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## The spatial structure of Tabriz in Safavid era in comparison with itineraries and pictorial documents

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### Abstract

Until the mid Tahmasb era 1555, Tabriz was the capital of the empire, and until the termination of the Safavid era in 1779 it was considered as the second most important city of the Iran from religious, political and economic standpoint and following the same importance, architecture was of great importance in the country. During the Qajar era, the same fame and importance continued and Tabriz was the city of prince and government house and the second city of Iran. Unfortunately, natural disasters such as earthquake of 1779 and other problems such as continuous wars with Ottoman Empire caused the changes of infrastructures of spaces and nowadays after three centuries, the researcher faces many questions about the spatial structure of Tabriz in Safavid era. Since the remaining documents from the era include the building along with itineraries and some drawings by some tourists, therefore, the present paper claims that many important structural changes has happened in spatial structure of Tabriz. Hence, the aim of the present paper is to study and analyze the spatial structure of Tabriz during Safavid era through comparison of itineraries and pictorial documents in order to represent an exact image of spatial structure of the city during Safavid era. In order to achieve the goal, the data are collected using historical-documentary method, texts, sources, and analysis of the data using analytic-comparative methods. Among the results of the research the replacement of governmental part from Northern part of the river to the Southern part, its neighborhood with Eastern wing of the Bazaar, and Sahib Abad Square losing its boom at late Safavid era, the importance of other squares such as Atik square and the changes in physical dimension of the city all could be referred.

### Keywords

Spatial Structure, Tabriz City, Safavid Era, Itineraries, Pictorial Documents.

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## Introduction

Some believe that structuring a city means the anatomic designing the city and the patterns of using the land. It is believed that when studying the city structuring, following issues must be considered and discussed: growth and development policies of the city, inter-urban transportation, housing and morphology pattern of the city. Moreover, different urban functions include religious, administrative, commercial and transportation function of the city (Bazrgar, 2003: 52). Some other researchers have systematic approach and believe that having structural and systematic theories help the researchers for better understanding the nature of the cities. Based on this standpoint, city works as a system that include numerous collection of subsystems that have different effects on each other and create a complex one, finally (Pakdaman, 2008: 35). Therefore, when we speak of anatomical structure of the city, the aim is the forming index of the city, their function and place. Spatial organization is an expression that has different meanings and in spite of the similarities in its definition, it was not able to find a unique definition in urban literature of Iran. Some believes it to be the distribution and placement of elements in a space (Saeidnia, 2005) and some other introduce it as discipline between the roles of the elements that form a city as a system (Mansouri, 1997). The urban discipline is an abstract concept that represents the type of the relation between the elements and it never refers to elements of the city. Therefore, when speaking of the system in a city or spatial organization, the relation of the elements with each other is meant. Considering the mentioned definitions, we could conclude that the conformity of spatial organization on physical environment is called spatial structure. In other words, spatial structure is the representation of internal and external units in a spatial complex and the place of the components on bed of the physical environment of the same complex (Saeidnia, 2005). The spatial structure of Tabriz as one of the most important historical cities in Iran is ambiguous because of being located in political and geographical boundaries and numerous earthquakes. According to researches by Yahya Zoka, among the disastrous earthquakes of Tabriz, the most disastrous ones area as follows: earthquakes of 858, 1042, 1272 and 1780 which had more destructions (Zoka, 1980: 149). Moreover, according to historians, the earthquake in 1780 was more destructive than other ones, in which even nothing remained from the walls<sup>1</sup>. It maybe somehow exaggerated but during the years

especially in early Qajarid era, the architectural and urban elements of Tabriz was damaged and today's architect and urban planner does not have exact information about the number, type and distribution of the elements and the structural elements of the city even before Qajarid era. This problem causes many problems for restoration of city because of lack of valuable historical documents. Hence, present paper attempts to achieve the specification of spatial structure of the city in Safavid era through responding this question: What were the architectural and urban elements of Tabriz in Safavid era and how these elements were in neighborhood of each other?

## Review of the related literature

Unfortunately, until the present time no valuable research is carried out on the issues and some other studies in relation to Safavid era of Tabriz could be classified in three groups:

The first group includes valuable books such as *Ancient Works in Azerbaijan* (Karangh, 1972), *Tabriz an Ever-standing Brick in Architecture of Iran* (Soltanzadeh, 1997), *Historical Texture of Tabriz* (Omran & Sanghari, 2006) and some other similar books that their contents is allocated to introducing the history and giving some information about the architecture; the approaches of the authors is different from analytical work of the present paper. The second are those studies that have tried to analyze and restore. The paper titled "Determining the evolution pattern of Shah Square in capitals of Safavid Empire in Iran" (Dizani, 2014: 77-86), the paper titled "Rereading the Sahib Abad Square based on pictures of Chardin and Matrakçı and historical texts (Hanachi & Sardroud, 2006: 35-44). Paper titled "Excavations in Sahib Abad square and Hasan Padishah complex" (Omran & Aminian, 2007: 91-118) that found the estimated place of Sahib Abad Square and studied the structural elements of the square such as Hasan Padishah Mosque, Sahib Abad Garden and Hasht Behesht Palace during Safavid era.

In the third group, some studies about spatial structure of the elements are carried out. Among the papers we could refer to "A study on urban spaces of Tabriz from Ilkanid to Isfahan of Safavid era" (Foroutan, 2009: 95-106) that the author did not analyze the spatial structure of Tabriz during Safavid era and only has studied the social, economic, political and cultural backgrounds that has influenced the architecture of Tabriz. And finally, the studies such as "The history of the city and urbanization in Iran from the beginning until late Qajarid era"

(Pakzad, 2011: 405 & 463) in which some analysis is carried out considering the spatial structure of Tabriz during Safavid era that because of lacking enough information about historical sources, the study suffers from basic problems in relation to locations and development of main urban spaces such as Bazaar, main squares and governmental palace. In the mentioned studies, Tabriz of Safavid era has the same structure of Qajarid era.

Therefore, responding the main question is possible only through restoration and drawing the Tabriz plans during Safavid era. Since less first hand sources remains from the era such as buildings and urban spaces, when responding the questions, we will rely only on texts and drawings<sup>2</sup> that is written and drawn by tourists (Table 1). Considering the written and pictorial documents and analytical

studies, the changes in spatial structure of Tabriz will be classified to early, middle and late Safavid era.

In this case First in early Safavid era, the issues written by tourists is studied based on miniatures of Matrakçı in 1533 and the restored map of Tabriz in Qajarid era in 1879. Then the writings of two other Turk tourists<sup>3</sup> i.e Katip Çələbi and Evliya Çələbi who has applied some changes on the maps and finally for late Safavid era, the paintings of Chardin and the maps of two previous maps has led to restoration of Tabriz in late Safavid era. At the end of the paper, comparing the analysis, an exact picture of spatial structure of Tabriz is given for Safavid era.

### The spatial structure of Tabriz in early Safavid era

According to Venetian unknown merchant Francisco Romano<sup>4</sup> the circumference of Tabriz in the era of

Table 1. The tourists who have traveled to Tabriz during Safavid era along with wars and important earthquakes. Source: author.

Era	The King	Capital	Author(Birth-Death)	Era	The King	Capital	Author(Birth-Death)
Early Safavid	Shah Ismaeil The First 1501-1524	Təbriz (Chaldiran War 1514)	Juan Mariano Angello Francisco Romani (Unknown merchant) author of Alamaray Abbasi	Late Safavid	The 5 <sup>th</sup> Destructive Earthquake of Təbriz in 1650		
	Shah Tahmasb The First 1524-1576	Təbriz till 1554 then Qazvin	Matrakçı		Shah Abbas The Second 1642-1666	Isfahan	Tavernier (1607-1710)
			Hasan Bəy Rumlu (1530-1577)		Shah Suleyman 1666-1693	Isfahan	Jean Chardin (1642-1735)
			Hafiz Hossein Karbalyi		Shah Hossein 1693-1723	Isfahan	Jamli Kareri (1652-1752)
Mid Safavid	Shah Ismaeil The Second 1576-1577	Qazvin	-		The 6 <sup>th</sup> Destructive Earthquake of Təbriz in 1721		
			-		Shah Tahmasb The Second 1723-1732	Isfahan	-
	Shah Abbas The First 1588-1628	Isfahan	Molla Mohammad Hashri Tabrizi Iskender-Beyg Monshi (author of Alam-Ara Abbasi)		Shah Abbas The Third 1732-1735	Isfahan	-
	Shah Sefi 1628-1642	Isfahan (Ottomans Occupied Təbriz 1590-1605)	Katib Çələbi (1611-1983)		Shah Ismaeil The Third 1765-1779	Isfahan	-
			Evlya Çələbi (1613-1707)				
The 4 <sup>th</sup> Destructive Earthquake of Təbriz in 1641							

Shah Ismail Safavi is “about 24 miles and does not have fortification wall like Venice” (Venetian, 1960: 381). According to other studies, the residential region of Tabriz in early Safavid was limited to Qazan wall, but this development continued from the standpoint of social, cultural, political and economic growth. Since Tabriz in early Safavid era was heir to constructions of Aq Qoyunlus. The powerful kings of this empire changed the spatial structure of Tabriz and replaced the governmental center of the city. Although, according to Hafiz Hossein Karbalayi, Jahanshah Qara Qoyunlu moved the governmental house from North part of Mehranroud to Sahibabad Garden, which was belonged to Khajeh Shemseddin Mohammed Joveyni Sahib Divan (Karbalayi, 1965: 470). However, development of Sahib Abad Square and Hasht Behesht (Eight Paradise) palace and important elements of the Square such as Hasan Padishah Mosque, the hospital and the church was carried out by Uzun Hasan in 1477-1467 and his son Yəqub in 1490-1478 (Karbalayi, 1965: 598-600) and (Venetian, 1960: 381-391). After moving the new government house, Uzun Hasan transferred the government house in Northern part to Baba Abdolrahman Majzoub<sup>5</sup> (Karbalayi, 1965: 470). These spaces maintained their importance until early Safavid era; when Shah Ismail went to Chogan playing after being named as the king in Friday praying in 1501 (Alemary, 1984: 499). The palace next to Sahib Abad Square, which was famous as Hasan Bəygi or Hasht Behesht, was a suitable place for Shah Ismail. Romano in his itinerary explains the Entrance (Sardar) building, the gardens, Hasht Behesht Palace, Women Palace and the lake (Venetian, 1960: 391). This merchant describes other palace in North East of the city.

“Tabriz has a great castle in East part of the city on hillside, it does not have any resident and except a glorious palace does not have any other room and a part of the palace is constructed inside a hill” (Ibid: 383). Probably, according to issues inserted in Rozatoljenan and Rozatolathar books, this building is the same as Bəygum garden and building (Karbalayi, 1965: 201) (Hashri Tabrizi, 1992: 115). Matrakçı has drawn both of them in his miniature (Fig. 1).

Nasuh Efendi famous as Matrakçı<sup>6</sup> the painter of Ottoman Sultan Süleyman drew the detail of Tabriz spatial structure in early Shah Tahmasb era in 1533 by miniature, based on Tabriz School, Harat and Venice, and similar to Istanbul School<sup>7</sup> (Rogers, 1992: 237). Nasuh usually has painted the Ottoman army’s paths and has registered them in his book “Sultan Süleyman’s

travel path in both Iraqs” (Yourdaydin, 1963: 13). Studying the standpoint of theorists such as Prof. Yurdaydin, Albert Gabriel, Walter Denny, Frantz Taeschner and Norman J. Janstone, in urban planning concerning the miniatures of the book shows that these miniatures could be regarded as pictorial references for cognition of spatial organization of different cities in the mentioned era and the standpoint of other tourists (Yurdaydin, 1976: 100-102); (Table 2). The primary points from Tabriz miniatures shows that the direction of the miniatures are from East to West and the view of Nasuh when drawing is towards the East (Fig. 2) the buildings are drawn in a way that could be recognized easily according to their structures. For example, all mosques and bathrooms are represented in special forms by their columns and domes. Although, none of the mentioned buildings are not drawn in the same way because of their unique specifications and have some differences (Kosebay, 2013: 101). Hasan Padishah complex, Blue Mosque, Əlişah Mosque, Jami Mosque, Gümüş Qaya Tomb, Şah Hüseyin Veli Tomb, Gəcil Tomb, Baba Hasan Tomb, Jamal İmamzadə that all in spite of the religious image, are not drawn like each other. Bazaar could be recognized easily because of its unique architecture (Sattarzadeh & Balilan, 2013: 80). The city is located inside a rectangle wall with round corners and four gates in opposite side of the walls could be seen that they are considered as the most important gates from Matrakçı’s standpoint. A row of pine trees are planted along the wall that according to the studies<sup>8</sup>, the trees and the wall respectively show the limits of city in 1533 and the wall of Qazan. Since the documents of Romano the tourist in the reign of Shah Ismail the first and Alessandri in reign of



Fig. 1. The miniature prepared by Nasuh, in 1536, Istanbul University library. Source: Yurdaydin, 1976: 125.

Shah Tahmasb, shows that Tabriz did not have any surrounding wall in that era (Venetian, 1969: 381, 446); (Table 3). Moreover, some animals could be seen out of the wall that probably the aim of drawing them is to show the non-residential regions (Fig. 3).

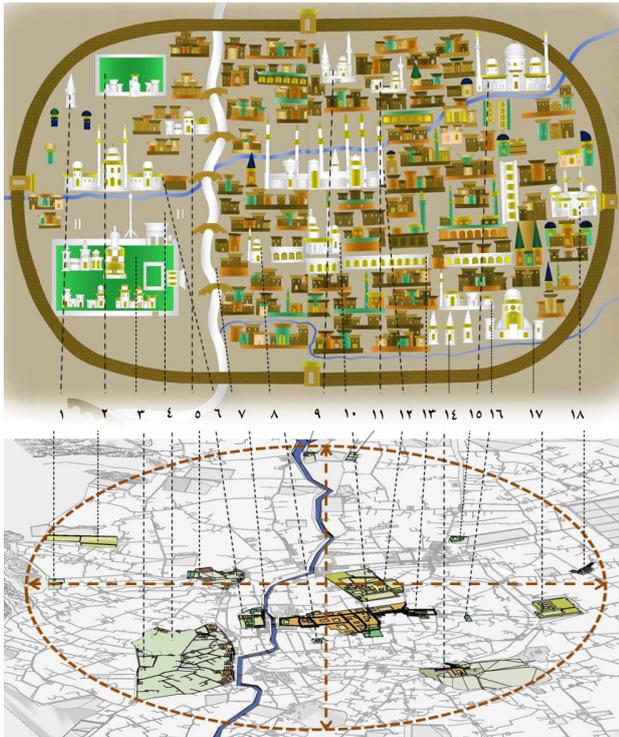


Fig. 2. Rereading the important element of the miniature drawn in Tabriz in 1533 and finding the places on Qajarid map6, 1800 according to view of Matrakçı's view from Tabriz. Derivation: author.

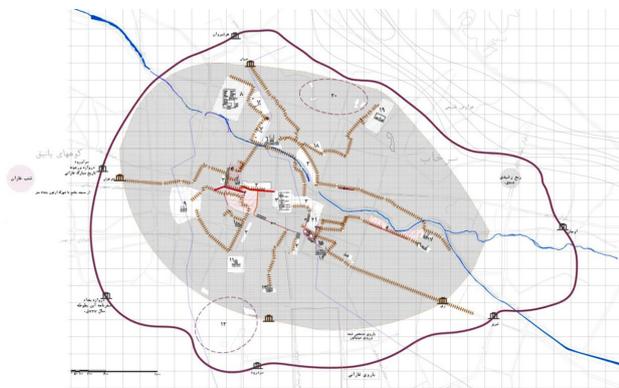


Fig. 3. The restored map of Tabriz in early Safavid era and conformation with present condition. Derivation: author.

In 1566 because of continuous defeat from Ottoman, Shah Tahmasb transferred the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin in order to maintain the power of Safavid. In Rozatoljenan book, which is written in 1567, offers limited information in relation to spatial structure of Tabriz in late Shah Tahmasb era. Although the book involves the cemeteries in Tabriz, however mentioning the tombs, mystics, poets and rulers of the historical era, introduces the architectural elements of Tabriz in the mentioned period. Karbalayi names four cemeteries in Tabriz, Sırxab cemetery in North of Tabriz, Çərəndab in South of Tabriz, Gəcil in East of Tabriz, and Qullə cemetery in West of Tabriz (Table 3). During the same years, Alessandri mentions the circumference of the city as 15 mile and is 9 mile smaller than Tabriz in early Shah Ismail era.

### The spatial structure of Tabriz during Mid Safavid era

During the reign of Shah Ismail and Shah Tahmasb, Ottoman attacked Tabriz in 1521, 1534, 1535, and 1548 and after every attack for some time Ottoman stayed in Tabriz. However, the most sever one happened in 1536 by Osman Paşa, the vizier of Murat the third. In that period Sultan Shah Mohammed was ruling Safavid in Qazvin (Hashri Tabrizi, 1992: 117). Ottomans under the command of Fərhat Paşa occupied Tabriz and built a good castle in Sahib Abad and until the reign of Shah Abbas Tabriz was in the hand of Ottoman. In spite of hard attacks of Ottoman, as we could observe in Rozatolathar that is similar to Rozatoljenan, we could say that the city maintained its spatial structure, however, most of economic and cultural spaces lost the previous function (Ibid: 101). After the mentioned attacks by Ottoman, the earthquakes of 1640 and 1650 caused the destruction of important architectural and urban elements and weakened the spatial structure. As a result the dimensions of the city changed and the circumference of the city in 1640 was around 6000 Hatve<sup>9</sup> equal to 9360 m smaller than whatever drawn in 1533 (Evliya Çələbi, 1314: 264). In this period, Tabriz had six gates named as Ucan, Şirvan, Sərdəri, Şam Qazan, Sarav and Sarab. The main boroughs of the city included Gümüş Qaya, Bağ Körpüsü, Səncəran, Vərçi, Dik Başı, Əmire Qız, Sırxab and Dörd Minar (Ibid: 13-18); (Evliya Çələbi, 1935: 246). During the mentioned years, although the down town and the governmental house was located in Northern part of the river, but because Safavid kings did not use it and Osman Paşa castle was built

Table 2. The specification of miniatures drawn by Nsuh from the standpoint of the theorists. Source: author.

Prof. Yurdaydın	According to him, miniatures are drawn by bird eye, but at the same time they have opposite view either and are drawn based on realities. They could be used as topographic elements and considered as valuable documents, since special attention is paid to outstanding buildings such as mosques, Houses, etc. in these miniatures (Yurdaydın, 1976: 164).
Albert Gabriel	According to him these pictures could be referred as urban maps, in which in addition to topography, they represent the architectural style from Ottoman standpoint. Analyses of the images help the researchers to determine the internal structure of the cities using the contemporary methods (Gabriel, 1928: 330).
Walter Denny	Has attempted to compare the pictures with realities. According to him, some cemeteries especially those in bigger cities, conform from the standpoint of architecture and topography. He believes that the pictures of Istanbul, Diyar Bakır, Tabriz, Sultaniyeh and Bagdad have valuable points for researchers (Denny, 1976: 49-63).
Frantz Taeshner	He believes that the miniatures drawn by Nasuh are valuable documents for studying the urban development in 16th century from the standpoint of architecture and topography. Moreover, he introduces Nasuh as an urban researcher. According to his claims, the miniature elements are drawn in a way that each page follows the previous one and we could trace the army (Taeshner, 1956: 53-55).
Norman J. Jonstone	In his book named "Urbanization world of handwritten copies of Nasuh" which was published in 1971, the author emphasizes on representing the houses in urbanization and colors such as shining colors, different shadows of red, golden, green, yellow and blue in the miniatures and lack of human figure in miniatures (Yurdaydın, 1976: 164).
Tukel	According to him, the relating elements are the same rivers and roads (Tukel, 1990: 56).

between the square and the Hasan Bəygi palace, it lost its importance (Evliya Çələbi, 1935: 247). As it is written in the resources, after moving the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin, the building in Chogan Square, and Sahib Abad Square were separated. This separation, not only happened in words but the places were changed either. In the book titled "The world in the reign of Shah Səfi" the Sahib Abad Square is mentioned a square in the south of Hasan Padishah Mosque; "in the southern part of Hasan Padishah Mosque, there is a wide square that most of boroughs and the bazaar is located in its South and East" (Katib Çələbi, 1635: 381). Evliya Çələbi, in addition to mentioning the elements of the Sahib Abad Square such as Shah Abbas Jami Mosque and M'qsudiy' Mosque, refers to Chogan Square which was a place for holding Novruz celebration and fight of camels, sheep, dogs and roosters (Evliya Çələbi, 1935: 248). Moreover, he refers to a castle named Osman Paşa 1585 or 1586 that later was famous as Cəfər Paşa in the body of the square (Ibid: 30-32); (Table 4).

In this period, transferring the capital from Tabriz to Qazvin and then to Isfahan because of Ottoman attacks in one hand and the earthquakes of 1640 and 1650 on the other hand prepared the bed for destruction of many urban and architectural elements

and weakened the spatial structure of the city and consequently the city could not maintain its previous glory and most of economic, political and cultural centers lost their importance.

### Spatial structure of Tabriz in late Safavid era

The fourth big earthquake happened in 1640 in Tabriz and damaged everything (Zoka, 1980) Jean Baptist Tavernier the famous French tourist who visited Tabriz in the reign of Shah Abbas the second in 1654-1659, mentions that most of the buildings in Tabriz are two-floor, brick and destructed. In addition to public buildings, the Chogan Square and the palace next to it, lost their fame, Tavernier writes: "In the main square of Tabriz and next to it there is a mosque and a palace that all are destructed and are going to be ruined. All of them are deserted" (Tavernier, 1957: 69).

The old governmental house, which in the time of Tavernier was the house of Imam, had changed so much. "In the opposite side of the Blue Mosque on the other side of temple, there is Karyas<sup>10</sup> and another building that is the remaining part of another building and the rest of it is destructed". It was the house of Imam i.e. the great priest" (Ibid: 69). Tavernier refers to caravansary, bazaar, mosque and Mirza Sadiq school (Ibid: 68); (Table 5). It shows the development of bazaar towards North and near

Table 3. The table of important architectural elements in Tabriz from the standpoint of tourists in 1501-1570. Source: author.

author	entering date to Tabriz	Architectural elements (mosque, tomb, school, bathroom, palace)	Urban elements (Square, borough, bridge, gate, bazaar, garden, cemetery)
Juan Mariano Angello	Shah Ismail the first era (1508)	1. A palace which was built in Hasan Bəy era and Yəqub finished it in 1508.	Chogan Square
Francisco Romani (Unknown merchant)	The Reign of Shah Ismail the first	1. Ala Qapı (Əlişah Mosque) 2. Hasan Padishah Mosque 3. A palace on a hill in Eastern part of the city 4. Building Bəyim (Bayim Garden) (Rozatolathar, Rozatoljenan) 5. Hasan Bəy Palace 6. The threshold of Hasan Bəy Garden 7. Hospital beside Hasan Padishah mosque	1. city circumference 24 mile, equal to 35568 m (estimated limits on map, 1-1), 2. two rivers in city, 3. A big river in West of the city (the water is salty) 4. Chogan Square, 5. Stone Bridge on the big river.
author of Alamaray Abbasi	The reign of Shah Ismail the first written in 1510-1520	1. Jami Mosque, 2. Hasan Padishah Square, 3. Şənb Qazan	1. Chogan Square
Matrakçı	The reign of Shah Tahmasb the first 1533-1535	1. Blue Mosque, 2. Əlişah Mosque, 3. Usta Şayırd Mosque, 4. Jami Mosque, 5. Hasan Padishah Mosque, 6. the tomb of Shah Hüseyin Vəli, 7. Seyed Hamzeh Tomb, 8. Nasriye tomb, 9. Gümüş Qaya building, 10. Old Government House (New), 11. Hasan Bəygi Palace, 12. The court, 13. Old Police station	1. Mehranroud 2. Məşq Square, 3. The square next to old Government House, 4. The square between the Government House and the Jami Mosque, 5. Chogan Square, 6. 45 borough, 5.7 Bridge 8. Bazaar, (From the gate towards the West of the city, one path goes to Məşq square, and other towards the Jami Mosque, and North of the river) 9. Bəygum Garden, 10. Hasht Behesht Garden, 11. Sırxab Cemetery, 12. Gəcil Cemetery
Hasan Bəy Rumlu (author of Ahsanoltavarikh)	The reign of Shah Tahmasb the First Written in 1573	1. Hasan Padishah Mosque, 2. Nasriye Tomb	1. Sahib Abad Square, 2. Dəvəçi borough, 3. Şeşgilan borough, 4. Vərçi gate 5. Sancar Gate, 6. Sarv Gate, 7. Miyar Miyar Gate, 8. Nobar Gate, 9. Ala Gate, 10. Sırxab Cemetery, 11. Gəcil Cemetery
Hafiz Hossein Karbalyi (author of Rozatoljenan)	Late Shah Tahmasb Reign	1. Most of tombs in 1200 to 1600, 2. Jami Mosque, 3. Blue Mosque (Müzəffəriyə Building) 4. Ustad Şayırd Mosque, (Əlaiyə, Süleymaniyyə building) Miyanə borough, Qara Daş Borough, (Ərəblər cross) 5. Dal Zal Mosque in Miyar Miar Gate near to Qara Daş borough, 6. Hac Kazim Mosque (Khalilan), In Rey Gate, 7. Köhnəçilər Mosque (Shahi) 8. The tomb of Shekh Kemal Khojandi, on Tabriz St. 9. Seyed Hamzeh Tomb, 10. Yeddi Bacılar tomb in Ala Gate, 11. Pir Salehiyeh tomb, 12. Shah Hüseyin tomb, 13. Mir Heydar tomb in Ala Gate (Açabad alley) 14. Lagari Dərviş tomb in Şeşgilan borough, 15. Zənciri tomb, 16. Sahibiyyə parying house 17. Cəlal Türre praying house on Nobar Bridge 18. Qaziyyə School 19. The court 20. Gümüş Qaya building 21. Məqsudiyyə building 22. Qiyasiyyə building 22. İki Minar building in İki Minar of Sırxab 24 Old government House, Sahib Square 25. Gəcil building 26. Gəro building in Gəro valley 27. Pəs Köşk bathroom 28. Şənb Qazan (Çogan)	1. Sahib Abad Square (chogan), 2. Şor Su (Mehranroud) 3. Qara Daş borough and Ərəblər cross 4. Şeşgilan location (from old government House to Sırxab and near Daş Körpü) 5. Verci borough: Ali Saiyahpuş alley- Hasanabad 6. Əhrab 7. Küçəbağ 8. Miyar Miyar 9. Dəvəçi borough 10. Dörd Minar borough 11. Səncəran in western part of Rasta Küçə 12. Məkəl Boruğh 13. Dəbbağlar borough 14. Kunesis borough 15. Nobar borough 16 Gəcil borough 17. Atiko borough 18. Battal Abad alley 19. Qasım Bəy alley and Acabad alley in Soyuq Qapı 20. Abdülxaliq alley near Məqsudiyyə 21. Dülə Sütə (Ərəb) 22. Nobar bridge 23. Rastun bazaar 24. Səraclar bazaar 25. Börkçü bazaar, 26. Nobar bazaar 27. Beylankı bazaar 28. Sahib Abad Garden (Nəsiriyyə) 29. Bağ Şumal 30. Pir Memmed Sərac Garden 31. Bəyim Garden 32 Sırxab Cemetery 33. Çerendab Cemetery 34. Gəcil 35. Saadəddin Əxi cemetery famous as Qullə
Vincheto D-alessandri	Late Shah Tahmasb reign (1567)	-	1. Circumference of the city 15 mile equal to 22230 m (estimated limits on map 1-1) 2. 45 Alley (every alley has a garden)

Table 4. The table of important architectural and urban elements in Tabriz from the standpoint of historians and tourists in 1602-1640. Source: author.

Author	Entering date to Tabriz	Architectural elements (mosque, tomb, school, bathroom, palace)	Urban elements (Square, borough, bridge, gate, bazaar, garden, cemetery)
Molla Mohammad Hashri Tabrizi	The reign of Shah Abbas the first 1612	1. Most of tombs in 1200 to 1600, 2. Jami Mosque, 3. Blue Mosque (Müzəffəriyə Building) 4. Ustad Şayırd Mosque, (Əlaiyə, Süleymaniyyə building) Miyana borough, Qara Daş Borough, (Ərəblər cross) 5. Dal Zal Mosque in Miyar Miar Gate near to Qara Daş borough, 6. Hac Kazim Mosque (Khalilan), In Rey Gate, 7. Köhneçilər Mosque (Shahi) 8. The tomb of Shekh Kemal Khojandi, on Tabriz St. 9. Seyed Hamzeh Tomb, 10. Baba Hassan Tomb, 11. Pir-Saleh Tomb, 12. Baba faraj Tomb, 13. Baba Mazid Tomb, 14. Baba Rajab Tomb, 15. Ekhlatiye Tomb, 16. the tomb of Shah Hüseyin Vəli, 17. Mir Heydar tomb in Ala Gate (Açabad alley) 18. Lagari Dərviş tomb in Şeşgilan borough, 19. Zənciri tomb, 20.Mir-Mahmud Maftol Band Tomb, 21. Sahibiye parying house, 22. Cəlal Türre praying house on Nobar Bridge, 23. Əlişah School, 24. The court, 25. Sangkhane Building, 26. Məqsudiye building, 27. Beygum building, 28. İki Minar building in İki Minar of Sırxab, 29. Old government House near the Malamir, 30. New government House, 31. Sarbangoli House, 32. Malek Beyg bathroom, 33. Garab bathroom, 34. Pəs Köşk bathroom , 35. Shotorban bathroom, 36. Sele-Konan bathroom , 37.Şənb Qazan, 38.Sardirab, 39. Şişegarkhane, 40.Kamankhane	1. Sahand Mountain, 2. Sahib Abad Square, 3. Verci Square, 4.Mehranroud, 5. Sarav Rood (Şor Su), 6. Qara Daş borough and Ərəblər cross, 7. Şeşgilan , 8.Verci borough:Hassan Abad, 9. Əhrab, 10. Küçəbağ, 11.Miyar Miyar, 12.Dəvəçi borough: Şekki alley, 13. Dörd Minar borough, 14. Səncəran, 15. Məkəl Borugh, 16. Dəbbəğlər borough, 17. Kunesis borough, 18. Nobar borough, 19.Sırxab borough, 20. Şeşgilan borough, 21. Çerendab, 22.Valyanku, 23. Sard Gate, 24.Revag borough, 25. Pəs Köşk borough, 26.Ser Angaş, 27. İki Minar of Sırxab, 28.MAghna Bafan alley, 29.Geryus alley(near Sahb Abad), 30. Battal Abad alley (between Şeşgilan and Ala Gate), 31. Qasım Bəy alley and Acabad alley in Soyuq Qapı, 32. Abdulxalıq alley near Məqsudiyyə, 33.Abdulhaq alley, 34. Dülə Sütə (Ərəb), 35. Nobar bridge, 36.Qari bridge, 37.Pirak bridge, 38.Tag bridge, 39.Ala Gate, 40.Rey, 41.Serdud, 42. Gəci Gate, 43.Sərd, 44.Mohad Mahin, 45.Samanci Bazaar, 46. Səraclar bazaar, 47. Ətko Bazaar, 48. Dəvəçi Bazaar, 49.Nobar Bazaar, 50.Rey Gate Bazaar, 51.Bagh Shomal, 52.Pir-Mohamad Seraj Garden, 53.Beygum Garden, 54.Sheykh Kamal Garden, 55. Gəcil Cemetery, 56. Çerendab Cemetery , 57. Saadəddin Əxi cemetery famous as Qullə
Iskender-Beyg Monshi (author of Alam-Ara Abbasi)	The reign of Shah Abbas the first 1616	1.Dolatkhaneh	1. Sahib Abad Square, 2. Bağ Şumal
Katib Çələbi (author of Jihan-nema)	The reign of Shah Safi 1635	1. Əlişah Mosque, 2.Blue Mosque, 3. Hasan Padishah Mosque, 4. Shah Tahmasb Mosque, 5. Şənb Qazan	1. wall of Holaku with 10gates and wall of Qazan with 6gates, 2.Square, 3. Miyar Miyar borough, 4.Valyankuy, 5.Rashidiye Castle
Evlya Çələbi	The reign of Shah Safi 1638	1.jami Mosque, 2. Əlişah Mosque, 3. Hasan Padishah Mosque, 4. Zobeide Mosque, 5.Shah Abbas Mosque, 6. Şənb Qazan Mosque, 7.Dameshgiye Mosque, 8.Megsudiye Mosque, 9.Shah Esmaiel Mosque, 10.Shams-Tabrizi Tomb, 11.Mir-Heydar tomb, 12.Shah-Jihan School, 13. Jihanshah bathroom, 14. Pəs Köşk bathroom, 15.Shotorban bathroom, 16.Rostam-Khan Saray, 17.Shah Yagub Building, 18.Shah Khiaban Building, 19.Sahlan Palace, 20.Jaafar Paşa Palace, 21. Şənb Qazan	1.circumference of the city around 6000 Hatve equal to 9360 m (estimated limits on map 1-1), 2.Chogan Square, 3.Dameshqiye borough, 4.Pol-Bağ borough, 5.Meykharam, 6.Zarju, 7. Dəvəçi, 8.Khiaban, 9.Sırxab, 10.Amir khiz, 11.Sərdab, 12. Dörd Minar, 13.Mr-Mir, 14.Rey borough, 15.Ojan Gate, 16.Sərvan Gate, 17.Sərzud, 18. Şənb Qazan, 19.Sərv, 20.Jaafar Paşa Castle, 21.Rəşidiye Castle, 22. Börkçü bazaar

Mehranroud River. The development of bazaar to its present shape continued until the end of Safavid. However, big earthquake of 1779 destructed it and the present bazaar has its Qajarid form. Almost two decades after Tavernier, Jean Chardin visited Tabriz from 1673 to 1677. He says that city lacks any surrounding wall and towers (Chardin, 1956: 402). Nevertheless, in drawings of Tabriz, he observes the city from East to West, and the traces of Qazan Khan could be seen in some parts (Fig. 4). He also refers to Main Square of Tabriz and writes, "The Main Square of Tabriz is bigger than all other cities" (Ibid: 408). In his drawings, the square could be observed from North to South and the Hassan Padishah Mosque is observable in the Southern wing. In his itinerary, Əlişah Mosque and Ustad Şagırd Mosque are reported as destructed and semi-destructed and only a column remains from Əlişah Mosque, and for those who come from Irevan to Tabriz it is the first building to be seen (Ibid: 405). Moreover, he refers to fifteen thousand shops that are built separated from houses, long, wide, and roofed alleys are built in down town that are called bazaar. According to the observations of Chardin from Kayseriye<sup>11</sup> Bazaar (Shahi Bazaar) that is a place for selling expensive goods and jewelry, is of eight angles that was built by the order of Uzun Hassan in 1446 (Ibid. 404). The mentioned date does not conform with reign of Uzun Hassan Qara Qoyunlu and before it returns back to the reign of Jahanshah Qara Qoyunlu when the governmental house was located in East of the Bazaar. Qeysəriyə, which is marked with H on Chardin's painting, was located in South and North East of present bazaar. However, Qeysəriyə that nowadays is recognized, is based on the map of Qaracadaği (1880) which was located in South of Məşq Square and Northwest of the Blue Mosque and because of displacing the governmental center after Safavid era from Northwest of Sahib Abad Square to the Southern part in the East of present bazaar there is an incompatibility.

In addition to referring to three very clean hospitals, which were famous as Aş Dağıt, Chardin marked them with P letter in his painting that in Qaracadaği's map in 1880 exactly is at the same place that Chardin has marked. In this place there was a cemetery named Aş Töken that probably was the location of one of the hospitals<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 4). Other hospitals, according to the explanations of Romano, were located next to Hassan Padishah Mosque in the reign of Shah Ismail. Jamli Kareri visited Tabriz during 1692-1697 in the reign of Sultan Hüseyin Safavi about 50 years after

earthquakes of 1671 and 1681 and 30 years before the earthquake of 1721. During these years, Tabriz had developed and the square of Hasan Padishah Mosque and Hasan Bəy Palace had regained its fame and there was a concert in one of the terraces every evening (Kareri, 1969: 33). In that time, the Blue Mosque was famous as Osmanlı Mosque, and it was next to two gardens with different trees, but it was not so much respected because it was built by a Sunni (Ibid: 39-41). The place of higher Sheyh Imam<sup>13</sup> that was opposite to Osmanlı Mosque was built by colorful stones and the artistic value of it was higher (Ibid: 41). In addition to Main Square of Tabriz, Kareri refers to Hasan Padishah Mosque next to At Meydanı which were located near Usta Şayırd Mosque and probably it was the same as Qara Külək of Qajarid era. Moreover, between the Usta Şayırd Mosque and Əlişah Dome there was a garden and a little away from it there was a wide square with brick walls that most of religious and public ceremonies used to be held there (Ibid: 41-42). As it is mentioned in that time, the city not only got smaller but the spatial structure of the city had changed too and in addition to Sahib Abad Square as the main square of the city that had a royal mint (Ibid: 46) some of the squares such as the square next

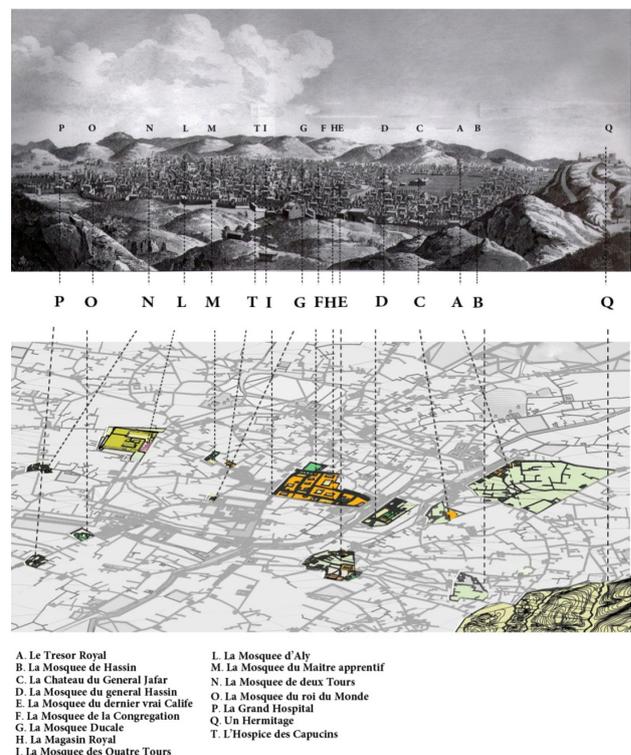


Fig. 4. Rereading the elements shown on the paintings of Schardin from 1084 to 1088 and finding their place on Qajarid map in 1880 according to view of Chardin. Derivation: author.

to Əlişah Dome, were used as religious and public places. The bazaar had developed and included the mosque-school complex and Mirza Sadıq and Mirza Ibrahim freezer until Great Jami Mosque of Tabriz (Fig. 5). According to paintings of Scharden and the

itinerary of Kareri, Qeysəriyə bazaar was located between Old Government House and the river in East of the bazaar and it was the center of trade and after that jewelers' House started (Ibid: 46).



Fig.5. The restored map of Tabriz in late Safavid era and its conformity with present condition. Derivation: author.

Table 5.Important architectural and urban elements of Tabriz from the standpoint of historians and tourists from 1654 to 1697. Source: author.

Author	Entering date to Tabriz	Architectural elements (mosque, tomb, school, bathroom, palace)	Urban elements (Square, borough, bridge, gate, bazaar, garden, cemetery)
Tavernier	The reign of Shah Abbas the Second 1654-1659	1.Blue Mosque, 2.house of Imam, 3.Christian Church, 4. Şənb Qazan	1.Downtown River, 2.Təbriz Square, 3.Three one eye Bridge, 4.Mirza-Sadeg Complex, 5.Foothill of Eyn-Ali Castle
Jean Chardin	The reign of Shah Suleyman 1673-1677	1. Əlişah Mosque, 2.Blue Mosque, 3. Usta Şayırd Mosque, 4.Do Minar Mosque, 5. 3Hospitals (Aş-Dağit)	1.No Rampart, 2.Aji River, 3. Təbriz Square, 4.Jaafar Paşa Castle, 5.Rəşidiye Castle, 6. Shahi Bazaar(Kaysəriye)
Jamli Kareri	The reign of Shah Hossein 1693-1698	1. Hasan Padishah Mosque, 2.Blue Mosque(Half-ruined), 3. Usta Şayırd Mosque, 4. Ərk(no ceiling), 5.Tombs, 6.Ruined Church near the Mosque, 7.Beautiful Palace, 8.Major Sheyh Palace, 9.Mirza-Taher Carvan Sara	1. Aji River, 2.At Square, 3. Hassan Padishah Mosque Front Square, 4. Mirza-Sadeg Complex, 5.Mirza-Ibrahim Complex, 6. Kaysəriye, 7.Mint

## Conclusion

1. In early Safavid era Tabriz was a big city, the circumference of the city was 24 mile equal to 35568 m. Probably the area included the residential districts in suburb but it was bigger than the districts that Alexanderi has mentioned as 15 miles or 22230 m in late Safavid era. moreover, in this period the city had maintained the Aq Qoyunlu spatial structure of itself. Sırxab cemetery in North, Charandab in South, Gacil in East and Qulle in West and tombs such as Gümüş Qaya and Shah Hüseyin had maintained their previous importance and the city was of great importance because of political, cultural and religious issues (Right side-Fig.6).
2. In mid-Safavid era with transference of government from Tabriz to Qazvin, and the earthquakes of 1671 and 1681 the city had got smaller and it was around 6000 Hatve equal to 9360 m. Although, the boroughs had maintained their spatial structure, but the concentration of road networks had intended towards down town because of losing the importance of Square and the Sahib Abad Palace (Hasan Bəy Palace) and unlike the previous era, architectural elements and urban spaces in center and South of the city gained more importance. The center of economy, religion and culture transferred to this part (Right side- Fig. 6).
3. In late Safavid era and before the earthquake of 1754 the city had maintained its previous form and the destructions of 1671 and 1681 earthquake, Tabriz again flourished. During 1725 to 1730 Sahib Abad Square regained its fame and the sounds of Nağara instrument again could be heard from the terraces of the palace, but it did not because the public and religious places not to be concentrated around the Old Government House and Higher Sheykh's Palace and Əlişah Dome found its importance again. It shows that down town was the center of economic, religious and cultural activities and consequently architectural elements and urban spaces developed in these parts (Fig. 7).

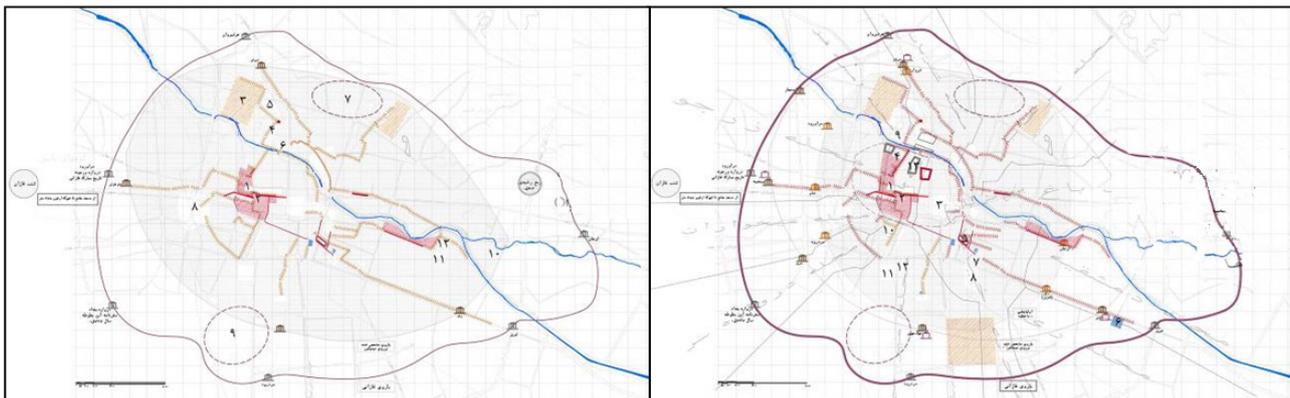


Fig. 6. The comparison of changes in the spatial structure of Tabriz in the early to the late Qajar. Derivation: author.

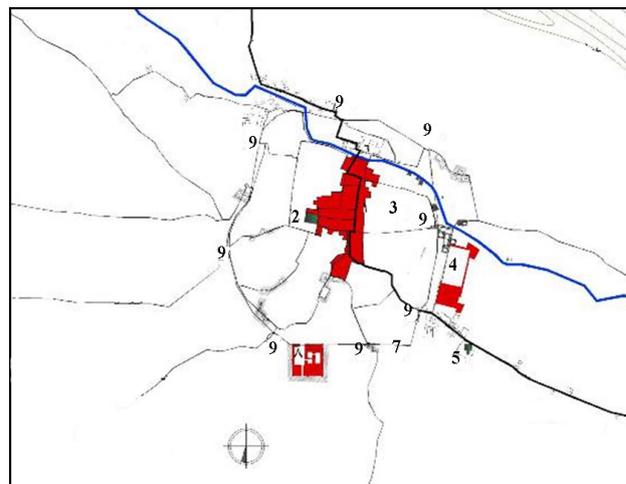


Fig. 7. The reconstructed map of Tabriz in the Qajar era and adapt it to the current situation. Source: Balilan,2015 :11.

## Endnote

1. It must be mentioned that one of the most important pictorial documents of the present research is a miniature of Tabriz in Nasuh Efendi's Two Iraq's Travel book, in 1533.
2. Mirza Hasan Zunuzi, Riyazoljannat, handwritten copy, Tabriz National Library
3. In order to achieve better results, the itineraries are studied in their original languages.

4. According to new researches, it is revealed that the name of the Venetian merchant was Fransisco Romano (Abuin, 1995: 247-259).
5. Baba Abdolrahman Arefi was from Damascus who came to Tabriz in Qara Qoyunlu and Ağ Qoyunlu era and reign of Sultan Hasan, and the old government house was delivered to him (Karbala'yi, 1970: 470).
6. Matrak is Arabic word, which means stick covered with leather. Playing with Matrak is one of military sports during Ottoman reign.
7. Illustration School of Istanbul was influenced by the works of Italian and Iranian and especially Venetian artist in 15th and 16 century.
8. For more information please refer to a research by the author in Islamic Azad University of Tabriz titled as "Restoration of Tabriz Map According to Miniature of Matrakçı based on Historical Documents" in 2013.
9. Redrawing the Qajarid map in the a research carried out by the author in Islamic Azad University of Tabriz titled as "Studying the Influential elements on Spatial Organization of Architectural and Urban Elements of Tabriz, Emphasizing Qaracadaği's Map of Tabriz Government House in 1918" in 2008.
10. Each Hatve is equal to one Zera and half and equal to 156 cm (Dehkhoda).
11. Karyas, It is referred to the court of rulers. The house of sultans as internal space (Dehkhoda).
12. In Chardin's painting, there is an element as Royal Magazin in French, which means bazaar or royal shop.
13. The same as Old Government House, which is the reign of Hasan Aq Qoyunlu it was transferred to mystics

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