which has characterized the Western discourse. For further reading, see Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Possibility of Absolute Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011): 1-46. Relying on this dichotomy, Marxist scholars often interpreted the Asiatic or feudal mode of production as a mere economic or political category, which has proven to be inadequate to explain the complexity of state-formation and land ownership in Iran. For further reading, see Kamran Matin, ‘Uneven and Combined Development in World History: The International Relations of State-Formation in Premodern Iran,’ *European Journal of International Relations* 13 (2007): 419–447; Syed Farid Alatas, ‘A Khaldunian Perspective on the Dynamics of Asiatic Societies,’ *Comparative Civilizations Review* 29 (1993): 29-51 and Massoud Karshenas, *Oil, state, and industrialization in Iran* (Cambridge[England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>23</sup> Kamran Matin, ‘Uneven and Combined Development in World History: The International Relations of State-Formation in Premodern Iran,’ 438.

<sup>24</sup> Massoud Karshenas, *Oil, state, and industrialization in Iran* (Cambridge[England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 30-41.

<sup>25</sup> Michael B. Rowton was a professor at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, whose research focused on developing a theoretical and historical framework to study [tribal] nomadism in Western Asia and interaction between nomadic and urban societies, with special emphasis on topology and ecology.

<sup>26</sup> Michael B. Rowton, ‘Dimorphic Structure and the Parasocial Element,’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Vol. 36, No. 3 (1977): 181-198.

<sup>27</sup> Mhammad Ibn Khaldun Al-Hadrami (1332-1406) was a Muslim historiographer and historian, regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern sociology, historiography and economics. Ibn Khaldun wrote *Al-Muqaddimah* (means preface) in 1337 as the preface or the first book of his planned world history, the *Kitab al-ibar*.

our attention to the historical significance of nomadic societies.<sup>28</sup> The central concern of his study is an analysis of the rise and fall of various consequent states, for which he developed an original method. “This begins with theorizing the differences in social organization between nomadic (‘umran badawi)<sup>29</sup> and sedentary (‘umran hadhari) societies.<sup>30</sup> Here Ibn Khaldun formalizes the nomadic-sedentary interaction in a cyclic rise and decline of civilizations. This means that the nomad military machine is slowly transformed in a cyclical process into a sedentary administrative system and hence, losing its war power, it is replaced by new nomads.<sup>31</sup>

While each of these conceptions (i.e. amalgamated state formations in Matin’s thesis, the dimorphic structure in Rowton’s proposal or the nomadic-sedentary interaction in a cyclic rise and decline of civilizations in Khaldunian theory) formalizes this superposition in a different way, their theories are all based on the presence, co-existence, mutual encounter and importance of these two social forces. In fact, the key here is identifying the impact of nomadic formations on the development of sedentary societies. Karshenas illustrates the compositional encounter of these groups for the formation of the state through two parallel political tendencies: that of the extended tribal military system, and that of an intensive sedentary state involved in the bureaucratic apparatus.<sup>32</sup> The combination, or perhaps better the superposition, of these two – meaning the tribal nomadism and Iranian sedentary society (*debqan*)- was crystallized in a specific composition of ‘military-administrative institution<sup>33</sup> as well as the management and formation of territory, and hence, tempo-spatially.

I would go even further and argue that the trace of such an argument is even present in the mythology of Hushang and Waygard, two brothers who established the foundation of sovereignty in Iran.

The establishment of rite and principles of cultivation and nourishment of the world (custom of *debqan*) is founded by *Waygard Pishdad* and the rule and sovereignty for governing conducting the subjects of creation is based on *Hosbang Pishdad*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *Al-Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

<sup>29</sup> For Ibn Khaldun, *umran* refers to ‘the totality of life encompassing cultural, social and political aspects. Within this totality, there are nomadic and sedentary civilizations’. See Syed Farid Alatas, ‘A Khaldunian Perspective on the Dynamics of Asiatic Societies,’ *Comparative Civilizations Review* 29 (1993): 39.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>31</sup> In fact, both Matin and Karshenas dwell on the ideas of Ibn Khaldun.

<sup>32</sup> Massoud Karshenas, *Oil, state, and industrialization in Iran*, 33.

<sup>33</sup> Kamran Matin, ‘Uneven and Combined Development in World History: The International Relations of State-Formation in Premodern Iran’, 430.

<sup>34</sup> Denkard, Book 8, Naskh 12. Quoted in Arthur Emanuel Christensen, *Nemoune-ha-ye Nokhostin-e Ensan va Nokhostin Shabriar dar ATarikh-e Afsane-ha-ye Iranian* or *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l’histoire légendaire des Iraniens I*, eds. And trans. Ahmad Tafazzoli and Jaleh Amouzgar (Tehran: Tous Press, 1368 (1989)), 179.

In most of the remaining Iranian mythologies from Zoroastrian texts such as *Denkard*, Hushang Pishdad, who is the first mythical king, is mentioned as the inventor of sovereignty [دهوفذیه] and his brother *Waygard (or Wekard) Pishdad* is referred to as the founder of *Dehqani* [دهیوگنیه] or nourishment of land. In the following pages, I will elaborate on this notion. According to these mythologies, the creation and construction of the world is based on two forces: one which possesses the ability to rule and support the subjects and hence establish law and principles for the subjects, while the other possesses the knowledge to rule and nurture the land. It is the assemblage of these two (brothers) which established prosperity (*abadani*, [آبادانی]) and justice (*adl*, [عدل]).

Although in the later Sassanid text and during the early Islamic period both of these forces are assimilated in the mythical character of Hushang and there is hardly any trace of Waygard, the importance of the coexistence of these forces seems to be crucial. In this case Hushang is both a king and a *dehqan*. In fact, the territorial management (of the land and its subjects) is the result of collaboration between and even assimilation of these two forces.

In his treatise *Asar al-Baqiyeh* or *The Remaining Signs of Past Centuries*, Abu Rayhan Biruni, an Iranian Muslim scholar and polymath (973 -1048) states:

(دهوفذیه) Sovereignty<sup>35</sup> which means protecting and ruling the world and (دهقنة) *dehqani* which means constructing, cultivating and nurturing the world and its superintendence, are combined and coexistent. That the prosperity of the world and its foundation is through them. And the depravity and decadence of this world can be modified and corrected by them. And writing is coincided with these two while sovereign originates from *Houshang* and *dehqan* is founded by *Weygard*.<sup>36</sup>

The continuation of this managerial system can be seen in the combination of nomadic/sedentary as two forms of life. The nomad by being the war machine presents the sovereignty and *dabir* (official [writer], historian), *bazargan* (merchant) and *sanaat-gar* (craftsmen), *bonarmand* (artist) represent the *dehqan* or the settlers of a territory. In other words, while the first one protects, the second one nurtures the territory.

Therefore, to conclude, two kinds of territoriality were formed: on the one hand, the extensive territoriality of nomads, defined by constant movement, whose importance is not 'that nomads *do* move, but that they *can* move.'<sup>37</sup> And on the other hand, there exists

<sup>35</sup> (دهوفذیه) *Dabu Fazayeh* is the Arabic form of the Old Persian word of (دهیوگنیه) *Dabhu Patye*. Here I have used 'sovereign' instead of the Persian word.

<sup>36</sup> Abu Rayhan Biruni, *Kitab al-athar al-baqiyah 'an al-qurun al-khaliyah* or *The Remaining Signs of Past Centuries*, trans. Akbar Dana-Seresht (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1386 /2007), 335.

<sup>37</sup> By this, Owen Lattimore, an American scholar and geographer, refers to the structure of nomads' habitations, the quality and quantity of all their belongings and ways of life which are conditioned more by the necessities of the migrations and movements rather than the comparatively long periods when they do not move. Owen Lattimore, 'Caravan Routes of Inner Asia,' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol LXXII No 6 (December 1928): 519. Lattimore is a geographer and scholar specialized in China and Central Asia, especially Mongolia. He has published influential

the intensive territoriality of the sedentary which defines itself by situating and settling. So the question is: what are these territorialities and what is the spatial representation of their encounter and/or assimilation?

#### 4.3. The extensive territoriality of the nomadic way of life and its representation

The nomadic way of life on the Iranian plateau can be paired with an extensive territoriality. This means that the nomadic space is produced through distribution and movement, based on extensive economy,<sup>38</sup> and its principles (*nomos*) are inseparable from the movement and distribution in space.<sup>39</sup> The ‘representation’ of such a territoriality can be sought in the various miniatures remaining from historical periods. Here I will discuss visual materials (miniature, *negar-gari*) to explicate the spatiality of this nomadic extensive territoriality. The selected miniature is a paradigmatic example from 1525, illustrated during the reign of Safavid, which deals with the representation of a nomadic territory. Another reason for choosing this miniature is that it was analysed in detail by Oleg Grabar, a French archaeologist and historian of Islamic art and architecture, in 2001 in an article entitled ‘Two Safavid Paintings’, and I will refer to that in the next few paragraphs.

Fig. 4.1 A folio attributed to Mir Sayyid Ali (1510–1572), an Iranian miniaturist, depicts a scene of a nomadic camp. This illustration presents a meeting scene (to make a promise or contract) from the love story ‘Layla and Majnun’. The poem is part of the ‘Khamsa’ or ‘five poems’, versed by Nizami Ganjavi, a twelfth-century Persian poet, and it has been the topic of several Persian miniatures. The painting is a festival of various things: people, animals, tents and activities. However, as Oleg Grabar mentions about this painting, ‘the message of this painting is not the narrative that may have inspired it originally, but the vision of an idealized camp’.<sup>40</sup>

The painting includes all of the participants in a camp in a single image. The terrain where the nomadic camp is settled extends from the hilly summer pastures depicted at the top of the painting to the green winter pastures at the very bottom of the frame. The painting clearly shows the colour of the soil changing from a yellowish to a pinkish grey in the middle and a dark green at the bottom. The upper part of the landscape is rocky with a small water stream that flows down from behind a twisted tree to the very centre of the painting to disappear behind the tents. At the bottom of the painting the landscape changes

writings on Mongolian and Central Asian nomadism, all of which are part of his bigger project to develop a ‘scientific’ model of the way human societies form, evolve, grow, decline, mutate and interact with one another along ‘frontiers’.

<sup>38</sup> By an extensive economy Owen Lattimore means a combination of [unirrigated] agriculture with considerable dependence on pastured livestock. It is an economy that depends significantly on movement for the availability of basic resources. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian frontiers of China* (Irrington-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Capitol Pub. Co., 1951), 54.

<sup>39</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 351-423.

<sup>40</sup> Oleg Grabar and Mika Natif, ‘Two Safavid Paintings: An Essay in Interpretation,’ *Muqarnas*18 (2001): 185.

suddenly into lush greenery with birds and flowers. It represents both a *yiyilaq* (summer quarter) and *qishlaq* (winter quarter), thus folding time and space, between which the nomad moves sequentially to access the available resources, i.e. the water stream, lush greenery and fertile soil. The painting frames a scene which can be extended further into the territory, and the tents have been placed within the scenic landscape. Some of them are half hidden behind the rocks. Specifically, cutting the tents at the edges of the painting conveys the idea that the whole setting can be continued. An activity takes place in each tent that extends beyond the boundaries of the tent and blurs into the common space of the camp. The main tent is the place of negotiation, and an assembly of chieftains gather to make decisions (*divan*). The space is defined by the border of a carpet – where the shoes should be removed – rather than the tent itself. The carpet is the ‘furniture’ in Bernard Cache’s view, as it ‘supplies the immediate physical environment in which our bodies act and react’.<sup>41</sup> It is thus the primary territory where house, object and geography converge. By object, I am referring to Latour’s notion of the ‘thing’ that ‘brings people together’.<sup>42</sup> It is the frame within which people [family or chieftains] and things assemble.

Moreover, the extremely detailed depiction of everything inside the painting, without any hierarchy, intensifies the aim of its calligrapher in presenting an ‘idealized nomadic camp’. Here the territory extends between the sequential movements of the nomads. In other words, the movement is embedded in the representation of nomadic territoriality.

As mentioned above, the painting folds the time and space to illustrate the very idea of the way of nomadic life. This concurrence and folding of time-space reminds us of Edward Casey’s impressive oeuvre on the notion of place, in which time and space are brought together through place. Casey recognizes the crucial interaction between body, place and motion. In his account, while a place is enduring and consistent, it is never static and inactive. Casey identifies three different states in this relationship: ‘staying in place’ where the body remains in the same place but is never entirely stationary; ‘moving within a place’, a circumstance in which the body moves about in a given place while still remaining in it; and finally ‘moving between places’ which denotes the state in which the body travels between different places. In this latter, moving between places corresponds to what Casey calls an ‘entire region’. It is ‘an area concatenated by peregrination between places it connects’, an extensive territoriality.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Bernard Cache, *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 30.

<sup>42</sup> Bruno Latour explains this relation of coming together in the formation of a community by the presence of ‘Ding’ or ‘Thing’ or an ‘object’ in the landscape, to construct his argument on *Dingpolitik*. He states: ‘As every reader of Heidegger knows, or as every glance at the English dictionary under the heading “Thing” will certify, the old word “Thing” or “Ding” designated originally a certain type of archaic assembly.’ Hence, ‘long before designating an object thrown out of the political sphere and standing there objectively and independently, the Ding or Thing has for many centuries meant the issue that brings people together because it divides them.’ See: Bruno Latour, ‘From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public,’ in *Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005): 2-33.

<sup>43</sup> Edward, S. Casey, ‘How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: phenomenological prolegomena,’



4.1: Camp scene, mid-seventeenth century. The painting is attributed to Mir Sayyid' Ali

Furthermore, in this folding of time and space at the centre of the final composition of the illustration, the ‘common’ space in this nomadic camp is depicted as the space in-between the tents. It is through this common space that the water stream flows and daily activities take place. This is what Casey calls the ‘eventual’ character of the place that is its ‘gathering power’, which works in different ways and on different levels.<sup>44</sup> In the way that Marx renders in his *Grundrisse*, the nomadic ‘common’ is developed through the dynamics of ‘coming-together’ [*Vereinigung*].<sup>45</sup> The commune of the nomads, Marx states, ‘is posited in their ancestry, language, common past and history, etc.’ and ‘it is structurally averse to the private ownership of land’.<sup>46</sup> In this case, the nomads might possess the land, but they do not own it.

The continuity of nomadic life in Iran – in contrast to Europe where forest tribal life converged with ‘the ruins of the ancient Romantic world and produced a new sedentary form of human existence’<sup>47</sup> – was due to the ecological adjustment to the use of marginal resources which otherwise would have been neglected. ‘These resources occur in areas too dry, too elevated, or too steep for agriculture to be a viable mode of livelihood, and the nomadic makes use of resources that otherwise would be overlooked.’<sup>48</sup> Constant movement as a way of life meant that the nomad’s relation to the land was not one of ownership, ‘unlike their flocks on which they could claim ownership’.<sup>49</sup> The relation to the land is rather one of possession, which spatializes itself in constant movement.

Indeed, nomadic territoriality is spatialized through this constant movement. The nomad follows paths, moving from one point to another. However, this does not mean that the nomad is ignorant of points and of localities – i.e. dwelling points, water points and assembly points<sup>50</sup> – as represented in the miniature. Instead, as Deleuze puts it, here the points are not principle, but only ‘subordinate’ and hence, in the nomadic territoriality the in-betweeners are initially important:

But the question is what in nomad life is a principle and what is only a consequence. To begin with, although the points determine paths, they are strictly subordinated to the paths they determine, the reverse of what happens with the sedentary. The water point is reached only in

in *Senses of place*, eds. Steven Feld, Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1999), 23-24.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>45</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse, Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (London: Penguin Group, 1973), 420.

<sup>46</sup> Marx, *Grundrisse*, 421-422.

<sup>47</sup> Matin, *Recasting Iranian Modernity*, 31.

<sup>48</sup> Eckart Ehlers, ‘Nomadism,’ *Iranica*, February 11, 2011, accessed December 25, 2016. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nomadism>.

<sup>49</sup> Matin, *Recasting Iranian Modernity*, 33.

<sup>50</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 380-384.

order to be left behind; every point is a relay and exists only as a relay. A path is always between two points, but the in-between has taken on all the consistency and enjoys both an autonomy and a direction of its own. The life of the nomad is the *intermezzo*. Even the elements of his dwelling are conceived in terms of the trajectory that is forever mobilizing them.<sup>51</sup>

This extensive nomadic territoriality is spatialized and represented differently than that of the sedentary. So the question is: what is this intensive sedentary territoriality and how is it represented?

#### 4.4. The intensive territoriality of the sedentary way of life: Dehqan as the territorial sapient

As mentioned in the previous chapter, on the Iranian Plateau, the idea of settling in a territory necessitates a managerial system which in its most basic state can provide the possibility of life and primary natural resources – such as water and fertile soil. The idea of this managerial force can historically be represented in *dehqan*, a complex and layered notion that constantly reappears in the background of the manual of life on the Iranian Plateau. To underscore the notion of *dehqan* and the representation of sedentary territoriality, here I shall use, elaborate and analyse another paradigmatic Persian miniature as a visual material.

Fig. 4.2 In an illustration from a folio of the ‘Manteq-al Teir’, the calligrapher Sultan Ali Mashhadi (1440-1520, Isfahan), depicted a scene in which Sheikh Sanaan, who lost his faith to the love of a Tarsai girl, disregarding the advice of his students and followers, starts his journey of love at the window of his beloved.

The image illustrates a building, probably a *koushke* (pavilion), to the very right, then a transitional space where the beloved stands on a balcony. An abigail opens the [back] door, and the open space exposes a garden where the Sheikh and his followers stand. At the main illustrated façade of the *koushke*, two attendants stand around the fountain as they have a discussion or work on the *water channels*. Because of the specific way this illustration is framed, as well as the difference between the pavements around the fountain and outside where the Sheikh stands, it is possible to assume that the fountain is inside the pavilion, as Iranian *koushkes* often had a fountain inside. At the left top of this scene, unconcerned with the tragedy of love, a nurseryman – or *dehqan* – is depicted with a spade in his hand. He is looking after the garden (i.e. the land). The depiction of water channels in the surrounding garden as well as inside the *koushke* and the artists’ interest in depicting the act of nursing it, directs so much attention to it that the whole illustration might be interpreted as a *koushke* in a garden or a city surrounded by gardens.

Indeed, the illustration depicts a series of frames within which events occur, and the final composition of several concurrent frames establishes both the architecture and narration,

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 380.

form and content. In both Bernard Cache<sup>52</sup> and Elizabeth Grosz's Deleuzian reading of territory, architecture [and art] are nothing but the creation of frames – i.e. walls, floors and windows – which allow the [territorial] forces to be bound and contained.

Via this act of framing, architecture creates conditions under which 'qualities can live their own life through the constitution of territory'.<sup>53</sup> This cutting of 'the space of the earth' through the consequent 'fabrication of the frames' is the very gesture that composes both the house and territory,<sup>54</sup> as well as the garden and the *koushke*. Grosz clarifies that as there is not one architecture, neither is there a single enframing, and thus there is not a universal technique for territorialisation either. Hence, inhabiting the earth:

[...] each form of life, and each cultural form, undertakes its own modes of organization, its own connections of body and earth, its own modes of management of intractable problems that impose themselves on the living.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, the image can be interpreted as a lens that focuses on the territoriality of the sedentary way of life, the establishment of the settlement and the city, and the importance of nurturing and managing the land and water as the foundation for possibility of life on the Iranian Plateau. Within this process, the presence of such a figure – i.e. *dehqan* – in the various illustrations of Iranian poems in the folios denotes the importance of his role in creating places for living. It refers to a highly managerial work that had to be present as a constant force to make life possible in the harsh geographical conditions of the Iranian Plateau. In the Sassanid period,<sup>56</sup> *dehqan* [deh<sup>57</sup> + qan or gan (suffix)] was one of the four main social levels.<sup>58</sup> It is often equated with settlers of a territory who possess the knowledge on how to nurture the land [*Abad kardan* or *Abadan* (آبادان)] and thus to inhabit it.

According to Ahmad Tafazzoli, *dehqan* is borrowed from the Pahlavi word *dehgān* (its older form is *dahigān*). The original meaning was 'pertaining to *deh*' (in Old Persian *dahya*), which in its original sense refers to 'land,' while later it has been more attributed to a 'village'.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Bernard Cache, *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1995) and Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Chaos, territory, art: Deleuze and the framing of the earth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Chaos, territory, art: Deleuze and the framing of the earth*, 16.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

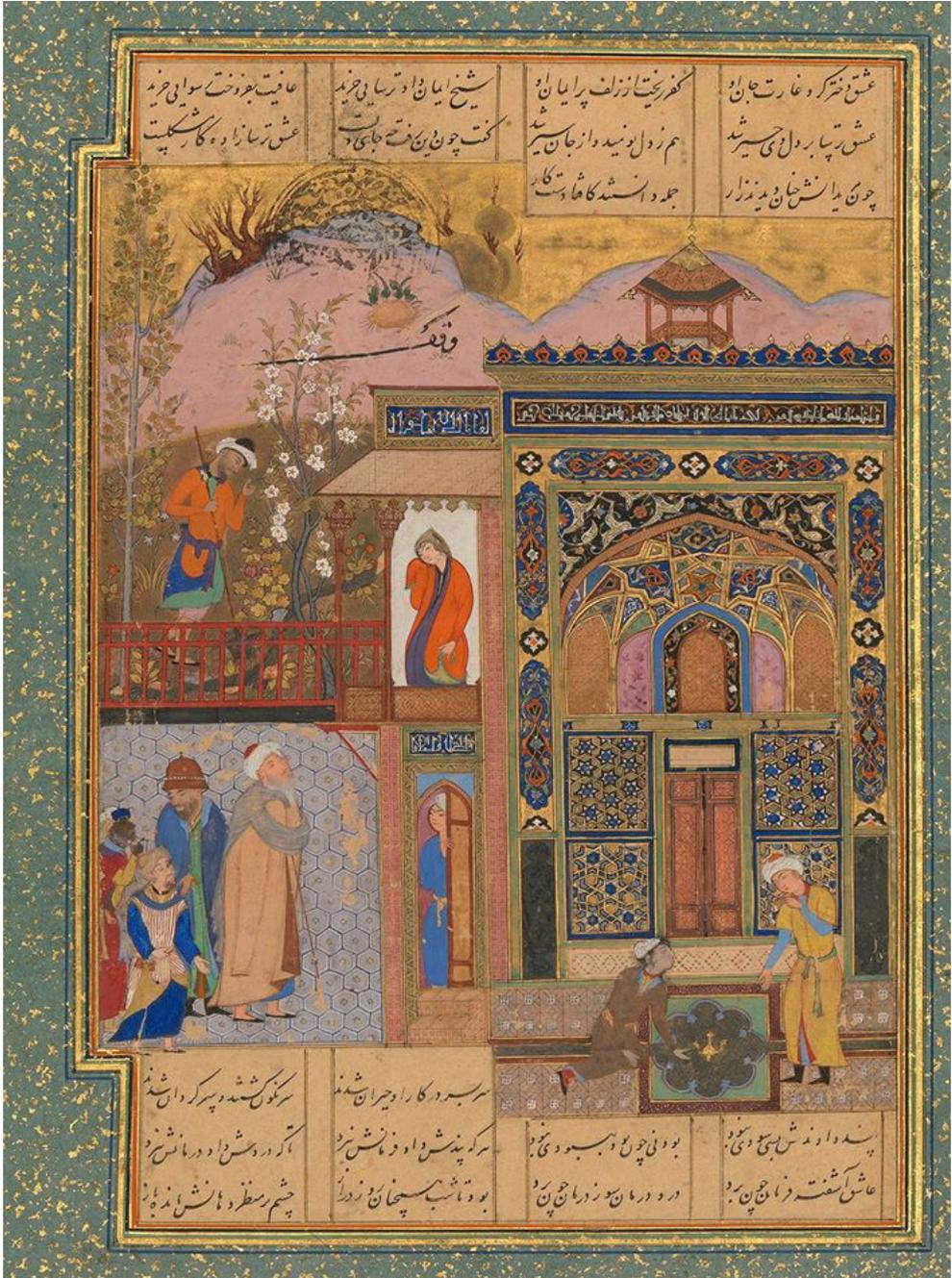
<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

<sup>56</sup> The Sasanid dynasty was the last Iranian empire before the rise of Islam, ruling from 224 CE to 651 CE.

<sup>57</sup> In general, it is possible to say that *deh* refers to a territorial division. And it was used before and after the Islamic period in Iran. However, its use throughout the periods varied greatly from indicating a country or a village.

<sup>58</sup> These four main social groups consisted of: priests (Mubedan, (نوابوم), warriors (Arteshtaran, (ناراتش ترا), scribes (Dabiran, (ناریوب), *dehqanan*/ craftsmen (Dehqanan/Sanaatgaran, (نارانگت عنص / نانا قهده). For further reading about *dehqan*, see Arthur Emanuel Christensen, *Iran dar Zaman-e Sassanian or L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, tran. Rashid Yasemi (Tehran: Seday-e Moaser, 1385/2006) and Ahmad Tafazzoli, *Sassanid Society: Warriors, Scribes, Dehqans*, trans. Mehrdad Qodrat Dizaji (Tehran: Markaz-e Nashr-e Daneshgahi, 1387/2008).

<sup>59</sup> Tafazzoli, *Sassanid Society: Warriors, Scribes, Dehqans*, 48.



4.2: Sheikh Sanaan beneath the window of the Tarsai maiden – Folio from ‘Mantiq Al-Tair’ (Language of the Birds) by Farid al-Din Attar (ca. 1142-1220). Calligrapher sultan Ali Mashhadi (ca. 1440-1520)

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the foundation of a kingship in the Zoroastrian creed<sup>60</sup> is based on two characters: *Hushang Pishdad*, who was the founder of sovereignty and his brother *Wagard Pishdad*, who was the founder of *debqani* (the adjectival form of *debqan*) and nurtured the ground.<sup>61</sup> In fact, it was the knowledge, authority and capability of these two forces that took the form of an ideal place to inhabit, i.e. *Paradise*.<sup>62</sup>

The presence of the *debqan* who had the cognition in various affairs through his territorial knowledge was crucial in settling the Iranian Plateau. Being the owners of *deb* – i.e. land, settlement or city or in a general sense the territory – a *debqan* was referred to as the opposite of a nomad. The word *debqan* has been designated various roles, from being the ‘settlers of Iran’ to the person who possessed the ‘knowledge of history and managerial affairs’ or *dabir* (scribes and officials within the state), and ‘ministers’ as well as ‘farmers’. In some manuscripts *debqan* was interpreted as *bazargan* (bazaar+gan),<sup>63</sup> which means ‘of the bazaar, attributed to the bazaar’ or ‘who is associated with bazaar’. Furthermore, *debqan* is referred to as ‘the one who is capable of inhabitation (of a place) and modification of (affairs)’,<sup>64</sup> or the ‘sapient’.

Perhaps what all of these definitions have in common in terms of contributing to the role of *debqan* is the managerial force in the form of nurturing, or ‘caring for and encouraging the growth or development of things’.<sup>65</sup> In fact, *debqan* has played a constant and important role in creating the right conditions for inhabitation, construction and the organization of [territorial] affairs. In Ferdowsi’s *Shahnameh*, the king utters the following words to describe the scene of complete destruction of a territory:

Not *bazargan* survives nor the king

No *debqan* remains, nor power and glory<sup>66</sup>

Again, in Marx’s terms, here the ‘common’ concerns a developmental dynamic of

<sup>60</sup> Zoroastrianism is an ancient Iranian monotheistic religion and a religious philosophy, which was the official religion of the state during the reign of Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian empires.

<sup>61</sup> The *Denkard* or *Denkart* (Middle Persian: ‘Acts of Religion’) is a tenth-century summary of Mazdaen Zoroastrian religion, known as the ‘Encyclopedia of Mazdaism’. It was divided into nine books of which few chapters are lost. The *Denkard* was compiled by a high priest named Adurfarnbag-e Farrokhzadan. See: Philippe Gignoux, ‘Denkard’ *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, December 15, 1994, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/denkard> (accessed October 20, 2014).

<sup>62</sup> *Paradise* (سیدوپ), or the celestial garden, entered several other languages via Greek παραδεισος [*paradeisos*]. However, it originated from the Old Persian term *pairi-daēzū*, *Pairi*, which literally means ‘around’ and *daēzū* (wall, fortification) and the origin of ‘*dizū*, *dež*’ meaning ‘fort, enclosure’. *Daeza* has roots in the Indo-European word *dbeigh* (to form/construct out of earth/clay): Ali Nourai, *An Etymological Dictionary of Persian, English and other Indo-European Languages* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 1999), 96 and Hamed Khosravi, ‘Paradise,’ *The City as a Project*, July 4, 2011, <http://thecityasaproject.org/2011/07/paradise/>.

<sup>63</sup> Mohammad Abadi, ‘The History of Dehqan,’ *Honar va Mardom (Art and society) Magazine* 15, no.179 (1977): 64-70.

<sup>64</sup> Sheikh Ahmad Rida, *Mu’jam Matn al-Lughah (Beirut: 1958-61)*, s.v. Dehqan: Merchant, leader (head) of an ecology, the land owner, the one who is in charge of habitation (of a place) and modification of (affairs), September 1977.

<sup>65</sup> Interview with Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti and Elnaz Najar Najafi, Iranian Dehqani Habit [ی‌ناری‌اق‌هد‌ی‌و‌خ], August 14, 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Hakim Abu ‘l-Qasim Ferdowsi Tusi, *Shahnameh (The Book of Kings)*, ed. Hoseinali Yousefi (Tehran: Yas publication, 1999), 721. هالک و تخت هن رک‌شل هن نا‌ق‌هد هن / هاش هن ردی‌ام نا‌گ‌رازاب هن.

'being together' [*Verein*].<sup>67</sup> It is these distinct ways of relating to each other, having access to land and the possibility of cultivating it that informs the community. Hence it is a kind of 'independent organism'.

According to this explanation, the notion of territory and its relation to inhabitation on the Iranian Plateau should be sought in the relation between two kinds of territorialities: the extensive territoriality of the nomadic way of life and the intensive territoriality of the sedentary or *dehqani*. In fact, we can argue that the idea of habitation and the management of the territory has taken form on the interface of these two territorialities, that is the nomadic and the sedentary (*dehqan*). The territory is defined by the encounter and assimilation of these territorialities, something between constant movement and the need to nurture the land. However, what is important in this discussion is not one or the other, but both. It is the assemblage of these forces which is interesting.

The question is: what could the spatial presence of this assemblage be? What if we start looking at these dichotomies not as impossible combinations, but rather imagine them in a constant interrelation and transition which might and can take form? In the following pages, by interpreting and discussing various examples, I will try to examine spatially this encounter and coalesce. Thus, before looking into the bazaar's 'whatness', I will experiment with a few examples to see whether it is possible to trace and interpret this relation between movement and inhabitation purely using a spatial and architectural lens. So in that sense, these interpretations are simplified, and I will not involve the multiplicity of forces related to the assemblage of extensive and intensive territorialities – a complexity that I will discuss in more detail in my explication of the bazaar in the next two chapters.

#### 4.5. Framing the movement: on habitation

In the search for a spatial presence of the aforementioned relation between movement and settlement, in one interpretation this territorial practice can be expounded in the spatial relation between moving and settling as well as temporality and permanency. In this sense, the constant movement of the nomads within a certain allocated territory can be translated into a hypothetical diagram, condensed to the scale of a region, the city as well as a *serai* (or house).

While nomads, as discussed before, move within a territory between *yiyalaq* (summer quarter) and *qishlaq* (winter quarter), it is interesting to observe that in many cases in Iran the city used to include both *yiyalaq* (summer quarter) and *qishlaq* (winter quarter).<sup>68</sup> The *yiyalaqs* were often located in the higher lands in the vicinity of the city where the temperature was lower and fresh water was available. These *yiyalaqs* often included gardens and were used by city dwellers as their summer residence. The city was placed on lower-lying areas closer to

<sup>67</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, 420.

<sup>68</sup> These *yiyalaqs* were part of the territory of a city and were considered to be part of a city's *bolukat*.

the valley and desert.<sup>69</sup> This means that city dwellers could move twice a year according to seasonal changes. For example, in the case of Tehran, the *yiylaqs* (summer quarters) were spread over the foothills of Alborz Mountain to the north of the city, such as Shemiran. Shemiran was a collection of several small residences, such as Tajrish, Fasham and Lavasan.

The etymology of the name of Tehran and Shemiran in relation to each other is rather intriguing to mention here. One theory holds that Tehran comes from ‘Tah+ran’ which means ‘low land’ and Shemiran comes from ‘Shem+ran’ which refers to ‘high land’. On the other hand, Ahmad Kasravi suggests that ‘Tah’ comes from a Persian dialect of the term ‘Taf’ and ‘Tab’ which means ‘hot’ and ‘warm’. Thus, Tehran means the warm place and Shemiran in contrast comes from the Avestan term ‘Zam’ or ‘Zami’ which means ‘cold’, hence a cold place.

These *yiylaqs* included gardens which could become the seed for a new settlement (*abadi*). This means that their location and their capability to provide access to water were crucial to their existence. They were often built and maintained by rich city families.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, although at the beginning this movement seemed mostly relevant for the court and rich residents of Tehran, its main importance went far beyond it being a short-term place of leisure for the rich. Even the direction of Tehran’s future physical growth was towards these winter quarters. Today Shemiran is a northern district of metropolitan Tehran.<sup>71</sup> In any case, what is important in our discussion is that Shemiran and Tehran were considered to be part of this relation between movement and settling during warm and cold seasons, low and high land. In fact, the histories of these two quarters are closely interwoven.

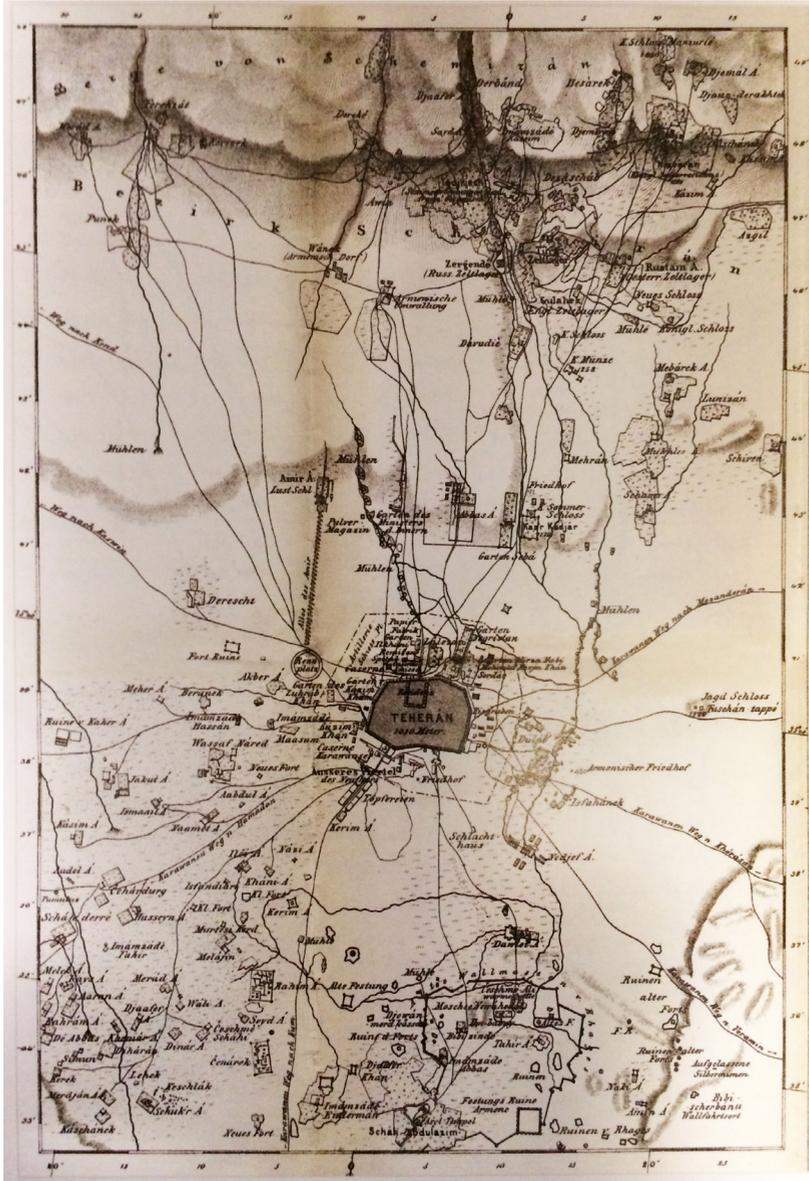
Furthermore, the hypothetical diagram can operate in the scale of a *serai* (house) where the spaces around the courtyard – serving as the house members’ core gathering place for communal life – were arranged according to the summer and winter quarters. This was visible both in the section and plan of the *serai*. Here the courtyard became the main organizing empty core which was oriented at a right angle to provide the possibility of internal migration as the seasons changed. By using the sun, shadow and wind, as well as underground water, it formalized the summer and winter quarters within the territory of the house. This angle or direction of the general plan was different in each region. In the plan, the summer spaces were often located on the southern side of the courtyard to avoid the hot summer sun. The

Fig. 4.3

<sup>69</sup>As discussed in the previous chapter, most of the cities in Iran are located at edges, between the mountains and desert, where there is more likelihood to be underground water. This distance was specifically important in regard to the slope of the ground. There had to be enough of a slope so that the water could flow smoothly within a grid of [underground] channels. Hence, the cities were closer to valleys where there was less of a slope. The other point is seasonal flooding could affect the cities. Indeed, there are historical references to constant seasonal flooding affecting cities such as Tabriz and Qazvin.

<sup>70</sup> For example, in the case of Tehran, Yousef Abad was one of these *yiylaqs*. Mirza Yousef Khan Mostowfi al-Mamalek, a bureaucrat of the Qajar court, invested in and constructed this *yiylaq*. For the process of the construction of Yousef Abad, see Elnaz Najafi, ‘To Build and To Be Built: Revisiting the relation between culture and architecture’ (PhD diss, Shahid Beheshti University, 2015), 86-98.

<sup>71</sup> This was the case in many other cities in Iran, such as Mashhad, Kashan and Qazvin.



4.3: The map of Bolukat of Tehran or Tehran's territory, 1885- it shows Tehran in relation to Shemiran. (i.e. the northern summer quarters).

winter spaces, were placed on the northern side to let the lower inclined winter sun penetrate the rooms. In the section, the cool summer rooms or *hoz-kehanehs* (literally meaning ‘pond rooms’) were dug into the ground.<sup>72</sup> In some cases the courtyard itself was sunken into the ground, which was called *gondal-baghche* or ‘small dug garden’. Here the sunken garden and the spaces around it hosted the summer spaces, while providing access to the water sources.<sup>73</sup>

Fig. 4.4

These summer rooms often used *badgir* or wind-catcher towers, which directed the wind to move above the water pond into the rooms and efficiently moisturize them and bring down the temperature. Hence, the residents of the house were moving within the house according to whether it was summer or winter, from the summer rooms to the winter ones and vice versa.

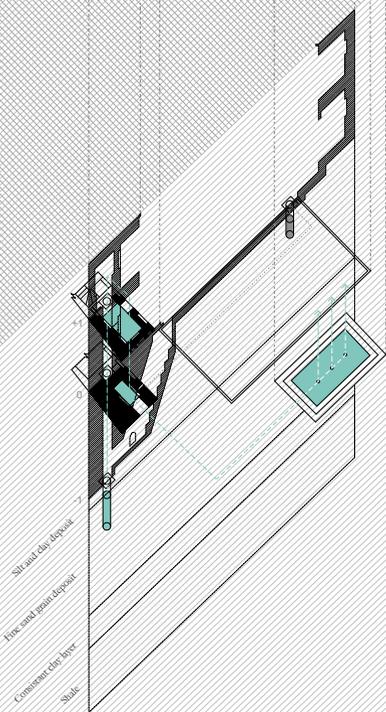
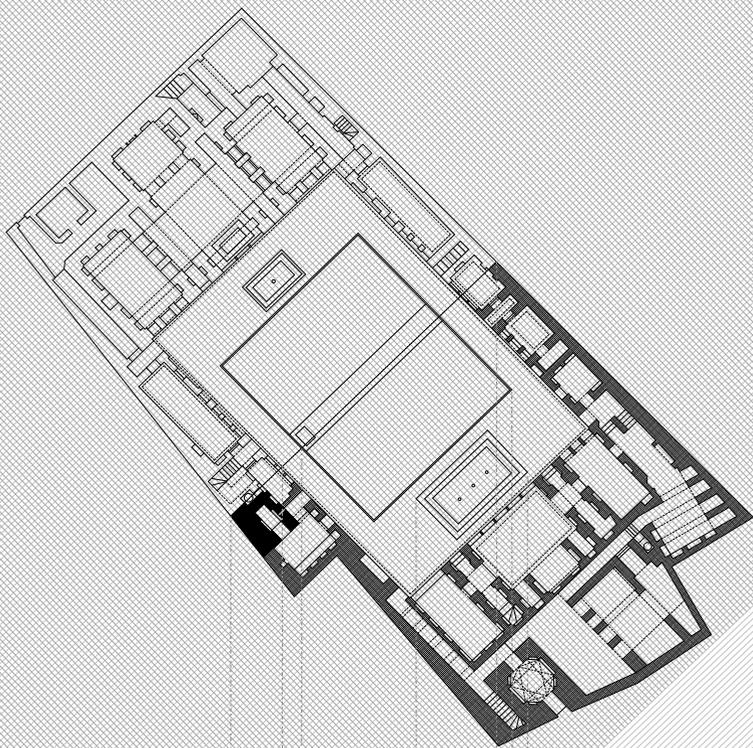
Ultimately, the movement within a certain territory, city or house can be understood as the merging point of these ways of life, a territoriality which is beyond mere environmental consideration and functionality.<sup>74</sup> It suggests a possibility for a different reading that avoids the binary opposition of movement versus settlement. In fact, movement is a process that activate and operationalize certain potentialities in an inhabited territory. Furthermore, in this assemblage, the extensive territoriality of the nomad is interiorized within the idea of settlement. In other words, interiorization becomes a process and a mechanism through which two kinds of territorialities are assembled, and it involves different social, political, economic and cultural dimensions.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Hoz-kehaneh* literally means pond house. This room often had a water pond and was dug into the ground, facilitating access to water.

<sup>73</sup> This organization of space can be found mainly in the cities in the central desert of Iran, such as Yazd, Nain and Kashan.

<sup>74</sup> The courtyard here is not a functional space for the household’s economic activity, such as storing goods or keeping animals; rather, it is the most precious part of the house (being sacred and secret). This courtyard hosts the garden, the presence of hidden water in a small pool and it outlines a ‘paradise’. In this sense, the inhabitable spaces around the courtyard are literally named and valued according to their access to the courtyard. For example, the main hall of the house is called as *panj-dari* (literally meaning five doors). It is often used to receive guests, has the most accessibility to the courtyard and constitutes the widest interior façade around the courtyard. Other rooms might be called *se-dari* (three doors) or *do-dari* (two doors) [towards the courtyard], which are less important. This courtyard also hosts the seasonal movement of its residents.

<sup>75</sup> Indeed, it is possible to argue that the Khaldunian cyclic assimilation of the nomadic into sedentary life relies on this process of interiorization to explain state-formation on the Iranian Plateau.



4.4: *Qodsiyeh* House in Isfahan – seventeenth century. The drawing shows the ways in which the house allocates life within a territory through the organization of summer and winter quarters around the central courtyard and the relation between the spatial organization of the plan with the section of the house which was related to a larger territorial system of water management. This delicate system provided access to underground water according to the geological specificity of this city. The water was managed through a system of canals (*medi*) that distributed water from Zayandeh River into the flat plain of Isfahan. Because of the fluctuating level of the river, however, any system there had to have a means of storing of water for the hot season. The canal system used the specific geological condition of the plain to store the water underground. This water was accessed through shallow wells installed in the houses, mosques, *caravanserais* and so on. Isfahan is one of the few cities in the central area of Iran that does not use *qanat* and relies on a different system of water management, adopting well to its geological and geographical possibilities. Drawn by author and Nasim Razavian.

#### 4.6. Situating a movement: A bridge

The simultaneity of intensive and extensive territorialities is not only a conceptual construct, but it can be articulated in concrete architectural artifacts, for instance, in the figure of an ‘inhabitable bridge’. To further explore this spatial relation, one might think of the ways in which a bridge, as a space for movement and connection, can be situated to provide the possibility of inhabitation. In this interpretation, a bridge could represent the co-existence of various apparent dichotomies at the conceptual, programmatic and typological levels.

In his extensive study entitled *Living Bridges* the authors focus on a programmatic, structural and typological reading to define and illustrate the rationale behind the combination of inhabitation and movement.<sup>76</sup> In this book, Jean Dethier defines an inhabited bridge as an architectural type that has been largely dismissed in the discourse of architectural history and theory. In doing so, he considers the German term ‘die Überbautenbrücke (bridge which is built upon)<sup>77</sup> to be the clearest reference to a distinct category of bridge, and thus he considers the inhabited bridge to be the result of a programmatic and functional juxtaposition of two elements: ‘the platform that spans the obstacle and an architectural superstructure.’<sup>78</sup>

Although Dethier’s interesting survey is limited to the bridge as an infrastructural space of movement and connection, I would argue that this programmatic juxtaposed reading is similar to the typo-morphological studies of the bazaar, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.<sup>79</sup> Of course, Dethier also addresses other factors, such as social and economic concerns, that are indeed important incentives for the presence of an inhabitable bridge, but

<sup>76</sup> Peter Murray, and MaryAnne Stevens, *Living bridges: the inhabited bridge, past, present and future* (Munich: Prestel,1997).

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> As briefly discussed in chapter one of this thesis, Eugen Wirth initiated an extensive reading of the bazaar of Isfahan as a complex of multi-programme architectural objects. See chapter one, 1.3.3. *The bazaar as an architectural ‘type’*.

here I am looking for something more than a programmatic and typological juxtaposition. Something which is closer to what James Corner looks for in his book *Taking measures across the American landscape*, where the possibility of a dialectical synthesis is examined as the only feasible way of revisiting the relationship between art and science, culture and nature, and objectivity and subjectivity.<sup>80</sup>

Focused on providing a comprehensive reading of the landscape and the act of measuring it, Corner argues that detaching the landscape as an object of a scientific act from the culture or way of life of the people who occupy it means failing to recognize its reality and complexity.<sup>81</sup> Hence, Corner acknowledges an 'aporia' which is characterized by general confusion regarding the calculative precision of modern measurement techniques and their claim to objectivity, rationality and universality, on the one hand, and their relation to the land and geo+metry, on the other hand. This 'aporia' relies explicitly on the way in which various infrastructures, such as dams, bridges and canals, are masterfully measured and projected onto the landscape, even though, despite their claim to precision, they dismiss the 'placeness' and the various social and political complexities inherent in the act of measuring. Therefore, Corner seeks a creative system and an alternative way of looking at the synthesis of these apparent oppositions and dichotomies. My motive for reading such an assemblage is somewhat more aligned to Corner's search or Massimo Cacciari's call for finding a way to give form to the city's subjected contradictory expectations – i.e. to act like a machine, an instrument with a complex of functions, all the while serving as a place of sojourn – in the process of inhabiting the territory [of the city] again.<sup>82</sup>

Hence, in my interpretation an inhabitable bridge is about the assemblage of these contradictory expectations: it is the result of a calculative system and act, as a space of movement and connection, but it also provides a place of sojourn. The synthesis can take the form of a modification of the standard system and universal rationale of the infrastructural work while encountering specific localities. It is where various territorial regimes intensify and are superposed to 'situate' an infrastructure as a space of movement. In this case, the architecture of the bridge-*caravanserai* along the roads can be interpreted as a paradigmatic example where the problem of connection and passage (bridge) encounters a locality by providing the possibility of a temporal sojourn (*caravanserai*).

As explained in chapter two of this thesis, the geographical and geological conditions on most of the Iranian Plateau, and the difficulty in accessing water sources meant the roads, as well as the cities, had to expand as much as possible at a threshold between the mountains and deserts. This could have provided the possibility for hosting *caravanserais*. Historically,

<sup>80</sup> James Corner and Alex S. MacLean, *Taking measures across the American landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 25-37.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>82</sup> Massimo Cacciari, 'Nomads in Prison,' *Casabella* 705 (2002): 106-108.

*caravanserai*<sup>83</sup> were resting places where caravans (army or travellers) could stay temporarily, exchange news and even trade, while officials and messengers could rest and change horses. Therefore, the in-road *caravanserai* were constructed along the roads where there was access to water sources.<sup>84</sup>

In cases where the road needed to cross the water or flood stream, a bridge would be constructed and often a *caravanserai* would be located next to the bridge. Thus, while the bridge passed over the water, the *caravanserai* would accommodate it and while for the bridge the water connotes an obstacle that needed to be overcome and/or overpassed, the *caravanserai* allocated the life by accessing the water. This close coexistence between the bridge and the *caravanserai* raised the question for their builders of how they can coalesce.<sup>85</sup> This means that in several cases the space for temporal sojourn was integrated into the structure of the bridge.<sup>86</sup> On the one hand, the feasibility of such an integration depended on structurally improving the bridge. This was done mainly by modifying the geometry of arches and vaults, improving the techniques and methods of their construction and mastering the materials, which led to making the general structure of the bridge lighter and gaining empty spaces between the main structural elements. On the other hand, it needed a kind of architectural thinking that does not consider the bridge merely as a space for crossing but simultaneously as a place to stay. Thus, the bridge provided the possibility for a temporal sojourn within its structure.

In cases where the bridges were located outside the city, this temporal inhabitation either served caravans or toll men. For instance, in a travelogue written by Adam Olearius during the first half of the seventeenth century, he described his stay at Manjil Bridge:<sup>87</sup>

... The aforementioned bridge is big and strong and it has nine columns. Under the bridge and inside the columns there are rooms

<sup>83</sup> The term *caravanserai* is a Persian word consisting of three parts, *cara*+*van* + *serai*. Derived from the Indo-European root *karō*, 'cara' means 'war' and 'army' in Old Persian, and *van* (or *bān*) is a Persian suffix meaning 'protect' or 'guard'. The third part, *serai*, literally means 'cross' and 'pass over' and 'boundary'. It is also used as a suffix that connotes 'placeness'. Some other terms, such as *Khan*, *ribat*, *rabat* or *Karbat* are also used instead of *caravanserai* in certain periods and areas. See Ali Nourai, *An Etymological Dictionary of Persian, English and Other Indo-European Languages* (1999), 244 and 474 and the Persian Dehkhoda Dictionary.

<sup>84</sup> These could be seasonal water streams or underground water sources or rainwater. For example, Ribat-e Sharif is a *caravanserai* that was built in the twelfth century along the old Silk Route between Sarakhs and Neishabour in the north-east of Iran, the main water source of which is rainwater.

<sup>85</sup> For example, *Isfād-khast Caravanserai*, which was constructed next to a bridge on the road between Isfahan to Shiraz; or *Pol Caravanserai* next to the *Dallak Bridge* on the road from Tehran to Qom, which were all built during the Safavid period (1501–1736).

<sup>86</sup> Although the process of this integration has not been studied or documented in detail yet; however, some of these bridges date back to the tenth century, while the foundations might date back to earlier periods. For example, the bridge of Kashkan situated 52 km from Khurram Abad in western Iran, according to an inscription installed on the bridge, dates back to 987 CE. However, the seventeenth-century Safavid period is often seen as a turning point in terms of both the quantity and quality of architectural and infrastructural projects, when all previous experimentation in engineering, structural modification and architectural coherence was implemented.

<sup>87</sup> Adam Olearius refers to this bridge as the gate to Gilan's territory. This bridge is located along the road from Qazvin to Gilan in the north-west of Iran and it was built during the Safavid period (1501–1736).

with dome ceilings and also there was a kitchen with a staircase through which is possible to go down and reach the water. That being said, the bridge was a proper caravanserai for the travellers to stay and rest.<sup>88</sup>

Fig. 4.5

It needs to be said that this is not a simple functional juxtaposition, rather the result of technical, economic, geographic and geological as well as legal interrelations. For example, *Khaju Bridge* in Isfahan is perhaps one of the most elaborate examples of this kind, where the bridge, as the continuation of the road, was an entrance to the city. Being part of a bigger system to manage the city's water supply, the foundation of the bridge operated as a dam for the underground geological layers of the river bed. Furthermore, the bridge organized movement by separating pedestrians and vehicles. In fact, *Khaju Bridge* was the continuation of the road from Shiraz to Isfahan on one side and the bazaar of Isfahan on the other side. Therefore, it was part of a larger territorial circulation system. At the same time, the bridge accommodated a royal pavilion with monumental architecture which was clearly understood to be the continuation of the king's garden palaces on two sides of the river. Furthermore, operating as a public promenade, the bridge included strolling areas as well as several small *iwans*<sup>89</sup> (balconies) as part its design so that gathering, people could spend time there and gaze over the river, especially during festivities.<sup>90</sup>

Fig. 4.6

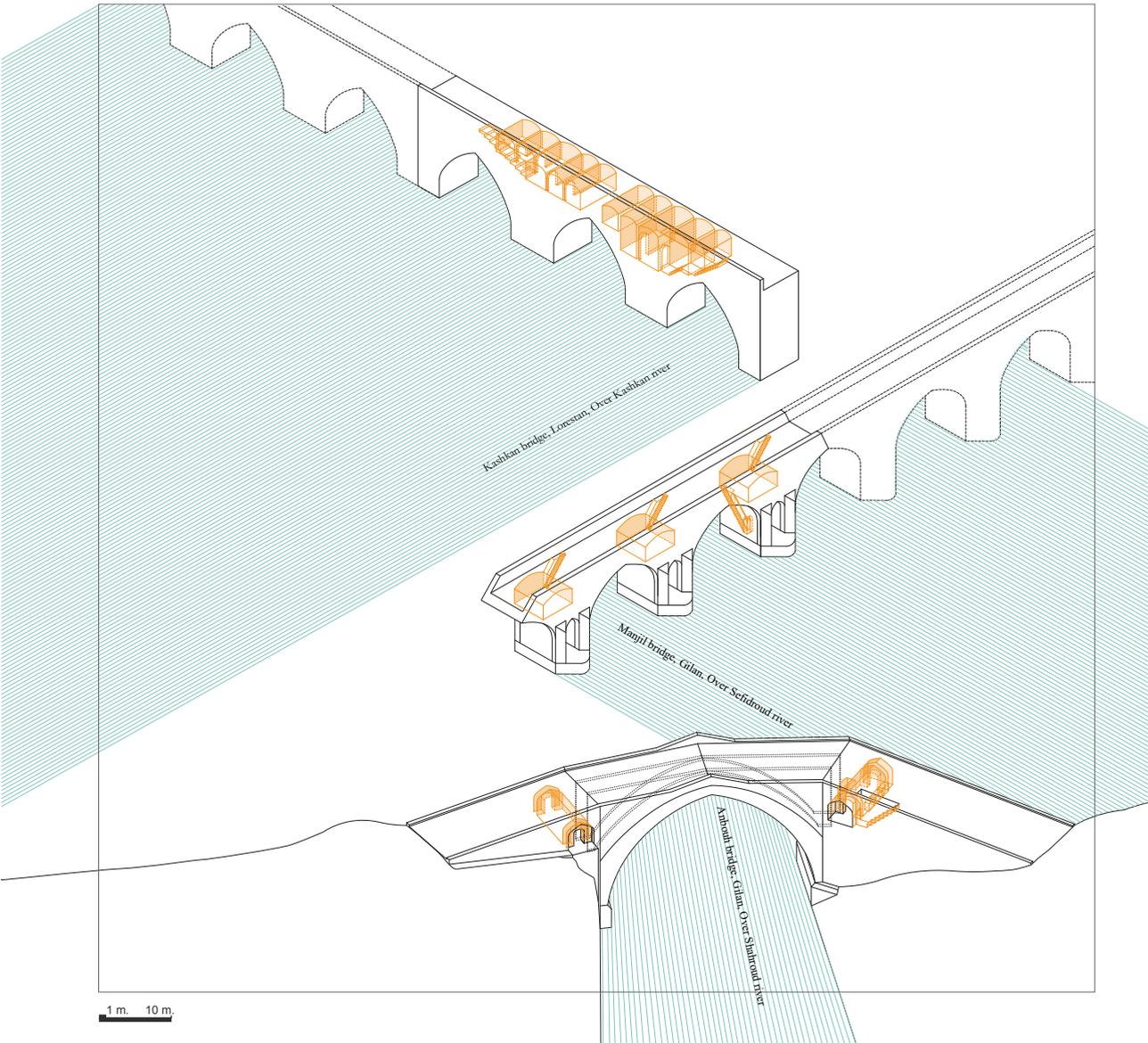
Hence, arguably the architecture of the bridge is not merely an object of scientific precision and the result of knowledge that stems from tools and technology,<sup>91</sup> but also, as James Corner says, it is about understanding the art and culture of occupying the land. So it simultaneously entails the concept and a way of thinking, as well as the process and the product. It is not only a question of 'how to do it', but it is also about understanding and being aware of 'what it can be' and 'where it can be'. For example, regarding the Khaju Bridge, the location of the bridge is not a random choice, rather it is the result of combining various forces and agencies.

<sup>88</sup> Adam Olearius, *Safar Nameh-ye Adam Olearius: Iran-e Asr-e Safavi Az Negah-e Yek Almani (Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung Der Muscovitischen und Persischen Reyse)*, trans. Ahmad Behpour (Tehran: Ibtakar-i No, 2006 [1385]), 324.

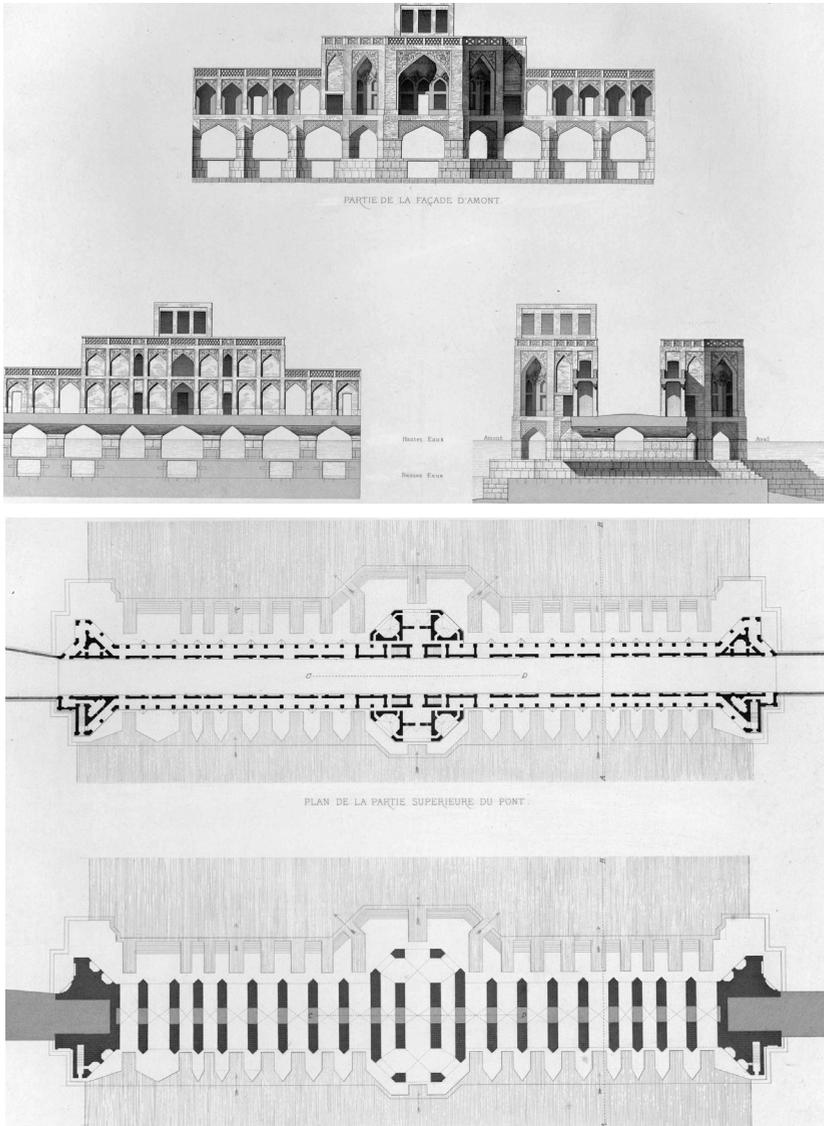
<sup>89</sup> *Ayvan* or *eyvan* is a persian word which is also used in Arabic (*Iwan*) or Turkish. In classical literature, Ayvan refers mostly to a ceremonial and palatial part or function. However, its later common meaning is influenced by its architectural and typological feature. In this sense, Iwan or Eyvan is a vaulted room walled on three sides and opens onto a courtyard or central space on the fourth side or connects the courtyard to the exterior space. Even in this case, *Iwan* is often a representative part of a building in the sense of its spatial scale, its decoration and monumentality. In the organization of the architectural plans *iwans* are often located along the two main axes of the building, emphasizing the symmetry. The *four-ivan* organization is thus a recurrent typology which appears in a house, mosque, caravanserai, *madrese* and palaces. For further reading see: Oleg Grabar, 'Ayvan,' *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, August 18, 2011, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ayvan-palace> (accessed April 5, 2015).

<sup>90</sup> Khaju Bridge was constructed on the location of an older bridge. It is a continuation of the bazaar of Isfahan and Khaju Khiaban and it connects the bazaar over the river to the important road to Shiraz in the south-east of the city.

<sup>91</sup> Engineer in Farsi is *mubandis* (مردنهم) or the one who has knowledge of *hindeseb* (هندسه), geometry, i.e. the science of measure and manner or quantities and qualities).



4.5: From top to bottom: Kashkan Bridge over Kashkan River in Lorestan; Manjil Bridge over Sefid-Roud in Gilan; and Anbuh Bridge over Shah-Roud in Gilan. The drawings are reconstructions based on several descriptions available in travelogues and historical sources as well as a few available inventories on Iranian historical bridges and dams (see the bibliography). For example, The Manjil Bridge was described in detail in Adam Olearius's travelogue. The drawings illustrate the position of the resting rooms within the structure of the bridge, their accessibility and relation to water. Drawing by author



4.6: Khaju Bridge in Isfahan, illustrated by Pascal Coste. Pascal Coste was a French architect who together with Eugène Flandin, a French orientalist, painter, archaeologist and politician, travelled to Persia during 1839-1841.

The bridge is made of baked brick resting on a stone foundation. Its length is about 110 m with a width ranging from 28 m to 35 m, where the central pavilions rest. 'The bridge also functions as a weir, serving to control the level of the water and to feed a number of hidden water channels that lead to the surrounding meadowlands. The lower part of the bridge is divided into two parts: while the upper part divides the flow of water pouring through the channels into 20 separate streams; the lower sector guides the water in a musical cascade over the steep steps.' The superstructure takes the form of a long arcade of niches on its edges flanked by two central and four end pavilions with a split octagon. Between the two rows of arches there is a central circulation path for vehicles paved in stone. In fact, Khaju Bridge as a space for movement and a place for inhabitation is a combination of bazaar and Khaju khiaban (street).

Ali Mousavi et al., *Ancient Iran from the air* (Darmstadt: Philipp Von ZabernVerlag, 2012), 141-142.

The assemblage of these positions allows the bridge to be part of a whole territorial water management system, circulation and planning of the city of Isfahan and also to operate as a royal pavilion and a place where the public can stay and stroll around and simultaneously connect and establish contact with other people.<sup>92</sup> The bridge here is a key example of the way in which the architecture of an infrastructure can be situated and establishes a language which is both architecturally recognizable and yet part of a larger whole.

#### **4.7. The assemblage of extensive and intensive territorialities**

The aim of these different examples and interpretations is to prepare an introduction for conceptualizing and describing the relation and encounter between movement and inhabitation and between extensive nomadic territoriality and intensive sedentary territoriality and their various regimes and forces involved in the bazaar, not only in terms of its physical presence, but also its legal and political structure as well as social organization.

In the case of the bazaar, these regimes and forces are much more complex than what has been discussed in this chapter, for example in the case of the inhabitable bridge. That is because the bazaar gave form to various relations concerning the production, exchange and storing of various materials and non-materials and hence to the main places of contact within the city and between city dwellers and others.

Therefore, the architecture of the bazaar is territorial not only because of its scale, but also by virtue of its complexity. It can be defined by thresholds, topography, topology, logistics, infrastructures and situations; something between an extensive circulation space and intensive meeting place. It is related to the ways in which a territory is inhabited, organized and managed. The architecture of the bazaar is not necessarily defined by its formal constraints, nor by the total elimination of its limits; rather it is characterized by its constantly negotiated boundaries.

The bazaar is an assemblage of various territorial regimes rooted in the extensive nomadic territoriality and intensive sedentary territoriality, and in the relation between movement and inhabitation through organizing different movements (people, goods and information) and various public places and institutions. Hence, the bazaar embodies a multiplicity of relations between space, economy, society and culture. Indeed, the legal, administrative and social organization are spatially embedded in the bazaar.

As the bazaar expands within and beyond the boundaries of the city, it enables, on the one hand, connection, integration and confrontation within the city, and on the other hand, it establishes a network of relations through the organization of its economic, administrative and production activities. By referring to the bazaar as 'territorial' we are immediately dealing with a multifaceted topic which reveals the complexity inherent in its definition and

<sup>92</sup> For further reading on how the design of the Khaju Bridge works as part of the territorial water management of the city, see S. Abd Al Azim A. Shah Karami, 'Baz Khani-ye Muhandesi-ye Pol-i-Khaju or Re-Reading the Engineering of Khaju Bridge,' *Golestan-e Honar* 6 (No. 4) (1385/2006): 81-94 and Mohammad Beheshti, 'Karname-ye Modiri-ye Paydar-e Sarzamin,' *Joharistan* (2016). Accessed March 15, 2016, <http://www.beheshti.me/?p=1252>.

organization.

The word 'bâzâr' is derived from the Pahlavi word 'vâ-čâr' which means 'place to get together and assembly'. Opinions vary about the origins of the word 'vâ-čâr'. One interpretation suggests that 'vâ-čâr' originates from the Old Persian word 'abâ- cari, or 'place of assembly', which consists of two parts: 'abâ: 'to assemble together' and 'car, čâr:' or 'to move around, graze'. In fact, there is a double meaning hidden in this interpretation: On one level 'to move around (wheel), graze' and another level to 'to dwell (place of, home of [assembly])'. Therefore, while it relates to the territory as a space of movement, bazaar refers to the city and the creation of a place of gathering, production and exchange. That means the bazaar includes the processes of linking, incorporating and relating that makes it possible to combine and give form to the infrastructural space of movement and places of assembly and inhabitation.

The notion of *infrastructure* (infra+structure) not only refers to the bazaar as a circulation space, but also as a space for the management of the city and the territory, and as the basic physical and organizational structure needed for the operation of a society. This concept will be extensively discussed in the next chapter. The second term, i.e. *inhabitation* denotes the notion of *place* or 'situated-ness'. This is what Arang Keshavarzian call as a 'bounded space'. He uses this expression in his conceptualization of the bazaar: 'I define bazaars as bounded spaces containing a series of ongoing and socially embedded networks that are the mechanism for the exchange of specific commodities.'<sup>93</sup> Here by 'bounded space,' as I interpret it from his book *Bazaar and State in Iran*, he is concerned with the notion of place in the sense that the location matters and the thresholds are important. It is for this reason that he uses the adjectival form of 'bounded' for the space. For him, this boundedness is crucially important in intensifying certain relations and he considers it as a serious topic which has been dismissed in previous studies on the bazaar, as discussed before.<sup>94</sup> But what is important to note here is that this boundedness is not static. As Edward Casey proposes, the 'porousness of boundaries is essential to place. A place could not gather bodies in the diverse spatiotemporal ways it does without the permeability of its own limits.'<sup>95</sup>

Boundedness is used to designate a 'locale' and a form of [temporal] assembly. In fact, this reference – a place of public inhabitation – is a common denominator in the bazaar's recognition both by scholars such as Arang Keshavarzian and *bazāaris* themselves,<sup>96</sup> and it is related to the way in which the bazaar acted locally. The act of inhabitation includes the accumulation of various ways of life, as they unfold and germinate in the bazaar, and it will be addressed in the final chapter (chapter six) of this thesis.

<sup>93</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 41.

<sup>94</sup> Although, in social sciences space might carry different definitions and notions than in architecture and urban discourse; yet, as emphasized, by that Keshavarzian tries to pay attention to the bazaar as a physical construct.

<sup>95</sup> S. Casey, 'How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: phenomenological prolegomena', 42.

<sup>96</sup> See chapter two of this thesis: 2.1. Introduction.

Ultimately, it is the interrelation between the ‘extensive economy’ of nomadic formations and the ‘intensive economy’ of sedentary societies that created the bazaar, where these various ways of life reify and where the notions of place of inhabitation and space of moving converge. And thus, through this dynamic, the economic, social and administrative relations unfold in the bazaar as the centre of public life within the city – regarding the gathering of citizens and others, as well as the organized accumulation of public institutions within the city.



## **CHAPTER FIVE: The bazaar as an infrastructure**

5.1. Introduction

5.2. The bazaar as the main infrastructure of the city

5.3. Bazaar versus Khiaban

5.4. From extra-urban to intra-urban circulation

5.5. Security, Mechanisms of control and jurisdiction in the bazaar



## 5.1. Introduction

The word “infrastructure” typically conjures associations with physical networks for transportation, communication, or utilities. Infrastructure is considered to be a hidden substrate – the binding medium or current between objects of positive consequence, shape, and law.<sup>1</sup>

The use of the term ‘infrastructure’ for providing a reading of the bazaar may seem contradictory. This is because the emergence of infrastructure in Western discourse was accompanied by a process of urbanization and rationalization, and thus has a specific context in the city’s discourse.<sup>2</sup> As both Antoine Picon and Michel Foucault acknowledge, in this process [of urbanization], the territory was considered a ‘project’ whose aim was to formulate an ideal easy circulation of goods and people.<sup>3</sup> The territory was understood as a ‘productive countryside’ where the concern of engineers was how to administer and quantifiably manage it.<sup>4</sup> Hence, infrastructure carries an implicit reference to the problem of relating to and managing territory, in which the economy would be its primary quality. While infrastructure has been considered part of the engineer’s expertise, its relation to the city and later on its physical and formal presence became the concern of architecture.<sup>5</sup> In this case, the architecture was subordinate to engineering,<sup>6</sup> and slowly the notion of infrastructure took over the city. Thus, the borders were eliminated [and not negotiated] and the city was illustrated as a continuous infrastructure that could expand whenever and wherever throughout the landscape.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: the power of infrastructure space* (London: Verso, 2014), 11.

<sup>2</sup> For further reading see: Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, ed. by Michel Senellart, trans. by Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.): 16-71 and Aureli, Pier Vittorio, *The possibility of an absolute architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2011):141-176. And for further reading on territory and the rise of the global in Europe, see Saskia Sassen, *Territory, authority, rights: from medieval to global assemblages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Antoine Picon, ‘What Has Happened to Territory?’ in *AD, Territory-Architecture Beyond Environment*, ed. David Gissen (London: Wiley, 2011), 94-99; Antoine Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment*, trans. Martin Thom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 205-227; and chapter one (11 January 1978) in Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, ed. by Michel Senellart, trans. by Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment*, 224-225.

<sup>5</sup> For example, a sequence of proposals for the masterplan of the city of Nantes in France during the eighteenth century clearly shows the concern of the architects and planners for responding to the question of connecting the city to the territory by addressing the infrastructure as the solution to the circulation problem. Being positioned next to the Loire River, Nantes was an important garrison town and port between Africa, England and America. This importance of trade, specifically during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, led to the question of how to reorganize the relation between the town and its territory. This, Foucault argues, formulated ‘the question of the spatial, juridical, administrative, and economic opening up of the town’ and ‘resituating the town in a space of circulation’, for which a sequence of plans had been proposed. For instance, the plan of Nantes prepared by M. Rousseau in 1760 is outstanding, in which he literally illustrated the city of Nantes reconfigured by a circulation infrastructure in the form of a heart, to imitate the circulation of blood in the organ.

<sup>6</sup> Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment*, 312-330.

<sup>7</sup> For example, in 1910, Edgar Chambless, an investor in the Central Railroad of Georgia, presented his ideas as a linear city in a book entitled *Roadtown*. In this detailed book, he unfolded and explained the way in which this

By infrastructure I am referring here to ‘circulation’ as part of the territorial dimension of the city, both in the sense of scale and the management of movement. For that reason, the infrastructure unavoidably relates to other underlying territorial, social, economic and administrative systems, which perhaps are often dismissed when thinking and working as an architect. However, by calling the bazaar an ‘infrastructure’, the concern of this chapter is to go beyond a discussion based purely on physical circulation. By infrastructure I am implicitly referring to the bazaar as a system, a network and a managerial space (i.e. a space that manages a multiplicity of relations, rather than merely a well-managed space).

The aim of the next two chapters is to expand on these forces, regimes and practices, and examine how they influence the bazaar and how they are spatialized in the bazaar. Accordingly, in this chapter, by articulating the bazaar’s spatiality, which assimilates the extensive and intensive territorialities, I argue for the infrastructural role of the bazaar that is embedded within the idea of inhabitation in the city. The aim is to explore the encounter and assemblage of these territorialities and the possibility of them taking form in the architecture and spatiality of the bazaar. In this process, while chapter five uses various material sources to demonstrate the infrastructural role of the bazaar, the next chapter will explain how this infrastructure is situated and inhabited in the territory.

The upcoming chapters are constructed as an amalgam of descriptions. However, as Marc Schoonderbeek suggests, these descriptions are already a kind of ‘production, and never completely representation only, as description, in itself, traces both the inscriptive and projective aspects of original material’.<sup>8</sup> So in this sense, the descriptions contain a certain level of interpretation and experimentation vis-à-vis existing sources.

These two chapters therefore aim to describe and interpret some of the [layers of] forces and regimes that form and inform the bazaar’s spatial and architectural formation. These layers constitute spatial and legal references not as separate issues, but rather in relation to each other. Instead of separately discussing the political, economic or social role of the bazaar, as has often been the case, these next two chapters try to suggest that the aggregate of various regimes and orders should be considered the *raison d’être* of the territorial

city works, its relation to territory, modes of production and ways of inhabitation as being an infrastructure. The challenge between architecture, infrastructure and ways of life has been under investigation repeatedly during the twentieth century until the present. ‘The Plan Obus for Algiers’ by Le Corbusier (1933) is an example, where a long arching roadway included housing while connecting central Algiers to its suburbs. Specifically, this idea of the ‘linear city’ was directed at the vast American territories which were already well surveyed by the superposition of the Jefferson Grid in 1785. Examples include ‘the Jersey Corridor Project’ by Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves (1966), *where a continuous urban fabric extends from Boston to Washington*, or Paul Rudolph’s ‘Lower Manhattan Expressway project’ for New York City in 1967-72. Projects in Europe include Yona Friedman’s ‘L’Architecture mobile’ (1958) and the ‘Cities within the city. Proposals by the Sommer Akademie for Berlin’ by Oswald Mathias Ungers and a number of his colleagues at Cornell University (1977). The concern for illustrating an infrastructural city continued throughout the century. For further reading, see Maria Shéhérazade Giudici, ‘The Street as a Project: The Space of the City and the Construction of the Modern Subject’ (PhD diss., Delft University of Technology, 2014), 27-54 and 370-375. For a recent publication on architecture and infrastructure, see Ika and Andreas Ruby (eds.), with a Visual Atlas by Something Fantastic, *Infrastructure Space* (Berlin: Ruby Press).

<sup>8</sup> Marc Schoonderbeek, ‘Place-Time Discontinuities: Mapping Architectural Discourse,’ 66.

understanding of the bazaar.

This chapter begins by reflecting on the bazaar's extensive territoriality and the possibility of reading it as the main infrastructure of the city. For that, I look into several drawings and maps from the nineteenth century, which are concerned with the problem of representing the bazaar. As Antoine Picon states, maps enable one to reduce and abstract a considerable space within a certain limit of the physical and conceptual frame.<sup>9</sup> This acknowledges the importance of maps as a means of abstraction and conceptualization, through which they communicate a distinct understanding of an architectural entity. According to Marc Schoonderbeek:

Surely, the depiction of the urban condition in its totality has been a valid tool to test the prevailing ideas and ideals of a presumed utopian city at any given historical period, but one needs also to acknowledge that urban maps transform the messy spatial inconsistencies into a fixed urban representation. Through this act, urban maps not only frame and order the city, but also put the city at a distance, precisely because of the form of abstraction that constitutes the basic principles of the plan.<sup>10</sup>

While most of the remaining representations of the bazaar have focused on selected interior scenes, these maps are interesting because they address the interiority of the bazaar in addition to its role as part of a larger territory and the circulation system of the city. Hence, these early attempts to represent the bazaar as a total urban phenomenon are important not only as a source for extracting historical information to reconstruct the bazaar's physical situation in relation to the city and the territory, but also, and perhaps more importantly for this thesis, as a way of reinterpreting the bazaar as a whole.

Despite this importance, there is not much material attempting to analyse the ideas and ideals of the maps discussed here. These maps were either prepared by foreign military engineers and officers or travellers (for example, Russian and French) with the aim of military, logistical and political utilization, or they were made by Iranian illustrators and surveyors.<sup>11</sup>

These drawings and maps include four emblematic maps from the nineteenth century. What these maps have in common is that all of them were drawn as a projection or representation of an existing condition, meaning that none of them were made with the idea

<sup>9</sup> Antoine Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment*, 211-212. Quoted from: J.-L.-H. L'Escaille, pupil's dissertation, style competition of 1782, ENPC manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> Marc Schoonderbeek, 'Place-Time Discontinuities: Mapping Architectural Discourse,' 220.

<sup>11</sup> In her books and articles, the Iranian historian Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, discusses the development of geography and the proliferation of map making and scientific cartography based on Western scientific techniques in nineteenth century Iran vis-à-vis the importance of land and borders in the emergence of the nation and national identity, and cultural production, in Iran and its surrounding regions. In this context, the opening of modern higher educational institutions such as Dar al-Fonun in several cities (e.g. Tehran and Tabriz) was important. See Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier fictions: shaping the Iranian nation, 1804-1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999) and Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, 'Picturing the homeland: geography and national identity in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Iran,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24, 4 (1998) 413-430.

of providing a future vision, design or plan.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, these limited maps and drawings can communicate [the illustrator's] specific spatial interpretations of the bazaar, its relation to the city and territory. In fact, what is interesting in all of these maps is exactly the problem of representing the bazaar beyond a mere circulation space, enhancing its representation as an entity in which the main institutions and gathering places of the city are assembled within the notion of circulation space. Furthermore, this chapter not only attempts to address existing illustrations of the bazaar, but also the production of new drawings that can help unfolding the discussion.

Focusing on the infrastructural role of the bazaar, I will discuss it afterwards in relation to *kbiaban* (street). This is specifically important because the primary notion of *kbiaban* in the Iranian city is different than that of the street (in its Western European and current understanding in Iranian cities). Hence, it seems necessary here to position the bazaar in relation to *kbiaban*.<sup>13</sup> In fact, it was in the bazaar where a complex of social, administrative and economic regimes met, slowly intensified and took form within the city. Thus, my interpretation of the architecture of the bazaar refers to the social and economic as well as administrative levels and their involvement in its spatial organisation. To address this, at the end of this chapter I will discuss the security, logistics and organization of the bazaar in relation to *senf* (guilds) and its legal aspects.

## 5.2. Bazaar as the main infrastructure of the city

The bazaar has been represented in several historical maps illustrated for military purposes or prepared in the aftermath of disasters such as floods or earthquakes. In this part I will discuss four nineteenth-century maps of different cities that were illustrated on specific historical occasions and circumstances: The Food Map of Tabriz (1871), the Map of Isfahan (1840), the Map of Tehran (1826) and the Siege Map of Herat (1857). These maps are discussed not only in terms of the general position of the bazaar in relation to the city and its territory, but also in terms of the techniques used for their presentation. The selection of these maps was influenced by the fact that they are the earliest available maps in which the bazaar is represented and especially important as there are few visual materials available. I will also attempt to combine maps prepared by illustrators from various backgrounds, Iranian and non-Iranian, to mark different occasions using different techniques and tools.

<sup>12</sup> Indeed, there is hardly a map or plan available of a future project or vision in a city or territory. Even for a city like Isfahan, which has a clearly outlined city planning, no drawing remains. However, this issue, namely whether there were any drawings at all and whether they would reveal anything about the nature of an architectural project and building process, is an interesting one that needs a further research.

<sup>13</sup> The transformation of this relation between *kbiaban* and bazaar, from the seventeenth century until the early twentieth century, in relation to territorial considerations of the city is a suitable topic for new research, which seems necessary to address the current condition of the bazaar in the city.

- The Flood Map of Tabriz (1871)<sup>14</sup>

One of the existing historical maps that interestingly depicts the infrastructural role of the bazaar is the Flood Map of Tabriz, made in 1871 by Muhammad ibn-Iraj Qajari. This map was ordered by a city official and was prepared within a few days. In Tabriz, the destruction of the city walls and sale of land had already begun by the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period, the city experienced a transformation as it expanded physically,<sup>15</sup> and it simultaneously grew in economic importance as it became a major centre of trade in Iran owing to its strategic location, forming a nodal point on two territorial east-west and north-south axes.<sup>16</sup>

Fig. 5.1

As the title<sup>17</sup> suggests, the map focuses on delineating the territory of the city around Mehran River. The river was affected by two consecutive floods in 1871, which prompted the drawing of this map. It is one of the earliest examples [in Iran] to address the problem of flooding in relation to a city in such detail. It is also an early example of the use of modern surveying techniques. The map consists of twenty-seven pieces, thirteen of which illustrate a map of the river, the bazaar and its territory; twelve pieces represent perspective drawings of the bridges; one presents the map's legend; and one explains the occasion that necessitated the drawing of this map, under whose order it was commissioned, and by whom it was drawn (the name of the illustrator is mentioned at the end). The individual pieces are glued onto textile, which makes the map easy to fold. Two main *rastebs* (axes) of the bazaar pass over the river in the form of two bridges, which are also covered and are depicted by the illustrator of the map in small perspective views with more detail on two pages

Fig. 5.2

Fig. 5.3

Although this map was illustrated under urgent circumstances following two consecutive floods and served as a convincing tool to depict the interrupted economy of the city, in fact its content and influence is not merely limited to estimating the degree of destruction and the post-disaster condition of the city. Rather, by mapping existing effects of the flood on the city and its territory, the map illustrates the relation between various infrastructural elements

<sup>14</sup> This map is archived in *The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies* or IIHS with numbers (۱۳۷۰-۱۱ ق ۵۱۷-۱۱ ق).

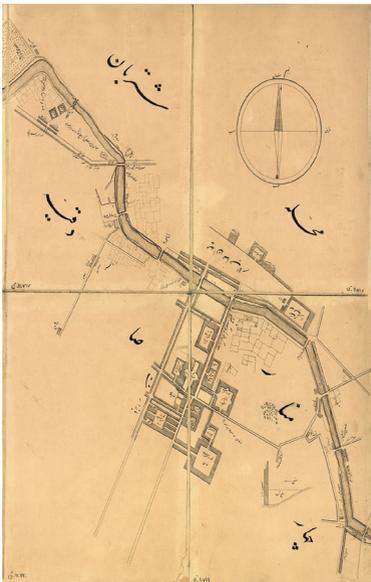
<sup>15</sup> This was partially due to the Russian capture of Tabriz in 1826, after which the crown prince and governor of the city Abbas Mirza issued orders for the city to be reformed and modernized. Moreover, the city grew in size and population. Thus, the city wall fell slowly into disrepair, and later the walls were demolished and the lands were sold. See: Lida Balilan, 'Barrasi-e tahavol-e sakhtar-e shahr-e Tabriz dardorey-e Qajar baestenad be naqshe hay-e tarikhi (A survey of the spatial transformation of the city of Tabriz based on historical maps),' *Tarikh Namey-e Iran bad az Islam* 8 (1393/ 2014): 33-54.

<sup>16</sup> In territorial scale Tabriz Bazaar operated as a pack station and a dock for the inner plateau of Iran. For that reason, it hosted many *serais* and *caravanserais* as storage spaces and *timchehs* as spaces for storage and the exchange of important and valuable goods (such as carpets for export). Tabriz 'lay on the route of every traveller and caravan on its way in a north-south direction from Transcaucasia to Kurdistan or vice versa, as well as forming a nodal point on two east-west axes, connecting the Black Sea, Trabzon, and Erzerum with either the Caspian over Ardabil and Astara, or with central Iran over Zanjan, Qazvin and Tehran.' Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 63.

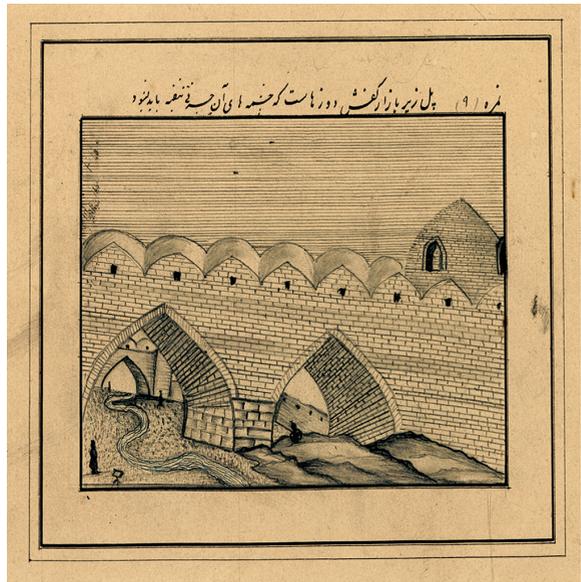
<sup>17</sup> The map is called 'the map of the river of Dar Al-Saltane-ye Tabriz'. The river is called Mehran-Roud (مهران رود) or Qouri Chai (قوری چای) in Turkish. This is a seasonal river and often during the summer it does not have any water in it, while during the rainy season it floods.



5.1: The Flood Map of Tabriz, 1871, illustrated by Muhammad ibn-e Iraj-e Qajar.



5.2: The Flood Map of Tabriz, part of the bazaar, affected by the flood, is illustrated in the map.



5.3: Bridge Number 9, the bridge of the shoemaker's bazaar, the spans of the lower arches must be partially cleaned up.

of the city and its surroundings with the river. Precisely because this map recommends certain actions for the reformation and [re]construction of the city's infrastructure and its river banks it is one of the early examples in Iran that implements graphic codes.

The focus of this map is to depict the most important infrastructural elements such as the bazaar, *pol* (bridges), city walls, *koucheh* (alleys), *yakhchal* (ice storages) as well as farms and gardens along the river, which were not necessarily destroyed, but affected [or potentially affected] by the flood. The destroyed parts are shown with the dashed lines.

In this map, the bazaar is only partially depicted and other *bazāarchehs* are spread out along the main thoroughfares. Specifically, at the gates and along the main routes entering the city, the abundance of *caravanserai* and large storing places, *bazāarchehs*, baths, water storages and so on are a reminder of the geopolitical position of the city at a cross-roads and the main entry point to the inner Iranian Plateau and its territorial condition in relation to a larger network of cities.<sup>18</sup>

In terms of the drawing technique, the figure-ground presentation of the bazaar does not distinguish between what is really inside and outside (as the Nolli map of Rome does). What is interesting in this presentation is that the bazaar can hardly be recognized as an architectural object; rather it is diffused within the space of the city and as part of the infrastructural and circulation spaces of a larger territory. The exaggeration of this dissolution of the bazaar into the city is specifically recognizable in a general map prepared by Pascal Coste during his journey to Isfahan in 1840-41.<sup>19</sup> As an architect, it must have been interesting for Coste to observe that the only singular architectural objects that are distinct in his map are the Naqsh-e Jahan Square and its palaces, a few gardens, the old castle and two *khiabans*, which I will refer to again later. So for Coste the bazaar does not represent a distinct architectural object, and thus its overall representation disappears within the space of the city.

Fig. 5.4

Going back to the Flood Map of Tabriz, in his book *The history and geography of Tabriz*, Nader Mirza, a Qajar prince and a historiographer, wrote a report of the flood and its effect on the city, in which he refers to the role of merchants and *bazāaris* in the reconstruction process of the city and the renovation of the dams and bridges and other infrastructures.<sup>20</sup> Here, beside the king and the city authorities, the *bazāaris* 'each according to their financial capability invested in the reconstruction of the city for the sake of good will.'<sup>21</sup> This was not limited to the reconstruction of the bazaar, but also other infrastructural parts too. For example, Nader Mirza mentions the construction of the embankment of Mehran River,

<sup>18</sup> A comparable territorial position can be recognized in the city of Hamedan in western Iran.

<sup>19</sup> Pascal Coste was a French architect who travelled to Iran with Eugène Flandin so they could complete their assignment to research and record the ancient monuments for the Beaux Arts Academy of the French Institute during 1840-1841. Coste was chief architect of Marseille in 1844. He worked on several projects, such as the Pavilions of the Cours Saint-Louis, and several churches and other public buildings in Marseille.

<sup>20</sup> Nader Mirza, *Tarikh Va Jughrafiya-yi Dar Al-saltana-yi Tabriz*, ed. Mohammad Moshiri (Tehran: Eqbal, 1360/ 1981), 190.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

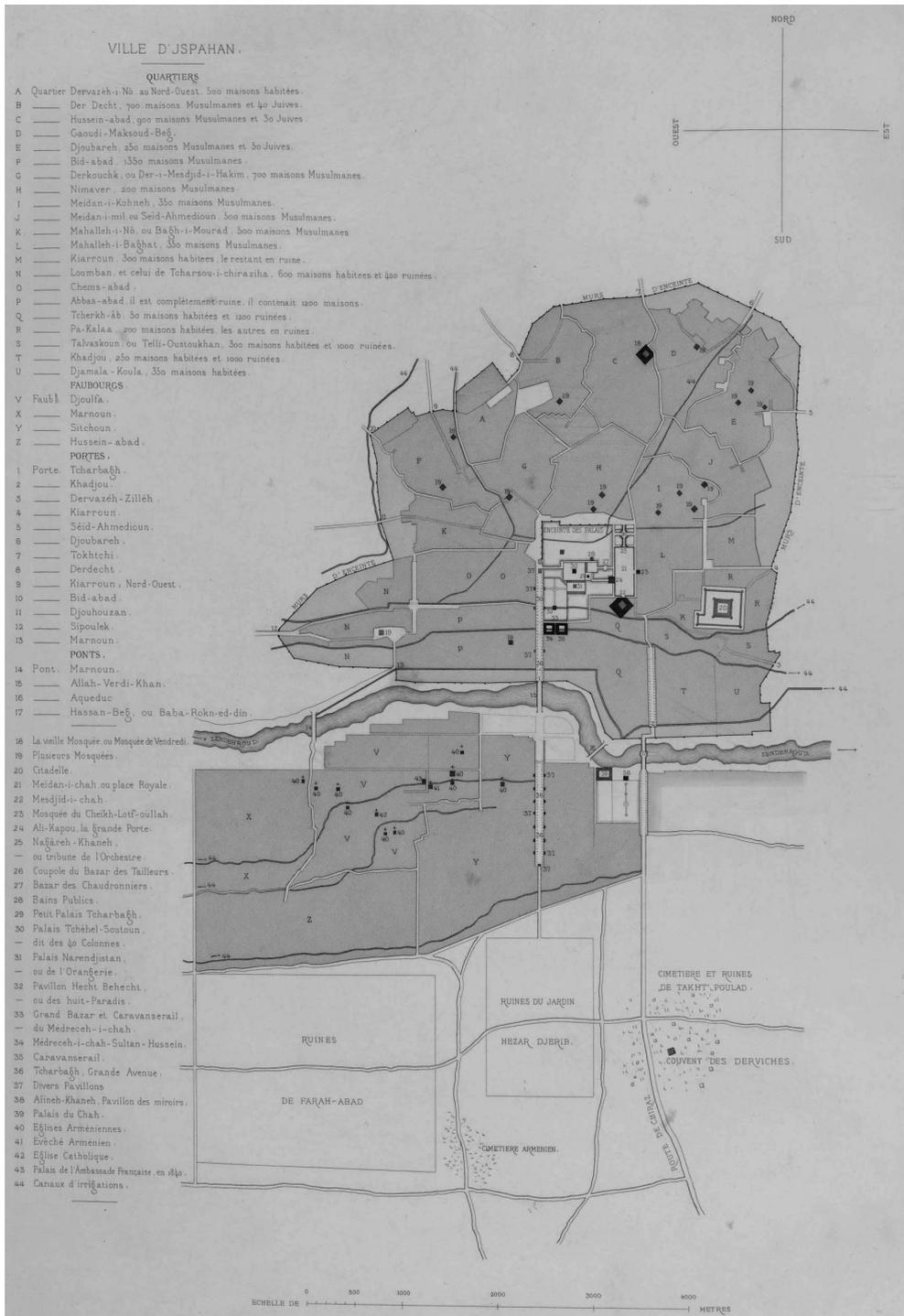


Figure 5.4. 'Plan général d'Isfahan' or 'General map of Isfahan', Pascal Coste, 1840. Here the networks of water canals or madi are illustrated by dark thin lines. The name of the mahallehs and gates and bridges and some of the public facilities such as mosques and caravanserais are listed on the left and included in the map.

carried out by the well-established *bazaaris* of Tabriz.

This demonstrates the important role that *bazaaris* and authorities fulfilled in relation to the construction and growth of the bazaar, the city and its infrastructure. Again, it seems to contradict the theories proposed by Engels and Wittfogel, as mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis. The bazaar's physical construct is a result of these collective acts and initiatives, otherwise it would not exist. Even today, the same kind of collective act is what initiated the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Tabriz Bazaar. A process which was only possible based on the participation of the *bazaaris*, who together with municipal authorities and the Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organisation (ICHTO), have been financing and motivating the bazaar's rehabilitation since 2000.<sup>22</sup> This, of course, means that the *bazaaris* have been involved in the decision-making process and the management of financial resources in the process of [re]making the city.

- The Map of Tehran (1826), prepared by Naskov, a Russian military officer

As far as we know, this is the oldest available map of Tehran, which was illustrated by Naskov, a Russian military officer, in 1826. During the first half of the nineteenth century, after the Treaty of Gulistan as a result of the Russo-Persian War (1804–1813),<sup>23</sup> several maps mainly prepared for military purposes were drawn in various cities in Iran supervised and monitored by military officers. According to Mohammad Mehryar, these maps were prepared in four phases during 1813 until 1859, and they are either in Russian, Farsi or German.<sup>24</sup>

Fig. 5.5

In most of these maps the cities' territorial and geographical features were mapped as precise as the city's defensive and strategic elements. In this map, however, the territorial depictions are limited to the close surroundings of the city and the illumination of the main roads leading to the gates, some gardens, the royal garden of Qasr-e Qajar and a few *qanats*. Instead, the main focus is on the city. In the city, the main public spaces and thoroughfares, the royal palace and the strategic places such as houses of the authorities and embassies are all mapped and illustrated. Below the city map, a section of the fortified wall and the moat is depicted by a separate scale line.

As this map was prepared during the second Russo-Persian War, it does not employ precise surveying techniques. That is why the illustrator appears to have drawn this map from

<sup>22</sup> The rehabilitation of Tabriz Bazaar was awarded the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 2013. Based on their report more than 90% of the whole rehabilitation process was eventually financed by the *bazaaris* themselves.

<sup>23</sup> The Treaty of Gulestan (or Gulistan) was made between Iran(Persia at the time) and Imperial Russia during the reign of The Qajar king, Fath Ali Shah Qajar, on October 1813 and as a result of the first Russo-Persian War (1804-1813). The treaty led to the loss of former Iranian territory, what is today Dagestan, eastern Georgia, most of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and parts of northern Armenia, to the Russian Empire.

<sup>24</sup> These maps were reprinted from a series of microfilms collected and archived by professor Shemil Fathullayev in Azerbaijan and eventually edited and translated in a book entitled *Pictorial Documents of Iranian Cities in the Qajar Period in Iran*. Therefore, there has been no possibility to access the original maps, even from the editors of book. The 1826 Map of Tehran was one of the earliest examples prepared during the second phase of the surveying. For further reading, see M. Mehryar, Sh.S. Fatullayev, F.F. Tehrani and B. Qadiri, eds, *Pictorial Documents of Iranian Cities in the Qajar Period* (Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University/ Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, 1999), 1V-XXV.

memory and/or other people's descriptions of the city. The map was supposed to provide strategic information for a possible attack by the Russian army against the city, and perhaps that explains why even the territorial features depicted in the map are basic.<sup>25</sup> Hence, there is a certain level of interpretation involved in this map, which is one of the reasons for its selection here.

This issue is most intriguingly apparent in the representation of the bazaar. Here, the bazaar is depicted as a megastructure that includes various spaces within the same single unique whole. There is hardly any differentiation between the presentation of *caravanserais*, loading squares, mosques or even between those parts of the bazaar that are covered and those that are not. Here, the bazaar connects the Southern Gate (Shah Abd Al-Azim Gate) to the Arg through *Sabzeh Meydan* (or Vegetable Square), which is marked as Orus Meydan (or Russia Square) on the map since at the time the buildings on its southern side were used to keep Russian captives.<sup>26</sup>

As mentioned previously the presentation of the bazaar appears to be imaginary. It is represented by focusing conceptually and spatially on the relation between the bazaar's linear pathways and the various rectangular courtyards, which are all organized on a rigid grid alongside the main circulations. This grid changes direction twice, and it expands in east-west axis to inhabit both the pathways and other places. It remains in clear contrast to other circulation spaces around it. Hence, while the bazaar is important as the main infrastructure of the city, by depicting it as a large megastructure, I would argue that the illustrator attempted to exhibit this relation between various programmatic places and the circulation spaces.

This interpretation is significantly different than previous representations of the bazaar. Here the attempt to grasp the bazaar's totality suggests a clear form for it. While the bazaar is placed within the circulation network of the city, it is excluded from this circulation space by integrating the courtyard into a rigid systematic grid. Thus, this depiction of the totality of the bazaar devices the abstraction as well as the imagination to transform the messy spatial reality of the bazaar into a stable urban representation, and as a result the map suggests an order and frame for the bazaar.

- The Siege Map of Herat (1857), the unfolding of the city's strongholds and main thoroughfares

In another example, the Siege Map of Herat was illustrated in 1857 by Mirza Hassan. Mirza Hassan Isfahani was a painter, illustrator and lithographer. For that reason, the map of Herat was not made using actual surveying techniques, rather it is a drawing, describing and narrating the Siege of Herat. The drawing was part of a book called *Nosrat Nameh*,

<sup>25</sup> According to Behnam Aboutorabian, an Iranian architectural historian, it is for this reason that the position of the Russian embassy is not indicated on the map. See Behnam Aboutorabian, *Gesseh-ba-ye Tehran (1): Gozar-e Ilahy* (Tehran: Nashr-e Tarikh-e Iran, 1393/ 2014), 277.

<sup>26</sup> M. Mehryar et al., *ibid*, XXIV.

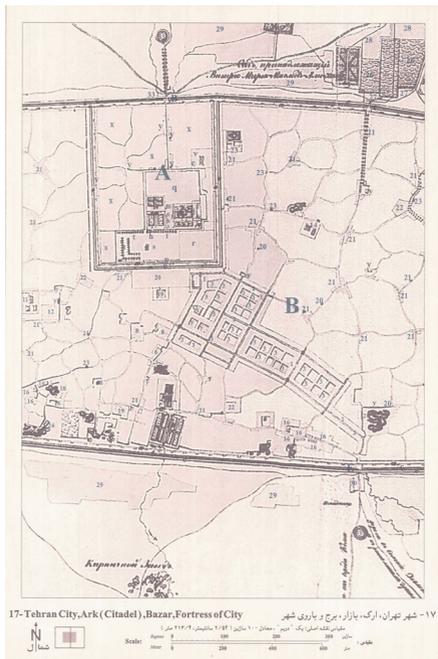
Fig. 5.6

Fig. 5.7

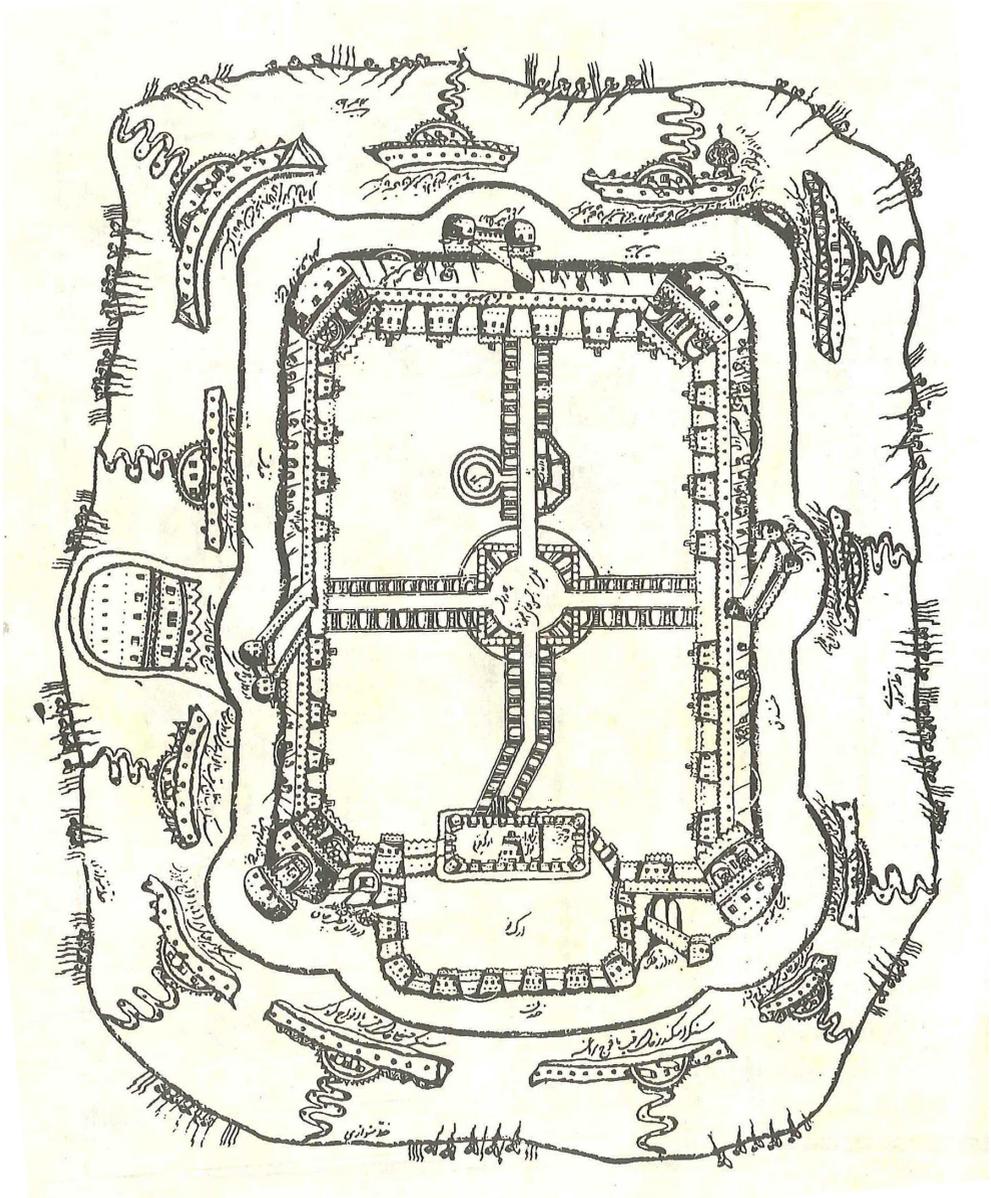


5.5: Map of Tehran 1826, illustrated by Naskov, a Russian military officer.

The map shows the city of Tehran during the reign of Fath-Ali Shah, the second king of Qajar, surrounded by a fortress wall with six gates that ran for about four to five miles. The actual size of the 1826 Tehran Map is 73× 87 centimetres. It contains the city and its immediate surroundings, with the scale line and the north arrow.



5.6: A fragment of Naskov's Map of Tehran, 1826. The letters, the scale and the north arrow were added by the editors of the source book *Pictorial Documents of Iranian Cities in the Qajar Period*, to indicate the elements of the map.



5.7: The Siege Map of Herat, 1857, illustrated by Mirza Hasan. Actual size is 38×29 centimetres.

which described the wars and victories of the Qajar king at the time.<sup>27</sup> The event, most likely true, belongs to the last Persian Qajar Siege of Herat before the Paris Treaty on 4 March 1857 signed by the British and the Persians. According to this treaty, the Persians were forced to declare their withdrawal from Herat and to refrain from further interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.<sup>28</sup> The book, and hence the drawing, was made with the technique of lithography (stone print), which became popular during the nineteenth century in Iran.<sup>29</sup>

This map shows the strategic defensive parts of the city in a system of layered elements. To explain the map, I numerate the various layers from the outside, where the troops take siege, towards the inner part of the city on the map. The outermost layer is introduced as the ‘parallel line’, which presumably marks the threshold of a territory being protected by the twelve strongholds around the city and thus where the troops can reside during the siege. In the next layer, the ditch is presented with bridges to the main gates of the city. Subsequently, the defensive walls with four towers at the corners of the rectangular plan of the city are depicted.

In the inner city, the bazaar is presented as the main strategic thoroughfare of the city, where it connects the main gates of the city to its centre as well as the old and the new *Arg* (royal palace).<sup>30</sup> Alongside the southern axis of the bazaar, which is called the Bazaar of Qandahar, there is a small circle which depicts a *houz* or water pond. This pond was a cistern that provided access to underground water.<sup>31</sup> The bazaar is presented by unfolding its rhythmic interior façades on two sides of its *rastebs* (pathways). Here, the emphasis is on *rastebs* and *charsu* (junction) as the city’s main circulation system, rather than the bazaar as a whole. Thus, the *caravanserais* and other spaces are missing.

This map genuinely presents the city unfolded. Though not all the components of the city unfold in the same direction. The direction in which each element unfolds represents a certain viewpoint from which the space should be observed. While the defensive walls and strongholds are depicted from the outside, the bazaar is viewed from the inside, thus the

<sup>27</sup> *Nosrat Nameh* or *Zafar Nameh-ye Naseri* (literally means victory letters) is about the history of Iran during the reign of Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar (1848-1896) and was written by Mirza Abbas Ali Safa in 1858.

<sup>28</sup> According to this treaty, the Persians were forced to declare their withdrawal from Herat and to refrain from further interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. Herat was part of Iran under the Qajar dynasty, and it was crucial for the British – in the context of the conflict between the Russians and the British in Central Asia – to create a buffer zone against Russia so they could not access British-ruled India.

<sup>29</sup> The first lithography workshop was founded by Sani Al-Molk (Ab Al-Hassan Khan Qaffary), ‘a well-known Iranian painter, miniature and lacquer artist, and book illustrator’. He spent a few years (1846-1850) in Italy, studying the works of the Italian masters. After returning to Iran, ‘he was appointed *naqqāshbāshī* (chief painter) of the court’ and working with the newly established Dar ul-Funun (polytechnic college), the first modern institution of higher education in Iran. For further reading, see B. W. Robinson, ‘Abu’l-Hasan Khan Gaffari,’ *Encyclopædia Iranica* Vol. I, Fasc. 3: 306-308.

<sup>30</sup> In his book *Iranian Cities*, he refers to the bazaar of Herat as intra-urban communication axes, in the same way that the bazaar is presented in this drawing. See Heinz Gaube, *Iranian Cities* (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 36.

<sup>31</sup> Goube declares that these water storages were mainly built during the Safavid period in the sixteenth century, and at the time that he was writing his book, in the late 1970s, they were still in use. *Ibid*, 39.

interior façades are projected towards the outside on the surface of the city's map. This is especially interesting because the map in fact makes an implicit reference to the bazaar as an interiorized space, if not a territory. This composition of various viewpoints is also relevant for the texts in the map. Similarly, the direction of the text explaining each element turns according to the viewpoint of the reader of the map. Therefore, an observer would have to constantly turn the drawing to read it.

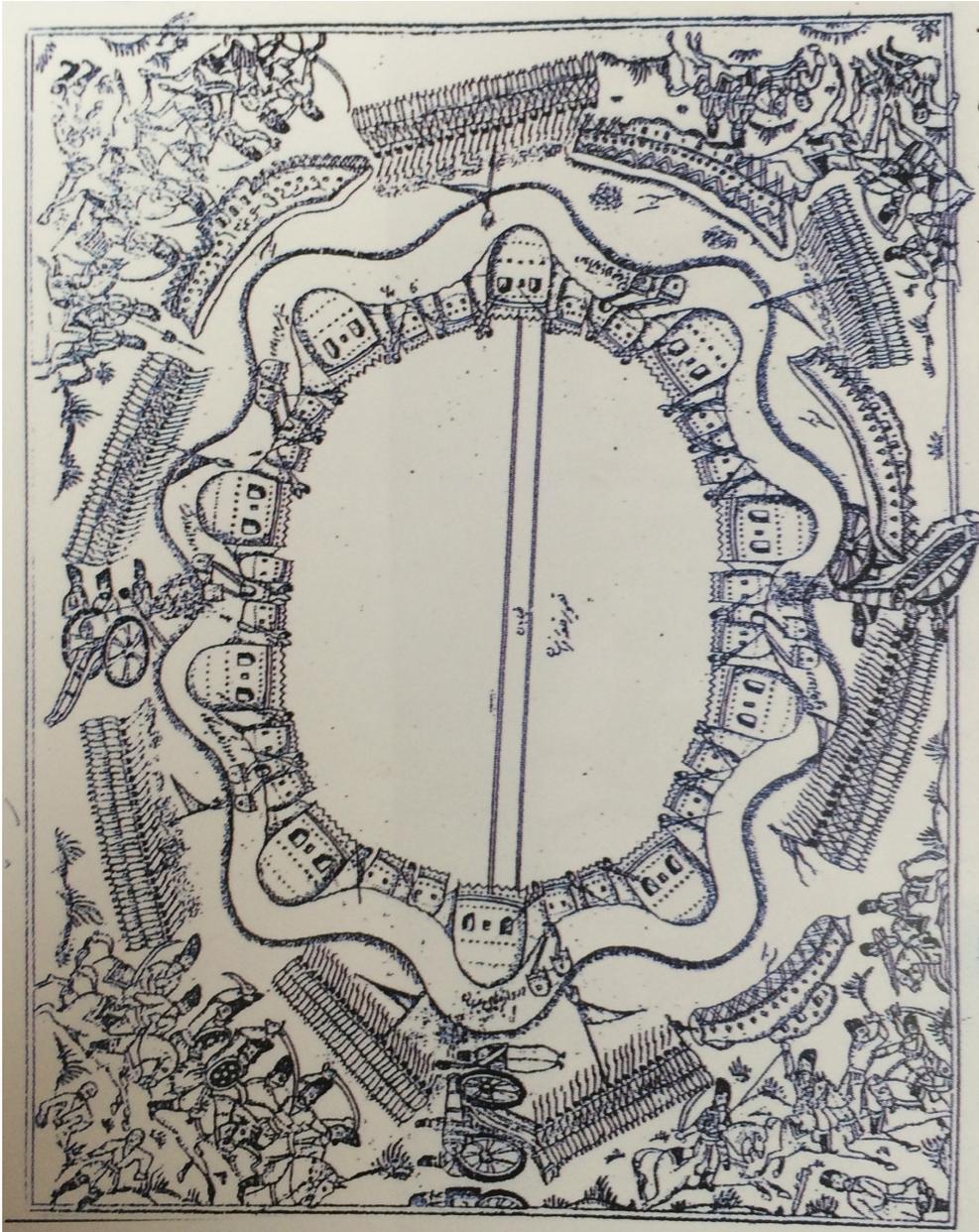
In these and similar maps, the bazaar is specifically illustrated because of its role as the city's main circulation system, but it is not limited to that. The primary tendency in these maps, or at least in the first two maps, is to present the reality of the bazaar and the city, thus they are more pragmatic and less theoretical. However, this does not mean that these maps are necessarily concerned with measurement and precision. For that matter, the drawing of these maps is indissolubly linked to the problem of how to represent the bazaar not merely as a circulation system but as an infrastructure that is either assembled by various architectural places or an infrastructure that is interiorized by emphasizing its vision points. Hence, the maps are involved with reality as well as a conceptual register of how the interiorized territory of the bazaar can be presented.

For example, the Flood Map of Tabriz and the Map of Tehran are more concerned with pragmatic and practical initiatives. Both maps used graphic codes, measurement and scaling, yet in each of them, the ways in which the bazaar is captured reveals a conscious attempt to differentiate it from an outright circulation system or an explicit architectural object. Instead, the negotiation between these two has led to a much more complex depiction of the bazaar in each map. In the Flood Map of Tabriz, the juxtaposition of various spaces such as *caravanserais* and *timchehs* alongside the bazaar's *rastehs* in a figure-ground manner, communicates the bazaar as a piece of the territory, an idea which in the Isfahan Map by Pascal Coste, exaggeratedly dissolves the bazaar into the circulation space of the city. While in Naskov's Map of Tehran, the bazaar literally becomes a single megastructure that includes both circulation and pausing places of various courtyards.

The main goal in the Map of Herat, by contrast, is not the pragmatic scientific projection of the city and the bazaar. Rather, the unfolding of the bazaar and the co-presence of interior and exterior is akin to the presentational techniques implemented in Iranian *negar-gari* or miniature painting, where the concern of the drawing is mainly to communicate a conceptual register and the relationship between things. One of the common techniques in *negar-gari* is the coexistence and composition of various vision points – a kind of kaleidoscopic dioramic view, like a series of different frames of a narration (or a movie). This means that each space is viewed and hence represented through a specific viewpoint and then [re]composed within the frame(s) of a drawing.

Fig. 5.8

Interestingly, in a map of Mashhad from 1847, about ten years before the Herat map, the same techniques were implemented to illustrate the uprising of the governor of the Khorasan region against the central state. This uprising lasted about five years until it was



5.8: The Siege Map of Mashhad 1847. *Khiban* is illustrated as the main thoroughfare of the city. Safavid *khiban* in Mashhad was a project initiated during the reign of Shah Abbas I, which supposed to reposition the city of Mashhad – an important Shi'i pilgrimage destination – within the main international road network. Hence, it was constructed perpendicular to the bazaar. As a result, some parts of the bazaar were destroyed, a process which has continued until today. The technique of the illustration was lithography (stone print). The illustrator is unknown to the author.

completely subjugated under the control of the central state, which eventually regained control of Mashad after state forces laid siege to it.<sup>32</sup>

This map, much like the Herat map's representation of the siege of the city, illustrates the strongholds and strategic infrastructures of the city. However, instead of the bazaar, *khiaban* is shown as the main circulation space of the city. Here, *khiaban* is represented by two thin lines in a planar top view, with no façade unfolded to suggest an interior vision. In fact, comparing these two maps and the ways in which the bazaar and *khiaban* are depicted, there are clear differences between them although both are considered to be the main infrastructure of the city.

Therefore, to better specify the infrastructural role of the bazaar, it seems necessary to briefly discuss the notion of *khiaban* or street in the Iranian city. The intricate relation between the bazaar and *khiaban* provides us with a very useful and important lens for addressing the current position of the bazaar in the city. Here, I only focus on conceptual differences between the *khiaban* and the bazaar and am not trying to construct a historiographical narration of its changes and transformations. Hence, I limit my discussion to an explanation of the paradigmatic emergence of *khiaban* as an 'urban' infrastructure where it was 'projected' onto the city next to the bazaar in the city of Isfahan and during the sixteenth century reign of Safavid.

### 5.3. Bazaar versus Khiaban

Considered an equivalent to the street, today *khiaban* is often referred to as the space of circulation and connection. Nevertheless, arguably *khiaban* had a very different status and spatial presence compared to how it is perceived today. *Khiaban* only appeared as an urban entity during the sixteenth century. Although the spatial presence of *khiaban*<sup>33</sup> as a path within the gardens has a long precedence in Iran, the word *khiaban* does not appear in written documents before the early fifteenth century in the book *Geography of Hafez Abru*.<sup>34</sup> In most

<sup>32</sup> This uprising was initiated by Muhammad Hassan Khan Salar, the governor of Khorasan during the reign of Muhammad Shah Qajar (1834-1848), who announced the independence of the whole Khorasan region until Herat and Marv. He even planned to attack Tehran, the capital of the central government of Iran. While this uprising was empowered by the death of the king and support from some of the Turkman tribes, it also served the British forces well for Iran's central state to relinquish control of Qajar from Eastern Khorasan or today's Afghanistan. Eventually the uprising was suppressed when the next king, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, assumed power. Although, just ten years after this the Treaty of Paris (1857) resulted in Qajar's withdrawal from Herat. For further reading, see Ahmad Mahovan, *Tarikh-e Mashhad al-Reza* or *The History of Mashhad al-Reza* (Mashhad: Mah Nashr, 1383/2004), 283-286.

<sup>33</sup> Mohsen Habibi in his book *De La Cité a la Ville* defines *khiaban* (Khiv+ ab+ an, literally means full of water/greenery) as opposed to *Biaban* (bi+ab+an means desert or without water). However, the word *khiaban* has been used in various notions in historical documents and there are several opinions about the origins of this word. For further reading, see Jalal Matini, 'Khiaban,' *Iran name*, No.1 (1379): 57-99.

<sup>34</sup> *Joghrafiya-ye Hafez-e Abru* is a universal historic-geographical work commissioned by Shahrokh in 817/1414 which is written by Abd-al-Rashid Behdadini or Hafez Abru, a historian in the court of the Timurid ruler. In his book, *khiaban* was appointed to a Bolouk (neighbourhood or a small village) near the city of Herat. We might assume that in the same way in which a *mahalleh* could be named after the bazaar of the city, as is the case in Tehran, there might have been a *mahalleh* or village named after a prominent *khiaban*. However, this assumption needs to be properly investigated. What is important here is that *khiaban*, in any case, was distinguished, by its greenery, water and trees, from the desert. As Jalal Matini proposes, in the historical text, the roads in the Mazandaran forest to the

of the documents after that time, *khiaban* has been referred to as a passageway leading into or out of the city surrounded by rows of trees on both sides and streams in the middle or at its fringes.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, *khiaban* was not necessarily an urban phenomenon. The emergence of *khiaban* as an urban entity and a public *paseo* in the city occurs during the Safavid period (1502–1736). *Chahar-Bagh khiaban* in Isfahan<sup>36</sup> extended from the royal palace (*dowlat-kehaneh*) of the Safavid king, Shah Abbas I (1571-1629), at the heart of the city to the royal garden of *Hezar-Jarib* at the southern suburb. Not only did it connect the existing city to the newly planned neighbourhood for migrant Armenians and Tabrizis on two sides of the *Zayandeh River*,<sup>37</sup> but also it presented a new type of circulation space for public events and gatherings in the city.

Fig. 5.14

Fig. 5.10

This *khiaban* was approximately one *farsakh* (approximately 5 km to 5.5 km) long,<sup>38</sup> and it was formed by gardens (*baghs*) that belonged to the king, the court officials or authorities of the city.<sup>39</sup> The gardens were set on a grid all alongside the main axis and were surrounded by walls with hollow brick patterns (Fakhr. They opened up onto the main pathway by means of a *dargah* (entrance building), which could also serve as a room for monitoring the pathway, especially when ceremonies, events and public gatherings were held. Trees were planted on both sides of the *khiaban*, which provided shade for passers-by. These trees were watered by two rows of water streams alongside the *khiaban*. Water flowed through the middle of the *khiaban* via a *madi* (canal). Alongside the *madi*, a certain distance away [probably in front of the garden's entrance buildings or *dargahs*], there was a small pool that provided places for people to sit in the shade under the trees and next to the water.

Fig. 5.9

south of the Caspian Sea are referred to as *khiaban*. Thus, a *khiaban* did not necessarily have an urban character. What is important is that *khiaban* is a 'project of circulation and movement' in a certain ecological setting. This is perhaps an interesting point in eighteenth-century French territorial design and cartography, where 'for the engineer, the territory was a kind of garden in which the design was located, much like a manufacture in a park'. (Picon, French Architects and Engineers, 219.)

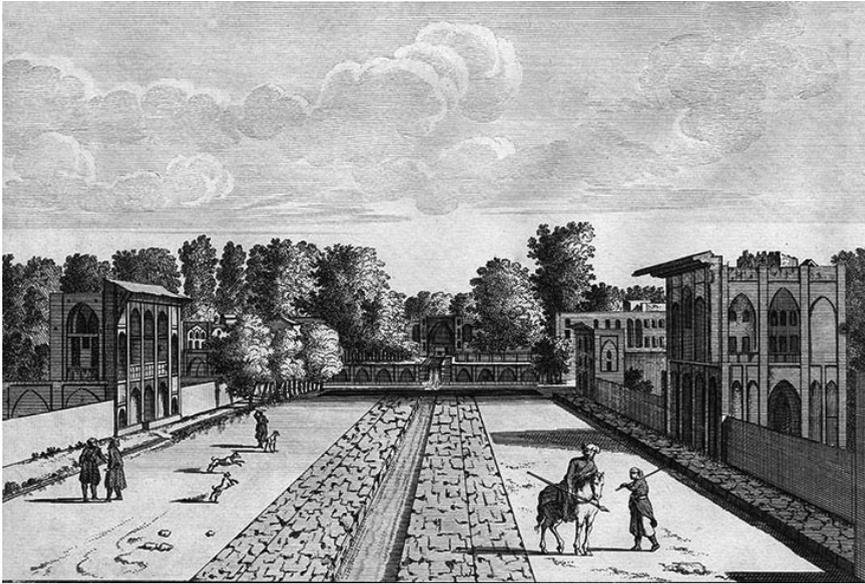
<sup>35</sup> Zahra Ahari, 'khiaban-e Chahar-Bagh-e Isfahan, Mafhoomi no az fazay-e- shahri (chahar-Bagh khiaban, a new notion of an urban space),' *Golestan-i-Honar* 5 (1358/2009): 49.

<sup>36</sup> It is possible to argue that in general Isfahan (specifically *Maydan Naqsh-Jaban* (square) and *Chahar-Bagh khiaban*) was the accomplishment of practices in city planning which had been started earlier. For example, khiaban-e Qazvin in the city of Qazvin and khiaban-e Tabriz in the city of Tabriz, the previous capitals of Safavid before Isfahan, are distinctive examples of previous exercises which eventually culminated in Isfahan.

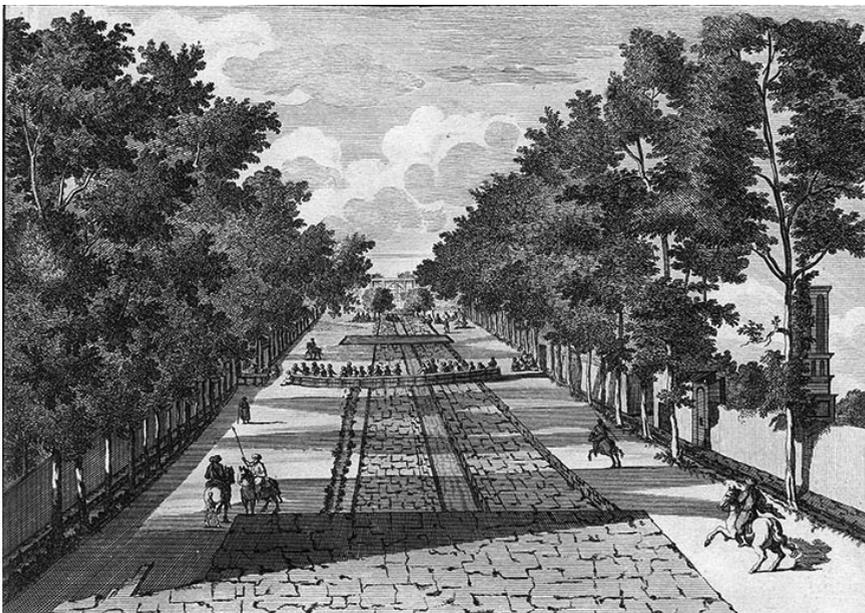
<sup>37</sup> These Armenians and Tabrizis (people from the city of Tabriz) were refugees from an ongoing war between the Safavid and Ottoman Empires on the north-western territories of Jolfa and Azerbaijan. They migrated to Isfahan, the capital of Safavid at the time, by the order of Shah Abbas I. Armenians and Tabrizis had a reputation of being good merchants. They were settled in the new neighbourhoods in the south-western part of Isfahan, not only to activate the city's economy but also to give an international face to the new capital. This process was assisted by the king, who suspended their taxes for some years.

<sup>38</sup> Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Alam Ara-ye Abbasi*, vol. 2, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1350), 546.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 545- 547. See also Mahvash Alemi, 'The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models,' in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1997), 72-96.



5.9: Chahar-Bagh khiaban, Isfahan, the view towards the Jahan-Nama Pavilion at the northern end of the khiaban. The *dargahs* (entrance buildings to the gardens) are illustrated on both sides of the *khiaban*, presenting the few ‘urban façades’ of the city. On the right-hand side of this image the gardens get connected to the *dowlat-khaneh* (royal palace and state house). Illustrated by Cornelis de Bruyn, 1705.



5.10: Chahar-Bagh khiaban, Isfahan, the view towards the Hezar-Jarib garden at the southern end of the *khiaban*, outside the city. This image shows the ponds with gathering and sitting places. Furthermore, here the separation of different sorts of movement (pedestrian and horse riding) by the pavement, as explained by Pascal Coste in his description of the khiaban, is clearly visible. Illustration by Cornelis de Bruyn, 1705.

It was here in *Chabar-Bagh khiaban*, by paving the ground, that the possibility of a separate integration of various sorts of movement were considered and implemented, though not limited to that. In his account of *Chabar-Bagh khiaban* in 1841 Pascal Coste wrote that ‘the two passages on the side are not paved, and are used for riding horses, the passage in the middle, paved with stone and divided by a small water channel [*madī*], for the people on foot. The parts in between the three passages are covered with greenery and flowers of different kinds. By certain distances, there are water channels and small pools in various forms and dimensions which receive their water from the river [*ZayandehRoud*].’<sup>40</sup>

Fig. 5.9  
Fig. 5.10

In fact, the *khiaban* was part of a larger water system, planned for the city of Isfahan by diverting the river’s water into a system of canals or *madis*. This water system spread the water through the city’s flat topography. As a result, the water slowly penetrated into the ground. Because of the specific geological condition of the plain, the water could be stored underground to be used during the summer by means of shallow wells. Furthermore, while the *Chabar-Bagh khiaban*<sup>41</sup> of Isfahan was constructed as the headquarters of the administration representing sovereign power, it was also intended for public leisure, gatherings, and something of a very different nature than that of the bazaar.

Fig. 5.11  
Fig. 5.12

Fig. 4.4

Conclusively, a *Khaiban* was mainly a project carried out by a sovereign power and reflected the ideal of a paradisiac city and a place for leisure and festivities, thus its political and public aspect was representational. Iskandar Beg Munshi, the historian in the court of Shah Abbas, describes Shah Abbas’s kingship in twelve thematic chapters in his *History of Alam Ara-ye Abbasi*. The eleventh discourse focuses on the king’s ‘public works and building achievements’ in various cities. For example, he reports on the feast of *Ab-Pashan* (water festival) held in *Chabar-bagh khiaban*. While ‘more than 100,000 people’ filled up the *khiaban*, the king and officials would watch the festival from above in *dargahs* and entrance buildings of the gardens.<sup>42</sup> On another page, the author describes a scene in which the people of Tabriz gathered alongside *Tabriz Khiaban* – ‘on foot or on horses’ – to welcome and celebrate the arrival of the king in the city of Tabriz. *Tabriz Khiaban* extended around half a *farsakh* (approximately 2.5 to 3 kilometres), and like *Chabar-bagh khiaban* in Isfahan, it connected the royal palace inside the city to Jahanshahi Garden on its outskirts.<sup>43</sup> As Mahvash Alemi writes:

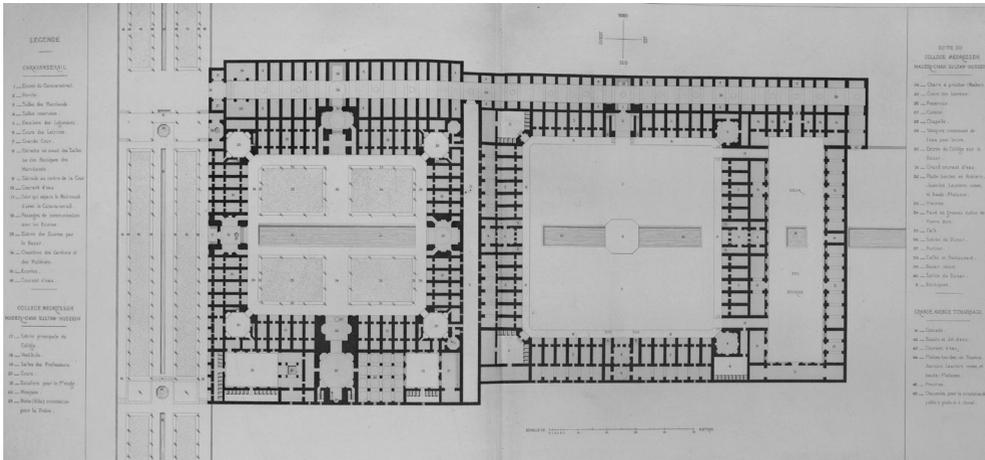
The role of urban spaces [of *khiaban*] as the scene for games and feasts was extremely significant. The hedonistic component of the activities of the court was considerable and due to the great participation of the citizens these performances constituted a relevant aspect of the

<sup>40</sup> Pascal-Xavier Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse mesurés, dessinés et décrits par Pascal Coste* (Paris: A. Morel, 1867), 29.

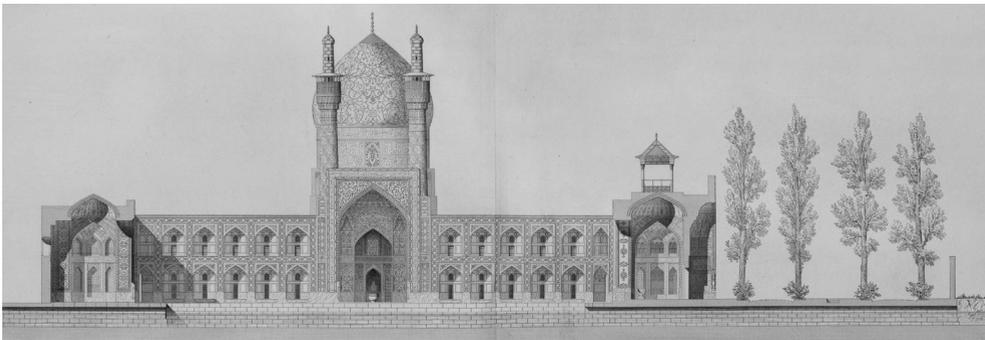
<sup>41</sup> *Khiaban* became a model that was repeated in other cities (e.g. just few years later after the implementation of *Chabar-bagh* in Isfahan, the *Safavid khiaban* in Mashhad was planned and constructed). Later examples include *Shomal khiaban* (North Street) in Shiraz during the Zand dynasty in the eighteenth century and Vali-Asr khiaban in Tehran during the nineteenth century.

<sup>42</sup> Iskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Alam Ara-ye Abbasi*, vol. 2, 839.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 775.



5.11: *Madrese* (school) and *caravanserai* of mother of Shah Sultan Hussein, finished in 1714, illustrated by Pascal Coste. This plan has a clear spatial organization including the *madrese* and *caravanserai*, with the first one situated on the west side along the *khiaban* and the second on the east side of the composition, connected by a *rasteh* of the bazaar on their northern side. The *Madrese* is separated from the *caravanserai* by a narrow corridor and a distinct entrance from the *khiaban*. As the façade of the *Madrese* has a certain depth, it was used as a sitting place for passersby in the *khiaban*. On the north side of this façade next to the entrance to the bazaar, Pascal Coste identifies a coffee-house integrated into the façade of the building. The *caravanserai*, however, takes its distance from the *khiaban*, and it is only accessible through the *rasteh* of the bazaar. This complex is one of the final interventions of the Safavid period and the last project designed along Chahar-bagh *khiaban*. This project, instead of being located on the extension of the Bazaar of Isfahan, is located as a separate complex next to the *khiaban*. In fact, this building, to my knowledge, constituted one of the earliest street façades. Here, the inner façade of the courtyard is projected onto the outside as the street façade, while the other outside façades were constructed as blind walls. This is somehow one of the earliest examples available which combine the bazaar with the new circulation system of *khiaban*. This relation has certainly changed up until today, and would undoubtedly be an interesting topic for separate research.



5.12: A cross-section through Chahar-bagh *khiaban* and the entrance space of Madar Shah *madrese*. The *caravanserai* at the back of the *madrese* is not illustrated in this section. The emphasis is on the relation between the *madrese* and *khiaban* and a *madi-Farshadi madi* that passes through the pool at the courtyard of the *madrese* and *caravanserai*. At the entrance space, a stone water bowl (*sangab*) is illustrated, which was filled up with water from the same *madi*. Installing *sangab* at the entrance doors of public institutions and even authorities' houses for providing free access to drinking water was common in Isfahan. The outer façade with an entrance towards *khiaban* is the exact repetition of the inner court façade with a central *iwan* illustrated in this image. Illustrated by Pascal Coste.

urban life.<sup>44</sup>

In its architecture, *khiaban* had a clear form (a straight line) with a certain scale and size, and a start and an end. Its thresholds were clearly marked by walls, gardens and rows of trees. Unlike the bazaar, *khiaban*, at least at its early stages, was barely involved with the economic (exchange and production) activities in the city. The city's social, economic and political concerns manifested themselves in the complex spatial presence of the bazaar. Although a proper historical account of the notion of *khiaban* needs extensive research of its own, we can conclude that *khiaban* assumed different roles and a different spatial presence in the city than that of the bazaar.

Fig. 5.13

To present these overlays of regimes in either verbally or visually is one of the problems this dissertation faces. In terms of drawing, there are two problems: how to determine the bazaar's exact boundary and how to depict that boundary. It is therefore a problem of historical reconstruction and conceptual illustration, as well as a visual matter. For example, in the case of the Map of Isfahan and its territory, the drawing is a product of an overlay of several existing maps of the city in relation to various scales, times and modes of representation. What is ultimately visualized in the drawing is the negotiation and encounter between these various scales and times. The boundary is not so much a static line in a figure-ground distinction between the bazaar and the rest of the city, rather it is a dynamic threshold of exchange and negotiation, wherein lie the points of intensification – in this case the courtyards that serve as points of assembly.

Fig. 5.15

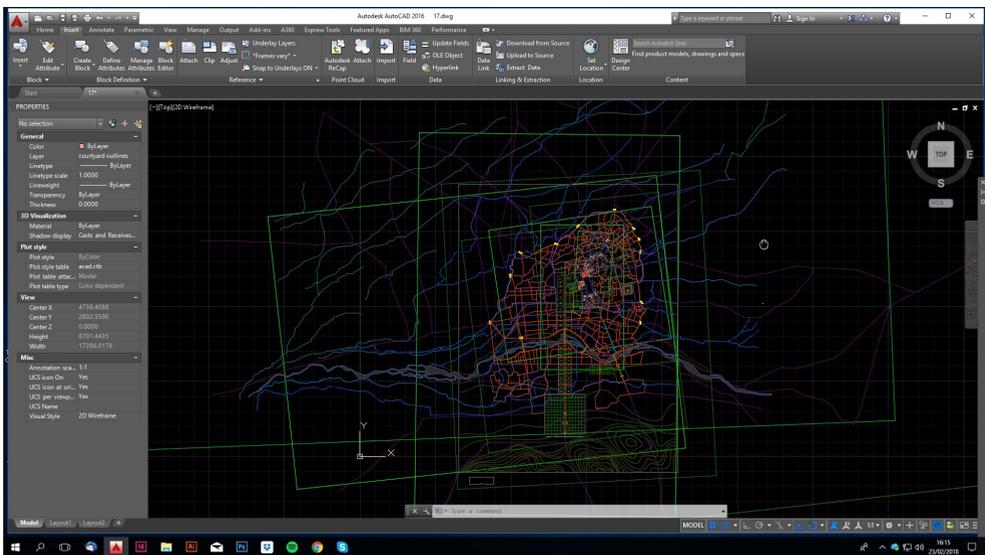
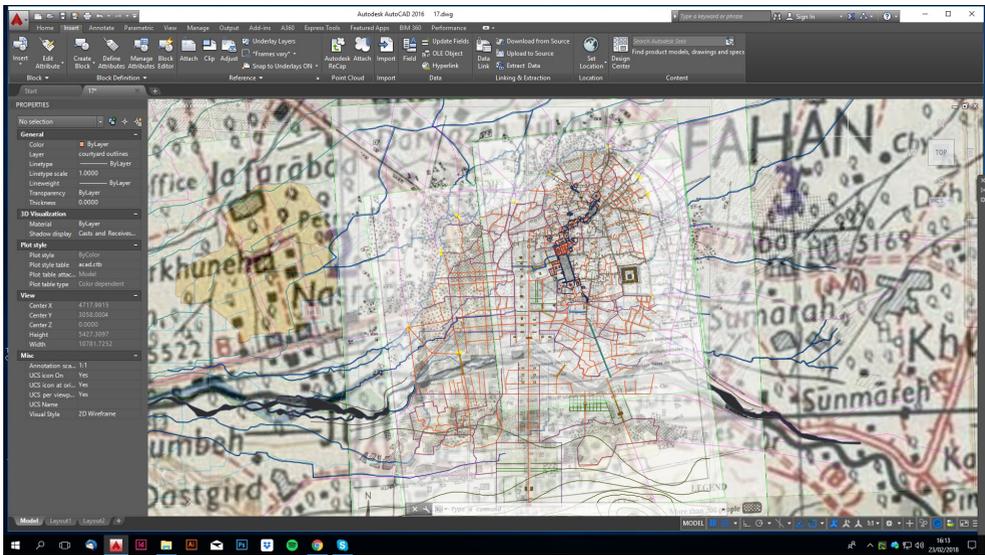
Fig. 5.14

Though this map does not visualize the complexity of regimes and orders involved in the formation of the bazaar, it distinguishes between the bazaar's complex and ambiguous formation and the *khiaban*'s clear thresholds and ideal form. Furthermore, it isolates a few dimensions: the topographical and geographical allocation of the bazaar in relation to a larger extra-urban circulation system or *jaddeh*.

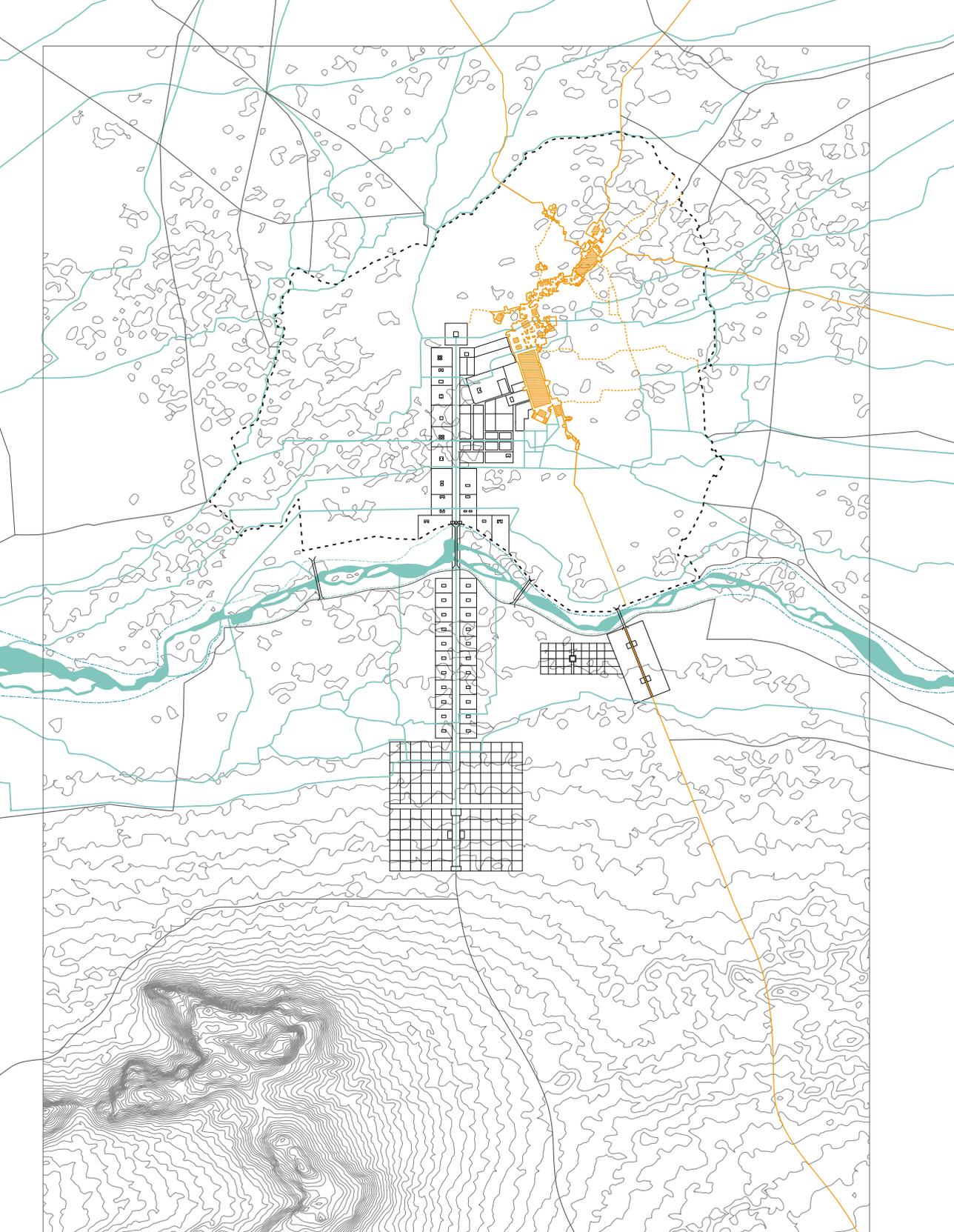
<sup>44</sup> Mahvash Alemi, 'Urban Spaces as the Scene for the Ceremonies and Pastimes of the Safavid Court,' in *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1-2*, ed. Attilo Petruccioli (Rome: Dell'oca Editore, 1991), 98.



5.13: Axonometric drawing of the Royal Palace, Isfahan. Illustrated by Engelbert Kaempfer (1712). The *Naqsh-e jahan Meydan* (square) and the bazaar are illustrated below. Chahar-bagh khiaban is drawn at the very top part of the image, where it connects the royal palace to the newly built area to the south west of the city. The illustrator made a clear spatial distinction between the *khiaban* and other *gozars* (pathways) that connect the palace to the *khiaban* as a walled-off secondary circulation system. The entrance to *Qeysariyeh* Bazaar is illustrated on the right side of the *Meydan* in this image (the north side). At the front, the building marked by the letter B is the *Ali-Qapu* entrance palace with a music hall and a spacious terrace on its third floor that opens towards the *Meydan*. On the left side of the *Meydan* is the Shah Abbas Mosque, and the Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque is located on the lower side of the *Meydan* in this image. The trees inside the *Meydan* were watered by a *madi* (canal) diverted from Zayandeh River.



5.14: The figure captures the drawing process: a juxtaposition and superposition of several maps of Isfahan related to various times and scales. Although here the process also includes historical studies, the concern of the final map is not a historical reconstruction. Rather, like *negar-gari*, it is a conceptual construct. For that matter it makes it possible to introduce various times and scales into a single composition.



500 m

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
|  Madi           |  Bazaar              |  Garden  |
|  River          |  Courtyards          |  Bridges |
|  Road to Bazaar |  Hypothetical Bazaar |  Road    |
|  Contour lines  |  City Wall           |   |

5.15: The bazaar and *khiaban* in the context of Isfahan and its territory, roads (extra-urban circulation), topography and water system. The map distinguishes between the bazaar's complex and ambiguous formation and the khiaban's clear and ideal form.

#### 5.4. From extra-urban to intra-urban circulation <sup>45</sup>

The bazaar mediated between extra-urban and intra-urban circulations. Often it extended the main roads into the city while integrating them into the urban circulation system. In fact, the bazaar interiorized this circulation network while being within the city.<sup>46</sup> Neither the bazaar nor *khiaban* were initially built as mere circulation spaces, although in both cases managing circulation was important. That is exactly why the bazaar's structure was influenced by the larger territorial network, on the one hand, and the inner city's thoroughfares, which according to Michael E. Bonine were substantially affected by the water network, the topography, and the geography of the city,<sup>47</sup> on the other hand. In fact, the bazaar mediated between these scales and forces.

Fig. 5.15  
Fig. 5.19

The denomination of *jaddeh* or road was attributed to extra-urban circulation, and it was conceived in a process of tracing a constant movement [in a desert]<sup>48</sup> which at the same time entailed the possibility of constructing stopping points at a regular rhythm at specific locations (either it is a *caravanserai* or a settlement). Although these extra-urban circulations were mainly administrated by the state, in some cases they were maintained or constructed by local authorities or other individuals for the sake of good will. Indeed, hosting and guiding travellers were tenets of both Zoroastrianism and Islam.

Fig. 5.16

*Jaddeh* negotiated between movement and the possibility of place-making. As an extra-urban circulation, there was a regular rhythm about the frequency with which it met with the settlements in between the main cities. The road could be paved or unpaved, depending on the topography and the geography through which it extended. It also depended on the juridical-political aspect of the road.

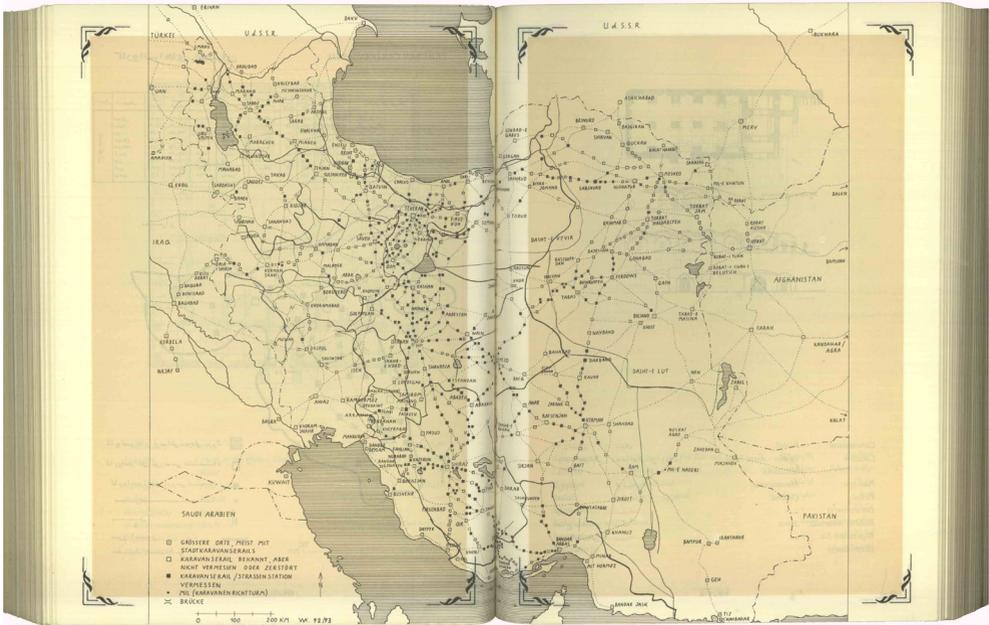
Fig. 5.18

<sup>45</sup> Most studies about the history of the Iranian/Islamic city do not address the problem of circulation, movement and infrastructure and the relation between city and territory. They are mainly concerned with the morphological organization of various elements and archetypes within the city. Even in studies such as the recent work by Somayyeh Falahat entitled *Re-imagining the City: A New Conceptualization of the Urban Logic of the Islamic city*, the rereading of urban circulation and thoroughfares still focuses mainly on the morphological, relying [although critically] on previous concepts of the Islamic city and hardly addressing the relation with the territory and the reasons behind such relations and modes of organization.

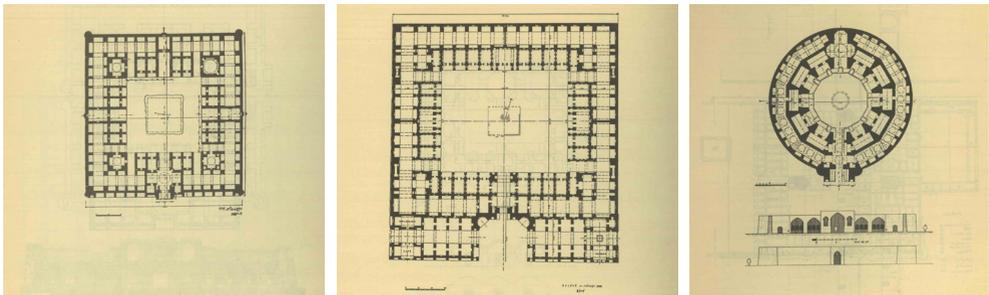
<sup>46</sup> Here by interiorization I am not necessarily referring to an inside that is in opposition to an outside. Nor am I trying to evoke the notion of closed versus open or private versus public. Rather the interior is where the various [territorial] relations are managed more intensively. Hence, it does not totally exclude the exterior. Rather it is a transition, a process and a space. I will discuss this issue in more detail in the next chapter (chapter six) of this thesis.

<sup>47</sup> Michael E. Bonine, 'The Morphogenesis of Iranian Cities,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (June 1979): 208- 224.

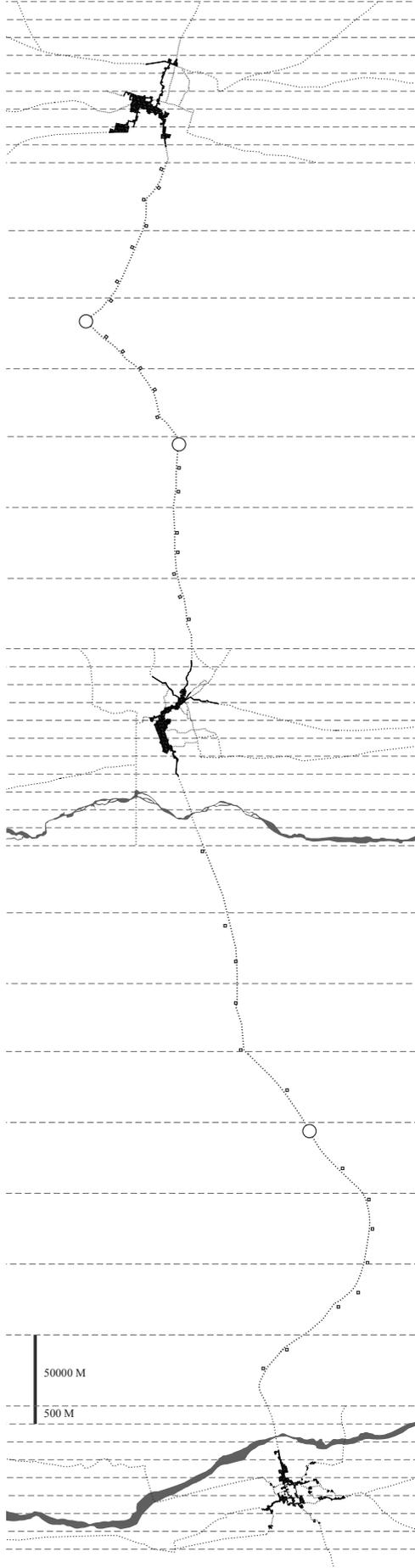
<sup>48</sup> Dehkhoda Dictionary, under *Jaddeh* [جاده], accessed on 5 August 2016, <http://parsii.wiki/dehkhodaworddetail-37093f9fa40446b89ad687819133a902-fa.html>.



5.16: The map of the inner Iranian Plateau with some *caravanserais* on the network of roads. This map is the result of a long-term survey conducted by W. Kleiss and M.Y. Kiani on outer-city *caravanserais*. This book, which is organized in the format of an atlas based on various provinces, identifies and maps approximately 500 *caravanserais*. As the authors state in the introduction to their book, this list is not exhaustive. Some provinces remained totally unmapped. The full black rectangles show the *caravanserais*, completely measured and surveyed, and the hollow rectangles show the ones that have not been measured.



5.17: On the left: Aqa Kamal *Caravanserai* on the road between Kashan and Natanz, Safavid period, material: Stone-brick.  
 In the middle: Mahyar Caravanserai, south of Isfahan, Safavid period.  
 On the right: Zizeh Caravanserai on the road between Natanz and Kashan, Safavid-Qajarid period.  
 From the book *Iranian Caravanserais* by W. Kleiss and M.Y. Kiani.



5.18: A road between the Bazaar of Isfahan and the Bazaar of Tehran. The bazaar can be viewed as the intensification and interiorization of territory, operating within the larger system of extra-urban circulation.

5.19: Shiraz and its larger territory. The drawing frames the location of the city in relation to its topographical context, the relation between bazaar and road (extra-urban circulation) and the water infrastructure, which is a system of qanats taking their resources from the surrounding mountains. After the water surfaces into the ground it flows via a network into the gardens where it is distributed to specific parts of the city. Drawing by Negar Sanaan Bensi and Nasim Razavian.

For example, the Royal Road of the Achaemenid Empire, which was initially constructed to connect the centre of the empire to various *satraps* (provinces), was partially paved. Or the Mazandaran Road (known as Mazandaran *khiaban*), which was constructed through the forest and marshy land of northern Iran during the Safavid period and was mostly paved. However, most of the roads going through desert were unpaved. Instead these roads were marked by placing various artifacts along their path, such as *caravanserai*, bridges or *mils* (guiding tower).

Typologically, *caravanserais* were buildings with a rectangular or circular plan organized around a courtyard. The courtyard is the collective space and is circumvented by a series of [individual] rooms and *imans*, accessed or opening up towards the inner courtyard, stables for animals<sup>49</sup> and corridors for inner circulation. The surrounding rooms are often situated several steps above the courtyards on a platform, creating a *divan* as an intermediary between the closed individual space of the rooms and the collective open space of the courtyard. Most of the roadside *caravanserais* had one entrance opening up towards the outside, while inner-city *caravanserais* could have several entrances towards the bazaar's *rastebs* or secondary logistical thoroughfares.

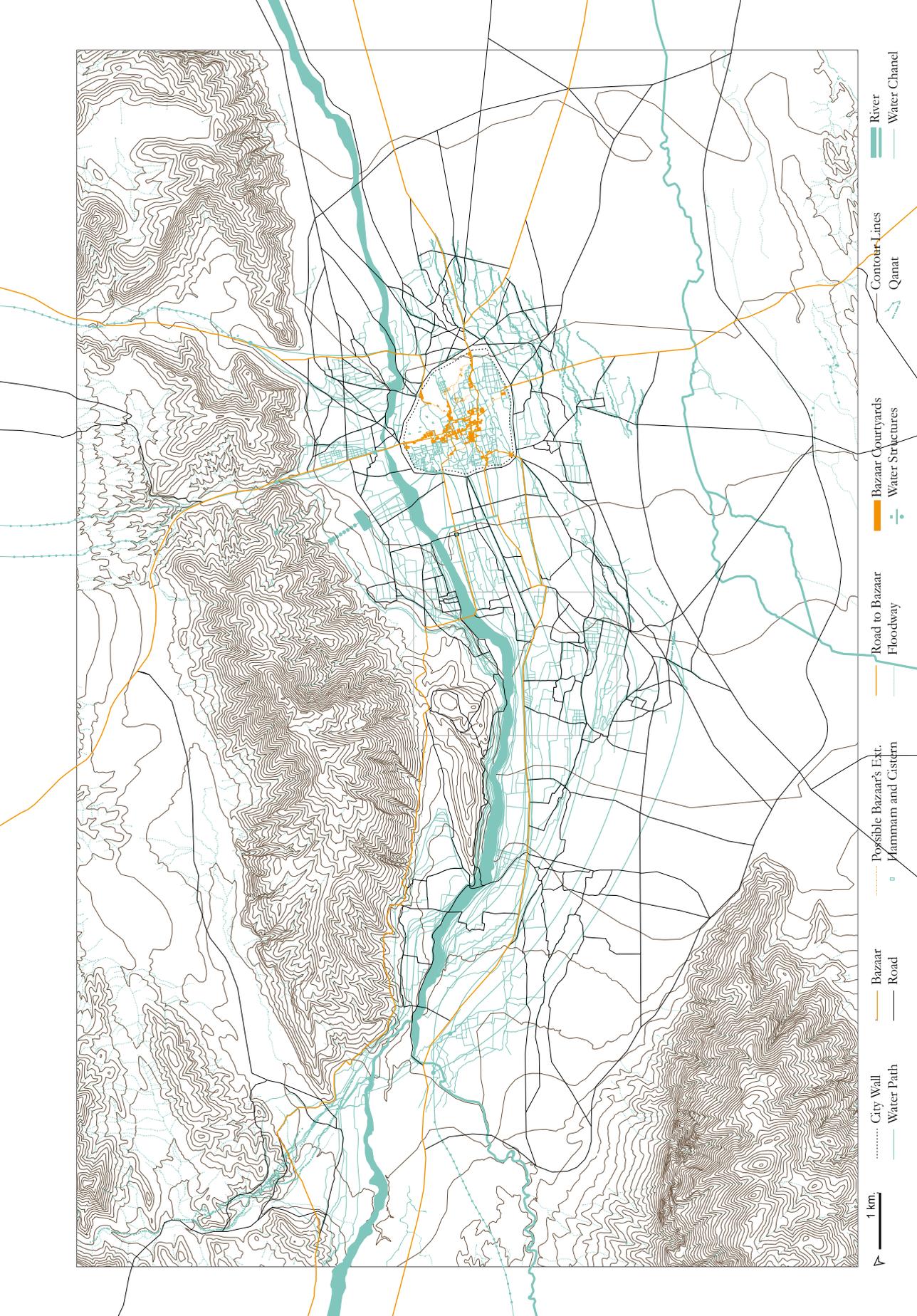
*Mils* and *minars* were towers that could be seen from a distance. In some cases, a *mil* was placed in the vicinity of a *caravanserai*, water storage facility, or religious buildings such as mosques or at a crossroads, to show the way or monitor the *caravanserai*.<sup>50</sup> In many cases these *minars* and *mils* hosted the burial of their founders or some other respected and well-known parsonage.<sup>51</sup> Hence, there was a hierarchical order behind the way roads, cities and *caravanserais* were established and organized. These roads were not a fixed line and they could be constantly retraced. In fact, *Jaddeh* does not only operate as a connection or communication between various points, but rather it distributes people (and animals) as well as the various artifacts and settlements in an open space. In a way, it is related to the nomadic trajectory. The nomadic territory, as discussed before, has customary paths. It distributes among points. Thus the points – e.g. water sources, gathering points and settlements – are important for the nomadic trajectory, but they are not limited to that. Rather, the path itself, i.e. ‘the

Fig. 5.17

<sup>49</sup> The inner-city *caravanserai* often lacked stables for animals because of hygiene and other concerns. Often, they only served as hostels for travellers and traders and a place where goods could be dropped off and stored.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Eyaz Mil along the road to Torbat Jam.

<sup>51</sup> For further reading see: Karim Pirnia and Qolam Hosein Memarian, *Memari-ye Islami-ye Iran or Islamic Architecture of Iran* (Tehran: IUST Press, 1382/2003), 263-285.



5.20: Isfahan, the map shows the relation of the bazaar with city's circulation system (i.e. gozar and koucheh), as well as the mahallehs' boundaries. Drawing by Sanaan Bensi and Nasim Razavian

intermezzo<sup>52</sup>, constitutes their territory. In the same way, I argue that a *jaddeh* between two points could change in time for various reasons, such as seasonal changes and security. For that reason, this in-between has its own consistency and autonomy, while the stopping points marking that path are necessary for creating moments for pausing.

Interestingly, in a recently published extensive study, Michael D. Frachetti, associate professor in the Department of Anthropology at Washington University, renders the impact of nomadic movements on the formation of international road networks such as that of so-called *Silk Road*. In this research, by combining satellite analysis, human geography, archaeological studies, mappings and Geographic Information Systems, he and his group, illustrates the significance of small-scale mobility patterns in forming macro-scale networks.<sup>53</sup>

According to what has been discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, nomads had an important role in safe keeping the roads and even guiding the caravans on the roads which often had hardly clear pathway.<sup>54</sup> Ibn Khaldun also acknowledges this issue by referring to roads as a trajectory wherein the sedentary depends on the nomadic community:

When sedentary people mix with them [nomads] in the desert or associate with them on a journey, they depend on them. They cannot do anything for themselves without them. This is an observed fact. (Their dependence extends) even to knowledge of the country, the (right) directions, watering places, and crossroads.<sup>55</sup>

This relation could become conflictual as well, though, in the sense that it could lead to plunder and threat. This partially explains the complexity and delicacy of the relation between the nomad and the sedentary in state-formation and the management of the territory, as briefly discussed before.<sup>56</sup> Hence, on one hand, it was this conflict and interaction between extra- and intra-urban circulation through which the bazaar connected the city to its territory. On the other hand, this relation to the territory was interiorized to provide security. This interiorization is not only about covering the main circulation in the city; rather it is about a process through which the space could be managed more intensively.

<sup>52</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 380.

<sup>53</sup> Michael D. Frachetti, C. Evan Smith, Cynthia M. Traub and Tim Williams. 'Nomadic ecology shaped the highland geography of Asia's Silk Roads.' *Nature* 543 (09 March 2017):193-206.

<sup>54</sup> Ali Mazaheri, *Jaddeh-ye Abrisham or The Silk Road*, trans. Malek Nase Noban (Tehran: IHCS Press, 1373/1994), 156.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *Al-Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 167.

<sup>56</sup> See chapter three of this thesis.



A  250 m

— Gozaar  
— Roads

— Bazaar  
..... Mahallehs

— Alley  
— Road to Bazaar  
■ Courtyard

— Garden  
- - - - - River  
..... Hypothetical Bazaar

Fig. 5.19

So, while the bazaar was linked to the extra-urban circulation where the distribution system and the relation to territory should have been managed, it was also part of the inter-urban circulation space where the relation between various parts of the city was organized.

Fig. 5.20

In the case of the latter, for example, the bazaar's between various *mahallehs* in the city was crucial.

*Mahalleh* is often translated as neighbourhood or district. Though the notion of *mahalleh* transcends a purely administrative unit. *Mahalleh* comes from the Arabic term *mahall* (in its feminine form) which literally means place[-ness].<sup>57</sup> It is linked to the close relation between a place and its inhabitants. The inhabitants of a *mahalleh* were a mixture of poor and rich who often had a common ethnic background, or town or village of origin, religion, or profession, and they shared several amenities and infrastructures within the *mahalleh*. Therefore, the *mahalleh* became a distinct unit for legal and administration organization in the city.

Between the various *mahallehs*, the bazaar was simultaneously a space for connection and confrontation. In the historical documents, there are many examples of these confrontations and encounters, leading to important political and social events. This can be traced to recent history (Qajar period), for which there is easier access to historical material. These events are either related to confrontation among various *mahallehs* or groups of people within the city, or they are related to encounters between people and the state or other foreign affairs of the country that initially germinated in the bazaar.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, they are also present at the micro-political scale of everyday life. <sup>59</sup> This is exactly why, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, a group of scholars has studied the bazaar as a socio-political or socio-economic organization and a scene of social and political movements.<sup>60</sup>

Spatially, the bazaar operated as a threshold marking the main public places, while, it connected the different groups involved in the processes of production and exchange. This assembly of various public institutions within the bazaar is partly related to the bazaar's

<sup>57</sup> In Farsi *barzan* or *kuy* (meaning *mahalleh*) are still in use. They mean 'part of a town, quarter (*mahalleh*), street (*kūya*). In modern Iranian the terms *varzan* and *varzana* are common.' For further reading see: W. Eilers, 'Barzan,' in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. III, Fasc. 8, 839-840. Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/barzan-part-of-a-town-quarter-mahalla-street-kuca> (accessed online at 23 August 2016).

<sup>58</sup> For instance, in the book of Mer'at al Vaqaye'-e Mozaffari we encounter on several occasions reports of social events originating in the Bazaar of Tehran. See Abd Al-Hassan Khan Malek al-Movarrehkin, *Mer'at alVaqaye'-e Mozaffari vol. 1*, ed. A. Nava'i (Tehran: Miras Maktoob, 1386), 387 and 512. Or the uprising against Russia's ambassador Griboyedov and the constitution revolution that also had its roots in the bazaar. See Behnam Aboutorabian, *Gesseh-ba-ye Tebran (1): Gozar-e Ilby* (Tehran: Nashr-e Tarikh-e Iran, 1393/ 2014) and Homa Katouzian, 'The Revolution for Law: A Chronographic Analysis of the Constitutional Revolution of Iran,' *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 5 (September 2011): 757-777.

<sup>59</sup> Farzaneh Haghighi, an Iranian researcher and a lecturer in architecture (theory and criticism) at the University of Auckland, has specifically focused on the spatial explication of these micro-political analyses of everyday life in Tehran's Grand Bazaar by employing the Foucauldian notion of event. For further reading, see Farzaneh Haghighi, 'The Deployment of Death as an Event,' *Fabrications*, 24/1 (2014), 48-71 and Farzaneh Haghighi, *Bazaar as Event: An exploration of the Tebran bazaar through the Foucauldian notion of event*, (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2015).

<sup>60</sup> See chapter one of this thesis, part 1.3.4. *Definition of the bazaar in other disciplines*.

system of ownership, which I will discuss in the next chapter, as well its infrastructural role as a main space of production and exchange in the broadest sense of the term. This means production and exchange in the economic sense, which might address means, modes and relations, and in the immaterial sense, that of knowledge, [micro-structure] power and social relations. Therefore, the bazaar transported the *maballeh* beyond its borders to outside territories.

A valuable map of the city of Tabriz illustrated in 1880<sup>61</sup> shows this relation between various *maballehs* in the city and the Bazaar of Tabriz. This map is especially valuable since it is one of the early examples prepared by Iranian surveyors based on modern techniques, and it is quite precise. These surveyors were educated in the *dar al-fonun* (polytechnic) of Tehran and Tabriz.<sup>62</sup> Many features in this map are indeed new. For example, the way that the topography is represented or the precise mapping of the boundaries between *maballehs* and the use of different text fonts to distinguish between the levels of importance of each *maballeh*. But also, for the first time the plan of the Bazaar is fully represented in the city.<sup>63</sup> Like the Flood Map of Tabriz, it uses the figure-ground technique. What is interesting about this map is that, on the one hand, it illustrates the extent of the bazaar's territory, spreading through different *maballehs* along the main routes to arrive at the city, and, on the other hand, its intensification in the most inner part of the city.

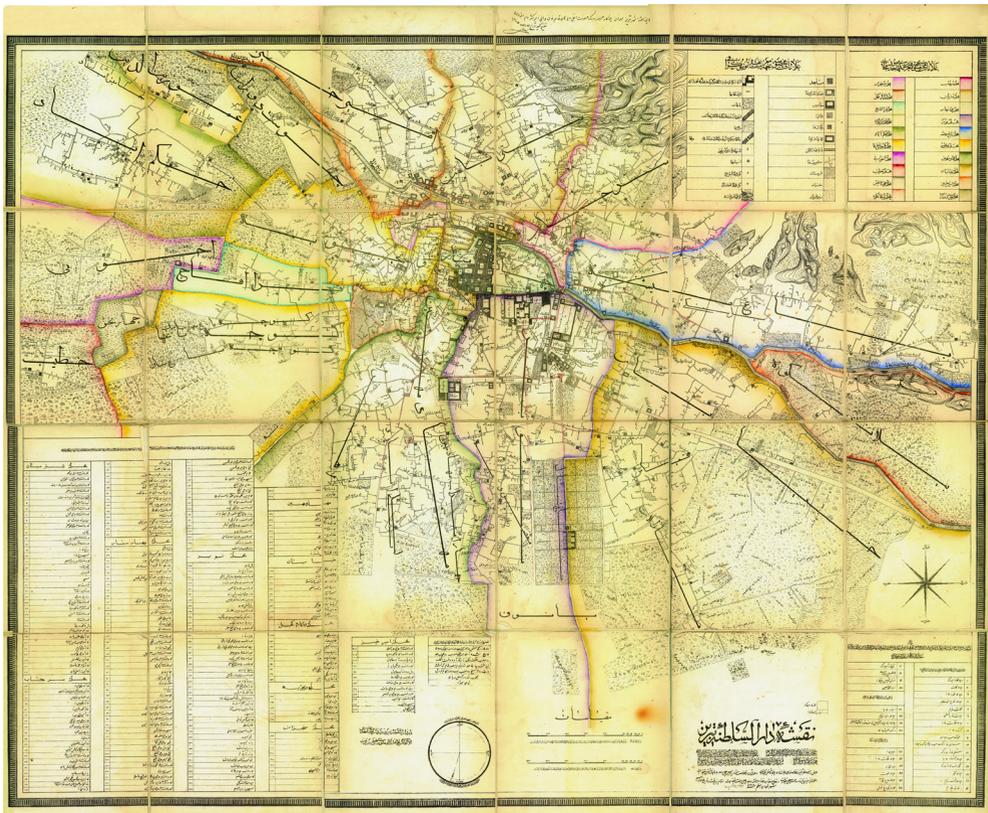
The boundaries of *maballehs* are shown with coloured thick lines that gradually fade towards the inside of the *maballeh*. The general impression in this map is that the Bazaar is a merging point of *maballehs* or a point from which various *maballehs* expand towards the outside of the city. In an index at the bottom left of the map, the Bazaar's various spaces are listed under the names of important buildings and infrastructures existing in each *maballeh*. This map represents the Bazaar as being located between various *maballehs*. Moreover, the bazaar was connected to *maballehs* through circulation systems. Within a *maballeh* there are various terms in Farsi for pathways in the cities. This variety stems from the diversity of spatial configurations and the access hierarchy related to a group of families, such as *bon-bast* (dead-end allies), or being affiliated to *maballeh* or a neighbourhood, such as *kouche*, *barzan* [alleys], *gozar* [literally passageway]). In the latter case, *gozar* was often the main passageway in the *maballeh* for transit, directing sewage water and even connecting two important points to each other, for example a *maballeh* to the bazaar.

Fig. 5.21

<sup>61</sup> This map is known as the map of 'dar al-saltane-ye Tabriz' or 'Qaraje Daghi'. According to Farmarz Parsi, Mohammad Reza Mohandesi and Sarahang Qaraje Daghi were in charge of the surveying group. This map was ordered by Mozaffar al-din Mirza, the governor of Tabriz and the crown prince at the time. See Farmarz Parsi et al., *Baz Khani-ye Naghsbeh haye Tarikehi-ye Tabriz* or *Re-reading of the Historical Maps of Tabriz* (Tehran: *Sazman Omrani va Behsazi-e Shabri*, 2006), 44-63.

<sup>62</sup> Tehran's *dar al-fonun* was established in 1851 and it was the first modern university and institution of higher learning in Iran. It was founded by Amir Kabir the royal vizier or minister of Nasser al-din Shah, the Qajar king at the time. Tabriz's *dar al-fonun* was founded some years after the one in Tehran, and it was the second university established in Iran.

<sup>63</sup> Farmarz Parsi et al., *Baz Khani-ye Naghsbeh haye Tarikehi-ye Tabriz* or *Re-reading of the Historical Maps of Tabriz*, 44-63.



5.21: The map of Dar Al-Saltane-ye Tabriz, 1880.

A *gozar* could also host a *bazqaarcheh* or small bazaar, which was limited to providing the daily needs of a neighbourhood.<sup>64</sup> Although any certain statement about the definition of these circulation systems needs to be backed up by thorough legal and historical research.<sup>65</sup> However, we can argue that there existed a [hierarchical] system of circulation that connected the bazaar to the *maballehs* and the houses. The bazaar operated as the main infrastructural node and an intermediary that linked these inter-urban circulations to extra-urban *jaddehs* and hence to the territory. The bazaar's general formal organization of space for movement entailed the superposition of various scales and forces, each containing its own order: for example, the order of a larger network of roads; the order of the morphogenesis and internal circulation of the city; and the order of geological and geographical ground. But of course these forces and regimes also include a complexity of other legal, administrative, social and spatial organizations.

Fig. 5.20

For instance, the inner security of *maballehs* and the bazaar was secured by *lutis* and *pablevans* who worked as a kind of local associations. They were volunteer trustees who voluntarily protected *maballehs* and the bazaar by patrolling these spaces at night or during moments of unrest. They opposed oppression and undertook the protection of the weak, and the education of poor and orphaned children and also took care of the well-keeping of public morality. These [social] groups often had temporary jobs, as peddlers, selling different things during the summer and winter months from their carts by moving through the bazaar and *gozars*. In fact, they had a temporal and fluid character, something nomadic in nature that gave them the mobility to protect the city and its dwellers.<sup>66</sup>

Many of these *lutis* had their gathering places, known as *patuqs*, in coffee houses in the bazaar or *maballehs*, and established a social association tasked with ensuring the city's safety and well-being. At the same time, they were often involved in political movements and social mobilisation and local riots and spontaneous demonstrations.

In fact, this mechanism of safe keeping the main circulation spaces of the city was part of a broader multivalence system that constituted the spatial, juridical, administrative and

<sup>64</sup> When the bazaar grew, it could expand along the *gozars*. According to Nasser Najmi, in Old Tehran, *gozar* was named after the uncovered bazaars. Nasser Najmi, *Iran-e Ghadim, Tebran-e Ghadim or Old Iran, Old Tebran* (Tehran: Janzadeh Press, 1363/1984), 254.

<sup>65</sup> There is hardly any research on circulation spaces in the Iranian city, their legal and spatial status, historical and geographical precedence, their etymological roots and toponymy. This would be a worthwhile topic to pursue for further research.

<sup>66</sup> *Lutis* and *pablevans* were following *javanmardi* and *fotovvat* (chivalry) orders. It was usual for *bazqaris* to join these associations at a young age; however, after taking a position of responsibility in the bazaar, they often withdrew from the group. Indeed, the basic nature of these groups was their fluidity, independence in specific responsibilities and jobs, and material concerns. They often had certain manners and even a specific vernacular among themselves and often bore anti-caliphate or anti-governmental sentiments to protect the rights of people. For further reading, see Abdollah Mostofi, *Tarikh-e Ejtmaee va Edari Dorey-e Qajar: Sharh-e Zendeganiy-e Man or The administrative and social history of the Qajar period: The story of my life*, Vol. 1 (Tehran: Zavvar Press, 1388/ 2009), 303-311; Willem Floor, 'The Lutis: A Social Phenomenon in Qajar Persia,' *Die Welt des Islams* 13 (1971): 103-21; and Willem Floor, 'The Political Role of the Lutis in Iran,' in *Modern Iran: The Dialectics of Continuity and Change*, eds. Michael Bonine and Nikki Keddie (Albany: SUNT Press, 1981), 83-95.

economic security in the bazaar. Hence, in following pages, I will further explain this issue of security in the bazaar.

### 5.5. Security, mechanism of control and jurisdiction in the bazaar

Operating as the main infrastructure of the city not only provides opportunities but it also entails potential threats and crises. This means that as the main circulation space of the city, the bazaar also required security and surveillance. As Foucault mentions, the mechanism of governance does not necessarily shift from one form to another; rather there are a series of complex edifices that encompass the various techniques and mechanisms.<sup>67</sup> Here, I will try to refer to some of the legal and disciplinary systems of surveillance in the bazaar. My aim is to show the complex nature of this mechanism and its interaction with the spatial organization of the bazaar and in fact, this part provides a lens that serves as an introduction to the next chapter.

The security in the bazaar can be approached on various levels. Security can be understood as a *dispositif* for the management of a society, but it is not limited to that. In fact, the mechanism of security and surveillance in the bazaar is much more intricate. It does not merely include a disciplinary mechanism and systems of law making for which here I use Keshavarzian's term 'coercive mechanisms'.<sup>68</sup> According to Keshavarzian, 'coercive mechanisms' are characterized by 'one-way and top-down channels of communication, with specific actions dictated, designated, and adjudicated by a single legitimate authority'.<sup>69</sup> These mechanisms have a one-shot nature and are based on command rather than deliberation. However, the bazaar's security for exchange and interactions was mainly provided through 'cooperative' systems, as a result of social networks and family ties and through the making of *asnaf* (guild organizations). These 'cooperative mechanisms' allow individuals to develop 'multiplex and crosscutting relations'. In this case, 'trust and reciprocity emerge, and crosscutting relations integrate actors positioned in different hierarchical networks'.<sup>70</sup> While superiors can manipulate and penetrate into 'embedded local networks', communities and their 'resources, knowledge and exchange channels', the subordinates have some 'voice'.<sup>71</sup> These mechanisms take part and take form in the spatial organization of the bazaar as part of the multiplicity of regimes and forces, which I will explicate in this and the next chapter.

In the bazaar, the state's supervision operated through the appointment of administrative offices that regulated merchants and artisans, such as *darughbah* (police prefect), *kalantar*

<sup>67</sup> Michel Foucault, Michel Senellart, François Ewald and Alessandro Fontana, *Security, territory, population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 22.

<sup>68</sup> Here I am referring to the terminology used by Arang Keshavarzian in his book *Bazaar and State in Iran* to explain the concept of embedded networks as a lens to study micro-level politics in Tehran's Grand Bazaar and its form of governance as the result of the creation of these networked relations.

<sup>69</sup> 'In this form of governance, crosscutting and multifaceted relations are muted, with relations in groups limited to economic matters.' Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 17.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

(supervisor of city wards and the guilds), and *mubtasib* (market inspector).<sup>72</sup> These offices somehow operated between the state and *asnaf* (guilds) at various levels (e.g. the levy of taxes, the monitoring of the quantity and quality of production and the security of the bazaar).<sup>73</sup> This was mainly based on a process of negotiation between the representatives of a *senf* and those of the state, rather than on a fixed and predefined rule. On the one hand, these tax payments were considered an important source of income for the state, but on the other hand, it was considered proof that the *senf* members were under the protection of the *senf*'s corporate body.

In the bazaar, certain locations were specified for these state's representatives, where they could position themselves to supervise the well-being of trade and security in the bazaar. These locations often had a kind of centrality that sometimes resembled a Panopticon in the general structure of the bazaar. For example, a *charsu*, which literally means the junction where four pathways of the bazaar meet, was a semi-*meydan* (semi-square) space where the *darughab* positioned himself, either to collect taxes or to punish a criminal or announce a message or a decision made by the king to the *bazaaris* and other city dwellers. *Charsus* were often domed and more decorated and representational than the bazaar's other pathways. Commercially, they were outstanding spots, and mostly expensive and valuable trades and exchanges took place there. For example, Naser Najmi refers to the *Great Charsu* in the bazaar of Tehran as a centre for the *darughab* of the city.<sup>74</sup> Beside *charsus*, the open squares could also be appointed as a temporary location for the state's supervisors.

Fig. 5.22

This process of negotiation between the state and *bazaaris* was also present in the construction and extension of the bazaar. For example, in the case of the Bazaar of Isfahan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to expand the city of Isfahan after choosing it as his capital, initially Shah Abbas I considered 'renovating' and 'restructuring' the old bazaar in the north of the city and 'straightening' its *rastebs*. However, due to strong opposition from wealthy and powerful *bazaaris* and authorities in Isfahan, the king had to withdraw his plan.

Instead, he decided to establish a new bazaar with a civic and commercial focus for the city that could be integrated into his palace, and administrative and political centre. The construction of a new *meydan* (square) over the Seljuk Garden of *Naqsh-e Jahan* (*Bagh-e Naqsh-e Jahan*) in the south-west of the old city replaced the initial plan, which became a crucial element in extending the bazaar and directing it towards the new north-south axis of

<sup>72</sup> These officials were not necessarily all present during the same period, and their tasks might have been slightly different as well in each period, or one official could take over another's tasks too.

<sup>73</sup> In general, the studies on systems of governance in the bazaar and the organization of *asnaf* (guilds) diverge significantly, so much so that it becomes very difficult to draw any specific conclusions about them. As Willem Floor says, 'the study of guilds in Iran has hardly begun'. Anyone interested in looking into some of these studies, see Mehdi Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period* (PhD diss., University of Durham, 1965); Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Willem Floor, *Guilds, Merchants, and Ulama in Nineteenth-Century Iran* (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2009).

<sup>74</sup> Naser Najmi, *Iran-e Ghadim, Tebran-e Ghadim or Old Iran, Old Tebran*, 250-251.



5.22: An impression of the Charsu Bozorg (Grand Charsu) in Tehran's Bazaar, 1873.

international trade [with its main export of silk].<sup>75</sup>

To explain the formation of the *asnaf* or guild organization, Floor states that ‘it is the government, rather than the artisans and traders, which brings the guilds into being’. Conversely, Lewis states that ‘unlike the European guild, which was basically a public service, recognized, privileged and administered by public authorities, seignorial, municipal or royal, the Islamic guild was a spontaneous development from below, created not in response to a state need but to the social requirements of the labouring masses themselves.’<sup>76</sup> Here, instead of isolating these two propositions into binary opposition, I propose that the organization of *asnaf* combines and reflects both of these positions.

Hence, we might argue that, as Willem Floor remarks, for the state to maintain order and security and to strengthen the stability of its rule it was easier to deal with cooperative bodies than individuals.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, for the craftsmen, artisans, merchants and other groups, the interiorization in the organization of *senf* was a way to mobilize and protect the rights of its members.<sup>78</sup> We can assume then that this process of interiorization occurred not only in the spatial presence of the bazaar but also at the juridical-legal level, which in fact gave a certain level of political power to the *bazaaris* for opposition.

Within the juridical-legal mechanism the combination of *urf* (institution of customs) and *Shar’i* (institution of religion) were relevant to the bazaar’s operation.<sup>79</sup> According to Lambton, *asnaf* were urged to define the juridical and legal framework for their exchanges

<sup>75</sup> For further reading on the politics of the trade during the Safavid period in Iran, see Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Ronald Ferrier, ‘Trade from the Mid-fourteenth Century to the End of the Safavid Period,’ in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6, eds. Jackson, Peter, and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 412-490.

<sup>76</sup> Bernard Lewis, ‘The Islamic Guilds,’ *The Economic History Review* 8, no. 1 (1937): 36.

<sup>77</sup> Although to explain the formation of *asnaf* or guild organization, Floor states that ‘it is the government rather than the artisans and traders which brings the guilds into being.’ This argument is somehow limiting and must be historically and theoretically reviewed properly, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. For further reading on Floor’s argument see chapter 6 of: Willem Floor, *Guilds, Merchants, and Ulama in Nineteenth-Century Iran* (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2009).

<sup>78</sup> This in-between status of *senf* (guild) in the oriental or Islamic city has been often interpreted as suffering from a lack of autonomy compared to its European counterparts, which led to a dearth of any sort of civic institution in the city. Max Weber, in his book *The City*, evaluates this negatively in relation to the tribal traditions, where in my opinion he dismisses the relation between nomadic/sedentary by generalizing the ideal type of oriental city. He writes: ‘Wherever it appeared the city was basically a resettlement of people previously alien to the place. Chinese, Mesopotamian, Egyptian and occasionally even Hellenistic war princes founded cities and transferred to them not only voluntary settlers but others kidnapped according to demand and possibility. This occurred most frequently in Mesopotamia where forced settlers had first to dig the irrigation canals which made possible the emergence of the city in the desert. The prince with his official apparatus and administrative officials remained absolute master of the city. This tended to prevent the appearance of any communal association whatsoever or, at best, permitted only the appearance of the rudiments of one.’ For further reading see: Max Weber, *The City* (London: William Heinemann Limited, 1960), 100.

<sup>79</sup> Paul Matthee declares that ‘Iranian statecraft had its own tradition of limitation and restraint. The classical Iranian notion of the cycle of justice, articulated in the typical *Nasihat nameb*, or counsel for rulers, obliged the monarch to promote the integrity and well-being of the community by extending protection to his subjects, including road security, the supervision of market practices, and fixing prices for basic necessities in times of need.’ Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran*, 169.

and interactions because of the inadequacy of Shari'a.<sup>80</sup> Hence, the economic management remained integral to the overarching moral codes and value chains.<sup>81</sup>

As Ira Lapidus and Kamran Matin state, this 'vagueness and uncertainty of Islamic law in matters of real estate' is rooted in the nomadic influence on the sedentary society. According to Lapidus, the juridical-legal system was the outcome of a fusion of the tribal society with the sedentary (*dehqan*) community, trading confederacy and political organizations.<sup>82</sup> It is this vagueness of the legal boundaries that affected the spatial organization of the bazaar, which indeed finds its threshold in the negotiation between the social, religious, economic and political and geographical regimes, or, in other words, in an interrelation among the various territorial regimes, through a process of interiorization. I will discuss this topic in more detail in the next chapter.

In this sense, the formation of law or *nomos* (*Nāmos* [ناموس] in Farsi) emerges out of those moral and social codes and family ties, which at the same time are tied to beliefs and religious concerns. In his English translation of the book *The Nomos of the Earth*, authored by Carl Schmitt, Gary L. Ulmen notes the etymological relation between 'nomos' and 'nomads', although he does not go into detail about the nature of this relation. He states: 'Nemein means to take, to allot, or to assign. In Old English, the word niman meant to take or to seize, while nemel, from which the word nimble derives, meant to seize quickly. From the Greek *nomos* and *nemein* derive such English words as economy, antinomy, nomology, nomothetic, numismatic, etc. Of particular interest in this context is the derivation of the word nomad, since *nomos*, from the Greek *nome*, meant capturing, grazing, or wandering in search of pasture, which in German is weiden.'<sup>83</sup> Gilles Deleuze, in his various writings, differentiates between 'nomos' and 'logos' and dwells on the relation between nomad and *nomos* [as the nomadic law]. According to Deleuze, in the way that the sedentary is related to territory, the space is divided and hierarchised by some law, logic or voice (*logos*) that

<sup>80</sup> For example, the task of *muhtasib* is based on the injunction 'to command the right and forbid the wrong'. *Muhtasib* was doing his task according to *Shari'a*; however, since *Shari'a* rule does not have legally clear boundaries, *muhtasib's* supervision concerned, to a large extent, the *urf* (customs). In this sense, comparing *muhtasib's* tasks by looking at two different sources such as the *Manual for the muhtasib* ascribed to Ibn al-Ukhuwah (d. 1329 CE) and in Al Qazali's explanation of the *muhtasib's* tasks reveals surprisingly different attitudes and descriptions. For further reading, see Kristen Stilt, and Roy Mottahedeh, 'Public and Private as Viewed through the Work of the muhtasib,' *Faculty Working Papers* (2010), Paper 43.

<sup>81</sup> In this sense, the adherence to and unity of *asnaf* was important for providing a certain [ethical and juridical] framework and corporate body to instil principles. In fact, *bazaaris* could often be associated with the Futuvat or chivalric orders (*Ayin-e Javan mardi*), following certain ethical and juridical principles. For further reading, see Mehdi Keyvani, *Artisans and guild life in the later Safavid period* (PhD diss., University of Durham, 1965):22-39 and Mehran Afshari, *Fotovatnameha va Rasa'el-e Khaksariyeh, 30 treatises* (Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, 2003).

<sup>82</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, *A history of Islamic societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1999: 34-40 and Kamran Matin, 'Uneven and Combined Development in World History: The International Relations of State-formation in Premodern Iran,' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 13 no. 3 (September 2007): 419-447.

<sup>83</sup> Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth*, tr. Gary L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2006), 326.

is 'outside or above'. However, the nomos has its principle of distribution within itself.<sup>84</sup> This differentiation is what I referred to above as 'coercive' and 'cooperative' mechanisms when quoting Arang Keshavarzian's explanation of different governance mechanisms and the way they influence 'the institutional setting' and 'the physical location of the networks' that constituted the organization of the Tehran Bazaar and gave it the capacity to mobilize.<sup>85</sup>

In fact, it is almost impossible to separate the realm of legal issues from the social and moral codes. The presence of various communal places in the bazaar, such as mosques, schools, baths, *tekeyeh*<sup>86</sup> and so on, was to a great extent due to this moral and juridical support. Spatially, this means an interwoven system of practices and events, all taking form in the bazaar. This is exactly why scholars such as Eugen Wirth described the bazaar as a complex programmatic system. As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, though this notion is restrictive in that it reduces the bazaar to a functional construct, it does deliver a certain complexity of social, economic, and productive overlay in the bazaar. Consequently, in the physical sense we can argue that the bazaar has been developed through the combination, assembly or encounter between these different processes: the construction over an existing material occurring within a territory as well as planning operations and in between cooperative and coercive mechanisms.

In Farsi, secure is rendered as *amm* [امن], which means 'to trust, trustworthy, belief [Iman, ایمان]'. In fact, the secure realm is a place where 'one can trust', much like the bazaar was operating and the way the relationship between the *bazaaris* were established. It is exactly these affirmative and cooperative relations for managing and organizing the bazaar's territorial necessities that many scholars identify as 'informal networks'.<sup>87</sup> However, these theories have been criticized for forcing the nature of interactions into two distinct spheres, namely formal and informal.<sup>88</sup> By contrast, the issue here is not informal versus formal; rather it is about the superposition of the cooperative relations and hierarchies among *bazaaris* onto the juridical and legal system. Exchange was incorporated into all facets of this system. This means that commerce (material exchange) was not isolated from interpersonal exchange, family or

<sup>84</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans, Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 380-385.

<sup>85</sup> To put it in a nutshell, Keshavarzian proposes a shift in the form of governance from the cooperative mechanism in the Pahlavi Period to a form of governance that is dominated by coercive hierarchies after the establishment of the Islamic Republic.

<sup>86</sup> *Tekeyeh* and *Hoseinyeh* are gathering places for Shi'i religious ceremonies and mourning Muharram rituals, often in the form of a small *meydan* (square) with rows of *iwans* around the central open space. They are mostly located along the main circulation spaces and bazaars. These spaces were used for occasional gatherings and also for hosting and distributing food to the poor and to travellers. Often during *Mubarram* rituals these open spaces were covered by tents. The construction *tekeyehs* and the holding of the rituals were mostly supported and financed by *bazaaris* and guilds.

<sup>87</sup> For instance, Denooux, in his comparative study among three Islamic countries, identifies a series of occupational and social networks as the main unifying element which helped shape a shared space in the bazaar based on trust and promise. See Guilain Denooux, *Urban Unrest in the Middle East: A Comparative Study of Informal Networks in Egypt, Iran, and Lebanon* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

community ties; rather these ties were interconnected into and assembled with one another through long-term, ‘multifaceted’, and ‘crosscutting relations’.<sup>89</sup> This was a complex network of controlling mechanisms, which at the same time was reflected in the physical structure of the bazaar.

In the physical sense, the spatial organization of *asnaf* within the structure of the bazaar can be read as a result of the aforementioned mechanism. For example, the spatial adherence of the *senf* members along each *rasteb* of the bazaar, as well as the position of various *rastebs* for upholding close relationships among the dependent guilds (*asnaf*), is a result of that mechanism. This spatial localization of *asnaf* could help to coordinate and manage diverse specializations involved in the production and exchange process. This general spatial organization could be based on various factors affecting the type and scale of the production and exchange of goods and information (e.g. a final product, the scale of interaction, the ethnicity, religion and origin of the guild members or the relation to specific *mahalleh*). For instance, Keshavarzian writes the following about the carpet-seller’s *senf* in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran:

Trade was based on specialization in particular types of carpet, most commonly categorized by the place of origin of the trader and carpet. Carpets from Isfahan and its environs were sold by Isfahanis, Qomis sold carpets from Qom, Kermanis specialized in carpets from Kerman region, and so forth. Thus, regionalism, ethnicity, and kinship acted as a guide for segmenting the market and integrating production and commerce.<sup>90</sup>

This physical closeness and spatial adherence of the *bazaaris* within the organization of a *senf* was of course important for a faster circulation of information and necessary for the bazaar’s operation. Therefore, the bazaar’s role as an infrastructure was not only limited to the circulation of goods and people, but also to the circulation of information, news and relations.

Furthermore, the formation of various spaces attributed to exchange and selling in close relation to the other institutional and communal spaces can be explained along the same lines. This could establish a transition from the outside to the most secure parts of the inner city. This means a layered boundary, a process which I call the interiorization of the territory. Through this process, while the bazaar operated as the main circulation space of the city, it simultaneously hosted a complex layered mechanism for situating the main communal

<sup>89</sup> Arang Keshavarzian refers to these existing relations as embedded networks: ‘Social, spatial, religious and familial forces were inseparable from the economic sphere and norms and institutions were mutually enforcing. A religious gathering helped introduce *bazaaris* who might eventually become trading partners, and a neighbourhood engagement party was an opportunity for fellow members of a trade to meet and gather the latest news about prices. Meanwhile the price of a good was dependent upon past relations, and credit-worthiness was contingent upon reputation within the community, which was, in turn, based on generosity and charity as much as commercial acumen.’ For further reading, see Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 77- 126.

<sup>90</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 193.

spaces, as well as spaces for exchange, commerce and production. The result of this process can be conceptualized as an inhabitable infrastructure. This is a concept that goes beyond a simple programmatic juxtaposition. Rather it is a superposition of various regimes that take form through a process of interiorization in the bazaar, an issue which will be addressed further in the next chapter.



## **CHAPTER SIX: Bazaar as a place of inhabitation**

6.1. Introduction

6.2. The dwelling place of the collective

6.3. Ownership and/or possession

6.4. Where to walk / Where to talk

6.5. The interiorization of territory



## 6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the extensive territoriality of the bazaar was addressed by discussing it as an infrastructure space. It was also briefly proposed that the bazaar did not operate merely as a circulation space, connecting intra- and extra-urban movement, but that it also contained and constituted the main communal places in the city. This chapter will elaborate on this proposition to further explicate the ways in which the extensive territoriality of movement space has assembled the intensive territoriality of well-managed place-making in the bazaar.

Clearly defining the notion of ‘inhabitation’ in the bazaar is, in itself, an intricate discussion, because, on the one hand, it is related to a form of collective space and publicness in the bazaar. On the other hand, it refers to the very first idea of inhabitation in relation to a territory, as it was formulated in chapter three of this thesis (i.e. to inhabit a territory and make it suitable for habitation involves all these aspects of territorial management). Hence, the notion of inhabitation in the bazaar concerns the management of various superposed regimes, such as [religio-] social relations, economic and administrative levels, as well as geological and geographical preconditions.

In this chapter, first I will introduce the notion of inhabitation in the bazaar. Most of the scholarly works have described the bazaar as the public space/place of the city; even though this contention requires much more thorough theoretical and historical examination. Among publications focusing on Middle Eastern studies, there have been several on the notion of public space that have focused on the recent condition of cities or their recent history.<sup>1</sup> Though these studies do not focus on Iranian cities, neither do they have a proper historical and theoretical foundation regarding the notion of publicness.<sup>2</sup>

When the notion of public space is discussed in Middle Eastern/Islamic studies, a common approach has been to focus on the separation of public and private in relation to the distinction between the bazaar and the house. Saygin Salgirli, in a call for a conference in 2016, invited readers to take a critical look at binary divisions such as inside/outside and private/public in Islamic art and architecture.<sup>3</sup> He writes:

<sup>1</sup> Among these sources I can refer to a book published by the Danish Institute in 2001. One of the few publications that specifically focuses on the notion of public space in the city, this book is a collection of articles that evokes a specific dimension and aspect of public space in case studies, though there are no Iranian cities among them (it must be mentioned here that it is critical to include Iran in scholarly writings on colonial or post-colonial discourse). Furthermore, this book limits itself to recent history (1900-1950). For further reading, see H. Chr. Korsholm Nielsen and J. Skovgaard-Petersen, eds., *Middle Eastern Cities 1900-1950, Public Places and Public Sphere in Transformation* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> One of the few publications that focuses on the concept of the individual in Iranian Islamic thinking is Iranian Islam: The Concept of the Individual by Nader Ahmadi and Fereshteh Ahmadi. Although this book has been harshly criticized by various reviewers for relying on Weberian dualism and an Oriental vision, the final chapter, which discusses individuality within the system of law, proposes some interesting references by considering law as ‘part of culture, a cultural object, or a cultural force’. Nader Ahmadi and Fereshteh Ahmadi, *Iranian Islam: The concept of the individual* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> My contribution, ‘Bazaar and the interiorization of the territory’, will be part of the proceedings of the conference that will be published in 2019.

As an offshoot of Orientalist fantasies about the absolute interior, the harem, earlier scholarship on the domestic architecture of the Islamic world transformed each household into a micro seraglio, less erotic but equally exotic, with a definite separation between private and public, inside and outside. The damage has been so profound that the revisionist scholarship of the past few decades devoted more effort to replacing the Orientalist canon than to asking new questions about the relationship between inside and outside in Islamic art and architecture.<sup>4</sup>

For example, Sheila Blair, a well-established historian of Islamic art, refers to this segregation between public and private as a fundamental feature of the Islamic city within central and western Islamic lands. She points out that this separation is ‘between public centres for economic, religious and cultural activities, and private zones, mainly reserved for residence’.<sup>5</sup>

This means that what is inside the bazaar is public and what is outside is related to the private realm. To put it in a nutshell, it has been often mentioned that no houses could be placed alongside a bazaar’s *rastehs*.<sup>6</sup> In this reading, the functions are linked to formal structures in a distinct and direct manner: bazaar (as public realm) is associated only with the functions of trade, and the house (as the private realm) is understood solely in terms of its residential capacity.<sup>7</sup> Although I am not opposing the state of publicness of the bazaar, I would hesitate to build my argument based on these exclusive dichotomies.<sup>8</sup> This is because this dichotomic thinking leaves little room for any relational or layered conceptualization of the bazaar.

<sup>4</sup> Saygin Salgirli, AAH 2016 Annual Conference and Bookfair, University of Edinburgh.

<sup>5</sup> Sheila Blair, ‘Islamic Art – Urban Development,’ in *Dictionary of Art*: 260 - 265.

<sup>6</sup> For example, in his article ‘Zum Problem des Bazars,’ Eugen Wirth clearly argues for this separation of living and economic activity in the traditional oriental city. For further reading, see Eugen Wirth, ‘Zum Problem des Bazars (süq, çarşı),’ *Der Islam* Vol. 51/ 2 (1974): 203-260.

<sup>7</sup> Nancy Um, ‘Spatial Negotiations in a Commercial City: The Red Sea Port of Mocha, Yemen, during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century,’ *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 2 (2003): 178-93. Nancy Um writes, in a historically thorough study of the bazaar of Mocha in Yemen, that in this harbour crucial transactions took place in the residences of the merchants, not in the public structures. According to her, here ‘the actual practices of urban merchants collapsed any fixed and rigid understanding of form and function, and the needs of a flourishing trade blurred a firm boundary between the public and private realms.’ Although this condition is not exactly valid for Iranian cities and, again, this statement cannot be generalized, it argues for more thorough research instead of drawing distinct boundaries between the public and the private or the inside and the outside. But it also provides insight into a rather current dilemma in the fusion between home/work condition.

<sup>8</sup> For example, in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran, the house of the well-known bazaari Husein Malek was positioned alongside the Bein-al-Haramain *rasteh*. Husein Malek was the Malek al-Tojar of the Grand Bazaar of Tehran and a very influential authority (Malek al-Tojar literally means the ‘king of merchants’ who was to certain extent playing the current role of minister of commerce). We can assume that his house served as a meeting place in the bazaar. In this sense, the notion of *andaruni* and *biruni* in Farsi, which is often translated as private and public, were often part of the general organizational framework for a house, but also a city. In other words, a city also consisted of *andaruni* and *biruni*. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, some recent studies on specific cities have clearly opposed this general statement that creates a distinction between the public versus the private in Islamic cities, as it were.

Following the above discussion, I will expand on ownership regimes in the bazaar. I will demonstrate how these regimes interacted between individual, collective and public ways of ownership and how they supported the idea of inhabitation within the bazaar as an infrastructure. Later, I will focus on a small fragment of the bazaar to show how at various levels it is possible to argue in favour of collective inhabitation as a place of assembly.

Eventually, this chapter argues that various territorial regimes have taken form through a process of interiorization in the bazaar as an infrastructure, at the same time constituting the main collective inhabitation place of the city. In other words, what mediates between disparities – i.e. architecture/territory, space/place, infrastructure/inhabitation, movement/settling, nomadic/sedentary, extensive territoriality/intensive territoriality – is a process of interiorization that establishes thresholds, hierarchies and certain orders. By interiorization I do not necessarily refer to the notion of closed versus open, rather it is a process through which the various [territorial] relations are managed more intensively. Furthermore, the relation between interior/exterior is not based on exclusion; rather they reflect each other and are represented (i.e. superposed) in each other.

## 6.2. The bazaar as an inhabitable place

The bazaar, as previously mentioned, has often been viewed as having established the public ground in Iranian cities. This can be traced both to surviving descriptions from several travelogues and historical documents and to a consensus in recent scholarly works on the bazaar. For example, Arang Keshavarzian refers to this notion of publicness in its programmatic sense, and he also refers to it as the place of social gathering:

[...] bazaars are not simply economic institutions; they are a fundamental part of the urban morphology. The older bazaars are also typically located in the heart of the city, and often neighbour government offices, courts, major religious institutions, and traditional social gathering places such as coffee shops and public baths. The hustle and bustle and central location of bazaar areas make them a major public forum, attracting diverse people who in the process of conducting their personal affairs exchange and overhear information, rumour, and opinions about economic conditions, family affairs, and political disputes.<sup>9</sup>

Here, I am using both the term ‘public’ and the term ‘collective’ to determine the nature of this inhabitation. By that, I am by no means suggesting that they are equal. Rather, I believe it is possible to discuss both of these terms in relation to the bazaar. The notion of the collective is fundamental to the operation of the bazaar – necessary for production and social organization – for example, in the organization of *asnaf* (guilds), as discussed in the previous chapter. The publicness of the bazaar is a layered and ambiguous notion. It can be related to the ownership regime; it can also refer to visual or physical accessibility or its

<sup>9</sup> Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran*, 9.

openness to a variety of users; or it basically concerns its use and programmatic aspect.<sup>10</sup>

My aim here is not to get embroiled in a discussion of public versus collective.<sup>11</sup> Instead, the fundamental question regarding this idea of inhabitation focuses on the relationship between individuals and collectives with each other, with state and with their territory and how the bazaar, as a physical construct, mediates and contributes to that or how it brings people and things together in a place. In a way, the core of this question goes beyond a binary system, such as space/place, which has been overwhelming a great part of the Western philosophical thinking.

Perhaps one of the most interesting texts to provide an exquisite, kaleidoscopic depiction of the bazaar as the mediator of this relationship is a document originating from the Safavid period (seventeenth century) in which the Bazaar of Isfahan is extensively represented (and not only described) in the form of a visitor's guide.<sup>12</sup> This document is a letter written by Aqa Mansour to his friend Mir Rokn al-Din who wanted to visit Isfahan. The whole letter consists of verses and poems about the Bazaar of Isfahan through which the reader is able to stroll and wander through the city. The writer explains to his friend that the bazaar should be experienced as the main meeting place between various people and places in the city.

There are some points in this letter which are of interest here. First, the writer introduces various spaces in relation to time; this means at each time of the day a specific location should be visited. Thus for each of these locations he envisages a momentum in the way that the whole day has unfolded in various places in the bazaar, after reading the letter, and the bazaar is depicted as a nonlinear continuity. This reading of the bazaar is reminiscent of Edward Casey's notion of place, in which space and time are brought together through the place.

The binarist dogma stretching from Newton and Leibniz to Kant and Schopenhauer is undone by the basic perception that we experience space and time *together* in place – in the locus of a continuous “space-time” that is proclaimed alike in twentieth-century physics, philosophy,

<sup>10</sup> For example, *am al-manfaeh* (public beneficiary) is an Arabic term used in Farsi that concerns publicness in the sense of its programmatic influence and product as well as use. It refers to those constructs that benefit the public such as *qanat*, bridge, bath, school or mosque. This term has been often used in *waqf* deeds (endowment contract), an ownership regime which will be discussed in this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> A way to clarify the complexity of the terms public, private and collective has been proposed by Henco Bekkering: ‘Public-private: referring to the territorial demarcation of spaces and places. Collective-individual: referring to both the desired and engendered social and psychological aspects. Accessible-inaccessible: referring to the right of access, function and use.’ See Henco Bekkering, ‘Meaning and Tradition,’ in *Cities in Transition*, ed. Arie Graafland (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001), 428.

<sup>12</sup> This document was edited and published in Mohammad Taqi Daneshpajouh, ‘Isfahan va Tavous Khane-ye An,’ in *Farhang-e Iran Zamin*, Vol 18, 1350/1971: 213-241.

and anthropology.<sup>13</sup>

This reading of the bazaar and space-place recalls my discussion of the *negar-gari*, where the folding of time and space within the limitation of a frame represented an event and narrative. Here the movement of the body and things [and exchange] is the event itself. The bazaar is an extensive territory that intensifies in a specific space and time to allow the things and people to assemble.

Second, the writer provides some guidelines on how to meet and who to meet in the bazaar. This meeting is not only about the ones that the writer knows. Precisely for that reason he reminds his reader that the bazaar has a world within.<sup>14</sup> In a way, the bazaar is represented as a strolling and wandering space, connecting different parts together, and it is also a meeting place or a place of contact, assembly and exchange, all at the same time. It becomes an entity within which the territory is interiorized and organized within the city. In this sense, the public nature of the bazaar is not a *fait accompli* but rather the output of a long process of definition and development of the relationship between the individuals and collectives. It is the result of the singular architectural acts and the rationale behind the relations between city and its territory.

Thus, inhabitation refers to the public status of the bazaar in the sense that, on the one hand, the bazaar has been the place of accumulation and confrontation of common interests, either by city dwellers and bazaaris with each other or city dwellers and bazaaris with outsiders as well as the state. On the other hand, it is the main place for contact.<sup>15</sup> This issue of contact, meeting and exchange [of goods and information] is very important to the extent that, as discussed in chapter one of this thesis, some scholars, such as Clifford Geertz, employed this lens as a foundation for their theoretical and analytical studies on the bazaar.<sup>16</sup>

In this way, the notion of exchange does not only concern selling and buying; rather it concerns social and family affairs, deliberation and decision-making on political and economic issues, and knowledge and education, which was very much tied to this idea of exchange.<sup>17</sup> That is why the space of the bazaar could not be restricted to a mere space for

<sup>13</sup> Edward, S. Casey, 'How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: phenomenological prolegomena,' 37.

<sup>14</sup> In his letter, the writer emphasizes that 'if you want to truly visit the bazaar you must be familiar to seventy-two nations.' Of course, one might argue that the Safavid Isfahan of the seventeenth century was indeed the focal point of commerce and merchandise, which certainly was not the case for all other cities in the same way. However, I believe what is important here is the position that the bazaar has as a place for common life in the city, representing the acts of meeting, contacting and contracting.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, one of the main places and occasions where nomadic and sedentary people could meet was in the bazaar, which often was temporally active. Of course, this is partially based on the fact that they had a common interest in production. Therefore, if we consider the bazaar as a territorial entity, this temporality and time-relatedness also informs its territory.

<sup>16</sup> Clifford Geertz, 'Suq: The Bazaar Economy in Sefrou,' in *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society*, ed. Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz and Lawrence Rosen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and Clifford Geertz, 'The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing,' *American Economic Review* 68 (May 1978) 28-32.

<sup>17</sup> Historically, *bazaaris* have often been among the most well-educated people. But also, because of their need on

circulation. The different meeting places in the bazaar, such as *tekyeh*, *qahveh-khaneh* (coffee house) and even *hammam* (bath houses), *madrese* (schools) and the mosque were indeed used on various occasions. Even a *hojreh* (stall), a place where contracts were made, could host a meeting place. In that respect, the bazaar provided an integrated cluster of spaces of contact, places of staying, wherein consumption, production, exchange, negotiations, and the ceremonial interaction of heterogeneous, representational and institutionalized and associational networks created resources for the generation of multiple and intermingling publics.<sup>18</sup> As Massimo Cacciari frames the notion of inhabiting the city, it is about ‘granting places’ where ‘we stay – it is a pause – similar to a silence, a rest in a musical score’,<sup>19</sup> assembled within the space of movement.

In the following, to more specifically address this notion of inhabitation in the bazaar, I will focus on ownership regimes. My aim is to investigate these regimes and orders that allow for the occupation of space and time in the bazaar. This topic has been articulated insufficiently in scholarly works on the bazaar. This is partly because the available materials are so widely dispersed. Moreover, few scholars have analysed these regimes and their spatial effect at the conceptual level. However, there are a few studies that rely on historical legal documents about specific case studies of different bazaars, which I will briefly discuss in the next few pages.

### 6.3. Ownership and/or possession

While scholarly works on the various ownership regimes practiced in the bazaar are far and few between, one can assume that the bazaar’s capital was important for investing in and developing a city’s institutions and infrastructure inside and outside the city. One of the most debated and at the same time important forms of ownership in the bazaar is related to the institution of *waqf* (endowments).<sup>20</sup> Besides its pragmatic principles, *waqf* represents the complexity of interrelations between the legal, social and political aspects in the bazaar, and at the same time it supports fairly persistent place-making interventions.

Although *waqf* is mainly understood to be an [inherently] Islamic institution, there has been great dispute among the scholars over the origins and condition of its formation. Some scholars such as A. Perikhanian, clearly state that the *waqf* institution was aligned with an Iranian Sassanid institution (*Pat-Ruvan*). Also, a chapter of the book *Madayan-i Hazar Dadestan* (Book of a Thousand Judgements), which is a surviving Pahlavi law book from

the juridical system for their business affairs, *bazaaris* often had close relations with the mosque and *madrese* as well.

<sup>18</sup> Babak Rahimi, *Theater State and the Formation of Early Modern Public Sphere in Iran: Studies on Safavid Mubarram Rituals 1590-1641* (Leiden: BRILL, 2012), 193.

<sup>19</sup> Massimo Cacciari, ‘Nomads in Prison,’ *Casa Bella* no. 705 (2002): 106-108.

<sup>20</sup> A. Perikhanian, ‘Iranian Society and Law,’ in *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 3 1, ed. Ehsan Yar-Shater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 661-665 and Ann Lambton, ‘*Awqāf* in Persia: 6th-8th/12th-14th Centuries,’ in *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1997): 298-318.

the late Sasanian period, was devoted to explaining the legal issues associated with waqf.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, however, there has been a tendency towards establishing a prophetic precedent over the first Islamic waqf.<sup>22</sup> As Joseph Schacht, a leading scholar on Islamic law, writes: ‘Islamic law was created by Islam, but the raw material out of which it was formed was to a great extent non-Islamic. This material, itself of varied provenance, was tested by religious and ethical standards, and gained a uniform character in the process.’<sup>23</sup> In any case, the majority of scholars discussing waqf either through a legal and juridical lens or from a historical, social and economic point of view would agree that the ultimate purpose of a waqf had to be charitable, aimed at goodwill, the common good and/or God’s satisfaction, which is mentioned in most waqf deeds.

Waqf (plural awqaf) literally means ‘the detention of the corpus from the ownership of any person and the gift of its income or usufruct either presently or in the future, to some charitable purpose.’<sup>24</sup> The basic legal principle of waqf is that a property or a thing is reserved by ‘relinquishing of the right of [its] disposal.’<sup>25</sup> Hence, the usufruct of that thing or property can be appropriated, ‘for the benefit of specific individuals, or for a general charitable purpose’<sup>26</sup> and ‘the corpus becomes inalienable’<sup>27</sup>. In theory, this means that an estate can be allocated to successive beneficiaries, regardless of the law of inheritance or the right of heirs, and therefore it makes it possible to avoid fragmenting the land in question. Hence, continuity was ensured by successively appointing mutawallis<sup>28</sup> or trustees.<sup>29</sup> Waqf was also an attempt to prevent property from being confiscated by the government, and often it was subjected to fewer types of taxes than other properties.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Farroxmard-i Wahraman, *Madayan-i Hazar Dadestan*, trans. and ed. Saeed Oriyan (Tehran: Entesharat-e Elmi, 1391/2012), 188-184.

<sup>22</sup> By that Hennigan is referring to a triangular matrix that wrapped the *waqf* in a shroud of prophetic speech (the maxims), prophetic approval (‘Umar’s *sadaqa* deed), and ultimately prophetic action (the Prophet’s early *waqf* on seven gardens in Medina). ‘It is the construction of this prophetic milieu which has been central to the cultural and hermeneutical legitimation of the *waqf*’. Peter C. Hennigan, *The birth of a legal institution: the formation of the waqf in third-century A. H. H. anaifi legal discourse* (Leiden [u.a.]: Brill, 2003), 170-178.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Schacht, ‘Pre-Islamic Background and Early Development of Jurisprudence,’ in *Origin and Development of Islamic Law*, edited by Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny, Vol. 1 of Law in the Middle East (Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute, 1955), 28.

<sup>24</sup> Henry Cattan, ‘The Law of Waqf,’ in *Origin and Development of Islamic Law*, edited by Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny, Vol. 1 of Law in the Middle East (Washington, DC: The Middle East Institute, 1955), 212-218.

<sup>25</sup> R. D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 6.

<sup>26</sup> Henry Cattan, ‘The Law of Waqf’, 212-218.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> *Mutawalli* or trustee is the administrator of *waqf* who supervises the smooth operating of *waqf* according to the wishes of *waqif* (endower) written in the *waqf* deed (*waqf-nameh*) and legal principles. Most of the time, *mutawalli* received salaries out of *waqf*’s usufruct.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Michale E. Bonine, ‘Waqf and its Influence on the Built Environment in the Medina of the Islamic Middle Eastern City,’ in *Urban Space in Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* ed. Albrecht Classen Walter (Berlin: New York: Walter de Gruyter), 182-196.

6.1: The drawing shows the waqf ownership in the Bazaar of Yazd based on a field survey done by Michael E. Bonine in 1967-68. The small circles represent the stalls in the bazaar which are under *waqf*, and the lines illustrate which public buildings and infrastructures shown by orange circles (e.g. mosque, school and ab-anbar or water storage) use the usufruct of these stalls.

So the waqf property certainly should have some usufruct, which could be the bazaar's hojreh, caravanserai and timchehs, for example, or it could be real estate in a village, a garden or agricultural land. The usufruct of waqf properties was usually used to build or preserve public institutions, or to organize public rituals<sup>31</sup> and to provide public infrastructure that both the city and the bazaar needed. These infrastructures could also be outside the city.

For example, as Ann Lambton states, the Shukr Allah Caravanserai on the Nayriz road, 'built by Sa'd Ibn Zangi (1226), who had constituted villages, hamlets, orchards, fields and a hammam (bath) into waqf for it'. And the records show that 'the revenue of the waqf was to be shared between wayfarers, caravans and tribes'. Therefore, on the one hand, as *waqf* property, the bazaar's usufructs could support the construction and maintenance of public institutions and infrastructures or could support the social and public events and rituals. In this sense, in addition to what was argued in the last chapter, it is possible to explain why most of the public institutions in the city were assembled within the bazaar's structure, and it indicated certain orders regarding the general spatial organization of the bazaar as well as collective events both in the sense of rituals and social relations and the commerce and production process. This means a superposition of various territorial regimes – legal, social, administrative as well as geological and geographical.

Fig. 6.1

Due to the fact that leases and rents in *waqf* properties were more regular and lower than *non-waqf* properties, the *waqf* legal regime had the capacity to influence the spatial and economic structural organization of the bazaar. However, by supporting the institutions, rituals and infrastructure, the bazaar could intervene in the development of the city. For instance, the *Naghsh-e Jahan Meydan* in Isfahan, together with its surrounding bazaar and *qeydariyeh*, were all in *waqf* by the Safavid king, Shah Abbas I. The revenue gained from the *meydan* and its surrounding bazaar was initially used for maintenance and to reinvest in necessary commercial facilities and later it went to the designated beneficiaries.<sup>32</sup> Hence, although the *waqf* regime took money out of the private hands, it was in fact operating as a banking system, investing the revenue in construction and renovation.<sup>33</sup>

Fig. 6.2

<sup>31</sup> For example, the religious rituals held in *tekyehs* during month of Muharram were mainly sponsored by *bazaaris*. *Tekeyehs* were the gathering places for mourning rituals and other occasions. Spatially, *tekyehs* were often organized around a central space which could be an open courtyard. In this case, the courtyard was covered by a tent and decorated during the ceremony. *Lutis*, as discussed in the last chapter, were often active during the preparation of events.

<sup>32</sup> Abd al- Hosein Sipanta, *Tarikhche-yi Awqaf-i Isfahan (The History of Waqfs in Isfahan)* (Isfahan: Edare-ye Kol-e Awqaf-e Isfahan, 1346/1967): 64-72.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Bonine, 'Islam and Commerce: Waqf and the Bazaar of Yazd, Iran' in *Erdkunde* 41 (1987): 194.



وفضائله  
 مع الرضا  
 الحمد لله الذي جعل  
 الرضا على  
 الأئمة  
 الذين هم  
 الأوصياء  
 والصلوة على  
 صورت وقف نامه شاه جنت مكان شاه عباس قاض  
 كه بر حضرت چهارم معصوم وقف كرد  
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 الحمد لله الذي وقف كل ما مدين الرضا بمن عن اداء عجله وقهره كما اشار  
 عن القيام بشكر احسانه ومزيله فخره على ما وفق من اعتاد من  
 احبابه لا شانه اصنافا خيرات ونشكره على ما اطم من ارتقى واليه الاكتمال  
 من اوليائه لا ذمعه انواع المبرات وتصل على سيد الانبياء والاوصياء الذين هم  
 المرسلين واشرف اهل الارض والسماء والشاقع المشفع في يوم الناس قدوة  
 الجزاء يباح صحبة المظاهر الربانية ومنيع حيق اليقين ومناجاة وتصلح  
 السجادة صلى الله عليه واله مصابيح الاسلام ومفاتيحها  
 السلام خصوصا امير المؤمنين وامام المتقين ونفس الله على الناس  
 رسول رب العالمين قسيم الجنة وسقر وصاحب احد حبيب من الصغار و  
 الذي من توكاه فقد فان وامن من كل خطر ومن عاذاه فقد الكبار وتبعه  
 غايه بقائه نظر سلام الله عليه واولاده بالائمة الاحد عشر  
 مصفوة الله من بين النسي ويحج على اهل الورود المله من غايه  
 اللهم صل على  
 محمد وآل  
 محمد  
 واصرف  
 عنهم  
 كل شر  
 اللهم صل على  
 محمد وآل  
 محمد واصرف  
 عنهم كل شر

6.2. The first page of *Waqf-Nameh* (Waqf Deed) of Shah Abbas I for *Naghsb-e Jaban Meydan* in Isfahan together with its surrounding bazaar and *qeyseriyeh*, Scribed by Mohammad Karim ibn-Ismael Qazi, seventeenth century

By detaining the possibility of ownership and by emphasizing possession, in fact what was encouraged was the continuity of preservation and maintenance for creating inhabitation. This can be framed within the discussion in chapter three of this thesis under the notion of *dehqan*.

In fact, these legal [ownership] regimes, aligned with those modes of territorial management, provided the possibility of inhabitation. This means that it is important to establish a system which allows for investment both in construction and constant attendance. As Lambton states, the general historical continuity of *waqf* reflects certain needs felt in society. It created a certain autonomy to manage the territory from the central state, which would then be less vulnerable to political insecurity.<sup>34</sup>

In his thorough study of the theory and history of *waqf* in Central Asia, McChesney shows that the development of *waqf* in the city of Balkh was closely related to the encounter between the political and managerial ideals of the steppe and those of the agrarian regions.<sup>35</sup> Thus in a way, *waqf* established a general managerial principle between sedentary ownership rules and nomadic possession principles.

Furthermore, within this general conceptual framework, it is possible to argue that the development of the *waqf* and its administration was closely tied to key money or *sarqofli*. *Sarqofli* was a payment for the right to occupy a particular establishment. It represents an encounter between the nomadic and the *dehqani* way of life and territorialisation. In fact, the *waqf* system encourages such an interiorization process, and the bazaar had an important role in that; for example, in the ways in which *hojrehs* (stalls) were rented out in the bazaar. Often the privately owned and non-*waqf* stalls in the bazaar were rented out according to a general system called *sarqofli* or the usufruct of a specific stall in such a way that no one could dispossess the occupant of that right – not even the landlord. In this system, the prosperity of the place is very important, and it can support the occupant's claim to the stall. As Michael Bonine explains:

In one sense the rent of a shop [stall] is to the landlord for the space or the land and the shop [stall] itself is 'owned' by the occupant. If a shopkeeper [occupant] repairs or rebuilds the shop [stall] this expense becomes part or all of the key money. A new shopkeeper [occupant] may take possession of a dilapidated shop [stall] without any key money and his investment in repairing the shop [stall] becomes his key money. Payments are made between shopkeepers [occupants] for possession of the shop...<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> For the same reason, *waqf* properties could fall into ruin and unchanging stability, partially as a result of lack of competition or because they could be confiscated by a newly empowered state – which, as discussed, was often of nomadic origin. For further reading on *waqf*'s consequences and conditions see: Ann Lambton, 'Awqaf in Persia: 6th-8th/12th-14th Centuries,' *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1997): 298-318.

<sup>35</sup> R. D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 49-71.

<sup>36</sup> Michale E. Bonine, 'Islam and commerce: Waqf and the Bazaar of Yazd, Iran,' *Erikkunde*, Vol 41, Issue 3 (1987): 193.

On the one hand, this system of occupation minimizes investments by landlords, since the landlord cannot simply dismiss the occupant's right to the land. On the other hand, *sarqofli* maximizes the occupant's motivation to take care of the stall. Thus, it is possible to argue that this system essentially aims to support and encourage the right to the land by whoever is occupying it and thus the right to inhabit it, because the occupant is investing in it and helping it to prosper.<sup>37</sup>

Under such an explanation it is necessary to assume for example to whom the main circulation system should belong, however. Was it collective or public ownership? Or did it belong to no one? For instance, does the fact that the main *rastebs* of the bazaar were often unpaved, yet covered, say something about the ownership regime?

It seems that according to a public agreement the maintenance of a *rasteb* was a collective act. It was taken care of by the individuals who occupy the stalls of a *rasteb*. This does not mean that it was collective ownership, however.<sup>38</sup> In certain cases, where the ownership was collective, like in the case of the Bazaar of Lar, the circulation system had the same status – i.e. it was owned collectively – but this is not necessarily true of all the bazaars. In the case of Lar, the bazaar was built as a definitive project under collective ownership.<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, certain ownership regimes were developed and exercised to inhabit an infrastructure, for example regimes to encourage occupation and inhabitation based on constant care for maintenance and prosperity. To take this idea of inhabiting an infrastructure in the bazaar's spatial and physical presence a step further, it is interesting to see how the space between moving and staying was negotiated. Hence, in the following section, by looking at the scale of a detail, for example the way in which a bazaar's *bojreb* (stall) was spatialized, I will try to elaborate on how the spaces of circulation could host places where people could pause and gather.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> It is partially for these complex ownership regimes that today in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran it is sometimes difficult to identify a single owner of a property. This is a system that might not fit well within the framework of a modern bureaucratic system, established during the early twentieth century. So perhaps part of the complex spatial organization of the bazaar today could be researched through this lens.

<sup>38</sup> Until a couple of years ago, municipal law gave the responsibility of paving the pedestrian pathways in front of a property to the landowners. For that reason, these pathways were a patchwork of individual tastes and interests, even with the occasional height difference. It is only few years that municipalities took over this job.

<sup>39</sup> For further reading on the role of the ownership regime in the formation of the Bazaar of Lar, see Mohammad Hassan Zia Tavana, 'Naghsh va Payamad-e Malekiyat bar Onsor-e Bazaar or The Role of Ownership Regime on the Bazaar,' in *Majmooe Maqalat Dovomin Kongere-ye Tarikh-e Memariva-Shahr-Sazi*, Vol. 1 (Tehran: Sazman-e Miras Farhangi Kehsvar, 1387/2008), 285-299 and Mohammad Hassan Zia Tavana, *Bazaar-e Qeysariyeh-e Lar* (Tehran: Nashr-e Nei, 1380/2000).

<sup>40</sup> In 2012, the year that I started my PhD, I attended a conference on urban change in Iran held by University College London. During the coffee break I started chatting with Mr Abdolhamid Eshragh, a member of the Encyclopaedia Iranica board of trustees and an active figure in the scene of contemporary architecture in Iran, about the bazaar. He kept asking questions about the bazaar for which I had no answer at the time. One of the things that he asked me was: 'Have you ever noticed that *bojrebs* or stalls in the bazaar often had a platform? Can you guess why?' I did not know and in fact I had never realized that till then. But I kept thinking about finding my own lens to look at those details and many other things. It is not by chance, perhaps, that I am finishing my chapter by referring to that very first question.

#### 6.4. Where to walk / Where to talk

As discussed previously, on the one hand, the bazaar is a space for circulation and connection, but it is also the place of assembly, contact and exchange. It is an infrastructure, but it is also a collective inhabitable place. Hence, it is interesting to see how the threshold between where to move and where to stay could be architecturally marked.

In the absence of a clear municipal law, as explained in the last chapter, perhaps the limitations inherent within the material (which was often brick) and the structure, if is not the only denominative, at least is one of the main forces which defines the size, threshold and extension of the bazaar. I would argue that the principles, into which the circulation space of *rasteh* is divided, distributed and hierarchised, are derived partially from within architecture itself. The architectural structure of the bazaar, i.e. the span of arches covering the bazaar's *rastehs*, provided limits to the space of movement or in another words, it determined a frame for an optimized limit for the space of movement.

This frame – i.e. the span of an arch and its iteration – also provided a tool for the measurement of the size and value of a *bojreh* or stall. This means that the number of arches or spans (*dabaneh*) a stall had facing one of the *rastehs* of the bazaar was important. It is a common expression in Farsi to say a shop has one or two *dabaneh* or spans opening to the main circulation system.<sup>41</sup> It is precisely for that reason that the extension of the stalls in the bazaar are often along the cross-section of *rastehs*, i.e. the stalls are often perpendicular to the *rasteh*. This becomes clear when we look at the plan of the bazaar where the length of the stalls might vary, while their inner façade repeats itself and is unified and structured by the sequence of the arches. This extended unified interior façade that has been captured and illustrated so often has become a hallmark image of the bazaar, as I suggested in the first chapter. However, this is not to stick to an authentic image of the bazaar again. Instead, it only recognizes a frame for possibilities. And this frame, as suggested previously, can and should change.<sup>42</sup> According to Bernard Cache, the frame creates possibilities for events [or life] to occur.<sup>43</sup>

Fig. 6.3  
Fig. 6.4

This frame is distinct from the content; however, it receives qualities and meanings from the life proliferating within its intervals. According to Elizabeth Grosz, the frame links a selected space to 'the constitution of the plane of composition, to the provisional ordering of chaos'.<sup>44</sup> This is accomplished by laying down an order [created out of the superposition of various territorial regimes and forces] 'to capture' [stay] or 'slow down' [movement] the complexity, 'into a space and a time, a structure and a form where they can affect and be

<sup>41</sup> Even today this is a common expression to denote the value of a shop located in a street.

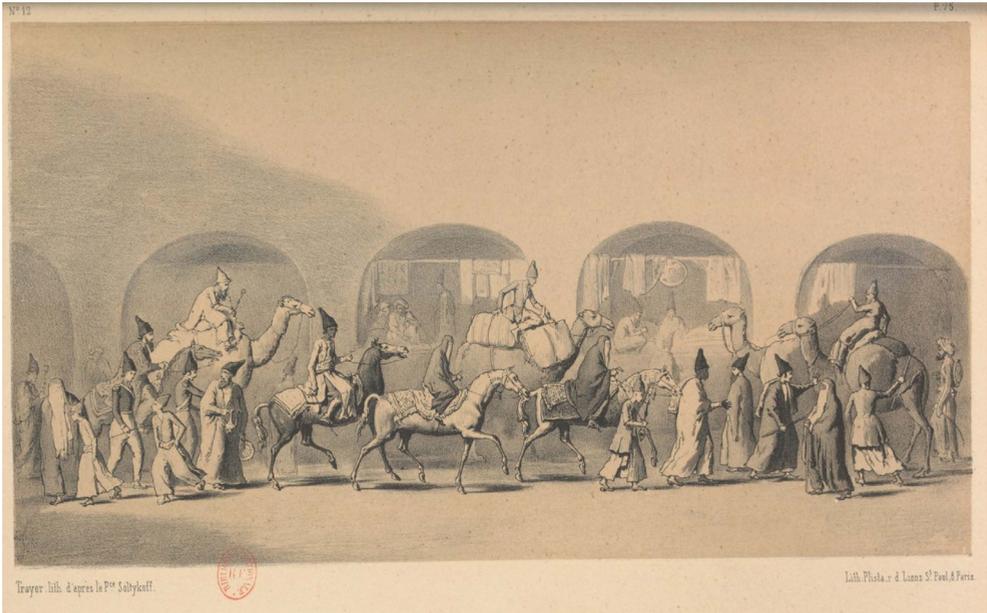
<sup>42</sup> See the introduction to chapter two of this dissertation.

<sup>43</sup> According to Bernard Cache, in the most basic terms, 'Architecture would be the art of introducing intervals in a territory in order to construct frames of probability.' Bernard Cache, *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 22-29.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth A. Grosz, *Chaos, territory, art: Deleuze and the framing of the earth*, 13.



6.3: The Bazaar of Zanjan, illustrated by Prince Alexis Soltykoff in 1828



6.4: The Bazaar of Qazvin, illustrated by Prince Alexis Soltykoff in 1828. In these two illustrations Soltykoff who was a Russian painter, reduces the image of the bazaar to the representation of the space of movement with a consecutive structure at the back which inhabits the stalls. These exaggerated illustrations and their level of abstraction almost negate the scale of such an interior space by removing the bazaar's roofs out of the frame of the images, thus superposing the movement of people and things over the multiple frames of events, (the arches and vaults often did not have such circular arches).

affected by bodies'.<sup>45</sup>

Within this frame, the tension between different forces emerged both spatially and in a literal act of conflict and the emergence of socio-political movements. In Iran's recent history there have been many reports of conflicts and encounters between various groups or between the state, *bazaaris* and city dwellers in the bazaar. This means that it is not only *bazaaris* that were actively involved in political movements and social mobilization, which is why, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the bazaar as a socio-political organization was one of the prevailing conceptions of the bazaar in scholarly works.<sup>46</sup> But the bazaar itself was also the space where the conflict was staged.

For example, during the constitutional revolution in Iran, Tabriz and especially the bazaar was intensively involved in the conflict between the central government and the revolutionaries (constitutionalists). In a unique map entitled *Le Carte de Tauris, Pendant la Revolution* and dated as 27 September 1908, the city of Tabriz and its territory was depicted as a battle zone between these groups. In this map, the occupied areas are shown with two different colours: yellow (for central government) and light red (for revolutionary) and the border of the conflict is carefully highlighted with a red line (the 'war line'). Within the city, this line is adjusted to the borders of the *maballes* shown in the map 5.20 in which the bazaar is located between them, where it intensifies in the innermost part of the city. Though some of the outer-city areas involved in the war, which did not fit in the general frame of the map, are juxtaposed in separate pieces outside the main frame.

Fig. 6.5

This map depicts the most important infrastructures of the city, the bazaar, the mills, some of the *caravanserais*, as well as the bastions and bases of each of the groups in conflict and their main strategic routes for arriving into the city (red line). While the whole city and territory is involved in the conflict, the bazaar was the most important part of the city for both sides of the conflict,<sup>47</sup> and it became literally the space where the opposing sides encountered each other and collided. Within this context of tension, the disruption of the spaces of movement temporarily imposes a different order. However, the closure of the bazaar's stalls was a frequent event, which interrupted the places of assembly.

Fig. 6.6  
Fig. 6.7

Furthermore, the frame creates thresholds. In a cross-section of the bazaar a threshold can be defined between *rastebs* – i.e. where to move – and stalls – i.e. where someone might be able to pause, stay, exchange and meet. In the longitudinal section of the bazaar's *rastebs*, the architectural structure could extend alongside the space of movement. Regarding this latter point, as discussed in the previous chapter, the bazaar's *rastebs* were extending alongside *gozars* or the main circulation paths in the city and eventually along the main roads approaching a city.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> See chapter one, 1.3.4. *The bazaar as a socio-political or socio-economic 'organization'*.

<sup>47</sup> Habibi, Hasan (ed.), *Sargozasht-e Bazaar Bozorg-e Tebriz dar Davst Sal-e Akbir (The Grand Bazaar of Tebriz in last two hundred years)*. Tehran: Iranology Foundation, 1392/2013, 295.





6.6. The bastion in the *dalale-zan rasteh*, Bazaar of Tabriz. 1908.

The image shows the bazaar as the stage of conflict between revolutionary and government forces. This rasteh of the bazaar has an east-west direction and in the 1910 Map of Tabriz drafted by Asad-Alah Khan Maragheci, it is shown as one of the main rastehs, located in the northern areas and close to the red line of war shown in the Tabriz Map of Revolution.

Fig. 4.1

To inhabit this place of pause and exchange, the bazaar's stalls were often placed on a platform. This platform could mark a threshold between the inside and outside of the stall, but perhaps more importantly it spatially encapsulated the idea of a *divan*. *Divan* in a general sense means an assembly [of officials, guests, or text and poems].<sup>48</sup> So, *divan-khaneh*<sup>49</sup> could refer to a courthouse where officials or a tribe's chieftain gathered to make decisions, or it might refer to a guest room in a house, where people 'come together'.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, *divan-khaneh* is the place of assembly for meeting and discussing affairs. It often had a simple and clear spatial presence where people could sit around a room furnished with pieces of couch-like sitting furniture or some kind of box-spring-based or low platform covered by carpets and cushions. And again it is furniture, 'a frame within a frame' that 'supplies the immediate physical environment in which our bodies act and react' and it is a 'thing'<sup>51</sup>, an object, which brings people and goods and information together.

Fig. 6.8

Fig. 6.9

The stalls of the bazaar were often a few steps higher than the ground level. Of course, this enabled passers-by to sit down and discuss matters with shopkeepers and others. This amoment of pause is very important, and it is what Cacciari defines as a precondition for 'inhabiting the city'. By 'granting places', the city allows us to loiter, to 'collect ourselves' in the course of habitation.<sup>52</sup>

Fig. 2.3

The replacement of this simple detail in the relation between a stall and *rasteh* in the last century has influenced the bazaar as both a space of movement and inhabitation.<sup>53</sup> This means that the bazaar could be a place of coming together [instead of only being together]. It is a sort of assembly which could integrate movement and circulation with places of staying and meeting. The notion of exchange in this kind of assembly was beyond the pure economic concern, rather it was about exchanging ideas, knowledge, relations and positions; hence, it was political but also social.

### 6.5. The interiorization of the territory

At a larger scale, the bazaar was considered to be a meeting place where individuals, collectives and different social groups, i.e. nomads, peasants, townspeople and various-sized economic clusters were integrated into a territorial whole. In his article 'Zum Problem des

<sup>48</sup> Compilation of written sheets, a small book, a collection of poems (as in the *Divan-e Hafiz*), or 'book of accounts' related to *dabir* or 'scribe or court writer'. See *Online Etymology Dictionary* under: *divan*. Accessed on 26 November 2016: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=divan&searchmode=none>.

<sup>49</sup> *Khaneh* literally means house.

<sup>50</sup> In this case *divan-khaneh* is the public realm of a house or palace (*biruni*) where guests or officials could be hosted.

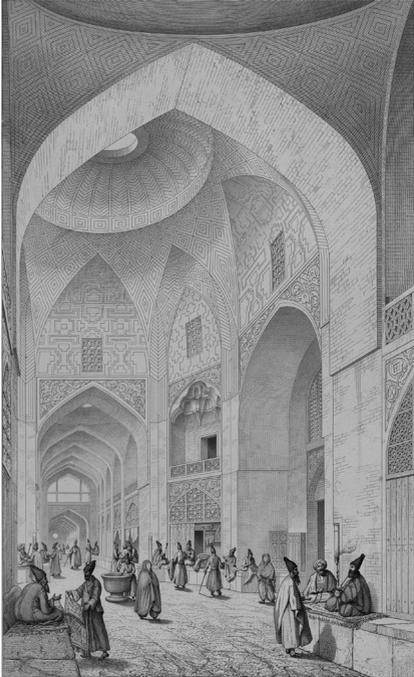
<sup>51</sup> Bruno Latour, 'From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public', 2-33.

<sup>52</sup> Massimo Cacciari, 'Nomads in Prison,' *Casabella* 705 (2002): 106-108.

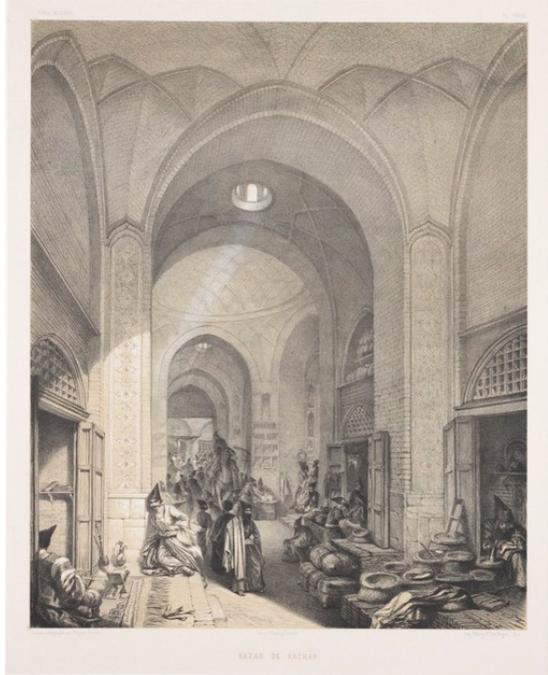
<sup>53</sup> This issue certainly can be a topic for separate research. As I previously mentioned in chapter five, the relation between bazaar and *khiaban* is an important topic. This early period of the last century can be boldly summarized as a period when the bazaar's inner façade imitated the street façade, and this certainly changed the whole relation between the stall and *rasteh*.



6.7: The photograph is taken from the closure of the bazaar in the autumn of 1905, during the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) and on the eve of the migration of *olama* (clergy) to Qom to protest against the governor of Tehran and the prime minister's (*Einoddowleh*) actions and in demand for the establishment of the House of Justice



6.8: Tailor's Bazar in Isfahan, illustration by Pascal Coste, 1839-1841. Here the small extension of the stall's platform is presented as the space in between the stall and the main movement space of *rasteh*, where the moment of pause allows for exchange.



6.9: Coppersmiths' Bazaar of Kashan, 1839-1841 (original size 28 × 40 cm) by Eugène Flandin, a French orientalist, painter, archaeologist and politician.

Bazars' published in 1974, Eugen Wirth articulated eight propositions on the bazaar.<sup>54</sup> In one of these propositions, Wirth discusses various types of bazaar based on its location in relation to the city. Here, he singles out a type of bazaar which he refers to as a 'suburban bazaar', often situated near the town gate along an important road leading into the countryside. These are often temporal interventions and installations that provide an opportunity for occasional exchange. Therefore, simultaneously a place to meet and to trade, a place of social and professional integration for all the component elements of the city's population, the bazaar was a link between the city and the countryside, as well as between the city and wider territory, both spatially and functionally. Spatially, as an assemblage of an extensive nomadic and intensive sedentary territoriality, the bazaar may well be seen as an interior door to the city because it controlled and limited access and hence established thresholds to a portion of its territory in the city.<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, interested in models as abstractions of facts and reality, in another proposition Wirth draws a diagrammatic spatial model which presents a transition in the bazaar's programmatic order from the main *rastebs* towards the *mabllebs*. He cites various reasons for this transition, including a common view among orientalists that the mosque is the main magnet and force behind the spatial organization of the bazaar, to Wirth's own argument that the influence of flows and movement determines the spatial arrangement of the bazaar – 'just like in the modern cities and shopping centres of large western cities'.<sup>56</sup>

Although it is not my intention to criticize these statements here, I should mention that, as I have attempted to discuss in this thesis, it is the superposition of various territorial regimes which took form in the bazaar. This conception of the bazaar helps us to imagine it as a territory with continuity and interruptions that inhabits certain orders and hierarchies. Territory, as I pointed out in the second chapter of this thesis, is spatial and temporal (i.e. it is time-related). This transitory order in space and time is managed and eventually formalized through a process of interiorization. In this sense, the bazaar's thresholds are in constant negotiation. In other words, this process of interiorization in the bazaar opens the possibility of a transition from temporality to permanency and from an extensive territory to intensive management of various territorial regimes.

A document in the British Museum Archives by an unknown writer, which was probably written in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, describes about forty *caravanserais* in the Bazaar of Isfahan in detail.<sup>57</sup> This information includes the exact place of each

<sup>54</sup> Eugen Wirth, 'Zum Problem des Bazars (sūq, çarşı),' *Der Islam*. 51 / 2 (1974): 211.

<sup>55</sup> In an article, Franck Mermier explains how the *sūq* of Sanaa operated as a link among countryside, nomads and city at the professional, social and administrative as well as spatial levels. For further reading, see Franck Mermier, 'The Suqs of Sanaa, Changing Functions and Symbolic Centrality,' in *The Bazaar in the Islamic City, Design, Culture, and History*, ed. Mohammad Ghanipour (Cairo/New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 149-162.

<sup>56</sup> Wirth, 'Zum Problem des Bazars (sūq, çarşı),' 244-246.

<sup>57</sup> This document is archived as a scroll (24 × 275 cm, no. 2094). It documents approximately forty *caravanserais*, built during the reign of Shah Abbas I and his successors. The author is not mentioned in the document. According

*caravanserai* in the bazaar, its date of construction and main founder and investor. Moreover, it interestingly explains what was exchanged and by whom in each *caravanserai*. For example, in describing *Tavileh Caravanserai*, it is written: '[...] it is next to the Caravanserai of Shah [...] Here mainly Indians [merchants or craftsmen] sell various textiles from India. This caravanserai has two entrances; one accesses the *qesariyeh* and the other to the *rasteh* of textile sellers (*Chit-Foroushan*) [...]' Or in another case he describes *Arab caravanserai* that stores and exhibits all of the things that come from Baghdad and Bahrain. In fact, this manuscript exhibits some of the most important territorial relations that existed in the Bazaar of Isfahan at the time. Most of these *caravanserais* were in the innermost parts of the city and had close relations with other parts of the bazaar.<sup>58</sup> So it is possible to establish sequences of spatial frames through which networks of relations in a specific time and space were intensified and interiorized within the territory of the bazaar.

This interiorization process aims to form a territorial architecture that provides an efficient network for interaction. It was present in the social and spatial organization of *asnaf* (guilds) and the relation between various [public] institutions in the bazaar. But it was also present in the physical construct of the bazaar in the city, for instance the literal covering of the bazaar and its geological sectional relation to the underground water system, or in its ownership regimes and the possibility of its possessions, as was explained previously.

In the first case, the convergence of *senf*'s members in terms of their allocation along a *rasteh* in the bazaar was spatialized in the general organization and administration of the bazaar. This physical closeness and attachment of the *senf* members has been an effective spatial tool for establishing unity to engage in efforts to balance prices, monitor the community and defend the rights of the *senf* and also exchange news and information. At the same time, the allocation of specific *rastebs* to each guild created a transition from the extra-urban circulation to the innermost parts of the bazaar.

On the one hand, this transition closely followed the territorial position of a bazaar within the larger network of the other bazaars.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, it reflected the intensity of various relations in the city, for instance, programmatically in the production process and the physical closeness of different guilds (*asnaf*) involved in this process. The Shoemaker's Bazaar of Tehran is a fine example. Eugen Wirth mentions it in his article 'Zum Problem

to Mohammad Yousef Kiani this document was probably written at the end of the Safavid period in the late seventeenth century or the early eighteenth century.

<sup>58</sup> These *caravanserais* were often named after an event occurring in them. This could be an exchanged product or the name of the builder, or a specific ethnic group and so on. This way of naming was not so common in roadside *caravanserais*, which were mostly named after their geographical location. See: Kleiss, W. and M.Y. Kiani. *Iranian Caravanserais*. Tehran: Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran, 1995.

<sup>59</sup> By viewing the bazaar as part of a larger network, we might be able to assume a certain specificity at the spatial and functional levels based on the idiosyncrasy of each bazaar within a larger network, which to a certain extent might be shared in time. For example, first, from a geopolitical point of view, the bazaars of Tabriz, Qazvin and Hamedan might become comparable in the general organization of their structural composition. In fact, by looking at the functional and spatial organization of these bazaars we might be able to recognize certain parallels. This is certainly food for thought for further research.

des Bazars', which shows that this fairly complex mechanism is organized based on the final product. In the main *rasteh* of shoemakers (Kafāsh-ha) the shoe retail trade was allocated and supported by wholesale *serai* (*caravanserai*) physically located at the back of their *rasteh*. Furthermore, to the west of the shoemaker's *rasteh* were other smaller *rastehs* who were involved in supply industry activities, such as the production of shoe lasts and cartons, leather sales, manufactured shoe heels, cord, shoe nails and awls.<sup>60</sup>

To extend this mechanism of course someone might assume that the preparation of basic materials like leather should have been integrated into this process too. Hence, there existed a transition of functions, guilds and spaces through which the bazaar could be managed and formed. The carpet bazaars of Kashan, Yazd and Arak have a similar system of organization, where various links and interrelations are reflected in the physical construct of the bazaar: storages and the sale of carpet wool; dyeing, selling dyed wool; designing and drawing templates for carpet patterns; wholesale purchase of carpets from producers; retail sale of carpets; trimmed or patches of carpets; *timchehs* and carpet offices for wholesale and exports; manufacture and repair of carpet knotting frame, etc.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, the formation of various spaces attributed to the production process, exchange, distribution and selling can be explained along this spatial process of interiorization. Indeed, some spaces such as *timcheh* were used as the exchange centre for the most precious goods, as well as information. *Timcheh* was often roofed, and it was located in the innermost parts of the bazaar and had gates and doors that were locked at night.<sup>62</sup> Having doors and gates was not only for the sake of security but it probably also indicated a state of individual or collective ownership. In most cases, *timcheh* was connected to the main *rasteh* of the bazaar through a secondary corridor called a *dalan*. The *dalan* acted as a transient space connecting the most precious parts of the bazaar to the main movement axes or the main *rastehs*.

In the physical sense, this literal interiorization of the bazaar was due to providing security as well as ecological management and environmental comfort, for which access to underground water was crucial. The problem was how to inhabit the space of an infrastructure. This physical interiorization, for example the covering of bazaar's *rastehs*, because of its structural limitation it could become the point of negotiation, defining the size of stalls.

To conclude, what has been discussed is projected and abstracted in a drawing of the Bazaar of Isfahan, the concern of which is the co-presence of scales and simultaneity of

<sup>60</sup> Eugen Wirth, 'Zum Problem des Bazars (sūq, çarşı),' *Der Islam*, vol. 51, no. 2 (1974): 241.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Nasir Khusrow was a Persian poet, philosopher and traveller (1004-1088), who travelled across Central Asia. In his travelogue, he describes the Bazaar of Isfahan and refers to its several gates and doors, which were closed at night. Nasir Khusrow, *Safarnama or The Book of Travels*, ed. Nader Vazirpour (Tehran: Enqelab e Eslami Publishing Institute, 1993), 92.

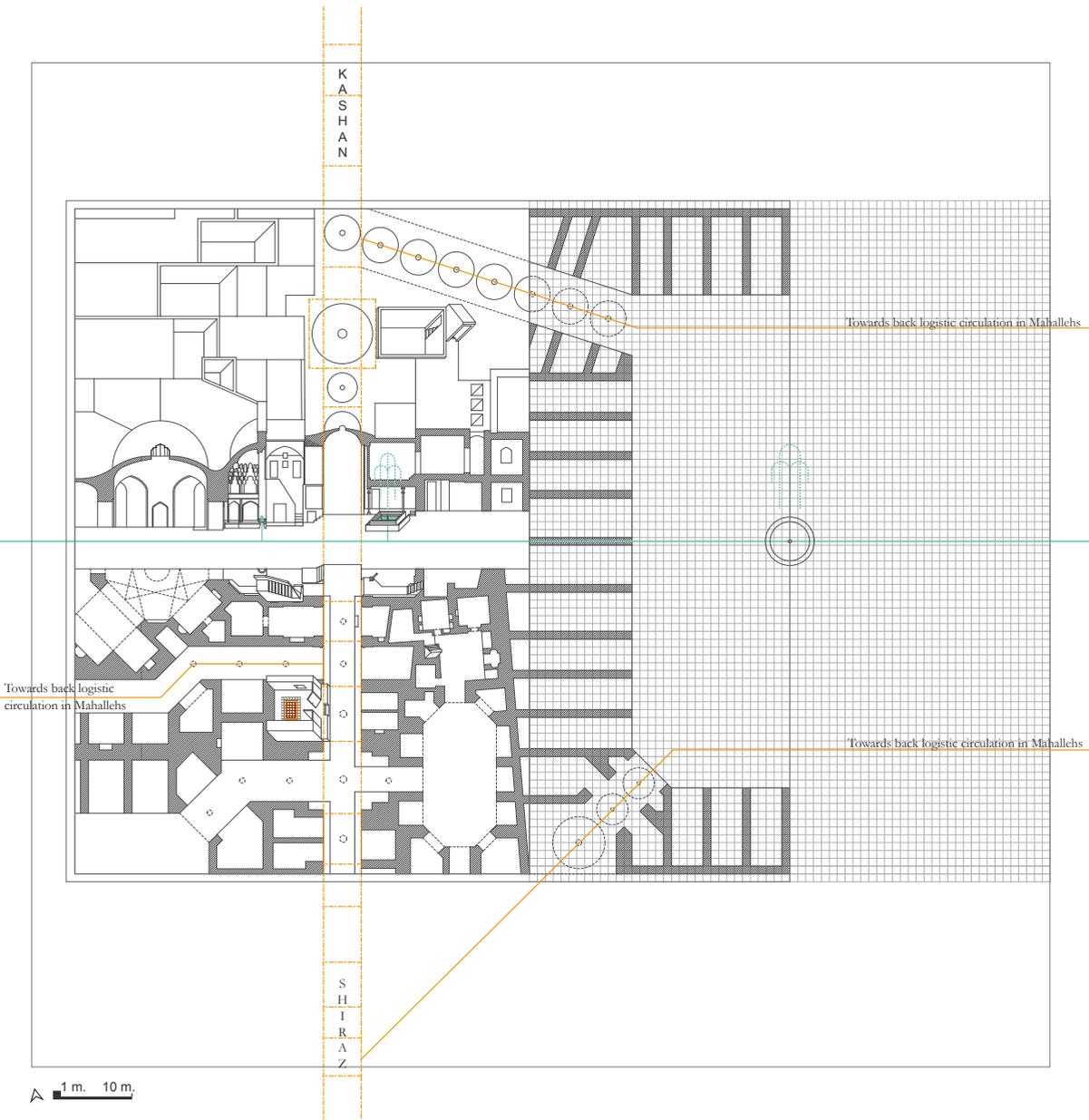
visions and multiplicity of relations, which simultaneously depicts the discontinuity and fragmentations. This drawing consists of three frames. These frames combine different scales and reflect a higher level of precision in terms of detail from the outer to inner frame, respectively, and an intensification of spaces and relations. Moreover, being inspired by the Iranian miniatures, where the composition of several frames makes it possible to superpose various vision points, here too, the drawing is composed of plan, section, and various axonometric views. Each vision point is deliberately selected to focus on representing certain issues which have been discussed on the bazaar.

The content of the drawing is a fragment of the Bazaar of Isfahan on the northern side of Naqsh-e Jahan *Meydan*. The main *rasteh* illustrated in the drawing follows the main north-south trade route between Shiraz and Tehran, which passed through Kashan. The sequence of frames defines a certain order imposed by the immanence of the material (brick), within which the negotiation and division of the spaces (stalls) occurs. On the right side of the drawing in the outmost frame, Golshan Serai is delineated diagrammatically, with four different *dalans*, two of which open onto the main *rasteh* of the bazaar, while the other two operate as a logistics access point opening up towards the secondary circulation in *maballehs*. The transition in scale and intensity of spaces is in fact mediated through *dalans*. The frame of *Golsban Caravanserai* contains something beyond its physical thresholds.

In the innermost frame, the section passes through a *saqa-khaneh* or fountain room which sits next to the main *rasteh* of the bazaar and accesses the underground water through a well system. In front of the fountain on the other side of the *rasteh* is the entrance space to Jarchi Mosque, which also hosts a *sangab* or a large stone bowl holding fresh water. This underground water section eventually runs through the central pool in Golshan Serai. In the section, the topographical appropriation of the ground level in the bazaar makes it possible to situate the main movement of space accordingly; it is a moment of discontinuity within the economic logic of the bazaar.

This interiorized space of the bazaar intensifies, assembles and establishes various relations and spaces. Interestingly, the rooftop of the bazaar (illustrated in the drawing in an axonometric projection at 90 degrees) also constructs a second topographical level for the circulation which could be accessed via various staircases, shown in the drawing in an axonometric projection at 45 degrees. Eventually the plan illustrates the relation between a *bojreh* or stall with the main *rasteh*. As discussed before, the difference in height between the *bojreh* and the main circulation space could create a porous thick threshold between the space of movement and place for pausing and staying, which is crucial for the operation of the bazaar.

And last but not least, while this kaleidoscopic drawing projects the different ideas and viewpoints discussed in this thesis, it is open to further discovery and interpretation.



6.10: The Bazaar of Isfahan (a fragment), drawing by author and Nasim Razavian.



## **CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion**

### 7.1. General findings and possible effects

#### 7.1.1. Movements and inhabitation

#### 7.1.2. Multiplicity

### 7.2. On method and structure

### 7.3. Limitations and validity

### 7.4. Speculations on future trajectories of research

#### 7.4.1. Re-mapping the bazaar [‘s territory]

#### 7.4.2. Micro-politics and spatial practices of everyday life

#### 7.4.3. From object to thing



### 7.1. General findings and effects

This dissertation offered a ‘theoretical reading’ of a historically important architectural entity, namely the bazaar, to propose a synthetic understanding of its complexity and to explore the multiplicity of forces and regimes that are involved in and are formed with it.

The overall framework consisted of four main parts, structured according to the main objectives of the dissertation. The first part criticised prevailing perceptions, conceptions and definitions of the bazaar within the context of their own discourse. Here two main lenses were considered: first, those conceptions and perceptions that define the bazaar through its spatial and physical aspects, and second, those that formulate the bazaar as a socio-economic or socio-political organization. The first lens, which is the main focus of this dissertation, included discourses within architecture, urban history and urban geography, as well as visual materials such as photography and film. Here, the bazaar was discussed in the context of the different scholarly works, either as the main component of the Islamic/[Middle] Eastern City, or through its representation as an authentic image or by its excessive typification and based on typo-morphological studies. The second lens, which was mainly based on Arang Keshavarzian’s overview of available scholarly works on the bazaar, looked into existing conceptions and definitions of the bazaar in socio-economic, socio-political and anthropological studies.

As a result, this part positions the bazaar as a shared topic of research among various disciplines. It subsequently identified a discursive gap between the way in which the bazaar is perceived and conceptualized in social, political and economic theories, and the way in which it has been mainly presented in urban and architectural studies. While in other disciplines the bazaar is mainly understood as a socio-economic network, or a system operating for the management of a society, this reading lacks a prominent perspective on the spatiality of the bazaar. However, the architecture and urban discourse focuses more on the bazaar as an architectonic object composed out of various functions, structures and spaces. Yet, arguing for the shortcomings of current bazaar’s conceptualizations in the architecture and urban discourse, this part concluded that limiting the bazaar to any of these perspectives and definitions is inadequate.

Hence, the second part proposed a theoretical framework that can assimilate the different notions and involve various scales and forces within bazaar’s understanding. ‘Territory’ – the suggested theoretical and investigative framework – took this dissertation beyond the representation of the bazaar as a mere marketplace, an architectonic edifice composed of different elements, and a fixed phenomenon related to the past. For that matter, this thesis argued that the bazaar’s architecture cannot be limited to the description of an object. It substantiated the fact that as an architectural entity the bazaar is territorial; it is both a process and product, an entity in a constant becoming. It is an intermediate which takes form by and give form to various territorial regimes, and it operates between various scales. By providing a brief introduction on ‘territory,’ the third and fourth parts employed certain lenses and tools

to engage with bazaar's 'whereness' and 'whatness', respectively.

The third part – i.e. 'whereness' – explicated the characteristics of 'where' the bazaar has been located. This part discussed the geographical condition and what I called as the geopolitics of the in-between, through which two kinds of territorialities emerge: i.e. the extensive territoriality of the nomad, spatialized through distribution and movement, and the intensive territoriality of the sedentary, spatialized through the managerial knowledge of the *dehqan* to inhabit a land. The coexistence, encounter and assimilation of these territorialities have been influential in state-form and social and economic organization on the Iranian Plateau in general and the spatial formation of the bazaar as an intermediate in particular.

The fourth part explored the bazaar's 'whatness' as a territorial entity, meaning what forces, regimes and agencies are involved in and take form with the bazaar. This part re-examined available knowledge on the bazaar as a physical and spatial entity, by experimenting with two kinds of territorialities proposed in previous chapters. In other words, the bazaar was seen as an assemblage of various territorial regimes rooted in extensive nomadic territoriality and intensive sedentary territoriality. This is not only related to movement and inhabitation, and space and place in the bazaar's physical structure, but also to its social and legal organization, topology and system of logistics. The conclusion is that the bazaar is more than just a circulation space; rather it is an infra+structure situated within the city and operated as the main place of assembly. It is through such a territorial understanding that this dissertation contributed to bring new insights to the existing body of literature on the bazaar, its understanding and the possibility of positioning it within the current context of the city. In the process of exploring the bazaar's 'whatness' it is arguably almost impossible to separate what it is and what it does (i.e. its architectural agency).

Furthermore, the bazaar is a place of exchange and production, and it is simultaneously a space of distribution in its most comprehensive sense. This means production and exchange not only in the sense of material goods, but also in the immaterial sense, namely that of knowledge, [micro-structure] power and social relations. The establishment of the bazaar as a space for movement and place for production and exchange [of material and non-material things] combines two ideas of 'common' – that of 'coming together' and 'being together'; an encounter which is also present in its etymology: on one level 'To move around (wheel), graze', and on another level to 'to dwell (place of, home of [assembly])'. In fact, the bazaar involves a complex of various regimes and practices that are spatialized in an architecture that is territorial. Hence, the bazaar cannot be limited to either of configurative, programmatic or spatial practices, such as social relations, which I discussed in this thesis.

Ultimately, this thesis proposes some effects. These effects can be traced as two main intermingled arguments interwoven throughout this dissertation:

### 7.1.1. Movement and inhabitation

The first effect of this dissertation can be sought in visiting the concepts of nomad and dehqan and their potential encounter and assimilation. Discussing the territory as a precondition, process and product, should involve these concepts, their modes of management, organization, and ordering the space as well as power mechanisms and their relation to land. The spatiality and temporality of these concepts and their representation were explicated under ‘extensive’ and ‘intensive territorialities’ and through analysing different visual and historical materials, throughout the thesis. The aim was to step outside of the binary system of western Enlightenment thinking and reasoning, and revamp the nature of an architectural entity as a thing emerging out of nomadic extensive territoriality and dehqani [sedentary] intensive territoriality, movement and staying, distribution and division, tracing, framing and situating, de-territorializing and re-territorializing, and to extrapolate these concepts into the architecture as an art of territorial formation.

Although this dissertation mainly discussed these notions in relation to the Iranian Plateau, in the context of urbanization, globalizations and neo-liberalism, the debate on movement, logistics and infrastructural space, nomadism and ephemerality – in the context of urbanization, globalization and neo-liberalism – has already pervaded the architectural and urbanism discourse. And as a result, this debate has incorporated alternative temporal and spatial modes of territorialisation into architectural understanding of infrastructural and logical space. By experimenting with a possible encounter and assimilation between extensive nomadic territoriality and intensive sedentary territoriality, this dissertation sought to discover correlations between architecture, infrastructure and territory and the involvement of various scales and layers in the architecture of the bazaar. While infrastructural spaces facilitate the movement of people and the exchange of goods and information, they should not be considered purely as physical constructs; rather they ensure a way of living by bringing people together. Although the contribution of this dissertation to this debate is introductory, perhaps looking into an infrastructural entity beyond a mere technical thing and instead as a superposition of various regimes and forces harbouring different kinds of social and cultural factors as well as economic incentives, can be a way to investigate the spatial relevance of infrastructure in the architectural discourse. It also suggests a way to investigate territory as where both global and local forces encounter and intermingle.

As Brian Massumi states in his preface to the Chinese translation of Deleuze and Guattari’s *A Thousand Plateaus*:

If it happened once in history that the nomad invented itself as a people by inventing a smooth space of movement, there is no reason why it cannot happen again. The fact that it happened once demonstrates that the potential was there. Once a potential, always a potential.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brian Massumi, ‘What Concepts Do: Preface to the Chinese Translation of *A Thousand Plateaus*,’ *Deleuze Studies*, v. 4 (1): 1-15.

Thus by focusing on the bazaar and understanding it as an infrastructural space as well as a place of [public] inhabitation, this dissertation engaged with the possibility of reading an architectural construct at the crossroads between these various spatial and temporal states as an alternative mode of interpretation. This was not so much a case of either/or but rather about their potential encounter and assembly, to stress the recurrence of possibilities. Taking this stance enables the dissertation to interrogate and contest the static and authoritarian features of architecture and the clear boundary between private and public. And instead, it suggested a more layered and at the same time culturally sensitive reading of an architectural entity in general and the bazaar specifically.

### 7.1.2. Multiplicity

As the introduction to this dissertation suggested, following the criticism of some scholars who questioned conventional western architectural theory and historiography, there has been a pressing need to reaffirm the values of 'learning from' and investigating the diversity of architectural cultures, as well as the multiplicity of narratives, something that this dissertation has set itself out to do.

To [re]activate the bazaar's potential – e.g. operating on different scales of territory and locale, developing its own specific ownership regimes, etc. – this dissertation went beyond purely configurational descriptions of the bazaar (taxonomy and typification of its structure and functions) or problem-solving prescriptions (mimicking approaches). To achieve that aim, it speculated on the multiplicity of forces and regimes that are involved in and that take form with the architecture of the bazaar. The focus of the study thus shifted from viewing the bazaar as a static and autonomous object or a deteriorating and dead place, to the possibility of exploring the multiplicity of forces involved in the bazaar's territory. It searched for the life contained in an architectural entity such as the bazaar, as well as the relations that it creates and the limits that it establishes. While such an approach does not disregard the importance of planning and macro-narratives of governmental decision-making in the bazaar's [trans]formation, it prioritizes the overlay and multiplicity of narratives, as Andrew Ballantyne suggests.<sup>2</sup>

Chapters five and six of this dissertation discussed some of these forces and regimes and their spatial and temporal dimensions embedded within the extensive and intensive territory of the bazaar. In that sense, the bazaar was distinguished from khiaban as an ideal project of the state with a clear plan, a start, end and thresholds. Chapter five mainly addressed the possibility of understanding the bazaar as an infrastructure mediating between various states and scales of movements: Jaddeh as extra-urban circulation and intra-urban circulation, the social and spatial structure of mahallehs and their interrelation with the geological and geographical 'ground'. Next the chapter explicated the security mechanisms involved in the

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Ballantyne, 'Architecture as Evidence,' in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 48.

bazaar's operation and space, stating that what Arang Keshavarzian calls 'cooperative and coercive mechanisms' derive their logic from *nomos* and *logos*. While in *logos* the space is divided, hierarchized by some law, logic or voice that is outside or above it, *nomos* has its principle of distribution within itself. This issue was further elaborated in the sixth chapter as it addresses the ownership regimes, social and structural organisation of the *senf*, and spatialization of the bazaar in mediating between movement and assembly. Thus, as this dissertation asserted, understanding the bazaar as a territorial entity means to engage with the superposition of forces and regimes, and the multiplicity of narratives. Such a framework for reading embraces the involvement of collectives and the encounter of different interests in the formation of an architectural entity.

Conclusively, this multiplicity is necessary for approaching the architecture of the bazaar, as there is no single author or plan that can oversee its formation. It is the multiplicity of the architectural entity itself, meaning an inherent complexity embedded in the bazaar itself: the one that makes it profoundly difficult to isolate a single aspect or view point in the reading and understanding of the bazaar. To address such multiplicity has been certainly one of the main challenges of this dissertation. To develop conceptualizations of the bazaar that avoid the problems of simplicity, isolation and/or dichotomies. For that reason, the bazaar can be considered a paradigm to learn from, in which architectural thinking and the design act can become involved in the complexity of forces, visions and orders.

## **7.2. On method and structure**

The recent architectural discourse has prompted unprecedented concern regarding the ways and means of spatial inquiry and involvement with and reflection on the complexity of the built environment. This dissertation sought to contribute to this discourse by oscillating between content and form, and context and concept.

The separation of content and form was one of the critical points in the overview of existing conceptions and definitions of the bazaar. The dissertation argues that in the available studies of the bazaar, either the form has remained the same while the content has changed (for example, through the process of disappearance or replacement of certain guilds) or the form has transformed while the content has remained the same (e.g. the bazaar/bazaaris as traditional type). Such an approach suffers from defining the bazaar as a fixed and stable object. Instead, this dissertation is proposed a proximity between form and content and thus it intended to reveal their interrelatedness, mediated through contexts and concepts.

By bringing up the problem of the 'origin of the bazaar', which is a common trend in the bazaar's historiography, this dissertation concentrates on its conceptualization instead. Animated by problems, the concept initiates experimentation, not to answer the problem but to activate an argument, to inspire or generate discussion, and to bypass cause and effect reasoning, and the chronological and evolutionary ordering of historiography.

Furthermore, the bazaar's historiography has tended to establish either an overgeneralized

context (Islamic, Eastern) or by focusing on case studies, it sought [morphological] specificities. The context (particularly in the first case) thus became a question of pre-established definitions and perceptions. However, in this dissertation the context is understood as an assemblage of various forces and regimes: a precondition, process and product all at the same time. By questioning these pre-established lenses, this dissertation emphasized the importance of the concurrence of different scales in the reading of the bazaar.

The constellation of these (i.e. form, content, contexts and concepts) was thus presented by analogy: the Persian miniature (*negar-gari*), which makes a kind of kaleidoscopic dioramic view and folding of time and space possible. So this dissertation has combined several terms and notions, as well as materials, sources, figures and references, in order to propose an alternative perspective on a complicated architectural entity, the bazaar, thus enlarging its understanding. Therefore, the method in this case, was not simply a recipe preceding the process of doing research. Instead, it was a way which slowly emerged throughout the process of doing the research. It engaged with the historical inventory and archival materials, as well as theoretical explications and thus description, reflection and speculation. This method may seem vulnerable or not sufficiently underpinned, but at the same time, it opens up the possibility of relational thinking, which is necessary for understanding the bazaar. This is especially true for this research, where it has been necessary to find and speculate relations between a variety of dispersed materials and sources and then analyse and interpret them.

One could argue that in the general structure of the thesis two distinct parts are recognizable: the overview and the territory. The territory, as the theoretical framework, was capable of addressing the 'whereness' and 'whatness' of the bazaar. This dissertation discusses various concepts and notions related to 'whereness' and 'whatness'. Similar to the compositional principle of *negar-gari*, arguably the general structure of the dissertation consisted of several frames within frames (chapters and sub-chapters), each reflecting distinct and simultaneously interrelated concepts and notions. This means that the overall juxtapositions of theoretical terms and the superimposition of structures sought to resemble the composition of *negar-gari*, where within each frame things are distinct from each other while making relations.

Furthermore, this dissertation emphasizes the importance of drawing and maps, either existing ones as primary sources of study and interpretation, or the making of new drawings as part of the process of doing research. In any case, the maps and drawings are not separated from the process of thinking, conceptualizing, and speculating. Although, one wonders the reasons behind the limited number of available historical maps and drawings of the bazaar: is it purely because of loss of historical and archival materials, or does it imply something more about the possibilities that a map gives in communicating and representing the bazaar beyond facts? In that sense, *negar-gari* enables a different approach and culture of thinking.

Despite the limited availability of facts and data, what this dissertation aimed to achieve regarding the representation of the bazaar was precisely that: to go beyond facts and

factuality. The concern of the drawing here was to communicate the overlay and complexity, and the intensity in the assembly of spaces. It aimed to explore the possibility of thinking and representing the bazaar simultaneously from various points of view and thus multiple relationships, and to experiment with different ways of representation and visualization of some existing materials. For example, simply outlining the bazaar is a question related to both its 'whereness' and 'whatness', and at the same time ways of representation. Despite this effort, these drawings can be considered preliminary steps for rethinking the architecture of the bazaar, which concerning its present territory can become a topic for further investigation and research. As Antoine Picon stated in his interview on December 2008, the question of agency in architecture today should be understood through new ways of mapping our territories. 'We need to ask again what the categories of mapping are. This implies that the question of representation – in the almost artistic sense – becomes crucial.'<sup>3</sup>

### **7.3. Limitations and validity**

This dissertation dealt with an extensive and growing body of information and literature, from ongoing discussions on the Islamic city and geopolitics of the Middle East to the rich historical and theoretical investigations on the territory and architecture, infrastructure and inhabitation, as well as the diverse sources from various disciplines studying the bazaar. Perhaps the most challenging part of this dissertation has been to find a way to put all these pieces in relation with each other. On the one hand, the choice for such a vast array of materials seems inevitable in light of the nature of the topic of the study. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, the validity of such a method can be considered academically vulnerable. Since the beginning, this dissertation avoided implementing a certain single theoretical or ideological framework on a specific case (i.e. the bazaar). By contrast, the bazaar was understood to be a way of exploring and experimenting the nature of an architectural product.

Furthermore, during this dissertation there have been several occasions when the need for relying on some deeper historical and theoretical research preceding this research was highly felt; a lack which may have left its mark on the dissertation. I have referred to that on a few occasions, for example when discussing the ownership regimes and legal system in the bazaar or a lack of concrete research on the history of territory in the Iranian context, which relies on numerous remaining treatises and even the history of city in relation to territory. Such issues highlight the huge amount of work that still needs to be done in the realm of cultural studies in non-European/American contexts, while we need to find ways of including and involving culture and language beyond only applying selected theoretical frameworks to case studies.

<sup>3</sup> Scott Lash, Antoine Picon, and Margaret Crawford, 'Agency and Architecture: How to Be Critical? (Scott Lash and Antoine Picon, in conversation with Kenny Cupers and Isabelle Doucet. Comments by Margaret Crawford),' *FOOTPRINT 4* (Jan. 2009): 12. Accessed 1 March 2018. doi: <https://doi.org/10.7480/footprint.3.1.693>

Although primarily this dissertation was initiated by observation of Tehran's Grand Bazaar, in the later stages, the decision was made not to focus on a specific case study. This was because the aim of the research was modified to focus on conceptualization and an overall theoretical framework. For that reason, I have tried to look into different bazaars and cities and settlements. Despite this effort, and mainly due to the availability of visual and historical materials, this dissertation mainly mentioned a handful of bazaars, namely Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabriz, Kashan and Tehran. And yet I attempted to look into much wider array of cases, such as Mashhad, Semnan, Sanandaj, Hamedan, Lar, Zanjan, Qazwin, Bam, Kerman, Khoy and Sarakhs. Hence, it is crucial to state that this dissertation can serve as an overall framework within which various cases can be studied and contextualized.

#### **7.4. Speculations on future trajectories of research**

##### **7.4.1. Re-mapping the bazaar['] s territory]**

In a plan proposed to the municipality of Tehran in 2000-2001, Bahram Shirdel, a well-known Iranian architect drew a different map of Tehran's Grand Bazaar to make the point that it is almost impossible to restrict this Bazaar to the four streets that once caged it. In fact, what is interesting about Shirdel's study is this urge to re-interpret Tehran's Grand Bazaar, its territory and its boundaries within the context of today's Tehran. To achieve his aim, he mapped various districts and areas in the city, which are involved in the process of production and exchange. But he also mapped the streets, which like the bazaar's *rastehs* are organized based on a guild system, i.e. a specific product or business. Of course, such a study is not new. Perhaps Martin Seger's valuable book on the study of Tehran's urban geography is rather more extensive. However, what is interesting in the case of Shirdel's map is that he is specifically interested in proposing alternative lenses to define the Bazaar's territory in relation to the new circulation system as well as different parts of the city. He does not see the Bazaar as a fixed object or traditional phenomenon related to past, as for example Martin Seger does. Although very basic, Shirdel's mapping reminds us that more than building new shopping malls, which was the initial impetus of such a study, and imitating the bazaar's morphologies or structures, we need to re-interpret the bazaar's territory and re-conceptualize it in its current space and time, in order to reflect on the ongoing design practice as well as preservation acts in Tehran and other cities.

The concern of such an architectural entity that deals with the complexity and vastness of the territory is not only the scale of a singular architectural object, but rather a collective process which is temporally and spatially responsive to the field of various regimes and forces. It is arguably through this sensitivity and responsivity that the architecture persists. The bazaar has been a good example of these claims. However, because today the bazaar has been reduced to its physical and functional attributes as an object, even though it still operates, the bazaar has lost its territorial consistency and definitions as a result of layered interwoven factors. One could argue that the bazaar like the city itself is in the process of

digesting all those interwoven factors and their changes and transformations; the explanation of which could be the topic of a separate study. Thus, [re]mapping the bazaar must involve various scales and layers, informing its territory: From the larger shifts in the geo-politics and economy of the region to the micro-politics of daily life; from municipal and state planning and preservation projects to the proliferation of technological objects, [trans]forming the bazaar's spatiality.

#### **7.4.2. Micro-politics and spatial practices of everyday life**

One of the main intriguing issues, which in a way was an early impetus for this dissertation though at the same time it was largely dismissed from the dissertation, is the bazaar's micro-politics and spatial practices of everyday life, the production process and the involvement of objects [goods and bodies] in such processes and in the space [of the bazaar]. Indeed, getting engaged discursively with the micro-activities and the politics of everyday life, can help us to bypass the existing gap discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation between the socio-political and architectural discourse in conceptualizing the bazaar. However, it can also provide an opening to understand the bazaar's multiplicity in its present condition, and thus discern its current potential.

In the recent studies on the bazaar's spatiality, there are emerging tendencies which focus on this proposed angle of research, i.e. the micro-politics and spatial practices of everyday life. For example, by formulating a theoretical framework informed by the notion of event conceptualised by the French philosopher Michel Foucault, scholar Farzaneh Haghighi, in her PhD dissertation *The Bazaar as Event*, investigates the micro-politics of space and the complex spatial practices in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran. Arguably, this trajectory of research can implement the general theoretical framework of this dissertation by engaging with multiplicity of scales and narratives. It can complement it by focusing on concrete mappings and spatial analysis.

Understanding the bazaar as a territorial entity might lead one to think of Tehran's Grand Bazaar as the main destination of worker migration (labour work and prostitution) in relation to the ways of life that the bazaar is giving form. During my 2015 visit to Tehran's Grand Bazaar, I noticed after speaking to bazaaris, architects and researchers that labourers who provide different services in the bazaar stay in the old caravanserais and houses, which are often used today as storage, as a temporary abode and state of living. Although this issue, which was also discussed and partially criticised in this thesis, has often been addressed from the formal/informal economy perspective by scholars, without providing proper spatial association. This is exactly a topic that can be explored through the micro-politics of daily activities and the life which is formed in the bazaar and is informing its spaces. In that sense, would it be possible to think of this constant migration as a nomadic subject who does not quite settle in the city, but instead occupies various places in the current territory of the bazaar? Does this mean that the bazaar's boundaries are still fluid and in constant negotiation

with the forces and spaces around and within them?

### 7.4.3. From object to thing

In the context of the proposed approach to the spatial practice of everyday life, one can also ‘critically’ investigate the proliferation of everyday objects and spaces in the current physical structure of the bazaar. This is specifically interesting regarding the ongoing preservation and planning operations in the bazaar. One of the main points being addressed in most of the preservation projects on the bazaar is the concealing of ugly and cleaning up the visual disturbance. This means coming to conclusion- i.e. re-making the authentic image of the bazaar- before really defining the problem. Or in the best case, these preservation plans hope to come up with pragmatic solutions for the problems such as accessibility, visual disturbance, fire, etc. without properly arguing for a relational understanding of those problems. This line of thinking generally treats the proliferation of different technological objects, such as ventilation and lighting, as non-discursive objects and decay as a distorted space that needs to be disguised as much as possible.<sup>4</sup> In a chapter of *The Bazaar as Event*, Farzaneh Haghighi discusses these attempts to concealing operations in the Grand Bazaar of Tehran in the restoration project in Kalantary Alley. Her argument uses Catherine Ingraham’s proposition in ‘What is proper to architecture?’ to confront different technologies of power, promoting the proper over the improper, i.e. the physical decay of its urban context. In her reading, the ruin manifests the integrity of improper architecture and unpredictability (collapsing, illicit accommodation, or illegal immigrants) and is thus subject to transformation or constant becoming, which should be consolidated and solidified.<sup>5</sup>

To approach these spaces and objects, Bruno Latour’s reading of ‘Thing’ can be very insightful. Bruno Latour, in his article ‘Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern,’ proposes the notion of ‘matters of concern’ as distinct from the more common scientific category of ‘matters of fact’. By defining ‘matters of fact’ as merely a partial and polemical rendering of ‘matters of concern’, Latour wants to offer the possibility of assembling (constructing) ‘objects’ as ‘things’, meaning ‘highly complex, historically situated and richly diverse’ subjects of inquiry. While Latour questions the Heideggerian dichotomy between ‘object’ (Gegenstand) and ‘Thing’, he suggests instead to try ‘to talk about the object of science and technology, the Gegenstand, as if it had the rich and complicated qualities of the celebrated “Thing”’, which can also ‘deploy and gather its rich set of connections’.

Although this is not the place to criticize the diversity of these preservation plans, what I would like to propose in light of the current dissertation is the following: what if, as Latour suggests, these objects [spaces, content and objects] can become ‘Things’ again? What if

<sup>4</sup> Farzaneh Haghighi, ‘Bazaar as Event: An exploration of the Tehran bazaar through the Foucauldian notion of event’ (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2015), 306-320.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

they are also placed within sets of relations that can affect the bazaar's territory? This is certainly not only about a physical trajectory or a process of form-finding, nor is it only about those objects which are related to a recent technological resonance; rather in general terms, it is a way of positioning the bazaar within the context of time and place as well as a multi-disciplinary discourse. What is most important in this proposal is not to confuse this approach with a way of justifying actions and objects; instead, it needs to be employed as a way of questioning the inert nature of the architectural entity and to involve various forces and layers and put them into a position where they can negotiate and forge relations again.

Furthermore, by this approach, I do not mean that the bazaar should necessarily be visually discontinuous, messy, or 'vital' in any naive way. What I mean instead is that the processes that build the bazaar can never be as univocal and straightforward as those that build an interior circulation space within a built form, all confronted by the same juridical format and economic principles and political interests. The mixture of different viewpoints is fundamental to the understanding of the bazaar as an architectural entity.

Thus, what if we think about new networks and objects – such as electricity, lighting, cooling systems, water, sewage systems and the internet – in the current territory of the bazaar, as forces influencing the bazaar's territory and the socio-politics of its space? What does the standardization of goods and the production process mean in the bazaar's space? For example, in his research on the Grand Bazaar of Tehran, Arang Keshavarzian investigates the effect of commodity type and its standardization in the social and organizational network of the bazaar by looking into three different sectors of the bazaar: carpet, tea and china and glassware. While he extensively describes specific commodities in their various, complex scales of economic and political networks, and the effect of their standardization in transforming the cooperative networks to coercive ones in the Bazaar, he does not so much expand on the spatial and physical aspect of such a process. This begs the question: how can the bazaar be studied and involved as a spatial and physical entity in such a debate, not merely as a by-product or a passive container, but rather, as Keller Easterling suggests, as 'an interplay between spatial variables' and as an 'active form'?<sup>6</sup>

What is arguably at stake in all these proposals is deeply rooted in the general argument of this dissertation on the 'haecceity' or the very character of the bazaar, its 'whereness' and 'whatness', and conceptualizing it as a territorial entity, leading to a search for superposing and assembling layers, concepts, contexts and forces, as discussed before.

<sup>6</sup> Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: the power of infrastructure space* (London: Verso, 2014), 21.

Last but not least, in the first place, the findings of this research provided a general theoretical framework for studying the bazaar as an inherently important historical architectural entity, which can address both its complexity and specificity in the context of the Iranian Plateau. Its implementation can inform design operations occurring today in different cities in Iran with regard to its extension, definition or preservation.

Second, the findings of this research have shown how architectural thinking and design can [and should] engage with other spatial and disciplinary realms that are involved in the formation of our built environment. The bazaar here became a catalyst for design research, where the rigorous conceptualisation of an architectural entity and its context propelled a relational thinking between different spatial and disciplinary realms. It also claimed the necessity of involving different scales of architectural thinking and design, where the interrelation between architecture and its territory becomes inevitable. The bazaar has been a good example of the fact that the act of design is inherently a collective process, engaged with a multiplicity of forces and interests. Hence, its architecture cannot be isolated from its legal and social organizations, its regimes of ownerships, its form of governance and security, its productive processes, the geographical context, and ultimately from the lives that it forms.

Third, this dissertation provided a conceptual reading of the bazaar where architecture cannot be limited to an inert status and where movement spaces and assembly places encounter and take form together. Through such a reading, the bazaar becomes, on the one hand, an infrastructure, a logistical architecture registering and organizing the circulation of people, goods and information. On the other hand, it can also create assemblies and situations. Hence, infrastructural and nomadic space is not in opposition to architectural and sedentary space, rather it becomes an intrinsic part of it. This is a proposition which is necessary for thinking about and designing our current urban context.

This dissertation strongly advocates the need for more inclusive architectural and urban knowledge in both academia and practice. By involving different cultures, histories, languages as well as new pedagogical, instrumental and conceptual frameworks, the architectural discourse can open up new possibilities for being simultaneously critical and engaged.



7.1. Walking in Grand Bazaar of Tehran, 2012. Photographs by author



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## CHAPTER SEVEN

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