

CITY DEVELOPMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE IN IRAN: A CASE STUDY OF HAMADAN

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I. INTRODUCTION

IN THE past ten years there has been considerable concentration of population into the cities of Iran as a result of agricultural land reform and industrialization, and the expansion of the Iranian economy since 1974 has further accelerated that country's urbanization. On many different levels and in many senses Iranian society has received a new injection of dynamism. These developments have made it necessary to formulate new urban policies for the sake of efficient operation of existing economic facilities, smooth management of the national economy, and solution of social problems. The government can no longer be contented with the supremacy of the capital city of Tehran in all aspects and fields, including government administration, production, population, and consumer activity, and with its predominant role in the national economy to the exclusion of other areas of the country. The "primate city" of Tehran will no doubt continue to develop as it has in the past, but other cities, both old and new, will come to play an increasingly important role in the national economy. As the nation's new charge of social dynamism has a strong influence on smaller and medium-size cities, the focus of research has shifted to them recently from the former emphasis on Tehran.

Cities and towns of different sizes throughout the country can be classified into two categories: those that can function as "little Tehrans" and ride the wave of urbanization and those that can only be expected to part with their urban population because of failure to ride that wave. In this connection, a preliminary classification of Iran's cities has been made in this paper on the basis primarily of the rate of population increase as reflected in the censuses of 1956, 1966, and 1976, for such a classification gives a good idea of the latest trends in the Iranian economy.

What then are the salient features of Hamadan, the city on which this paper will focus its attention, in light of this classification? This city in western Iran presently has a population of about 150,000, which places it in the category of cities with a population of between 100,000 and 300,000, which has recently been the category most significant in terms of urbanization. As the author will explain later, despite being in this category, however, Hamadan has been growing at a far more leisurely pace than many other cities in it and might even be considered as being stagnant, at least in relative terms. Although it might be

expected to play the role of a "little Tehran" in administrative terms, in other respects it lacks the basis for assuming similar functions to those of the capital and therefore can be considered to be one of the cities that is not capable of riding the wave of urbanization.

Since Hamadan was famous in the Middle Ages as a city along the Silk Road, it should be possible to find a strong residue of the premodern Persian-Islamic city in it. In this paper an attempt will be made to identify Hamadan as a relatively stagnant provincial city on the basis of analysis of its urban form and how it has changed, the present state of its bazaar and how it has changed, and the backgrounds of its bazaar merchants and handicraftsmen, including where they originated from and what the professions of their fathers and grandfathers were.

It is true that Hamadan was touched by the wave of urban modernization in the days of Reza Shah (Iran's first urban modernization, which began about 1925) and is being touched by the second wave of urban modernization that began with formulation of an outline for urban development in 1970. Nevertheless Hamadan serves as a typical example of the many Iranian cities that have not "ridden the wave of urban modernization." Moreover, by examining this example in comparison with a small city in Hamadan Province, we should be able to identify a number of factors having a strong bearing on urban development and stagnation.

II. URBAN GROWTH AND VARIOUS TYPES OF CITIES IN IRAN

At the turn of the century there were only three cities in Iran with a population of over 100,000: Tehran, Tabriz, and Esfahan [7, pp. 51-58]. Moreover, there were only a hundred cities and towns with a population of over 5,000, and the total urban population of 2,070,000 represented only 21.0 per cent of the nation's population. In 1940 the percentage was still only 22.0 per cent, although urban population had risen to 3,200,000 in absolute terms. In the last two decades, however, urbanization has proceeded at a rapid pace in that country, the urban population figures being 5,950,000 (31.4 per cent) in 1956, 9,790,000 (38.0 per cent) in 1966, and 15,720,000 (46.8 per cent) in 1976 [23].

This rapid urbanization is reflected in the increasing number of large cities. The number of those with a population of over 100,000 rose to nine in 1956, fourteen in 1966, and twenty-two in 1976, and they represented 51.3 per cent (3,050,000), 57.9 per cent (5,670,000), and 62.3 per cent (9,800,000) of the country's total urban population in those years. The capital Tehran accounted for 25.4 per cent, 27.8 per cent, and 28.6 per cent, respectively, its population having grown from 1,510,000 in 1956 to 4,500,000 in 1976. The next four largest cities¹—Mashhad, Tabriz, Shiraz, and Esfahan—have grown to cities with

¹ These four cities have all been national capitals at one time or another: Mashhad, in the northeast and considered a holy city by Shiites, at the time of the Afshar dynasty (1736-95); Tabriz, an important center on routes leading to Turkey and Europe under the Safavid (1501-1732) and Qajar dynasty (1795-1924), at the time of the early Safavid dynasty; Esfahan, in central Iran, at the time of the Safavid dynasty; and Shiraz, in southern Iran, during the Zand dynasty (1750-94).

populations of 600,000, their total population having been 960,000 in 1956, 1,530,000 in 1966, and 2,360,000 in 1976 and the percentage of total urban population accounted for by them having changed little (16.1 per cent in 1956, 15.6 per cent in 1966, and 15.0 per cent in 1976). Cities other than the capital and the next four largest cities with a population of over 100,000 accounted for an increasingly high percentage of total urban population—9.7 per cent (580,000) in 1956, 14.5 per cent (1,420,000) in 1966, and 18.7 per cent (2,970,000) in 1976. On the other hand, as indicated in Table I, cities with a population of under 100,000 have come to account for an decreasing percentage of total urban population.

All told, there are now seventeen cities in Iran with a population of over 100,000 other than Tehran and the next four largest cities. They can be classified as follows in several categories:

- (a) Cities with modern petrochemical plants and related cities in Khuzestan Province—Ahwaz, Abadan, and Khorramshahr;
- (b) Cities located along the central highway leading from the Persian Gulf to Tehran—Qum, Arak, Khorramabad, Borujerd, and Dezful;
- (c) Industrial cities within the Greater Tehran area—Karaj and Qazvin; and
- (d) Provincial capitals—Kermanshah, Rasht, Rezaiyeh, Hamadan, Kerman, and Yazd.

Ardebil, a second largest city in East Azerbaijan Province, cannot be brought under these four categories.

This classification of Iranian cities with a population of over 100,000 is very suggestive of the pattern of the country's rapid economic development: oil pro-

TABLE I
NUMBER OF CITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

	1900	1956	1966	1976
Total number of cities	100	186	249	—
Those with pop. of over 100,000	3	9	14	22
Out of which those with pop. of over 250,000	0	3	6	9
Their total pop. (1,000)	—	3,050	5,667	9,800
% of total urban pop.	—	51.3	57.9	62.3
Those with pop. of 50,000–100,000	7	9	15	20
Their total pop. (1,000)	—	633	1,068	1,459
% of total urban pop.	—	10.6	10.9	9.3
Those with pop. of 25,000–50,000	8	22	30	} (Total pop.) 4,456,000 (%)
Their total pop. (1,000)	—	765	1,081	
% of total urban pop.	—	12.9	11.0	
Those with pop. of under 25,000	82	146	190	} (Total pop.) 28.4
Their total pop. (1,000)	—	1,501	1,899	
% of total urban pop.	—	25.2	20.2	

Sources: For 1900, [8]; for 1956 and 1966, Iran, Plan and Budget Organization, *Ravand-e shahrneshini va tahavolat-e jamiyat-e shahrha-e Iran* [Urbanization and populational changes in Iranian cities] (1976); and for 1976, [23].

duction and export, construction of refineries and chemical plants in oil production areas with oil production revenues, and expansion of production and consumption in the Greater Tehran area. With expansion of the national economy since 1974, the central highway from the Persian Gulf to the capital has become increasingly important as the main artery for import of both production and consumer goods. Moreover, as progress has been made in development programs, the administrative and social service functions of provincial capitals have been enhanced. Most of these provincial capitals already have populations of 90,000–100,000, and even those of small province will reach this level soon.

Let us now take a look at the rate of urbanization of each province (percentage of urban population in the whole population of each province) and how the number one city in each province relates to other cities in it, concentrating on the four types (a)–(d) in the above classification (see Table II).

Among the cities in the Greater Tehran area the rate of urbanization is very high, with the largest city in the province (P_1) having eighteen times the population of the second largest (P_2) and the gap widening year by year (type c). As for the four cities ranking next after Tehran, they each have about eight times the population of the second largest cities in their provinces, Esfahan being way ahead in terms of both rate of urbanization and number of cities. In the case of East Azerbaijan, the gap between P_1 and P_2 is smaller, and the “rank-size rule”

TABLE II
SHARE OF THE LARGEST CITY TO THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE, 1976

Province	Largest City	Population of the Largest City (1,000 Persons)	Share to Total Population of the Province (%)	Rate of Urbanization (%)	Pop. of P_1 /Pop. of P_2		
					1956	1966	1976
Central	Tehran	4,496	65.0	79.7	15.8	20.3	18.2
Esfahan	Esfahan	672	34.0	62.9	4.0 ^a	9.1	8.8
Khorasan	Mashhad	670	20.5	37.3	7.9	9.7	9.7
Fars	Shiraz	416	20.6	42.2	5.5	7.4	8.1
East Azerbaijan	Tabriz	599	18.7	34.3	4.4	4.8	4.1
Khuzestan	Ahwaz	329	15.2	58.1	1.9	1.3 ^b	1.1 ^a
Lorestan	Khorramabad	105	11.4	31.8	1.3 ^b	1.9	1.1
Yazd	Yazd	136	37.2	61.2	—	—	—
Kermanshahan	Kermanshah	291	28.6	43.4	1.25 ^a	15.5	—
Hamadan	Hamadan	156	14.3	28.5	—	4.8	3.2
Kerman	Kerman	140	12.9	31.4	4.0	3.8	—
Gilan	Rasht	187	11.9	29.1	3.5	2.6	3.4
West Azerbaijan	Rezaieh	164	11.7	32.1	2.0	2.3	2.3
Southern Ports	Bandar-e Abbas	89	19.3	26.8	—	—	—
Zahedan	Zahedan	93	14.1	24.5	—	—	—
Kordestan	Sanandaj	96	17.3	24.2	—	—	—
Mazandaran	Gorgan	88	3.7	32.4	1.0	1.1	1.0

Sources: [23] [35, pp. 7–8].

Note: P_1 indicates largest city in a province, P_2 second largest city.

^a The province was divided into two in 1966.

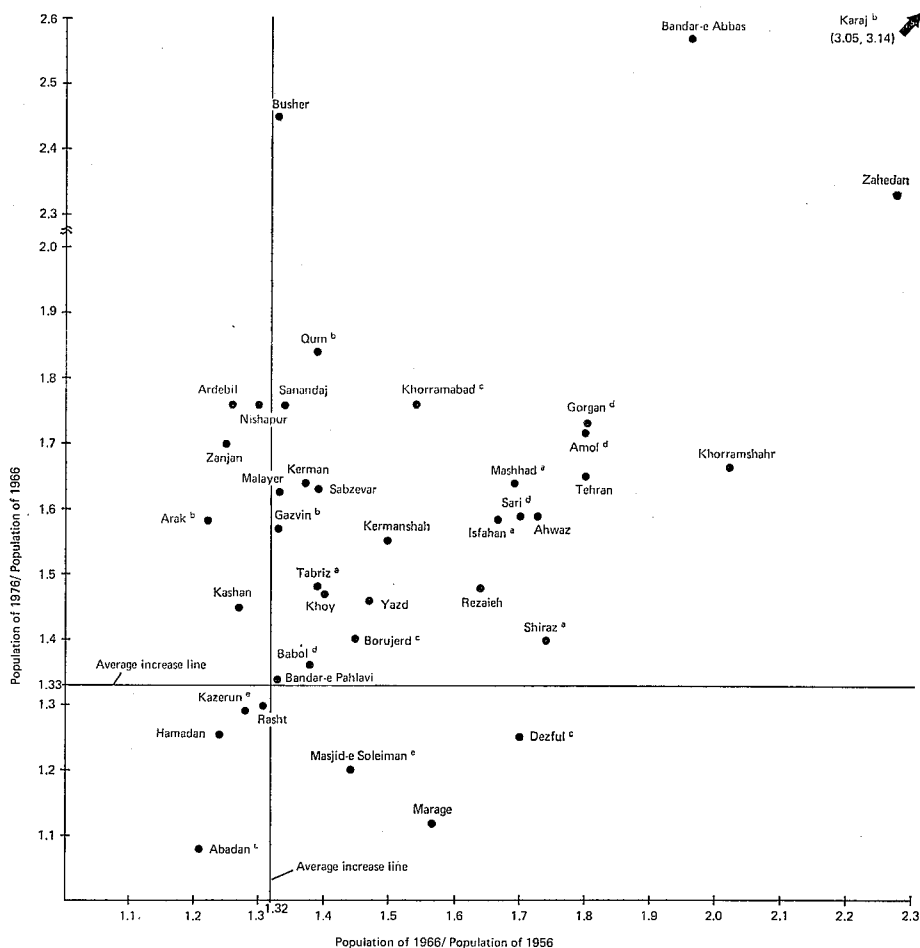
^b P_1 of the time was replaced by P_2 of the ten years later.

holds. In the Khuzestan Province, which includes three modern petroleum industry cities (type a), the rate of urbanization is a high 58.1 per cent. Furthermore, for these three cities the rate is 35.5 per cent, the gap between P_1 and P_2 is slight, and in 1966 P_1 and P_2 changed places. In the Lorestan Province, Khorramabad and Borujend in type b account for two-thirds of provincial urban population and have attained gigantic proportions. Yazd and Kermanshah provinces, of which provincial capitals are Yazd and Kermanshah, have high rates of urbanization (type d-1), and in Hamadan, Kerman, West Azerbaijan, and Gilan provinces the population of P_1 is three-four times that of P_2 , and there are about ten cities in West Azerbaijan and Gilan, which is a pattern of location of cities that is quite common in the plateau region in the northwest part of Iran (type d-2). Also there is a variant of type d consisting of provincial capitals of smaller provinces such as Southern Ports, Kordestan, and Busher in which the rate of urbanization is about 25 per cent, P_1 accounts for a high percentage of urban population in the province, the gap between P_1 and P_2 has been widening recently, and there are only about four-five cities in the province (type d-3). Completely different from this type is the Mazandaran Province (type d-4), in which the rate of urbanization is 32.4 per cent, or about the national average, and there are five-six cities all of about the same size. Here, too, the "rank-size rule" holds.

Having discussed the order of cities in different provinces, let us now classify the Iranian cities by their rates of growth. We can find the following classification by Figure 1.

1. Capital city: Tehran (4,500,000 population)
2. Four next largest cities: Mashhad, Shiraz, Esfahan, and Tabriz (each 600,000 population)
3. Provincial capitals:
 - (a) Growth type:
 - (i) Modern industrial cities: Ahwaz, Kermanshah
 - (ii) Administrative cities: Zahedan, Bandar-e Abbas, Sari, Busher
 - (iii) Transportation route city: Khorramabad
 - (iv) Redevelopment cities: Kerman, Zanjan, Sanandaj
 - (b) Average type: Rezaiyeh, Yazd
 - (c) Stagnant type: Hamadan, Rasht, Semnan
4. Medium-size cities other than provincial capitals:
 - (a) Growth type:
 - (i) Modern industrial cities: Arak, Khorramshahr
 - (ii) Cities in the Greater area: Karaj, Qum, Qavzin
 - (iii) Transportation route city: Borujerd
 - (iv) Handicraft industry and development city: Kashan
 - (v) Redevelopment cities (second largest cities in province): Nishapur, Ardebil, Khoy, Sabzevar
 - (b) Stagnant type:
 - (i) Petroleum cities: Abadan, Kazerun, Masjid-e Soleiman
 - (ii) Transportation route cities: Bandar-e Pahlavi, Babol

Fig. 1. Rate of Growth of Major Cities, 1956-76



a Four next largest cities after Tehran. b Cities around Tehran. c Cities along the central highway. d Cities in Mazandaran Province. e Stagnant petroleum cities.

5. Smaller cities:²

(a) Growth type: Malayer, Marvdasht

(b) Stagnant type: Small cities in eastern Fars Province and Kerman Province

Particularly noteworthy in this classification are: (1) the fact that Kerman,

² Since census data for 1976 has not yet been published, there is no way to determine recent trends. Marvdasht, a sugar refinery town in the vicinity of Shiraz and also Malayer, which will be discussed later, can be cited as an example of the growth type. Overall consideration will have to be given to smaller cities. There is also a classification of cities by Costello with respect to 1956-66 [11, pp. 82-86] in which Malayer is classified in the low growth group.

Zanjan, and Sanandaj, which are classified as provincial capitals of the redevelopment growth type, were rather stagnant before undergoing rapid development in the period 1966–76, and (2) the growth of second place cities in large provinces. The cities of Gorgan, Amol, and Sari in Mazandaran Province [24] grew at a stable high pace in both the first ten-year period and the second ten-year period. Of the four largest cities after Tehran, Mashhad and Esfahan seem to be the most significant in terms of growth in view of the fact that the rate of growth of Shiraz slackened in 1966–76 and that of Tabriz has only been about the same as the national average instead of accelerating, as in the case of Mashhad and Esfahan. As for Bandar-e Pahlavi and Babol, which were noted for their prosperity based on trade with Russia, they are now classified as stagnant. Hamadan and Rasht are stagnant administrative cities [13].

Such a situation as that in Iran in which a large number of cities have grown to populations of over 100,000 and are coming to account for an ever-increasing share of total urban population is rare among developing Asian countries. It can be ascribed largely to the expulsion of surplus population from rural communities as a result of land reform and its absorption into cities through industrial development. Furthermore, Iran, which has traditionally had major cities in all of its parts relatively isolated from one another by stretches of desert, has now reached a stage of development where the capital Tehran can no longer be solely relied upon for expansion of the national economy. In other words, cities in other parts of the country will also have to play a significant role in this respect. With stepped-up government activity, considerable progress has been made in redevelopment of existing cities for provision of a reasonable level of social infrastructure. If the urban modernization of the 1920s was the first urban modernization, that which is being promoted in the 1970s in the context of city planning and industrial planning can be called the second urban modernization.

III. HAMADAN AS AN EXAMPLE OF A PREMODERN ISLAMIC CITY

A. *Features and Relative Position of the City in the Country's Urban Structure*

Hamadan is one of the cities with a population of over 100,000 that is becoming increasingly important in terms of urbanization in Iran according to the above classification. Although it has developed somewhat in recent years, it is still an example of a relatively stagnant provincial capital. This type differs from both the small province provincial capital type (type d-3) and the redevelopment provincial capital type (type d-4). The city of Hamadan stands in relation to the other towns and cities of the Hamadan province as the capital cities of the provinces of Gilan and East and West Azerbaijan do to the other cities and towns in them. (P_1/P_2 is 4.8, the rate of urbanization is 28.5 per cent, and P_1 accounts for 14.3 per cent of the total urban population.) In other words, it has the same features as cities in the northwest highlands area (type d-2).

As for the structure of industry of this city, manufacturing industries, of which there are 4,797 establishments, account for 42 per cent versus 58 per cent repre-

sented by commercial establishments [22]. This is the third highest percentage of manufacturing industries after Esfahan and Yazd, the reason being that, as in the case of the other two areas, there is a great deal of carpet manufacturing in Hamadan city (1,566 establishments). There are also 3,037 retail stores, 233 wholesalers, and 207 dealers in carpets [22]. Although the business establishments in the province account for 2.5 per cent of the total number of business establishments nationwide, they employ only 1.5 per cent of the total number of workers in business establishments nationwide, which is an indication of lack of large industries. Nor is it exactly a major agricultural province, the wool for carpets being brought in from neighboring districts of this province along with carpets already made in rural villages. Such preponderance of small-scale traditional industry is one of the characteristics of Iranian cities.

Hamadan was famous in the Middle Ages as one of the cities along the Silk Road, and even in the nineteenth century products made their way from Britain and British India to Tehran via first Baghdad and then Hamadan. One of its aspects is therefore that of an international trade city, and it has an air of dignity in the best traditions of major Middle East cities. Furthermore, it has a considerable number of minority ethnic groups among its inhabitants, each living in a separate part of the city. Such a "mozaic" ethnic pattern is another characteristic of Islamic cities. The fact that the city is so strongly characterized as a traditional Islamic city can probably be attributed to the very fact of its involvement in trade along the Silk Road in the Middle Ages and the thriving of handicraft industry and attraction of minority ethnic groups that resulted from it.

B. *Hamadan as a Premodern Islamic City*

"Medieval Hamadan" [38, p. 523] collapsed when Mongol armies overran it in the early thirteenth century. After that, powerful local families ruled the city until 1723, when the leader of the Baghdad garrison of the Ottoman Turks attacked it in an attempt to wrest it from Persia. In the early period of the Qajar dynasty its importance as a strategic stronghold was recognized. Soltanabad (the present Arak) and Doulatbad (the present Malayer) were upgraded from villages to towns [32, pp. 29-30]. In other words, it was made a fortress city to resist the Ottoman Turks and the Lors and Bakhtiaris in central Persia. Hamadan has been described as having been at that time "a confused and melancholy heap of ruins" [33, p. 264], which is a far cry from what it had been in the Middle Ages.

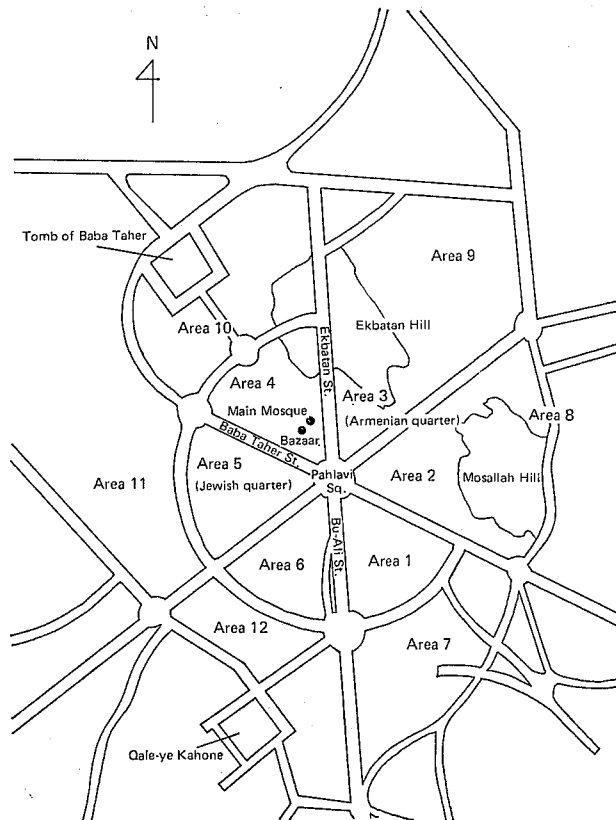
In the second half of the nineteenth century there was a sharp increase in the inflow of goods from Britain and British India (cotton, silk, and wool products), with 10 per cent of imports (£394,000) being sent to Tehran from Baghdad via Kermanshah and Hamadan [12, pp. 563-77]. What this represented was restoration of the city's role as a commercial city as it was in the Middle Ages. In the twenty years from 1880 to 1900 it is said to have made rapid strides in trade with Baghdad [5, p. 190]. The British attached considerable importance to Hamadan in relation to their policy toward Tehran and India, and in 1863 the trans-Persian telegraph line passed through it. After the turn of the century, the Hamadan area became an area in which the British and the Russians came into

confrontation with the Turks and the Germans, and it was from amidst the confusion of the First World War that Reza Shah emerged.

Before going into the changes brought about by Reza Shah, let us identify the aspects of Hamadan as a premodern Islamic city. The Islamic city is generally characterized by four areas: (1) the royal palace area, or *arak*; (2) the bazaar and main mosque; (3) the residential area, or *mahall'eh*; and (4) the city walls and gates and sometimes a moat outside the city walls. Moreover, this four areas have a characteristic arrangement [2, pp. 18–23] (see Figure 2 which shows today's Hamadan).

A late nineteenth century map [24, p. 146] indicates Ekbatan Hill³ (1 km × 0.5 km) to the northeast of the city. The river that encloses that area, the Vasjerd River, flows through the city. At a considerable distance to the south on the other side of the bazaar is an elevated old castle (Qale-ye Kohone) area, where another river flows, serving as a kind of moat. This separation of the royal palace

Fig. 2. Map of Hamadan



³ Ekbatan is famous as the capital of the kingdom of the Medes (708–500 B.C.) and is said to have remains of the castle of Darius I (521–485 B.C.). Moreover, the houses in the vicinity of the castle are considered to have been occupied by generals and their families and believers [38, p. 515].

and bazaar areas is somewhat of a departure from the usual layout of Persian cities. If, however, one considers the possibility of this fortress having been used for strategical purposes by Abbas I (1587–1629) [6, p. 194] or as a military camp in the early period of the Qajar dynasty, this departure does not perhaps seem all that strange after all. In other words, there is a strong possibility that the royal palace was originally in the Ekbatan area enclosed by the river and that the old castle (Qale-ye Kohone) was not built until later on. If this is the case, there is considerable similarity between this pattern and the usual one of proximity between the royal palace area and the bazaar area. As a matter of fact, this area is called *shahrestān* which means “castle and old town”⁴ [40, p. 194] and there are two *mahall'eh* (“residential areas”) named *sar-e qale* (“front of the castle”) and *posht-e qale* (“back of the castle”), which makes it quite reasonable to consider that this was in fact the original royal palace area.

Now let us consider the bazaar and the main mosque. Beginning south of the royal palace area, there is an area in which there were over five hundred shops covered by a dome-shaped roof, including some fifty caravansarai and sixty public baths (*hammām*) [24, p. 148]. The main mosque⁵ is within the bazaar, and beyond it was a vegetable market square (*sabz-e meidān*). The city wall runs from the “natural fortress” [38, p. 517] that the *mosallah* (“petition place”) to the east represents through the old castle area, past the Tomb of Baba Taher on the west side of the city, and on to the north where the river flows out of the city. It used to continue on to the *mosallah* by way of Khavar Street. Even now the greater part of the city is included within this city wall. In the thirteenth century it had a total length of nine kilometers.

As for residential areas, there were four of them, each with a magistrate responsible for collecting government taxes and maintaining order. This position was hereditary [24, p. 147]. Jackson's writing do not indicate the names of these four residential areas, but one can assume that there was a Jewish quarter and an Armenian quarter. The rulers lived in the area of the two rivers (Bain al-Nahrain) in the south part of the town and to the west of that area.⁶ At the beginning of the nineteenth century the ruler was the head of the Gara Gouzlou, a Turkish tribe that moved into the city from the surrounding area in the days of Timur. He had his own cavalry and was treated with respect by both the central government and the ruler of Kermanshah [26, p. 127]. This tribe was used in the Qajar dynasty as the “military organization of the town” [6, p. 195]. Furthermore, the Sunnist Kurd tribe that also lived in neighboring rural areas visited Hamadan's Burj-e Qurban (founded in the eighth century of the Hegira) as a

⁴ The typical city layout of *arak*, *shahrestan*, bazaar, and others of Persian type cities is also to be seen in Afghanistan and Bukhara in Central Asia. See [41] [42] [25] regarding Bukhara, and [45, p. 34] regarding Herat in Afghanistan.

⁵ In the eleventh century there were vineyards and fields next to the main mosque, probably outside the city according to Schwarz [38, p. 518]. If the city meant here is *shahrestan*, this accords with the present situation. Furthermore, the present main mosque represents a remodelling after the Masjed-e Shah in Tehran, which dates from the period of Fath Ali Shah of the Qajar Dynasty [30, p. 214].

⁶ According to my interview.

sacred place. In other words, Hamadan was a religious center in western Persia that was frequented by rural pilgrims.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were 1,000 Armenian families living in the town, 300 of them in one area on Ekbatan Hill. They dressed like Persians and spoke Persian [43, p. 148]. Besides an Armenian quarter, there were also several quarters bearing the names of their religious sect such as church quarter. There are churches of four different sects. For instance, there is a Gregorian church near the main street with its own school, founded in 1880, and a Protestant church to the rear. These Armenians were originally forced to live in the town by Abbas I in 1601 [6, p. 195]. A good many more came in as refugees from Russia after the First World War. There are also two Assyrian Christian churches in Hamadan: a Protestant chapel behind the provincial government offices and a Catholic church in the Kuran district alongside Bu-Ali Street.

There is also a Jewish community, estimated at some 5,000 persons [16, p. 307]. A Jewish traveller in the 1830s described it as consisting of 200 families. Many of them were large merchants, goldsmiths, and physicians and lived in homes with gardens [18, p. 561]. Of course there were also many musicians, silversmiths, midwives, and wine dealers. The Mausoleum of Esther and Mordecai, a Jewish holy place, was located to the west of the main mosque. The Jewish quarter began north of it, and there are still such street names there as "Jewish Public Baths" street and "Jewish Slaughterhouse" alley. From here there was a street leading to the Jewish bazaar or west side of the bazaar area. There were four synagogues, two Jewish public baths, and a Jewish cemetery, and in 1900 they built their own school. These Jews, like those of Esfahan and other cities, were put into a Babylonian Captivity in the days of Darius I. At the end of the nineteenth century there were two kinds of Jews in Hamadan: those who had lived in the city for centuries and those who had come from Baghdad more recently, the latter representing the richer persons [5, p. 190]. These Jews from Baghdad came to live in Hamadan as the inflow of goods from Britain and British India via Baghdad increased. The Moslem inhabitants of the city, however, were resentful of their prosperity and often caused the local synagogue to be shut down.

In addition, U.S. missionaries [14] lived near the Assyrian Protestant area, forming a foreign quarter of their own complete with a modern hospital. Minority ethnic groups lived together in groups, each with their own religious and social service facilities, and people of the same sect living in surrounding areas came to the city to make use of such facilities. Furthermore, some of these minorities came to constitute exclusive military organizations. All of these are characteristics of the Islamic city.

IV. TRANSFORMATION OF HAMADAN TO A MODERN CITY

A. *Hamadan in the Days of Reza Shah—the First Urban Modernization*

Reza Shah came to power in the period of turmoil following the First World War. He attached strategic importance to western Persia, making Kermanshah

and Hamadan administrative centers. Economic importance was also attached to this area as a place for sending of dried fruits, cotton, and other major export products instead of merely as a place of inflow of import products. At that time American economic advisors attached particular importance to the road running from Baghdad to Tehran via the border town of Qasle-Shirin, Kermanshah, Hamadan, and Qazvin. Moreover, they proposed that four of the eight railway lines that were planned pass through Hamadan [39, p. 307]. Around 1922 the only road in the area that was capable of handling a large volume of traffic was the road between Hamadan and Qazvin that had been built by the Russians and the British during the war [28, p. 269]. Since it was therefore necessary to provide adequate military roads, in the 1920s and the 1930s western Persia, and particularly Hamadan came into the spotlight.

After suppressing a tribal revolt in the central part of the country in 1924, Reza established domestic peace and went about national construction. He was particularly interested in the physical development of towns and cities as a symbol of progress in the country and therefore required that all existing cities formulate new development plans. This was the first modernization of Iranian cities [3, pp. 101-3]. A law that came into effect in 1933 stipulated that major roads be widened, that new roads be built, and that land for these purposes could be acquired by the government at low cost. Furthermore, all city walls were removed so that new roads could be built on the land thus made available, a measure that was also taken for the purpose of facilitating pacification of the whole country. The way was thereby opened for development of Iranian cities beyond the limits of their walls [37, p. 184] [4, p. 34].

In 1931 German engineers planned six radial roads for Hamadan. The central square was situated just south of the bazaar, through which two of the roads ran. At their outer ends, the six radial roads were connected with long-distance routes. Thanks to this road system, the town prospered for twenty years (1925-45). According to the city's new master plan, 14.3 per cent of the buildings in the city dated back to the period 1920-35. In the old administrative area (Area 1) the figure was 31.9 per cent, and other areas in which the figure was higher than the average were neighboring Area 2 (22.1 per cent), Area 3, in which many Armenians lived (19.1 per cent), and Area 9, just outside it (35.4 per cent) [19].

As Reza Shah's pacification program proceeded, however, Hamadan came to be deprived of its basis for prosperity, for once he succeeded in putting down local revolts and maintaining order, it became possible to use the shorter route through Lorestan as the British had long wanted. With completion of a Trans-Iranian railroad in 1938 and a central highway during the Second World War, Hamadan and the rest of western Persia became much less important in terms of international communications.

What about industry in Hamadan at that time? The city had long been famous for its leather and carpet industries. In 1909-12 it ranked along with Mashhad in terms of its leather industry, which consisted of eight factories employing 40-50 workers and a large number of smaller rural workshops employing 5-10 workers each [1, pp. 297-98]. In all, there were about two hundred workshops

employing a total of 1,350 workers [36, pp. 18–19]. In the carpet industry the big firm Shalk⁷ based in Tehran had a branch in Hamadan that provided village workshops with yarn and bought their products. Most of the production in such workshops was manual, and new workshops based on new production techniques did not materialize. Nor were there any of the modern nationally run factories established by Reza Shah elsewhere. Neither in economic nor in social development terms was Hamadan an object of government investment.

When the city became a stage of fighting during the Second World War, it again suffered considerable damage that blocked its further development. In 1942 some 1,500 Jews left the city for Tehran, and many Moslems as well evacuated the area. No longer situated on a major domestic trade route, Hamadan was unable to absorb additional population from surrounding rural areas merely by virtue of its traditional leather and carpet industries.

B. *Recent Change in Hamadan—Second Urban Modernization*

Since becoming the capital of a province in 1966, Hamadan has come to function increasingly as an administrative city. In fact, one can consider the

TABLE III
FACILITIES IN HAMADAN

	1953	1973
Government offices	22	29
Military and police establishments	2	6
Police stations	8	—
Telephone facilities	2	—
Registration offices	25	21
Banks	5	59
Schools	43	82
Public schools	26	
Private schools	17	
Hospitals	4	6
Pharmacies	13	17
Medical practitioners	20	53
Printers	5	10
Travel agencies	6	—
Modern type hotels	5	—
Traditional type hotels	8	—
Mosques	59	63
Churches	2	4
Synagogues	1	—

Sources: For 1953, [17, pp. 1–19]; and for 1973, [21].

Note: Additional facilities for 1973: Chambers of Commerce 6, library 4, class for adult 2, public health center 8, dentist 31, midwife 6, barber shop (123 for man and 51 for woman), and public bath (13 for man, 12 for woman, and 39 for both).

⁷ "An affluent Russian employed some two thousand men and children to operate about two hundred looms" [15, pp. 42–43]. This is no doubt a reference to the firm Shalk.

city's second period of modernization to have begun in 1970, when its new master plan was formulated. Table III compares the number of different kinds of facilities in the city in 1953 and 1973.

Particularly noteworthy are the increase from five banks to fifty-nine; the increase from forty-three schools to eighty-four, two of which are for literacy training of adults; and the increase from twenty medical practitioners to fifty-three and thirty-one dentists, bringing the number of physicians per one thousand inhabitants to 0.05 versus 0.02 in 1953. There are now also libraries, a stadium, and other facilities that were not available previously. In addition, there are various services for the benefit of people in neighboring rural communities, who use them just as their ancestors used city facilities whenever they made pilgrimages to Hamadan.

Whereas in 1956 there were 1,924 civil servants in the city, representing 6.8 per cent of the total working population, these figures rose to 2,837 and 9.5 per cent by 1966, with 28 civil servants per one thousand inhabitants. Of course these figures is rising more rapidly in these ten years.

C. *Changes in the Residential Areas*

The new city master plan of 1970 calls for an increase in the area of the city from 531 hectares to 957 hectares within five years. Also planned is a northern loop road extending to the south of Jahan-nama Street, which just about marks the present southern limit of the city's residential area, and the area to the inside of this loop road is to constitute a new residential area [34, p. 86]. In subsequent five-year plans, however, there is greater emphasis on extending the city limits southwards than northwards. One of the basic orientations of the plan is to promote the cultural and tourism development of the city by increasing the area relating to traffic, amusement facilities, and historical monuments.

From the construction periods of the various areas of the city, as shown in Table IV and Figure 2, one can get a good idea of the town's physical development [40]. The west part of the loop road, completed in 1970, intersects with the main thoroughfare from the central square. Areas 1-6 inside this half-finished loop road are old areas, and Areas 7-12 outside of it are new. The highest population density is in Area 3 (382 persons/hectare) inhabited by a large number of Armenians, who have by far the lowest income level. The areas outside the loop, on the other hand, have low population densities. In Areas 1-5 an average of 33.8 per cent of the buildings date back over a half a century, and in Areas 2-5, 17 per cent date back to the days of Reza Shah, as do 31.9 per cent in Area 1, the old administrative area. Furthermore, only 13 per cent of the buildings have been built within the last five years, the percentage being even lower for Areas 1 and 3. On the other hand, a full 66.1 per cent of the buildings in Area 6, an old area in which many prominent families have long lived and in which there are still many persons with high incomes, were built in the period 1935-60.

In Area 10, outside the loop opposite the bazaar area and one of the first outside areas, 47.6 per cent of the buildings were built over fifty years ago, and

TABLE IV
RATE OF BUILDINGS OF DIFFERENT AGES AND DIFFERENT AREA

Area	Features	Population	Inhabitant per Hectare	% of Building of Different Ages			
				Over 50 Years Old	50-35 Years Old	35-10 Years Old	Under 10 Years Old
1.	Old administration area	4,064	161	31.6	31.9	10.2	26.1
2.		5,722	214	32.3	22.1	14.8	30.8
3.	Inhabited by many Armenians	11,938	382	27.1	19.1	36.8	17.0
4.	Bazaar area	3,815	114	43.1	12.6	18.0	26.3
5.	Inhabited by many Jews	4,030	129	34.9	14.3	28.6	22.2
6.	Inhabited by many prominent families	3,856	159	10.8	1.8	66.1	21.3
7.	New administration area	16,813	110	1.8	1.8	14.0	82.4
8.		11,182	84	4.3	12.9	23.1	21.5
9.		15,434	200	14.6	35.4	28.6	21.4
10.		14,466	110	47.6	14.3	17.4	20.7
11.		16,433	130	6.6	2.6	21.7	69.1
12.		12,759	93	2.3	2.3	40.4	55.0

Source: [19].

14.3 per cent in the days of Reza Shah. In Area 9, opposite Area 3, the area with a large number of Armenians, a full 35.4 per cent of the buildings date back to the days of Reza Shah, which leads one to suppose that the area was expanded in that period. In the new administrative area on the plateau to the south, Area 7, most of the buildings are relatively new, 57.9 per cent having been built in the last five years and another 24.6 per cent in the five years before that. The second modernization of the city has to a large extent been concentrated here, with a considerable number of new buildings also to be found in Areas 11 and 12, which are adjacent to it.

Looking at the amount of time that residents have lived in the city, one sees that 10.4 per cent of them have moved into the city or had moved to the area that they presently reside in from another area of the city rather than having originally resided in it. It is interesting to note that there has been very little population inflow into Area 5, the Jewish quarter and that what little there has been has been very recent (Table V). There has been a high and steady rate of influx into the new administrative area, Area 7, however, during the last fifteen years or so, or at least high for Hamadan, a trend which is also reflected in the large percentage of its buildings that have been recently built.

As can be seen in the cases of Areas 3 and 9, in which there are many Armenians, and Area 5, which has a large percentage of Jews, the administrative areas of today are almost units which represent clusters of *mahall'eh*, the residential quarters of the past. One is therefore justified in considering that the city plan of 1930 was not just the application to Hamadan of a typical West European city plan. Today Area 7, the plateau area that slopes to the south and is closer to sources of water than the rest of the city, is protruding further and further

TABLE V
RATE OF POPULATION INFLOW BY TIME AND AREA

Area	% of Population That Come to the City within the Last X Years				% of Pop. of More Than 7,000 Rial/Month
	1-5 Years	6-10 Years	More Than 10 Years	Origin	
1.	4.8	2.7	1.8	90.7	7.3
2.	2.1	0.7	3.9	93.3	24.6
3.	4.8	1.8	5.4	88.0	2.7
4.	3.1	5.6	4.6	86.7	30.9
5.	0.7	—	—	99.3	14.3
6.	7.2	3.6	4.6	84.6	47.7
7.	11.4	3.4	4.5	80.7	61.7
8.	—	—	—	100	27.7
9.	9.3	10.2	—	80.5	19.6
10.	1.9	—	—	98.1	47.9
11.	7.4	0.9	—	91.7	57.4
12.	7.2	2.4	2.4	88.0	23.8

Source: [19].

south. Moreover, the future orientation is to increase the city's residential area by widening this protrusion to the south by providing a network of waterways there, for motorization has now made it possible for people to live at considerable distances from the center of the city.

D. *Change in the Bazaar Area*

1. *The bazaar and the main street*

The bazaar, too, has changed in Hamadan. Generally speaking, the modernization of Islamic cities entails the development of a modern commercial area after the West European model and apart from the old commercial area of the bazaar and the caravansarai. Highways for long-distance transportation pass by the city and at times even through its center. Wholesaling leaves the bazaar because of the greater facility of transportation, and large merchants seek their high-class clientele outside of the bazaar. As a result, the modern Western commercial area continues to develop [44, pp. 101-9]. Furthermore, with a population of only about a hundred thousand it is not possible to have an area dealing exclusively in high-class Western merchandise or a "night life" area [27, p. 127]. Thus, Hamadan, with a population of only a little over one hundred thousand, does not have a full-fledged Western-type commercial area. It does have a central square and Bu-Ali Street, a street with shops dealing in high-quality goods which runs to the plateau area on the south side of the city, but few of the shops as yet have modern show windows. F. Bemont, observing the situation in 1970-71, noted a lack of interest in high-class imported goods, perfumes, ornaments, sweets, and cakes [6, p. 197]. In 1977 there were Western cameras, radio cassettes, a few digital wrist watches, imported cooking oil, and foreign soap, but no high-class chocolate. The main supplier of such foreign products is the government-run supermarket on the central square.

There will no doubt be an increasingly strong tendency in Hamadan, as in other cities, for wealthier shoppers to prefer the shops facing on main avenues and for the bazaar to cater more and more to lower-income urban and rural customers. This tendency is not yet, however, in clear evidence, and in fact quite a few of the shops on the main avenues are not even up to par with the bazaar in terms of the quality of their merchandise.

In the way of entertainment facilities there are four movie theaters, two facing on the central square and two on Bu-Ali Street. All of them are rather old. Also there are modern entertainment facilities belonging to various organizations and groups such as a teachers club, but generally they are open only to members. Then there is Bu-Ali Hotel on the street of the same name, which, with fifty-two employees, compares with Shah Abbas Hotel in Esfahan in terms of class and has an atmosphere all of its own that contrasts sharply with that of the city as a whole. It accommodates primarily foreign tourists and wealthy visitors from Tehran.

2. *The layout of the bazaar*

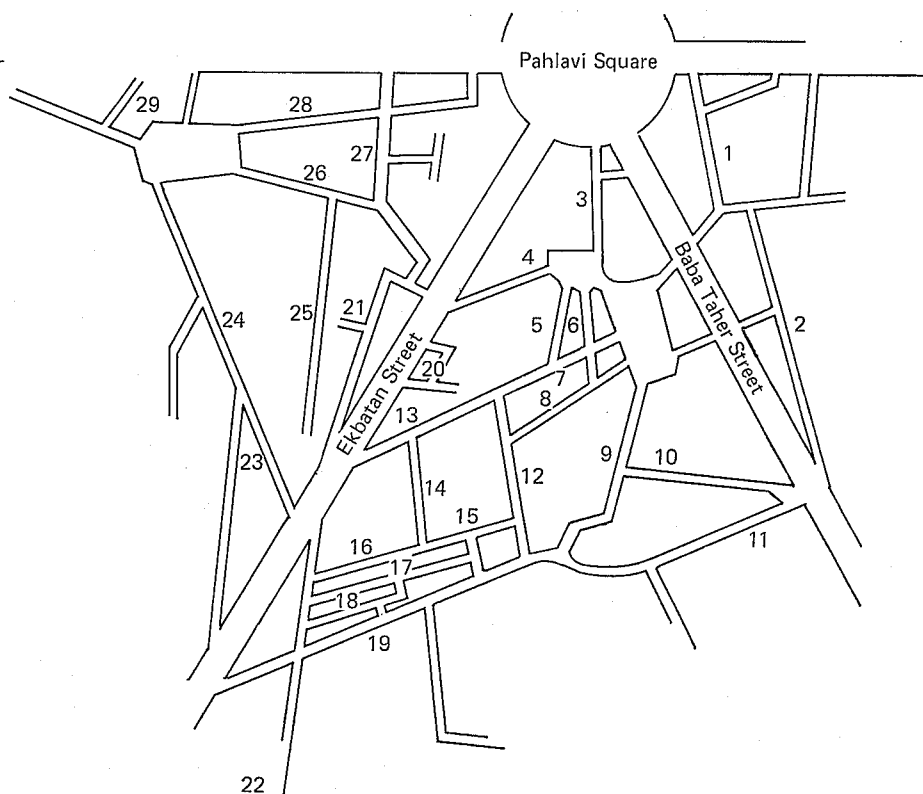
The bazaar in Hamadan consists of thirty markets and twenty-five caravansarai and is located mainly in the area enclosed by Ekbatan and Baba-Taher streets, which meet at the central square and cut the bazaar into three parts, the main one lying in between them. Although these main streets cut through individual groupings within the bazaar, people can easily cross them to the other side where these groupings or individual bazaars continue.

The map below (Figure 3) is of the Hamadan bazaar as drawn by the author on the basis of the information given in the cited work [29] and following description about this bazaar depends on author's own survey.

In Hamadan, as in other Iranian cities, there are many draperies near the main mosque. Further on there is a small plaza where coal used to be sold but which is now used by fruit vendors. In the small alley to the left there are a number of locksmiths, who probably used to use that coal for work. On the south side of the small plaza is a *savz-e meidān*, where vegetables, liver and other meats, and other everyday items are sold. This market is busiest from ten to eleven thirty in the morning and four to six in the afternoon, when people come to buy provisions for the midday and evening meals. To the east of this market is a whole row of large dealers in dried fruits, and to the west are large vegetable sellers. The butcher bazaar extends from the small plaza past the rear of the vegetable bazaar to a glass and mirror bazaar, which can be reached by proceeding from the key makers bazaar to the confectionary bazaar and then turning right. After the glass bazaar comes the carpenters bazaar. Kebablah ("towards Mecca") bazaar runs approximately southward, and in the foreground are carpenter shops and beyond them small goldsmiths and shops which repair and sell used clothing.

On the street behind the main mosque are the tinsmith bazaar and the samovar repair bazaar, and beyond them are to be found spice merchants. To the right of the tinsmith bazaar is the bookbinders bazaar, and further on are to be found

Fig. 3. Hamadan Bazaar



1. Jeweleries 2. Goldsmiths 3. Box and furniture makers 4. Main mosque 5. Locksmiths 6. Butcheries 7. Confectioneries 8. Coppersmiths 9. Glass dealers 10. Kebab bazaar 11. Prophet bazaar 12. Dried fruit sellers 13. Tinsmiths 14. Bookbinders 15. Braid sellers 16. Shoemakers 17. Shoemakers 18. Goat hair rope makers 19. Jewish bazaar 20. Hosein Khan bazaar 21. Carpet bazaar 22. Yarn bazaar 23. Tanneries 24. Limestone sellers 25. Cotton carding bazaar 26. Shahezade Hosein bazaar 27. Second-hand clothing bazaar 28. Straw sellers 29. Sar-e Poll bazaar.

two parallel shoemakers bazaars, at right angles to the bookbinders bazaar. Next to these two rows of shoemakers is the Jewish bazaar, and south of it are the prophet bazaar and then the Jewish residential area. There are many confectionaries and bakeries. Getting back to the entrance to the tinsmith bazaar, we find a row of shops selling yarn for making carpets that is just about at right angles to it. Then there are a few hat shops. On the right hand side there used to be a tanning area, and on the other side of the street is a row of concrete tanneries. Even today an old man is at work there scraping meat off hides. Further on one sees donkey saddles and mats being made. Dyeing work is to be seen in the caravansarai on both sides. There seems to be a gradual transition to the atmosphere of a rural village bazaar, with tea houses frequented by a good number of customers who have come to the city on buying expeditions. More-

over, next to the main street built according to the new city plan is to be found a feed store of the kind that one usually sees only in rural villages. At the end of the main street begins the old bazaar, which gradually gives way to the small bazaars catering to the residential areas.

Now let us go back to the central square and take a look at the smaller parts of the bazaar on the left and right of the main part that we have just discussed. On the left side one comes to a "T" configuration of goldsmiths after leaving the vegetable market plaza and crossing the main street. At the east end of this goldsmith bazaar are to be found a large number of haberdasheries and draperies on the left side and furniture makers on the right side. From there to close to the central square are to be found large china shops. There is also a considerable quantity of cheap imported articles of everyday use, including those of Chinese make. At the exit from the central square are to be found four or five small traditional shops, including a coal dealer and a poultry shops.

Entering the bazaar from a little north of the central square on the right, there are a number of carpet dealers, which together with some other shops form a "U" configuration around some caravansarai. North of the one side of the "U" that does not consist of carpet dealers are to be found shops handling medium- and low-quality clothing and next to them a used clothing bazaar. To the rear are door and window frame makers, whose produce used to be made of wood but are now metal. Then there are some shops making large mats (*hamir*). Turning left from the entrance to the used clothing bazaar, one comes to shops dealing in cotton and further on the tannery bazaar that we have already mentioned.

The Hamadan bazaar has the considerable concentration of establishments of the same trade that is so characteristic of Islamic bazaars. Such concentration is particularly conspicuous in such handicraft bazaars as those of coppersmiths, goldsmiths, tinsmiths, shoemakers, and confectioneries. In the field of commerce, there is concentration among carpet merchants, butchers, glass dealers, and so on. Besides concentration of establishments of the same trade, those of related trades, too, are located next to one another. Take for instance the coal merchants plaza and the locksmiths. They are located on the south side of the main mosque. On the west side of it were to be found tinsmiths. Also next to it are the bookbinders, who used to make copies of the Koran. Furthermore, the bookbinders and the shoemakers next to them had in common the use of leather.⁸ The yarn dealers and carpet merchants, too, were located near to each other. We see, therefore, that the Hamadan bazaar still evinces these two features of the traditional Islamic bazaar layout.

Near the used clothing bazaar, however, there are only eighteen clothing shops against twenty-six of other trades, and in the yarn dealers bazaar as well there are a good number of shops of unrelated trades [19, p. 413]. This is a clear departure from the pattern of concentration of those of the same trade. It appears that in most cases the shops of other trades are those who bought out the shops

⁸ See [2, p. 19] regarding the relationship between the role of the main mosque in the Islamic city and the various kinds of bazaars that developed around it.

that had done business there before them. The glass bazaar used to consist only of six establishments, but now there are twenty-three. This is because of the continuity to the coppersmiths, many of whom became glass dealers, as we shall see later. Then again, because of the proximity of the shoemakers bazaar to the yarn merchants bazaar, there is a growing number of yarn and rope merchants in the shoemakers bazaar, particularly on the side next to the yarn merchants bazaar. Draperies are also setting up business inside the shoemakers bazaar. As merchants change to more profitable lines of business in response to new demand trends, the concentration of establishments of the same trade in the Islamic bazaar is becoming less clear-cut.

Furthermore, the number of retailers in contrast to makers is on the rise, as evidenced, for instance, by the higher percentage of shoe sellers and lower percentage of shoemakers in the shoe bazaar. Despite Hamadan's traditional renown as a leather processing center, the national brand Melli Shoes of a Tehran company is appearing on the local market. Today the Hamadan bazaar is becoming increasingly a collection of merchants rather than of handicraftsmen, although at a slower pace than in some other Iranian cities, and the greater part of the goods sold in it comes from Tehran.

3. *Movement of the large merchants to the main street*

As we have already noted, there is a trend in many Iranian cities for large merchants to leave the bazaar and set up business on the main thoroughfares of their cities, and Hamadan is no exception in this respect. Let us take a closer look at this trend. The Hamadan Chamber of Commerce and Industry has 6,575 members in forty-six lines of business. Every other year it elects its officials and makes decisions on business regulations to be observed by its members. Each trade represented in the chamber elects its own association head, usually an influential figure in the trade, the locations of the shops of such association heads and the trades in which they do business being as follows:⁹

(i) Meidan Pahalvi: Confectioner, hotel business, haberdashery, and popular-class restaurant.

(ii) Bu-Ali Street: Book store, china shop, clothing store, dye dealer, simple eating stand on the street, restaurant, electrical goods store, tailor, laundry, egg seller, and bakery.

(iii) Ekbatan Street, the street that is a continuation of Bu-Ali Street on the other side of the central square and that cuts through the bazaar area: Drapery, quilt-maker, yarn dealer, shoemaker, dealer in construction materials, and petroleum sales agent.

(iv) Other streets in the city: Dealer in spices, auto repair shop, photographer, taxi owner, and barber.

(v) Inside the bazaar: Jeweler, goldsmith, liver seller, and dried fruit seller.

As we see, only five trade association heads have their establishments in the bazaar. In a city with a population of only about a hundred thousand the jewelers

⁹ Information regarding local trade associations provided by the municipality.

and the goldsmiths remain in the bazaar. On Bu-Ali Street are to be found the major establishments dealing in clothing, electrical goods, and other high-class articles of everyday use, and on the central square there are many service industries. The center of the automobile repair service is in the new part of the city. Such is the change that the Hamadan bazaar has undergone.

V. CHANGES OF PROFESSION AND INFLOW FROM RURAL AREAS OF MERCHANTS AND HANDICRAFTSMEN IN THE HAMADAN BAZAAR

A. *Social Survey of Merchants and Handicraftsmen in the Hamadan Bazaar*

The survey is based on author's interviews with 150 owners of commercial and industrial establishments in the Hamadan bazaar, in 1977, where there were approximately 1,220 in 1966. Of the 150 persons interviewed, 141 persons answered.

(i) THOSE CASES IN WHICH THE PERSON INTERVIEWED HIMSELF CAME INTO BAZAAR FROM OUTSIDE HAMADAN

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
farmer	farmer	fruits seller
—	farmer	butcher
farmer	farmer	dry fruits seller
shoemaker	shoemaker	shoe seller
saddler	farmer	saddler
farmer	farmer	secondhand clothes seller
farmer	farmer	dry fruits seller
farmer	farmer	copper seller
farmer	soap seller	fruits seller
farmer	farmer	goldsmith

Ten replied that they had come into the bazaar from elsewhere, four of them from places 1–4 kilometers from the bazaar, two from places 20–40 kilometers away, three from places at distances of over one hundred kilometers within the same province, and one from outside the province. Eight said their fathers had been farmers, one a shoemaker, and one a soap seller. As for their own professions, five of the ten were in a line of business relating to farming, two dealing in dried fruit, another two being fruit sellers, and one making saddles. None of them dealt in high-quality articles, and the one who was a butcher said his shop was outside the meat bazaar.

Twelve of the respondents said that they had been born in Hamadan and that their fathers had been farmers. Their own professions were much the same as those who had come from the outside: one was a shoe seller, another a copper-smith, and another a used clothing dealer. Two were glass dealers, a new field in which demand was increasing, and there was one cloth seller and one carpet seller, both of which are generally considered high-class professions. Since all of

(ii) THOSE CASES IN WHICH THE PERSON INTERVIEWED WAS BORN IN HAMADAN AND HIS FATHER WAS A FARMER

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
farmer	farmer	tinsmith
farmer	farmer	glass seller
—	farmer	glass seller
farmer	farmer	coppersmith
—	farmer	shoe seller
farmer	farmer	saddler
farmer	farmer	secondhand clothes seller
—	farmer	gunnybag maker
—	farmer	gunnybag maker
—	farmer	confectionary
—	farmer	cloth seller
farmer	farmer	carpet seller

their fathers were farmers, their grandfathers were no doubt likewise farmers. The fathers of these twelve respondents and of the other eight who came into the bazaar from the outside, who together represent about 14 per cent of those respondents, were thus all farmers.

(iii) THOSE CASES IN WHICH THE FATHER OF THE PERSON INTERVIEWED HAD BEEN A BAZAAR MERCHANT OR HANDICRAFTSMEN AND THE GRANDFATHER HAD BEEN A FARMER

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
farmer	carpet seller	carpet seller
farmer	carpet seller	carpenter
farmer	clothes seller	clothes seller
farmer	gunnybag maker	gunnybag maker
farmer	soap seller	fruits seller
farmer	fruits seller	carpet seller
farmer	coppersmith	coppersmith
farmer	copper seller	copper seller
farmer	repair of samovar	repair of samovar
farmer	locksmith	locksmith
farmer	hat maker	shoe seller
farmer	saddler	saddler
farmer	confectionary	dry fruits seller
farmer	soldier	saw maker
farmer	construction worker	dry fruits seller
farmer	shoemaker	shoemaker

Of the seventy-four respondents who were able to give definitive answers concerning the professions of both their fathers and their grandfathers, sixteen stated that although their grandfathers had been farmers, they themselves had been born in Hamadan and their fathers had been bazaar merchants or handicraftsmen. This can be considered to be a higher percentage than that represented by those

whose fathers had been farmers. One sees, therefore, that of the 141 respondents, there were 37 cases (26.2 per cent) in which either their fathers or their grandfathers had been farmers.

(iv) THOSE CASES IN WHICH THE PERSON INTERVIEWED HAD A DIFFERENT TRADE THAN HIS FATHER

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
—	shoemaker	goldsmith
oil seller	oil seller	goldsmith
cloth seller	cloth seller	goldsmith
construction worker	construction worker	goldsmith
—	cloth seller	goldsmith (repair)
oil carrier	oil carrier	cloth seller
—	blacksmith	dry fruits seller
—	dry fruits seller	haberdashery
—	goldsmith	haberdashery
—	yarn seller	dry fruits seller
—	construction worker	haberdashery
milk seller	glass seller	electric goods seller
—	blacksmith	gunnybag maker
locksmith	spice seller	locksmith
peddler	tanner	locksmith
—	carpenter	scissors maker
officer	officer	locksmith
—	animal husbandry	fruits seller
—	haberdashery	spice seller
—	carpenter	spice seller
mullah	worker in a trading house	fruits seller
—	spice seller	butcher
bellow maker	construction worker	electric goods seller
—	haberdashery	carpenter
carpenter	carpenter	glass seller
—	coppersmith	glass seller
cloth seller	spice seller	china seller
—	clothes seller	glass seller
—	clothes seller	glass seller
—	dyer	tinsmith
—	blacksmith	tinsmith
flour maker	mine worker	stove maker
rope maker	rope maker	hat seller
carpet seller	carpet seller	carpet seller
—	seed seller	cloth seller
tanner	saddler	yarn seller
—	clothes seller	yarn seller
—	carpet seller	yarn seller
—	rope maker	yarn seller
—	grocer	yarn seller

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
—	tea-house	carpet seller
—	tanner	carpet seller
dyer	dyer	yarn seller
—	mullah	cloth seller
—	butcher	comb maker
tanner	tanner	copper maker
—	tanner	clothes seller
mat maker	shoemaker	door maker
blacksmith	blacksmith	iron seller
—	tanner	taxi owner
—	public bath owner	carpet seller
—	tanner	carpet seller
—	coppersmith	secondhand clothes seller
—	broker	motor maker

Fifty-four of the respondents had different professions from their non-farmer fathers. That makes a total of eighty-two (58.2 per cent) respondents in categories (i)–(iv) whose trades were different from those of their fathers. Furthermore, of the seventy-four respondents who were able to state definitely the professions of both their fathers and their grandfathers, thirty-seven (50 per cent) had fathers whose professions differed from those of their own fathers. One sees, therefore, that the rate of change of profession is very high between successive generations in each case.

(v) THOSE CASES IN WHICH THE PERSON INTERVIEWED HAD THE SAME TRADE AS HIS FATHER HAD HAD

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
goldsmith	goldsmith	goldsmith
—	goldsmith	goldsmith
—	goldsmith	goldsmith
bookmaker	mobile maker	mobile maker
—	haberdashery	haberdashery
haberdashery	haberdashery	haberdashery
tanner	soap maker	soap maker-seller
—	dry fruits seller	dry fruits seller
—	haberdashery	haberdashery
locksmith	locksmith	locksmith
dry fruits seller	dry fruits seller	dry fruits seller
—	gunnybag maker	gunnybag maker
—	daily necessities seller	electric goods seller
seed seller	seed seller	seed seller
—	blacksmith	blacksmith
—	greengrocer	greengrocer
—	dry fruits seller	dry fruits seller
butcher	butcher	butcher
butcher	butcher	butcher
butcher	butcher	butcher

Occupation of Grandfather	Occupation of Father	Occupation of Son
—	spice seller	spice seller
—	glass seller (no shop)	glass seller
greengrocer	carpenter	carpenter
tanner	carpenter	carpenter
carpenter	cotton seller	cotton seller
—	cloth seller (no shop)	cloth seller
cloth seller	cloth seller	cloth seller
—	carpenter	carpenter
—	carpenter	carpenter
—	wooden box maker	wooden box maker
—	repair of sewing machine	repair of sewing machine
worker in mint	tinsmith	tinsmith
—	iron seller	iron seller
—	cloth seller	cloth seller
—	haberdashery	haberdashery
—	hat maker	hat maker
—	yarn seller	yarn seller
—	dyer	dyer
—	saddler (no shop)	saddler
shoemaker	shoemaker	shoemaker
shoemaker	shoemaker	shoemaker
carrier	saddler	saddler
tanner	coppersmith (trade in villages)	coppersmith
coppersmith	coppersmith	coppersmith (trade in villages)
hat maker	door maker	door maker
blacksmith	blacksmith	blacksmith
—	carpet seller	carpet seller
—	carpet seller	carpet seller
mullah	cloth seller	cloth seller

There were also, of course, a considerable number, forty-nine (34.8 per cent), of respondents whose fathers had had the same profession as themselves, in thirteen cases even their grandfathers (17.6 per cent of seventy-four respondents). In the case of goldsmiths and seed dealers, it stands to reason that the same trade would tend to be followed by consecutive generations because of the specialized knowledge that is required, and as for the three cases in which three consecutive generations were butchers, this profession seems to have been considered a profession set apart from the others. This is further substantiated by the fact that many of their relatives (brothers and brothers-in-law) were also butchers. In any case, there seems to be more change in profession between generations in the Islamic bazaar than one might have expected. Moreover, the data obtained in the survey also indicates a certain amount of rural population influx into the city.

As for ownership of the establishment, four of the respondents inherited it from

their fathers, twenty-four bought the property themselves, sixteen of the establishments were owned by the Ministry of Pious Foundation (Vazarat-e Vaquf), four of the respondents owned one-half (three dongi¹⁰) of their properties, one owned one-twelfth (half dongi) and one other owned only the building but not the land. If the last two cases are excluded, this means substantial or full ownership of their establishments by 28 of the 150 persons interviewed, the others renting their premises.

Except inheritance from their father, he has to pay key money (*salgofli*) to acquire the right to do business there, and key money costs much more than rent. This cost varies according to the size of the establishment, the trade, and the location. In this survey there were five cases in which it was under 50,000 rial, fourteen cases in which it was between 50,000 rial and 300,000 rial, twenty-one cases in which it was between 300,000 rial and 500,000 rial, thirty-two cases in which it was between 500,000 rial and 1,000,000 rial, twenty-four cases in which it was between 1,000,000 rial and 2,500,000 rial, seventeen cases in which it was 2,500,000 rial and 5,000,000 rial, and three cases in which it was more than 5,000,000 rial. The other respondents were not explicit regarding how much this cost was to them. As one can see, in most cases it was under 2,500,000 rial.

Monthly rent, on the other hand, was less than 250 rial in forty cases, 250–500 rial in forty-three cases, 500–1,000 rial in fourteen cases, 1,000–3,000 rial in twelve cases, 3,000–5,000 rial in three cases, and 5,000–10,000 rial in three cases. A large vegetable dealer on the vegetable market square, for instance, had to pay 10,000 rial in rent, perhaps partly because the premises were new. In most cases, however, rent was under 500 rial, which is quite a bit less than the fee for the right to do business.

Bazaar proprietors roughly speaking stock in their wares in the following manner. The butchers and vegetable dealers go to wholesale markets on the outskirts of the city. Dealers in leather products get their leather from tanneries in the city, and woodworkers get their wood from nearby lumberyards. Glass dealers either go themselves to glass factories in Qazvin or order the glass from them by telephone one or twice a month. Coppersmiths get their raw materials in Zanjan once a month.¹¹ Yarn merchants usually go to Tehran but sometimes also to Esfahan or Qom. Straw for making saddles and the raw materials for making wooden combs are obtained from Rasht and Chalus, respectively, on the Caspian Sea. In some cases they go to Tehran several times a month and in other only about once every six months, but on the average bazaar proprietors make the trip about once a month either by chartered car or by the regular route bus that services the line between the capital and Hamadan. A few of the bazaar merchants are so small that they buy their stock in town for resale.

Seventy-three of the respondents said that they had undergone an apprentice-

¹⁰ The unit of dongi is used in agriculture and trade, which means of 1/6 of one unit.

¹¹ Since it takes some capital to go to Tehran on a stocking expedition, most of the small merchants that came into the bazaar from rural areas have to buy their materials from wholesalers on the main street, usually on three months' credit at about ten per cent interest [32, p. 181].

ship, thirty-four of them for a period of six-ten years. Rarely was the apprenticeship longer than sixteen years. Such apprenticeships do not mean that there are guilds severely restricting new entry into the various trades.¹² Rather, they are periods in which young men can save enough money to eventually pay the key money. For instance, in one case two young men went into business together by pooling their savings accumulated during a period of only three years.

The monthly trip by bazaar proprietors are for the most part to Tehran for the purpose of buying in materials, except for the customary New Year trip. The interview survey, for instance, revealed that of twenty-eight trips reported only four were for pleasure alone and only one to visit a person who was ill. Besides the destinations mentioned above, trips are also made to such closer places as Borujerd, Khorramabad, Ilam, and Kermanshah. Also mentioned were a pilgrimage to Mashhad and another to Mecca and a visit to a hospital in Israel. All this serves as an example of the movement of people in western Iran. In spite of its stagnation, Hamadan, as other Iranian cities, has seen, as a result of its first and second urban modernization, a shift of the center of urban development in residential areas and slow movement of its economic center of gravity from the bazaar to the main street. And within the bazaar the concentration of establishments of the same trade has completely collapsed with respect to some trades and is in the process of collapsing with respect to others. Moreover, on the personal level there has been considerable change of profession both between generations and on the part of a single generation.

B. *Comparison with the Small City of Malayer in the Same Province*

Malayer is the second largest city in Hamadan Province. Its population has grown from 21,105 in 1956 to 28,434 in 1966 and 47,009 in 1976, which represents an increase of 65.3 per cent in the period 1966-76. According to a survey made by Mostafa Momemi of business establishments in the bazaar and on the main thoroughfare of the city [32, pp. 78, 147], 378 (57 per cent) of the 666 proprietors interviewed were born in Malayer, 248 (37 per cent) were from rural communities in the Malayer area, and 40 (6 per cent) were from neighboring areas or cities in other provinces. As for the 186 proprietors whose business establishments were located in the bazaar, 69 (37.1 per cent) were from rural communities. Of these, nine (4.8 per cent) were middlemen in the carpet business. Sixty (32.3 per cent) were persons who had been farmer and had come into the bazaar on their own. According to Momemi, such mass influx of people from rural communities is causing the "ruralization" of the bazaar, particularly in the medium- and low-class parts of it where land is cheaper. Most of the newcomers are dealers in food items and general merchandise or handicraftsmen. Many of the established bazaar merchants have either changed their lines of business or relocated onto main streets, and people from rural communities have taken their place, buying the right to set up businesses on their vacated premises.

¹² According to author's opinion, guild restrictions were weak even in the nineteenth century in Iran.

This high rate of influx is reflected in the length of time that the people interviewed have lived in the city. Moreover, a full 85 per cent of the young people born and raised in the old part of the city do not remain there. In the last twenty-five years this trend of population movement has been particularly pronounced, the chief new destination being the three districts to the east.

This rate of influx of people from rural communities of 37.1 per cent is very much higher than the 7.0 per cent (10 respondents of 141) that we have observed in the case of Hamadan. Moreover, whereas in Hamadan 89.6 per cent of the population have remained in the same area [19] almost the same percentage have left their original homes in the case of the old part of Malayer. The degree of ruralization of the bazaar, too, is much higher for fast-growing Malayer than for Hamadan. This illustrates the fact that it is much easier for rural people to move into fast-growing small cities like Malayer than stagnant cities like Hamadan, which seems to indicate that the ease or difficulty of such influx depends on the size of the city and its population growth rate.¹³ It might be added that an author's survey of the bazaar situation in Tabriz has revealed that none of the proprietors had been born outside the city, and in only seven of the eighty-six cases had the father or the proprietor been a farmer. That suggests that in the case of large and medium-size cities the need for considerable capital and management know-how has stood in the way of rural people who might want to set up businesses in the city bazaar.

In conclusion, it can be said that the stagnation of the administrative and cultural city Hamadan since the Second World War has been due to the very fact that traditional industries such as carpet and leather making that were so important in the nineteenth century and for which the city was well-known could not be converted to modern industries, a situation characteristic of many traditional industries in Iran. When Hamadan became a transit point for international trade, the city prospered without undergoing any basic change in its industrial structure. Now, however, the cities in Iran that are prospering the most are those located on the main domestic long-distance trade routes. Furthermore, motorization and rapid expansion of the national economy are increasing the importance of such long-distance routes. As we have already noted, the cities with a population of over 100,000 along the Trans-Iranian Highway, which links the country's modern petrochemical industry cities with the industrial cities in the Tehran area, are today undergoing rapid development. In other words, long-distance transportation within the country is having a considerable influence on the development of Iranian cities today. A good example is Malayer, which arose as a sort of competition to Khorramabad, the stronghold of the Lur tribe, and which easily connected to major long-distance route between the Persian Gulf and Tehran, giving its good accessibility to Tehran and making possible its rapid development of today.

¹³ In the case of Tashourgan, Afghanistan (population about 35,000), thirty-three of the three hundred bazaar proprietors interviewed were merchants whose fathers had been farmers, and sixty were handicraftsmen whose fathers also had been farmers. This is an indication of a rate of population inflow 31 per cent comparable to that of Malayer [9] [10, pp. 33-63].

Hamadan, on the other hand, lost its former advantage of lying on the only motor vehicle road in the area capable of handling a large volume of traffic with the completion of this main long-distance route. This central highway has probably been the most important factor that has determined the difference between Hamadan and Malayer in terms of speed of development and change in the bazaar situation.

In the years ahead Hamadan, an administrative city as the provincial capital and a cultural city where, for instance, Avicenna (-1037), the "father" of learning in Iran, is buried, will no doubt grow at much the same leisurely pace that it has in the past two decades while at the same time upgrading its social welfare services and facilities. Furthermore, amidst such leisurely development the bazaar of the Islamic city will continue to undergo structural change in response to new demand that prompts a faster pace of occupational change on the part of bazaar merchants and manufacturers.

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