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## IMPACTS OF URBAN PASSAGES ON FORMATION OF IRANIAN BAZAARS: Case Study of the Historic Bazaar of Tabriz

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### Abstract

*Bazaars have long since been of the most influential components of the traditional Iranian cities, having significant impacts on the formation and development of many Iranian cities. This study was motivated by the fact that the subject of bazaar and its mutual relationship with the formation of Iranian civilization has not yet been taken into account well. The study adapted an interpretive-historical research approach that utilized archival research as well as field studies and validated the findings through triangulation of findings with the seminal literature. It chose the historical bazaar of Tabriz as the case of study. Findings proposed that among the important components of the traditional Iranian cities, urban passages and organs have had the highest impacts on the formation and development of bazaars. The study concluded that in the context of Tabriz, traditional urban passages and the bazaar have had significant impacts on the formation of each other. This was a unique and significant study, which discovered new aspects of the important roles of bazaars in formation of Islamic cities and cultures.*

**Keywords:** Historic marketplaces; bazaar; Tabriz; Iranian traditional cities; urban passages.

### INTRODUCTION

Much literature has been published about bazaars (the traditional Iranian marketplaces) and their important impact on the formation of Islamic cities, during different historical periods. There are several definitions and theories about bazaars based on the various viewpoints of different scholars. However, only little study has been done on the impacts of the forms of bazaars and the traditional urban passages in Islamic cities. The potential influences of different urban components, e.g. religious-authorities and residential centres on the spatial structures of bazaars have also remained undiscovered.

Bazaar of Tabriz, as the largest covered bazaar of the world, is the first and foremost bazaar in Iran that has been registered in the World Heritage List. As another distinctive characteristic, this bazaar has been formed around two parallel orders. This quality cannot be seen in any other historical markets in Iran. This study therefore investigated the mutual impacts of the main components of Iranian historical cities and the traditional bazaars on each other, focusing on the historical bazaar of Tabriz.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research was motivated by the question that why historical bazaar of Tabriz has two parallel orders unlike the other bazaars of Iran? For answering this question, the study adapted an interpretive-historical mixed method approach comprising of field observations and archival studies. The field observations investigated the existing evidence about the concept of market in the history of architecture and urbanisation of Iran and the factors that have affected the formation of such markets. The second part, the archival study related to the historical bazaar of Tabriz and investigated the role of this bazaar the evolution of Tabriz as a megacity. In this part, due to the lack of the field resources, the main focus was on the available historical and archival resources. This research therefore reached to its final conclusions through matching the findings of the archival studies with the results of the conducted field studies on the existing situation of different bazaars of Iran.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Bazaar*

Many people believe that any place, in which there is a business running, including buying and selling goods, can be called market. From this point of view, there are multiple potential definitions for marketplaces. However, market in Iran does not merely mean a place for bargain. Bazaars have always been recognised as the most important parts of Iranian cities comprising of all economic, political, social, religious and educational spaces. This study therefore reviewed different definitions about bazaars in order to conclude with an inclusive and exclusive unique definition for these places.

From an economical perspective, the term 'bazaar' refers to the places in which supply and demand meet each other and end up with an equilibrium, in a direct or indirect way (Biglari, 1956). It is a place for trade, buying and selling goods or is concourse of buyers and sellers (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). However, the concept of bazaar in many Islamic countries, especially Iran, comprises more extensive meanings rather than trading (figure 1). This idea is mainly inspired by the existence of numerous mosques, schools, water reservoirs, aqueducts, shrines, reliance, and various religious centres in Iranian bazaars. In essence, Iranian bazaars have always been considered as the socio-economic and cultural city centres concentrating all the public activities (Falamaki, 2005).



Figure 1: The Historic Bazaar of Tabriz (Source: Authors).

Islam has penetrated in all parts of Islamic countries and had certain ideas and thoughts for each part of the society and Halal economy has been one of the demands always valued by people. Establishment and dominance of an Islamic state in the countries with very widespread commercial rules causes coordination of all the rules and regulations to other sharia laws. The spread of the Islamic empire from Spain to China and existence of the business and economic terms and conditions derived from the religious laws have been the basic reasons for the more commercial prosperity in the ninth to the fourteenth centuries (Habibi, 1999). Therefore, the consequent religious discussion from Islamic point of view to the world has had the highest impact on the Islamic bazaars. In other words, this must not be neglected that some of the demands and needs of businessmen in the Islamic bazaars have been diversified in accordance with the sharia laws.

The fear of the lack of regard for future business forced merchants to compliance with existing legal context. In order to earn life and academic survival, religious scholars also relied on bazaars as economic centres and the administration of religious schools. Therefore, building religious centres were undergone with the help and support from wealthy individuals and merchants. As such, there has always been a very close relationship between merchants and religious scholars. Merchants are often educated at the academies and schools and entered at the religious issues which have had strong relationship with politics and economy. During the Islamic history of Iran, merchants have financially and morally supported religious institutions; they often actively opposed central government that ignored religious values (Kheyraadi, 1998). Another point which can be noted is the existence of the social capital in the market that played an important role in the bazaar economy (Pourjafar, 2011). It can be seen that the bazaar in the Islamic countries was formed based on the economy, yet it was a public and social place in which all the cultural, social, political and religious activities also took place. Although, these days it seems that other roles of historical bazaars are fading, these places still host many cultural, social and political events in certain cities of Iran.

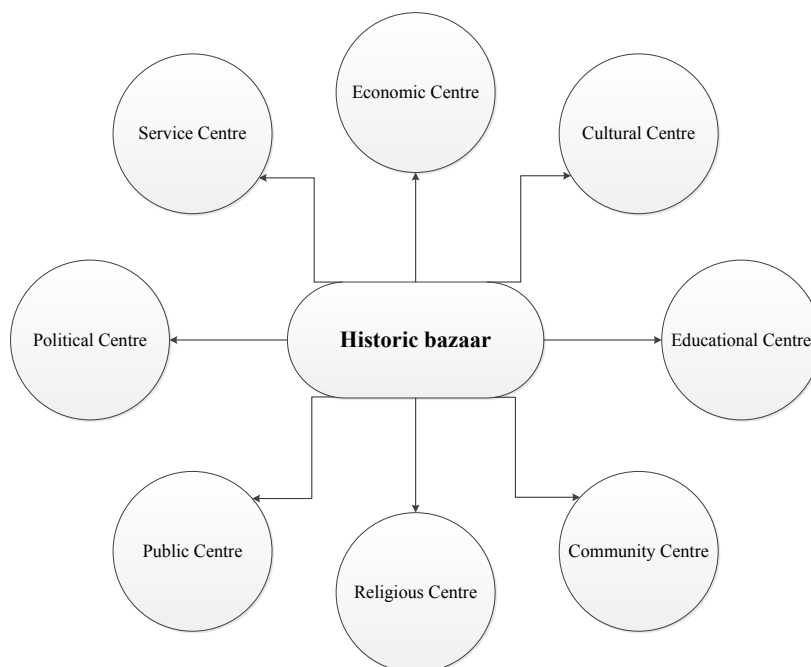


Figure 2: Values and functions of the historic bazaars in Iran (Source: Authors).

### ***The role of the city centres in the formation of the historical bazaars***

The claim that bazaar is not merely an economical place in the Islamic countries, can be inferred from emergence of the various major urban component inside bazaars, e.g. mosque, school, cistern and shrine. Each city has its particular indicators that have influenced on the formation of the city. Bazaar, as the most important and effective part of the Islamic cities, has always been the main indicator for development of Iranian city centres. This fact is more obvious when looking at the evolution of Islamic cities and how they expand from the central core shaped around bazaars and adding major urban components around them.

According to the remaining evidence from the cities of the Sassanid era (205–310), bazaars were developed from a core square to the fortification walls in order to make the significant impact on the physical organisation of the market and spatial planning (Habibi, 1999). Emergence of the religious centres inside the cities also gave a specific direction to the formation and development of bazaars in Islamic cities of Iran. Initially, bazaars were formed outside the city gates and were fairly primitive; however, during the latter development stages, bazaars found a way into the city due to the growing importance of trade and commerce. In other words, starting from the Sassanid era, bazaars became the backbone of the Iranian cities where the subsequent developments were organised around them.

Because of the social classification system, which was dominant in the pre-Islamic Iran, business was ruled by the particular class and level of people. With development of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence and removing barriers of participation of public to business and education, and in accordance with the developed new business and religious rules that were initiated with the emerging Islamic states, the flourishing of business (and subsequently bazaars) in Iranian cities was more evident than before (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). In the meantime, the development of state mosques as important urban elements and their proximity and close relationship with bazaars further expedited formation and development of bazaars in the Islamic Iranian cities.

### ***The role of state mosques and religious centres in development of bazaars***

Existence of state mosques inside the city gave a new organisation to the Islamic Iranian cities. In accordance with these new changes, Rabaz (See Figure 3) which was of less importance in the pre-Islamic era became an important element and social classification system was completely abolished (Habibi, 1999). However, the remaining question among scholars has been that what was the role of the proximity of the state mosques and the traditional bazaars in the formation of the architectural structures of both?

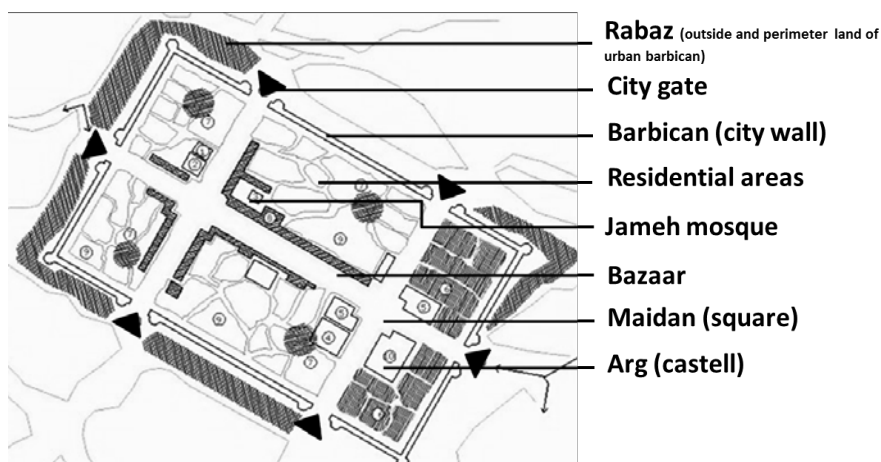


Figure 3: Traditional structure of Iranian Cities (Source: Authors).



Continuing interest of the believers for attending at the mosque has not been hidden from the eyes of merchants. That is why they have given particular credit to the pathways reaching to mosques and always have tried to have a special look to these paths from both religious and economic perspectives. Looking at the historical maps of different cities such as Isfahan, Qazvin, Tabriz, Shiraz and Tehran, it is obvious that religious places such as shrines and mosques have had special importance for merchants. Due to the particular of some of the historical mosques in these cities, their open spaces or courtyards always cut the main routs of city roads, so that people had to enter from one entrance and after crossing the courtyard go out from the other door (Soltanzadeh, 2006). In other words, Muslim's commuter route had a particular value for merchants to use this route for selling their arrivals and provide necessities for their lives. Comprehensive settlement is also in direct contact with the street and the market. Therefore, the first major movement for changing the context and spatial organisation of the cities started based on their political, socio-economic, and cultural situation (Habibi, 1999). As such, mosques have been the origin and purpose for the formation of bazaars and have also targeted formation of the cities. In other words, bazaar as the main streets of the cities could not be formed and developed without attention to the location of mosques. Consequently, mosque is not only a religious place for worship, but also it has been a major factor for development of the economic, cultural and social functions of the societies.

### Government centres

There has always been a complex relationship between economists and politicians and these groups have always had different tools to put pressure on each other. This has always happened throughout the history that politicians have taken advantage of the power of economists and religious leaders to come to the power. On the other hand, economists have often taken the advantage of politicians for developing the scope of their activities. The relationship between bazaar and government or centres of power has always been full of contradictions also. This is because, security, social and political stability are the necessary ingredients prosperity in economic (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). Taking into account the fact that each place of the city in which the central government is based has had the highest security and been the most crowded part of the city, the development of bazaar has always been close to these places. For instance, the bazaar of Isfahan was constructed just at the corner of the main city square which comprised of two major mosques of the city and the king's palace as the three other important elements and symbols of power, economy, religion and politics (Shafaghi, 2006) (table 1).

As it can be seen in Table 1, the main elements of the city skeleton, i.e. mosque and the palace was created around a core and the bazaar as a linear element was expanded from both sides of this core (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). It is also obvious in Figure 4 that there is another axis besides the mosque that determines the development and expansion of bazaar. The bazaar of Kerman also has the same situation so that the main elements of its formation are gathered around a square that comprises of the organ of state and the state mosque. Nevertheless, in the case of Kerman, the two main cores of the city, i.e. mosque and organ of state, were built in different historical times after the Safavids era (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). From such pieces of evidence, it could be concluded that government centres in the cities of Iran have been affective factors through the process of the formation of bazaars. As presented in the subsequent sections, this study had particular attention to the evidence regarding the impact of these factors on the development of bazaar of Tabriz.

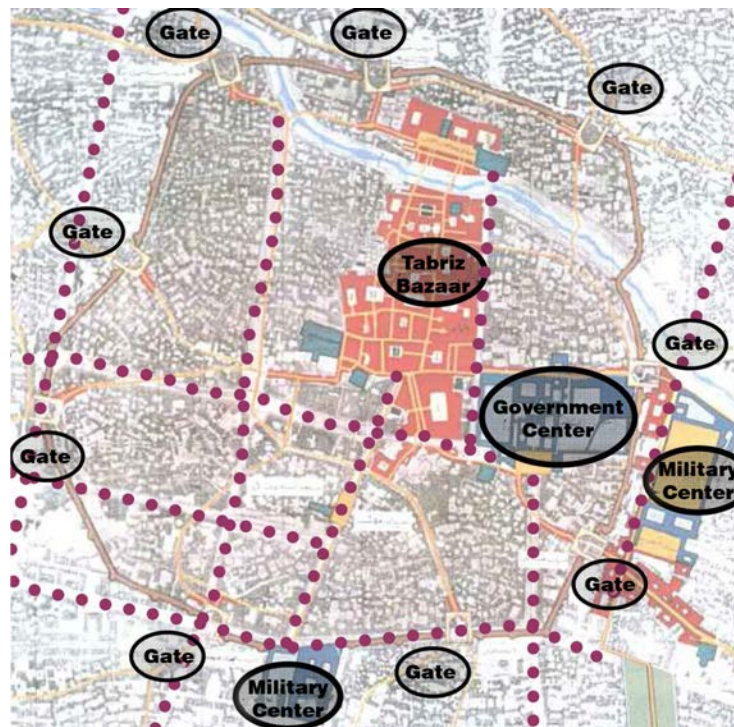


Figure 4: Comparison of the traditional urban entrance pathways, city centres and city gates with the new city pathways in Tabriz (Source: Naghsh e Jahan Consultant Engineers; Analysis: Authors)




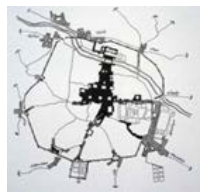

### Residential centres

Bazaars in all cities of Iran have always been a strong centre of attraction for development of residential area. First, mosques as religious centres have often been placed at bazaar, so that the public access routes have been formed as to make easy access to these areas. Second, people ought to go to bazaar for preparing their daily needs and using most of services and city centres such as schools, city's main squares and some of the religious centres that were developed besides bazaars.

### City gates

There is almost no traditional bazaar in Iran that has not been affected by city gates which were constructed on the path of the caravans, travellers and people. This is a common character of the Iranian bazaars that main axis of bazaar was aligned with the path connecting two main city gates, since many caravan and travellers tended to move along with this path. For instance, the order in which the main axis of Zanjan bazaar was formed was between the two gates of Qazvin and Tabriz (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). And there has been same situation for the bazaar of Kerman which was built aligned to the Khorasan's north-south road passing through the western side of the city (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2009). Once the pathway was well-established and became a good source for merchants' business and income, the owners of the buildings of that vicinity often tried to take the advantage of the potential developments. These developments ultimately led to formation of backbone of bazaars following the aforementioned paths through both public and private participation.

**Table 1:** Comparative analysis of centres and influencing factors in formation of different Iranian bazaars  
(Source: Authors).

	Market title	Arterial input	Period - Formation	Urban symbols	Government	Religious centres	Map
1	Isfahan market	Located on the Silk road and Spice road – contact between Shiraz and Kerman to Rey and Baghdad	Seljuk period Safavid	Atigh square of Saljuk – Naghsh e Jahan square of Safavi	Administrative centre of the Seljuk- government centre of Safavid	Mosque- Abbasi and Sheikh Lotfollah mosque	
2	Kerman market	Spice road - Contact between Sistan to Fars and Hormoz to Khorasan	Seljuk period Al-Muzaffar period - Safavid	Atigh square of Saljuk – Naghsh e Jahan square of Safavi	Ghobeh Sabz government complex – organ government complex	Mozafari mosque	
3	Zanjan market	Located on Silk road Path between Qazvin and Soltanieh to Tabriz and	Safavid and Qajar periods	Divided into two parts Ashagheh	Organ of government and administrative	City mosque and major religious centre	
4	Tabriz market	Located on the Silk road – contact between Rey, Isfahan, Ghafghaz and Istanbul	Ilkhani - Turkmen Aghkoyunlular period - Safavid	Saheb Abad square (Hasan king)	Saheb Abad garden – Qajar mantle home	Mozafari complex and Kabood mosque – Hssan king and Tahmasb king	
5	Tehran market	Located in the communication path between cities in north-east and west of Iran	Safavid and Qajar period	Organ square	Golestan palace	City mosque	

## THE HISTORICAL BAZAAR OF TABRIZ

The historical bazaar of Tabriz has been selected as the case of this study for various reasons. First, this bazaar has a global reputation and is the only bazaar of Iran that has been registered in the World Heritage List. Second, this bazaar has a very particular character that distinguishes it from other bazaars of Iran. This character is that this bazaar has two main parallel axes unlike the other bazaars which have only one axis or two perpendicular axes. This study, investigated the factors contributing to this distinctive character by analysing historical evidence.



### **History of the market of Tabriz**

There is not enough historical evidence to ascertain when the bazaar of Tabriz was exactly built. This is because there is neither reliable historical text from pre-Islamic period about construction of this bazaar nor any proper archaeological research has been conducted to investigate this matter. The only evidence belongs to the excavations at the courtyard of the Kabood (The Blue) mosque of Tabriz which revealed a historical site belonging to the early first millennium BC at the depth of 8 meters lower than the current benchmark of Tabriz. After that, the oldest evidence about Tabriz backs to the first and second centuries after the prophet Mohammad's Hegira. After this time, the existence of Tabriz as a city was discussed in text books also. For instance, the anonymous author of the book named *The Limits of the World* wrote: "When Aboo Jafar Mansour became the caliph of the Muslims, many of the Yemenis moved from Basreh to Azerbaijan with Yazid Bin Hatam and Ravad Bin Almasna Azodi and stayed in Tabriz" (Anonymous author, 1983). Existence of the state mosque of Tabriz in that time and the Four Minaret tomb further confirm the existence of bazaar in this part of the city in that time. From the fifth century AH onward Tabriz has been known as a large and prosperous city with an active bazaar and travellers and merchants.

### **Formation of Tabriz market**

Formation of the bazaar of Tabriz should be considered as a concurrent process with the development of the city of Tabriz. This is because the history of the formation of bazaar of Tabriz is also as vague as the formation of the city itself. According to the oldest formal record about foundation of this bazaar, it was re-built by Najaf Gholi Khan Dambali after the disastrous earthquake in 1782. Before and after this date, Tabriz was continuously being renovated and reconstructed because of the frequent earthquakes and this fact makes it difficult to accurately identify the evolution process of bazaar of Tabriz as the main core of the city. The oldest earthquake in Tabriz which was formally recorded was during the era of Motevakeh Bellah Abbasid Caliph in 858 AD and after that the city was reconstructed by his order. After this earthquake multiple earthquakes were recorded at Tabriz. After each disaster, bazaar was one of the first elements of the city that was quickly reconstructed and found its prosperity and continued its social activity.

Ebne Hoghol (1966) explained the prosperity of the bazaar of Tabriz when he said: "in this city, there are a lot of bazaars in which there is a thriving trade and its silk fabrics are unique in the world". Although this explicitly described the existence of the thriving bazaars in Tabriz, it does not provide any information about the spatial quality of this place. Tabriz became the capital of Iran in the Patriarch era and during Abaghakhan's time (1282), the bazaar of Tabriz started to boom rapidly since throughout the kingdom of Abaghakhan Tabriz was at a brilliant situation in terms of economy and social life. During this period, Tabriz was under the attention of ambassadors of Egypt, India, European countries, Byzantine Empire, Venice and Genoa (Handicrafts and Tourism Organization, Iranian Cultural Heritage, 2011). Bazaar of Tabriz maintained its importance until the transition of the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin in 1537 and it lost its prosperity in late Safavid (1501-1722) until the outset of Dambali dynasty. Finally, during Ghajar period and after its reconstruction after the earthquake 1782 this bazaar found its booming time again.

### **The impacts of city gates to Tabriz on the formation of bazaar of Tabriz**

Notwithstanding the destructive effects of multiple earthquakes, the availability of historic pictures and maps and the chance to compare them with the current situation can reveal some important facts about the formation of the bazaar of Tabriz. According to the existing documents, there is not enough evidence to show that Tabriz had any city gate before Ghajar era (1796-1926). For the first time, the map drawn by Trezeh and Faboyeh in 1827 identified the location and the quality of the emerging gates of Tabriz (figure 3). According to this important document, by that time, all around the city border was occupied, flatted, and vacated by Abbas Mirza. The most remarkable

gate in this map is the Kohnneh Khiavan (Old Street) gate. This gate was the main portal of transportation between Tabriz and Tehran and Isfahan. Baghmishe gate was the other important gates in Tabriz which was located near to the famous bridge named Ghari Korpousi. Due to the proximity of this gate to the building of governance forum and mantle home and the building formerly called Ali Ghapoo, the path to the eastern and north-eastern cities such as Ahar, Ardabil passed through this gate. After passing the Venair Bridge that was located above the Aji Chay River, they entered to the Baghmisheh neighbourhood. Ardabil-Maraghe road along the east-west after traversing Baghmisheh and Sheshgelan neighbourhood, at the east of the central core, and after crossing the Ghari bridge (old woman) arrived to the Baghmisheh gate" (Safa Manesh, 1997). Dochi Ghapsi also had direct connection to the Straw Wholesalers' square and had the entry and exit route for caravans from Marand-Jolfa and Ghafghaz and travellers exited the city through this gate (figure 5). Gajil gate was located at the site of one of the largest cemeteries and considered as one of the most important city gates which were the rout for caravans to Maragheh and Baghdad in the past.

Urban components and symbols are among the elements that played significant roles in the formation and development of the bazaar of Tabriz. The government centre in Tabriz after the Patriarch period (1256-1335) was located at Sheshgelan neighbourhood for some times. After that, during king of Gharah Ghoyonloo's time (1435-1467), it was relocated to the Saheb Abad garden at the north of the River Square which was built during the time of Sheykh Mohammad Jovini, the minister of Abaghakhan. There is a buried place named old house at the Sheshgelan neighbourhood where emperors prior to Jahan Shah's time lived there. Jahan Shah brought the government house to this garden which was named Saheb Abad (Ebne Karbalaei, 2004). At the same time with Jahan Shah, her wife also built a complex named Mozafarieh complex at southeast of Tabriz. The construction of this complex caused the formation of an axis which was the development direction for the bazaar. This axis starts with Mozafirieh complex with centralisation of Kabood (Bule) mosque and ends with Saheb Abad complex with centralisation of government palaces and Saheb Abad square. Latter after the earthquake in 1782, a new axis for development of bazaar appeared after relocating the government centre from north to the east of Tabriz.

### **Urban components and symbols**

#### **Architectural elements of the bazaar of Tabriz**

Like the other Iranian traditional bazaars, bazaar of Tabriz includes order (Nizam), inns, timchehs, schools, mosques, shrines, monument, squares, fridges and traditional gyms. Currently, this bazaar has four orders, fourteen corridors, fourteen inns, two caravans, fourteen timchehs, five sub-bazaars, twelve mosques and one square. The point which is very important is the reasons for formation of two main parallel bazaars in this place. In Tabriz market also the most common spatial pattern is the composition of the shops and corridors. This bazaar is a communication network that includes some parallel and intersecting orders. The direction of two main parallel orders is from north to south and the important perpendicular orders to them are: Haram Khaneh rout, shoe makers market and coppersmith market. Shops are spread along the major and minor orders and the located spaces behind them are connected to the inns and timchehs (Tabriz market management plan, 2009). The following sections discuss the reasons of emergence of two parallel orders in this bazaar.



Figure 5: historical arterial input and the formation of bazaar of Tabriz  
(Source: Archive of Tabriz heritage department--Accessed 2012).

### **Old and new orders of the bazaar**

One of the historical pictures from Tabriz is Metraghchi's miniature (figure 6). In this image, bazaar of Tabriz is shown as a row of arcades. According to the image, the bazaar was formed in accordance to city centres and the city's main pathways to Esfahan and Rey. Mozafarieh complex and Kabood mosque are at the beginning and Saheb Abad square and government complex are at the end and Tabriz mosque is at the middle of the arcades. The image also shows that during that time, the bazaar had one order only. This order is currently known as the Old order. When comparing this image with the map of Treseh and Faboye (1827) which was drawn after the earthquake time, one can see that in that time the old order was not reached to the River square yet. This map also does not comprise of the elements named Aynachilar bazaar and Batchilar Charsuq that connect the old order to the river.

This fact is also reflected in Metraghchi's miniature in which the drawn arcades do not reach to the River square. However, the end point of the arcades in Metraghchi miniature arrive to the Saheb Abad garden but still not connected to the Saheb Abad square while the new orders now finish at the king Hassan's school in the north of the River square. According to finding through the recent excavations at the location of King Hassan's mosque and school, it is obvious that the drawn arcades by Metraghchi belong to the old order which appeared during the Safavid times (1501-1722) and there was no sign of the new order by that time. From the historic documents, it is obvious that the new order was constructed after the earthquake in the year 1782.

### **The reasons for formation of two parallel orders in Tabriz market**

The order plays a key role in the formation of the body of bazaars. In fact, the orders often follow the navigation paths of cities, so that after people continue to appear at certain paths, they evolve into bazaars and then only timchehs and inns attach to these orders (the Ministry of Urban and Housing of Iran, 2009). The formation of these navigation paths however has always followed the trade destinations. In the case of Tabriz, the most of these routes was Esfahan –Rey to Istanbul



and Baghdad highway that started from Khiaban district and ended at the Davachi district. Based on the available historical images, this route gained a very high degree of importance due to the construction of the Saheb Abad square in the north of the city and Mozafarieh complex in the east within the time of Turkmen Aghkoyunlular (1378-1502).



Figure 6: Airplane image in 1956 from bazaar of Tabriz and its main pathways  
(Source: National Cartographic of Iran--Accessed 2012).

The Old order of the bazaar of Tabriz was formed alongside this axis (figure 7a); nevertheless, after the earthquake in 1782 Tabriz became a smaller city with the population of less than ten thousand people. According to Zhoher (1968), all settlements around Tabriz and most of the buildings were destroyed due to this horrific earthquake (figure 7b). After the earthquake, Najaf Gholi Danbali, who built the last fence of Tabriz, decided to miniaturise the city fence. For achieving this goal, the former government centre and the main square of the city were eliminated and a new government centre was built at Haram Khaneh district (east of the city). The Saheb Abad square lost its importance after formation of the new government centre. In contrast, Baghmisheh gate and Khiaban gate gained much higher degree of importance and the expansion of the city altered towards the east.



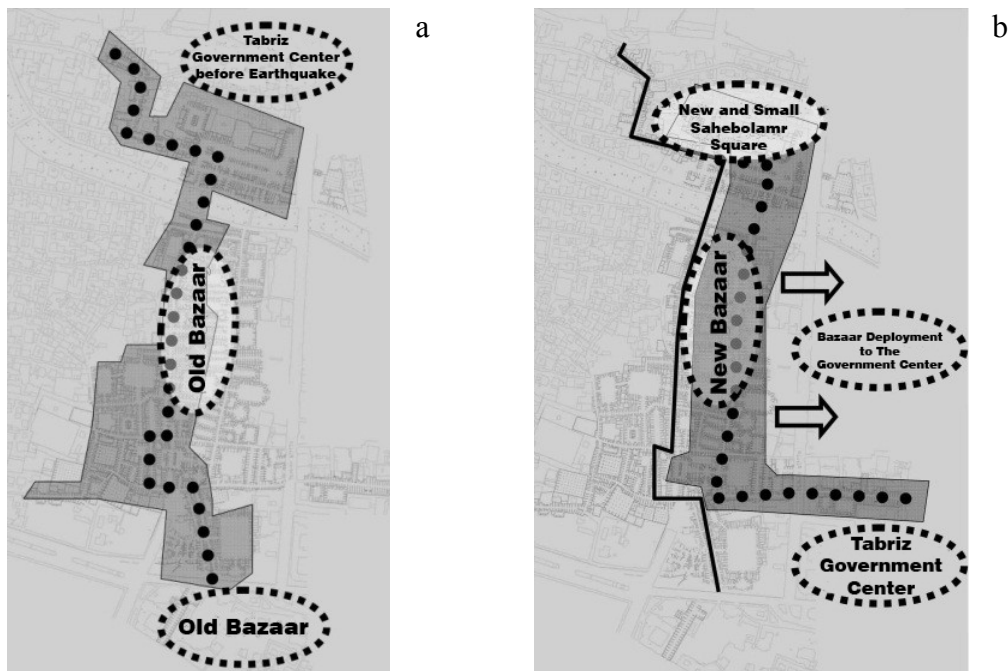


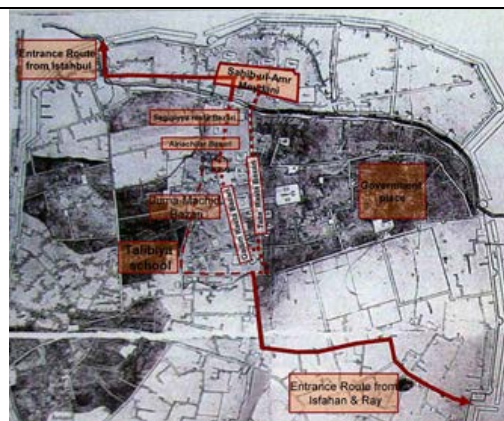
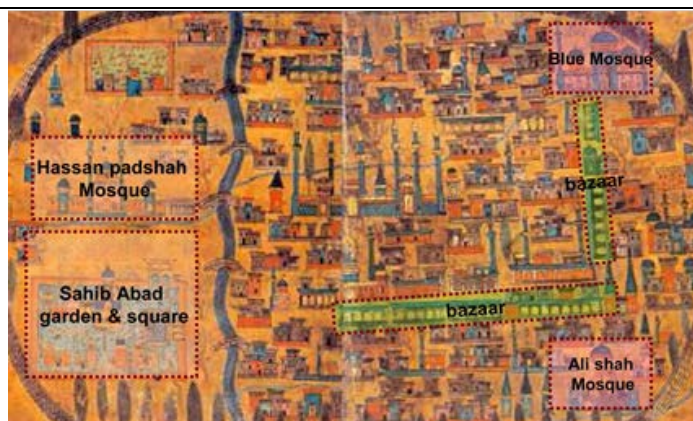
Figure 7: Development process of bazaar of Tabriz based on the formation of the old and new order towards government and political centre of the city (Source: Authors).

The new order of bazaar starts from the Baghmisheh gate and transits through the north of Mantle House (the new centre of government) and arrives at the Shoemakers order. This order has been unchanged until the current time. As per discussed, this research posits that the relocation of government centre from the north to the east of the city led to the situation for formation of new order in the parallel of the old order. However, the formation of the new order never caused the low prosperity of the old order. This study believes that this was due to the existence of subsidiary orders and inns such as Tomb order, Serajan bazaar, Hat Sewers' bazaar and small Matchmaker woman bazaar between these two orders. Table 2 summarises all influencing factors on the formation of bazaar of Tabriz based on the historic documents.

## CONCLUSION

The investigation of the formation of bazaars in some cities which formed prior to Islam's commencement, then converted to Islamic cities has always been a very complicated issue. Bazaars and their components (e.g., commercial, political, social, religious, and educational services' centres) have been of the main elements of Islamic cities and urban structures. Integration of such a variety of functions and concepts in a single urban structure is an evidence of not only acting as commercial spaces, but also constituting overwhelming public places for hosting and leading social and cultural ceremonies or social relationships. This distinctive character of Islamic '*marketplaces*' is mainly due to the Muslim believes and sharia laws for economics which encourages social bonds though any possible conduit. Nevertheless, this characteristic of bazaars which was initially triggered by sharia laws and particular needs of merchants formed a very strong interplay and relationship between developments of Islamic cities and bazaars in Iran.

**Table 2:** The influencing factors on the formation of bazaar of Tabriz (Source: authors)



Metraghchi's Miniature image of Tabriz in Safavid period

Tabriz Bazaar in Ghajar period

- In this miniature, Tabriz Bazaar is shown by a series of arcades and Kabood mosque is at the beginning of these arcades and Saheb Abad government centre is located at the end of axis
- This axis matches with the Karvanian's rout from Rey and Esfahan to Istanbul and Ghafghaz
- There is only one set of arcades in this image which matches with the old order of the bazaar

- In this picture, the main orders of bazaar match with the axis of motion from Rey and Esfahan to the Istanbul and Ghafghaz
- Old order has harmony with Metraghchi's miniature and has connection to the north of the river by creation of the Batchilar Chaharsogh and Aynachilar and Sadeghieh order
- New order formed at the east of old order based on the transferring government centre from north to the east and it shows the importance of government centres to the formation of bazaar.

Cities' input patches in the past were one of the most important factors affecting the formation and development of the historic bazaars in Iran. In addition, government, religious and educational symbols and centres that can be seen in the bazaar of Tabriz were other factors that direct Iranian markets development.

The debates over the key roles of bazaars in the post-Islam developments of cities have become one of the most interesting topics. This paper discussed the important role of the state mosques for the development of the bazaar during this period. The conducted investigations sought answer to the overarching question: between mosques and bazaars which urban element has had the main contribution to the developments of the Islamic cities? The results of this study ascertained that although mosques significantly contributed to the development of many Islamic urban structures, including bazaars, bazaar also played big roles in determination of locations of city and state mosques. Nevertheless, this impact was not one way only and at the same time, the formation of bazaars in Islamic cities of Iran was strongly influenced by the position of various urban elements including government centres, urban pathways, and the major national highways. This paper therefore discussed the roles of the important official and religious city centres on the formation of bazaars and highlighted that the city gates played very important roles in the formation of the orders of bazaars. The paper also investigated the distinctive characteristics of bazaar of Tabriz with two parallel orders. This was a unique and significant study which discovered new aspects of the important roles of bazaars in formation of Islamic cities and cultures.

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