Original Research Article

A Phenomenological Study of the Concept of *Mahalle* (Neighbourhood) with Emphasis on the *Mahallat* (Neighborhoods) of Shiraz During the Qajar Period

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Abstract| In the transition from a traditional urban society in Iran to a modern one, there has been an epistemological transfer of the concept of the urban landscape and residents' perception of the city. The urban management of traditional cities and intervention in the decisions used to be community-based driven from a social system. After the transition, urban management was replaced by experts and executives chosen based on their power/ knowledge in modern cities. Mahalle¹ or neighborhood, as one of the most important pillars of the traditional city and the basis of the formation of the city under small groups, created a platform for social intervention and increased the sense of belonging of its inhabitants, and turned into the homeland of each individual. With contemporary developments and fundamental changes in the political, social, cultural, and economic system, and the transition to modern society, new concepts such as region and district replaced the concept of the neighborhood with specialization-oriented divisions. This intervention in the city and its social construction gave way to the political construction of urban spaces under the influence of the central government. At present, researchers and managers are seeking to revive concepts such as neighborhoods in thoughts and actions. The purpose of this study is to examine the landscape of the neighborhood of Shiraz during the transition from a traditional city to a contemporary city. The research seeks to answer the fundamental question of whether the formation of urban spaces in the Qajar period based on the neighborhood system, led to social demarcation known as a neighborhood? Did the divisions of the neighborhood affect the perceptions of the residents and the reproduction of the space? To answer the research question, documentary research was conducted to identify the turning points in the transition from traditional to contemporary Shiraz. Then a phenomenological approach was employed to examine the citizens' perception of the traditional city of Shiraz based on available documents, poems. The results indicate that the view of the traditional city and the lived experiences of the inhabitants until the end of the Qajar period is different from today's Shiraz. The reason is that in specialized studies and actions, only the physical aspect of Shiraz's historical context is considered. These studies have been limited to the visual works of the abandoned arts from macro to micro-scale. In addition, they have overlooked the lived experiences of the old residents. However, the revival of popular concepts such as neighborhood and protection of historical context requires a phenomenological look at the form and meaning of the city and needs the researcher to attend a similar atmosphere to the audience's one and deeply deal with the phenomena of a traditional city such as the neighborhood.

Keywords| Traditional Urban landscape, Contemporary Urban landscape, Neighborhood, Shiraz.

Introduction|"Urbanization was endogenous in the pre-Islamic and the Islamic periods and had a small influence on external societies with different cultural and social structures". In those periods, urban life was tied up with the traditions of the community" (Imani Jajarmi et al., 2013) and was being reproduced by small groups under the title of social neighborhoods

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of urban spaces. The neighborhood, as an urban area with a social core, used to be a small whole serving as a homeland for every single person. Over time, the neighborhoods, or social territories reflecting the identity of groups with common social interests, formed the texture of traditional cities. According to research conducted before and after Islam until the late Qajar, the neighborhoods used were the main pillars of the city's space organization. "Socioeconomic factors, especially social classes used to determine the borders of residential neighborhoods (Ashraf, 1974; Sultanzadeh, 1988) "Urban neighborhoods in the nineteenth century in Iran were practically communities in the heart of other communities" (Abrahamian, 2017, 67)." In matters related to neighborhoods and cities, each neighborhood was run by a person named Kadkhoda, a sheriff, and an inquisitor were the liaison between the ruler and Kadkhoda in the administration of each neighborhood" (Hosseini Fasaei, 1999) Kadkhoda was one of the trustees of the neighborhood and a customary appointee of the locals; as a representative of the people of the neighborhood, he was in contact with the city sheriff, who was the agent connecting people with the ruler of the city. He served as a representative of the central government and the governor of the province (Fig. 1).

"The role of Kadkhoda in the neighborhoods was similar to that of Kadkhodas in villages and tribal chiefs. He was the representative of the neighborhood in relations with the outside world - especially the adjacent neighborhoods and the government - ... He also supervised the local cafes, baths, and guilds. Each group of these guilds, the Kadkhodas, and elders had its own, dispute resolution courts, bazaars, and in some cases cemeteries. In addition, the Kadkhods of the neighborhood participated in weekly gatherings (delegations) and their job was not only to arrange prayers, mourning, weddings, and welcoming pilgrims, but also to raise money for the needy, repair local mosques, schools, and prayer rooms" (Thasis 1972, 349-366, cited in Abrahamian, 2017, 62) "In addition, the Kadkhoda supervised the local Zurkhanehs, where

....wrestlers and bodybuilders known as the Looti (bold outlaw). Many of these lootis run small businesses in the Bazaar. They also provided services such as night watch, guarding the city walls, and organizing Muharram ceremonies. "The symbol of these lootis was a Yazdi handkerchief and Kashani chains, and they joined the Sufi sects, from Heidari to Nemati" (Abrahamian, 2017, 64). The difference between the sheriff and other positions, including the head, was determined by their way of selection. The selection of was sheriffs based on the positive opinion of the people. In this regard, Sir John Malcolm wrote "The sheriff and Kadkhods of neighborhoods in every city must be from the same city, but necessarily, they must be from the most prestigious and respected city. Although based on the traditions, there is no agreement among people in the selection of the sheriff and Kadkhoda, their consent is involved in determining the two, as if the king selects the sheriff that the people do not want him, he cannot afford this service, because, in people's opinion, a personal determination that is necessary "and" a major class or group of social organization will not gain political power and dominance unless it has already acquired cultural hegemony" (Fazeli & Soleymani Gharegol, 2012, 11).

During the reign of Reza Shah, contrary to the rule of the sectarian monarchs of previous periods, the powerful central government attempted to make fundamental changes in the superstructure areas such as the city and urban renewal. These changes were in line with the infrastructural transformation, such as economic, political, social, and population changes that began in the Qajar period. The tendency to run a central government was to consolidate power, based on a powerful army and bureaucracy. In addition, the establishment and empowerment of institutions such as municipalities in the field of urban management led to government-oriented actions in cities. The empowerment of municipalities, which was not based on authoritarianism than a community-oriented approach, was recognized at the national level. The continuation of fundamental changes in the urban

Fig. 1. The relationship between the people and the government in the management of traditional cities was dependent on the neighborhood and Kadkhoda of the neighborhood. Source: Authors.

system gradually diminished and then eliminated social and local self-government in the field of actions in the city, as researchers are currently seeking to revive such concepts. Now the questions that the research seeks to answer are as follows: How had the social self-government of the local system been forming a traditional Shiraz until the Qajar period? And how were urban spaces formed in the neighborhood system of the Qajar period?

Hypothesis

Until the end of the Qajar period, the landscape of the traditional city of Shiraz was the result of human interaction with his environment and surrounding nature, which was being represented in form of social neighborhoods. Citizens were the driving force for the reproduction of urban spaces. As a result of this interaction, citizens' perceptions of the city were influenced by the natural environment and intervention in the environment, which was based on the social and group-associated needs of residents in the local system. Gradually, local divisions based on the neighborhood system and the social production of urban spaces gave way to specialized and political measures in the urban system. This occurred as the result of changing the structure of socio-local self-governance to the government and the two-dimensional divisions of region and district.

Research methodology

In the phenomenological approach, existence precedes the idea. The researcher seeks to identify the backgrounds of identity, language, and structures that relate various signs and symbols to cultural experiences. In this approach, human actions carry meaning and throughout history, create worlds for cultural groups that are historically and subconsciously forming in the background of life events. The city is represented as a cultural phenomenon in the text and it is not easy to read the city phenomenon through the documents by simply interpreting and describing the texts. The researcher needs to delve into the texts and capture inhabitants' experience and their understanding of the city with regards to the ideas and cultural phenomena in the world through urban spaces. In this approach, the city is not a mechanical phenomenon but a cultural phenomenon that is socially constructed. Residents as active and creative actors, experience and perceive the city. The residents' perceptual patterns of residents, which are based on psychoanalytic and cultural rethinking and interpretation of texts can emerge by examining their ways of thinking and representing their lives through the texts.

Social Self-Governments of the Neighborhoods

In his memoirs, Abdullah Mostofi used nostalgic words stating that during the Qajar period, "in the legal issues, the society itself was in charge affairs without the intervention of the central government" (Mostofi, 2009, V. 1, 99-100) .The custom is used to refer to a set of customary rules and the rules of the government. "In speech, only the king and his direct representatives - the ruling princes and with the royal badge - had the right to deprive people of the right to life; In practice, however, most judicial decisions, and even life or death sentences, were in the hands of local authorities" (Abrahamian, 2017, 35). "According to the observations of the British diplomat, Sir John Malcolm, the Qajar were ready to hand over most legal issues to religious judges, tribal chiefs, Kadkhodas and guild elders as they theoretically had the right to life and death." (Malcolm, 1829, 438-54, cited in Abrahamian, 2017, 36) Therefore, any material and spiritual needs of the people were provided in the social territory and through a common identity. During the Qajar period, two streams that originate from the north of Shiraz were dedicated to the old and new charities. "Old charities related to the year 1058 AH. was attributed to Mirza Moinuddin Mohammad Shiraz who endowed the neighborhoods of Shiraz and a new charity whose original name is Limak which had been ruined for years and in 1293 AH. "Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan Ghavam al-Mulk repaired it and dedicated half of it to the neighborhoods of Shiraz" (Hosseini Fasaei, 1999, 871). Water supply as part of the needs of daily life was dependent on natural and customary laws. It was produced urban spaces in a two-way relationship on a small and medium scale, for example, water from the charity aqueduct was transferred to the city and divided into different neighborhoods under the supervision of Mirab and Kadkhoda of the neighborhood, and each neighborhood was responsible for supplying water to its residents.

On a small scale, water supply depended on wells dedicated to the neighborhood by donors and famous people in the neighborhood, and locals used to go to the wells to get their drinking water, and social interactions in concrete spaces were associated with the needs of everyday life. The residents read the city through these actions on a small scale. An example of this is the path of Mirza Fathullah's well (Fig. 2). It can be said that due to the lack of a centralized bureaucracy, the kings of Qajar, relied mainly on nobles and local influential people - tribal chiefs, clergymen, major merchants, and important landowners. Therefore, there was no central law enforcement in cities and villages, but each town and village locally

controlled its affairs and used to report them to the king, and the decisions and executive operations were not dependent on the central law, but customs and community-based local governors made decisions and carried out operations locally in all areas. Despite the establishment of government-centered institutions such as the municipality to oversee the city, socially, exogenous sovereignty had not yet been accepted. As a result, the institutions did not have a high position in urban development, and in the field of urban actions, the government still rose from the powers within the community and influenced the city. For example, the descendants of Hashem Khan in Shiraz, who came to power during Zandieh's rule during the Qajar period, were among the rulers of Shiraz, and their court facilities were under Hashem Khan urban complex (including Hashemiyeh school, Hashem Khan bath, etc.) and the Ghavam al-Mulk complex in the upper neighborhood, and a Nasir al-Molk complex left from that time.

Common social identity in local divisions

Religiously speaking, during the Safavid period, the rulers took utilitarian measures to legitimize their rule. In this way, by dividing the city into two parts, they created neighborhoods named Heydari and Nemati. "The people of the eastern half of every land of Heydari, that is, the followers of Sultan Haidar, who is the ancestor of the Safavid sultans, and the people of the western half of Nemati, who are the followers
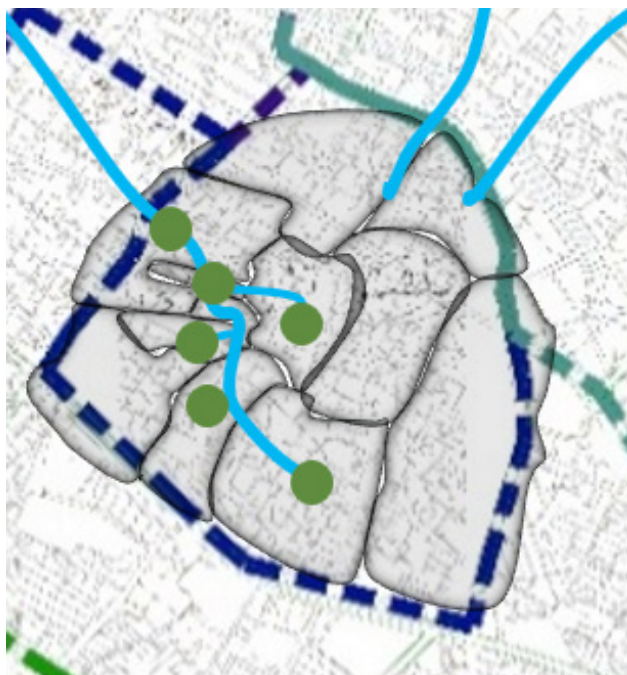

Fig. 2. Water supply system from Khairat aqueduct during the Qajar period. Source: Drawn by the authors based on Najjar Najafi & Latifian, 2013.

of Shah Nematullah Vali. "This custom became obsolete during the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar" (Hosseini Fasaei, 1999, 901) The ruling tribal system in traditional cities and social neighborhoods from the Safavid era based on religious-social beliefs or the formation of ethnic neighborhoods was the cause of people's presence and involvement in decisions related to their city. For example, about his birthplace, Kasravi states: "The neighborhoods that were dominated by the Sheikh sect, as opposed to the neighborhoods that were dominated by the traditional Shiites called the Sharia. The two clashed in Muharram, to win "City officials competed with each other; they married exclusively to members of their group and did not enter shops, cafes, Zurkhanas, baths, Takkaya (i.e. Prayer Halls), and mosques that were used by outsiders" (Kasravi, 1961).

Shiraz Neighborhood

"Famous neighborhoods of Shiraz, whose names [had] been frequently repeated in history until the end of the Timurid period, were Mordestan, Darb-e-Masjed-e-No, Darb-e-Kazerun, Bagh-e-Now, Dashtak, Dezak, Sarajan, Darb-e-Istkhar, Bagh-e-Ghatlagh, and some other neighborhoods [which were not mentioned] in the historical documents of that era" (Afsar, 1974, 120-121) (Fig. 3). "During the reign of Karim Khan Zand, this area had nineteen neighborhoods, which included Bagh-e-Now, Balakfad, Lab-e-Ab, Sarajan, Dashtak, Sardazak, Bahlieh, Sang-e-Siah, Kazerun, Sarbagh, Shah Cheragh, Darb-e-Masjed, Bazzar e Morgh, Ishagh Beyg Shiayadan, Darb-e- Shahzadeh, Mordestan, Meydan-e-Shah, and Kalimi.

Karim Khan Zand merged some of these nineteen neighborhoods and integrated some of them into eleven neighborhoods, Bazzar e Morgh, Ishagh Beyg, Balakfad or Balakft, Darb-e-Masjed-e-No, Sarbagh, Sardzak, Sang-e Siah, Lab Water reduced Shah and Kalimian squares" (Hosseini Fasaei, 1999; Afsar, 1974, 198-210) (Figs. 3 & 4).

Shiraz Neighborhood during Qajar

Fars-Nama-ye Naseri, which is related to the Qajar period, contains a historical report. In its first volume, political-social events are reported, and its second volume is devoted to Nasser al-Din Shah's opinion about the natural landscape and "what God Almighty has created on it" (Hosseini Fasaei, 1999, 871) and the man-made landscape of what "people have made" (ibid.) includes the city of Shiraz, its neighborhoods, the nobles of each neighborhood, Bekaa, Basatin, and… so on. The social construction of the city has been based on neighborhoods with "perceptual territory" and the

reproduction of the landscape has formed a large part of this book.

The author's description of Shiraz neighborhoods indicates the importance of the community's position in the construction of the city and the reproduction of the landscape. The author describes the neighborhoods with a relatively vague and approximate border, then introduces the trustworthy and socially influential people and the tribes who have settled in the neighborhoods based on family ties or the same beliefs. For example, in introducing the members of the neighborhood, if a person settles in the neighborhood of Sang-e-Siah by marriage, he refers to that person based on his ancestral neighborhood. This indicates the importance of the social status of individuals in relation to the city. Neighborhoods have cultural boundaries. That shows the association between the physical presence of each person in each neighborhood (objectivity) with a subjective structure derived from religion or profession, etc., and it shows how neighborhoods as subcultures divided the city. According to historical documents about the city of Shiraz, the division of neighborhoods is completely social and based on ethnic-tribal relations, beliefs, or professions. Ibn Haghul, for example, describes the division and settlement of people in Fars have been in relation to the tribes (Kurds, Persians, Isfahani, etc.) and explains how the location of each tribe and group is associated with their settlement in each region[2]. In Fars-Nama-ye Naseri, as an example, the author states: Although [Haji Mohammad Hossein Sarraf]'s house is located at the end of the neighborhood of Bazzar-e-Morgh, it is registered below Ishagh Bey neighborhood due to its proximity and exchange office and kinship with Haji Mirza Creek Sarraf." (ibid., 919) or "Bayat clan located in a passage in Ishagh Bey neighborhood and is known as Bayat neighborhood and the people of this place do not speak except Turkish language ... They consider the gossips of the city as disgrace They are buying Iranian horses and taking them to India and selling them ... ." (ibid.).In describing the neighborhood, he refers to the boundary of the neighborhood with other ones, house numbers, neighborhood population, neighborhood Kadkhodas, neighborhood nobles, people's habits, profession and occupation of the majority, tribes living in each neighborhood and finally he makes a brief reference to some of the functional seeds of the neighborhood like survival, school, etc. (Fig. 5).

A social structure with its signs and social relations is formed under the name of 'neighborhood' as a result of continuous reproduction of mental spaces on a medium scale in the traditional city, and each neighborhood includes a set of signs that residents have reproduced over time. The neighborhood of Ishagh Beyg, for example, as a small whole of the social texture of the city on its large scale, consisted of small wholes indicating local relations. The local divisions of the city were such that in the formation of Shiraz municipality during the Qajar period, on the seventh of Muharram 1337 A.H. or September 30, 1298 CE. From each neighborhood as the social
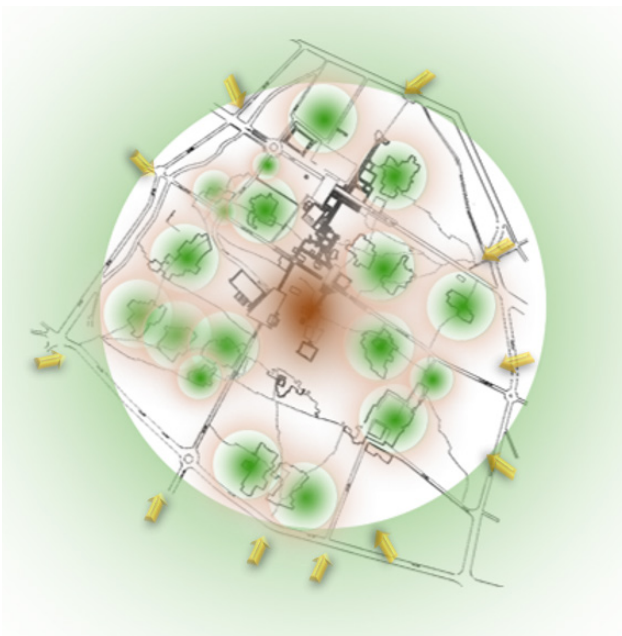

Fig. 3. Neighborhoods and gates of Shiraz during the Safavid period. Source:Authors.
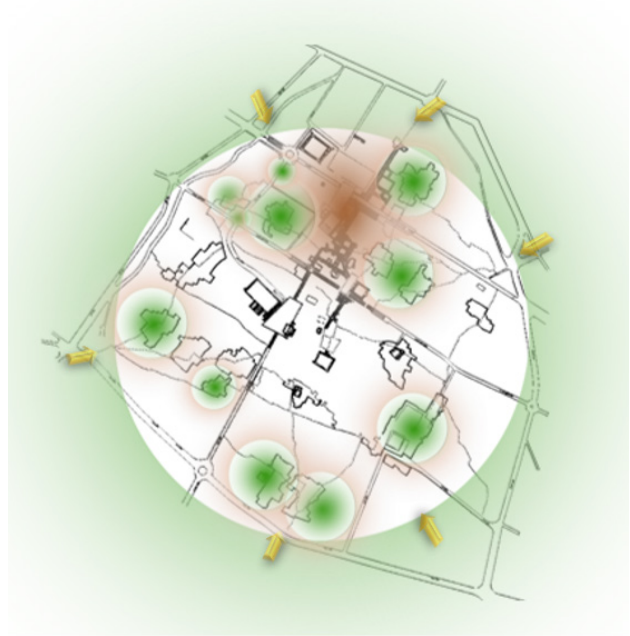
Fig. 4. Neighborhoods and gates of Shiraz during the Zandieh era. Source:Authors.

core of the city, three elected representatives were introduced as the municipality's lawyers and the agent of the neighborhoods with the municipality, and the influence in the municipality system was through the representatives of the neighborhood people (Fig. 6).

At the establishment of the municipality a variety of reasons such as turmoil in the government, lack of budget, lack of familiarity with the institution of urban development, and, as mentioned before, its exogenous formation, reduced the municipality to a name, and the municipality's scope of responsibility was limited only to cleaning the city. In addition, government positions, including the head of the municipality, had a high reputation, so taking these positions in the great competition was at the cost of eliminating the opinions by the residents in the election of the mayor. From the very beginning of the formation of the municipality, Nasir al-Molk, the governor of Shiraz wrote a letter addressed to the person in charge of counting the votes and lawyers of the municipality, suggesting that Mushir al-Molk was the best option to head the municipality. In other words, taking a political position was considered higher than the social rights of the people.
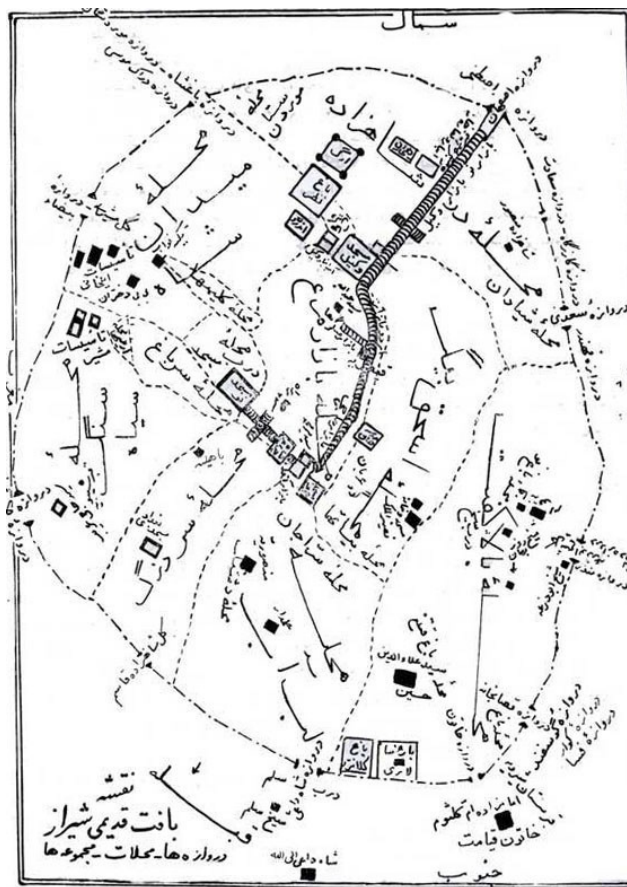

Fig. 5. Map of Shiraz during the Qajar period. Representation of urban landscape in the middle scale according to social territories under the title of neighborhoods and the formation of mental spaces based on the territories. Source: Afsar, 1974.

The first step in choosing influential positions was by deleting the opinion of the people's representatives. Thus, the mayor was appointed to this position under the command of the city ruler. The position of society in the production of urban spaces was eliminated under the political influence which was exercised on the selection of government positions as well as the full influence of the government system ranging from largest to the smallest scale. However, still, the scope of urban actions was social and limited to concrete spaces. Social territories continued to exist and influence the choice of stakeholders as the representative of the people.

Based on the collection of reports by the Nazmiyeh (police) of Shiraz during the years of the First World War (late Qajar), six commissars (secret police) of the cities were reporting the event of the city to the governor when the situation in Iran was chaotic One commissioner was reporting on the bazaar, one was reporting on the out-of-town enclosure, and each of the rest commissioners was recording reports on several neighborhoods (Fig. 7).

The urban texture was so delicately intertwined with the social reading of the city that it is possible to imagine Shiraz in the Qajar period. These reports contained all the important social, political, cultural, and economic events of the city that were carried out by the residents and natives of Shiraz. For example, in his report on the concept of the city, the Grade 4 Commissioner, who was responsible for reporting on the neighborhoods of Bala Kafad, Leb-e- ab, Ishaq Beyg, and Sardazak, subconsciously depicts the image of the city in the form of social territories called neighborhoods which are in connection with local signs driven from events based on the sensory social order of the inhabitants. For example: "at night, the elegiac singing (Roze Khani in Persian) is being practiced at Balakfad neighborhood, Darb-e-Sheikh ... at Balakfad neighborhood, the elegiac singing is being performed at the path to Mirza Fathollah well,…, elegiac singing is being performed at Lab-e-ab neighborhood, Mirza Mohammad's house and Atashiha mosque ... Mirza Abolghasem Khan was having tea time with his relatives in the garden of the police station" (see Etehadiyeh, Pira & Rouhi, 2014).

According to the reports, Bagh-e- Kalantari is a relatively public garden where anyone can host their guests. "At Lab-e-ab neighborhood, in Bagh-e- Kalantari, Assadollah was with his wife and children ... Several cavalrymen of his Majesty were guests in Bagh-e- Kalantari garden ... In the morning, in Hazrat Seyyed Alaeddin Hossein the elegiac singing was being performed... at Lab-e-Ab neighborhood named Mashhadi Ali Attar, the elegiac singing was being

performed... "or the number one commissioner reports the situation outside the city wall: "Under the tree, at the corner of Chahar Kooche, at the door of Sheikh Abu Dharr, the elegiac singing was being performed in the morning ...Nine of the gendarmes of Bagh-e Moshiri, who have been caught with a special disease, have been poisoned and killed by a British doctor. "The whole elegiac song was recited and the evening was spent reciting the elegiac song on the cemeteries of Prince Mansour" (ibid., 454).

According to the interpretive reading of Fars-Nama-ye Naseri and the report of the regular officials, "the city is divided into small wholes called neighborhoods, and the reporter depicts every moment of the body of the events are being taken place in the city in association with the spaces." [This includes] actions being taken place in real spaces and structures which have given symbolic and functional actions to space over time. For example, Koosh ke looti ha, Sare tanooreh ye Buikhari, Sare chaheh Mirza Fathollah, Sare hoze gharchi, Kaleh dookiha, Chenare Sookhte, etc. In fact,

the structures are being formed over time according to the actions of the citizens. These structures are formed in concrete space and the reporter perceives and imagines himself at different levels in the city at any moment, and if an urban complex is added to the city due to the political conditions of, such as the Mushir al-Molk complex..., all take places according to "social divisions of space in neighborhoods, and the citizen understands the city through events and social relationships in the place" (see Esmaeeldokht, mansouri & Sheibani,2021).

Public spaces of neighborhood-formed based on social cues

Urban signs in the traditional cities of Iran were formed on a small scale in two ways. Some of the signs were shaped through social and performance-oriented actions in the context. Such actions, which used to lead to the reproduction of social space on a local scale, were usually related to the daily needs of the residents in the neighborhood. An example of such signs is
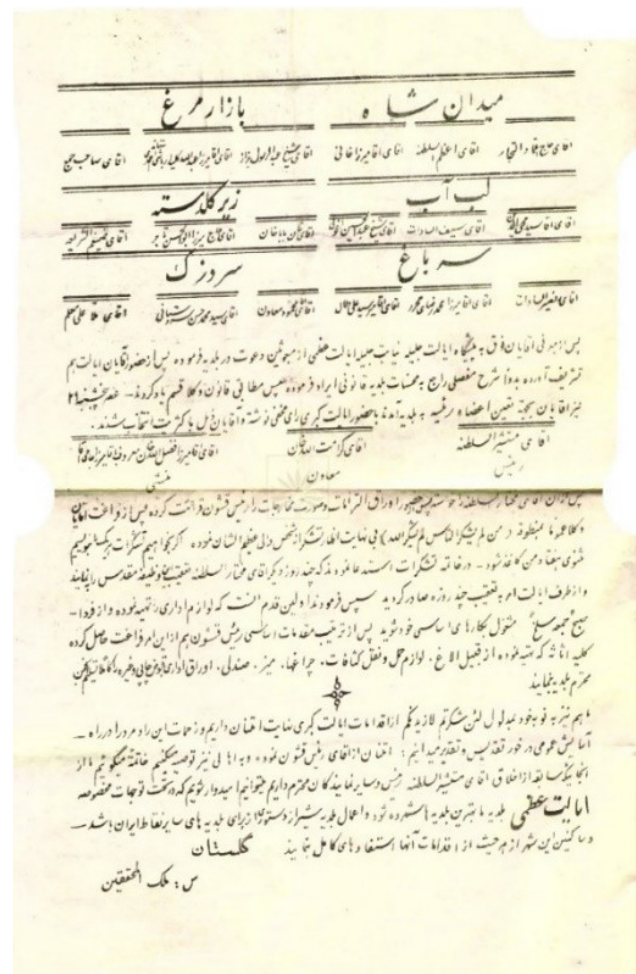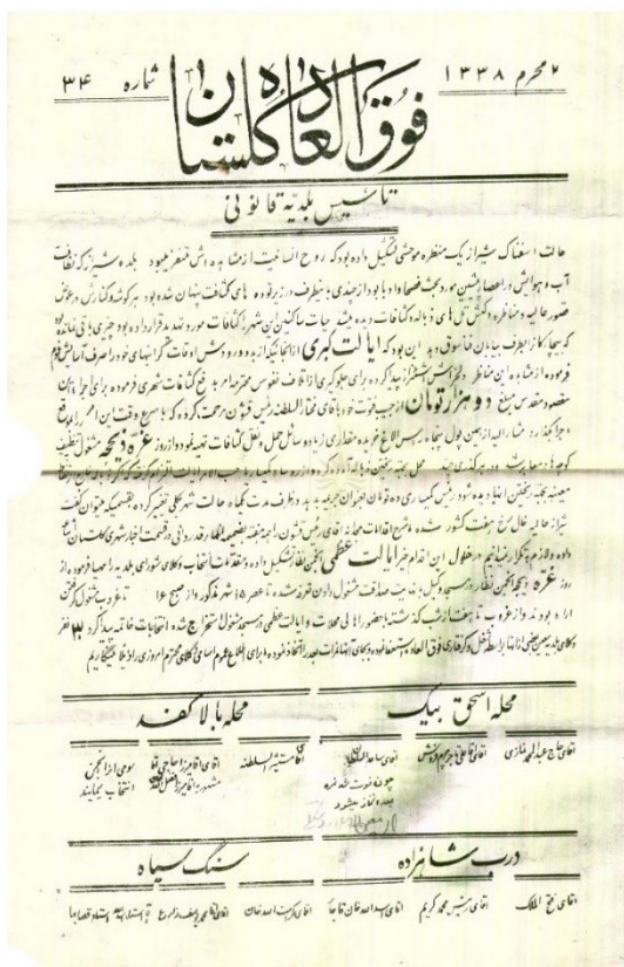

Fig. 6. Formation of Shiraz municipality in Muharram 1338 AH. Source: Archive of the National Library of Iran.

Salman water reservoir located outside of Shiraz near the neighborhood of Saadi. Some were vernacular-contextual signs, which were visually distinct from their surrounding environment. This differentiation resulted in the production of local signs and generated a social space in the neighborhood. Examples of the signs can be the space under the tree of Che konam (in English what should I do) or the space under the tree of Sayyid Isa at the gate of Shah Dai ? and Sarv Khan Baba Khan. These dynamic and context-driven signs used to serve as a behavioral site, such as a youth hangout, a gathering place for women in the neighborhood. In addition, at the same time were the signs in the city, a generator of social space. As a result, the running water and trees around the New Mosque presented a pleasant sight for a tourist, featuring the physical elements of space. However, for the resident of Shiraz, the signs were representing the social relations, which had been reproduced habits based on their own and other residents' behavioral patterns in their daily experiences.

In such a system of space production, a set of signs along with social divisions and a sense of social belonging to a neighborhood of territories were being produced. These signs were constructed mentally dependent on social relations rather than scientific maps. Even the perceptions of the city in relation to the structures, which had been built over time (process-oriented) by the people were directly related to the perceptions and experiences of citizens of the city. For example, in the middle scale, Shiraz used to be marked by ditches (topography). Now some parts of the city are by the same names, leading to the perception and construction of territories by the citizen such as Arab Goodal (in English pits), Khazineh (In English treasury) pits, etc. These pits were formed by digging and construction of houses next to some neighborhoods or near the city moat where low-income groups used to settle. Many of these signs may have disappeared, but the residents of the city still know the space with these signs, for example, the Arab Goodal in Shiraz. This sign indicates the social context in Ishaq Beyg neighborhood of Shiraz had created the same neighborhood in the city, through urban constructions and accommodated low-income residents, thus actions and structures led to the production of signs and the construction of territories and created a community of residents who believed they belonged to a part of the city.

Fading the concept of neighborhood in Shiraz after Reza Shah's modernization

With the formation of quasi-modern government during the first Pahlavi era, the tendency for a central government increased. Such tendency was reinforced by the concern for consolidating power, based on a powerful army and bureaucracy. Then, the establishment and empowerment of institutions such as municipalities in the field of urban management led to government-centered actions in cities. The power of the municipality was not based on a community-oriented approach, but an authoritarian approach imposed at the national level. Some of the features of urban planning of this period, which had a great impact on the spatial organization and landscape of the city were as follow: The formation of straight-line streets along the old texture perpendicular to each other or through the cohesive texture of neighborhoods, alleys, and old narrow streets and arches with organic geometry and construction of geometric fields at the intersection of streets, building shops on the edge of streets, and the creation of an authoritarian linear system in the streets and the geometric structure of urban squares, etc. The social concept of the neighborhood was faded by ignoring the social self-government of the neighborhoods and the common identities of the residents. According to municipal reports, Shiraz
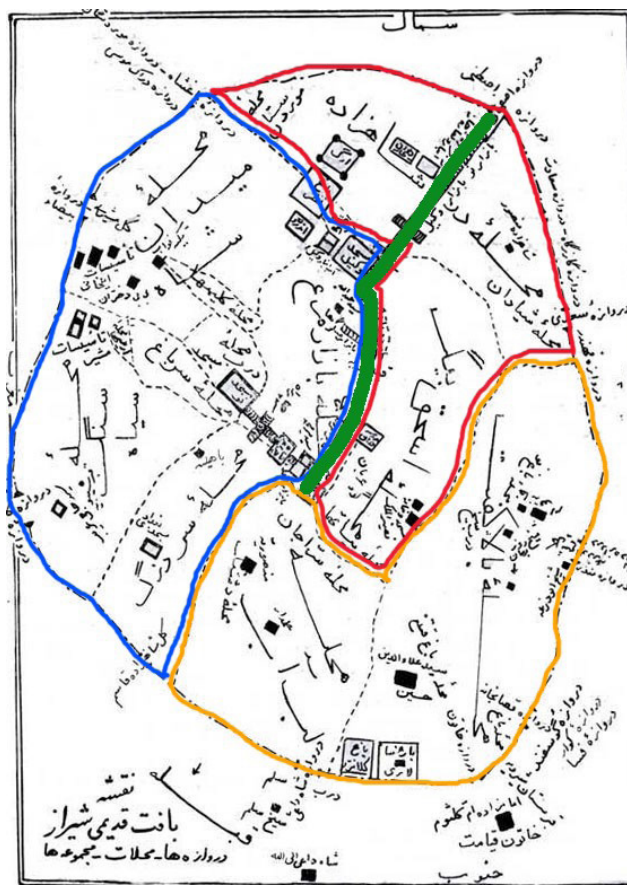

Fig. 7. Political division of the city based on the social territories of the neighborhoods used for a daily report of the city's status by the commissioners. Source: Drawn by the authors based on Afsar's, 1974.

has been divided into three districts based on urban divisions and urban actions, one is related to the new city and two are related to the old city and none of them has anything to do with the pattern of social neighborhoods (Fig. 8).

Conclusions

Looking at the city of Shiraz in a historical context as well as reviewing the reading of its citizens' through a phenomenological approach shows that this city and its urban texture were based on natural and customary laws of small wholes called neighborhoods, built by the community. On a large scale, the territories of each neighborhood as a small whole are identified by the social boundaries between neighborhoods, the sense of belonging to one neighborhood, and the recognition of the mental space of other neighborhoods. Urban space and urban areas are produced in concrete spaces and used by city dwellers over time. The subject and the object simultaneously construct the landscape in the city on a micro and medium scale in a process based on social and natural relations. The production and consumption of space on a micro-scale depends on the actions that take place in daily life. Actions produce the character of space based on cultural/social relationships and patterns of behavior based on everyday needs. An important point is a difference between the amount of attention paid by the residents of the city and specialists and managers in urban development to the cultural dimension is based on the social relations of the experience of space and its transfer to contemporary Shiraz. The space that the resident represents depends on his socio-cultural experiences in the place. However, the space, which experts and managers represent is associated with the physical-visual features of forms existing

in two-dimensional maps. Thus, the perceptions of city dwellers are based on social territory, not on the mathematical and logical lines of an engineer or specialist. As a result, in traditional Shiraz until the end of the Qajar period, the city dweller produced, experienced, and perceived urban spaces in the social territories called neighborhoods. After the introduction of modernization by Reza Shah and the formation of contemporary Shiraz on the structure of traditional Shiraz, social self-government was replaced by the control of government who emphasized practicing the physical-specialized divisions of the regions.

Fig. 8. Political division of Shiraz into three districts by the municipal administration, regardless of the social divisions of the neighborhoods and based on the streets and physical elements. Source: Authors.

Endnotes

1. It is a singular word that refers to is a traditional neighborhood unit of Iran.
2. See Ibn Hawql, 1988.

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