

Survival of bazaars: Global spatial impact and local self-organising processes

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Mir Azimzadeh

Chalmers University of Technology, Sweden

Abstract

The traditional bazaar in contemporary Iranian cities was at the heart of what is now considered to be the historic core of these cities. The structural changes in Iranian cities, which began around the end of 19th century, caused the interruption of the organic interrelation between the bazaar and its historic spatial context. The bazaar and the rest of the historic core have responded to these changes differently. While the bazaar in all major Iranian cities is still functioning, the residential zone of the historic core in some cities has declined. This paper discusses the general position of the historic core of Iranian cities and focuses on the bazaars. In 9 Iranian cities the spatial system of the traditional bazaar in the existing global urban structures have been analysed. The bazaars that have survived have common configurational properties in the context of whole city. In 4 cities the maps from around 40 years ago up to now have been analysed to examine the changes in the bazaars after the first periods of so-called modernisation of Iranian cities. There is a remarkable case where, alongside the global changes, local self-organising processes help the bazaar to become the liveliest and most attractive place in the city. This case raises a question that calls for further research; has the upgrading of the bazaar had any impact on its surrounding traditional zones?

Keywords

Local structure,
global change,
bazaar, self-
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core

mir@arch.chalmers.se

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1. The historic cores of Iranian cities

In Iranian cities the historic cores, in spite of their usually central position, are not able to accommodate the contemporary requirements of life in a modern city centre, since they were generated by quite different social, economic and material circumstances to those which prevail today (Karimi & Hanson, 1999). A comparison with a city whose historic core does function as a modern city centre helps clarifying the situation of the historic cores of Iranian cities. Figure 1 shows the configurational properties of the urban system of the Swedish city of Gothenburg and the city of Yazd in Iran.



Figure 1: The cities of Gothenburg in Sweden (left) and Yazd in Iran (right), in the local global scattergrams the historic cores of the two cities are selected. Only in Gothenburg the historical core is the syntactic core of the urban structure and constitutes a highly intelligible substructure

The historic core in Gothenburg is the syntactic core of the existing city. It constitutes a highly intelligible substructure in the context of the whole city. This spatial property is, if not the only then an essential prerequisite for a local urban area to work as an active city centre. In Gothenburg those who move into the city and reside away from the central areas become familiar with “Centrum” (the city centre) and begin to spend time in it even sooner than they get acquainted with their home area. A large variety of known urban functions are concentrated in the city centre but its attractiveness goes beyond the definite functions. Hillier, pointing at the extraordinary spatial culture of the city of London, writes: “space constructs an expressive rather than instrumental sociality”. More practically, the distinctive “spatial culture” of the City is a prime component of the famous quality of lifewhich draws both individuals and organisations to the city (Hillier, 2001). This wide and rich function of space is also fulfilled in the city centre of Gothenburg, a city much smaller than London of course.

The plan layout proposed by the Dutchmen in the first city council of Gothenburg 1621 provided, besides defence possibilities, a distributed network of public spaces. This urban network facilitated a distributed pattern of social contacts in an urban society based on civil principles, which are still confirmed.

In the city of Yazd, Figure 1, the historic zone is not the syntactic core of the existing urban spatial system. Neither does it constitute any intelligible local structure in the context of the whole city. This reflects the history of the Iranian city, the transformation of a city with quarters highly segregated from each other forming a deep spatial structure that put high control over movements and encounters into a clearly new type of city with a spatial configuration in which the traditional spatial control over social contacts is abandoned.



Figure 2: The distribution of abandoned real states in the city of Yazd in Iran, the shaded patches (bottom) are the areas with the lowest integration value within and around the historic core of the city

2. The problem of decline of the historic cores

The problem of the historic cores of Iranian cities is not their inadequacy in functioning as a city centre. The main concern is their overall impoverishment. A study about the city of Yazd discusses that the structural changes caused by the construction of new streets through the old city of Yazd increased the spatial segregation in the traditional fabric of the city, which led to the decline of the historic core of the city (Abbaszadehgan, 2002). According to this study ruined buildings are mostly located in the syntactically deepest part of the historic core of the city. Though this has been the case in some Iranian cities, in Yazd closer investigation does not confirm this matter. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the abandoned real estate in the city of Yazd. The marked patches are the areas with lowest value of integration within and around the historic core of the city. Abandoned properties are

not at all concentrated in the deepest regions of the historic core of the city. They are scattered all over the old parts of the city. In Figure 2 besides a large cluster of abandoned properties in the central part of the city there are 8 smaller clusters, which in fact mark the locations of the previous villages that later merged into the city. Neither are these clusters located in the highly segregated areas. Some of the old villages have obtained much higher integration than their neighbouring areas still have a relatively large cluster of abandoned properties.

In the city of Yazd, the decline of the old urban areas did not happen during the first phase of development of the city and the first wave of building new streets. It is the result of the later expansion of the city that progressed at a much higher speed after the land reform initiated in 1962. The growth of abandoned properties in the old parts of the city of Yazd can be related to the favourable condition for expansion of the city, social tendencies and the interest of developers.

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The decline of historic cores is not common to all Iranian cities. In Figure 3 the two maps display a residential area in the historic part of the Iranian city of Rasht with a traditional texture. The first map belongs to the late 1950s and the other shows the present state of the district. It is clearly visible that during a period of four decades a process of rebuilding and building new houses has been going on in this residential area. The building density has not only increased along the edge of the new streets, it has also become denser in the heart of the residential area. Obviously this is not a sign of the decline of this area.



Figure 3: The maps of a residential area with traditional texture in the historic part of the Iranian city of Rasht in late 1950s (left) and at the present time (right). Source: National Cartographic Centre, Iran

The decline in the historic core of Iranian cities includes mostly the residential zones. The relation between a spatial factor, like configurational segregation, and the decline of these zones is a subtle issue since relative segregation is not basically a disadvantage for residential areas in cities. In the city of Rasht, subdivision of private properties and the intensification of land use in the traditional residential areas that was a process opposite to the process of decline, naturally, made the local spatial structure of these areas even deeper. Here the relative increase of depth in neighbourhoods with traditional texture was caused by an internal local process rather than by global imposition of the (as is customarily said) incompatible modern street system. To separate spatial determinants from non-spatial factors involved in the decline of the historic cores in Iranian cities does not seem to be a simple task.

3. The traditional bazaar, the modern avenue

The situation of the old bazaars in the historic cores of Iranian cities, in comparison with the condition of the residential sectors, reflects the effects of spatial factors much more clearly. Retail activities and shops are the most movement related urban functions and elements. Regarding the generally proved correlation between movement and spatial configurations in cities, application of space syntax analysis makes it possible to investigate the purely spatial effects of the changes in the global urban structure of Iranian cities upon the old bazaars. Yet more precision in distinguishing the spatial effects can be obtained by studying the changes in the social and economic status of old bazaars after the emergence of new urban forms. We need to know if, after a period of global change in Iranian cities, there was any cultural discrimination between the bazaar and the avenue, as a new urban phenomenon, in sharing the activities that once were mostly a part of the monopoly of the bazaar.

The bazaar of the traditional Iranian city was a concentrated complex of craftsmen, retailers, and wholesalers. It was the commercial centre of the city. But the bazaar was not only a locale for shopping and business activities. As an institution, the bazaar dominated all economic activities in the city and its surrounding region and, because of this, had a high social status. This was in concordance with the spatial position of the bazaar, which constituted the structural core of urban spatial system in the traditional Iranian city.

After the constitutional revolution (1906 - 1911) the bazaar began to lose its dominant status in the cities. In the later waves of economic developments at national level, a major part of the economic functions moved from the bazaar. The most important wholesale merchants became involved in the emerging large-scale industries and modern shipping and trucking that bypassed the bazaar both spatially

and organisationally. But this did not lead to the demise of the central bazaar. Retail activities kept it alive. However even at this level a spatial alternative to the bazaar (the modern avenue) had emerged, but shopkeepers and retailer-producers did not abandon the bazaar for the avenues.

Four decades after the building of the first avenues in the city of Yazd in the early 1930s, of the approximately 3,500 commercial establishments, a quarter were still concentrated in the central old bazaar of the city, a half were located on the new avenues and the remaining quarter consisted of shops clustered in the small local bazaars of traditional neighbourhoods and scattered shops (Bonine, 1981). Bonine's survey, concerning locational changes of shops in Yazd between 1951 and 1971, shows that there was no concerted movement to the avenues. In 1971, on the avenues 12% of new shopkeepers were those who had moved from the bazaar while in the bazaar 10% of new shopkeepers had come from the avenues. These moves were much less than the relocation of shops within the bazaar or on the avenues.

It was not that there was a concentration of declining traditional crafts in the bazaar and growing ones on the avenues. Neither was there a division of shops between the bazaar and the avenues according to the categories of "traditional" and "modern" shops. Selling modern "factory" clothing in the bazaar of Yazd was as common as it was on the avenues. Bonine's study about the social characteristics of shopkeepers in Yazd shows that there is no difference between the shopkeepers in the "traditional" bazaar and on the "modern" avenues. Even in their physical appearance, the avenues, with their linear arrangement of small stalls, have an association with the traditional bazaar. "In many respects, the avenues are as traditional as the bazaar is modern" (Bonine, 1981: 228). The functional properties of the bazaar of Yazd, as a dynamic and viable organism, are common to the bazaars in other Iranian cities. Most importantly, there is no specific public attitude favouring either the avenues or the bazaars one against the other. In this situation the impact of the spatial factor on the function of the bazaar can be measured with more precision.

4. The changed configurational position of the bazaar

In the first waves of modern urban construction in Iran the bazaar was not the main concern. But it was not completely neglected. In the initial phases of urban development with the abandonment of traditional pattern, the bazaar still maintained the major parts of its function as the economic and commercial centre of the city. Accessibility to the bazaar was important and the new streets would not hinder but rather facilitate this accessibility. The original relation of the bazaar of all major Iranian cities with the first new streets was the foundation on which the bazaar became knitted to the emerging urban structure in the later phases of development.

In the new urban system the bazaar has a structural position, different to the position of a traditional bazaar in a traditional Iranian city. In this concern, talking of “configurational displacement of the bazaar” is not relevant. The urban context in which the bazaar may be supposed to have been displaced does not exist. Neither is the existing bazaar the same urban element as the bazaar of a traditional city.

The traditional bazaar accommodated a large number of activities related to trade, production, and storage. The bazaar’s “karvansarays”, literally meaning houses for caravans, provided lodging for merchants and travellers from different parts of the world. The bazaar worked as a completely integrated body. Its spatial elements and complexes, each having a specific name, formed a logical configuration in concordance with the nature of the interrelated activities in the bazaar. Qaysariyyih¹, for example, consisted of shorter lines that connected longer stretches of the bazaar, lined with diverse shops and commercial buildings. They were often the site of production and retail of expensive goods such as jewellery and silk products (Kheirabadi, 1991). Many of the activities of the traditional bazaar have disappeared and the placement of those that continue does not follow the original spatial logic. The growing number of goldsmith’s shops in the bazaar of Yazd, for example, expanded into the adjacent cloth bazaar and the wealthiest jewellery retailers moved to the shops closer to the avenue.

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The spatial analyses of the bazaars in this study do not concern the original structure of the bazaar and its transformation. Retail is now the predominant activity in the old bazaars of Iranian cities. There are new groupings of commercial units in different bazaars. This study, without dealing with the detail distribution of different kinds of shops in the bazaars, investigates the general spatial characteristics that can be associated with the success of the bazaars as places with high concentration of retail activities.

In the studied cities, the spatial relation between the new streets and the old bazaars is different. In some cases the new avenues are built right through the bazaar complexes. In others, one or two streets intersect the major branch of the bazaar on its end/ends or in its middle and a perpendicular street crosses the minor branches of the bazaar or the old thoroughfares connected to the main trunk of the bazaar. There are also cases where the new streets are drawn close to the bazaar and are connected to it through secondary routes without destroying any part of the bazaar. The existing bazaars function in close relation to the new streets and with a different grade of dependency on them. The functioning old bazaar and the new streets constitute an integrated spatial system.

In the analyses carried out in this study, the spatial complexes of the existing bazaars consist of the continuous network of public spaces in the bazaars and in their close adjacency including the new streets. Only passable and accessible spaces on the ground level are included. The analysis of the present situation of the spatial structure of nine Iranian cities shows that in eight of these cities, although the bazaar complex is not the syntactic core of the city it constitutes an intelligible substructure in connection with the most integrated lines in the city. Only the bazaar of the minor city of Nain lacks this property. In this city the bazaar is completely inactive yet its physical construction is in good condition.

Figure 4 shows the typical scattergram of global integration against local integration for the nine cities. The selected groups are the bazaars. The r-squared value for the bazaars in the eight cities that are functioning well are between 0.9101 (for the bazaar of the city of Semnan) and 0.5710 (for the bazaar of the city of Rasht). This value for the bazaar of Nain, which is excluded from the group of functioning bazaars, is 0.4844. This value is close to the r-squared for the bazaar of Rasht (the most growing and active bazaar in the studied cases). Seemingly this sounds strange. But the functioning bazaars, including the bazaar of Rasht, do constitute a homogeneous group, from which the bazaar of Nain is excluded. In the scattergrams in (Figure 4) all of the selected clusters of dots representing the functioning bazaars are concentrated around regression lines close to the right edge of the scattergram of the whole city. This indicates the easy accessibility of these bazaars in the global urban systems of the cities. The bazaar of Nain lacks this property.

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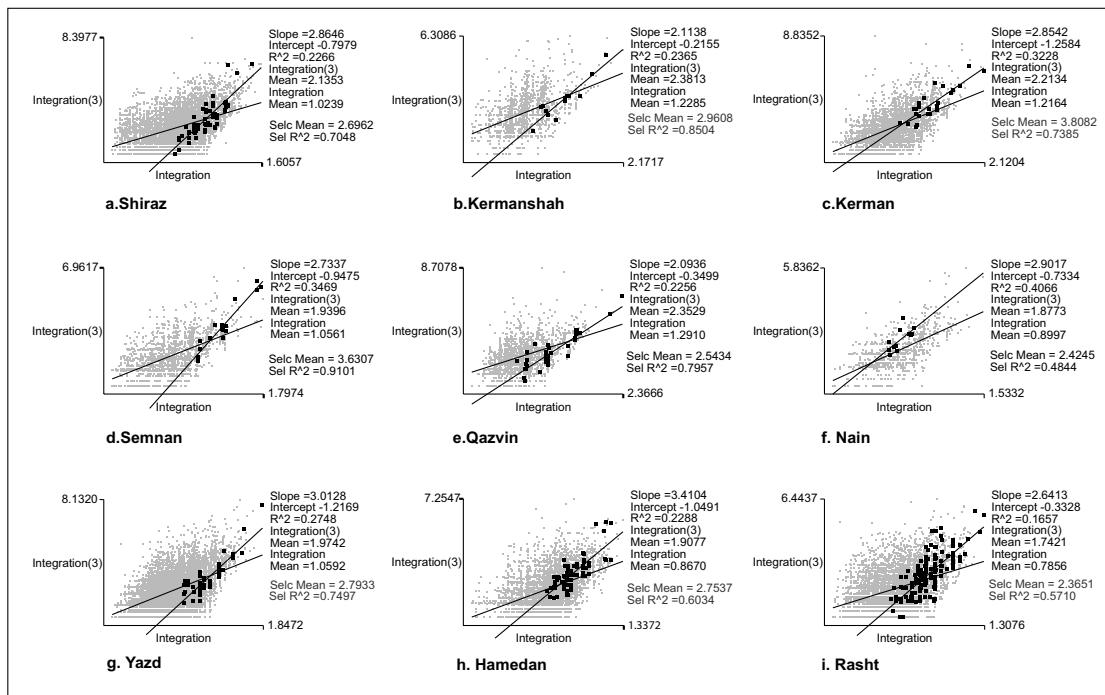


Figure 4: The typical scattergram of global integration against local integration for nine Iranian cities, the selected group of lines in each scattergram is the bazaar

Considering the factor of intelligibility, there is a vast difference between the local structure of the bazaar in Rasht and in Nain, though the absolute values of r-squared in both cases are very close to each other. The global urban structure varies in the eight cities with functioning bazaars, when examining the value of mean global integration and global intelligibility. When comparing the local spatial systems of the functioning bazaars in the context of a differentiated global spatial configuration there is a consistent measure. The degree of distinction and intelligibility of a local structure in a global spatial system is logically related to the difference between r-squared value of the local system and the intelligibility of the global system. In the eight cities with functioning bazaars the average of the difference between the r-squared values of local and global systems is 0.49. The difference values in all of the eight cities are close to this average. This difference in the city of Rasht, with the global intelligibility of 0.1657 and an r-squared of 0.5710 for the local spatial system of the bazaar, is 0.41, which is higher than the minimum difference value of 0.37 that belongs to the city of Hamedan. In Nain the difference between r-squared values for the global system and the bazaar is 0.08 and, because of this, the city is completely excluded from the group of the cities with functioning bazaars. In Nain the global urban system is highly intelligible (r-squared = 0.4066). In this spatial system, the old bazaar, is losing its spatial distinction and becoming an anonymous space, having declined to such a degree that it was not capable of functioning even as a minor local bazaar. The bazaars in the group of the eight cities are still functioning at the scale of the whole city because of their local distinction and easy global accessibility.

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5. The global spatial impact and the local self-organising processes

The process of urbanisation of the Iranian society accelerated after the initiation of the land reforms of 1960s. In a short period of time the population of Iranian cities doubled and then tripled. The changes in Iranian cities during the last four decades did not only concern the expansion of cities. The cities have also evolved structurally. The bazaars were not always passively affected by global changes. There are cases where the bazaar, as a local spatial system, has constructively interacted with the global spatial structures of the cities in the process of their spatial evolution. The configurational changes of the bazaar and the whole urban system in the four Iranian cities of Nain, Yazd, Hamedan and Rasht during the last four decades have been studied. The general information about the functional changes of the bazaar in these cities correlates with the spatial changes.

Figure 5 shows the spatial structure of the city of Nain and its bazaar in three phases from the late 1950s up to now. The global integration map of the old city is also presented to show the situation of the bazaar in the city. The bazaar had a simple structure, consisting of a slightly winding line connecting the southern gate of the

city to the Congregational Mosque in the heart of the city. Until the late 1950s the development of the city did not have a destructive effect on the bazaar of the city, though the integration core of the city moved from the centre of the old city to a place outside its old southern gate. The segment of the bazaar near to this place was located 8 syntactic steps away from the most integrated line in the city (the new long east-west street). However, it obtained an integration value of 0.7817 that was very close to the integration value of the most integrated line was 0.8095 (a difference of just 0.03). The main destruction of the bazaar began with the building of a street that cut through the traditional fabric of the city and was parallel with the old bazaar (Figure 5). This process has been completed now, of course, without any direct construction intervention in the bazaar. The integration value of the line constituting the segment of the bazaar mentioned above has increased to 0.8946 while the long east-west street, remaining the most integrated line, has obtained a value of 1.5331. The difference between the integration values of the two lines has increased from 0.03 to 0.64.

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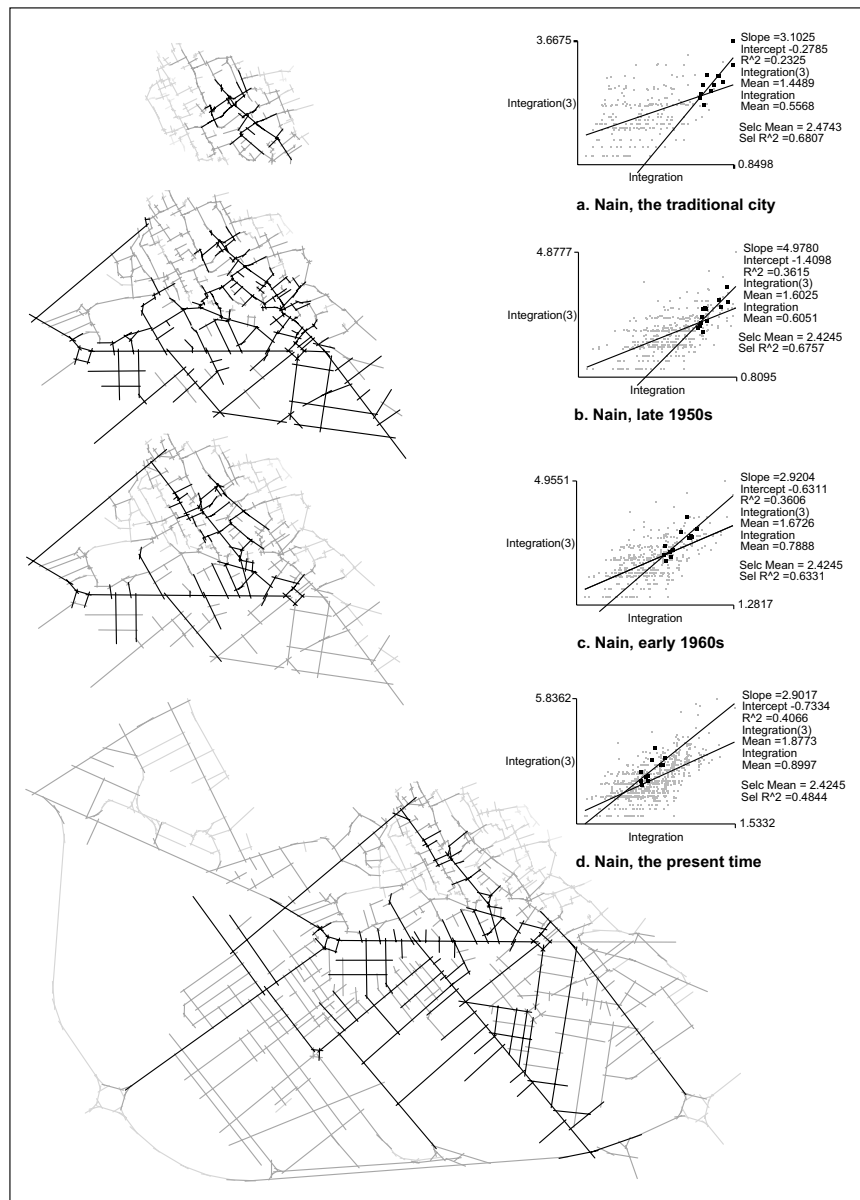


Figure 5: The integration maps and local global scattergrams of the city of Nain in four periods of time, the selected group of lines in the scattergrams is the bazaar

The process of destruction of the bazaar of Nain is also manifested in the scattergrams in Figure 5. The selected cluster of dots, representing the simple old bazaar moves from the right edge of the scattergram in the old city towards the left edge as the urban system develops, neglecting the location of the bazaar and the whole historic part of the city. The difference between r-squared for the selected lines (the lines of the bazaar) and the global intelligibility decrease from 0.45 in the old city to 0.08 in the existing city. Until the late 1950s this difference was still high ($0.6757 - 0.3615 = 0.3142$). The bazaar constituted a rather intelligible local structure fairly close to the integration core in the city. It is during the last four decades that the local structure of the bazaar in Nain has faded away in the global spatial configuration of the city.

In the city of Yazd the first major avenue was constructed in the early 1930s through an area in the vicinity of the bazaar of the city. This avenue, from the date it was constructed, has always been the most integrated line in the city. A latter avenue was built right through the bazaar and became, and still is, an integrated part of the bazaar, Figure 6. The analysis of the urban structure of the city of Yazd in the late 1950s shows that the bazaar in connection with the two major avenues forms a local structure with an r-squared of 0.5913 (0.37 higher than the r-squared for the whole city). In the present state the bazaar has become a more distinct and intelligible local system in the context of the global spatial structure of the city. The value of r-squared for the complex of the bazaar within the whole city is now 0.7497, with a difference of 0.47 to the value of intelligibility for the whole city.

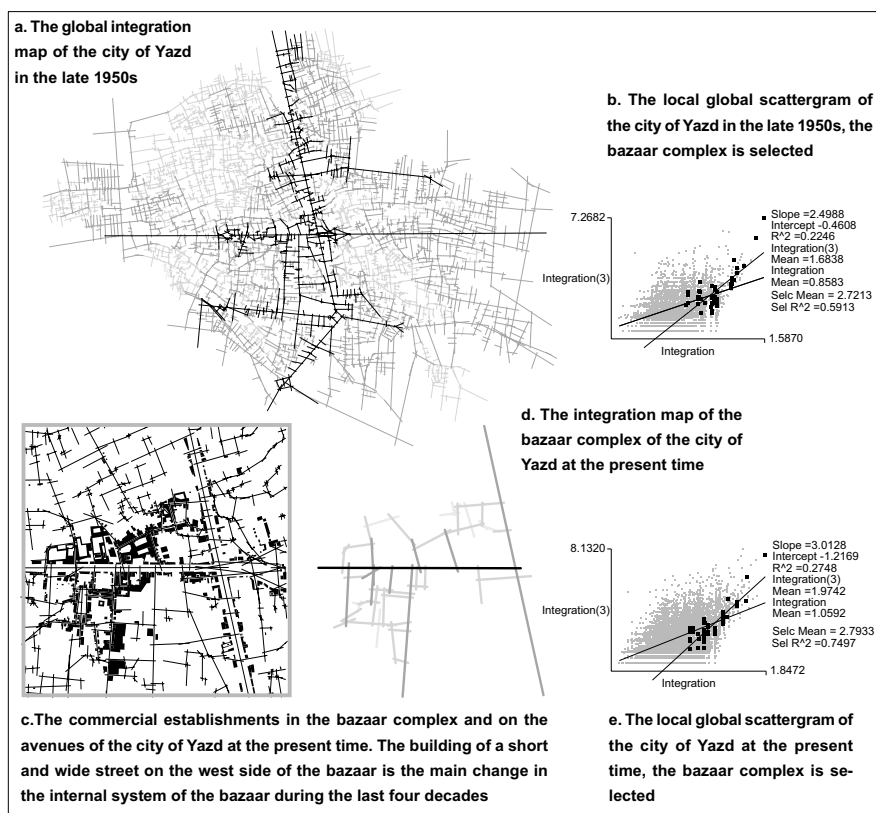


Figure 6: The global spatial structure of the city of Yazd and the local structure of the bazaar complex of the city in the late 1950s and at the present time (for the integration map of the city at the present time see Figure 1)

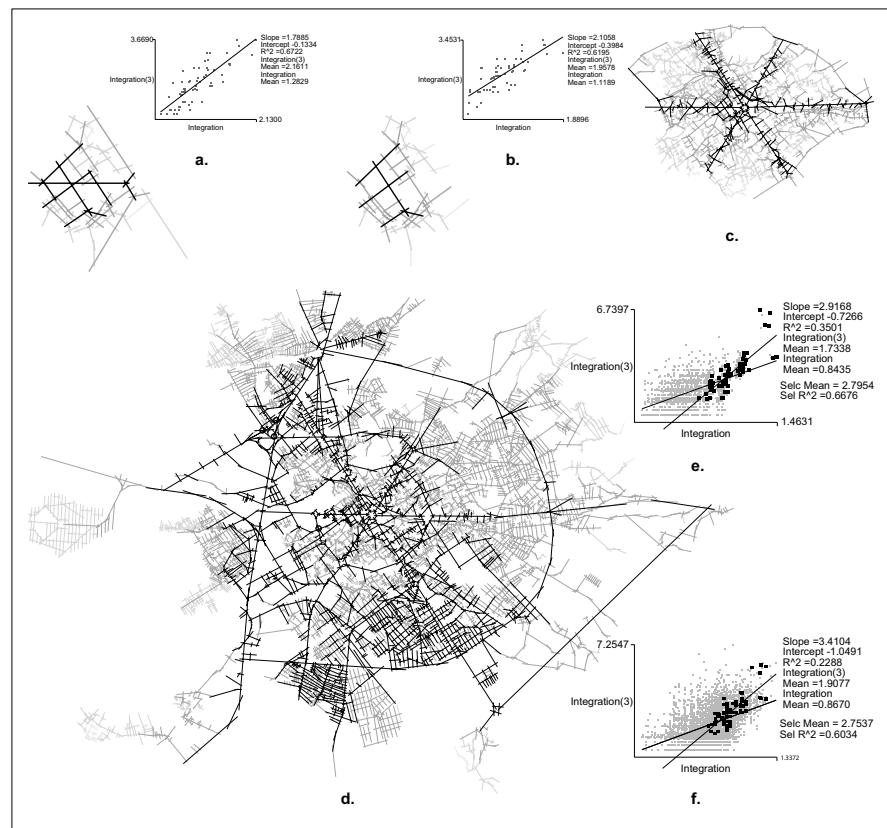
From the late 1950s, there were no major changes within the bazaar, except for the recent building of a short and wide street on its western side. The opening of this street was effective in increasing the internal integration of the bazaar and in the augmentation of the distinction and intelligibility of its local structure in the context of the whole city. A spatial characteristic of the bazaar of Yazd is its extreme and continuous dependence on the street that was built through it in the 1930s (this, we will see, is in complete contrast to the bazaar of the city of Rasht). The separate integration map of the bazaar complex shows that this avenue is the most integrated line in the complex (Figure 6). Without this avenue the spatial system of the bazaar collapses. This explains the bazaar's wealthy goldsmiths' interest in moving their business to a shop closer to this avenue (Bonine, 1981).

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In the city of Hamedan, the construction of new streets had the most drastic impact on the traditional fabric of the old city. One of the six new radial streets cut diagonally through the bazaar of the city, Figure 7. Nevertheless, this construction, in similarity to the cases in other Iranian cities, did not have a destructive effect on the function of the bazaar in the new urban environment. Like the bazaar of Yazd, in the separate integration map of the bazaar complex of Hamedan, one of the new streets is the most integrated line. But in Hamedan the bazaar complex has a more distributed spatial configuration and the complex remains an integrated spatial system even after omitting the streets from the system.

Figure 7: The global spatial structure of the city of Hamedan and the local structure of the bazaar complex of the city in the late 1950s and at the present time.

- a. The integration map and local global scattergram of the bazaar complex of the city of Hamedan including the radial streets. There were no major changes in the internal system of the bazaar during the last four decades.
- b. The integration map and local global scattergram of the bazaar complex of the city of Hamedan without the radial streets. The bazaar complex remains an integrated spatial system.
- c. The global integration map of the city of Hamedan in the late 1950s.
- d. The global integration map of the city of Hamedan at the present time.
- e. The local global scattergram of the city of Hamedan in the late 1950s, the bazaar complex is selected.
- f. The local global scattergram of the city of Hamedan at the present time, the bazaar complex is selected.



The minor changes in the configurational position of the bazaar of Hamedan, from the late 1950s up to now, are caused by the pattern of the urban development of the city. The absolute value of r-squared for the bazaar complex in the context of the whole city decreased slightly from 0.6676 to 0.6034 (Figure 7). But this does not mean that the bazaar complex of Hamedan, as a substructure in the whole urban system, has become less intelligible. Contrarily, it has become somewhat more intelligible. The difference between r-squared value for the selected lines of the local system of the bazaar and the intelligibility in the global system has increased from 0.31 to 0.37. The global integration in the city of Hamedan, in the course of four decades of urban development, has just increased slightly. Unlike the two cities of Rasht and Yazd, in Hamedan the intelligibility of the global urban system has decreased (from a rather high value of 0.3501 in the late 1950s to 0.2288 in the present state). In the scattergrams in Figure 7 the cluster of selected dots representing the bazaar complex of Hamedan has become more compact but has moved away slightly from the right edge of the scattergram. This means a slight decrease in the accessibility of the bazaar complex in the city of Hamedan. This decrease in accessibility includes also the radial streets. The integration values of all the four radial streets involved in the bazaar complex have decreased under the impact of the ring road projects accomplished in recent years (see also van Nes, 2001). In the integration map of the present state of Hamedan the most integrated lines are located in the peripheral areas of the city.

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In the city of Rasht the initial construction intervention in the traditional texture of the city and the later urban developments were carried out through more parsimonious plans. This provided possibilities for the bazaar of the city to interact with the global system and evolve with more independence. The first modern square with the city hall and other public buildings was built near the old bazaar of the city. The new streets that converged in this square left the internal structure of the bazaar intact while providing new access to the bazaar complex in addition to the direct access from the surrounding areas with a traditional texture.

The axial analyses based on the plan layout of the city of Rasht from the late 1950s, Figure 8, shows that the city of Rasht, in comparison with Yazd and Hamedan, had a spatial structure with rather low mean global integration (0.6646) and global intelligibility (0.1635). However, the whole quarter of the old bazaar in Rasht constituted an intelligible substructure within the global urban system with an r-squared of 0.5147, which was 0.35 higher than the r-squared of the global system. In the separate integration map of the bazaar quarter of Rasht in this period the most integrated lines in the centre of the system represent the traditional thoroughfares of the bazaar. The new streets, with their peripheral locations, have an auxiliary function

facilitating movement and accessibility at the scale of the local spatial system of the bazaar. Because of this, the local system of the bazaar, even without the new streets, remains an integrated system with the same pattern of concentration and distribution of integration.

Figure 8: The global spatial structure of the city of Rasht and the local structure of the bazaar quarter in the late 1950s.

a. The integration map and local global scattergram of the bazaar quarter of the city of Rasht in the late 1950s, the streets have an auxiliary function in the internal system of the bazaar.

b. The integration map and local global scattergram of the bazaar quarter of the city of Rasht without the streets in the late 1950s, the same pattern of distribution of integration is maintained.

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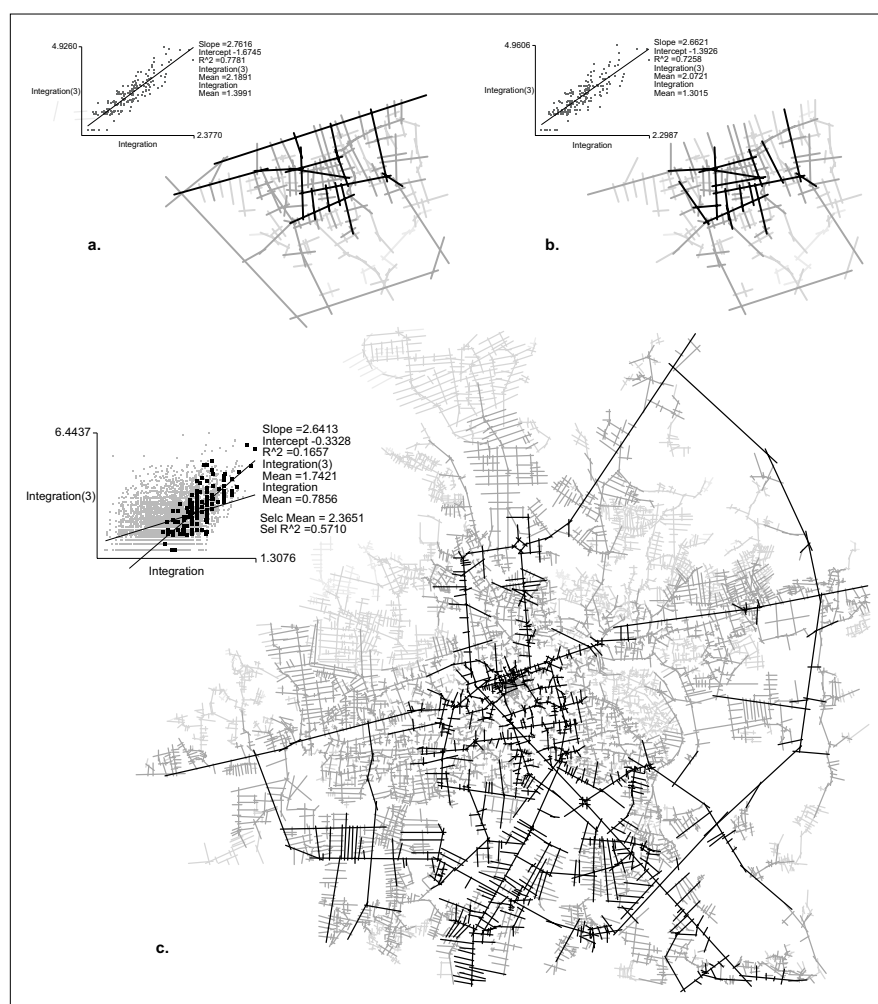
c. The global integration map and local global scattergram of the city of Rasht in the late 1950s, in the scattergram the lines of the bazaar quarter is selected.



The bazaar of Rasht in the late 1950s, many decades after the building of the new streets, while being well integrated in the global structure of the city, functioned as a local spatial system with a high degree of independence. This characteristic property paved the way for the spatial evolution of the bazaar in association with the expansion and intensification of its functions in the accelerating process of urban development during the last four decades.

The global integration map representing the present state of the global spatial structure of the city of Rasht, Figure 9, shows that, unlike the case of the city of Hamedan, the most integrated lines remain in the central areas of the city. The mean global integration has increased to 0.7856. The integration value of the two most integrating streets, which constitute the northern and western boundaries of the bazaar quarter in Rasht, have increased from 1.1061 and 1.1735 to 1.2516 and 1.3076 respectively. In the local global scattergram, Figure 9, the selected dots representing the bazaar quarter, in comparison to the situation in the late 1950s, form a denser cluster closer to the right edge of the whole scatter. The intelligibility in the global

spatial structure of the city has increased slightly to 0.1657, but the r-squared for the substructure of the bazaar quarter has increased at a higher rate to 0.5710 so that its difference to the r-squared for the whole city has also increased from 0.35 to 0.41, which means more distinction of the bazaar as a subsystem in the city. The analyses of the spatial configuration of the present bazaar quarter, separated from the whole city, will show how the positive changes in the properties of the bazaar as a urban substructure has been generated through self-organising local processes.



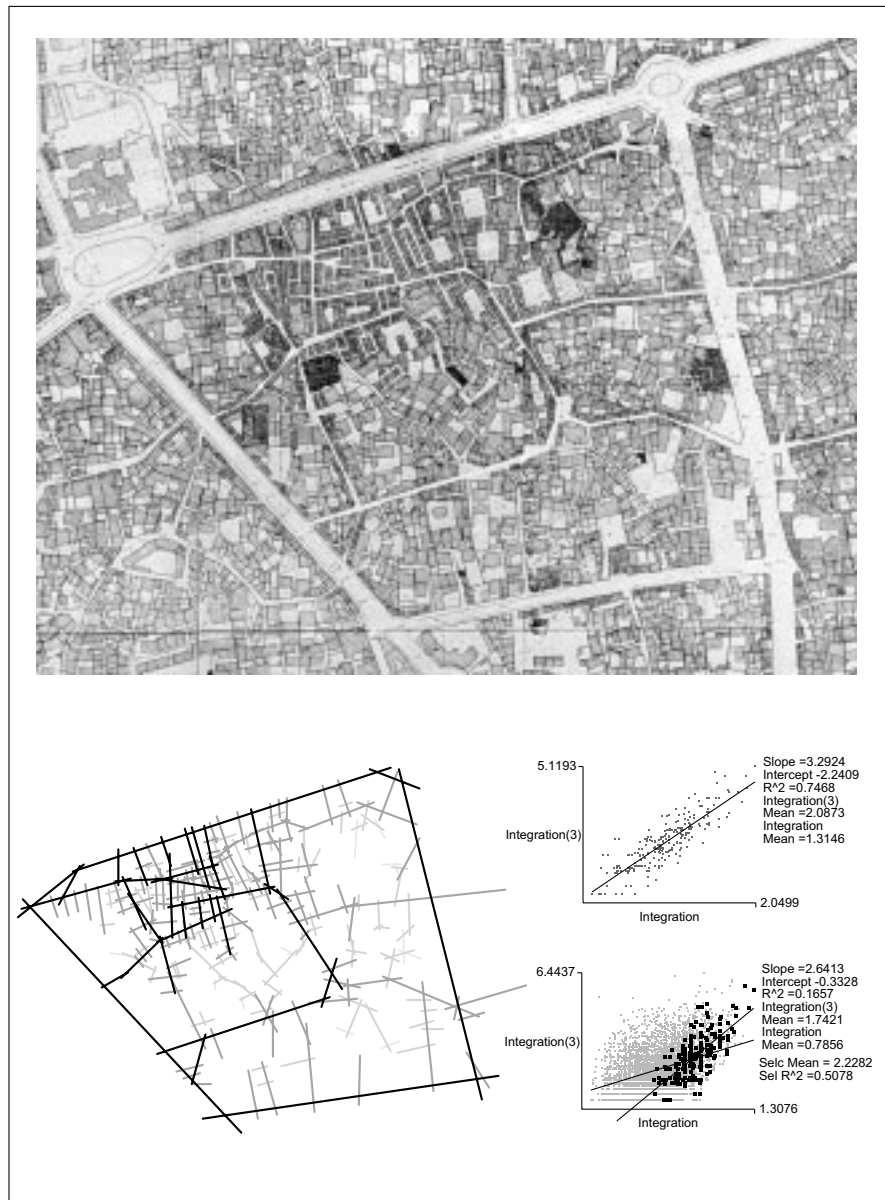
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Figure 9: The global spatial structure of the city of Rasht and the local structure of the bazaar quarter of the city at the present time
 a. The integration map and local global scattergram of the bazaar quarter of the city of Rasht at the present time. The intelligibility of the spatial configuration in the bazaar quarter has increased and it has required a yet more logical pattern emphasising the original importance of the central thoroughfares in the traditional bazaar.
 b. The integration map and local global scattergram of the bazaar quarter of the city of Rasht without the streets at the present time.
 c. The global integration map and local global scattergram of the city of Rasht at the present time. The most integrated lines remain in the central part of the city, and in the scattergram the lines of the bazaar quarter form a denser cluster closer to the right edge of the scattergram.

The separate integration map of the bazaar quarter in its present state (Figure 9) reveals that the concentration and distribution of integration has acquired a yet more logical pattern, emphasising the importance of the original thoroughfares in the traditional bazaar. The internal spatial structure of the bazaar has become much more integrated and intelligible (mean In. = 1.3991, r-squared = 0.7781). This means that movement and accessibility within the bazaar have become much easier while the accessibility to the bazaar from all parts of the city has also improved. The integration map of the bazaar quarter without the two major streets (Figure 9) confirms that the improved configurational properties of the bazaar of Rasht have been the result of local processes in interplay with global spatial enhancements.

Retail activity is the most long-standing function of bazaars with potential for growth. It has been able to replace the declined and abandoned functions of the traditional bazaars in Iranian cities. In the city of Rasht the proliferation of the retail activity entailed a spatial adaptation of the bazaar. What has actually happened in the evolution of the bazaar in Rasht is not complicated. Shops are highly dependent on pedestrian movement. In the bazaar of Rasht, in a distributed process of reconstruction, the generic law of natural movement has been intuitively followed. Everywhere it was possible, the existing lines with high movement densities have been linked to channel as much as possible of the movement through a property, which would be rebuilt to provide new shops. It was not difficult to understand that dead-end lines do not attract much movement. The emergence of new rings both increased the internal integration of the bazaar and made it more integrated into the global system of the city.

77.16



Concerning the urban function of the bazaar in the city of Rasht, rings of different sizes have worked together to knit the urban texture in a larger scale than the bazaar quarter. Here, planning attempts have supported local processes. In the city of Rasht a larger urban block containing the bazaar quarter is formed by the construction of a street through a residential area with traditional texture to the east of the bazaar quarter and by the widening of an old thoroughfare to the south of the bazaar, Figure 10. This block also constitutes a distinct substructure in the global spatial system of the city. In this block the two thoroughfares that link the ring around the bazaar quarter to the new street, which forms the east side of the block, are important regarding their original function. These thoroughfares connected the bazaar in the old city of Rasht to two bridges over a river to the west of the city that worked as two gates of the city. The two historic thoroughfares, passing through the residential areas of the old city, in different segments of their courses, were lined by small group of shops forming local bazaars of different neighbourhoods. These thoroughfares, benefiting from the new flows of movement channelled to them via the two large rings they link, have been revitalised and are now lined by shops on long stretches of their course.

77.17

6. Conclusion and opening

The bazaar, the hub of the historic core in Iranian cities, has had the capacity to become integrated in a spatial system different from the system in which it was originally integrated. This depends on the flexibility and adaptability of the internal spatial system of the bazaar, which was historically organised to facilitate movement and accessibility. Functionally, the bazaar has proved to be a dynamic organism, which continues to change in complexion to adjust to changing economic conditions but only when the global spatial prerequisites are provided. The studied cases show that the best result can be obtained when global planned interventions, while providing easy access to the bazaar as an already integrated body, leave space for local processes of evolution and growth of the bazaar. The entire historic cores of Iranian cities, confronting the problem of decline, do not possess the spatial adaptability of the old bazaars. But they may benefit from the integration of the bazaars in the existing urban system. The growth of the bazaar of the city of Rasht has upgraded it to an attractive meeting place in the city. This has been an expansion of the sphere of influence of the bazaar of Rasht, which seems to have enhanced the improvement of its surrounding areas containing residential zones with traditional urban texture. There has not been any remarkable decline in these zones during the last decades. Finding the exact relation between the improvement of the bazaars in Iranian cities and the situation of their surrounding historic zones entails further research. But so

far, the existing knowledge suggests that analysis of the condition of bazaars can be a point of departure in dealing with the question of decline of the historic cores in Iranian cities.

Notes

¹ Qaysariyyih is the name given to some places (markets in bazaars) assigned to the Roman Qaysar (Caesar).

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