STRUCTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC
SPACES: THE CASE OF TABRIZ

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ALI RAD YOUSEFNIA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIRMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

MAY 2018

Approval of the thesis:

STRUCTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SPACES: THE CASE OF TABRIZ

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ABSTRACT

STRUCTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE: THE CASE OF TABRIZ

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May 2018, 107 pages

Transformation of the public spaces in Tabriz during the early years of 20th century is the main problematic of this research. Regarding this, the previous urban fabric will be considered and the influence of state during Pahlavis on the built environment and public spaces will be discussed meticulously.

Iran as a country which adopted the modernity with retardation, encountered a unique experience. It is very difficult to study Iran like other countries since she never became a colony in the region. In this regard, studying Tabriz has its own impediments because of being the gate of modernity and almost all experiences of this period practiced for the first time in the city. The changing role of the city after transferring power to other political groups, altered its socio-political situation in a rapid way as well and it is important to know that its urban fabric faced severe transformations and destructions.

This study is an attempt to understand and evaluate the transformation of the public space comprehensively. These evaluations consider both structural and ideological motivations in this process. In addition, a more salient frame about the relation of

power, state and public space tried to be drawn regarding the defined case study. In this process, state uses its tools to change the space within its power. These changes will be discussed further but what is important here to mention is the role of state apparatuses considering these transformations and how the space became the controlling mechanism of the state in the society. The urban fabric and built environment will be analyzed by employing the socio-political theories rather than considering solely physical issues and elements.

Keywords: Public space, urban fabric, transformation, Tabriz, Bazaar

ÖZ

YAPISAL VE İDEOLOJİK BAĞLAMDA KAMUSAL MEKANIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: TEBRİZ ÖRNEĞİ

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Mayıs 2018, 107 Sayfa

Yirminci yüzyılın başlarında Tebriz'deki kamusal mekanın dönüşümü bu araştırmanın asıl sorunsalıdır. Bu bağlamda, geçmişteki kentsel doku ele alınmakta ve Pehlevi döneminde yapılı çevrede ve kamusal mekanda devletin etkisi derinlemesine incelenmektedir.

İran'ın moderniteyi gecikmeli olarak benimsemesi kendine özgü bir durum teşkil eder. Bu örnek başka ülkelere kıyasla incelemek çok zordur; çünkü tarihi boyunca bölgedeki pek çok ülkenin aksine İran sömürge durumunda olmamıştır. Bu bağlamda, Tebriz'i okumanın da kendine özgü zorlukları bulunmaktadır. Tarihi boyunca Tebriz, İran'ın moderniteye açılan kapısı olup bu süreçteki pek çok ilk deneyimler bu şehirde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Diğer yandan devlet ve iktidar gücünün başka politik gruplara aktarılması ile şehrin değişen rolü, sosyo-politik konumunun da değişmesine yol açmıştır. Bu noktada kent dokusunun yıkımı ve dönüşümü ön plana çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, kamusal mekanın dönüşümünü kapsamlı olarak anlamayı ve değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu değerlendirmeler süreçteki yapısal ve ideolojik

nedenler üzerinden yapılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, güç, devlet ve kamusal mekanın birbiriyle olan ilişkisine dair bir çerçeve çizilip konular bir örnek üzerinden tartışılmıştır. Bu süreçte devlet gücünü ve aygıtlarını devreye sokarak mekanının dönüşümünü sağlamış olup bu dönüşümler tezin ilerleyen kısımlarında ele alınıp irdelenmiştir. Burada asıl önem taşıyan konu, devletin aygıtlarına değinerek, dönüşüm sürecinde mekanın toplum üzerinde nasıl bir kontrol mekanizması haline gelebildiğini incelemektir. Kentsel doku ve yapılı çevre sadece fiziksel elemanların irdelenmesiyle değil, sosyo-politik kuramları aracılığıyla da analiz edilmektedir.

Anahtar kelime: Kamusal mekan, kent dokusu, dönüşüm, Tebriz, Bazaar

To my family
and
the memory of Alireza…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to explore the transformation of public spaces and deliberate on its structural and ideological facts and reasons. Transformation in urban context has become a common phenomenon in many cities since the industrial revolution. These changes follow several factors that can vary from political issues to fluidity of capital, population growth and emerging migration. In this process, state plays a key role within the transformation of the urban fabric. Through legal regulations, state directly interferes in city context. Several motivations can be identified within this action, such as modernization processes, political, social and economic issues, etc. Referring to David Harvey about uneven geographical developments and production of space, one can state that capital always looks for land and space as commodity and safe investments. In this regard, in capitalist states, commodification and economic motivations are the most effective factors which can change the urban fabric for having more profits. Beside its economic priorities, it should be noted that space had been used for representing the ideology. The desire for shift from traditional society to modern one has always been manifested in new urban forms. In this context, Tabriz, which has drastically changed in the last five decades, is not an exception. Some of the most important reasons affected and accelerated urban transformation in Tabriz are possible to be categorized as; Enactment of the laws causing considerable destructions in the urban context in order to have more open spaces. Damaging the historical fabric of the city and dividing the old parts through wide openings. New boulevards and streets before and after the 1979 revolution. Rapid increase of population. Domestic migration to cities in different periods of time.

The general aim of this study is to identify political, socio-cultural, urban and spatial factors and reasons that affected the city context in urban macroform. More specifically it focuses on certain urban microforms in Tabriz for a better conceptualization and analysis of urban transformation in terms of public spaces. In the autocratic system of 20th century's Iran, state and system penetrates into all aspects of daily life throughout the country and initiates almost unlimited power for changing or even erasing different structures inside the urban form from previous administrations. Space has been used as a tool for manifesting the influence of the power. It is the space that represents the ideology. As it can be seen in all modernist movements, these actions became the inevitable part of the modernization process in Iran as well and changes make ideological oppositions and the process of the struggle more concrete. As Aldo Rossi says: "… the history of architecture and built urban artifacts is always the history of the architecture of the ruling classes." (1984. p. 11)

1.1. Problem Definition

Public and green spaces are fundamental for the cities and their structural transformation in the urban space are complex issues due to different motives. It is possible to understand the production and re-production process of public and recreational urban spaces of different culture's urban traditions be looking at their historical and socio-spatial background as well as the state's interventions.

Iran as a country adopting modernity with retardation, followed a unique path in this manner and urban transformation in cities shaped different spatial productions all over the country. In addition to Iran's unique situation, the city of Tabriz somehow had a different experience regarding its rapid and fundamental transformations in its urban fabric due to tensions between several political powers. Tabriz as the gate of modernity experienced many of these changes earlier than other cities in Iran. Once named as "Valiahd – Neshin" during the Qajar period, the city was regarded as the place of the

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Prince for almost one and half century. This issue attributed an important attention to the city during the Qajar period.

After the fall of the Qajar dynasty in 1925, ethnic minorities[1] (Figure 1.1) were started to be neglected under the Reza Shah's rule. Unsurprisingly, he paid more attention to the capital city of Tehran regarding his centralized policies. During the first ruling years of Reza Shah Pahlavi, the state started to destroy remnants and clear the urban fabric from artifacts and structures, which belong to previous administrations and political powers. These actions formed a new urban fabric in all the cities in Iran. Production of new spaces in urban fabric influenced by the tendencies of the King himself and the cabinet members which almost all of them were graduated from European schools; from the countries such as France where Haussmannian ways of opening boulevards and principles of modern urban development took place during the 19th century. These conditions were maintained during the Second Pahlavi's period as well.

Besides its distinctive position during different political eras, the geo-political importance of Tabriz has played a crucial role in shaping its urban fabric, too. Throughout the country's history, Tabriz has been the hub of Iran and functioned as a transit point for travelers and traders across Europe, Anatolia and Caucuses. Having an important function in the trade between Iranian cities and the neighbor countries in the West, the urban fabric of the city has been shaped mostly around its traditional bazaar. As an example, the expansion of bazaar created a very complex and intense tie between the traditional public spaces and the urban fabric. This space not only contains variety of different spaces in it, but also functioned as a transportation corridor inside the dense traditional urban fabric. Having access to several mosques, especially the *Jaame* (central) mosque, different market places, baths, and Madrasas; the Bazaar has

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[1] Iran is a country with vast group of ethnic minorities like Azeris, Kurds, Lurs, Baluchs, etc. In addition to different ethnic groups in the country, different religions can be found in the country as well. Pahlavi dynasty under the ruling of Reza Shah started to build a new nationalist mentality and the government paid more attention to Persians as the main group in the Iranian society. (Figure 1.1)

strengthened social and political relations in itself and become the concentration point of traditional and mainly conservative society. In this context, the Bazaar has constituted a unique phenomenon among the old Iranian cities. In the case of Tabriz, it is one of the most significant and still one of the largest covered traditional Bazaar in the world. In each era, thanks to its social richness and influence on the society and its role in trade, the Bazaar has always been crucial in the eyes of political powers and ruling classes. Dominant powers tried to exert influence on the Bazaar ideologically and physically. Beside its social roles, Bazaar was the central or mere point for the accumulation of the capital in Iranian cities and the richest social class in traditional society was the *"Bazariyan"* (the name given to the merchants of the Bazaar).

This study aims to focus on the aforementioned changes in urban fabric and examines the structural and ideological effects of urban transformations imposed by the state. Why and how public spaces were created, shaped or destroyed under the administration of each political power will be questioned. Particularly, the role of state will be emphasized according to the characteristics of different eras. This study will scrutinize the social and political factors which affected the spatial production and try to have an comprehensive understanding about the process of the urban transformation.

While the main purpose of the thesis is to critically analyze the urban transformation of public and green spaces of Tabriz in different periods, it will also try to have an understanding on the social and political motives on spatiality and how the production of public and green spaces changed during these periods. In addition to the structural transformation of the city, the ideological transformation of the society and the state will be questioned through an interdisciplinary perspective. Briefly, this study tries to cover up the social and political spheres of new emerged spaces in the city. It is expected to achieve versatile recognition on the reasons and the roots of these transformations with raising a concern over these issues.

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1.2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Theoretical framework of this study is shaped by concentrating on socio-political theories of space. For having more clarified statements about the transformation of space, especially public spaces, theories are used considering the relationship of space, authority and dominant power regarding the ideological tendencies of production of space. How ideological projects for building a new nation affected the cities? How these nationalist moves took place in a multi-cultural society with different ethnic groups and minorities in Iran? Does the Iranian Nationalism fulfill the interests of all groups in the country? And more importantly, how the cities in different regions and their urban form affected by radical decisions originated from liberal, modern and nationalist ideologies of executives?

Although Iran never became a colonial country like many others in Asia, Africa and Middle East, it is possible to notice many similar actions, which took place in colonized countries by the hand of colonialist powers and the central government in Iran as their collaborator during 19th and 20th centuries. Having realized the power of space and spatial transformation, the dominant powers started to take advantage of interfering and occupying the space and affecting people's lives in all perspectives.

The concepts of "dominant power", "action" and "spatial transformation" need to be clarified, since they together provide the theoretical basis to understand the occupation of the space, especially the public space. The dominant power here addresses the state and it refers to state behavior and governmental actions. During the Pahlavi dynasty, several aims declared for applied changes in the country and modernizing and developing the society were some of well – known items which mentioned repeatedly. Here, it is necessary to mention that the ideology of building a new Iran formed during the early years of Pahlavi dynasty, under the reign of Reza Shah. His cabinet members and consultant believed that it was time to build a new Iran by having a nostalgic look to the pre-Islamic period of Iranian history. Intelligentsia believed that the fastest way

to catch up with modern and Western World and emancipating society from traditional forces lies in the secularism, nationalism and liberalism. These elite groups wanted to forget the past which they were disaccord with it and tried to build a new ideology from specific parts of the country's history. Similar to other modernization movements as happened in Turkey after the fall of Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Republic under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, political authority in Iran wanted to make an amalgam of nationalism and modernism for having a rapid development in the country. Therefore, the project of modernizing Iran started in 1930s with radical tendencies of nationalism and a harsh opposition with traditional and religious groups. For intelligentsia, who had the upper hand inside the government, it was crucial to build a new nation for having a better future and a rapid growth. Cities and buildings were the most vulnerable items in this process. They became the representation tools to show this progress since they can change faster and more obvious than other aspects of the society. In this regard, it is significant to ask "who builds what, when, and how". In order to reach the complete answers of these questions, we should also mention "who destroys what, when and how". The theoretical framework thus shaped in a way to be able to answer these questions by considering the socio-political context of these processes.

"Space as occupation" asserts the political nature of the space. Within this context, public space plays a significant role in urban spaces and public sphere. (Minkenberg, 2014. p,4) This is a well-established fact in studied cases which transformed in the urban form of Tabriz. In this regard, occupation of traditional and iconic places by the government can be underscored by the state in each period. Several examples will be examined in following chapter like replacing Bagh Shomal - a monumental and historical garden dated back to Safavid dynasty in the 16th century - with a military camp or establishing the act named "Street Opening Act" which destroyed the old fabric of the city and damaged traditional Bazaar of Tabriz under the name of this law. As Lefebvre acknowledged about the ideology, knowledge and space:

The area where ideology and knowledge are barely distinguishable is subsumed under the broader notion of representation, which thus supplants the concept of ideology and becomes a serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces, as of those societies which have given rise to them and recognized themselves in them. (1974. p,45)

Space, as a tool of representation, is used for representing the ideology and nation in above mentioned case. It is a powerful as well as the fastest and easiest way to show the changes exerted by the authority for having a modern society. In this process, planners and architects are the mediators of imposed transformation. These groups used the space and formed a new spatiality as a media for representing the demands and ideas of political power. Nowadays, by passing four decades after ruling years of Pahlavi dynasty, it is easier to decode and analyze the spatial codes and the reasons of new spaces produced in that period. It is necessary to develop an in-depth understanding about the changes which affected the cities as accelerators of the modernization and development.

This study is an attempt to answer above-mentioned concerns and questions by using an analytic approach that is supported by descriptive and exploratory research methods. After collecting data from different types of sources like books, journals, visual and virtual sources, this information will be arranged in a chronological narration within a theoretical framework. This categorization will be the backbone of the study. In the first two chapters, structural and ideological transformations will be contextualized in regard of the urban form, specifically highlighting the form of Islamic - Iranian cities by using the viewpoints of Sapphire Kostof, Ali Madanipour and Mohammad Mansur Falamaki. In the second part, historical documents and collected data will be used for having and in-depth understanding of the transformations within the urban form. Like all other researches which oriented on archival documents, the study will benefit from an historical analysis for having a more vivid picture of the events.

One of the main materials in this study is historical maps of Tabriz which drafted in 19th century and aerial photos of the city which captured in 1956 and 1967. By comparing these maps and aerial photos of the city, it is expected to draw the physical and structural changes in the urban fabric and it would be possible to make comparisons between periodic time spans as well. After drawing the maps of transformations in the urban fabric and noticeable changes in specific places inside the urban form, the ideological motives of the changes will be discussed for having a better understanding for the reasons which followed by social and political issues. For this work, the book titled "Reading up old maps of Tabriz"[2] is one of the main sources and references providing old maps, sketches and visual sources of the old city. In addition to above mentioned sources, living in the city of Tabriz for almost 25 years, personal experiences and interviews from different groups of people are influential in shaping the essential frames of the study.

This study will be a new experience for narrating the history of built environment in Tabriz. After almost four decades from the collapse of the Pahlavi dynasty, it is essential to evaluate the state apparatuses within the imposed changes and transformations during the Pahlavi period. There is no doubt that, all these changes played significant role in the civic movements of 1960s and 1970s which ended up in the revolution of 1979 which ended 2500 years of monarchy in Iran.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

An interdisciplinary approach is needed to examine the mentioned arguments in this thesis. This approach will consider socio-political theories regarding urban transformation as well as, socio-spatial theories will be employed. Moreover, a chronological review will be obtained through the historical background of the case study to link the chapters with each other. This timespan will start by the late years of

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[2] Fakhari Tehrani, Farhad. Parsi, Faramarz. Bani Masoud, Amir. (2006). *Reading up of old maps of Tabriz*. Tehran, I.R. Iran. Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, Urban Development and Revitalization Organization.

19th century and cover the 20th century's Tabriz. Events that took place in the 20th century will constitute the major parts which plays crucial role in the transformation of the public space. Existence of numerous transformation cases makes impossible to evaluate the phenomenon thoroughly. Hence, this study intends to focus on certain iconic cases that were transformed under state enforcement. Another important issue is the negligence of the demolition of green spaces in several case studies regardless of any political or cultural tendencies.

Hence the thesis consists of five chapters:

- In the **first chapter**, main concerns, problem definition and research questions are discussed and a general perspective is drawn about the thesis.

- **Chapter 2** provides the conceptual framework by collecting numerous viewpoints of experts and important names on this topic. First part of the chapter gives the definition of public spaces and forms a theoretical framework to fit the case study. The second part will concentrate on urban transformation and its motives and causes in different cases. The last part will provide the groundwork for the chapter 3 which will concentrate on the case study.

- In the **Chapter 3,** the case study will be contextualized and important points about the case will be highlighted. The city of Tabriz will be described thoroughly for providing an understanding of spaces in the old fabric of the city will be analyzed. Each section of the chapter provides several information about iconic parts of the case study and highlights the significant points about Tabriz and important topics are going to be addressed.

- **Chapter 4** is about the Iranian modernity which started by the Pahlavi dynasty and in this chapter, the non-Western experience of the modernization is discussed and more importantly its spatial impacts on the urban fabric will be

studied upon the case study. Two different periods are considered within this chapter. The first one is the Reza Shah Pahlavi's period which is somehow the starting point of the Iranian modernization and the second phase of this chapter is the Mohammad Reza Shah's period and how he tries to follow his father's path albeit in a different way. This chapter will focus on the topic until the Islamic revolution of 1979.

- The **concluding chapter** will sum up the results and reveal the impacts of the socio-political topics and the role of state in urban transformation of Tabriz. This study tries to understand the factors and motives of urban transformation by the hand of state and under the name of the modernization, and attempts to clarify the ambiguous parts of these changes via a particular theoretical framework rather than providing merely a historical narration about the case study.
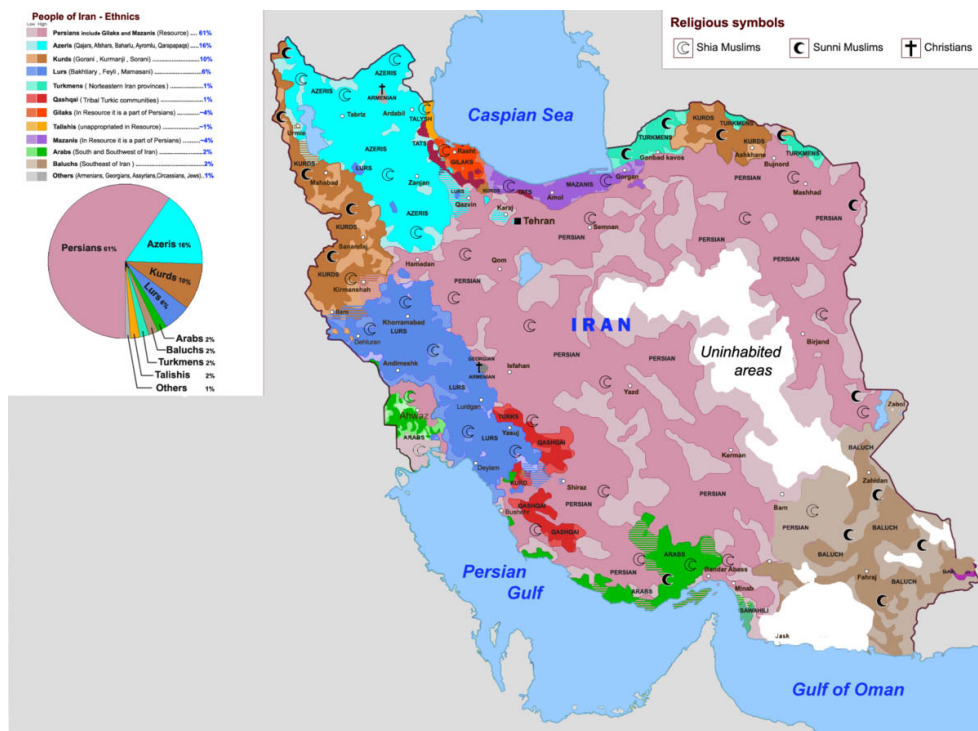
Figure 1.1: Ethnicities and religions in Iran
Source: URL 1

CHAPTER 2

STRUCTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN PUBLIC SPACE

The history of public spaces in Iranian cities dates back to times which urban form started to shape. The differentiation of this process depends on each city's urban morphology, geographical motives, social and political structures inside the city. Within this context, it is understandable that evaluating public spaces in this theme needs more detailed information and has to be studied from both Eastern and Western perspectives and definitions regarding their controversies and similarities. More importantly about this study, the main problematic is to understand how the new modes of production which led to new public spaces affected the urban fabric. Furthermore, how this attempts changed the face of cities especially the city of Tabriz dramatically and in a rapid way. By use of legislative tools and political powers, the main actors in these changes was the government itself. This transformation is obvious in the ruling years of Reza Shah Pahlavi. It is beneficial to go back to the roots of the "public space" and explore the main points for having a better perception about producing new forms of public spaces in urban fabric of Iranian cities.

In most parts of the study for mentioning the "city" in modern period the "urban fabric" preferred instead of "city". So "urban fabric" refers to modern version of the "city". There are several reasons for these distinctions. The first reason regarding these distinctions lies in the fact that the term fabric can reach out everywhere regardless to its spatial quality and used materials. Secondly, "urban" has "more abstract and more concrete way to figure out the urbanization of the world, because it helps us think about a process that manifests itself in undergrowth as well as overgrowth, in abandonment

as well as overcrowding, in underdevelopment as well as overdevelopment." (Merrifield, 2014. Preface) More specifically the upheavals which took place during 1960s and 1970s affected the views of intellectuals and thinkers about the city like Lefebvre. From his urban societal view point, we should stop using the term city as Lefebvre says and adopts instead the terminology "urban society". Urban society, he was fond of saying, "is built upon the ruins of the city." (Lefebvre, 1970. Merrifield, 2014, p. 6)[3]

Back to the debates of 1970s among scholars, one of the key questions which emerged among them was questioning the nature of urban. The main point was going back to the roots of the problem and explain some fundamental questions like "what is the urban anyway?" "What is a city?" and "Why there are lots of interests among critical scholars about this issue?" It is scholarly accepted that city plays a unique role under capitalism – It was significant in the creation of capitalism itself. City has two important roles under capitalism:

> an engine for capital accumulation, on the one hand, and a site for social/class struggle, on the other. It is crucial for the expansion of capitalism and for overthrowing capitalism. It is a theoretical object of curiosity because it is a political subject of necessity. (Merrifield, 2014, p. 1)

By the physical and ideological transformation took place in Iran during first years of 20th century; these attempts were the first moves to integrate a capitalist society with western values. The political power wanted to bring globalization and liberal economy to the country as an accelerator for the modernization process and adaptation process to global world. After the fall of the Qajar dynasty, the traditional feudal system tied to be replaced with a secular and liberal system. As Ali Mirsepassi said:

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[3] This is an attempt to raise the awareness about the changing process of the city and its fabric. As many intellectuals mentioned in their works, the time of the city has become to an end. However, the "term" city can be seen in many adopted view points of the scholars. Scholars like Spiro Kostof and Ali Madanipour are among these examples. In this condition "city" refers to the old and traditional city instead of contemporary meaning of it. It is almost the same about the relation of "Place" and "Space" in the writings of Spiro Kostof. He prefers to use the "public place" instead of "public space" in his works as well.

It is with the imposition of Eurocentric universalism by the West that the emphasis on the local has become important in non-Western struggles for modernization. (Mirsepassi, 2000, p. 10)

This statement is true about Iran since it is a non – western country and after this process there was a dramatic opposition on the modernist attempts which made by the authority in the country. On the hand, it is hard to analyze the case of Iran in this process because it has a very unique path and transition from tradition to modernity. However, it can be said that it is one of the best examples to show how a traditional and conservative society resisted to accept the values and motives of the western world and turn its back to it.

2.1. Definition of Public Space – Public Space and Islamic Cities

For having a better understanding of the meaning of the "public space" it is useful to go deep in the meaning of the words 'public' and 'space' separately. The word 'public' has a wide range of meanings. It is derived from the Latin route of populous 'people'. The meaning of public from the Oxford Dictionary, as an adjective:
Of or concerning the people as a whole; Open to or shared by all the people of an area or country; Of or involved in the affairs of the community, especially in government or entertainment; Of or provided by the state rather than an independent, commercial company.

As a noun:
[The Public] Ordinary people in general; the community. A section of the community having a particular interest or connection.

The definition of the meaning of the space from the Oxford Dictionary, as a noun:

A continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied; The dimensions of height, depth, and width within which all things exist and move; The freedom to live, think, and develop in a way that suits one.

By considering above-mentioned meanings and analyzing each word separately, it is significant to clarify the accurate meaning of the "public space" and what are the dimensions and items that make it important. The opposite meaning of this term is "private space" and one of the most significant discussions about these two terms is that there are no boundaries, borders or separated lines between public and private spaces. We can categorize in-between spaces besides these two, such as "quasi-public" or "quasi-private" spaces. The borders may depend on many different factors like culture, ethnicity, religion, etc. Therefore, the concepts of private and public especially in spatial matters may differ in each society. What is notable here is the "potentially puzzling diversity of activities and practices which are categorized as public or private". (Benn and Gaus, 1983) Three main categories were used for identifying the dimensions of being public or private. These three fundamental dimensions of social organization are access, agency and interest.

For public spaces, the necessity of access has been always emphasized and it can include access to a place as well as to the activities. However, a place which is owned by a private agency can be open to public by the legislative authority. Access to public spaces can be categorized in four sub-dimensions: Physical access to spaces, access to activities, access to information and access to resources. (Madanipour, 2003)

After highlighting the significance of the notion of access within the general conception of public spaces, is it possible to consider public places as a destination in the society? According to Kostof, yes we can consider the public space as the destination and the reason is that during the history each public space within the urban form was built by different purposes like rituals and different types of interactions. The other important aspect of these places is its' being free for everyone's uses in contrast

with for instance the private uses of houses and shops inside the commercial spaces of Bazaar. Freedom of action is another important characteristic of a public space whether being active or having the right to stay inactive. (Kostof, 1992, p. 123)

It can be said that the fundamental aim of public spaces is settling the community and resolving the problems and conflicts among different types of social classes and people. Take squares as an example. As Kostof explains:

> The square is where we exercise our franchise, our sense of belonging. We are meant to come and go as we please, without the consent of authorities and without any declaration of a justifying purpose. …but even now, the public place is the canvas on which political and social change is painted. It is not enough to take over the reins of a city, to overwhelm an existing social order and supplant is with a new one; it is important to demonstrate the change in the design and uses of the public realm within the city. (Kostof, 1992, p. 124)

So it is understandable that imagining, thinking and discussing about public space without considering culture, politics and authoritarian powers is almost impossible. What they do and how they affect the shape of urban form especially public places will be questioned in upcoming parts of this research. On the other hand, since it is very hard to recognize the boundaries of public and private spaces and their realms, mentioning the context and effective factors like historical period, culture, social bounds have to be mentioned for having a better understanding about each specific space. It is especially necessary to be aware of these differentiations between East and West worlds depending on the societal differences in different socio-cultural geographies. However, it is easy to notice public and private realms in Islamic and more conservative societies but it is important to know that even in some cases these realms vanish according to complex and multi layered relations between the individuals in the society and public and private spaces blend with each other in these societies as well.

In ancient times architects and people who designed and planned the cities followed interests and purposes of religious groups in planning the public spaces of the cities like atrium of the early Christian basilica or the "sahn" in Muslim cities for implementing religious duties. In other words, historically architecture had close relations and ties with the dominant power in each period, like religious authorities and church in Middle Ages Europe or Caliphates in Islamic countries. Architecture, as a tool for representing ideology and power always stayed next to dominant powers and authorities. Considering the characteristics of the Islamic world, Kostof defines the public spaces in Islamic society as follows:

> In Islam, by and large, public space is confined to residual, interstitial areas between cells – neighborhoods, bazaars, the mosque complex. The contrast with Western urbanism, which can be said to start out with the street system and the public space, is valid as far as it goes, but should not be overdrawn. There is a well-defined sense of public space in Islamic cities. Included in this concept, which has the backing of the law, are streets, *Maidans* (translated inaccurately as "squares") mosques and cemeteries. Regardless of the private use of these resources, they could never be privately owned. Every member of society had equal claim to public places, be he Muslim or non-Muslim. Whoever comes earliest to a public place has the right to make use of it thorough that day. Except for women. (Kostof, 1992, p. 127)

Descriptions and statements of Kostof about Islamic cities have deep roots in Islamic societies and for a long period the rules and laws were adopted from Islamic references and traditions. However, in todays' world by decline of Islamic authorities as governors or the legislators, it is almost impossible to find the exact implementations that Kostof explained in his words. Does this definition suit the case of Iran as well?

Again in this case, Iran can be mentioned as an exception since Islamic revolution of 1979. The revolution can be considered as a reaction to the radical changes and regulations made by Pahlavi dynasty in late 19th and 20th centuries under the name of modernization. After the revolution, new constitution was regulated by Islamic laws, rules and traditions. It is important to know the changes made by the Pahlavi dynasty which had a reaction in a scale of a revolution. This topic will be discussed in chapters

4 and 5. The other point in the statement of Kostof is gender inequality. Time has changed and gender inequality in Islamic countries has changed as well to a certain extent. In some countries which adopted the modernization of the western world, women can use public spaces like men and they tried to reach more rights than before during their historical efforts. But this issue is not same in all Islamic countries. Take Iran as an example; nowadays women are much more active than men in the society in comparison to the previous four decades after the revolution. For example, women are trying to have same rights in employments in governments which are completely dominated by men. They are trying to be economically active in society by taking positions in several jobs like taxi drivers which is almost a very dominated work by men in many countries. Considering educational issues, it is significant that the percentage of women in Konkur[4] was almost 60% in 2017. All these changes are happening after four decades passed from the revolution of 1979. The whole state and society were built as male oriented in those times and it was very hard to imagine this much of change inside the conservative society of Iran after dramatic shifts that were made by the Islamic politicians who had an upper hand in the country after a mixed process in the revolution. Unfortunately, not all of the problems have been solved and there are still lots of restrictions for women. Women are not allowed to go to the stadiums which reminds the topic of accessibility of a public space in a society. In another situation, according to the law women have to wear hijab for being present in public spaces and some public spaces are separated for men and women. If we take a look to the traditional public spaces like traditional Bazaar, even nowadays it is not possible to find a female merchant or trader in commercial spaces and shops. However, they are active as costumers and move inside the public spaces equally with men. Despite some recent changes in favor of women's societal position as individuals, it is obvious that men have more rights in conservative society of Iran and they can still be considered as the dominant gender in all aspects of the society and daily life.

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[4] The Iranian University Entrance Exam.

One of the most important religious rituals which take place within an Islamic society is the Friday noon prayers which takes place in the main mosque of the city. Other public spaces like maidans (squares) did not have any remarkable political roles (during the continuation of traditional urban forms and before the rise of modernity in Islamic countries). Small-scaled maidans in urban form of Islamic cities were used for constructing monumental and important public buildings and on the other hand, serve as nodes and passing ways for transportation of goods and people.

Squares and streets were inseparable parts of cities for thousand years. Squares and streets are "enclosed units, served as legitimate urban stages of social interaction." (Kostof, 1992, p. 138) But the modern factuality started to eradicate the social role of these public spaces. In addition to this point, traditional engagements of streets and squares became nostalgic views inside the cities in most of the societies. In Iranian cities, these kinds of transformations took place within a delay in comparison with the Western world. In Iran, after the constitutional revolution between 1905 and 1911 and by realizing the changing role of the public spaces in the society, new interferes in the urban fabric took place in large scales all over the country. However, the main changes started by Reza Shah Pahlavi - the founder of Pahlavi dynasty - and his cabinet members which were mostly graduated from European universities. This group believed that liberalism, secularism and nationalism were the key for success for breaking the dogmatism of clerical controls and religious ties and cutting the hands of foreigners from the country. (Madanipour, 2014) In addition to their large scale reforms inside the society, within the urban form, by the late 19th and early 20th centuries, "Haussmannian" transformations occurred all over the country, especially in large and important cities. This milestone can be considered as a very important point the history of public spaces in Iranian cities. After this shifting point public spaces started to change and transform all over the country. Different aspects and motives were effective in this process but there is no doubt that modernization which was imported to the traditional society of Iran by late years of Qajar and early years of Pahlavi dynasty changed the shape of cities in Iranian society dramatically. At the

same time, the meaning and the role of the public spaces in urban fabric changed as well. Consequently, these changes and transformations carried numerous changes and destructions in urban fabric. If we consider building as a spatial narration of the history, "destruction of any building constitutes a loss of historical memory." (Kostof, 1992, p. 141) In similar meaning to what Kostof mentioned, this research is an attempt to rebuild the memorial losses in the city of Tabriz during Pahlavi dynasty. It is an attempt to decode the operations and changes which happened under the name of modernization. These changes followed the lead of nationalist ideology and the desire to clean the history of previous dynasties in Iran.

2.2. Who Owns and Rules the Public Space?[5]

As the nature of the cities has changed regarding the historical shifts in the society, the nature of the public space changed in this process as well. Characteristics of public spaces in the cities have drastic relation with its society and motives which control these spaces. Historically, primary public spaces shaped the core of urban society amalgamating political, economic, social and cultural activities of a small urban population. (Madanipour, 2010) As an example the early agora had irregular and indeterminate shapes. Sometimes it was only an open square. In another situation it can be a widening of the main street like in the English town of High Wycombe. (Mumford, 1961). The population of an ancient Greek city played different roles for constructing a political community as Aristotle said. In this case we can consider the importance of city for shaping the political community in the society by using space and people. In medieval cities, the economy and military played significant role as well as its political and legal autonomy as Max Weber said.

So what are the main functions of the modern cities in comparison to the ancient and medieval towns? Cities no longer play the military role in today's world. Political

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[5] This sub-chapter inspired by the work (Edited book) of Ali Madanipour titled "Whose Public Space?" and in most parts of it, the authors' ideas and latest conclusions of his theories used for framing the general topic.

function of the cities lost its effect regarding the changes took place in the modern period. National and international institutions got a higher position in economic activities instead of traditional individual economic activities in the past which was on the progress in commercial spaces of the ancient cities. Last but not the least, populations moved to suburb areas and city centers and core areas evacuated from the dense population. (Madanipour, 2010). Is it possible to say the age of cities and their main roles in determining important decisions have come to an end? If the answer is yes, so what were the dramatic changes that took place in carrying the cities to this point from the past time to the present situation?

Regarding the formations of cities, for instance medieval city, Madanipour states:

> The medieval city, as well as the laws and beliefs of the past, were the result of custom and example, rather than rational thinking. …As Descartes dreamed, a city can be designed by a single designer and developed by a single organization. (Madanipour, 2010, p. 12)

The modern architect and urban planner believed that it is possible to solve all the social problems of the society by changing and refashioning the physical and structural elements from micro scale like furniture and houses to the macro scale like urban planning in built environment. Among these physical transformation, interest for public space was lost and it became an indeterminate topic for these people. The shifts from "place" to "space" can be witnessed during the transformation of modern city. The "space" inside urban fabric became an impersonal and abstract form that was in direct contradiction to "place" which in past times has interpreted as having meaning and value. It is understandable that urban redevelopments under the name of the modernization caused the loss of value and meaning inside the urban fabric and created more impersonal spaces. Regarding this issue, several harsh criticisms were raised for mid-twentieth urban redevelopment programs. Almost the same criticisms were mentioned for the "Haussmannian" urban developments "against the modernization of cities with wide boulevards and soulless public spaces" during nineteenth century. (Madanipour, 2010, p. 6)

It can be said that the conditions were the same for the Iranian cities during the Pahlavi period. With a long period of delay in adopting modernization, Iranian cities witnessed 19th century European Haussmanization in 1930s under the ruling years of Reza Shah Pahlavi and his first cabinet members. The historical core of the cities which embedded historical and traditional "places" replaced by new public "spaces" like wide boulevards, streets, modern landscapes, parks and cafes. For the new emerged Iranian nationalist ideology, the history of Iran during pre–Islamic period was more in consideration. Almost anything after this period (Islamic period until contemporary time) should be or has to be replaced with the new ideas and understanding which developed by western modernization and nationalist ideology of Pahlavi period. Cities and urban artifacts were the first targets of this desire for change. In chapter four, this topic will be discussed in a comprehensive manner. What is important to mention here is the highlighting the resemblance of Western "Haussmanization" and "transformation of Iranian cities" which occurred in two different geographies with a long gap between them; more significantly, the role of these transformations in exerting the ideology and socio–political changes in the society. In this case we can say that:

> The symbolic dimensions of public spaces are as significant as their functional ones…. Much of cultural reading of cities places a performative emphasis on public spaces, seeing them as places for performance and assertion of identity. (Madanipour, 2010, p. 10)

Controlling the country from center and having centralized policies was one of the most distinctive features of the Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign. Parliament plays an important role in passing the power to the Pahlavi family by establishing the Pahlavi dynasty and abolished Qajar dynasty because of the lack of power and not having a capable prince for continuing the monarchy for the Qajar Family. But after getting in charge of the government, Reza Shah weakened the influence of the parliament in state and consequently the democratic process which achieved by the constitutional revolution during 1890s lost its effects in the society. One of the reasons for this action

was being able to apply rapid changes and implement radical transformations in all over the country since a considerable amount of the parliament members were religious and conservative figure. The ministry of interior directly applied the master plans from capital city of Tehran to all large-scale cities like Tabriz. In a very short period, the face of cities changed dramatically. Creating homogenous spaces in a multi-cultural society like Iran caused severe damages and negligence about collective interests especially about the ethnic groups inside the cities which had contradictory interests regarding the capital. This issue affected the public spaces and the meanings of public sphere in that times' Iranian society. Public space rather than being a collective experience became a tool for controlling the socio-political and economic issues inside the urban fabric.

> the public sphere was an integral part of a democratic society. In the same sense, public space is a necessary part of an open society, a space that everyone is able to enter and participate in some collective experience. This may not amount to solving social and economic problems, but it does provide a forum for socialization and a counterweight to exclusionary and centrifugal forces that tend to tear apart the social fabric of polarized societies. (Madanipour, 2010, p. 11)

By referring to the above-mentioned paragraph, we can claim that public space that established during Reza Shah Pahlavi was not totally a place for making people to be able to participate in collective experiences. On the other hand, political upheavals during this period and pushing the society to an autocracy affected the formation and nature of the public spaces of that time directly. More the process went in undemocratic way, more urban transformations inside the urban form targeted specific social groups instead of serving the society. In this situation, we have some new emerged public spaces established by the state inside the historical core of the city. This action was an attempt for eradicating the historical markers of the Qajar's power. In the capital city of Tehran, the main targets of expanding spaces by destructing the core spaces of the city center were three major social classes and groups. Traditionalist merchants in Bazaar area, Ulama in religious areas like mosques and old nobility in

their residential quarters which were almost attached to Bazaar area as well. These three groups shaped the "aristocratic formation of Qajar class structure" (Grigor, 2014) and the dense area inside the core of urban form plays an important role in providing political power of these groups.

Being radically affected by the aforementioned transformations and destruction, these groups did not have any choice rather than relocating their power base or suffer by the decreases for their socio-political influences which appeared as the result of the urban renewals of the state under the ruling years of Reza Shah Pahlavi. Within this context, we witnessed a new emerged class inside elites of the country which took a higher hand inside the cabinet of the Reza Shah (Intelligentsia) and how they tried to manipulate the urban artifact for having more role inside the society and at the same time restrict the power of other groups which played influential roles in history of Iran and formation of the cities. Right now it is time to go back to the topic and ask the question again. Whose public space? Who owns these spaces? How State took advantage of these spaces in that period? Were these spaces the product of a social and collective interaction or did the state produce these spaces for the interest of their ideology and representing their power in the society?

2.3. Processes of Transformation in Space and Ideology

In the urban question of 1970s, Manuel Castells defines "the urban" related to socialized goods and services and his topic had a close relation to "public" goods and services which provided by the state for the society. Castells named these items as "collective consumption"; things that are consumed in common by the population like hospitals, transportation, schools and social housing. These socialized goods are significant for the reproduction of labor-power. In every society which adopted capitalist modes of production, labor power is one of the most important factors for creating capitalist mode of production. In this case, by providing houses, schools and services, the system guarantees its labor power. The urban question for Castells is the

questioning of the management of these issues and organizing collective consumption and keeping the political legitimacy with its constituency over collective consumption. Castells believes that "the urban" is the "spatial unit" for the social reproduction, of the reproduction of labor-power. (Castells, 1977. Merrifield, 2014) There are two important view points from Castellian perspective for urban policies:

> interventions by the state and interventions by ordinary people in the state's intervention. The state thereby mediated class and social struggle, diffused and deflected it, displaced and absorbed it, insofar as it intervened between capital and labor within the urban context. (Merrifield, 2014. Preface)

If we go back to our case and concentrate on goods and services in 19th and 20th centuries' Iran, it is obvious to see that some of these services did not exist in that time and some of them like education were held by religious and conservative social classes inside the society. State tried to change these relations and by having the dreams of catching Western world in industry and modernization, new relations and social classes started to emerge in the society. Actually the first actions of Reza Shah's reign were adaptations to capitalist system and globalization during that period.

This is the exact place where nationalist ideology arose among the intellectuals and spread out to the society. "That a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year" said Althusser in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" (1969). This approach emphasizes the will and desire of new emerged state for producing new conditions during the integration to the global and industrialized world. Above mentioned changes in the society, urban fabric and social bounds in Iranian society were the first steps of creating the bourgeoisie society within a primitive and a new born capitalist system and state; desires of living in a modern, Western style world and free from religious dogmatism and conservative social classes.

Althusser makes suggestions about two main aspects of reproduction process of Marx: The first one is reproduction of the means of production (Marx's Departments I from Volume Two of Capital). The second one is reproduction of labor-power (Marx's Department II from Volume Two of Capital). Second suggestion itself can be sub-categorized to three different items as: *wages*; *unproductive consumption* like infrastructures, schools, housing; and *ideology* - ratification of the dominant order and accepting all the changes as "normal" and "natural" processes. (Merrifield, 2014, p. 12)

For Althusser, there are two significant points about the ideology. First, ideology does not have a history. Secondly, ideology has material existence. These two ideas lie in the concept of "Ideological State Apparatuses" and "Repressive State Apparatuses" (ISAs and RSAs). What are the tangible examples of these apparatuses in real life? In *"New Urban Question"* Merrifield includes family, educational institutions, mass media, religious associations, trade unions and political parties as "Ideological State Apparatuses". These institutions and groups get their legitimacy and functionality throughout the ideology. It is almost impossible to run from the sovereignty of ideology because in almost all conditions of daily life, individuals get influenced by the "hailing of ideology". "Repressive State Apparatuses" are the control mechanisms for guaranteeing this process. The state uses its control mechanisms like police, military and law courts as force tools to look and listen for being sure about the society whether it is obedient to its own created system or not.

During the Pahlavi reign, the most important aim was to build a nation over again with the old magnificence of Iran in ancient times. Revisions in all systems and aspects of life were necessary for this desire and change. At the same time with the industrialization of the country and expanding its military, urban forms of the cities affected among above-mentioned revisions. Beside these changes, the control systems invigorated and it is understandable that police and militarizing cities during the first Pahlavi period supports the theory of "Repressive State Apparatuses" as it was

mentioned in Althusser's theory. This expansion was fulfilled by the urban transformations and the fluidity of military troops and capital at the same time inside the urban fabric and commercial spaces for making the capitalist mode of production and consumption in a rapid way.

CHAPTER 3

TABRIZ – THE GATE OF MODERNITY IN IRAN

3.1. A Brief History of Tabriz – The Valiahd Neshin of Qajar

Tabriz is one of the oldest and more importantly continuously inhabited cities in the region. In some sources it was mentioned that the initial signs of the civilization go back to 1st millennium BC. In different periods, Tabriz was the capital city of several dynasties like Ilkhanate, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and Safavids. Unfortunately, within its long history, the city was destroyed multiple times by natural disasters like earthquakes and floods. As Charles Melville mentioned in his article titled as *"Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabriz"* it was not easy to document all the earthquakes occurred in Tabriz but some of these disasters had been mentioned in historical contexts and proofs. One of the most important and recent earthquakes that occurred in Tabriz took place by 1780. As Melville mentioned from different references like Abdol Hassan Ghaffari "The living spirit of more than 200,000 people, near and far, remained beneath the dust and slept on into oblivion.66" and in the second one from Al-Umari "mosques, houses and caravanserais were destroyed and no wall remained standing. The ground sank about four meters and 60,000 people perished under the ruins, apart from their animals." (Melville, 1981) After the establishment of Qajar dynasty by 1785, Qajars used Tabriz as the residence center of Iranian Crown Prince. As the result of this decision, Tabriz became the second important city following the capital city of Tehran for one and half century. The new role of the city in this period affected the newly built urban form of the city which was destroyed completely after the earthquake. Numerous new sites and buildings were constructed in the new parts of the city. At the same time, this decision caused the documentation

process of the city for several times and variety of maps were provided and developed within this period from the new urban form of the city. (Fakhari. Parsi. Bani Masoud, 2006).

Tabriz during the Qajar period is the most resembling form of the city for what we see today. The city gets its dynamism from three different sources: An active commercial space which is the Grand Bazar; the concentration of the military inside the city and in some suburban areas because of its geopolitical position close to Russian and Ottoman borders; and more importantly its political significance which was functioning as the "Valiahd Neshin" for the Qajar prince. These factors affected the urban fabric of the Tabriz in a very clear way and each item manifested itself by its spatiality. By taking a closer look to the old maps, the grand Bazar, governmental complexes and military barracks and camps can be realized obviously on each map.

One of the most important and at the same time old documents about the urban fabric of Tabriz goes back to 17th century and during the ruling years of Safavids. Jean Chardin, famous French traveler, visited Tabriz in 1673 and drew a panoramic view of the city with lots of details in the picture (Figure 3.1). In this painting, some of the iconic buildings like Ark Alishah, Blue Mosque, Jaame Mosque, main Maidan of the city, city walls and other prominent buildings of the old city can be identified easily and very clearly. More importantly, as we took a closer look to the painting, it can be said that a considerable amount of the city parcels was shaped by the gardens inside the city walls. Each house (as it was drawn as cubic shapes) was surrounded by lots of trees and greenery was a huge amount of the urban fabric within this seventeenth century panoramic view. Unfortunately, the painting lacks enough evidences about the exact location of the city walls and boundaries around urban fabric.

Figure 3.1: Chardin's drawing of Tabriz in the second half of the seventeenth century
Source: URL 2

Traces of the most recent city walls can be seen in the maps of Tabriz which were built by the Najafgholi Khan Beylerbeyi in 1780.[6] There were eight gates on the city wall named as: Shotorban, Istanbul, Gajil, Mahadmahin, Nobar, Baghmisheh, Sorkhab, Khiyaban.[7] Traditional Bazar was the main transportation hub inside the solid urban fabric. In addition to these hubs, there were several paths connecting each gate to another. As an example, the path which passes from Khiyaban gate, connected the Blue Mosque to the core parts of the city and at the same time serves as a commercial space and a Caravanserai[8] can be seen on the old maps and documents. Another path connects Baghmisheh gate to "Haramkhaneh"[9] complex and this part of Bazaar named as "Haramkhaneh" because of being in the neighborhood of this place. It also connects "Jobbe khane"[10], "Maidan-e Tupkhaneh"[11], "Shamsolemareh" (residence palace of

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[6] Nader Mirza, History and Geography of Dar al Saltaneh Tabriz, Pg. 147.

[7] Evliya Chelebi mentioned 6 gates and 11 districts for the city but on the other hand Chardin named 9 districts for the old city of Tabriz.

[8] "*historical,* an inn with a central courtyard for travelers in the desert regions of Asia or North Africa. Origin: Late 16th century: from Persian kārwānsarāy, from kārwān 'caravan' + sarāy 'palace'." (Oxford dictionary)

[9] Also known Haramkhaneh Alley, was one of the oldest districts in old Urban fabric of Tabriz. The place was connected to AliGhapu castle, residence of the prince during the Qajar period. Qajari Elites, Bazariyan (merchants) and well-known Ulama used to stay in this district.

[10] a place where arms are kept, Armory

[11] Means as "War cannon square"; used for military practices and parades.

prince and governor of Azerbaijan) and other governmental buildings together (Figure 3.2). (Soltanzadeh, 1997)
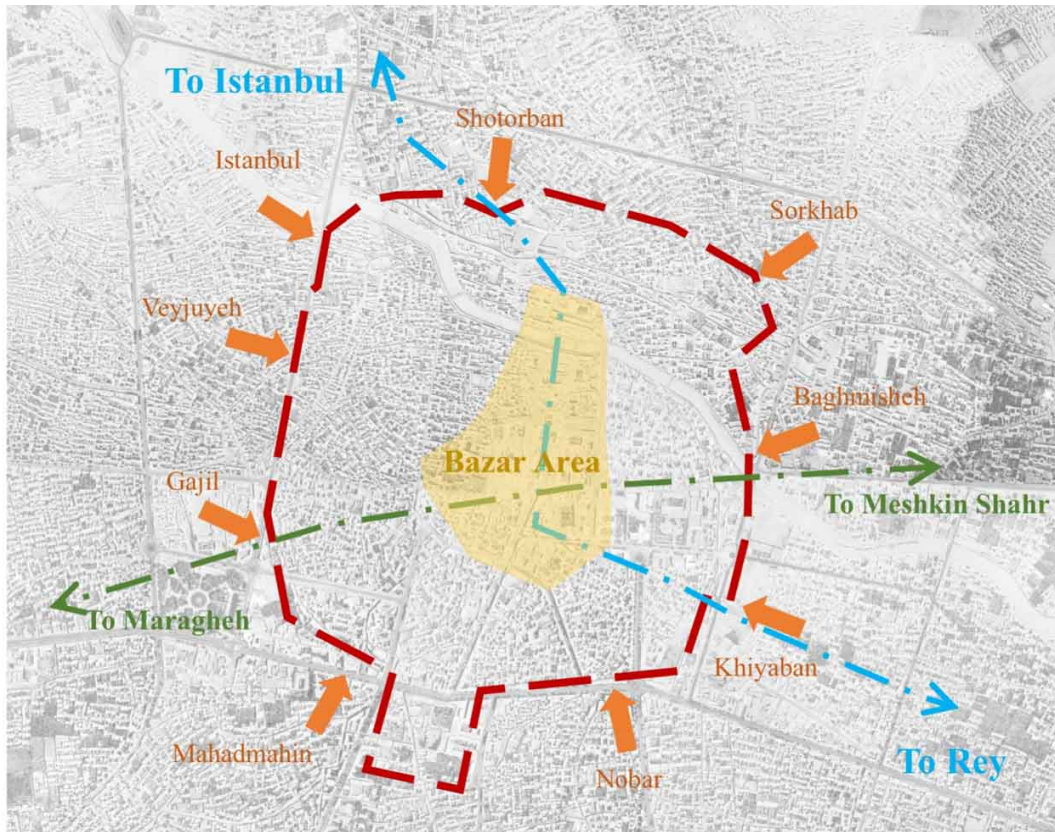
Figure 3.2: Overlaying city walls of Tabriz during Qajar period drafted in 1807 – 8 by Trezel – Fabvier and the aerial photo of 1967. Also gates, main paths and Bazar area can be seen in this graphic. Edited by the author

Another significant fact about old urban fabric of Tabriz was the number of cemeteries inside the city. According to the map of Tabriz dated back to 1880 at least each district (Mahalle) had its own cemetery and in some cases some of the districts had more than one. (Soltanzadeh, 1997) This constitutes an important fact regarding the focal point of the present study. Because during the Pahlavi period, by the renovation and transformation projects and operations carried out by the government, many of these cemeteries were transformed into other kinds of spaces with variety of urban functions and programs. As an example, the Gajil cemetery was transformed into a modern park and a green parcel. In another example, the municipality building (Clock Tower)

(Figure 3.3) was built on the site of the Nobar cemetery. Today it is almost impossible to find any of the above mentioned cemeteries inside the urban fabric of Tabriz.

Figure 3.3: Municipality building of Tabriz known as "Clock Tower". Built in 1936
Photographed by the author

Maidan was one of the most important and functional urban space inside the historical urban fabric of the Iranian cities. "Maidan-e Saheb Al-Amr" or "Saheb Al-Amr Square" was the most prominent urban space inside the old urban fabric of Tabriz. This Maidan functioned as the most important public space and at the same time it served as the governmental square on different occasions dated back to Safavids. After Qajar period, attentions to this space decreased and it became only a commercial square and then attached to main body of Bazar. The importance and function of the Maidan transformed during this period and nowadays it is just a small open space with commercial function next to the Grand Bazaar.

In each district, there were one or two small-scaled maidans (squares) functioning as the core part of the district and at the same time, these spaces were used as

transportation paths. There were no design patterns for the maidans and they usually adopted the organic form of the existent shapes (Figure 3.4). In the neighborhoods of the maidans, several service spaces like public baths, shops and mosques can be found.

Figure 3.4: Showing different shapes of maidan mentioned in above. A. Maidan-e Maghsudiyeh, B. Maidan-e Sare-Veyjuyeh, C. Maidan Veyjuyeh (Up) and Maidan-e Angaj (down).

Generally, all the service areas were concentrated in Bazaar area and the expansion of the urban form was affected by the construction of residential units in edges of the city for supporting dwelling needs. The governmental buildings were also located around Bazaar as it was mentioned in the above parts. After the "Constitutional Revolution" which took place during the years of 1905 – 1911 and by the establishment of the parliament and new regulations and legislation processes, the needs for new urban spaces emerged. Urban spaces like modern schools, hospitals, new green areas and parks, new governmental buildings can be listed as these new spaces. The urban sprawl adopted new themes instead of dealing with the need for dwelling. (Soltanzadeh, 1999)

Transportation patterns changed in this period as well. Those hubs which considered the pedestrian movements had to be replaced with standard paths for automobiles. This issue affected the urban fabric dramatically and simultaneously affected the growth of the cities in this period. There is no doubt that cars and motor vehicles that were imported from the Western counties constituted a turning point for the development of new urban scales of the cities in Iran. This issue raised the speed of the urban sprawl and all gardens and green areas in the periphery and suburb areas started to vanish and replaced by the new parcels of the city.

3.2. Traces of Urban Fabric and Public Spaces in Old Maps of Tabriz

Matrakçı Nasuh's Miniature Map (1537 – 1538)

One of the first drawn maps or better to say miniature maps of Tabriz is the map of Matrakçı Nasuh displaying the years of 1537 – 1538 (Figure 3.5). The most significant of his four historic volumes of miniatures is the one dealing with Suleiman I's[12] Safavid conflicts[13], upon which he had written his historical work *Fetihname-i Karabuğdan*. In addition illustrating the march of the Ottoman army from Istanbul to Baghdad and then Tabriz and its return to the Halab and Eskisehir, Nasuh also includes all the cities met by the army along the way. The Library of Istanbul University in Turkey hosts the only copy of this work. (Fakhari, Parsi, Bani Masoud, 2006)

By taking closer look to the details that were drawn by Matrakçı Nasuh, it is possible to find lots of useful and important information about the macro form of the city and more importantly the traces of green spaces, gardens and the variety of greenery in that period. Within the map, there exists a river which divides the city into two parts. The density of the buildings is more in the right side of the river and possibly the left side belongs to governmental buildings, palaces and gardens. At the north part of the river there exist two gardens with walls and fences. The miniaturist specified evergreen conifers and broad-leaved trees in the drawing. By considering different kinds of tree shapes in Abhar and Soltaniyye drawings we can say that Matrakçı classified the types of trees in his works in a very realistic manner instead of rendering some general tree shapes for illustrating the green areas. Trees with blossoms for instance refer to fruit

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[12] "(Born in 6 November 1494 – died in 6 September 1566) commonly known as Suleiman the Magnificent in the West and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman in his realm, was the tenth and longest-reigning sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520 until his death in 1566. (Ágoston, Gábor (2009). "Süleyman I". In Ágoston, Gábor; Bruce Masters. *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*. pp. 541–5.)"

[13] "one of the many military conflicts fought between the two arch rivals, the Ottoman Empire led by Suleiman the Magnificent, and the Safavid Empire led by Tahmasp I."

trees. (Fakhari, Parsi, Bani Masoud, 2006) By considering the evidences in map of 1538 and other historical documents one can claim that one of the biggest gardens is possibly representing the space of "Saheb Abad Complex" in the map: The big governmental complex within the old urban fabric of the city. (Fakhari, Parsi, Bani Masoud, 2006)

Figure 3.5: Matrakçı Nasuh's Miniature Map (1537 – 1538)
Source: URL 3

Map of Tabriz known as "Dar Al-Saltane" or "Gharacheh-Daghi" drafted in 1880

This is acknowledged as one of the most reliable maps of Tabriz which was developed by the Iranian graduated students of "Dar ul-Funun"[14]. Since it contains several important details, this can be considered as one of the most complete maps from the

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[14] (meaning: Polytechnic) Founded by Amir Kabir –the royal Vizier of Nasereddin Shah- in 1851. It was the first modern institution for higher education in Iran (Persia).

last years of Qajar dynasty. There are lots of graphical signs which are used to add information to the map; furthermore, main alleys, the boundaries of each alley and the core part of the old urban fabric like traditional Bazar are mentioned in a comprehensive table in the left bottom part (Figure 3.6). (Fakhari, Parsi, Bani Masoud, 2006)
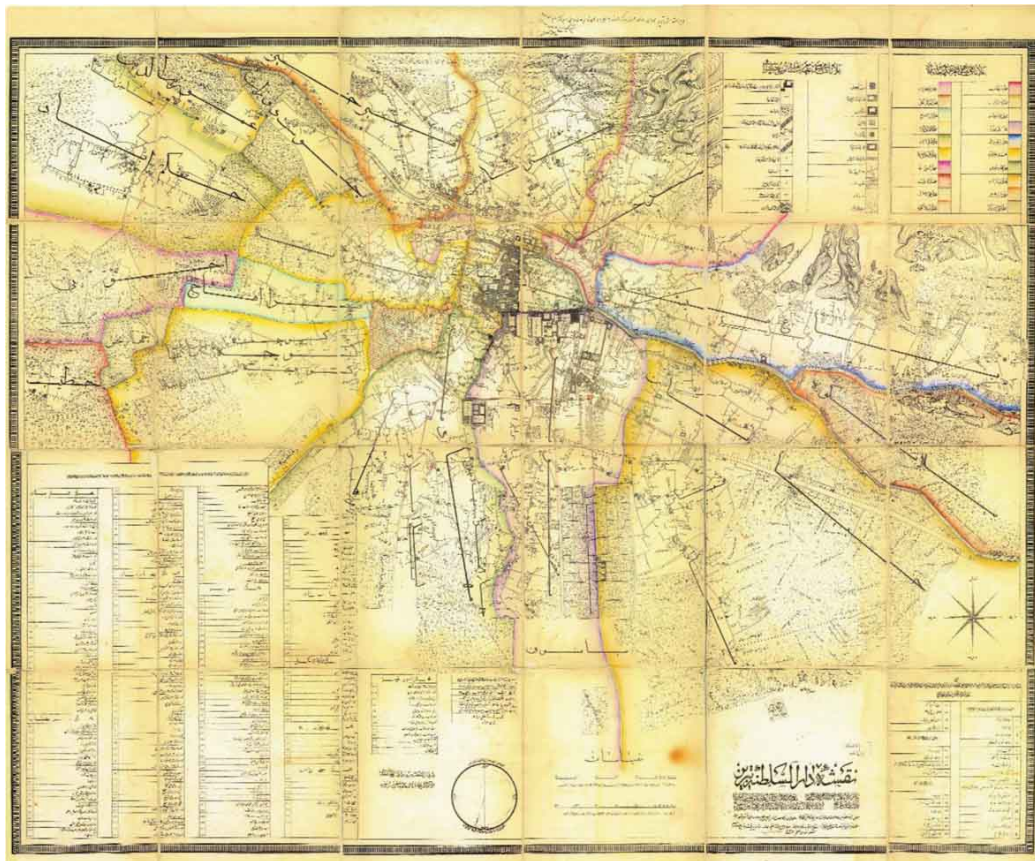
Figure 3.6: Map of Tabriz known as *"Dar Al-Saltane"* or *"Gharacheh-Daghi"* drafted in 1880
Source: Reading old maps of Tabriz. 2006. Pg. 45.

In the written documents of the map, the authors mentioned about the existence of 300 gardens with their names. Actually, it is obvious from the map itself, once the whole city was surrounded by gardens and greenery. Even in some parts, these green areas were separated by the graphical signs inside the urban and suburban parts.

3.3. Bagh Shomal – The Lost Garden of Tabriz

One of the most important names in the above-mentioned list is "Bagh Shomal" (Northern Garden) which vanished completely in today's macro form of the city and just its name remained for a city parcel in Tabriz. I will refer to Donald N. Wilber and his book *"Persian Gardens & Garden Pavilions"* to show the importance and historical context of the garden through written proofs and documents. He describes Tabriz and "Bagh Shomal" as follows:

> Tabriz was noted for its gardens as early as the visit of Marco Polo in 1300, and when the rulers of the so-called White Sheep dynasty (Agh Ghoyunluha) made Tabriz their capital near the end of the fifteenth century, they adorned it with a marvelous garden called the Hasht Behesht (Eight Paradises). Some accounts ascribe the garden to the ruler Uzun Hasan and some to his son Yaqub, but all agree on its magnificence. In scale it must have rivaled the much later Hazar Jarib and Farahabad gardens at Isfahan; much of the total area was taken up by complexes of palaces and by service quarters. (Wilber,1962. p, 213)

This information shows the importance of greenery in old days of Tabriz and demonstrate the roots and historical background of the "Bagh Shomal" around the old city. At the same time, mentioning its size and comparing it with some well known gardens of the period can be considered as a significant point about the garden itself. In addition, the author highlighted lots of services and architectural elements from that period such as some courts and a pavilion which perished after the destruction of the garden. Wilber continues about the "Bagh Shomal" and asserts that:

> A Venetian merchant who visited Tabriz not long after the garden had been completed described it in some detail—too much in the way of detail for quotation at this point. He wrote of a series of courts and of a great pavilion situated at the points of intersection of the cross plan. The pavilion was a single story in height and displayed many rooms around a huge, central hall of audience or reception: built of marble, the walls of the pavilion were decorated with mural paintings and the central hall was crowned by a great dome, gilded on the exterior. In adjacent pools, ships and boats could be manipulated to demonstrate naval battles. In later centuries this same site acquired the name of the Bagh-i-Eshratabad and before the end of the nineteenth century the name

had changed again—this time to the Bagh-i-Shomal or Northern Garden. Curiously enough, this garden was situated on the southern outskirts of town. During the period of the Qajar dynasty it was customary for the crown prince of the line to act as governor of the province of Azerbaijan and to be in residence at Tabriz. Several of these princes lived in this Garden. Some of these Qajar princes did show an interest in embellishing the vicinity of Tabriz. (Wilber,1962. p, 213)

By referring to several accounts and references about the built environment inside the garden, these materials indicate the unique characteristics of space inside the whole complex. At the same time, it is possible to illustrate the size, spatial quality and the shape of garden by studying maps, photographs and sketches. The specifications of the garden can be noticed among several documents as well as written documents. As an example, the suburb map of Tabriz drafted by Pozidbishkov and Petrov (Russian engineers who provided the map during Russian army's invasion) in 1827 shows the garden outside the city walls (Figure 3.7 and 3.8). This map can be helpful to recognize the exact location of the garden and the old urban form of the city during 19th century. After the urban sprawl of 19th and 20th centuries in Iranian cities and especially the central ones', city's periphery reached the boundaries of the garden and started to transform the greenery areas to the residential sites.
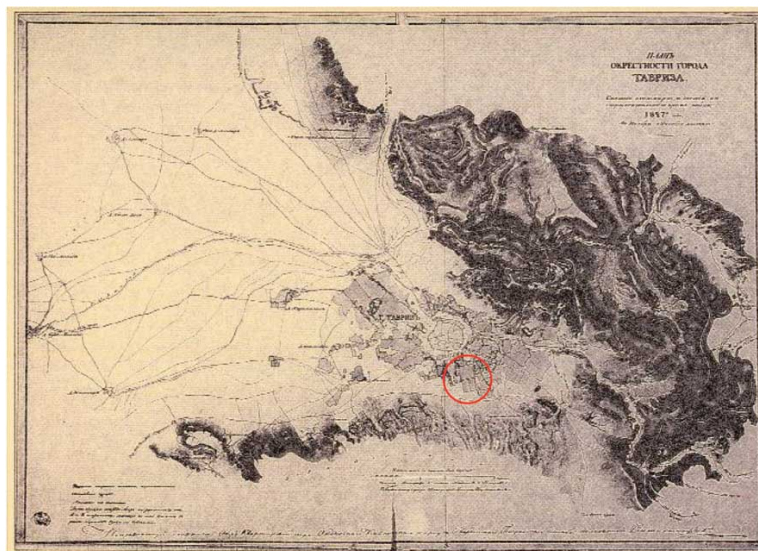
Figure 3.7: Suburb map of Tabriz drafted by Pozidbishkov and Petrov
Source: Reading old maps of Tabriz. 2006. Pg. 23.

Main points about "Bagh Shomal" in reference with the old maps can be listed as follows:

- "Bagh Shomal" formed out of 4 different gardens. The Big Garden (Apple and Pear Trees), The Almond Garden, Shirin and Farhad Garden (Rose Garden) and Golestan Garden. The main design of the garden is based on the adopted geometry of Iranian Gardens – Chahar Bagh[15].

- Despite its large scale, there is a variety of spaces inside the garden. Private and public spaces are separated from each other and different pavilions have "the Andaruni"[16] parts (Figure 3.9).

- Water circulation for irrigation system differs from the usual ones in Iranian Gardens regarding differentiation of the climate in the region in comparison to the dry parts of Iran. Main and secondary paths were not designed by considering the water ways.[17] (Bani Masoud, 2009)

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[15] The term of "Chahar Bagh" is a combination of two separated words in Persian language "Chahar" and "Bagh". "Chahar" means four and "Bagh" means garden. There are several believes about this concept. One concept refers to the division of garden by the water flow. In an other concept, scholars express that Chahar Bagh is the metaphor of cosmos in the Iranian culture. (Alemi 1390; Brookes 1987)

[16] In Iranian architecture, Andaruni refers to the private and inside parts of the house or palace which has no access to the public and at the same time it is far from the sight of foreigners.

[17] Since water sources in hot and dry climates of Iran are limited and restricted, the circulation of water plays a crucial role in designing the paths and geometries of Iranian gardens.

Figure 3.8: Closer crop from
the suburb map of Tabriz and
the location of city and Bagh
Shomal
Source: Bani Masoud, Amir.
Iranian contemporary
architecture. Pg. 158.

Figure 3.9: One of building of Bagh Shomal
known as "Kolah Farangi". This building
demolished during the transformation process
during Pahlavi dynasty.
Source: PourHosein, Ebrahim. Historical sites and
building of Tabriz.

3.4. Traditional Bazar – The Core and Beating Heart of Tabriz

Bazar is the heart of the traditional Iranian city. Without it, a settlement is not considered as a city (Falamaki, 1977). Variety of functions which were collected under the name of Bazar like social, religious, economic, educational and cultural functions are common phenomenon for Iranian cities. Generally, activities in the Bazaar can be categorized in two main areas. The first one is economic activities like trade, storage, warehousing and production. The second one can be named as non-economic activities like religious, educational, recreational and services.[18] (Kheirabadi, 1993) The formation of spatial elements in the traditional Bazaar usually was depended to the main functions of each city, its economic activities and more importantly the population. In middle scale cities, which did not have a considerable amount of trade with other countries, most parts of the Bazaar were used for supplying domestic needs. Subsequently, there was not a complex spatial and social formation inside the Bazaar area. (Soltanzadeh, 1988)

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[18] After mentioning the lists and categories, Kheirabadi adds this point: "in a traditional society like that of Iran, in which religious, political, economic and other activities are closely interrelated, separation of the structural elements of the bazar by their particular function always involves the risk of oversimplification."

As it was noted before that Bazaar was not only the place of trade but also accommodated physical relations and inclusions with some of the most important structures like Jaame Mosque, religious schools (Maktab and Madrese), Khangahs[19], public baths and other significant urban spaces inside its fabric. The extended parts of Bazaar also had physical interactions and connections with governmental and administrative building. Because of these reasons, it is an undeniable fact that the urban fabric of Bazaar can be consider as the fundamental space of the city for its role in connecting political, economic and religious spaces together and have a significant role in this interaction. (Soltanzadeh, 1988) During the social, economic and political crisis, Bazaar was the stronghold for the people that wanted to show the objection and dissatisfaction. Strikes among *"Bazariyan"* can be seen during the history (and even nowadays). These strikes took place by closing shops and trade centers and at the same time using mosques and religious complexes for these activities. It was one of the common ways to show the opposition by these social classes (Figure 3.10).

One of the most reliable documents about the Bazaar of Tabriz is the travelogues of the travelers during the history. During his visit, Chardin stayed in Tabriz and recorded some important facts about the city and its Bazaar. According to Chardin, there were 15.000 shops inside the Bazaar and this complex was separated from the main alleys and districts of the city. Also he mentioned there were 300 Caravanserais inside Tabriz. Traditional Bazaar was active during Qajar period and its structural formation expanded in this period regarding the high amount of trade between different neighborhoods of the region inside Bazaar area. Heinrich Karl Brugsch[20] visited Iran several times (1860, 1883, 1885) and during his visits to Tabriz, he asserted about the importance of Tabriz in trade because of its unique position - being close to the borders

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[19] khangah is a building designed specifically for gatherings of a Sufi brotherhood or *tariqa* and is a place for spiritual retreat and character reformation. In the past, and to a lesser extent nowadays, they often served as hospices for saliks (Sufi travelers), Murids (initiates) and talibs (Islamic students).

[20] Heinrich Karl Brugsch (also *Brugsch-Pasha*) (18 February 1827 – 9 September 1894) was a German Egyptologist. He was associated with Auguste Mariette in his excavations at Memphis. He became director of the School of Egyptology at Cairo, producing numerous very valuable works and pioneering the decipherment of Demotic, the simplified script of the later Egyptian periods.

of Russia and Anatolia. He also named some foreign trade companies which were active inside the Bazar of Tabriz and highlighted the remarkable amount of French, German and English products inside Bazaar and how these products travelled through Tabriz to the central Asia and Eastern parts of the region. (Soltanzadeh, 1997)
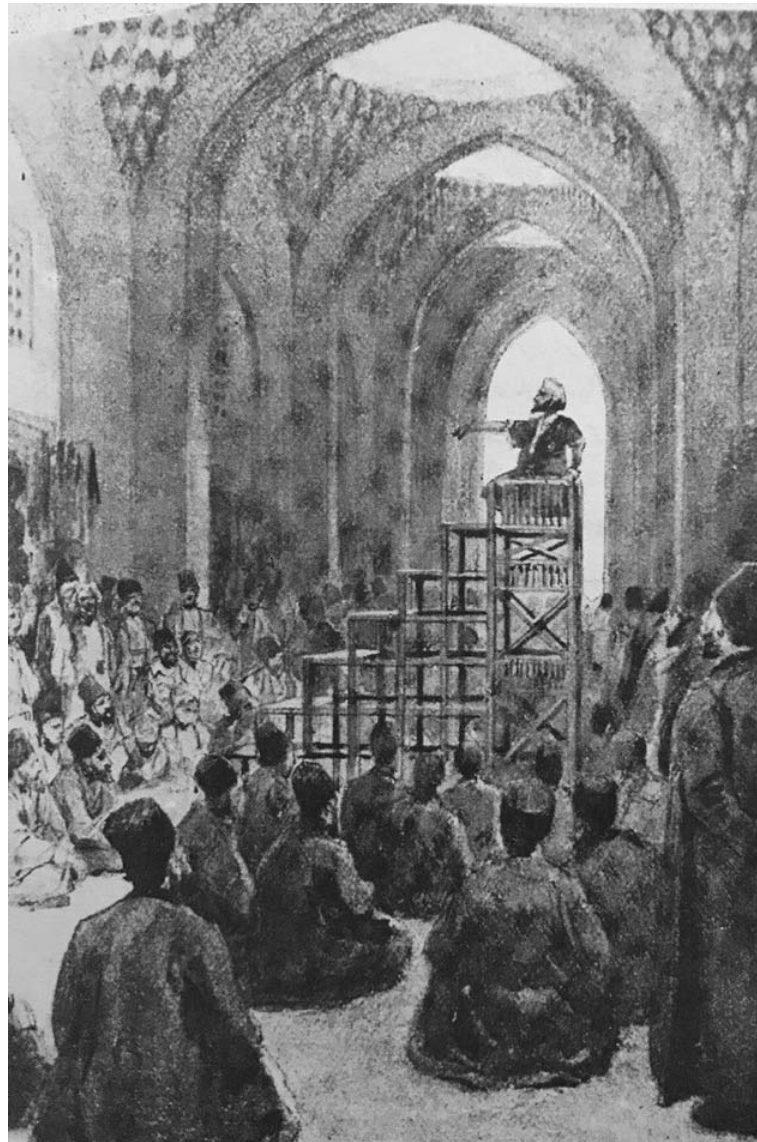
Figure 3.10: A clergyman (Mullah) is giving speech inside Bazaar area to the people.
Source: Soltanzadeh, Hossein.
"Tabriz, A Solid Cornerstone of Iranian Architecture". Pg. 121

Some of the most important Rastehs[21] in Bazaar can be listed as: Bazaar-e Amir (mostly dominated by jewelers and gold traders), Bazaar-e Kaffashan (shoe makers), Bazaar-e Sarrajan (saddlers), Bazar-e Shishegarkhaneh (glass makers), Bazar-e Kolahduzan (hat makers), Bazar-e Mesgarha (coppersmiths), Bazar-e Dallale Zan, Bazar-e Sadeghiyeh Bazaar-e Haramkhaneh, etc. Some of the most important Timches[22] in traditional Bazaar of Tabriz can be listed as: Timcheye Amir, Timcheye Mozaffariyeh, Timcheye Sheykh Kazem, Timcheye Mirza Shafii, Timcheye Mohammad Gholi, Timcheye Haj Rahim. (Soltanzadeh, 1997)

3.5. Concluding Discussion: New Era in The Spatiality of Tabriz from a Historical Perspective

Tabriz as the Valiahd Neshin of Qajars faced several changes and transformation during this period. For almost one and half century, princes of Qajar dynasty ruled in the city and this situation affected the city in several aspects. However, the first attempts of modernization came with actions of Abbas Mirza[23] in the early years of 1800s but this process never stood in an opposition with the traditions. Process of modernization got faster during the ruling years of Naser Al-din[24] Shah regarding his several visits to European countries. The process of democracy emerged by the constitutional revolution[25] and Tabriz played a significant role in this milestone (see

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[21] Rasteh is the title given to groups which concentrate in the specific places in Bazaar and usually trade the products from the same categories.

[22] Timche is the core part for several trade centers. It is one of the most significant parts of the Bazaar and the entries and exits usually controls by its gates.

[23] Abbas Mirza (August 26, 1789 – October 25, 1833) was a Qajar crown prince of Persia. He developed a reputation as a military commander during the Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813 and the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828 with neighboring Imperial Russia, as well as through the Ottoman-Persian War of 1821-1823 with the Ottoman Empire. He is furthermore noted as an early modernizer of Persia's armed forces and institutions, and for his death before his father, Fath Ali Shah. Abbas was an intelligent prince, possessed some literary taste, and is noteworthy on account of the comparative simplicity of his life. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

[24] Naser Al-din Shah (born July 17, 1831, near Tabriz, Iran—died May 1, 1896, Tehran), Qajar shah of Iran (1848–96) who began his reign as a reformer but became increasingly conservative, failing to understand the accelerating need for change or for a response to the pressures brought by contact with the Western nations. (Encyclopedia Britannica)

[25] The Persian Constitutional Revolution or Iranian Constitutional Revolution (also known as the Constitutional

appendix D). The authority of king was restricted after establishment of the parliament. Unfortunately, the society barely reached that maturity and could not possess the values of democracy and the virtues which brought by the constitutional revolution.[26] The political power of the parliament weakened and chaos appeared all over the country. Everyone from politicians to intelligentsia and even religious figures were in a sense looking for the savior to emerge and change the disastrous situation which country dealt with it.

It was the exact point and time that Reza Khan – the army commander of the Cossacks – came to the scene. In 3rd of Esfand (21st of February) 1921 Reza Khan took the control of the country by a military coup d'état. National assembly of Iran selected the Reza Pahlavi as the Iran's prime minister in 1923. After a short period, in 1925, Iran's constituent assembly appointed Reza Pahlavi as the legal monarch of Iran since there wasn't any capable person in Qajar family for the monarchy. Therefore, the constituent, which once was built for expanding plural voices in policy and open space in democracy, switched and gave start to one of the autocratic periods of Iranian politics in contemporary history. Explaining all aspects of this shifting point in Iranian history is of course beyond the particular scope of this study; yet there are remarkable notions to mention for a general understanding of the historical impacts. One of the most important points during the ruling years of Reza Shah is the fast transformation process of the society and the cities all over Iran. The modernization process of Pahlavi is far different from the process that took place during the Qajar dynasty. The new tendency of the Pahlavi modernization can be allocated almost at the very exact opposite side of prevailing tradition. Within this process the basic aim was to change everything from top to bottom with its political, economic and military provisions.

Revolution of Iran) took place between 1905 and 1907. The revolution led to the establishment of a parliament in Persia (Iran) during the Qajar dynasty. After the long ruling years of Naser Al – Din Shah (65 years) civic movements and protests were going on in many parts of the country. After his death the monarch Mozaffar ad-Din Shah signed the constitution in 1906, but he died shortly after and replaced by Mohammad Ali Shah.

[26] The 1908 bombardment of the Majles of Iran took place on 23 June 1908 in Tehran, during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, when the Persian Cossack forces, commanded by Vladimir Liakhov and the other Russian officers, bombarded and by that suppressed the Iranian parliament, the Majles.

Thus, interferes in structures and physical elements of the cities started in this era.

In chapter 4, motivations and reasons for these transformations will be critically discussed by considering the changes in the city of Tabriz. Main transformation acts in the urban fabric will be examined by concentrating on two important cases, which were mentioned in this chapter. The first one is Bagh Shomal garden, a place that can be considered as a public space and at the same time a large scale green parcel. The garden perished in a rapid way and replaced by residential sites, stadium and sports facilities and military barracks. Following the case of the lost garden of Tabriz, the second case is the "street widening act" which affected the solid urban fabric and core parts, especially the Bazaar area. Opening wide streets and boulevards tore down the old city to several parcels and districts by drawing new boundary lines around the traditional Bazaar. In addition to this effect, new commercial areas established on both sides of new streets which promoted new spatial practices and weakened the position of Bazaar in trade and services as well. All these topics will be discussed meticulously in the next chapter in order to contextualize the argument of this study.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIENCES OF IRANIAN MODERNIZATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON TABRIZ

As it was mentioned in the previous parts, the Iranian modernization went through a unique process regarding its position in region and history. Iran never became a colonized country in its history. However, it was under the influence of several western countries and its powerful neighbors like Russia. Especially during the Qajar dynasty, foreign countries were active in domestic and international policies, bureaucracy, economy and other socio-cultural aspects in Iran. Rivals between these countries (like Britain, France and Russia) affected Iran as well as their direct influences. Modernization process during Qajar dynasty never got a fast route. During the Pahlavi state, the speed of these changes increased dramatically regarding several issues which will discuss in the further parts of this chapter.

Sympathy and attachment to tradition in majority of people on one side and attractiveness of Western civilization and modernization from the other side for intelligentsia and for the groups who knew the western world created two different poles inside the society. (Zarrinkub, 1989) During the Reza Shah reign, it was the modern intelligentsia who had the upper hand in political fields and more importantly in the cabinet of Reza Shah.

In August 1927, Reza Shah' s powerful court minister admitted to the British secretary that "Persia, after twenty years of so-called Constitutional Government, had made little progress. Everything had to be started over again …".[27]" (Grigor, 2014)

4.1. Rise of Absolute Autocracy: Reza Shah and First Attempts of Modernization (1925 – 1941)

Today you deputies of the Majles wish to make Sardar-e Sepah, Reza Khan, a King. The honorable gentleman is now not only Prime Minister, but Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces as well. Today our country, after twenty years of widespread bloodshed, is about to enter a phase of retrogression. One and the same person as King, as Prime Minister, as Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief? Even in Zanzibar no such state of affairs exists!

From a speech by Mosaddegh during a session of the Parliament, concerning the change of dynasty, 31 October 1925. (Atabaki, 2000. p, 53)

Reza Shah's era can be described as an amalgamation of autocracy, attempts of modernization with nationalist attitudes. The constitutional revolution ended the absolute sovereignty of king and started a new era in political history of Iran. But the lack of socio-economic factors for a matured society caused a big failure for the ideal goals of constitutional revolution and its goals could never be reached. New form of the state as 'constitutional government' with relying on freedom, democracy and modern tendencies did not establish in its complete way. The social and economic conditions got more unstable each day and public discontent raised its highest level. It was the time that main goals of the revolution neglected and people were seeking for

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[27] "British minister of the Foreign Office 371, 12293/E3909, Robert Clive reporting on court minister 'Abd al-Hoseyn Teymurtash, 26 August 1927, Tehran, Iran; see Robert M. Burrell, ed., Iran Political Diaries 1881–1965 (Oxford: Archive Editions, 1997), vol. 8: 1927–30, p. 55." (Grigor, Talinn. *"The King's White Walls"*)

more social and economic safety and reliability. (Atabaki, 2007) In this situation, Reza Shah reached the highest level as the first person of the country and monarchy. In this process he got almost full support of all groups in the society. (Atabaki, 2000) Achievements of Reza Shah can be listed under three major categories: First of all, infrastructures of a modern state had been built up during his ruling years. Secondly, government tried to break the foreign domination in the country by variety of attempts like industrialization of several cities and producing domestic goods for having more independency or trying to have more autonomous views and perspectives in international policies. Third action and maybe the most effective one on daily lives of people is the socio-cultural reforms in Iranian society. (Lenczowski, 1978) Reza Shah visited only Turkey in 1934 as a foreign country and actions of Ataturk inspired him a lot for building a new Iran.

By the efforts of Ali Akbar Davar – minister of justice – in 1928 new regulations brought to ministry of justice. With these changes, the power of clerics and religious figures restricted in traditional juridical system which was the only solution for people's issues and problems. All marriages and divorces had to be recorded in new registration offices as well. More importantly, all incomes from charities and public endowments (which was a considerable amount of money in the conservative and religious society of Iran) had to be held by endowments Directorate which was a subset of ministry of education. This action weakened the economic sources and main power of the clerics and religious figures drastically and caused significant restrictions in their influences on people.

Another prominent action was creating modern and strong military with well-ordered army. Several numbers of generals sent to European countries for having updated and related educations in military fields. New weapon factories and armories were established all over the country and by passing the mandatory military service bill in the parliament, state could easily raise the number of its troops. Beside the modern army, Reza Shah established a very powerful gendarmerie with support of a well-

organized intelligent service. Reza Shah himself had the military background and before being prime minister in Qajar dynasty, he was the minister of war between the years of 1921 and 1925. We can say that all these actions remind the "Repressive Status Apparatuses" mentioned by Althusser which had been discussed in the second chapter. The reason for naming these actions as repressive lies in the fact that army and gendarmerie were more active in domestic issues other than having any overseas conflicts with other countries. Even in small scaled unrests and protests army stifled the voice of opposition and people. In regions like Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Khuzestan which had more independency for their local governments in previous feudal system of Qajar dynasty, military actions and suppressions can be seen more than other regions. Minorities faced severe problems under the ruling years of Reza Shah regarding his autocratic politics and perspectives in his general policy making process.

Another significant action was the revisions of bureaucracy and centralizing administration in the capital city of Tehran. New regional divisions had been made on the map of country and eleven new provinces established mostly with the purpose of breaking homogenous regions to divided parts. There were clear discriminations for non-Persian regions and again considerable amount of pressures on cultural issues for minorities and non-Persians can be seen obviously. (Atabaki, 2000) Because of the high concentration in capital city of Tehran, the expenditures of capital raised in a rapid way and all sources of country were spending in rebuilding Tehran. Regarding the new regulations, province of Azerbaijan and its capital Tabriz which could be named as the second wealthiest and largest city of the country for its influences on politics and economic activities during Qajars became fourth or fifth city because of the new domestic policies of government. During 1931 – 1941, only twenty factories raised in four different Azerbaijani cities (Tabriz, Reza'iyeh, Miyandoab and Maragheh) and only two of these factories were sponsored by the government directly. At the same time in mentioned period, the government invested in twenty of the one hundred and thirty-two factories that were set up in the central and northern provinces

of Iran. (Floor, 1984)

Education system transformed and revitalized during the ruling years of Reza Shah. Modern education which was established during Qajar dynasty spread all over the country and many schools were built for both male and female students. More importantly the University of Tehran was established in 1935 and until 1936 about 1500 students were sent abroad for completing their higher educations. (Abrahamian, 2008)

However, the modernization process was on the progress in several fields, all doors for criticism about actions of Shah were closing each day. The oppositions in politics were being eliminated at any cost. There were high pressures on newspapers and press and freedom of speech reached to its lowest level during these years. Numerous numbers of newspapers were closed only for having opposite statements with Shah. These actions went beyond the borders and even "Tofigh" newspaper was shut down for its articles about Shah in Germany. He could not stand for even a word of criticism and started to eliminate his cabinet members after a short period for their views. Many of them and their families faced exiles and some of them executed by the state or died in prison like Abdolhossein Teymurtash, the first prime minister of Pahlavi dynasty. (Moradi, 2003)

In his book, Touraj Atabaki mentioned these changes inside the core members of the intelligentsia who prepared the ground for the rise of Reza Khan as the king. Atabaki asserts that:

> The centralized, strong government with effective powers which was personified by Reza Shah, while implementing the demands of many of the Iranian liberal intelligentsia, was however unable to tolerate the very existence of such an intelligentsia. In the long run, many of these intellectuals, who had in one way or another prepared the ground ideologically for Reza Shah's coming to power, were suffer dearly as a result of the Shah's success. Several intellectuals were killed, imprisoned or fled into exile during these years. (Atabaki, 2000. p,60)

Other specific reforms and actions can be named as: Projects of road construction in large scales and building Trans-Iranian railway, academy of Persian language and literature had been created, forests and jungles had been nationalized, creation of Iran radio and first Iranian museum, national had been established and as one of the most controversial actions "Kashf-e Hejab"[28] can be highlighted as his important actions.

It would be beneficial to refer to Marx:

> Every child knows that a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year. (Marx to Kugelmann, 11 July 1868, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1955, p.209) The ultimate condition of production is therefore the production of the conditions of production. This may be 'simple' (reproducing exactly the previous conditions of production) or 'on an extended scale' (expanding them). (Althusser, Pg. 127)

In this point it is necessary to mention the political groups and their activities which took place during this period. These activities had significant effects on the unrests and movements of 1940s and 1950s regarding the urban transformations of the cities.

Two prominent parties that played significant and active role in those years were National Front (Jebheye Melliye Iran) and Tudeh (Iranian Communist party). While the National Front remained a loosely organized group of prominent nationalist politicians in the parliament, it had never been able to develop into a well-organized party due to its internal issues and lack of relations with masses. On the other hand, the Tudeh rapidly became, in the 1940s, the single most important political force in the country. Endowed with a nationwide organization and an intricate structure in several aspects and location inside the society, the party was well implanted in the country's largest urban centers, more importantly the capital city of Tehran, around the oil fields of the southern regions and in industrial areas which established in those years. It even had branches in smaller cities and towns as well. (Abrahamian, 1982)

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[28] eliminating the traditional Hijab mostly in working society.

Tudeh party obtains its strength not only from its active members all over the country, that estimated to be as high as 100,000 in 1946, but also through the unions that controlled by the party named as 'Central Council of Federated Trade Unions of Iranian Workers and Toilers' (CCFTU), which claimed some 335,000 members in 1946. (Abrahamian, 1982. Denoeux, 1993)

These achievements in organizing people caused considerable changes in the scale of protests and movements in Iranian cities. The protests once took place during the early years of twentieth century with a few hundred people now expanded drastically and in an example, during the fifth-anniversary celebrations of the Tudeh party in October 1946, almost one hundred thousand people were participated in that event. (Abrahamian, 1968).

More generally, in the mid 1940s and early 1950s, the Tudeh and the CCFTU were able to organize what would be, until the late 1970s, the largest demonstrations and strikes in the country's history. Demonstrations and strikes of tens of thousands were common events during the Tudeh's Peak years, 1945-46 and 1951-53. (Denoeux, 1993)

The locus of all these activities, movements and protests were new established streets and squares as the new public spaces inside the cities. During the first Pahlavi, state was able to control and suppress these activities regarding its repressive powers and tools and also lower rate of urban population.

As it was mentioned in the first parts of this sub-chapter, several actions took place during ruling years of Reza Shah and there is no doubt that with the high desire of change and transformation, cities became representation tools and spaces for this changing process. In upcoming parts, these changes will be discussed in details and their effects on the urban form will be contextualized regarding the city of Tabriz.

4.1.1. Spatial production of Modern (- Western) public spaces in Tabriz

It is a well-established fact that middle-class bourgeoisie was one of the main results for secularist and modernist ruling ambitions of Reza Shah. By considering this paradigm shift, it was the new spatiality of this new class which took precedence over the traditional one and reshaped the urban spaces of the cities all over the country. It was the first time that a profession named "Architect" was born from the heart of this new middle-class bourgeoisie. New graduated architects from European architectural schools like École Spéciale d'Architecture and Beaux Arts School came back to the country for having collaboration with state in order to rebuild the country all over again.

> After 1925, a dialectical and ambivalent relationship developed between the architects at the service of the state and the centralist state, which had founded institutions with the aim of producing the professional middle class, including these same architects. (Grigor, 2014)

These architects needed large scale open spaces for creating this spatiality. On the other hand, new established state and new ideology wanted to erase the past for starting everything over again, similar to the other modernist movements in other parts of the world during 1920s and 1930s. Therefore, "The realization of a tabula rasa, a utopian blank slate upon which a new Iran could be conceived *over again* was endemic to the strategies of Pahlavi modernization." (Grigor, 2014)

In this process, urban fabric of the cities was the first targets for this desire of change. This new built environment had to be free from physical, historical and geographical bonds according to new perspectives. One of the effective motives in this process is the national identity raised in Pahlavi period (predominantly Persian roots in Iranian history) and secondly modernist values which adopted from Western countries by the architects. Therefore, there are two tendencies which evoke controversial notions in this process. Giving references to historical heritages, racial rootedness and

timelessness of Persia from one side and futuristic perspectives of modernists for breaking the chains of history and nostalgia from another side are obvious contradictions of these two styles.

Demolitions started in 1920s in Tehran for creating utopian blank state in core parts of the city which were the place of main groups during ruling years of Qajars. Ulama, Merchants and Elites of Qajars were among these groups. It is easy to notice these groups in the urban fabric of Tabriz as well in that period. Ramparts and eleven gates of nineteenth century's Tehran were dismantled as well as ramparts and gates of Tabriz for having easier expansion of the built environment. These processes took place almost at the same time. In Tehran, almost 30 percent of the urban fabric was levelled to ground. Some parts were replaced with new buildings and other places left vacant. 9 percent of the old city of Tehran was replaced with open squares, new boulevards and parks. Nine years after the transformation process of Tehran, American embassy declared that about 15,000 up to 30,000 residential structures had been demolished and it looks as if Tehran was destroyed with an earthquake. (Grigor, 2014) Some anti-Pahlavi political figures in parliament like Seyyed Hasan Modarres opposed to urban renewal programs of king and in 1925 in his speech he asserts that "modernization had to be distinguished from such lawless acts against the people and their possessions."

> Historians have described these urban changes as a good example of bureaucratic reformism and mindless vandalism where [t]he vandals played havoc with community life and historic architecture at will. (Grigor, 2014)

New boulevards and streets as transportation hubs, theatre halls, cinemas as new recreational spaces, passages as new trade centers, new parks as the new landscapes and green parcels inside the urban fabric can be listed as some of the newly published public spaces in over the country. In this process, considerable amounts of old cities were destroyed for eradicating these new elements. In the case of Tabriz, three different transformations will be discussed in following sub-chapters.

4.1.2. Militarizing the cities and destruction of Bagh Shomal

Putting armed forces and military on display during the history of cities can be followed with two different purposes.

> To reassure the citizen that its defenses were on the ready, and to discourage it from challenging authority. The space for this display was therefore linked with the architecture of the power- the ruler's palace or a representative civic center. In small more or less self-governing towns, the town square was often the place where the militia exercised in public. (Kostof, 1992, p. 156)

In the history of the cities transforming city centers or important public spaces of a city to military areas can be seen during the invasion of modern colonial powers. as an example:

> during the period of the assimilation, inflicted summary destruction upon subject cities to produce their military stage. The French razed the city center of Algiers to create a vast parade ground at the meeting point of three major arteries that focused on the Friday mosque. The British did the same in several Indian cities, notably Delhi.[29] (Kostof, 1992, p. 157)

Physical characteristics of Bagh Shomal and the historical proofs about this unique garden were mentioned in section 3.3 titled as "Bagh Shomal – The Lost Garden of Tabriz". In this part the reasons and motives of this destruction will be discussed. By the end of Qajar dynasty and the start of Pahlavi dynasty attentions to the Garden reached to its lowest level. Also according to historical documents, during the ruling years of Mohammad Shah Qajar (1834 – 1848) Russian forces around Tabriz used some parts of the garden as military barracks. In a short period after the start of Pahlavi dynasty in 1929 and under the ruling years of Reza Shah, the mayor of Tabriz "Mirza Mohammad Ali Tarbiat" divided some part of the garden and sold the lands for

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[29] However, in our case there is no colonial powers responsible for this transformation and it the national state which cleaned all the area from the structures and buildings of Bagh Shomal that dated back to around 16th century and later periods.

residential constructions. However, other parts of the garden remained with trees until 1941. After the World War II and invading Tabriz by foreigners and simultaneously by the lack of maintenance, the garden dried completely. In 1960s other functions replaced within the remained land of Bagh Shomal and the main parcel was used as a military camp and also a stadium and sports complex were built next to the military camp (Figure 4.1).

Closer view of Bagh Shomal (Northern Garden) in Gharacheh – Daghi map drafted in 1880

Closer view of Bagh Shomal (Northern Garden) replaced by military base in aerial photo of 1967
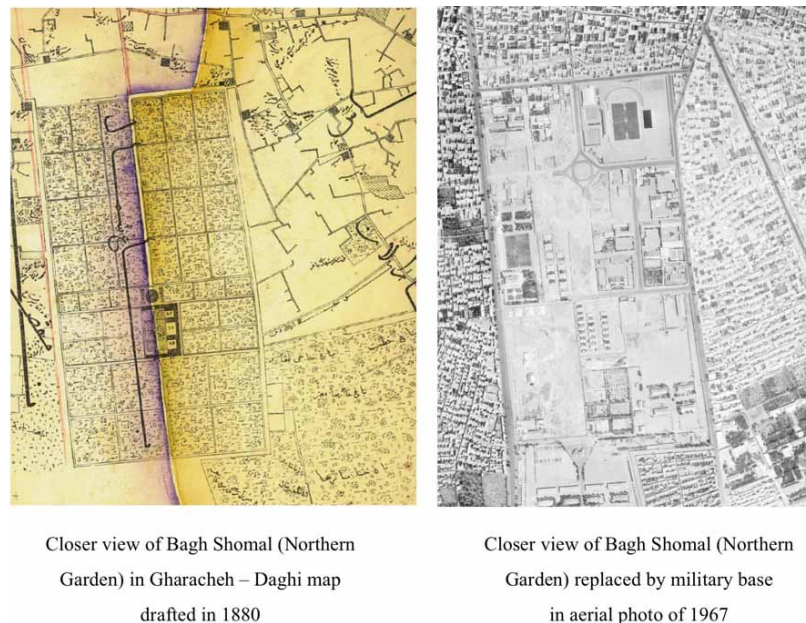
Figure 4.1: Comparison of the Bagh Shomal site in map of 1880 and Aerial photo of 1967
Edited by the author
Sources: Iran National Cartographic Center, Reading old maps of Tabriz

Unfortunately, in today's city of Tabriz no physical traces remained from this historically and spatially significant garden. There are lots of factors and motives in destruction of this historical place. The causes differ from structural to ideological transformations during transferring power between different political groups. One of the main motivations in this process was militarizing cities all over the country during the ruling years of Reza Shah Pahlavi. Advisors and planners during First Pahlavi tried to look at the master plans with military perspectives. State used military for suppressing riots and civic movements in the cities. Military and new established police department had close locations to the governmental sites and buildings and

functions as "Repressive State Apparatuses" for controlling the collective and social activities that was taking place in that period. At the same time, an act, named as "Street Widening Act" passed in the parliament by 1933. Easy military access to dense areas of the old urban fabric and traditional Bazaar area was one of the main objectives for this action. This act will be discussed meticulously in the next section (Figure 4.2).

Traditional Bazar as the stronghold of opposition and traditional conservative class

New military base which was built on site of Bagh Shomal

Figure 4.2: The opened boulevards and streets for the accessibility of military forces to the dense urban area of Bazaar and governmental buildings. Edited by the author
Source: Iran National Cartographic Center

4.1.3. "Street Widening" act and its spatial impacts in Tabriz

It is a well-established fact that "Street Widening Act" changed the face of all Iranian cities in a dramatic way and in this process Tabriz was not an exception. The capital city of Tehran was the main target for this transformation. Dimensions of the destruction in Tehran was mentioned in sub-chapter 4.1.1 and it is noticeable that a huge amount of the city just levelled to the ground by benefiting this act. In another example, the new master plan of Hamadan (Figure 4.3) designed by a German engineer named "Karl Frisch" in 1930s and this plan also totally changed the face of the city.

Karl Frisch was one of the foreign employees in ministry of the interior. (Habibi, 1999) Boulevards and streets tore down the historical and old urban fabric of Hamadan and the new main square in the center of the city connected with small scaled squares around the center with new opened streets.

Figure 4.3: Aerial photography of Hamadan showing Boulevards and squares established during 1930s
Source: URL 4

A new understanding and type of street emerged inside the urban fabric of the cities after this period. It is important to know that some of these actions took place before the legal bases of the act which passed by the parliament. The reason for this statement is that many of the demolitions happened during mid 1920s and early years of 1930s and the act passed in the parliament on 13 of November 1933. The streets which opened in Tabriz before this period will be mentioned in upcoming parts of this section. Another most important impact of this process was the new commercial spaces on both sides of the streets and new service spaces that showed up in new spatiality

like recreational spaces such as cinemas[30], parks and cafes which were among these spaces.

The first street which opened in Tabriz during Reza Shah's era was Pahlavi Street (Today named as Emam Street). By establishing Pahlavi street from 1921 until 1926, several new spaces shaped around it as well (Figure 4.4). Pahlavi Street became the main axis of Tabriz and at the same time it was the transportation hub from Tehran to Western cities like Urmia and the borderline as well. New spaces usually had western motives and functions. Two important parks were built during this period. First one was "Bagh Melli" (Figure 4.5 and 4.6) and the other one was "Bagh Golestan". The construction of "Bagh Golestan" started by 1929 and it was the transformation project for Gajil cemetery for making a new and modern green parcel with recreational spaces (Luna park). New open spaces like this one and new established streets tore down the old urban fabric of Tabriz. By making more streets for transportation systems, state successfully divide the Bazar area to smaller parcels with no physical interactions between them in contrast to previous periods. Also new commercial areas on the streets restricted the economic power of Bazaar and "Bazariyan" and this action decreased the political and social status of these groups in the society.

In 1928 a report in "Ettelat" newspaper described the transformations of Tabriz as: "The city of Tabriz has a magnificent boulevard with a pleasant garden that during the evening, people from all groups get there after a hardworking day for soothing and relaxing. Also two cinemas have been established in the city…" (Ettelat Newspaper, No. 478, 30th of April 1928 – Translated by the author)

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[30] Appendix F
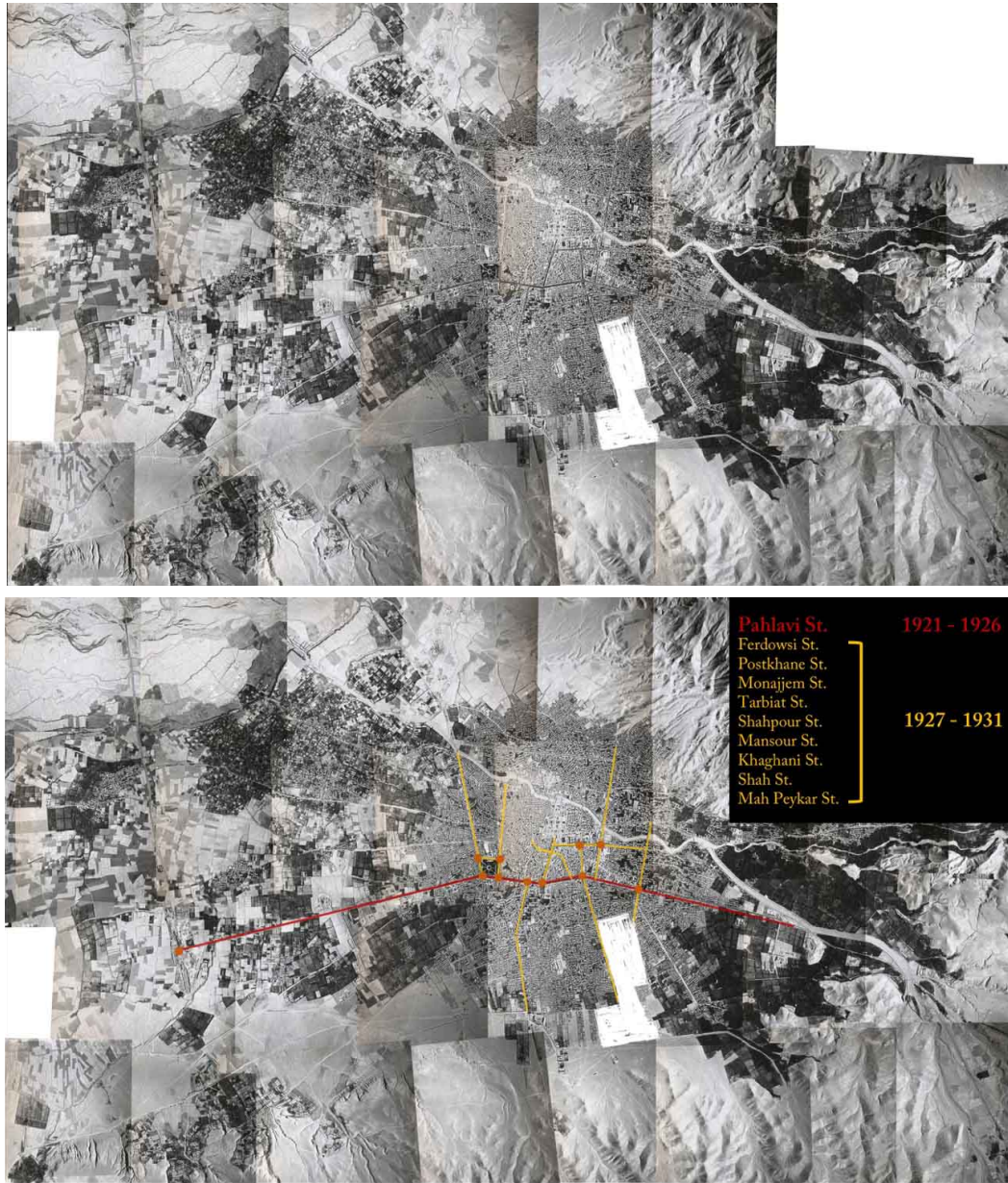
Figure 4.4: Aerial photography of Tabriz in 1956, Showing the new openings and streets on the picture with red and yellow lines. Red Line is the Pahlavi street which discussed in the above part and the yellow lines are the openings connecting to the main axe. Edited by the author

Sources: Iran National Cartographic Center, National Documentation Organization Tabriz branch

Figure 4.5: Bagh Melli and its café in foreground and the Ferdowsi Street in the background of the picture.
Source: URL 5

Figure 4.6: Bagh Melli from another view.
Source: URL 6

Iranian cities got the shape of 19th century's industrial cities of Europe in a very rapid way. The new street systems successfully took the place of traditional transportation hubs inside the urban fabric. They became the main axis of the cities and all service spaces were placed on the new emerged spaces for the needs of newly established white collar and blue collar groups inside the society. The new rival of Bazaar easily conquers it and the space of Bazaar became a historical place and recalling nostalgia rather than being active in everyday life. In each city, there were two main streets intersecting each other and at least one of them passed through the Bazaar area. The intersecting points functioned as the squares which was also a new established space inside of the Iranian cities. During Reza Shah's reign only one street passed thorough Bazaar area. This process completed in later years during MohammadReza Shah Pahlavi's reign. However, the Shahbakhti street (renamed to Jomhouri-e Eslami after the revolution) connected the Ferdowsi street to Khaghani street and tore down the southern part of Bazaar and disconnect its spatial relation among northern and southern parts of Bazaar during late years of 1930s. In addition, extended part of Ferdowsi street directly went through the Bazaar area. The intersecting point of the Shahbakhti Street and Artesh Street became a large square (Figure 4.9) and in later years (probably in 1956) the new police department (Nazmiyeh) was built on one of the sides of square, within a close distance to Bazaar area (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: Locating the new established buildings and streets opened during 1920s and 1930s in Bazaar area
Edited by the author
Sources: Iran National Cartographic Center, National Documentation Organization Tabriz branch

Figure 4.8: New building of the ministry of finance
Source: URL 7

Figure 4.9: Tupkhaneh square, National Bank (left) and New building of the governor (Right)
Source: URL 8

Figure 4.10: The Building of new Police department in Tupkhaneh square
Source: URL 8

The building of the governor was built on 1954 (During Mohammad Reza's reign). In 1920s and 1930s the site of this building belonged to the Shams Al-Emare palace (Figure 4.10). It was a four floor structure which was built during the last years of 18th century. Backyard of the building had connections with Haramkhaneh complex and some of the religious rituals and army parades took place in this open space. After the fall of Qajar dynasty, the building became the place of the governor. During early years of 1930s some fire accidents happened in the building and by the 1947 the building demolished completely and the new building for the governor erected in its site.

Figure 4.11: Shams al-Emare palace and its garden during a wedding ceremony.
Source: URL 9

4.1.4. "Red Lion and Sun" Drama and Operetta House of Tabriz

One of the most important spaces which adopted with western architectural motives and functions next to "Bagh Melli" was the Opera and Drama Hall (Figure 4.11 and

4.12). Christoph Werner describe the opening ceremony of the hall like this:

> In September 1927 more precisely on Saturday night, 18 Shahrivar 1306, the new and splendid theatre hall of Tabriz, the Red Lion and Sun, was inaugurated in the presence of Reza Shah himself. A large and cheerful crowd had gathered, comprising local celebrities and outstanding members of the town's society. When the curtain rose, a scenic landscape depicting the mountains and forests of Iran could be seen. It was populated by actors wearing different ethnic costumes: Kurds, Lurs, Arabs and Qashqais who later on were to join in national solidarity. (Werner, 2014, p.201)

Choosing Tabriz as a place to establish a very modern theatre hall followed by several reasons and motives. In the following part, Werner explains the reasons for this action made by state in Tabriz.

> As in other areas of modernization and spread of western culture, Tabriz had taken a pioneering role in the introduction of theatre in Iran. The presence of religious and linguistic minorities created a multicultural atmosphere that proved to be particularly stimulating. A cosmopolitan audience that was able to move between Armenian, Azeri-Turkish and Persian early on produced multiple translations and adaptations. Among the first to arrange performances of western-style theatre in Azerbaijan were Assyrians and Armenians who, because of the missionary schools established in the nineteenth century and their transnational networks, were exposed to western culture much earlier than the Muslim majority. (Werner, 2014, p.206)

Figure 4.12: Two different views of the theater hall
Sources: (Left) URL 10
(Right) URL 11

64

Figure 4.13: One of the entrances for the main hall
Source: URL 12

Unfortunately, after the Islamic revolution in 1979 and emerging religious and traditional ideologies inside the new ruling class, lack of interest showed up for these kind of spaces. Subsequently during the eight years of war between Iran and Iraq the building was abandoned. Years later discussions raised about building a Mosalla (a large scale mosque used for religious ceremonies and Friday prays) started. State by having the power of demolishing and destroying the complex (Figure 4.13), started the new project which led to the Mosalla of Tabriz (Figure 4.15). Parks and green areas around the theater hall were destroyed too and for a very long time, "Bagh Melli" transformed as the construction site of the Mosalla without existence of a specific plan for this place (Figure 4.14).
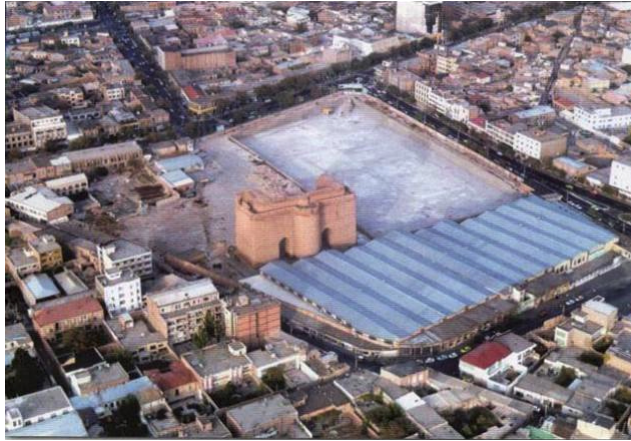
Figure 4.14: Aerial view of Ark and its surroundings after the revolution of 1979
source: URL 13

Cropped From the aerial photo of 1967   Cropped From the aerial photo of 2010   Cropped From the aerial photo of 2017

Figure 4.15: Transformation process of Ark area in 50 years
Edited by the author
Sources: Iran National Cartographic Center, Google Earth maps

Figure 4.16: Ark Alishah and the new Mosalla
Photographed by the author

4.2. Mohammad Reza Shah - Following the father's path of Modernization (1941 – 1979)

The World War II affected Iran despite declaring neutrality during this period. One of the main reasons for this issue was the close relations of Iranian government with Germans. During 1941, the amount of foreign trade between Iran and Germany raised considerably between 45.5 percent to 48 percent. At the same year, the number of Germans which employed by the Iranian prime minister was 690, though British sources put the estimate at 2000. (Atabaki, 2000) These evidences were enough excuses for invading Iran by the allied forces. Great Britain from south and Soviet Unions from north entered Iran and during the war, Iranian corridor were used as transportation hub for delivering supplies for allied forces in Russia and at the same time, Iranian oil fields in south were secured. British government left Reza shah only one way out:

> Would his highness kindly abdicate in favor of his son, the heir to the throne?
> We have a high opinion of him and will ensure his position. But his highness
> should not think there is any other solution.[31]

Reza Shah died in exile on July 1944 in Johannesburg, South Africa. It was up to his son, Mohammad Reza Shah to continue the father's path for modernizing the country. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was the Shah of Iran from September 16th, 1941 until his overthrow by the Revolution of 1979 February 11th. He was the second and also the last monarch of the House of Pahlavi of the Iranian monarchy. By his overthrown, 25 century of monarchy eradicated in Iran. During first years, he realized it is no possible to continue the modernization process without the help of foreign countries. Western powers penetrated more and more into significant parts of the government even though they overthrow prime minister "Mohammad Mosaddegh" (Democratically selected

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[31] Kapuscinski, Ryszard. Shah of Shahs. Penguin Books. 2006. Pg. 25.

1951 until 1953) by a military coupe known as "28 Mordad"[32]. The main reasons for this action were nationalizing Iranian oil by the Mosaddegh which were occupied by British and American companies and also the lack of interest in supporting their demands among Mosaddegh's government. Therefore, after this historical milestones, the attempts of Mohammad Reza shah were considered more western investments rather than national issues and economy. Several regulations took place during his ruling years.

4.2.1. Socio-spatial strategies of new government

The modernization and westernization process of the country which started in Reza Shah's era continued in all fields in this period. Several transformations occurred in social and cultural aspects. The role of cultural shifts in this period is undeniable. Traditional classes diminished more than previous reign in the society and new social classes with new interests showed up which had almost no bounds with traditional interests. These new classes preferred more modern and secular lifestyles and traditional old ways of livings were unacceptable for them. The growth of new middle class bourgeoisie was one of the main results of modernization process during second Pahlavi period. At the same time, this process brought the growth of the urban population. New higher education system and university graduates which created the new social groups were among the effective factors for this issue. Significant rises in wages, considerable increases in consumption among urban population and inevitably high amount of import ranges, deterioration in agriculture, annihilation of rural and nomadic lives caused massive migrations from rural areas to the central cities. Expansions in bureaucracy and centralization in the capital city of Tehran and centers of provinces affected the amount of migrations to large scale cities as well.

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[32] The military coupe orchestrated by the United Kingdom under the name "Operation Boot" and the United States under the name "TPAJAX Project".

Abrahamian describes the expansion of the government as follows:

> The shah's expansion of the state bureaucracy was impressive. He increased the number of fully fledged ministries from twelve to twenty – including the new ministries of energy, labor, social welfare, rural affairs, higher education, art and culture, tourism, and housing and urban construction. By 1975, the state employed more than 304,000 civil servants as well as some one million white-collar and blue-collar workers. The prime minister's office, which oversaw the plan and Budget Organization as well as the religious foundations, employed 24,000. The ministries of education and higher education together employed 515,000, the administered 26,000 primary schools, 1,850 secondary schools, 750 vocational schools and 13 universities. The interior ministry, with 21,000 employees, redrew the administrative map of the country, increasing the number of provinces from then to twenty-three and subdividing them into 400 administrative districts, each with a mayor, village headman or rural council appointed from the center. For the first time in the history, the arm of the state reached not just into cities and towns but also into faraway villages and rural hamlets. By 1977, the state was directly paying one of every two full time employees. (Abrahamian, 2008, p. 126-127)

After a short period, social and civic movements started to rise in large cities which were the results of unemployment among low classes and immigrants from small scaled cities and villages. The role of religious leaders was undeniable in these acts and one the first speech of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini affected the civic and social groups in the society during early years of 1960s.

After 1960, the third socio-economic program started to run (1962-1967) and western countries and some of the well-known western companies like General Motors had investments in Iran because of the cheap labor power and excessive amount of raw materials. In 1964, the ministry of housing and development was established and this new act changed the macro form of the cities in a significant way. In 1966 the population of Tehran reached about 3 million (twice compared with 1956) and in 1970 the unprecedented increase in oil prices changed major programs of government. Political authority encouraged people to consume more than before and high wages in governmental jobs and positions were available as well. (Habibi, 1999)

Cultural programs of Shah were formed from two different and contradictory parts: First, reviving old Iranian culture and comprehensive efforts to magnifying historical (Mostly pre-Islamic period) years of the country and introducing it as the best and the most valuable part of the pure Iranian culture. Secondly, on the other hand severe interests in authority for promoting western ideology and its shape by advertising and propounding the western culture. However, the result of this combination for two different tendencies were something that had no bonds with Iranian society.

There was no place left for critics and intellectuals to write and evaluate the politics of Shah and government. In this conditions during 1960s, intellectuals which once admired modernization process made by the government became the opposition of the government. Among these actions banning Tudeh party in late 1950s and restricting leftist groups like

Organization of Iranian People's Fadaian (Majority) can be mentioned.

After the revolution of 1979 and early years of the revolution that society experienced freedom of speech, a numerous number of intellectuals criticize the previous period for their non-Iranian behavior. As an example Mohammad Ali Eslami Nadoshan, one of the important critics described the ruling years of Mohammad Reza Shah as:

> Iran, for 25 years, was ruled with a non-Iranian culture and mentality. Governors, practically and theoretically stood in front of the culture of Iranian society which religion plays a significant role in general parts of it. Alienation between government and masses of people reached to its highest level during second Pahlavi dynasty and finally this process led to the Islamic revolution of the 1979. (Eslami Nadoshan, 1979)

In another example, Ahmad Ashraf, who conducted research in the Bazaar on Tehran in late 1970s, asserts that:

> Among the more conflict-arousing issues in this sphere were the lifestyles and appearance of the more privileged Westernized classes, particularly the unveiled and often 'provocatively clad' upper-class women, and among other things violation of Islamic codes of behavior in public, un-Islamic or anti-

> Islamic ideas disseminated by the state-controlled media, non-Islamic contents of the curriculum in modern schools, and the increasing influence and presence of Americans and other Westerners at all levels of the country's economic and social life. (Ashraf, 1988, p. 557)

It is hard to mention considerable changes and transformations among public spaces and it can be said that, the period of second Pahlavi in Tabriz tried to complete the actions which took place during the first Pahlavi's era. However, lots of new structures were erected in the capital city of Tehran and other important cities like Mashhad and Isfahan. Cultural complexes, museums, theatre halls like fine art museum of Tehran, Rudaki Hall of Tehran are among some of these significant buildings. Unfortunately, it is not possible to see such impressive examples in Tabriz. In this period the old urban fabric of Tabriz was divided into more parcels by opening new streets and widening the old streets. Probably the most malicious one was the Darayi Street. Darayi Street (Figure 4.16) cut through the Bazaar area and penetrated inside several religious complexes (Figure 4.17). The most important one is "Saheb Al Amr" complex (Mosque and Madrese) (Figure 4.18 and 4.19). Darayi Street completely divided eastern parts of the Bazaar from its main body and the new constructions[33] that was built in that area destroyed and demolished all the built environment in that region.

Figure 4.17: Comparison of the Aerial photographs of Bazaar. 1956 (Left one) 1967 (Right one)
Source: Iran National Cartographic Center

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[33] Constructions can be named as the "New building for the ministry of finance", "New Building for the national bank", "New Building for the governor", and "Nazmiyeh" (Police department)

Figure 4.18: Highlighting the destructed parts of the Bazaar.
Edited by the author
Source: Iran National Cartographic Center

Figure 4.19: Aerial position of Saheb al Amr complex after opening Darayi street. New Established street passed through the garden of the complex and tore apart mosque and Madrese in this complex.
Photographed by the author

Figure 4.20: The garden of Saheb al-Amr complex during the constitutional revolution which was one of the main gathering points of the revolutionists.
Source: URL 14

4.2.2. Emergence of slums, dwelling problems and rapid rise of urban population

After the World War ll new houses were constructed by using new materials in Iran. Until 1956, new residential units reached up to 44 percent of urban dwellings. In ten years (1966), this number raised up to 56 percent. (Pakdaman, 1977) In the next ten years until 1976, up to 70 percent of urban houses and 35 percent of the rural houses were made by new materials and technology. (Seyfzadeh, 1997) Between 1970 and 1978 (last years of Pahlavi and before the revolution) there were several restrictions for building permits and licenses like limiting the level of infrastructures and passing several bills for balancing and stabilizing the land prices and many other bills passed for controlling the rent rates since the country faced severe problems with the housing market and limited sources for supplying dwelling demands.(Abrahamian, 1997) The state tried to collate with the housing issue. The lack of residential units was the result of high rates in population growth from one side and increasing number of middle classes who had the ability to provide this need by the high amount of wages. At the same time, accommodation became a unique opportunity as an investment tool. State even tried to eliminate land corruptions and these kind of activities but in spite of all these actions, housing, for last ten years of political life of Mohammad Reza Shah (1966 – 1976) was the main problem in his government and it was one the most inflationary parts in the economy.

In 1960s and 1970s tendencies to the modern architecture mostly started from housing projects. These attitudes were supported by two dominant institutions:

"Construction Bank" with the slogan of "building affordable houses" and "architecture graduates" from domestic and foreign universities. After couple of years "Construction Bank" changed its name to "Housing Corporation" and it became state's consultant in construction projects especially housing projects. Then in 1964 Ministry of Development and Housing was established as the continuation and expansion of the same organization. "Housing Corporation" and "Mortgage Bank" were two important

parts of the ministry which controlled by the minister of development and housing. (Bani Masoud, 2009)

The journal of "Construction Bank" was published and its aim was to inform everyone about the activities and the projects of the construction bank. In its first publication, issues and the policies of the organization were explained as follows:

"One of the most important issues which affected the lives of Iranian people these days is the problem of housing. The state tried to pay more attention to this problem and unfortunately the lack of residential sites and high rate of rents raised the cost of living in cities especially the capital city of Tehran. […] High rent rates and the staggering inflation in land prices encouraged the investors to invest in land and construction projects instead of investing in production and industrial projects for supporting the economy of the country. These issues raised the house prices significantly and made it impossible for low income and middle classes to buy houses. The only solution for balancing the rent rates for a short term seemed to establish [The leasehold Administration] which actually could not succeed until 1953 by passing a bill in parliament the state established the "construction Bank" with funding the ministry of agriculture and "Iran Insurance Company". The aim of this organization is to produce affordable houses by considering technical principles and reducing the leaseholds. Some rural areas around Tehran and Some lands from Nazi Abad were given to this organization as its fund. However, it did not pass to much from the establishment of this new organization it looks like it could solve some problems about the housing issue in the country."[34]

Designing and building new apartment blocks and residential sites were other actions taken by "Construction Bank" and in some other cases cultural and service buildings were built by this organization in the capital city of Tehran and almost in all big cities

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[34] The article was written in Persian and it translated to English by the author

of the country. Usually the purchasers were state employees and the contracts were made as installments. In contracts, they usually mentioned to deliver the houses in one year. Undoubtedly they were two dominant group that stabilized the principles and concepts of the modern architecture in the process of designing houses in this period. First group was the architectural graduates of foreign universities and the second one was the graduates of fine art faculty (after 1960s) in university of Tehran.

Several residential projects took place in Tabriz like other large scale cities. These projects affected the form of the city dramatically and for the first time in the history of the Iranian cities, we can see residential sites with apartment blocks. This new trend changed almost all aspects of the Iranian families regarding its new spatiality. While the construction of these buildings were taking place inside the urban areas, slums were growing simultaneously on the periphery of the city (Figure 4.20). Even nowadays, these spaces still as one of the unsolvable problems of the urban form of Tabriz.

Figure 4.21: Comparison of the aerial photography of 1967 (up) and the present (down). Situation of the slums on the edges of the city. In the upper photograph, it is easy to notice the new built houses on the hills.
Edited by the author
Sources: Iran National Cartographic Center, Google Earth maps

4.3. Concluding Discussion: From Occupying Old Urban Fabric by the State to the Occupied Streets by the People

This Chapter highlighted the important and effective actions during the Pahlavi dynasty which had several impacts in the urban form and its transformation. By the process of the modernization during Reza Shah's reign, several reforms changed the face of society and cities. As mentioned, some of these radical decisions had severe consequences on the society. The whole governmental system revised from top to bottom as well as other aspects of peoples' lives for building a modern nation. All aspects like education, judiciary and service systems changed completely and in this process, the urban fabric was not an exception. New public spaces established for replacing the old ones and the face of the cities transformed in a rapid route. Does the society of Iran was ready for all these changes? Or did the second king of Pahlavi dynasty, Mohammad Reza Shah, control the accelerated shifting process which started by his father?

During the nineteenth century and the time when modern Middles was born, the face of the region changed significantly by several efforts and attempts of the centralized governments and authorities by the progressive integration of the area into the world economy. "In most countries, one of the consequences of these trends was a sharp erosion of the role of informal networks in the urban politics." (Denoeux, 1993) As the example of Bazaar in Iranian society which played a significant role during the Constitutional revolution of Iran but then weakened during Pahlavi dynasty.

New alternatives took place of the traditional structures for organizing protests. The political groups which organized formally was able to provide effective actions during political upheavals and these actions manifested during 1940s and early 1950s of Iran dramatically. During the unstable period stretching from abdication of Reza Shah in 1941 to the coup d'état of 1953, mass-based political parties and trade unions emerged drastically. (Denoeux, 1993)

However, following the American and British sponsored 1953 coup put an end to the democratically selected nationalist government of Prime Minister Mosaddegh. In a few days this action brought Mohammad Reza Shah back to country and power after a self-imposed exile which lasted only a few days. After this process, the Tudeh and the trade unions were crushed. With Mohammad Reza Shah's rapid consolidation of power in the late 1950s and early 1960s, these once effective, impressive and powerful organizations were completely dismantled. Independent political parties, labor unions and professional associations were outlawed, while a system of state run trade unions were established by the state itself. (Denoeux, 1993)

After these period, considerable amount of population relocated from rural areas to the suburban and peripheries regarding the social changes, migration and huge displacements during the ruling years of Pahlavis. Especially after the white revolution[35] which launched by Mohammad Reza Shah in 1963 for having wider reforms in the society. Mohammad Reza Shah not only tolerate the actions applied in the previous period by his father but also state in his ruling years speeded up the reforms by the support of the unpredicted increasing oil prices in 1960s. With the support of significant rises in state's incomes, country pushed forward to urbanization. These programs completely changed the face of Iranian cities.

It is a well-known fact that the changes which occurred in this period provided the physical conditions for an urban revolution. Several newly established spaces like large scale open spaces and more importantly public spaces like streets and boulevards became the concentration points for the civic movements for showing the objection by the masses.

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[35] A far-reaching series of reforms in Iran launched in 1963 by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and lasted until 1978. Mohammad Reza Shah's reform program was built specially to weaken those classes that supported the traditional system.

However, the political parties (formal and informal groups like Tudeh and Fadaian) were banned from all kinds of activities, they successfully arranged protests against state and Shah. Every decision which targeted these unrests and opposition groups raised the number of protestors and at the late years of 1970s, the protests and civic riots could not be controlled by the government and army. In 1979 these movements forced Shah to leave the country. The result of these actions were eradication of monarchy after almost 25 hundred years.

Studying post revolution period needs more time and space and due to the time span of this research, mentioned period is beyond the time table for this study. In this point, it is indispensable to separate the process of revolution. The reason for this issue is that from leftist and Marxist groups to the conservative and religious groups were present and active in that process and the revolution of 1979 was a collective act rather than belonging to one group or the ideology. The established state and government after revolution by the Ulama and Islamic groups in later years have to be separated from the process of the revolution.

Figure 4.22: Occupied streets and public spaces by masses during revolution of 1979
Source: URL 15

Figure 4.23: Students and staff of Tabriz University joining protestors during December of 1977
Translation of the Banner in the first rows: "University, one of the first strongholds of revolution"
Source: URL 16

Figure 4.24: Streets and main public spaces occupied by the prayers
Source: URL 15

80

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

"Change the world" said Marx;
"Change Life"; Said Rimbaud;
For us, these two tasks are identical.

André Breton

The curiosity of this study provoked by two main reasons. Firstly, the given names to the specific areas that were transformed and destructed drastically are remaining yet they do not have any physical traces in todays' Tabriz. Secondly, the speed of change in the built environment increased dramatically during the recent decades. These rapid transformations changed a considerable amount of historical sites and public spaces. Consequently these spaces vanished after a short period of time or damaged in serious ways. It is possible to find several districts, alleys and streets which recall the spaces that have no bounds with their present functions which were established later. Wall street in New York, Saraçhane in Istanbul and "Bagh Shomal" in Tabriz are some of the examples. In this point, we can question changes and destructions about the case study of the research and motivations can be evaluated.

Signifying aspect of space can be mentioned as its relation with power and ideology. By studying these motivations in a socio-cultural context, it can be seen that space become the representation tool for powers (specifically political powers) and newly emerged ideologies that support these powers. In addition to being a representation tool, it is the power apparatus of state to relocate specific groups or change their built environment. So as it was mentioned in the first chapter, the history of built environment (and its destruction) became the history of the ruling classes as Rossi said. Each shifts in political powers and transferring of the power from one to another

group has profound changes in social order. Inevitably these changes affected the urban form as well with the desire of change in the society. Theories of urban historians and urban theorists like Spiro Kostof, Ali Madanipour, Manuel Castells and Andy Merrifield and theories of philosophers like Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Louis Althusser were employed for drawing a clear theoretical frame for the case study. At the same time, a comprehensive understanding of the transformations in public spaces and its relation to power and ideology tried to be achieved regarding the case of Iran and Tabriz.

In this research, the city of Tabriz and its urban form analyzed from a historical perspective and each iconic space scrutinized individually. During Qajars, geo-politic position of Tabriz and establishment of the city as the Valiahd Neshin affected its urban form drastically. After the fall of Qajars and shifts in political power, it was the urban form and built environment which was influenced by this transition. One of the main concerns of this research was to understand how and why these changes occurred during the Pahlavi dynasty. Modern intelligentsia which had an upper hand in Reza Shah's first cabinet faced different social groups in the society. In previous periods, these groups were dominant on the masses and society. Consequently, their places in the built environment affected by the desire of change which was brought by new political power. Probably it was the ambition of modern intelligentsia to create a tabula rasa to build Iran all over again and the result of this desire, affected the several groups inside the old urban fabric of the city like Bazariyan in Bazar area, Ulama in their religious complexes and Elites of Qajars in their residential sites. This opposition became one of the main and primary problematics in creating new public spaces and cleaning the previous built environments in all over the county. Findings of this study assert on these changes and highlight the transformations that took place during Pahlavi dynasty in the urban form of Tabriz.

It is logical to ask that how these processes affected the society in last years of Pahlavis. Is it possible to link Islamic revolution which took place in 1979 to these changes and

look for its causes trough these transformations? What was the unforeseen side of these socio-cultural programs, westernization and modernization programs in Iran? What were the main effects of the "street widening act" on the cities at the end?

During 1940s and early 1950s a few organizations had significant role in unprecedented mobilizing public opinion against the state and monarchy. The oppositional role of Bazaar and mosques survived despite all of the regulations and changes that made during the first Pahlavi period. Therefore, while the Tudeh displayed great success at mobilizing organized labor, National Front and Royalist politicians which had the opposition role in the parliament harnessed to their respective advantage, the political energy of a new phenomenon named as 'street'. This collaboration of well-organized protests and informal networks of urban policies as we know 'Bazaar' and 'Ulama' emerged for the first time in this period. (Denoeux, 1993)

Whatever the sources of its religiosity might be, there is no doubt that Bazaar in Iran remained as one of the institutions which had very close and intertwined connections with mosques and religious groups. This phenomena is important because of the continued social influence of Ulama in all these periods. Also by giving the persisting vitality of religious feelings in the Iranian population, it helps to explain why Bazaar survived as a potent social force.

This social prominence, furthermore, could easily be translated into political power. In view of the Bazaar-mosque connection that has just been described, and in view of the history of political cooperation between Bazariyan and Ulama in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is not surprising that, in the post-World War ll period, the Bazaar frequently acted in cooperation with the mosques for the mutual interests. In fact, beginning from the 1950s the Bazaar mosque alliance was strengthened by cultural, political and financial factors. Culturally, both the Bazaar and the mosque became increasingly concerned about the erosion of Islamic traditions and values in the country during the 1960s and 1970s. Politically, both Bazaar and mosque suffered

from numerous state attempts to limit their respective spheres of influences in the society. This situation reinforced the mutual feeling that they were natural allies in their conflicts with the Pahlavi state. Finally, on financial plane, with the growing erosion of the Ulama's control over the 'Vaghfs', Bazaar became the backbone of the religious establishment. Thus, in the 1970s the Bazaar provided an estimated 80 percent of the Ulama's financial supports and resources for different aims. (Walton, 1980)

Referring back to the revolution in 1979, there is no doubt that the revolution of 1979 was an urban revolution. All protests occurred in major cities and concentration points of these protests were capital city of Tehran and centers of the provinces. Tabriz played an effective role in this process. The streets and wide boulevards which once opened for the purpose of modernizing the city's faces or in some cases used for controlling the dense areas like Bazaar, transformed to places for showing opposition and objection with the state. Several issues about the revolution of 1979 still need to be discussed and it will be over simplification if we just look at this phenomenon through the lens of the new established spaces. However, the role of public spaces in this process was undeniable. Millions of people attended protests all over the country and remarkable amount of protestors were the ones who relocated to the urban areas during the Pahlavi period after the land regulations.

The autocracy of Pahlavis in all aspects did not leave any space for criticism for the opposition forces. In order of the socio-political movements, all groups united for changing the whole system and they were searching for the new alternatives.

The spatial transformation which brought to the cities by the Pahlavis replaced by the new spatiality after transferring the power to the new political group. One of the best examples of this transition is the destruction of "Red Lion and Sun theatre hall" in Tabriz which mentioned in the chapter four. New Mosalla replaced with the theatre hall which is an iconic building for representing the Islamic ideology in the center of

Tabriz. It is possible to mention and ask the question "why the history repeats itself?". This time the Islamic groups with a totally different ideology viewpoint had the upper hand in the government and they started to target the built environment of the modernists of Pahlavi period in the urban fabric. However the people who took part in the revolution were seeking for equal rights and they suffered from top to bottom politics of the Pahlavis witnessed the same approach in the new government. The violence and the sense of revenge took place in the case of the built environment during the new period. Another example which did not mentioned in the text is the destruction of Reza Shah's mausoleum near Qom city. A few months after fall of the Pahlavi dynasty the whole building perished in less than a week.

Despite all these radical decisions which were made by the new government in later years and as we go back to the roots of the revolution, the main stimulus that caused the revolution of 1979 is the presence of people that occupied new emerged public and living spaces. It was the new identity of citizenship which raised and better to say a revolutionary citizenship. Indeed, "the urban" is revolutionary, and, as such, the revolution will be urban as one of the main statements which Lefebvre mentioned in the "Urban Revolution". Unfortunately, regardless of the active role in the scene by the people, again the main right neglected which is one of the most previous rights for everyone in the society. As David Harvey asserts we have to be able to change our cities as we can change ourselves. It is a collective right rather than being an individual one. The exercise of the collective power has to be done by the processes of the urbanization. The right to the city is one of the most invaluable and yet one of the most neglected rights of people in the cities. (Harvey, 2012) After the revolution, top to bottom decisions can be witnessed more than ever in case of changing the cities. The society who eradicated hundreds of years of monarchy again cannot use its collective power to practice it for changing their own built environment or at least preserve some the places that state wants to change either for ideological or commercial purposes.

Therefore, in todays' society, it is important to highlight and questions the silence

among people when their spaces forced to be changed by the state. This awareness must be raised about the mentioned problem. It is everyone's right to decide whether they want these transformation or not. The mass destructions of 1920s and 1930s like opening new streets and boulevards and transforming older part of the city did not stop and even become one of the main behaviors of the state in most of cities especially Tabriz. The post revolution period with the support of the new ideology and spatiality, continued the same path that started in urbanization and transformation during Pahlavi period.

Especially in recent years, due to several social, political and economic motivations, public spaces transform rapidly in comparison to the previous period along with an awkward silence of the society. The historical and collective memory of the city weakened and each group tries to erase the past and build the city all over again.

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APPENDIX A

MAP OF TREZEL - FABVIER

Figure A.1: Map of Trezel – Fabvier drafted in 1807 – 1808
Source: Reading Old Maps of Tabriz. Pg. 17

APPENDIX B
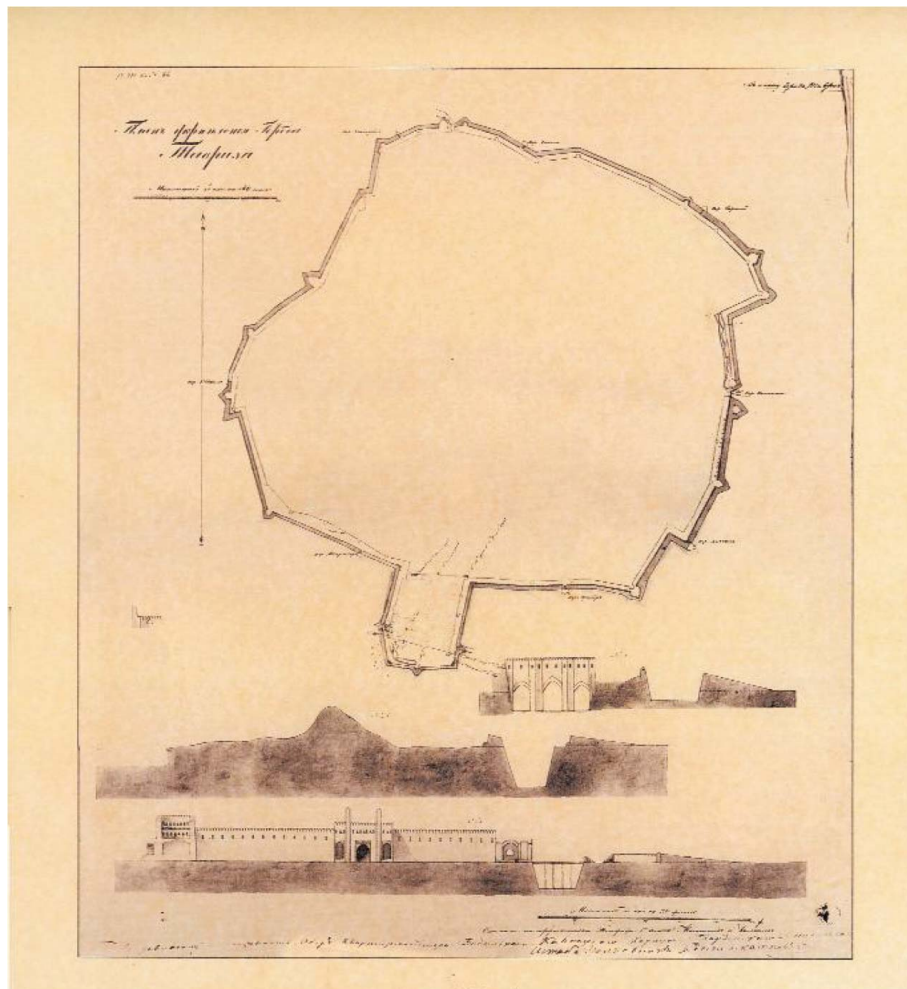
FORTRESS MAP OF TABRIZ

Figure B.1: Fortress map of Tabriz drafted by Mamontov and Kolokolov in 1827.
Source: Reading Old Maps of Tabriz. Pg. 26.

This map developed during the wars between Iran and Russia by Russian surveyors for military proposes. In addition to the map, sections of the walls, ditches and citadel drafted in details.

APPENDIX C

MAP OF ASADOLLAH KHAN MARAGHEI

Figure C.1: Map of Tabriz drafted by Asad Allah Khan Maraghei in 1910
Source: Reading Old Maps of Tabriz, Pg. 65

This map doesn't have the accuracy of the previous map which was drafted in 1880. However, the significant point about this map is the emphasis on the commercial spaces. The most important part of the map is the double scaled map of Bazaar in up – right with all details.

APPENDIX D

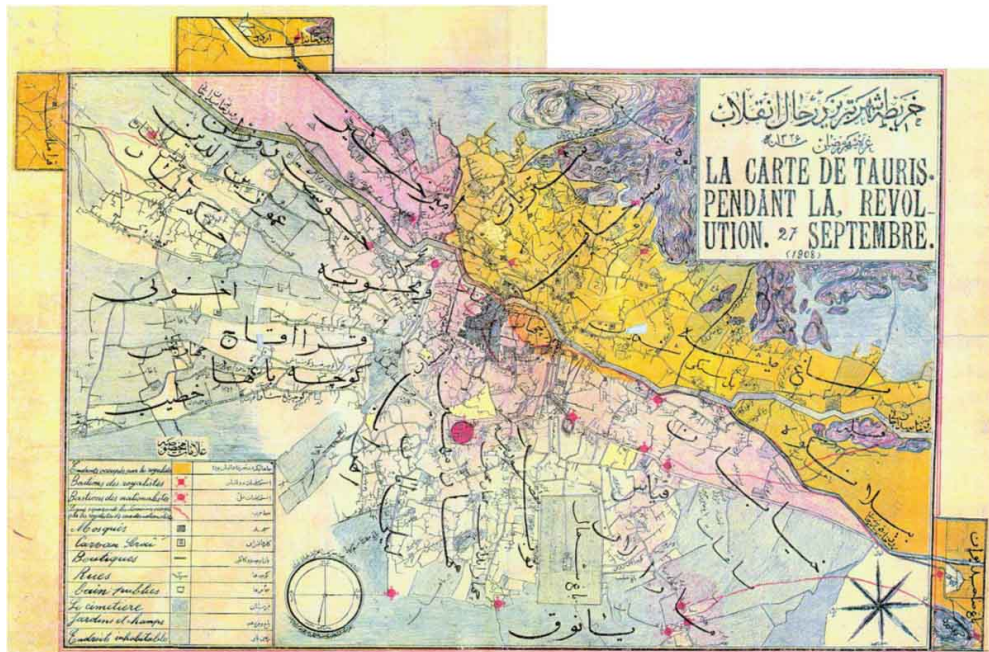# CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION OF IRAN IN TABRIZ

Figure D.1: Map of Tabriz during revolution drafted in 1908.
Source: "Reading Old Maps of Tabriz". Pg. 82

As it can be seen in the picture, revolutionary and governmental forces divided with two different colors. The yellow color shows the governmental forces and on the other hand the red color shows the location of revolutionary forces. Also the red circles and lines show the barracks and war zones in the city.

Figure D.2: Revolutionary fighters of Tabriz: In the middle of the picture
Bagherkhan (in front line with white clothes) and Sattarkhan (on the left side of Bagherkhan)
Leaders of the Revolution in Tabriz
Source: URL 17

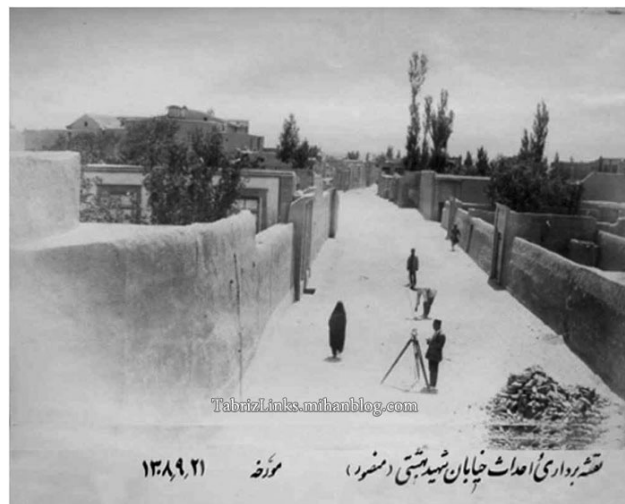# APPENDIX E

STREET WIDENING IN TABRIZ

نقشه برداری احداث خیابان شهید بهشتی (منصور)   مورخه   ۱۳۸۹.۲۱

Figure E.1: Expansion of the Mansour St. in 1929
source: URL 18

خیابان منجم در حال تخریب   مورخه   ۱۳۰۸
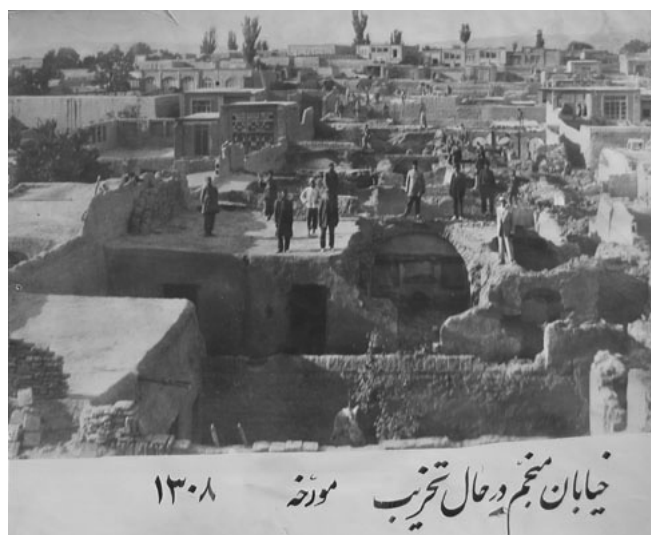
Figure E.2: Demolitions for opening Monajjem St. in 1929
source: URL 19

تیریز قدیم یه روایت ت. منصوری

خیابان پستخانه/شریعتی شمالی/۱۳۰۸/۹/۲۲

Figure E.3: Expansion of Postkhane (Shariati) St. in 1929
Source: URL 20

Figure E.4: Shahnaz Street in Foreground and Ferdowsi Street in background of the image
source: URL 21

APPENDIX F

FIRST CINEMAS OF TABRIZ

Figure F.1: Cinema Metropol - built in the first years of 1920s
Source: URL 22

Figure F.2: Cinema Molenrouj - built in the first years of 1920s
Source: URL 22

Figure F.3: Cinema Aria during Pahlavi period
Source: URL 22

Figure F.4: Cinema Aria after the revolution and its name changed to Azadi (Freedom)
Photographed by the Author

APPENDIX G

REVOLUTION OF 1979 AND RIOTS IN TABRIZ

Figure G.1: Protests in Pahlavi street (renamed to Emam street after 1979) during the revolution of 1979
Source: URL 16

Figure G.2: Protests in Shahnaz street (renamed to Shariati street after 1979) during the revolution of 1979
Source: URL 15