

**Public Space and Urban Citizens:
Ottoman Izmir in the Remaking, 1840-1890**

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the relationship of public space to public spheres in the context of the nineteenth-century multi-cultural Ottoman seaport of Izmir (Smyrna), illustrating the ways city dwellers used urban resources and urban space to mobilize and articulate demands and offer mutual recognition. It focuses on a critical half-century, marked by the state-sponsored modernization reforms (the *Tanzimat*), during which the Empire's social, political, and governmental structure was reconfigured and Izmir's old physical apparatus modernized. The reforms entailed a shift from a custom-based society to a uniformly codified one, constituting a radical threat against the multiple institutional arrangements in terms of which Ottoman cities worked until then. Each chapter explores a specific urban issue that was of particular concern to Smyrniotes, namely the taxation of urban property, the lighting and ordering of the streets, the remodeling the shore, and the public performance of religious, national, and imperial identities. The case studies discussed in this dissertation demonstrate that the implementation of the spaces and concepts of the modern city was an ambiguous and interactive process that confronted multiple interest groups and resulted in unintended consequences – not a progression of

orderly steps towards a uniformly modernized urban environment. They also illustrate that, contrary to the general conviction that questions entailing Ottoman communities have to be answered in terms of ethnicity and religion, Smyrniotes organized themselves across religious, ethnic, and national divides to confront, embrace, and act upon Tanzimat changes. Working through questions of public space, public spheres, and urban citizenship help open the particular experience of modernity in Ottoman Izmir and the cultural politics of identities and powers within its public space. At the same time, the issues explored transcend the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire proper and reach the core of current debates about the centrality of material space to the construction of community and citizenship.


Chair


Date

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: FRAMING PUBLIC SPACE

In May 1830 the French historian, Joseph François Michaud set off for a journey to the East and the Holy Land. His desire to study the customs and lives of the people of the Levant led him from Toulon and across Athens to Izmir (Smyrna), and from there to Istanbul, Jerusalem, Syria, and Egypt. On his arrival to Izmir, Michaud described his impressions of the locals in a letter to his friend.

At first sight, one simply identifies sects, which have thousands of reasons to hate each other and not a single one to exist side by side. I see Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Turks, and Franks, but how to make out of them citizens, or true children of the city? How could public opinion ever be formed about an issue or around any interest? How could an idea or a feeling of patriotism be produced? In short, I see here not a nation but a caravan that camps, assembled from different lands, where all live day by day and have their own speculations; a caravan without shared rule or common ties.¹

Although Michaud referred to Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans rubbing shoulders with each other in the streets and marketplaces, he was primarily preoccupied with the physical and moral differences that set these people apart. His tableau of disparate peoples “composed of so many diverse elements and animated by

¹ “Au premier aspect, on ne reconnaît ici que des sectes qui ont mille raisons pour se haïr, et pas une pour être d'accord et pour vivre ensemble; je vois ici des Juifs, des Arméniens, des Grecs, des Turcs, des Franks, mais avec tout cela, comment fera-t-on jamais des citoyens, ou même des enfants de la cité; comment se formera-t-il jamais une opinion publique sur une question ou sur un intérêt quelconque? Comment naîtra-t-il jamais dans les esprits une idée ou un sentiment qui ressemble à l'amour de la patrie? En un mot, ce n'est pas un peuple que j'ai sous les yeux, mais une caravane qui campe, une caravane rassemblée de contrées différentes, où tout le monde vit au jour le jour, où chacun a ses spéculations propres, qu'aucune loi générale ne guide, et qu'aucun lien commun ne réunit.” Joseph François Michaud and Baptistin Poujoulat, *Correspondences d'Orient*, vol. I (Paris: Ducollet, 1833), 224.

conflicting passions” was by no means exceptional.² European outsiders grappled to make sense of the diverse peoples that inhabited Ottoman Izmir. Some described the city as a meeting ground of diverse cultures, or as the missionary Josiah Brewer put it somewhat grandly, “the border ground between the oriental and western nations.”³ Nineteenth-century guidebooks regularly referred to Izmir as “a place of interest on account of the variety of races and languages.”⁴ Michaud, however, was inclined to view this multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic existence as a problem to be overcome rather than as the norm of the empire at the time. Because his own model began with racial, religious, and national uniformity, he could not imagine alternatives or comprehend the Ottoman state’s indifference to assimilating these people under a common denominator.⁵ Michaud can be forgiven for his rather limited vision of the Ottoman state, but the framework through which he assessed the empire has been all too readily adopted by modern historiography. Because the nation has been the measure by which late Ottoman society has been assessed, typed, and identified, the sharing of the same urban space by such diverse populations has been considered an irremediable flaw of the Empire. Hence the late Ottoman social order in general and that of Izmir in particular have been viewed in terms of an assorted crowd predestined to break up into ethnic nations-states.⁶

² Michaud, *Correspondences d’Orient*, vol. 1, 223.

³ Josiah Brewer, *A Residence at Constantinople* (New Haven: Durrie and Peck, 1830), 57.

⁴ *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia: including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, plain of Troy, isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, &c., Smyrna, Ephesus, and the routes to Persia, Bagdad, Moosool, &c* (London: John Murray, 1878), 252.

⁵ Michaud was not unique in that respect. This was a general trend among post-revolutionary French travelers and writers who were excited about ideas of civic identity and citizenship and who saw the fragmentation that prevailed in the empires of the East as anathema to their vision of civilization. To them this was a sign of weakness and vulnerability.

⁶ Nationalist historiography generally views the disintegration of the Empire and the formation of separate national identities as an inevitable and linear progression fueled by foreign intervention and facilitated by the corporate existence of groups within the Empire. On Ottoman corporate existence and the formation of nation-states, see Kemal Karpat, “Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System,” in Benjamin Braude and

What these social portraits seem to obscure are the webs of relations that tied these diverse people to each other, to their particular localities, and to the Ottoman State, leaving us with skewed impressions of a disjointed world. Unlike the nation-state model that is articulated in opposition to difference, social groups living in the Empire did not necessarily have to share similarities to have a place in the overall social arrangement or to have a sense of polity. The study that unfolds in the following pages deals with the ways that Smyrniotes were multiple and different, yet at the same time possessed sources of alliances and a sense of union, albeit not of unity. It explores the various forms of associational lives that Smyrniotes formed and that in turned defined and shaped their physical environs. By examining city dwellers' struggles, aspirations, and collective actions over their shared spaces, it aims to reveal the multi-stranded relations that connected them to each other and to the larger polity.

To make sense of this plural world, I devote attention to the 'urban landscape'.⁷ Studying the urban landscape calls for the ability to move through a city and relate the

Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982) and *An Inquiry in the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations* (Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1973).

⁷ By landscape I refer to the entire ensemble of the built or otherwise rearranged environment in the way many cultural geographers use it today. In that sense, landscape has a much broader meaning than a genre painting in the art-historical sense and includes an appreciation of material culture and social and political processes. For a background and discussion of urban landscape history, see Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995); Dell Upton, "Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic," in Catherine E. Hutchins, ed., *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (Winterthur, MD: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994); Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History" in *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no.4 (August 1991): 195-199; Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). On the ideological and cultural meanings of landscape, see the collections D. W. Meinig and J.B. Jackson, eds., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, eds., *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997). On studies that simultaneously attends to the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of the urban environment, see John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, eds. *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Social Imaginations* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Michael Dear and Jennifer Wolch, eds., *The Power of Geography: How*

material world of spaces and artifacts, the social meanings and power relations that characterize these spaces, and the everyday practices that take place in them.⁸ City spaces provide a medium for public life and shape peoples' cultural, social, and geographical identities. When a structure is erected it bounds and determines the types of encounters and sociability possible within its limits. At the same time, people imbue city spaces with meanings. People in every culture interpret their environment at some level and attach various meanings to the spaces where they live. By embodying a whole set of taken for granted values, forming alliances, perpetuating memories, and engaging in the routines of daily life, they tie themselves in varying ways to the city. Understanding the urban landscape, therefore, requires simultaneous attention to the setting and staging of everyday life. It involves configuring the organization of spaces in cities and gaining impressions of the design and shape of buildings, streets, and neighborhoods. It also necessitates attention to the daily realities that continuously mold the meanings that people attach to the material world. Although physical space has a relative stability and rigidity that defines human actions, its social meaning is never essential or static, but is reshaped through different regimes, practices, and everyday realities.

This study focuses on the urban landscape of the nineteenth-century seaport of Izmir (Smyrna), one of the principal economic centers in the Ottoman Empire and the

Territory Shapes Social Life (Boston : Unwin Hyman, 1989); Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

⁸ My tripartite relation among material worlds, meanings, and practices draws inspiration from Henri Lefebvre's model in *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre's triad of perceived/conceived/lived space links imagination, interpretation, and bodily experience to the production of space and is useful in opening the many dimensions of space as well as the relationship between spatial arrangements to human history. Lefebvre's space, however, is not a pragmatic space that takes into account the everyday interactions of people and physical spaces. It is a social space created by human groups in specific locales using specific modes of production. On perceived/conceived/lived spaces, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, UK & Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991), 38-41.

major export port involved in trade with Europe.⁹ Located in present-day Turkey, Izmir lies at the end of a long and well-protected bay approximately halfway down the Aegean coast [fig. 1]. As a result of its favorable location and its secure and deep-water harbor, Izmir had been a geographic and symbolic borderland, open to various influences [fig. 2]. It has been a trade center of regional importance since Roman times as denoted by the honorary title *Protos Asiae* (First of Asia) attached to its name.¹⁰ Its long record of conquest and reconquest and its turbulent history of war from the eleventh to the fifteenth century reinforced its frontier character.¹¹ After its annexation to the Ottoman Empire in 1424, with the exception of few local outbreaks, the city was exempted from the scourges of war, which helped its rise as a link between the Anatolian markets and the Mediterranean world and beyond.

Izmir's prosperity and importance in the Eastern Mediterranean swelled together with its population. From 1580 to 1650, important waves of migration brought assorted groups of people to the city, increasing the population from about 2,000 to 30,000-40,000

⁹ For consistency, I use 'Izmir', the official designation in Ottoman-Turkish records, although depending on the language the designations of Smyrna, Smirni, Smyrne were concurrently used throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁰ Roman Smyrna shared honorary distinctions with Pergamon and Ephesus and was claimed to be a 'Metropolis' of Asia with privileges of coining money. The phrase "First of Asia" appeared on half of the Smyrna coins, see Cecil John Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1938), 291-292, fn. 1 and *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*, 258.

¹¹ In 1100 BC Aeolian settlers from the Aegean islands founded a city that was taken over first by Ionians and later by Lydian Kings. After the capture of the region by Alexander the Great, his lieutenant Lysimachus rebuilt the city, raising it to new prominence among its western Asian counterparts. Smyrna continued to prosper during Roman rule and, after Christianity was officially recognized, it became the seat of a large archbishopric. In 1084, it fell from Byzantine rulers to Turkoman chieftains and was subject to successive sieges by Genoese forces, the knights of Rhodes, and the army of Tamerlane before being annexed to the Ottoman dominions. On Izmir's pre-Ottoman history, see Constantin Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*, trans. Bonaventura Slaars (Smyrne: Imprimerie B. Tatkian, 1868); Nezih Raif, *Izmir Tarihi* (Izmir: Bilgi Matbaası, 1927); George Rolleston, *Report on Izmir* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1856); Tuncer Baykara, *Izmir Şehri ve Tarihi* (Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974).

inhabitants and diversifying its ethnic and religious composition.¹² Jews, driven out of Iberia by the Inquisition, migrated to Izmir where they were allowed to settle on favorable terms and to serve mostly as translators, customs officials, and tax farmers. Armenians migrated during the seventeenth century, principally because of the silk trade with Persia, which linked the port to an already-extensive trade system stretching from China to Europe. During this period, Greeks coming from the neighboring island of Chios already had a small settlement and with continual migration from the Aegean islands, they far outgrew other communities. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, European merchant colonies were also attracted to this growing trade post, linked through rivers and valleys to rich hinterlands extending north, east, and south. Dutch, English, French, and Venetian merchants established a Frankish core of trading houses, factories, and consular representation and the English Levant Company did so as early as 1610s.¹³ Together with its population, Izmir's physical layout expanded from a settlement clustered near an inner harbor and partly on the acclivity of a southern hill, Mount Pagus, to occupy the adjacent maritime plain to the north [figs. 3 and 4]. The area immediately around the inner harbor was primarily commercial and led to the north to a linear zone on the shore, occupied by European consulates and merchant houses. Other residential neighborhoods extended away from the water with Muslims mostly living behind the bazaar on the slopes of Mount Pagos (upper town), and Greeks, Armenians,

¹² Historian Daniel Goffman explains this growth by the confluence of internal events and structural changes in world trade. In the early decades of the seventeenth century rural rebellions in Anatolia – known as the *celali* rebellions – created social distress in the countryside, forcing the dispossessed to seek refuge in protected towns like Izmir. At the same time, changing world trade routes made Izmir a strategic location for immigrants in search of economic opportunity, see Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 25-26.

¹³ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 73. Frank or *frenk* is a generic term used for any foreigner of European descent.

and Jews occupying level ground (lower town). By the mid-seventeenth century, Izmir already possessed the exceptionally diverse population that Michaud and other observers commented on. Despite severe earthquakes and subsequent fires that periodically interrupted urban growth, the city repeatedly recovered from calamities.¹⁴ Throughout the nineteenth century, it retained a commercial waterfront surrounded by residential neighborhoods dovetailed into each other and a polyglot, religiously and ethnically diverse character.

While nineteenth-century Izmir accommodated all the major Ottoman institutions and ethno-religious communities that characterized the Empire's other urban centers, it also fused western outsiders and non-Muslim Ottomans into its urban politics in distinctive ways. In part because the Ottoman government left the administrative status of its port cities flexible in an effort to encourage the continuation of trade, the relations between Izmir's urban communities were open to negotiation, earning the city the reputation of being a liberal place for people of all nations. Unlike the capital, Istanbul, where the Muslim ruling elite remained dominant throughout the nineteenth century, power in Izmir was shared uneasily among Ottoman provincial officials, aspiring local merchants of diverse ethnic, religious, and national origins, and increasingly influential consuls of European powers. In that way, nineteenth-century Izmir was characterized by

¹⁴ In 1688, a severe earthquake left little standing in the city. In 1778 another earthquake followed by a major fire created considerable damage to the city. Smaller trembler and fires periodically destroyed parts of the city. Izmir's resiliency to afflictions was often attributed to the advantages of its position and to its commercial role enabling it to recover rapidly, see Iconomos, *Étude sur Smyrne*. On environmental conditions in eighteenth-century Izmir, see Eleni Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Center of Asia Minor Studies, 1992), 43-74. On Izmir's growth from the sixteenth to the twentieth century and its continual recovery from calamities, see Reşat Kasaba, "Izmir," in Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren, Donald Quataert, eds., *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri: 1800-1914*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayinlari, 1994): 1-22.

a dynamic situation where local elite groups competed for control and power, producing a distinctive public culture and urban identities.

In the eyes of most European observers, the city did not present an entire cultural separation from 'Christian Europe'. Its actual population included large proportions of Christians and a numerically small but influential group of European settlers. As its popular designations connoted, it was the West of the East or the East of the West. For some, the Frankish section was the *le Petit Paris de Levant* (the little Paris of the Orient) pointing not to a direct visual semblance, but to the predominance of French among European settlers.¹⁵ In addition, among Muslims and in the capital Istanbul, Izmir was popularly called *gâvur*, a word of contempt that means infidel and that was commonly employed to designate Christians in general. In the nineteenth-century imagination, *Gâvur Izmir* (infidel Smyrna) indicated the strong foothold of Christians, whether referring to local non-Muslims or foreigners, as well as the lack of a prominently Muslim Ottoman outlook.¹⁶ These appellations carried references of displacement and transposition, forcing us to think beyond received notions of 'European West' and 'Ottoman East'. Examining the urban landscape of Izmir requires us to cross the boundaries, real and imagined, between Orient and Occident and to develop a more inclusive definition of 'Ottoman', which takes account of the cultural multiplicity that has historically characterized Ottoman lands.

¹⁵ In 1813, Baron J. C. Hobhouse, Lord Byron's companion on their eastern tour, notes that "the Frank quarter at Smyrna deserved and was flattered by the name of Petit Paris," see John Cam Hobhouse Broughton, *A Journey through Albania and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the years 1809 and 1810*, vol. 2, (London: J. Cawthorn, 1813), 618. See also Charles Mac-Farlane, *Constantinople et la Turquie en 1828*, vol. I (Paris: Moutardier, 1829), 69; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, vol. I, 204.

¹⁶ According to Tuncer Baykara, the designation of *Gâvur Izmir* was found in Tamerlane's chronicles in 1402 and in an eighteenth-century Ottoman traveler. See Baykara, *Izmir Sehri Tarihi*, 21-22. Regardless

To explore the public culture Smyrniotes produced, I focus on the decades between 1840-1890, a pivotal period both in reconfiguring the Empire's social, political, and governmental structure and in modernizing the city's old apparatus. In Ottoman history, the nineteenth century stands out as a period of dramatic change. The rapid commercial and political expansion of western powers forced the Empire to participate in a world economy dominated by western European capital. The political model of the nation state and its discourse of majority and minority peoples raised new forms of ethnic consciousness in the Balkan and Arab provinces, fueling the desire among local populations to break away from the Empire. In response to these challenges, Ottoman rulers sought to reassert authority through successive reforms aimed at redefining the relations between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects, subjects and the state, and the center and its provinces. These reforms, inaugurated with the edict of *Hatt-ı Şerif* in 1839 and reconfirmed with the *Hatt-ı Humayun* in 1856, have been known as the *Tanzimat*. They re-centralized the administration in the capital and restructured public authority in the provinces, thereby extending state control into everyday life more than ever before. That these internal and external processes were connected to economic integration, rising nationalism, and bureaucratic rationalization and that they critically intersected in transforming the political, social, and economic spheres of life is demonstrated by recent works in the field of Ottoman history.¹⁷ What is less known, however, are the local

of its origins, nineteenth century European travelers and missionaries proudly recorded this designation, entrusting it with an additional significance – that of Christian superiority.

¹⁷ Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: the nineteenth century* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988); Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914* (London: Methuen, 1981); Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913, Trade, Investment and Production* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 759-946.

articulations of these changes through everyday human actions and experiences.

Descriptions of broad patterns of transformation usually leave us with generic and flat landscapes, giving us little sense of how dwellers directed, participated in, or resisted change, and which urban experiences, conflicts, and dramas shaped their lives.

With a long history of openness to foreign economic and cultural influences and its relative proximity to the capital Istanbul, Izmir was at the confluence of the powerful forces at play during the Ottoman Empire's last century. In the decades between 1840 and 1890, the population of the city doubled from an estimated 100,000 to 207,548 and the tangible products of a powerful social and economic transformation dotted the physical landscape.¹⁸ Technological innovations such as the railway (1857), the telegraph, steam navigation, and gas lighting (1864), as well as new institutions including department stores, theaters, banks, insurance companies, exchange markets, and numerous printing houses brought about new urban activities and experiences and new ways of conducting business. Contrary to the common view that the principal dynamic variable of the modern period was essentially 'exogenous Europe', these changes were undertaken through a combination of foreign investment and local initiatives, giving them a distinctive character and significance in the eyes of their makers and users.

¹⁸ The population count for 1890 comes from the Ottoman official almanac, *Aydın Salnamesi* (1307/1890-91), 400-409. See also Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. 3 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890), 439. For the period prior to 1880, there is no census data. European travel accounts give estimates ranging from 100,000 to 120,000. According to one Ottoman source, in 1831, the male population of Izmir was 21,837, see Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991), 361. This number suggests a total population of 60,000 to 80,000, using a male to total population multiplier of three to four as proposed by Leila Erder, "Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 17th Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 3 (1975): 284-301. Because population counts were done for tax purposes, this total did not include foreign nationals. According to consular archives, in 1847, the foreign population amounted to 17,584, see Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, 70.

At this particular juncture, efforts to light the streets, to regularize the shoreline, and otherwise to order public spaces began to have a recognizable impact on the form and appearance of cities. These innovations, however, did not sweep away the past. Older practices and privileges continued to exert their influence. The advent of new technologies, for instance, did not supplant traditional practices and Tanzimat's new political concepts of equal citizenry did not eliminate former inequalities. Instead, new political and social paradigms coexisted alongside long-held practices, gradually fragmenting old systems without entirely dismantling them. The resulting urban order of the early Tanzimat era embodied tensions and dissonance between old and new, familiar and foreign, customary and codified. It was in the public arena that a new system based on law most explicitly destabilized prior arrangements grounded in customs and mores. It was in the streets and about matters related to public life that struggles were waged, solidarity was performed, and conflicting interests, private or collective, were made visible. It was also in city streets that social diversity was concentrated to an extent rarely found in other parts of the urban landscape. For these reasons, this study details the transformations of the urban landscape by focusing on the experience of being in public.

The experience of being in public depends not only on the physical configuration, location, and artifacts placed in public spaces but also on the type of ownership, level of accessibility, and social conventions that gives livelihood to these material forms. Two-way streets, a waterfront promenade, coffeehouses, mosques, churches, or markets require different manners and codes, which regulate what may or may not be said, who may speak, how people may communicate and what importance must be given to what is

said. Using textual and visual representations, I trace the urban landscape back in time and reconstruct the spaces and topographies, the structures, and the people in relation to one another. I question the ways ordinary people gained access to parts of the city, witnessed those who had different views and forms of life and construed places as familiar or alien, orderly or jumbled.

The experience of being in public is also tied to larger views concerning citizenry and community that organized these spaces. In the Ottoman worldview during the period prior to the modern one, difference rather than similarity characterized the social arrangement. Difference was the norm and there was almost no organized political attempt to transform the difference into sameness. The system encompassed multiple groups, all accepted as different. The nineteenth century, however, standardized some empire-wide categories as never before. Reformers substituted the word *millet* (from French *nation*) for the all-encompassing term for community, *taife*. *Taife* was a general and versatile word used with all sorts of modifiers for all kind of groups, ethnic, religious, or professional.¹⁹ The term *millet*, however, did not have the multipurpose meaning of *taife*. Instead, it prefigured a westernized concept of pseudo-nationalism in a multi-national empire based on religion as criteria.²⁰ Hence, I also explore historical evidence

¹⁹ Because religion mattered for fiscal control, tax records used *ermeni taifesi* or *rum taifesi* (Armenian community or Orthodox Greek community). When functional differences or professional criteria were sought, then *esnaf taifesi* (community of artisans or guilds) was used.

²⁰ *Millet* was a semi-formal system used primarily in large urban areas to deal with financial, legal, and religious affairs. It also provided religious communities with direct avenues of communication to the central government. In the nineteenth century, non-Muslim Ottoman subjects were officially divided into four and later five nations as *millet-i khamsa* (the five communities) governed under the control of the Sublime Porte by their respective Patriarchs, and the Grand Rabbi of the Israelites. These nations consisted of Orthodox Greeks, Armenians who split in 1829 as Gregorians and United Catholic Armenians, Latins, and Jews. These communities were not homogeneous in themselves. They revealed ethnic and linguistic differences. The Orthodox Greek millet consisted for example of Serbs, Romanians Bulgarians, Vlachs, Orthodox Albanians and Arabs. For a background and a discussion of the millet construct, see Benjamin Braude "Foundation Myths of the Millet System," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians*

to gain an understanding of the ways people defined their membership to their urban community and shifted between the legal and social registers available to them.

Writings on Izmir

Two important factors have shaped the contours of inquiry into the history of Ottoman Izmir. First, Izmir's long-standing position as an international port city has produced a comprehensive body of scholarship that focuses on the city's commercial relations with other parts of the Mediterranean world to explain urban growth at different historical junctions.²¹ These studies have mined evidence relative to trade volume and other quantitative data to assess Izmir's changing role in the global network of trade and the role of foreigners and non-Muslims as key agents in guiding its development. While such works have contributed remarkably to our knowledge about the city and have allowed Izmir to enter into a much broader historical discussion of world cities, economic processes have always assumed the center stage, overshadowing other realities of the city.

Second, Izmir's tragic burning in 1922, following an intense political drama that pitted Greek and Turkish nationalist forces against each other in a struggle over the city, gave it a symbolic significance in several rival ideologies and agendas. Nationalist historiography, Greek and Turkish alike, has cast the period preceding the disaster as a harbinger of the tragedy to come and most studies have explicitly or implicitly examined

and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, vol. 1 (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 69-88; Daniel Goffman, "Ottoman Millets in the Early Seventeenth Century," in *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (Fall, 1994): 135-58.

²¹ Izmir has received considerable attention compared to other Anatolian towns. On the role of Izmir in international trade, see Eleni Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna*; Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*; Charles P. Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*; Jan Schmidt, *From Anatolia to Indonesia: Opium Trade and the Dutch Community of Izmir, 1820-1940* (Istanbul: Nederlands

nineteenth-century Izmir in terms of 'national enmities'. Such convictions dominate the categories we use today to designate spaces and peoples in Ottoman cities such as Turkish versus Greek quarters or a Muslim versus a Christian, giving a false vision of how peoples perceived themselves at the time. The Empire had its own way of dividing people that was not based on race and that was only partly based on religion.²² While religious identities were important, historiography and politics have exaggerated and distorted the significance of those identities by casting Ottoman urban groups as if they always conceived of themselves as citizens of mutually exclusive communities.²³ Recent social-history works have shed important light on the life of individual communities in Ottoman Izmir, demonstrating, more than ever, the necessity of a more complete picture of cultural dynamics by exploring the ways city dwellers shared, claimed, and inhabited common space.²⁴

This study departs from the prevailing historiography in two important ways.

First, I use urban space as a primary object of analysis. Historians generally seem to have

Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1998); Necmi Ülker, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyillarda Izmir Şehri Tarihi* (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994).

²² I elaborate on this point in chapter 1.

²³ For a discussion of the implications of nationalist ideology to Ottoman historiography, see Maria Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans," and Karl K. Barbir, "Memory, Heritage and History: The Ottomans and the Arabs," in L. Carl Brown, ed., *Imperial Legacy: the Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 45-77, 100-114; Reşat Kasaba, "Izmir 1922: A Port City Unravels," in Leila Fawaz, ed., *European Modernity and Cultural Difference from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean, 1890s-1920s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

²⁴ On the Greeks of Izmir, see Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1992); Eleni Frangakis-Syrett, "The economic activities of the Greek community of Izmir in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries," in Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi, eds., *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1999), 17-44. On the Jews of Izmir, see Abraham Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie: Les Juifs d'Izmir (Smyrne)*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Imprimerie M. Babok, 1937); Siren Bora, *Izmir Yahudileri tarihi: 1908-1923* (Istanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın, 1995); Henri Nahum, *Juifs de Smyrne: XIXe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1997). On Armenians in Izmir, see *Mer Izmir ew şhrjakay k'aghak'ner* [Our Smyrna and outlying cities], (Niw York': Hratarakut'yun Zmiwrnahay Miut'ean, 1961). On the European colonies, see Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, "Colonies européennes et communautés ethnico-confessionnelle à Smyrne," in

more trouble taking account of the spatial dimension of a society than they do, for example, of economic forces, foreign domination, or ethnic nationalism. Recent writings in cultural geography and architectural and planning history, however, suggest that social life is constituted in and exists through the material world of buildings, artifacts, and spaces.²⁵ Because material forms are socially produced, they are not politically or socially neutral. Hence analyzing urban space, as any other aspect of the material world, involves asking who makes it and uses it and how it is produced and consumed. It requires exploring how the built environment was bounded or claimed through struggles between contending groups over access to land, property, and right of representation. The unavailability of detailed topographical sources has exacerbated the tendency to study Izmir as a generic port town to discuss larger stories of capitalistic transformations.²⁶ Compared to other major Ottoman centers, studies explicitly addressing the architectural and urban dimensions of Izmir are few.²⁷ Available work is primarily descriptive, limited to catalogs of surviving commercial structures, old photographs, postcard views, and surviving maps of the city. Together they provide us with a sense of the setting and with snapshot views of the city at particular historical

François Georgeon and Paul Dumont, eds., *Vivre dans l'Empire Ottoman: sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires, XVIIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 173-194.

²⁵ On the relation of material forms and social life, see Dell Upton, "The City as Material Culture" in Anne Elizabeth Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry, eds., *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archeology: Essays in honor of James Deetz* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1992); Derek Gregory and John Urry, eds., *Social Relations and Spatial Structures* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).

²⁶ The scarcity of topographical material is in part due to the destruction of the physical fabric during the 1922 fire. After the fire, streets and blocks were laid out on a new pattern and scale, leaving no trace of the former configuration of the lower town. The few surviving maps dating back to the mid-nineteenth century contain limited information on the urban arrangement.

²⁷ On the bazaar of Izmir and its commercial buildings, see Münir Aktepe, "İzmir Hanları ve Çarşıları Hakkında Ön Bilgi," *Tarih Dergisi* 25 (Mart 1971), 105-154; W. Müller-Wiener, "Der Bazaar von Izmir," *Mitteilungen der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 27/28 (1980/81), 420-454; Bozkurt Ersoy, *Izmir Hanları* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını, 1991). On the transformations of the physical fabric, see Çınar Atay, *Tarih içinde Izmir* (Izmir: Yaşar Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı, 1978); Rauf Beyru, 18. ve 19.

moments. To come to grips with this historical landscape, however, we need to go beyond reading the city as a fixed object and to understand how individuals fit into these spaces, and how through their social relations they actively shaped their organization and gave them significance.

Second, I draw on discussions in cultural studies that underscore the ways people shift between multiple identities depending on context and circumstances.²⁸ Cultural historians remind us that all aspects of identity are perpetually in flux and not fixed in a single or hidden history, or grounded in a mere recovery of a past simply waiting to be found. Rather, particular elements of identity are socially and politically constructed in relation to particular readings of histories of race, gender, class, and place; they are shaped through the continuous play of history, culture, and power. Building upon these works, I question whether a presupposed ethnic or religious category can explain the relations and variations in the experiences of people. This entails moving away from a singular mode of ethno-religious identity and acknowledging other differences of class, gender, or nationality within which Smyrniotes were functioning in their day-to-day life. It also requires a more dynamic conception of space, identity, and the relation between the two. Typically, historical studies dealing with the geography of Middle Eastern and Ottoman cities have imagined the residential quarters, or *mahalle*, as paramount to the

Yüzyıllarda İzmir (İzmir, 1973); Cana F. Bilisel, "Cultures et fonctionnalité: évolution morphologique de la ville de İzmir au XIXe et au début du XXe siècles," Ph.D. dissertation (Université de Paris X, 1996).

²⁸ On the construction of identity and its material and symbolic expression, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London & Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage, 1996). On individual consciousness and collective life, see Anthony Cohen, *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995). On space and identity politics, see Gupta Akhil and James Fergusson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no.1 (1992): 6-23; Michael Keith and Steve Pile, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993).

social lives of urban dwellers.²⁹ These ideas are not without basis. Land-survey registers dating back to the sixteenth century show that the quarter had been the main administrative unit, that each person had been identified in terms of his or her quarter, and that inhabitants of a quarter had often shared common religious or ethnic ties. Yet limiting the focus on the neighborhood can be deeply misleading. Although generally speaking cities followed an organization based on quarters and localized networks of institutions such as mosques, churches, or synagogues reinforced a spatial sense of group identity, the geography of quarters neither confined nor totally defined the lives of inhabitants.³⁰ Individuals from different religious and ethnic affiliations frequented spaces outside their immediate neighborhood, criss-crossed the town to get their provisions in the local market, to go to work, or for leisure, and entered into business transactions with each other. In nineteenth-century Izmir, city dwellers needed to partake in a more complex social network than their immediate community to function and survive in a world that was continually expanding. Hence in this study I focus on shared urban spaces not only to tie aspects of social, economic, and political change directly to everyday human experiences, but also to critically reconsider cultural plurality and difference in Ottoman cities. An analysis of urban spaces allows wedding the often-

²⁹ Özer Ergenç describes the mahalle as a social unit whose members are known to each other and as an administrative unit for tax. On the role and aspects of the mahalle, see "Osmanlı seherindeki mahalle'nin işlev ve nitelikleri üzerine," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 4 (1984) and "Osmanlı şehirlerindeki yönetim kurumlarının niteliği üzerinde bazı düşünceler," *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol.II (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1981).

³⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi remarks on the considerable trade activity between Muslim and non-Muslim, the predominance of mixed habitation, and the similarities of style between dwellings of Muslims and non-Muslims. She argues that the sense of unity through the sharing of a common urban culture exceeded the sense of division created by quarters or religious group, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

distinct approaches of social and spatial histories to gain a synthetic understanding of power, identity, and conflict in this late Ottoman port city.

Framing the Public

Two intertwined questions are of importance to this study: How did public space shape and bound the daily lives of city dwellers? And how did it represent, constitute, and enhance urban identities? 'Public space' is an ambiguous phrase that brings forth many ideas and connotations. 'Public' may designate the quality of being open, visible, and accessible, but also of belonging to a collectivity of people. In addition, 'space' carries the resonance of a location and open space in the city as well as a boundless area with no specific location in which events occur and have a relative position and direction. 'Public space', therefore, yields itself to a range of definitions. It may refer to the streets and squares of a city where residents encounter fellow members of their urban community and where they literally assemble as individuals or in group-actions such as marches or collective celebrations. It may also designate a broader realm of common affairs pertaining to those who share the same environs. As such, it has no specific location and is structured more by institutions and by common interests or world-views than by material boundaries.

Public space has been studied from both of these standpoints.³¹ For urban sociologists, designers, and planners, public space is first and foremost a physical and experiential space that encourages or blocks the flow of everyday activity and enhances

³¹ For a background and discussion of four major conceptions of the public in political and social theory, see Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," in Jeff A. Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, eds., *Public and Private in Thought and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1-42. See also the collection Andrew Light and Jonathan M. Smith eds., *The Production of Public Space* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).

or hinders the vitality of collective life.³² It is open to and shared by anyone who chooses to enter, whether it be owned by the state and designated as such, as a street, a public square, or owned privately, but explicitly open to anonymous individuals, as in a grocery store or a coffee-shop. Public spaces are about living together and ideally they are thought to encourage multi-stranded sociability and to provide a rich public life.³³ For social and political theorists, however, public space is primarily a 'field of action' that emerges whenever people think and act in concert and through which large collectivities are constructed, transformed, and experienced. It is a 'realm' or a 'sphere' in which residents find ways of asserting their existence and interest and form themselves into social, political, and cultural communities.³⁴ The public sphere entails a shared consciousness and membership in a community of common final ends and of mutual identification and reciprocity. Rather than a literal space for "broad and largely unplanned encounters"³⁵ or for the ongoing contact of heterogeneous people, it connotes the possibility of discussion and conscious and collective decision making.

³² Jan Gehl, *Life Between Buildings: Using public space* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987); Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960); Stephen Carr, Leanne Rivlin, Mark Francis, and Andrew Stone, *Public Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); William H. Whyte, *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (Washington, D.C.: Conservation Foundation, 1980).

³³ For sociologist Jane Jacobs, public space is about making diversity manageable and pleasant by maintaining social distance despite physical proximity. It is about "dwell[ing] in peace together on civilized an essentially dignified and reserved terms," see *The Death and Live of Great American Cities* (New York: Randon House, 1961).

³⁴ See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1958), 50-58; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Categorie of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989). For an overview and discussion of Arendt's and Habermas's conception of the public, see Seyla Benhabib, "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas," in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 71-98.

³⁵ Roger Scruton, "Public Space and the Classical Vernacular," in Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla, eds., *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces* (New York & London: Free Press, Collier Macmillan, 1987), 13.

Jürgen Habermas's seminal work *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere* sets an explicit distinction between public space and public sphere.³⁶ In the same way, studies dealing with questions of the public tend to espouse one model and discount the other. Issues concerning actual place-making and those involving consciousness-building have rarely been pursued in parallel. The relation between the two has often slipped through the rifts that divide various academic fields and disciplines. But, there is more here than merely a division of scholarly and disciplinary labor. These two models of public space rest on very different assumptions. Those interested explicitly in public life and urban spaces view heterogeneous coexistence and diversity as the basic ingredient for a rich public life. They seek to provide occasions for interrelation and expression of difference. Much of the recent literature that bemoans the 'fall', 'loss', or 'privatization' of public space in contemporary urban societies is indicative of this assumption.³⁷ In social and political thought, however, to speak of public space is to invoke a realm of consensus and agreement. It requires transcending difference to achieve solidarity, construct unity, and mutual understanding among people. These two kinds of theorizing do not cohere easily for one promotes inclusion and difference, whereas the other seeks for what is common or similar and thereby operates on exclusionary principles. Nevertheless, each engages a critical dimension of the public that conjointly help us come to grips with how a given urban landscape holds together.

³⁶ From the outset, Habermas makes a distinction between public space and public sphere. The former is defined through accessibility and openness to public traffic, while the later sphere is based on public opinion and on the formation during the eighteenth century of a sphere of critical rational debate, often in print, through which bourgeois citizens could assess and respond to state authority, see *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere*, 1-2.

³⁷ On the 'decline' of public spaces, see Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man: On the Social Psychology of Capitalism* (New York: Randon House, Vintage, 1977); Don Mitchell, "The End of Public

To begin with, a rich public life and the face-to-face interaction of diverse people in streets and neighborhoods is not sufficient by itself to tie the city together, to manage relations between its different groups and interests, and to make the city work. Life in a city requires decisions and actions that cannot emerge from day-to-day sociability alone. The physical order of public space, for example, relies on a range of political and economic resources – including matters such as policing, trash collection, and street cleaning – that it does not provide for itself. Any actual public space in a city is closely tied to the larger political and economic realm. How material resources are provided and who pays for them are the terrain of this broader realm. In turn, for the larger public realm to be meaningful, its agents and their mode of operation must be situated in the specific historical and local context of social organization.

Disengaging the Public from Ideal-Type Community

A few decades ago, historian Marshall Hodgson warned us of the importance of choosing and facing the implications of the terms we use, remarking that terms determine the categories by which we order a field and the categories we presuppose, in turn, delimit the questions we can ask.³⁸ To transpose seemingly innocent analytical concepts produced in the context of Western theory means also to carry the ideological assumptions of these concepts into our analysis, which are far from unproblematic. This is not to suggest that we should ignore models developed in European scholarship. It has

Space," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no.1 (1995): 108-133. Richard Sennett, for instance, proclaims that capitalism and secularism killed public space and rendered public life meaningless.

³⁸ Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. I (Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, 1974), 46. In the last decades, scholarship in feminist and postcolonial studies has built upon Michel Foucault's notion of power/knowledge to draw attention to the authority of western categories of knowledge, see Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). On the context-ridden nature of knowledge, see Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women* (London: Routledge, 1991).

been argued elsewhere that to escape altogether the language of Western social theory while writing the history of other societies is impossible.³⁹ This very language has also provided some of the terms in which non-Westerners have seen and chosen to represent themselves. In the late Ottoman Empire, for example, Tanzimat reformers imported political and governmental models as illustrated in their attempt to introduce equal citizenship and in the setting up of French-inspired municipal governments in cities.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the analytical language we use needs to be explicitly scrutinized with awareness of local histories.

With the English translation of Jürgen Habermas's study the public has become an analytical metaphor of tremendous popularity and diffusion, warranting that the problem of conceptualization should be taken seriously.⁴¹ Habermas's inquiry has been critical in opening up discussion on the historical construction of public life and on the role of print culture in building public consciousness.⁴² Some excesses in Habermas's argument – the idealized portrait of democratic openness in the eighteenth century and its collapse with industrial capitalism as well as the failure to see how the exclusion of women was integral to the definition of the public – have become generally

³⁹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, for example, suggests that the historical influence and power of this language does not go away "simply because some of us have now attained a critical awareness of it," see "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for Indian Pasts?" *Representations*, 37 (1992), 2.

⁴⁰ These questions are discussed in chapter 2.

⁴¹ Habermas's study came out in 1962 but was only translated into English in 1989. This delayed interest in the book is not coincidental and corresponds to the fall of communism and to ensuing concerns about processes of democracy and liberalization and questions of citizenship.

⁴² For Habermas, the bourgeois public sphere is both a network of institutions for rational discussion and a critical ideal through which public interests can be identified and enforced. Habermas is interested particularly in the concept of public opinion and in the formation during the eighteenth century of a sphere of critical rational debate, often in print, through which bourgeois citizens could assess and respond to state authority.

acknowledged.⁴³ Additionally, Habermas's public sphere exists only as long as its entire membership is bourgeois. His particular focus on the bourgeois public sphere restricts his argument to a particular form of public that emerged in and out of 'civil society', thereby excluding other forms of associational lives. Historically, the notion of civil society originated in liberal economic traditions and was inevitably tied to a particular mode of production and its ideologies. In its common use, it refers to an associational realm developed between state and family and constituted by organizations that are separate and autonomous from the state and are formed voluntarily to protect and extend their interests or values.⁴⁴ This particular type of relation between state and society emerged in Europe and was based on the valuation of individualism and liberties that was not necessarily part of every historical process. It has usually been argued that the economic and legal context of the Ottoman Empire was not conducive to the development of civil society and that the cultural context of Islam precluded any equivalent to occidental 'liberties'.⁴⁵

Although the details of the historically and theoretically loaded term of the public and its connection to civil society is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth

⁴³ For a discussion of Habermas's conception of the public sphere, see the collection Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere*.

⁴⁴ Gordon White, "Civil Society, Democratization, and Development (I): Clearing the Analytical Ground" *Democratization* 1, no. 3 (1994), 379. Civil society is a concept developed by Locke and later Hegel. For Hegel's own definition see J. Loewenberg, ed., *Hegel: Selections* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 236.

⁴⁵ John Hall, "In Search of Civil Society" in John A. Hall, ed., *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 1995), 14. See also Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11, no. 3, (June, 1969), 258-281; Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, ch. 7. Since Habermas's study, however, there has been a renewed interest in notions of civil society outside the European context. On civil society and the present-day Muslim world, see the collections Elisabeth Özdalga and Sune Persson, eds., *Civil Society, Democracy, and The Muslim World* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1997); Nils A. Butenschon, Uri Davis, and Manuel Hassassian, eds., *Citizenship and the state in the Middle East: approaches and applications* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

emphasizing that the distinctive features and uniqueness of European cities and societies has lain at the heart of discussions on the public. In the Ottoman context, for instance, to speak of the public as a historical phenomenon is to borrow an exclusively Western European category of experience. In the historical imagination, the public belongs to the autonomous city of Europe within which many of the practices of civility were born. In fact, any insistence that Ottoman cities encouraged a sense of urban citizenry runs counter to the way we typically construct their modern incarnation. Generally, Ottoman cities have been inscribed in the broader category of Islamic cities.⁴⁶ They have been conceived as clusters of self-sufficient neighborhoods with winding narrow lanes, blind alleys, and blank walls that assured a heightened sense of privacy, but were incompatible with civic spirit. The apparent physical formlessness of Muslim towns or the encroachment of homes and shops on public ways has been equated with withdrawal from public life and indifference to public concern. These images of dense and intricate settlements are not without foundation, but physical patterns are read too literally for social content, missing the broad foundation of mutual agreements and assumptions that lies beneath the quietness of neighborhoods or the bustle of the bazaar.

This problematic conceptualization of the 'Islamic city' goes back to Max Weber's comparative study of cities. It contains the assumption that what was missing in 'Asian' cities was not merely the architecture of public spaces, but the constitutive forces, processes, and struggles that brought about these spaces.⁴⁷ According to Weber, the distinct groups and clans that occupied Asian cities did not join in common action or

⁴⁶ On the historiography of Ottoman cities and its relation to Islamic cities, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-16.

⁴⁷ Max Weber, *The City*, trans. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (New York: Free Press, 1966).

develop the type of associational organization that makes up city life and were thus excluded from his category of a city.⁴⁸ This exclusion has burdened studies of Middle East cities not only with attempts to respond to Weber's claim, but also with the legacy of an 'Islamic' class of city, which was developed to bring out the particularity of European cities rather than to investigate cities of the Middle East.⁴⁹

The critical debate on Islamic cities not only points to the necessity of alternative conceptualizations, but also reminds us of the importance of starting with the multi-religious, multi-lingual, and multi-national context of the Ottoman empire rather than with the peculiarity of European historical patterns of transformation. In Ottoman Izmir, people were not only diverse, but also had different perspectives on and experiences of public life. Muslims and non-Muslim, men and women, citizens and outsiders, laborers and merchants used the city differently and had different ways of being in public. External markers in the form of clothing, behavior, and language, personal predisposition such as familiarity with the place and mastery of local codes, as well as attitudes toward common property and the mutual rights over the use of common space molded the experience of being in public. In addition, membership in a religious or occupational community that provided access to formal systems of power – civil provincial agents,

⁴⁸ While I disagree with Weber's notion of an Islamic city, I built upon his methodological insights developed in his call for *verstehendes Soziologie* that seeks to 'understand' the motivations and intentions of individuals acting in particular historical contexts as opposed to a mere 'explanation' of facts. Ironically, in his remarks on Islamic cities, Weber did not follow his own methodological principle.

⁴⁹ On critical works on the category of 'Islamic City', see Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19 (1987): 158-176; Nezar Al-Sayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Towns* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991); Dale Eickelman, "Is There an Islamic City? The Making of a Quarter in a Moroccan Town," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 5 (1974): 277-294; Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the later Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984). For an overview and discussion of Weber and Islam, see Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam: A Critical Study* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); Toby E. Huff and Wolfgang Schluchter, eds., *Max Weber and Islam* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction, 1999).

religious authorities, and consular representatives – and to various kinds of social institutions – religious, educational, and commercial – also shaped one’s way of being in public.

Developing alternative conceptualization of the public, however, does not mean to “send back the concept of civil society to the provincialism of European social philosophy.”⁵⁰ In Izmir, colonies of foreign settlers had introduced various European institutions such as missionary schools, commercial clubs, and the periodical press through special commercial agreements and international treaties. These institutions often served a broader audience and encouraged similar developments by local communities. Coupled with Tanzimat attempts to override customary arrangements by a system of ‘rational’ laws, they produced circumstances with marked similarities to those inherent in the ideal civil society. As it has been remarked in earlier discussions of nineteenth-century economic life in Western Anatolia, the context of Izmir provided an environment conducive to the “effective organization of civil society.”⁵¹

Retaining the broad assumption that public life is deployed between family and the state, the following study expands the limits of the central insights of Weber and Habermas to help us deal with comparatively more heterogeneous populations and different political context. To begin with, it considers citizenship, not as a particular form of political participation, but in the broadest possible sense as a relation to the city, and thereby it understands the formation of publics as the exercise of that citizenship. The public, as used here, differs from prevailing definitions in that it is not fixed in the

⁵⁰ Partha Chatterjee, “A Response to Taylor’s Modes of Civil Society,” *Public Culture* 3, no. 1 (1990), 120.

⁵¹ Reşat Kasaba, “Economic Foundations of a Civil Society: Greeks in the Trade of Western Anatolia, 1840-1876” in Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi, eds., *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism* (New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1999), 78.

dichotomous problematic of state versus society, but emerges through the interactions of state, local politics, commercial life, and everyday practices. Although there were arenas beyond the strict supervision of the central government they were not necessarily in opposition to the state. The government either permitted their existence or it explicitly chose not to interfere in them (as in the commercial activities of local and foreign merchants). The public, used here, also denotes a wider sphere of collective activity in economic, social, and political terms and capable of organizing more complex and non-liberal social realities without limiting them to forms of 'organized' or 'bourgeois literate' associations in the ways they emerged in medieval or Enlightenment Europe. It includes more informal and spontaneous forms of associational relations that connected residents groups in the market place and commercial clubs, in the mosques and the churches as well as various normative preoccupations and struggles that brought residents together.

Coping with the Sources

In Tanzimat Izmir, many kinds of group struggles and actions emerged as uniform laws replaced longstanding usage thereby introducing new attitudes about property, safety, hygiene, and citizenry. Merchants' continual encroachment on public thoroughfares, taxpayers' refusal to incur the cost of urban services, and co-religionists' haste to publicly assert their religious identity in the streets exemplified such struggles that shaped and gave meaning to the Tanzimat landscape. As I trace actions, I question how city dwellers from differing religious, occupational, and national groups understood and reshaped their social and spatial boundaries. Many of these people, however, left few clues of their daily experiences to the historians. The paucity of historical evidence

written by ordinary men and women limits a full-fledged account of life in public. In large part documentation on the experience of urban spaces comes from Ottoman officials and European actors and settlers, including merchants, missionaries, and consuls, all part of the literate elite and each of whom had a stake in narrating events and places.

The lack of personal diaries and the destruction of the nineteenth-century fabric makes us rely on European travelers who handed down to us rich descriptions of Izmir's urban structure, peoples, and spaces. Since the work of Edward Said, the biases inherent in European descriptions of the Middle East have become evident.⁵² Practitioners in the field have exposed the imperialist pretenses that had lain at the heart of European images of Oriental cities, of 'the dirt of the street', 'the disarray of urban spaces', and 'the muteness of neighborhoods'. Descriptions of Izmir also contain similar images of Oriental dirt and chaos. Yet these images were always set off against some glorious past that travelers presumably came to discover. In the nineteenth century, Izmir was not only *gâvur* (infidel) by virtue of its non-Muslim population. For European antiquarians, it was ancient Smyrna, 'the Crown of Ionia' and 'the Ornament of Asia', that had been celebrated in the writings of the Roman geographer Strabo and was associated with the probable birthplace of Homer.⁵³ For missionaries who sought more sacred associations than those of classic antiquity, it was a cradle of Christianity, possessing one of the seven

⁵² See Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994); Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient: Devise and Rule* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystic of Islam*, trans. Roger Venius (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987).

⁵³ See, for example, Josiah Brewer, *A Residence at Constantinople*, 57; Charles Fellows, *A journal written during an excursion in Asia Minor, 1838* (London: J. Murray, 1839); William John Hamilton, *Researches*

churches alluded to by St. John in the Apocalypse. These visions colored the ways travelers and missionaries experienced the city and even how we continue to see and represent its spaces today.

Because European visitors were usually more preoccupied with tracing the marks that history left on the landscape than with probing the actual landscape that surrounded them, they found Ottoman Izmir to be culturally and architecturally barren in comparison to its presumed past glories. For much of the population, however, Izmir was the center of the region's commercial and agricultural life. Journalistic writings referred to it as 'the second city of Ottoman Turkey', ranking it after the capital Istanbul. Those interested in European expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean saw it as 'the emporium of trade in western Anatolia' while Ottoman almanachs (*salname*) dignified it as 'the capital of the province of Aydın and the most important port of Asia Minor', reaffirming the city's commercial identity.⁵⁴

These formulaic phrases were intended for different audiences; they carried different political and social claims and pointed to distinct, though not necessarily exclusive, urban imaginations and historical perceptions. Viewed concurrently, however, they outline a range of tangible and intangible possibilities that the city opened to its users. Streets and spaces were not merely statistically measurable and monochrome ensembles. They contained physical and symbolic markers that were not uniformly transparent to all. Observers and dwellers – sometimes obstructed by codes they did not master or at times aided by the familiarity of the place – appropriated and refabricated the

in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia: with some account of their antiquities and geology (London: J. Murray, 1842).

⁵⁴ *Küçük Asya'nın en mühim iskelesi or Asya-yi Osmaniye'nin en mühim iskelesi and Aydın Vilayeti'nin makarr-ı*, see Aydın Vilayet Salnamesi (1298/1880-1302/1884).

city for their own use and imposed their own grid onto the landscape.⁵⁵ The following study plays off these various representations of urban life to open up the multi-stranded relation between public spaces and the larger public order. In addition, mining historical evidence – including newspaper accounts, urban rehabilitation projects, legal disputes, consular and state communications, travel account, *salnames* (official almanacs), commercial directories, and biographical novels as well as historical plans, maps, and photographs – delineates the larger urban order and the meanings of citizenry and community.

Newspapers and the Public

In the nineteenth century, the newly emerging print culture gave a voice and a reach to the views of the urban elite. Even in its early years and although it was limited to a literate elite, newsprint culture in Izmir was influential in promoting a shared consciousness about residing in the ‘second city of the Empire’. ‘Smyrna correspondents,’ who often belonged to the French or English educated local elite, regularly wrote to the major papers of the capital. Their familiarity with both domestic politics and European institutions gave them the advantage of reaching broader audiences. Their writings generally centered on considerations of public good and drew on specific discursive conventions that were critical to the formation of a collective awareness. Unlike other forms of personal expressions, newspaper reporters wrote as anonymous individuals. Anonymity gave authority and validity to what they said and certified their unbiased

⁵⁵ On the ways individual users articulate city spaces, see Michel de Certeau, *Practices of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xi-xxiv, 91-110. The notion of consuming space is also developed in Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol, *The Practices of Everyday Life*, trans. Timothy J. Tomasik, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 133-143.

concern for common good.⁵⁶ These reporters and their writings opened a discursive space for publicly reasoning individuals to debate their viewpoints and interests on urban affairs.

While I build upon theoretical works that underscore the role of print culture and other communicative means in building a public sphere, I do not necessarily equate public spheres and the practices of citizenship in the way they have been associated in the context of nation states.⁵⁷ Rather, I situate print culture in the political and social context of early Ottoman journalism, bearing in mind that throughout the nineteenth century this institution was not comparable to contemporaneous European publishing, either in scope of circulation and duration of press history or in its autonomy from the state. The printed press as we know it today is a modern European institution that developed in the 1600s, but did not come to the Ottoman Empire until the early 1800s. Much has been written about the development of the Turkish press since the first Turkish language paper *Takvim-i Vekayi* appeared in Istanbul in 1831.⁵⁸ The first stage of awareness of the European press and attempts to follow it with a regular periodical and political press, however, began in 1824, not in Istanbul, but in Izmir with the publication of the

⁵⁶ On conventions of journalistic writings and the formation of public spheres, see Michael Warner, "The Mass Public and the Mass Subject," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 377-401.

⁵⁷ On the relation of print culture and the public sphere, see Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 1991).

⁵⁸ At the beginning, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was published in five languages other than Turkish: French, Arabic, Greek, Armenian and Persian to support and explain government actions throughout the Empire, see Roderic Davison, "How the Ottoman Government Adjusted to a New Institution: The Newspaper Press" in Sabri Akural, ed., *Turkic Culture: Continuity and Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1987) 18. On early Ottoman Press, see Server Rifat Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat Idareleri ve Politikaları* (Istanbul: Tan basimevi, 1943); Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Gazeteciliği, 1831-1931* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931); Enver Behnan Sapolyo, *Türk Gazeteciliği Tarihi: Her Yönuyle Basın* (Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1969); *Orhan Kologlu, Osmanlı'dan günümüze Türkiye'de basın* (Istanbul: İletişim yayınları, 1992).

Spectateur de l'Orient.⁵⁹ The *Spectateur de l'Orient*, which took the name *Courrier de Smyrne* in 1828, provided its readers with European as well as local news.⁶⁰ Although its editor was Alexandre Blacque, a Frenchman under the protection of his embassy, and its language French, the weekly gazette was not as 'foreign' as it is sometimes assumed. Rather, it epitomized the plural context in which it emerged and served the multifarious identities of its local readership. The weekly promoted the commercial interest of the French colonies established in the Levant. At the same time, it sided with the actions of the Ottoman government, voicing views that were not necessarily in concert with French or European opinions and politics. In fact, *Courrier de Smyrne* was often suspended by order of the local French or Russian embassy for running contrary to the general enthusiasm of the European press regarding questions of Greek independence and for overtly attacking Russian policy.⁶¹

These beginnings of journalism were not overlooked by the Porte and earned the paper some sympathy and protection from the Ottoman government.⁶² Ottoman officials

⁵⁹ Earlier short-lived attempts to publish official bulletins at the French embassy in Istanbul include *Bulletin des Nouvelles* and *Gazette Française* and *Mercure Oriental*. For a list of newspapers in the Ottoman Empire, see J. H. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, trans. Lady Easthope (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 246-253; G. Groc and I. Çağlar, *La presse française de Turquie de 1795 à nos jours: histoire et catalogue* (Istanbul: Editions Isis, 1985), 6.

⁶⁰ The paper was published on a large 4 page format, appeared once a week on Saturdays, and was popular among business circles and European colonies of Izmir, see L. Lagarde, "Note sur les journaux Français de Smyrne à l'époque de Mahmoud II," *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1950), 105.

⁶¹ The French colonies in the Levant were hostile to the French Restoration regime and liberally expressed such ideas outside their direct governmental control. In addition they sustained ill feelings towards Greek piracy in the Aegean, which impeded their commercial activities, see Lagarde, "Note sur les journaux Français de Smyrne à l'époque de Mahmoud II," 106. On Alexandre Blacque and his views, see Orhan Kologlu, *Osmanlı basınının dogusu ve Blak Bey ailesi: bir Fransız ailesinin Bâbiâli hizmetinde yüz yılı, 1821-1922*, trans. Erol Üyepazarcı (Istanbul: Mütferrika, 1998).

⁶² Sublime Porte or Porte is the literal translation of the Turkish designation *Bab-i Aliye* and designates the Ottoman Government.

The governor of Izmir, Ömer Efendi, warded off the Russian embassy's attempts to close Blacque's paper, see Lagarde, "Note sur les journaux Français de Smyrne à l'époque de Mahmoud II," 130.

saw some utility to this new institution and quickly responded to it.⁶³ By the second half of the nineteenth century, numerous newspapers sprang up in Izmir and in Istanbul under private initiative.⁶⁴ Each newspaper founded in the Empire had to have a *firman*, an edict of official permission, and into the 1870s some of them received direct government subsidy. The *Journal de Constantinople*, *Écho de l'Orient*, renamed in 1866 *La Turquie*, and *Levant Herald* were among the papers that received a monthly payment from the Porte and for a period *La Turquie* was considered by foreigners and by the Porte to be a semi-official government organ. Receiving an official subsidy no doubt restrained the editors in their criticism to the government from which they received support and encouragement and showed the Porte's awareness and desire to improve Europe's opinion of the Ottoman Empire. For that reason, the Reverend Henry J. Van Lennep, a knowledgeable resident of Istanbul and Izmir, sarcastically referred to early Ottoman journalism as "weekly apologies" instead of "newspaper press."⁶⁵ Perhaps Van Lennep

⁶³ In 1830, Alexandre Blacque was called to Istanbul and put in charge of an official newspaper, the *Moniteur Ottoman*, which appeared in Turkish the following year as *Takvim-i Vekayi*. After Blacque's departure, Izmir kept a leading position in weekly print. Bouquet Deschamps, another Frenchman, took over *Courrier de Smyrne* and changed its title to *Journal de Smyrne* in 1832. In 1838, *l'Écho de l'Orient*, was founded by Th. Bargigli, Consul General of Tuscany, and subsequently passed into the hands of a French merchant, Gustave Couturier. In 1841, M. A. Edwards, formerly a colleague of Deschamps in the *Journal de Smyrne*, founded a third paper, *L'Impartial*, which was published for a while in English and then in French. *L'Impartial* remained in Izmir until 1915 while the two others were successively transferred to Istanbul in 1842 and 1846, where they were joined under the title *Journal de Constantinople*, *Écho de l'Orient*.

⁶⁴ In 1856, over fourteen newspapers and periodicals were published in Istanbul. Two were in *Turkish* (*Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*); four in French (*Le Journal de Constantinople*, *Écho de l'Orient*, *Le Courrier de Constantinople*, *Le Commerce de Constantinople*, *La Gazette Médicale*); four in Italian (*L'Omnibus*, *L'Indicatore Bisantino*, *L'Album Bisantino*, *Giuriprudenza Bisantina*); one in Greek (Telegraph of the Bosphorus); one in Armenian (The *Haiasdan*); and in Russian characters for the Bulgarians, Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, 251. In addition, *Levant Herald*, a bilingual French and English paper was launched that same year. In Izmir, aside from *l'Impartial*, a Greek paper, *Amalthea*, was launched in 1838 and was followed by *Armonia* and *Nea Smirnia* also in Greek, *Archalonis* (Aurora) in Armenian, *Chaka-Misrah* (Eastern Aurora) in Hebrew and two other papers in French: *Journal de Smyrne* and *la Réforme*. *La Réforme* was owned by an Armenian, Artesas Oskanian, who started the paper in 1868.

⁶⁵ Reverend Van Lennep was born in the country, educated abroad and came back to Asia Minor as a missionary where he served for thirty years, see Henry J. Van Lennep, *Travels in Little-Known Parts of Asia Minor*, vol. I (London: J. Murray, 1870), 83.

wished for a press that was less concerned with Ottoman self-image and more with disseminating practical and useful information to populations beyond Istanbul and Izmir. Early Ottoman journalism was indeed limited to these two cities. One of its main tasks was to tell the European press of Ottoman progress and reforms. In addition, the Porte employed licensing and censorship procedures to control information and foreign embassies drove the Ottoman government, through vigorous protests, to suspend a paper whenever its language was found offensive.⁶⁶ While censorship was stringent in questions of international significance, reporters seem to have had more leeway voicing issues and questions of local interest as well as the problems of their modernizing city. Izmir correspondents openly praised or blamed local governors and publicly acclaimed some of their action while they reproached others. At times, they condemned both the consular interference in local affairs and the apathy of provincial authorities. Despite their semi-official nature, the early papers of Istanbul and Izmir shaped modern attitudes towards the city and its problems, and were instrumental in introducing new ways of thinking about urbanity and about the relation of urbanites to their spaces.

Collections of Izmir's early press do not survive and only a few incidental issues can be found in archives, which prevented a systematic survey of these journals. Excerpts from Izmir newspapers such as *L'Impartial* and *La Réforme*, however, appeared regularly in Istanbul journals that were better preserved and gave some sense of their breadth and scope [fig. 5]. A certain core of papers, because of their regular coverage of and reporting from Izmir, provide the bulk of the evidence herein. News from *Journal de Constantinople*, *Écho de l'Orient*, *La Turquie*, and the bilingual French and English

⁶⁶ The press-law of 1864 that brought more stringent regulations was widely applied only after 1877 –

paper, *Levant Herald*, are disproportionately represented in this study because they survived and were accessible.⁶⁷ The Turkish-language press of Izmir began in 1869 with the official bulletin *Aydın*, but the first non-official Turkish paper started with *Hizmet* in 1886. This has been consulted for the years thereafter.⁶⁸

Structure of the Work

The following study traces the formation of public spheres through the practice of taxing, ordering, remodeling, and claiming city space in Tanzimat Izmir. Each chapter explores a particular conflict over space, illustrating the actual ways in which people were organized compared to ideal models of ethnic or religious communities. Chapter 1 introduces the broader urban context of Izmir and sets the stage for the upcoming exploration of public spaces and public spheres. It lays out the social and spatial dimension of cultural plurality and the competing forms of authority that existed in pre-Tanzimat Izmir. The nineteenth-century Tanzimat reorganization – from a custom-based arrangement to a uniformly codified society – came as a radical threat against this spatial, political, and administrative context. The tensions and ambivalences that characterized this process of modernization are explored through a discussion of urban taxation and citizenship. That modernity was not a linear process but an interactive development that confronted multiple interest groups and resulted in unintended consequences is further

during the reign of Abdulhamid II.

⁶⁷ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient* was launched by F. Noguès and taken over by A. Edwards in 1858. *La Turquie* took over *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient* and was managed by N. Bordeano until 1887 and A. Zippy until 1906. Chief editors included Charles Mismar (1867-68), A. de Peraldy (1868-69), E. Julliard (1869), R. Pisani (1869-1887). *Levant Herald* was launched in 1856 by Edgar Whitaker, the former correspondent of the *Times*, and its chief editor was Georges Fuller, see G. Groc and I. Çağlar, *La Presse Française de Turquie de 1795 à nos jours*, 121, 129-130, 180-181.

⁶⁸ Two short-lived papers, *Intibah* and *Izmir*, were published prior to *Hizmet*, see first issue of *Ahenk* February 21, 1895. Among the editors of *Hizmet* was the distinguished novelist Halit Ziya Usaklıgil and an employee of the Izmir branch of the Ottoman Bank.

explored in the following two chapters. Chapter 2 examines efforts to light, smooth, and police the streets, playing state-sponsored attempts to introduce order in the streets off against local groups' predilections to assert their own priorities and interests. Chapter 3 focuses on the remodeling of the shore, a highly debated public works project, to open up the paradoxes of modernization and urban improvement and the ways in which Smyrniotes organized themselves in fighting and promoting the works. Chapter 4 turns to the ways Smyrniotes occupied urban spaces during periodical events and public celebrations, and explores alternative ways of organizing community and collective identity-making. Contrary to the general conviction in Ottoman historiography that questions entailing conflict have to be answered in terms of ethnic and religious communities, the various instances explored in this study illustrate that contentious groups were often organized across religious, ethnic and national lines.

Working through questions of urban rights and responsibilities, conceptions of private and common property as well as issues of collective identity-making help open the particular meanings of the public in Ottoman Izmir and the cultural politics of identities and powers within its public space. In addition, this investigation of Tanzimat Izmir suggests familiar features of modern city-life, and therefore alludes to larger patterns in urban history, opening new insights to investigate the wider urban landscape of modernity. In that way, the experience of nineteenth-century Izmir is critical in connecting public spaces with public spheres, prompting us to question theoretical assumptions about public spaces and public lives.

ASIE-MINEURE

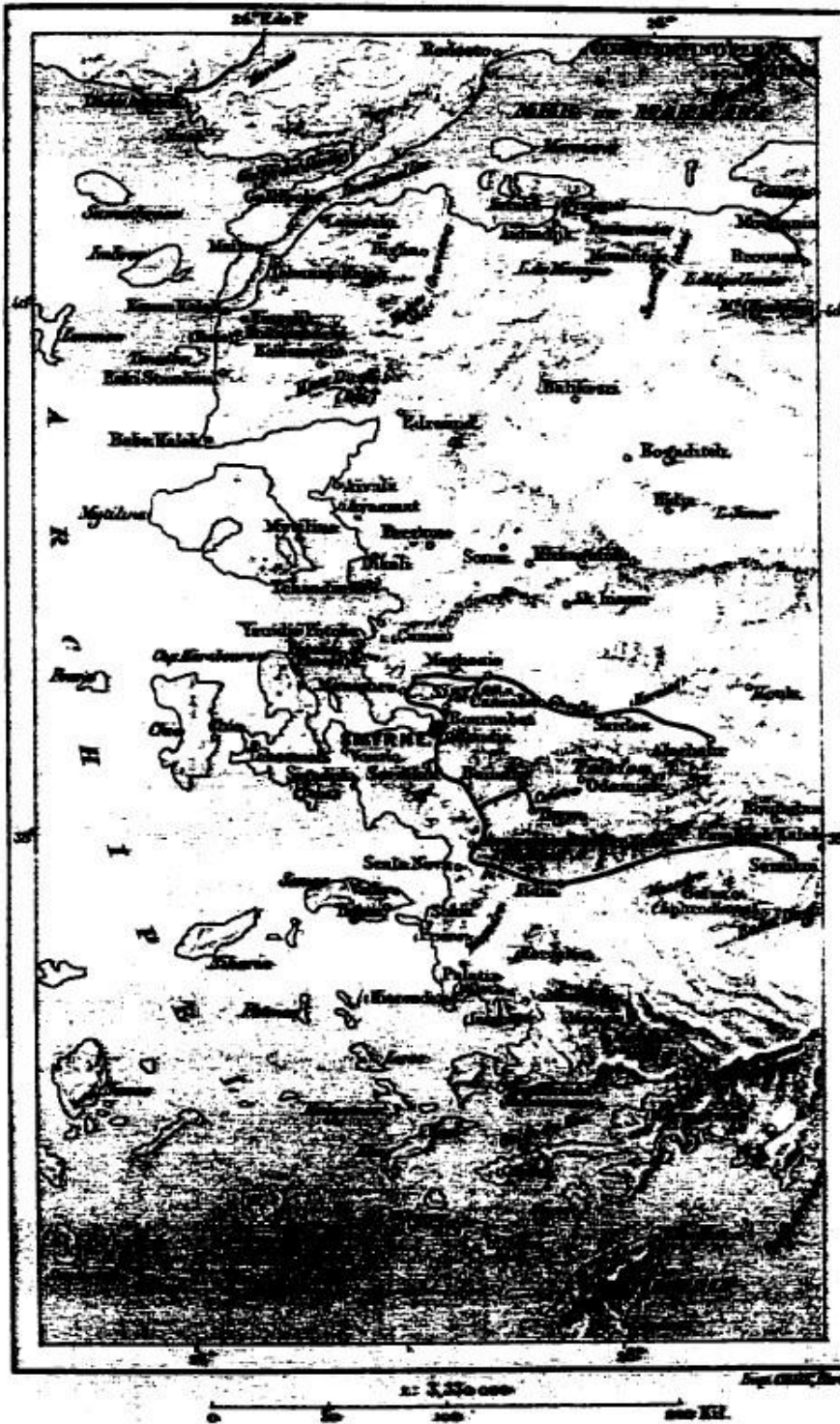


Figure 1: Map of Western Asia Minor (Demetri Georgiades, *Smyrne et l'Asie Mineure du point de vue économique et commercial* [Paris: Chaix, 1885]).



Figure 2: Bay of Izmir, ca. 1836 (Trustees of the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, rpt in Eleni Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century* [Athens: Center of Asia Minor Studies, 1992], 13).



Figure 3: Eighteenth-century map of the Bay of Izmir (Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. 2 [London: D. Browne, 1718]).



Figure 4: Eighteenth-century view of Izmir (Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. 2 [London: D. Browne, 1718]).

Le 20 mai, le jour de la fête de la Pentecôte, le Sultan a fait un discours à la Chambre des députés, dans lequel il a exposé les principes de sa politique intérieure et extérieure. Il a déclaré que son but principal était de maintenir la paix et l'ordre dans l'empire, et de promouvoir le bien-être de ses sujets. Il a également mentionné les réformes qu'il avait entreprises dans l'administration et l'éducation.

Le 21 mai, le Sultan a reçu à Constantinople le prince de Serbie, qui venait de conclure un traité de paix avec l'empire. Le Sultan a exprimé sa satisfaction de la conclusion de ce traité, et a assuré au prince de Serbie que l'empire était prêt à maintenir la paix et l'amitié avec tous ses voisins.

Le 22 mai, le Sultan a fait un discours à la Chambre des députés, dans lequel il a exposé les principes de sa politique intérieure et extérieure. Il a déclaré que son but principal était de maintenir la paix et l'ordre dans l'empire, et de promouvoir le bien-être de ses sujets. Il a également mentionné les réformes qu'il avait entreprises dans l'administration et l'éducation.

Le 23 mai, le Sultan a reçu à Constantinople le prince de Roumanie, qui venait de conclure un traité de paix avec l'empire. Le Sultan a exprimé sa satisfaction de la conclusion de ce traité, et a assuré au prince de Roumanie que l'empire était prêt à maintenir la paix et l'amitié avec tous ses voisins.

Le 24 mai, le Sultan a fait un discours à la Chambre des députés, dans lequel il a exposé les principes de sa politique intérieure et extérieure. Il a déclaré que son but principal était de maintenir la paix et l'ordre dans l'empire, et de promouvoir le bien-être de ses sujets. Il a également mentionné les réformes qu'il avait entreprises dans l'administration et l'éducation.

Le 25 mai, le Sultan a reçu à Constantinople le prince de Grèce, qui venait de conclure un traité de paix avec l'empire. Le Sultan a exprimé sa satisfaction de la conclusion de ce traité, et a assuré au prince de Grèce que l'empire était prêt à maintenir la paix et l'amitié avec tous ses voisins.

Le 26 mai, le Sultan a fait un discours à la Chambre des députés, dans lequel il a exposé les principes de sa politique intérieure et extérieure. Il a déclaré que son but principal était de maintenir la paix et l'ordre dans l'empire, et de promouvoir le bien-être de ses sujets. Il a également mentionné les réformes qu'il avait entreprises dans l'administration et l'éducation.

Le 27 mai, le Sultan a reçu à Constantinople le prince de Bulgarie, qui venait de conclure un traité de paix avec l'empire. Le Sultan a exprimé sa satisfaction de la conclusion de ce traité, et a assuré au prince de Bulgarie que l'empire était prêt à maintenir la paix et l'amitié avec tous ses voisins.

Figure 5: L'Impartial of Izmir

CHAPTER 2

MAKING URBAN CITIZENS

On September 22, 1857, an imposing ceremony inaugurated the beginning of the works of the İzmir-Aydın railway line. The celebration took place in the open field next to the Caravan Bridge in the presence of the governor, Mustafa Pasha, his staff, and a company of consular and commercial representatives of İzmir [fig. 6]. Ottoman and British flags flew over a large pavilion erected for the occasion while several speeches hailed the support of the Sultan and the efforts of chief engineer George Meredith and of Robert Wilkin, who initially conceived the project. The *müfti* of İzmir offered a public prayer for the success of the railway and for the welfare of the Sultan, also invoking the blessings of the Almighty on the officers of the railway company.¹ The large crowd in attendance acclaimed the governor, who shoveled some earth in a mahogany wheelbarrow and emptied it a few steps further on. Several Ottoman officers and some of the consuls repeated the act at the sound of the imperial march, followed by the firing of twenty-one salvos and the sacrifice of three rams in accordance with Islamic practices. The progress of material improvement and the benefits of the anticipated works to the general prosperity were praised throughout the event. In the words of the reporter to the local newspaper, *L'Impartial*, with the new railway "Smyrna will re-conquer its past glory."²

¹ In the Ottoman Empire, a *müfti* was the chief Muslim religious authority on all matters of Islamic law and jurisdiction and was appointed to a province or a city.

² *Impartial* September 25, 1857, reprinted in *La Turquie* September 30, 1857.

As the composition of celebrants indicated, the Izmir-Aydin railway joined Ottoman government incentives and European capital and expertise. Robert Wilkin, a British merchant residing in Izmir, and his four partners were aware of the potential commercial benefits that railway connections would produce. They also realized that such an investment was beyond the competence of local capital holders or of the Ottoman administration, which at the time was overwhelmed with war related issues. Connected to European trading houses through long-established business networks and familiar with local affairs, they succeeded in acquiring government privileges to build the railway in 1855 and then in selling the contract to entrepreneurs in England.³ The government mainly laid out the parameters of the projects and provided some legal and tax prerogatives to facilitate the endeavors.⁴ The organization and financing, however, was left to private companies that received special privileges to undertake the work and operate the installations for a given period. This practice, introduced with the Izmir-Aydin railway, was used throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to develop capital-intensive works hitherto unprecedented in the Empire.⁵ As we will see in the following chapters, similar concessions created streets lit with gas in 1862, a second railway and train station in 1864, a new harbor and a waterfront promenade in 1869 that transfigured Izmir by cutting through its old-age fabric.

³ Initially, the entrepreneurs in England included Sir Joseph Paxton, George Whytes, Augustus William Rixon, and deputy William Jackson. For the contract see *Mecmua-i Mukavelat*, I (Istanbul, 1302) p.82-102. Also cited in see Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizm'in Türkiye'ye Girişi* (Ankara: Bilim Yayinlari, 1974), 53.

⁴ In 1856, the Ottoman government enacted the expropriation law for public utility to allow railroad developers acquire continuous strips of land and facilitate urban beautification and revitalization. For the full text of the Law for Expropriation for Public Utility, see *Journal de Constantinople, L'Écho de l'Orient*, April 27, 1856. The Ottoman government also waved custom dues on imported machinery, pipes and other necessary equipment used to build public works. See, for example, A. Edwards's request for building Izmir's Gas Works, B.O.A., Irade, Meclis-i Vala, no. 21656.

⁵ Similar concessions were granted in other major cities such as Istanbul, Salonika, or Beirut.

The impetus for using European firms came in the part from the recent Ottoman military alliance with France and England during the Crimean War (1854-56). As noted in Istanbul newspapers, the war pushed the Imperial government to engage foreign capital in the country's industrial and commercial enterprises.⁶ The events surrounding the war had brought unusual numbers of foreigners to Istanbul and to Izmir, making European presence increasingly part of everyday realities there. The war also brought much wealth to these cities' business elite who began to demand modern amenities and institutions found in contemporary European cities. Pressured to allow European capital in such affairs and cognizant of the potential benefits from such investments, the Ottoman government ratified these contracts with relative ease.

The liberal ambience of the opening ceremony and the praising of British capital throughout the celebration, however, concealed a broader realm of politics and power dynamics. The railway was developed in a context of heightened foreign domination and intervention that gave considerable authority to foreign investors and merchant colonies residing in the Empire. Although the empire was never directly conquered or colonized by any European states, it had increasingly become the target of European imperial ambitions. A month after the inauguration of the railway, James Whittall, a prominent merchant of the British colony in Izmir, was explicit about British colonial ambitions in Western Anatolia.⁷ He remarked that the railways, constructed, owned, and worked by Englishmen, were "the first and most important step" in the process of turning the Aegean coast into an English colony. He anticipated seeing railway companies and

⁶ "Les Voies de Communication en Turquie, Chemin de fer de Smyrna à Aidin," *Le Moniteur du Commerce*, May 5, 1866, 32.

⁷ In England, James William Whittall was honored with the title 'Sir' for his services in foreign trade. His family was established in Izmir since 1790.

European colonies become “little republics” in Ottoman lands and declare to the Ottoman administration: “We will pay our tithes and taxes . . . but we will manage our own affairs. We will have our own local authorities, our own courts, our own police, our own roads, and our own local taxation for local purposes.” Whittall, however, was aware that the obstacles to achieving this goal would come not only from the Russians, the Greeks, and the French who shared similar imperial aspirations, but also from the still dynamic Ottoman Government.⁸ These views, which were shared by many others, epitomized Europe’s ambivalent relation to the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century. They confirmed the irrevocable reality of European intrusiveness as well as the continuing vitality of the indigenous administration. While European intrusiveness never led to formal annexation, it created more insidious forms of economic and cultural surrender and an uneasy relation of power.

These conditions that operated at the basis of the railway development, however, characterized only one aspect of Izmir’s nineteenth-century urban remaking. The position of James Whittall and of other European merchants established in Izmir was more ambiguous than simply serving as the hidden arm of European imperialism.⁹ Many had been living in Izmir for generations.¹⁰ Although some still held assets in Europe, educated their children in England and France, and visited these countries from time to time, they considered Izmir as their prime home base. More importantly, and as this chapter demonstrates, they were part of the public domain of the city. Izmir’s urban

⁸ Nassau Senior, *A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece*, (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 206-207.

⁹ Although I find the colonial or ‘quasi-colonial’ framework to unduly simplify the complexities of Izmir and the paradoxical relation of the Ottoman Empire vis-à-vis Europe, I draw on post-colonial approaches to provide insight into the diversity of everyday, and sometimes hidden, responses to the material effects of hegemonic order.

remaking was not only connected to the forces of European imperialism and Ottoman modernization, but also inextricably linked to local politics of space. Processes of imperial expansion and state modernization critically intersected with existing networks of power, social and spatial arrangements, and patterns of land ownership and urban management. In the following pages, I open up the spatial and political contexts of pre-Tanzimat Izmir and the geography of modernity that resulted from Tanzimat reorganization. I focus on both the material effects of these transformations and the diversity of responses occasioned by contending groups about access to land, property, and right of representation. I maintain that the reform trend was critical in making Izmir's diverse population part of a larger urban collectivity.

This first railway of Anatolia, planned for two years and under construction for about eight, solidified Izmir's leading position in the region. It connected the port of Izmir to the prominent interior town of Aydın, reducing the four-day caravan trip to a mere three-hour distance. In 1864, a second railway, the Izmir-Kasaba line was begun, linking Izmir to Alaşehir (Philadelphia) [fig. 7]. These first railway lines of Anatolia followed the course of fertile river valleys, the Menderes (Maeander) and the Gediz (Hermus) respectively, and sped the flow of agricultural and mineral wealth from interior locales into Izmir's year-round harbor. Figs and grapes were grown in neighboring vineyards and cured in Izmir. Valonia, used in tanning and dressing leather, was collected chiefly from trees in the Gediz region, then cleaned and sorted in the city. Madder roots, used in dyeing, were picked, packed, and pressed locally. Other articles

¹⁰ On the Whittall family, see Melih Gürsoy, *Tarihi, ekonomisi ve insanlari ile bizim Izmirimiz* (Istanbul:

such as silk, cotton, opium, rugs and carpets as well as sponge, emery, and chromium were brought from interior districts and towns to the port where they could at once be assembled, packed, and shipped to various European destinations. Steam-line connections with Liverpool, London, Marseilles, and Trieste as well as direct steamers to all leading Eastern Mediterranean seaports anchored Izmir as a center for international trade, making it "one of the greatest commercial cities in the *Osmanlı* dominions."¹¹

Ottoman Izmir's commercial fortune, however, predated the advent of the railway and can be traced back to the mid-sixteenth century when the settlement expanded from a small port town, shipping regional produce to Istanbul, into a seaport handling international trade.¹² The site of the railway inauguration, next to the renowned Caravan Bridge, alluded to this long history. For over two centuries, the bridge had sustained a daily traffic of caravans. Strings of camels, carrying bales of good and produce, reached the city after crossing the Caravan Bridge. This single-arched masonry bridge, also called *Kemer Köprüsü* (Arched Bridge), connected the banks of the Meles river (*Kemer çayı*) and served as the main entry point from the interior [figs. 8 and 9]. Located at the eastern extremity of the town, the bridge was famed among nineteenth century visitors for its picturesque vistas. Flanked by Turkish cemeteries and filled with tall cypress trees and scattered fragments of Greek and Roman art, it provided an ideal site for European observers to come and admire the remnants of the past or to watch the 'curious' attire and

Metis Yayincılık, 1993), 96-104.

¹¹ *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia: including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, plain of Troy, isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, &c., Smyrna, Ephesus, and the routes to Persia, Bagdad, Moosool, &c* (London: John Murray, 1878), 255.

¹² On Izmir's economic growth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990); Necmi Ülker, *XVII. ve XVIII. yüzyıllarda Izmir şehri tarihi* (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994). On economic growth in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth centuries, see Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire and the world*

physiognomies of camel drivers.¹³ For most of the population, however, this long-trodden junction between the city and its hinterland was a critical element of the city's commercial landscape. It connected Anatolian trade routes first to the warehouses and then to the harbor [fig. 10]. Passing the bridge, long-distance caravans followed the road that led them through outlying cemeteries, orange groves, and gardens to the bazaar where goods were traded or stored prior to being shipped to different parts of the Mediterranean. Large commercial structures or *khans* anchored the streets of the bazaar and often served the double purpose of storing goods and providing lodging for caravan traders.¹⁴ Peasants from nearby towns with heavily laden carriages, donkeys, and ox-carts also came through the same path to sell their crops to merchants and supply the city with daily provisions. Midway between the bridge and the bazaar the road was equipped with an open rest place, a public fountain, and a guardhouse where those who came from shorter distances could rest their beasts before returning to their village [fig. 11].¹⁵

In the mid-nineteenth century, commercial activity centered on a dense bazaar, located on level ground to the south of the city between the shore and the foot of Kadifekale (Mount Pagus), and on a stretch of land along the shore, extending north from the bazaar [fig. 12]. The site's topography and intensifying trade activity reshaped the commercial fabric for over two centuries in an arrangement that facilitated functions

economy: the nineteenth century (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Eleni Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Center of Asia Minor Studies, 1992).

¹³ Usually travelers described the bridge as a memorable place to catch glimpses of their awaited Orient, or as one observer put it, "it is Asia, the real Asia, as we dream of it," see Maxime Du Camp, *Souvenirs et Paysages d'Orient* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1848), 34.

¹⁴ Generally, khans were two-story high and built on a rectangular plan around a large courtyard with a fountain at the center. They had one or two points of entry with strong doors that were locked at night. The lower level was used as offices for sale or depositories for the keeping the goods and the upper level with an encircling corridor and small rooms for sleeping.

related to the marketplace. The bazaar originally grew in a horseshoe of streets around an early inner harbor. On the north stood an old crusader's castle (*Hisar* or *Ok Kalesi*) built to protect the inner harbor and to collect dues from ships [fig. 10].¹⁶ By the mid-eighteenth century, as trade activity intensified, the inner harbor was filled and the bazaar expanded over landfill, keeping the concentric network of streets. As in other bazaars, dealers occupied small shops clustering by trade along the same streets. Khans, too, displayed a similar sorting by merchandise or vocational group. Those connected with long-distance trade functioned as specialized warehouses, while others were used by local artisans and entirely occupied by small shops of the same craft. This spatial sorting kept all parties informed of the actual value of any article at any given time. In addition, numerous coffee shops, mosques, *mescits*, and bathhouses interspersed in the marketplace served the daily social and religious needs of the male population while small groceries and Chandler shops provided workers with daily supplies.¹⁷ This self-contained organization also conformed to the general pattern of separating workplace from residence common to Ottoman cities.¹⁸ In Izmir, the bazaar was primarily a commercial center that served the entire population while residential neighborhoods –

¹⁵ For a description of the place, see Eugene Flandin, *L'Orient* (Paris: Gide et Baudry, 1852), pl. 50; Marchebeus, *Voyage de Paris à Constantinople par bateau à vapeur, Nouvelle itinéraire* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1839), 124.

¹⁶ The Castle was rebuilt by the Genoese, and later by the Knights of Rhodes who kept it until Tamerlane took over Izmir. It was restored in 1607 by Izmir's notables to protect the city from the attacks of pirates and brigands and had been in disuse since the mid-eighteenth century. Until its removal in 1870 the castle was occupied by Muslim families and had a guardhouse attached to one of its outer angles, George Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1856), 8-9, 19, Tuncer Baykara, *Izmir Şehri ve Tarihi* (Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974), 28-29. On the 1607 reconstruction, see Goffinan, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, 135.

¹⁷ Mescit means a small mosque or oratory.

¹⁸ The separation of residence from workplace was a common pattern throughout the Middle East and has been attributed to the need to separate private from public space based on a combination of Islamic and pragmatic criteria. On a background and discussion, see Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19

some on the upper town, the remainder on the plain behind the shore – grew outwardly from the bazaar and sorted themselves by religion and social class.

The shore to the north of the bazaar, however, developed on a different pattern and combined from the outset both commercial and residential functions. As foreign merchants established themselves in the city, they also built secure houses within large gardens with stores and warehouses below and residences above. These houses opened on one side to the water and had private wharves that extended out to the sea to allow merchandise to be shipped directly to and from them. On the other side, they faced Frank Street, which was named after its original occupants and ran parallel to the shore, ending at the northern edge of the bazaar.¹⁹ In the mid-eighteenth century, as the inner harbor was filled, port functions were directly carried to the shore of the bay. Demand for more land forced growth in the northern direction.²⁰ Gradually, the properties along Frank Street lost their vast gardens. By the early nineteenth century, they developed into a tightly built fabric of contiguous long houses that opened to the shore through a series of closely spaced, narrow and privately-owned vaulted streets, flanked by small shops and warehouses and called *verhanes*.²¹

The expansion and density of the bazaar and the tightening of the fabric on the shore pointed to the city's economic livelihood as well as to its ingrained geography of commerce. This long-established structure presented the railway company with

(1987): 158-176; Dale Eickelman, *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1881): 277-294.

¹⁹ Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 2. See also Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1735); Corneille Lebrun, *Voyage au Levant*, vol. 1 (Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Claude Bouche à Arouen, 1725); Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant*, vol. 2 (London: D. Browne, 1718).

important decisions on how to bring the line into the city, where to locate its final stop, and how to connect the terminus to the harbor. As journalistic reports suggested, in the months preceding the inauguration, the local business elite critically broached these questions.²² In the process a sharp difference emerged between one group favoring development near the bazaar and another proposing the Point district at the northern extremity of the city. Debating parties were aware of the consequences of these decisions on the structure of the city. One group maintained that the development would be more beneficial to all classes of Smyrniotes if located near the bazaar, where all necessary appendages such as large warehouses, spacious khans protected from fire, and customs offices were readily available. In contrast, the second group proposed the Point, which was largely a marshland, suffering in summer months from stagnant waters and in winter from inundation, suggesting that the railway would drive development away from the already tightly built city center. Reporting these two views, the commentator of the *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient* disapproved of a development near the Point because the prospects of the railway would spark land speculation by affluent merchants and industrialists.²³ Not long before, European industrial establishments including a large silk-winding factory, a distillery, a soap factory, steam mills, and a windmill had begun to spurt up in this previously vacant edge of town.²⁴ Eventually, the

²⁰ Other directions for growth were blocked since most wealthy Muslims refused to convert their residence into markets, see Mübecceç Belik Kıray, *Örgütlesemeyen şehir: İzmir'de is hayatının yapısı ve yerleşme düzeni* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1972), 32.

²¹ Sometimes also called *ferhane* or *frenkhane*, literally the residence of the Franks (Europeans).

²² *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient* ran two long commentaries on this issue, see February 16, and March 2, 1857.

²³ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, February 16, 1857.

²⁴ The Point is also called Punta or *Tuzla burnu* (Salt Point).

The silk-winding factory was built by a Frenchman, Jean Mathon, in 1842 and later transferred to Cousinéry & Co., see *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*, 256. See also, Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes, Série Chancellerie, Smyrne, no. 264, Régistre 1843, cited in Marie Carmen-

company built the Izmir-Aydin railway terminus near the Point, a decision that was driven by the availability of large tracts of land, and partly by the pressures of landholding merchants [figs. 13 and 14].

As the location of the railway indicated, European-language papers and foreign merchant colonies took on an active role in restructuring city spaces. They not only used urban space for dwelling and for their daily livelihood, as they had done for centuries, but also started to occupy and inhabit these spaces in a different way. This new engagement in their urban environs and in its the management was expressed in other instances and was connected to changing views about what it meant to be an urban citizens.

Politics of Citizenship

Concurrent with the advent of the railway, Izmir's growing and prospering business elite openly began to voice the pressing problems of their urban milieu and called for immediate governmental action. As recorded in the newspapers of the period, they regularly appealed for improvements by bringing urban problems ranging from questions of security, health, and order to those jeopardizing the commercial viability of the city to the attention of the local governor. A delegation, headed by M. A. Edwards, former editor of the newspaper *L'Impartial*, for instance, reiterated these issues in an 1872 memorandum addressed to the governor of Izmir, Hamdi Pasha.²⁵ They underscored the dangers caused by open sewers and marshland at the Point and by the periodic floods of the Meles River that inundated adjacent neighborhoods. They

Smyrnelis, "Les Européens et leur implantation dans l'espace urbain de Smyrne (1750-1850)," paper delivered at Séminaire international: Les étrangers et la ville: les modalités d'implantation dans l'espace physique urbain XVème-XVIIIème siècle, November 1995.

²⁵ The memorandum was drafted on the occasion of the Porte's recent practice of sending informants (or *jurnalcis*) to assess the general needs and complaints in the provinces. *La Turquie*, January 16, 1872. See also *La Turquie*, January 30, March 16, April 9, and August 20, 1872.

complained about the lack of police action in preventing the encroachment of vendors on major thoroughfares and the odors of the impromptu fish market in front of the Lazarist church on Frank Street. They also pressed for measures to prevent the silt that gradually blocked the ships from entering the bay, for replacing the old lazaretto, and for restructuring the ineffectual municipal administration.

Members of the delegation, who presented these problems, were aware of their peculiar position as insider and outsider to the Ottoman system.

Although of foreign nationality, we do not consider the ties that bind us here to be any less strong than those that secure the natives. Among us are families who have been residing here for several generations, all having considerable real estate and commercial interests. We wish to address you in this spirit, both on our behalf and on the behalf of our co-citizens and we hope that you would hear us in the same spirit and feeling of the public good that brings us to you.²⁶

Underlying this plea for public good (*le bien public*) was a self-conscious attempt to deal with the contradiction of being foreigners, yet of wanting to partake in local affairs. The commentaries in Istanbul newspapers indicated that the question of who could speak for and participate in the internal affairs of the Empire had been an issue for some time. In a long article entitled "What is considered as public opinion in Turkey" (*Ce qu'on dit être 'l'opinion publique' en Turquie*) the *Journal de Constantinople* sharply delineated the paradoxical conduct of outsiders striving to act as insiders. Speaking of the way the affairs of the Ottoman Empire were being handled, the reporter avowed,

What a peculiar country, we wonder! A country with unheard patience and tolerance! A country in which foreigners get more than their share

²⁶ "Quoique étrangers de nationalité, nous ne nous croyons pas moins attachés au pays par les liens aussi solides que ceux qui y rattachent les indigènes. Il y a parmi nous des familles qui y demeurent depuis plusieurs générations, et nous y avons tous des intérêts immobiliers et de commerce très considérables. A ces titres nous croyons prendre la parole aussi bien en notre nom que celui de nos con-citoyens, et nous espérons que vous voudrez bien nous entendre dans le même esprit et dans le même sentiment, celui du bien public, qui nous amènent auprès de vous". *La Turquie*, April 9, 1872.

and natives receive less than their due! Who speaks of politics, who criticizes the government, who gives it advice, who meddles with its business, who interferes continually in ministerial affairs, who spreads such news or such rumors, who approves or disapproves? – the foreigner. The government, however, is an Ottoman government: Turkey is a free power, autonomous and sovereign. It is an Empire by treaties and by European public law!²⁷

Such views were probably formulated with the intention of defending the position of the Empire before a broader European audience and with awareness that elsewhere the boundaries between 'natives' and 'foreigners' were drawn differently. Referring to the way governments elsewhere primarily sought the opinion of those they directly governed, the commentator piercingly remarked that they would laugh in Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, that they would frown in St. Petersburg, if somebody said to any of these governments: "But watch out! There are Germans, Italians, French, British, Russians who are dissatisfied and feel that government affairs are not working, who are not agreeing with taking such loan, are not finding such measure well-studied, are not approving of the appointment of such individual, etc."²⁸ In the language and logic of nation-states, inclusion in local politics required, first and foremost, citizenship in the country. From that perspective, the situation in Istanbul was a deviation from the norm found in major European cities. Foreign residents, who assumed too readily that their views had to weigh more than those of the country, were thus reversing standard nation-state politics.

²⁷ "Singulier pays que celui-ci, nous disions-nous. Pays de patience et de tolérance infinie! Pays où tout étranger se croit permis plus que le sien propre; où tout indigène se croit permis moins qu'il ne peut! Qui est-ce qui y parle politique, qui est-ce qui y critique le pouvoir, qui est-ce qui lui donne des conseils, qui est-ce qui s'y mêle de ses affaires, qui est-ce qui s'occupe sans cesse de ce qui se passe dans les régions ministérielles, qui est-ce qui fait courir tel bruit, telle rumeur, qui est-ce qui approuve ou désapprouve [sic]? – L'étranger. Le gouvernement y est un gouvernement OTTOMAN : La Turquie est une puissance libre, autonome, souveraine! C'est un empire de par les traités et le droit public européen!" *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, November 4, 1861.

²⁸ "Mais prenez garde, il y a ici des Allemands, des Italiens, des Français, des Anglais, des Russes qui sont mécontents, qui pensent que les affaires du gouvernement ne marchent pas, qui ne sont pas d'avis que l'on

Playing on this contrast, the newspaper editor upbraided European residents for condemning the government whenever it put aside “a few hundred thousand noisy individuals to pay attention to the thirty or forty million souls entrusted to it by providence and take care of them first!”²⁹

This forceful call to restrain foreign intrusion in local politics alluded to two prevalent principles capable of tying individuals to a given country. One was the common practice in Ottoman lands based on the divine right of the ruler and defined by subjection to the sultan.³⁰ The other was through birthright and nationality that was used in European nation-states and extended to European communities in the Empire. In their memorandum to Hamdi Pasha, however, the members of the Izmir delegation defined their belonging to the city and their right to partake in its body politic in a different manner. They justified their demands based on place of residence, on landholding, and on contribution to the city’s commercial vitality. This particular formulation set the tone for larger patterns of urban politics in Tanzimat Izmir. More importantly, it provided the multi-national business elite the premise to appeal for participation in the spheres of urban management and politics.

Central to this statement was a notion of urban citizenry that overrode residents’ prior national or religious origins. This was different from the equation ‘citizenship equals nationality’ that had become the basis of modern citizenship models. Modern

contracte tel emprunt, qui trouvent que telle mesure n’est point assez étudiée, que le choix de telle personne n’est pas heureux, etc.,” *Journal de Constantinople*, November 4, 1861

²⁹ *Journal de Constantinople*, November 4, 1861

³⁰ This practice was based on the fundamental concept that the social order (*nizam-ı alem*) was of divine origin and that the duty of the sultan was to maintain order by keeping everyone in the appropriate social position, see Ergun Özbudun, *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 26. On Ottoman Statecraft, see H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen,

notions of citizenship had been grounded in liberal theory and practice that were not congruent with the historical experience of the empire and were only introduced to Ottoman lands in the mid-nineteenth century.³¹ The citizenship alluded in the memorandum, however, concurred instead with what Etienne Balibar calls 'ancient citizenship' and in which the city, rather than the nation-state, established the scope.³² In that way, citizenship referred to a particular relationship between individuals and the city governed by more or less codified rights, obligations, and principles of exclusion and inclusion.

Reaching to the heart of the statement in the memorandum requires closer attention to the 'pact' or the relation between the Ottoman State and the inhabitants within its territorial limit. The Ottoman empire has usually been defined as multi-cultural by virtue of its size, and the multi-lingual and the multi-ethnic peoples it encompassed.³³

Islamic society and the West; A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East, vol. 1 (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pt. 1.

³¹ For an overview and discussion of current debates on liberal models of citizenship, see the collection Gershon Shafir, ed., *The Citizenship Debates* (Minneapolis: university of Minnesota Press, 1998). The feminist, communitarian, and multi-cultural critiques of liberalism's ideals of citizenship resonate with recent attempts to delineate alternative forms of citizenship in colonial and non-European settings. See Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Partha Chatterjee, *Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), ch. 11; Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

In the Ottoman Empire, the concept of nationality, *tabiyet*, was acknowledged in the Tanzimat edict of 1856, but was officially adopted in 1869. On the Ottoman law on nationality, see A. Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 1 (Vienne-Leipzig: C.W. Stern, 1908), 122-131.

³² I borrow the distinction 'ancient' versus 'modern' citizenship from Etienne Balibar, who opposes ancient citizenship – based on a "network of community affiliations that constituted the very structure of the city [and] was characterized by one's objective personal status, be it hereditary or quasi-hereditary" – to modern citizenship founded on universal ideals of equal and autonomous citizens. He also remarks that "citizenship can only exist where we understand a notion of city to exist," see Etienne Balibar, "Is European Citizenship Possible?" in James Holston, ed., *Cities and Citizenship* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 198. Current debates on globalization have sparked a renewed interest in cities as the arena for the development of citizenship, see the collections *Cities and Citizenship*; Engin F. Isin, ed., *Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000).

³³ Historically, the Ottoman empire blended the cultural traditions of the Byzantine, Sassanid, Turkic, Mongol, and Arab polities, encompassed people who were, linguistically, Turks, Greeks, Armenians,

The administrative structure of the empire had allowed peoples of diverse religions, ethnic groups, languages, dialects, and customs to coexist and prosper. Social heterogeneity and coexistence was apparent in the ways people were taxed and named, and by what they called themselves. The Ottoman polity first divided people into *askeri* and *reaya*. The former referred to the members of the military-administrative class to whom the sultan had delegated religious or executive power and who were exempted from taxes.³⁴ The latter comprised everyone else: peasants, urban craftsmen and merchants, and nomads, who paid taxes but had no part in the government. Second, the Ottoman tax structure further divided the *reaya* into three categories: Muslim subjects, non-Muslim subjects or *zimmi*s, and foreigners or *müstemin*.

These divisions were based on Islamic law that provided the foundation and the overall organizing structure for social and political life in the empire. In the tradition of Islam, Jews and Christians were recognized as the people of the book or *zimmi*. When they lived under Islamic rule, they were entitled to protection in return for payment of a special tax imposed in proportion to wealth called *jizye* and a land-tax, *haraç*. They also had to accept certain restrictions that marked them as a class inferior to their Muslim fellow subjects.³⁵ Foreigners residing temporarily in Muslim territory were exempt from

Kurds, Georgians, Arabs, and Persians, and included people who were, religiously, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish.

³⁴ The *askeri* (or the military) was the ruling class and included officers of the court and the army, civil servants, and the *ulema* (scholars of Islamic law), see Halil İnalcik "The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey," in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, eds., *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 42-63.

³⁵ These restrictions varied according to region and time. Generally, *zimmi*s were known to be at a legal disadvantage in comparison to Muslims. In court cases, their evidence was not accepted against that of a Muslim. The Muslim murderer of a *zimmi* did not suffer the death penalty, a Muslim could marry a *zimmi* woman but a *zimmi* man could not marry a Muslim woman. *Zimmi*s had to wear distinctive clothing not to be mistaken for a Muslim, were forbidden to ride horses or carry arms and were restricted in building places of worship. See Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, vol.2, ch. 14; Gülnihâl Bozkurt.

taxation up to a period of one year, after which they were placed on the same footing as zimmis and were subject to special taxes.³⁶

The difference between a Muslim, a zimmi, and a foreigner were further formalized through an administrative arrangement that built upon earlier practices of the Roman and Byzantine empires of allowing subject communities to retain and apply their own laws.³⁷ Ottoman conquest was relatively flexible and took into account the local customs of conquered territories. It incorporated local elites and local legal conventions into its administration. In the early days of Ottoman expansion, the principal groups of non-Muslims were Greek Orthodox, Gregorian Armenians, and Jews. Ottoman sultans made use of the communal structures and divisions already in place. Using rabbis, patriarchs, and priests as liaisons with and administrators of the various non-Muslim communities, the ruling power reorganized these groups according to distinct laws and tax obligations. The sultans entrusted the ecclesiastical heads with fairly extensive civil authority over matters of internal administration. In addition to their spiritual powers and to the supervision of subordinates, the patriarch or, in the case of Jews, the grand rabbi, controlled ritual and charitable affairs, education, and civic matters such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance and had jurisdiction over most legal cases between members of the community.³⁸

Alman-İngiliz belgelerinin ve siyasi gelişmelerin ışığı altında gayrimüslim Osmanlı vatandaşlarının hukuki durumu, 1839-1914 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989).

³⁶ Nasim Sousa, *The Capitulatory Régime of Turkey, its History, Origin, and Nature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), 39, fn. 12.

³⁷ Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, vol. 2, 212-213; Roderick Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 12-14.

³⁸ The general in the Ottoman empire was the Shariah (Islamic Law). The Shariah courts were available to all Ottoman subjects, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. However, if members of zimmi communities wished to handle their internal affairs within their own communal courts, they were free to do so. For a summary of Ottoman legislation, see J. H. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, trans. Lady Easthope (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 134-166.

The authority of the ecclesiastical head over his co-religionists scattered about the empire had its origin in a once commonly observed principle that law was personal rather than territorial and that religion rather than country of residence or political allegiance determined the law under which an individual lived.³⁹ This principle might seem astounding to someone living in the era of mature nation-states in which jurisdictions throughout have become territorial and states have exclusive sovereignty over their territory. Yet, it was current in the West until the decline of the city-states of the Middle Ages and it was still current in the nineteenth-century Near East.

The concept of personal law and of granting individual and group privileges was applied, most explicitly and extensively, to colonies of European merchants who were established in Muslim lands under the supervision of their consuls. The origins of these privileges predated the Ottoman conquest and are to be sought in the expansion of trade between Italian city-states and the Eastern Mediterranean. Muslim rulers, wanting to encourage the development of their trade, granted foreign merchant settlers freedom of worship, liberty to trade, and extraterritorial rights.⁴⁰ In the Ottoman context, extraterritorial privileges, known as the capitulations, were granted to foreign merchants residing in the Empire from 1535. These entitled them to special immunities and placed

³⁹ For a discussion on the "personality of law," see Sousa, *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey*, 15-33; G. Péliissié du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations dans l'Empire ottoman*, vol. I (Paris: A. Rousseau, 1902-1905), 21.

⁴⁰ Byzantine emperors also used this principle. At least from the twelfth century onwards, Venetian, Genoese and other merchant communities who lived in the Eastern Mediterranean were organized under the civil and legal jurisdiction of consuls of their own nations and obtained special privileges. The concept was reconfirmed and continued by their Ottoman successors. On the origins of extraterritoriality see, Sousa, *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey*, 17; Ange Aliotti, *Des Français en Turquie; spécialement au point de vue de la propriété immobilière et du régime successoral* (Paris: Marchal & Billard, 1900), 13-28; Mahmoud Essad, *Du régime des capitulations ottomanes, leur caractère juridique d'après l'histoire et les textes* (Stamboul: Fratelli Haim, 1928), 13-22.

them under the laws of their respective countries.⁴¹ The capitulatory regime played a particularly important role in the overall structure of Ottoman port cities and differed substantially from the regulation of zimmi. Unlike zimmi regulations, the capitulations were codified in a treaty and did not depend on the will of the Sultan. They were much more extensive than zimmi grants in matters of individual freedom and, more importantly, they exempted their holders from the heavy taxes that zimmi had to pay. The Tanzimat reforms further codified this social arrangement developed for state revenue purposes in what came to be known the 'millet system'.⁴² Throughout the nineteenth century, this heterogeneous society remained sorted on the basis of differentiated rights or claims that derived from membership in national or religious groups.

The geography of plurality

This social and legal organization had particular spatial implications. As indicated in nineteenth-century maps of Izmir and in numerous travel descriptions, a spatial sorting of the city by religious and linguistic groups often complemented this pattern of legal separation.⁴³ Residential neighborhoods extended inland from the bazaar with the

⁴¹ The term 'capitulations' comes from Latin and is used for a treaty written under articles (*capitula*) or minor heads of several stipulations. It was first employed to describe an agreement between the Greek Emperor and the Genoese colony in 1275, referring to the articles therein as "capitula." In the Ottoman context, the first capitulations were signed between Süleyman the Magnificent and the French King in 1535, and were renewed and codified in 1740, serving as a basis for later reconfirmation of their clauses in 1802, 1838, and 1861. For an overview of the capitulations in the Ottoman Empire, see Isaac Amar, *Les Capitulations en Turquie, dans le Levant et en Extrême-Orient* (Geneva, 1922); Essad, *Du régime des capitulations ottomanes*; Sousa, *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey*. For a compilation of the capitulatory rights acquired over the centuries, see A. Schopoff, *Les réformes et la protection des chrétiens en Turquie, 1673-1904: firmans, bérats, protocoles, traités, capitulations, conventions, arrangements, notes, circulaires, règlements, lois, mémorandums, etc.* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1904).

⁴² See "Introduction: Framing the Public," fn. 20.

⁴³ The division of urban space by religious, ethnic, or linguistic neighborhoods was common, albeit not limited, to the Muslim world. Under Ottoman rule, residential segregation took different forms and different levels of rigidity, depending on location. The physical division between quarters was not pronounced in Anatolian cities (as in former Arab cities where quarters were marked by gates or walls)

majority of the Muslim population living on the acclivity of the Kadifekale to the south. Adjacent to the Muslims quarters on the hill, Jewish areas extended down onto the plain, and next to them on level ground the Armenian quarter adjoined the Caravan Bridge Road. Greeks predominated the neighborhoods to the north of the city and behind the linear stretch on the shore known as the Frank quarter [fig. 15]. The very presence of distinct Muslim, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Frank quarters gave a material dimension to the cultural and legal differences that set Izmir's diverse population apart, although it did not lead to a ghettoization of religious or national groups. A closer reading of the city through court records and official documents reveal that these larger quarters were not as homogeneous as might be imagined. They were usually subdivided into smaller units that consisted of a few streets centered on and sometimes named after a church, a mosque, or a synagogue. For instance, in the midst of the Muslim quarters on the hill were small Greek neighborhoods, the *Apano mahalle*, clustered around the small Greek Orthodox church of St. John, and the *Panagia*, centered around the church of St. Mary.⁴⁴ In addition, several Jewish and Muslim families lived in the same neighborhood.⁴⁵

While the structure of residential neighborhoods followed a religious and national sorting, day-to-day activity in the city did not comply with this general trend. Commercial life worked within more flexible and interchangeable categories than those defined for official purposes or those structured by the neighborhood. It was shaped

since the strength of the central government precluded the need for a defensive system. On the spatial structure of Arab cities see, Dominique Chevallier, *L'Espace social de la ville arabe* (Paris: G.- P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1979); André Raymond, *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Paris: Sindbad, 1985). On the spatial structure of Anatolian cities see, Sevgi Aktüre, 19. yüzyıl sonunda Anadolu kenti mekânsal yapı çözümlemesi (Ankara: O.D.T.U. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1978).

⁴⁴ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 12.

⁴⁵ Based on a population study of Muslim neighborhoods in 1844 see, Mübahat Küçüköğü, "İzmir nüfusu üzerine bazı tesbitler," in *İzmir Tarihinde Kesitler* (İzmir: İzmir Yayıncılık, 2000), 11-34.

through other forms of occupational and linguistic affinities and business relations, linked to traders who moved around the Mediterranean. For centuries, Eastern Mediterranean seaports had generated a level of cultural promiscuity, which is perhaps best captured in the versatile designation 'Levantine'.⁴⁶ European observers used the word Levantine to designate a person of mixed lineage who was neither European nor Arab or Turk and who lived along the Eastern Mediterranean shore. Although the term has been employed very loosely with a variety of associations, it stood as an important indication of an intense cultural heterogeneity and admixture and was characterized by a particular intersection of nationality, class, and religion.⁴⁷ The Levantine world shared a language of trade, which merged Arabic, Greek, Italian, Ladino, and French, and encompassed Muslims, Jews, and Christians. It allowed for ways of living and thinking and for styles of life that were not always in accord with communities and cultures of origin, and that had drawn on diverse ideas, traditions, and innovations.

In the nineteenth-century, to be Levantine was also linked to the possibility of subverting fiscal divisions by shifting from a zimmi to a foreign protected status. A Greek Orthodox subject of the sultan, for example, could purchase from the Russian, British, or Hellenic consulate a *berat* or a deed of grant that assured its holder a protected status and thus be immune from the duties that defined subjecthood and the obligation

⁴⁶ The epithet Levantine – belonging to the Levant – was important to Europeans' historical imagination of Ottoman Izmir and of the Eastern Mediterranean in general. Until the onset of nation-states in the region, it was commonly used in travel literature and literary works dealing with major Eastern Mediterranean centers.

⁴⁷ Levantine may refer to ethnic or national traits as well as to social and cultural characteristics. Steven Rosenthal wrote: "in the eyes of Western Europeans Levantines were the non-Muslim Ottomans whom they resented and despised, see *Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 130-131. Albert Hourani's definition also hints to fluidity: "to be a Levantine is to live in two worlds or more at once, without belonging to either; to be able to go through the external forms which indicate the possession of a certain nationality, religion or culture, without actually possessing it," see *Syria and Lebanon* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 70.

towards the Ottoman government. Originally, only consular agents, foreign merchants, and certain monasteries and their officials were entitled to foreign protection. In addition, because the consulate had to rely on natives for daily transactions and dealings with Ottoman authorities, it could also issue a limited number of *berats* to protect clerks, guards, and other locals in its service. From the eighteenth century onwards, however, such protection was extended more broadly to the native population. On the payment of a certain sum of money, foreign consuls issued a *berat* to non-Muslim merchants, elevating them to the status of consular agents and in effect granting them the immunities and the economic advantages of a foreign merchant.⁴⁸ This legal maneuver, initially restricted to those who could afford it, took a different aspect when patents were granted on a large scale for political purposes. The motivation to issue these protections came in part from the belief that 'national minorities' were treated unjustly by the multinational empires, such as the Ottoman, the Habsburg, and Tsarist Russia – a common tenet in nineteenth-century liberalism.⁴⁹ While such protection concurred with the role that Western European nation-states had assumed as guardian of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, it also worked as means of furthering European political interest in the region. Nineteenth-century Izmir had been home to large numbers of such foreign-protected

⁴⁸ On the protégés system, see Sousa, *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey*, 93-102; Pierre Arminjon, "La Protection en Turquie et en Égypte" *Revue du droit public et de la science politique*, XVI (1901): 5-44; Philip Marshall Brown, *Foreigners in Turkey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914), 93; Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı ticaretinde gayri müslimler: kapitülasyonlar, avrupa tüccarları, beratlı tüccarlar, hayriye tüccarları, 1750-1839* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1983). For a comprehensive treatment of diplomatic and consular protection, see Francis Rey, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les échelles du Levant et de Barbarie* (Paris: L. Larose, 1899), 244-450.

⁴⁹ For most of the nineteenth century, liberal theorists debated the rights of national minorities in multinational states. For a historical overview and critique of liberal attitudes towards minority rights, see Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), ch. 4.

individuals who could withdraw themselves from the control of the Ottoman government and benefit from tax-exemption.

This transnational and culturally promiscuous milieu centered on Frank Street and vicinity. Although until the turn of the nineteenth century Frank Street was European in terms of its residential population, Europeans and locals alike participated in the quarter's economic livelihood. Local Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Muslims occupied the shops in the area and owned stores and offices there. Taverns, grocery stores, and butcher shops were owned and run by a mixed population.⁵⁰ By the turn of the century, as restrictions that had controlled the location of European merchants' residences and their relations with locals were eased, many of the original inhabitants of the Frank quarter began to move to the neighboring summer villages a few miles inland.⁵¹ Many built imposing villas amidst large gardens to evade the intensity of summer heat. Carriage routes and later the railway facilitated this outward move, bringing the outlying summer villages of Bornova, Buca and Seydiköy at an easy reach from the city [fig. 16]. Independent subsidiary rail lines branched off from the Aydın line to Buca and Seydiköy and from the Kasaba line to Bornova, allowing for easy daily commute to and from Izmir.

⁵⁰ Insurance maps and business directories from the second half of the nineteenth century indicate that shops and residences in the Frank quarter were run and owned by a mixed population, see Charles E. Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna): Turquie* (London: Chas. E. Goad, 1905). Jacob De Andria and G. Timoni, *Indicateurs des Professions Commerciales et Industrielles de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie* (Smyrne: Imprimerie commerciale Timoni, 1894); Panaghiotis Fardhoulis and Cie., *Indicateur Français de Smyrne et Anatolie* (Smyrne: Imprimerie Amalthée, 1900).

⁵¹ Restrictions were imposed by their original nations and consular regulations to discourage foreign merchants in general and French merchants more particularly from establishing themselves permanently in the Levant. They regulated the length of their stay, their purchase of real estate, and their marriage with locals. Until the late eighteenth century European colonies consisted primarily of male population. Later on, however, they began to intermarry with locals and establish more permanently. See Smyrnelis, "Les Européens et leur implantation dans l'espace urbain de Smyrne (1750-1850)."

These shifts turned Frank Street and its vicinity into an increasingly commercial area. Some saw the street as a bustling marketplace where goods from all over the world were on display. Others called it a meeting point of races and languages. Romaic Greek and dialects of French and Italian were heard at all times of the day. While foreign observers always gave considerable attention to Frank Street and dwelled on its prominence in the city, the street was neither a grand nor a wide thoroughfare. In the 1850s it was a narrow two-lane street, located about hundred and fifty meters from the sea, its contour following the irregular sixteenth-century shoreline. Frank Street remained an important artery throughout the nineteenth century, even though it had lost its relative proximity and direct connection to the shore. Its distance from the shore meant that passageways or *verhanes* formerly leading to the marina stopped being used for their old shipping functions, but were subdivided into offices and stores to accommodate the growing need for commercial services [fig. 17]. In the 1870s the addition of a wide quay along the entire length of the city placed Frank Street at an even greater distance from the sea [fig. 18]. The new waterfront promenade and harbor attracted new businesses related to the port, maritime agencies, insurance companies, hotels, restaurants, cafés, and other entertainment functions, gradually relegating Frank Street primarily to retail and other local consumption functions. Frank Street and the *verhanes* opening onto it housed, for example, the city's principal stores such as the large dry-goods stores *Au Bon Marché* and *Orosdi-Back*, the Ottoman Bank and the Credit Lyonnais, printing houses, numerous offices and wholesale stores as well as several hat-makers, goldsmiths, and pharmacies. As telegraph connection and postal services with Europe, India, and Africa were established, a central telegraph office was located in

Madama Han, while French, Austrian, Russian, and English post offices were situated near the English pier. Mail from within the empire arrived to the Turkish post office in Spartali's verhane closer to the bazaar.⁵² Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century an increasingly compact business network grew around the original consulates and churches, which were part of the original Frank quarter, making this section ever more prominent in the economic life of the entire city.

These material transformations coincided with an increase in urban population. Whereas other cities and towns in the region remained relatively stable in size, between 1840 and 1890 the population of Izmir increased steadily and much faster than the Empire's estimated growth.⁵³ Unlike western European cities, which experienced massive rural immigration due to important transformations in agricultural and industrial production technology, in Izmir the incoming population was drawn to the city primarily for trade.⁵⁴ Seasonal laborers arrived from surrounding villages to work at the docks or in the warehouses. Other workers settled more permanently because of opportunities offered by city's growing commercial functions. New neighborhoods were developed on the plain towards the Point among cultivated market gardens planted with orange and mulberry trees. Greeks, immigrating to the city from nearby Aegean islands, were the

⁵² In addition, the railway companies established their own telegraph system at stations along their lines. See *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia*, 247.

⁵³ During this period the population increased by two percent yearly, about twice the average growth rate estimated for the empire, see Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire and the world economy*, 97, 151 fn. 45. On population growth in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey*; Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* IX (1978): 237-274. In addition to migration, fires, earthquakes and epidemics that troubled the city periodically between the seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries ceased to have the same magnitude after 1850s thus contributing to this demographic growth.

⁵⁴ Kiray, *Örgütlemeyen şehir*, 21-23.

majority in these neighborhoods, but other incoming groups also settled in this former edge of town.⁵⁵

The built fabric expanded towards the Point over former green fields, in the direction of the bay, through land reclaimed from the sea, and south along the shore, but remained bounded to the east by the railway tracks until into the 1920s [fig. 19]. The two rail lines intersected at level crossing near the Caravan Bridge. The Aydin line formed the eastern boundary and the Kasaba line, entering the city parallel to the Caravan Bridge Road, ended at the edge of the Armenian quarter at the Basmahane station, named after a former calico-printing establishment on that site [fig. 20]. As noted earlier, while the Point station guided new development to the north, the Basmahane station supplemented extant facilities around the bazaar. The tightly built-up bazaar area also underwent some renovation. The old castle to the north of the bazaar was cleared to open space for new commercial facilities. The former Governor's house or *Konak*, located to the south end of the bazaar next to the imposing U-shape barracks, was renovated in 1866 and the area fronting it reordered, creating a formal administrative center. In 1873, a large prison was added to the south of the barracks and next to the Ottoman hospital built in 1852 to replace the old facility formerly housed in the old Cezayir khan in the bazaar. With the completion of the new quay, a tramline starting at the Point station ran along the whole shore to the Konak area, connecting both extremities of town.

This overall physical reconfiguration also reshaped the life of Smyrniotes who directly or indirectly participated in this larger mercantile milieu and responded to its

⁵⁵ For example, Mortakia, a neighborhood located at the northeast edge of the urban agglomeration was inhabited by Jewish and Greek families, see Smyrnelis, "Les Européens et leur implantation dans l'espace urbain de Smyrne (1750-1850)."

rhythms. The expansion of the urban fabric and population growth diversified the ways city residents occupied and experienced urban spaces. Railway stations, new docks, post offices, cafés, hotels and restaurants brought people together in novel ways, gradually reducing the possibility of knowing one's neighbors. Although face-to-face interaction remained an important part of the daily sociability of the neighborhood, and of the religious community, in other spheres of public life, alternative forms of communication including the local periodical press, readings rooms, and commercial clubs introduced new ways of organizing people and urban communities.⁵⁶

Urban power and authority

Izmir's nineteenth century remaking entailed not only material novelties but also the recognition of the city as a distinct and unified entity requiring specialized services. The Ottoman view of urban government based on Islamic principles, however, did not produce autonomous cities with corporate status and rights. As historian Bernard Lewis remarked, until the onset of the modern era "there was no city but only a conglomeration of families, quarters, and guilds each with their own chiefs and leaders."⁵⁷ The governmental structure did not explicitly differentiate between the administration of

⁵⁶ Clubs included the European, the Greek, the Oriental (Armenian) casinos and the New-Club. They consisted of a card room, newsroom, reception halls where charity balls, parties and theatrical performances took place. Their members belonged to the business elite and unlike their name they catered to a mixed population. Reading rooms included the library of the Greek Orthodox Evangelical school, the Greek Syllagos for literary and scientific talks as well as night classes, the Armenian reading room, containing French, English and Armenian volumes, the reading room of the *Alliance française* run by the Jewish community. Several cafés on the shore, café Lucca, café Costi, l'Eden, l'Alhambra, la Corine, le Posseidon, le Petit marseillais had small bands and served water-pipes (nargile) and coffee to a varied populations. On the social and cultural institutions in Izmir in the 1890s, see Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. 3 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890), 462-470. In addition to political newspapers that circulated in these institutions, commercial gazettes such as *Nunzio Commerciale* in Italian appeared three times a month since 1849, and *Lloyd Smyrnéen* in French was issued three times a week for information on the ships and a summary of imports and exports, see Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 107-110.

⁵⁷ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 393.

urban and non-urban communities or of people residing in cities (*sehr* or *kaza*) and those living in villages and hamlets (*kariye*). It only defined the types of taxes imposed on individuals, agricultural land, and goods and markets and the mode of collection. In Muslim and non-Muslim villages, the task of keeping the registers of the male population and apportioning and collecting agricultural taxes was the duty of the village headmen, who served as intermediary between the government and the tax-paying subjects. In towns where no agricultural taxes were to be assessed, the duty of keeping registers and recording the movement of residents was shared between judicial agents and local religious leaders.

In this arrangement, which persisted until the mid-century, the major authority in cities was the Islamic judge, the *kadi*.⁵⁸ He not only presided over civil and criminal cases, but also supervised most municipal functions. All judicial matters, control of building activity, and inspections of markets were within the *kadi*'s realm of control. The *kadi* imposed market taxes, controlled manufacturers, and punished those who evaded the regulations. He was assisted by various agents in matters of police duties, fire-fighting, and public order all of whom were tied to the Janissary, the elite troop of Turkish soldiers.⁵⁹ Despite the hierarchy of the system of supervision, the central government had

⁵⁸ Ottoman Sultan's sent two chief officials to the provinces. One was the governor general (called *bey* or *pasha*) who was assigned to the province (*sancak*) and was in charge of administrative-military tasks. The other was the Islamic judge (*kadi*) appointed to large cities (*kaza*) and in charge of legal matter.

⁵⁹ The *kadi*'s assistants included a chief of police (*subaşı*), who oversaw public order; a chief of guilds and markets (*ihtisab ağası*), who traditionally supervised the morality of Muslims in public places, controlled the markets, and collected taxes; and a chief architect (*mimarbaşı*), who was responsible for pulling down dangerous buildings and for maintaining sidewalks. The latter seems to have had some control over disputes over property in the city. All these assistants were military officers who employed groups of soldiers for these tasks. For a short treatment of the traditional institutions, see Lewis, *Emergence of modern Turkey*, 393-400; Rosenthal, *Politics of dependency*, 29-34. For the functions of chief architect, see Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda şehircilik ve ulaşım üzerine araştırmalar: şehir mimarları, kaldırımcılık, köprücülük, su-yolculuk, kayıkçılık, gemicilik, nehir nakliyatı, kervan, kervan yolları* (İzmir: Ticaret Matbaacılık, 1984), 21. For a detailed treatment of the traditional institutions in Istanbul, see

a limited role in the life of the residents. The kadi and his officers mainly oversaw municipal functions and collected market revenues.⁶⁰ The actual provision of infrastructure and services, however, was effected primarily through individual or communal charity. The pre-Tanzimat conception of the city precluded governmental concern with municipal amenities, relegating such responsibilities to individuals or to the collective initiative of neighborhoods, religious groups (*cemaat*), or guild brotherhoods (*esnaf*).⁶¹ There were no separate citywide funds or taxes levied for collective services and most urban and municipal services were provided through local religious foundations called *vakif*.⁶² The *vakif* supplied public fountains, road construction, cleaning services, and public parks. However, the gifts of individual benefactors and the *vakif* funds to maintain them were conceived as being granted not to the city as a whole, but to a particular community of worshippers or neighborhood.

Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle: essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1962). A good primary source is Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*, 5 vols (Istanbul: 1914-22). For a shorter account in modern Turkish, see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye'de Sehiciligin Tarihi Inkisafı* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayını, 1936); Siddik Tümerkan, *Türkiyede belediyeler: tarihi gelişim ve bugünkü durum* (Istanbul: R. Zelliç Basımevi, 1946).

⁶⁰ Urban taxes were primarily levied from the market. They included (1) market dues or *bac-i bazar* on local merchandise and produce and varied from one city to another (2) the *masdariye* imposed on items imported from abroad and consumed locally (3) stamp dues or *damga resmi* for guaranteeing the quality of certain merchandise (4) tax on slaughtered animals or *zebhiye* (5) tax on weight and measurements. See Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 2, 22-23.

⁶¹ Osman Nuri Ergin, the founder of Turkish municipal history, distinguished two modes of urban government that coexisted in the pre-Tanzimat era, one based on individualism (*ferdiyet*) that relied on individual donors and another on the community of believers (*cemaat*), see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk tarihinde evkaf, belediye ve patrikhaneler* (Istanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1937), 4-76.

⁶² For a concise treatment of the historical development of the *vakif* institution, see John Robert Barnes, *An introduction to religious foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986); Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *Institution du waqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie: étude socio-historique* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1985). Osman Nuri Ergin suggested that the *vakif* had to be understood as a municipal and social organization not only a religious institution, see *Türk tarihinde evkaf, belediye ve patrikhaneler*, 35-62. On the role of the *vakif* institution in urban development, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bir iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (Ankara, 1942): 279-386 Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Vakif Sistemi ve Türk Sehiciligi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* IX (Ankara, 1971): 13-37; Stéphane Yerasimos, "Les waqfs dans l'aménagement urbain d'Istanbul au XIXe

In this system, largely based on Islamic religious and political theory, individuals defined their status and fulfilled their tax obligations through membership in a guild and in a religious community, rather than on the rights and duties of a uniform citizenship. This arrangement, based on a social system of disconnected and largely self-administered groups, had distinct characteristics. First, various groups had relative autonomy from the central government in regulating their day-to-day lives. Essential municipal services like inspecting markets, setting prices, regulating the guilds, maintaining order and cleanliness on the streets, and controlling building activity were provided by the people themselves and supervised by the heads of guilds or religious authorities. Second, municipal rules and regulations were not totally codified, but defined through various written and oral sources such as imperial orders, juridical rules, customs, and traditions. Flexible jurisdiction and the lack of city funds suggest that municipal works were not carried out uniformly but performed in an *ad hoc* manner by the party or functionary who seemed the most concerned with the matter.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, central authorities introduced a new arrangement of powers and taxation to check ongoing abuses, corruption, and underhand proceedings of semi-autonomous provincial agents. A first phase in the process came in 1826, with the abolition of the Janissary corps that had gradually become a danger to the state. Eradicating the Janissary also meant depriving towns and cities of an important organ of urban control and revenue collection. In the following year, the duties connected with market controls and taxation or *ih̄tisab* were transferred to a newly

siècle," in *Le waqf dans le monde musulman contemporain, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, 1994), 43-49.

founded ministry.⁶³ The ministry of *ihtisab*, however, was not a substitute for previous forms of service provision and control, since it was chiefly concerned with financial matters than delivering actual services.

The next attempt was to abolish the old model of indirect taxation through revenue-farming or *iltizam*.⁶⁴ In conjunction with that in 1840 the government decreed that taxes collected under various titles would be combined into one so that all Ottoman subjects would be bound to a fixed and direct taxation 'according to their means'.⁶⁵ Provincial governors would thus collect only the fixed legal taxes, through appointed civilian tax-officials. Yet in practice, the system of appointing tax-officials was quickly abandoned to return to tax-farming but this time a local council had to assist and supervise the collection of revenues.

The system of local councils established in the early 1840s was an important innovation in the Ottoman Empire, even though the principle of consultative meetings was not uncommon in the Empire and in Islam in general.⁶⁶ To establish a government

⁶³ *Ihtisab* was the practice of applying public morals to commercial transactions. It included fixing market prices to prevent profiteering, control of weights to prevent fraud, and quality control of merchandise. The ministry of *ihtisab* fell short of providing a satisfying solution. In 1854, the ministry was abolished and, in the capital Istanbul, its duties were transferred to a prefect, the *Şehremin*, who was to be assisted by a city council drawn from the guilds and merchants. On the historical development of the *ihtisab* system, see Ziya Kazıcı, *Osmanlılarda ihtisab müessesesi: ekonomik, dini, ve sosyal hayat* (Istanbul: Kültür Basın Yayın Birliği, 1987).

⁶⁴ In the system of the *iltizam*, the right to collect taxes was sold at auction to the highest bidder. The contractor, or *mültezim*, would collect the sum paid for the *iltizam* and any extra sum he could make above that, often leading to abuse. The system underwent several changes in the course of centuries, but was abolished only in 1905. For a brief overview see, H.A.R. Gibb [et al.] eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1960-), 350-351.

⁶⁵ Lewis, *The Emergence of modern Turkey*, 385. On the provision of the new tax, see also Mübahat Kütükoglu "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi kaynaklarında Temettü Defterleri," *Bellekten*, LIX/225 (Ankara, 1995): 395-412.

⁶⁶ In the pre-Tanzimat era, many chief cities had councils (*meclis* or *divan*) that met under the leadership of the governor and included the chief religious, military officials and some Muslim notables. Although the consisted of city notables, these councils had a sporadic nature and limited official power. On the formation of modern councils during the Tanzimat reforms, see Musa Çadirci, "Osmanlı İmparatorlugunda eyalet ve sancaklarda meclislerin olusturulmasi, 1840-1864," in *Yusuf Hikmet Bayur'a armagan* (Ankara:

more attuned to local needs and give these councils broader popularity, council members were chosen from the direct representatives of the various populations. They were elected by the *esnaf* voting in entirety. In addition, to check potential abuses of position, they served for only one year, by the end of which they had new successors. "The idea of this government is obviously in the public interest" wrote *l'Écho de l'Orient* in 1841, announcing the modifications that were expected in the city council of Izmir.⁶⁷ Other administrative changes followed. A decree issued in 1852 extended the power of the appointed provincial governor (*vali*) to make him the effective authority in his province.⁶⁸ In 1864, a new provincial law (*vilayet nizamnamesi*) further detailed the basis of local governance in a more centralized manner. The old provincial units, (*eyalet*) were replaced by substantially larger ones called *vilayets*, at the head of which was the *vali* who now enjoyed extensive powers.⁶⁹ The provincial law also prescribed the mode of appointing local government representatives and of electing provincial boards (*idare meclisi*) to assist the general administration of the province.⁷⁰ In addition, it endowed Izmir, like other major cities, with a municipal board (*belediye meclisi*) for the management of its

Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1985), 257-277. On role of the meclis in city politics with a focus on pre- and post-Tanzimat Arab provinces, see Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861: the Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

⁶⁷ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, October 9, 1841.

⁶⁸ The general governor could suspend and remove all civil functionaries of his government including governors of provinces and districts, members of municipal councils, and chiefs of police. He could also call on the military, the receiver-general of the revenue, the judges and tax collectors, subject to the final decision of the Sublime Porte. On the power of the *vali*, see Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 1, 157-160; Grégoire Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane, ou, Recueil des lois, réglemens, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. 3 (Constantinople: Demétrius Nicolaïdes, 1874), 9-14.

⁶⁹ This hierarchical system was inspired by the French provincial administration based on the *départements*, *arrondissements*, *cantons* and *communes*. The *vilayet* was subdivided into *sancaks* composed of towns (*kazas*) and in turn subdivided into villages or hamlets (*nahiyes*) at the head of each were respectively the *mutessarifs*, *kaymakams* and *müdürs*.

⁷⁰ The duties of the new provincial council included supervising the roads; developing trade, commerce, agriculture; improving education; equitably distributing taxes and collecting new taxes; managing public

own urban affairs.⁷¹ Board members were elected among landowners of the various religious communities for a period of two years after which they could be reelected.

Overall, this new administrative system provided a general framework that encouraged local participation and attempted to formalize it at some levels. For example, the law recognized settlements with a minimum of fifty houses as legal municipal districts. Men over the age of eighteen who paid fifty piastres of tax could vote, while those over thirty who paid one hundred piastres of tax could be elected. Thus, each municipal district elected two members (*muhtars*) in charge of its affairs. In addition, the new system allowed the formation of special expertise committees in large cities. In the second half of the nineteenth century, such committees, called mixed commissions (*muhtelit komisyon*), were frequently formed in Izmir to deal with questions that were beyond the scope of the religious community. These commission were composed of native and foreign delegates and their very existence implied a joint power and duty on the part of local authorities and the Consuls both to direct and execute decisions affecting the larger population. Under the leadership of the governor, these committees addressed specific questions of local importance such as the construction of a particular road, or hospital, the fighting an epidemic, the assessment of new taxes for city improvement, or the clearing of old structures.⁷² In 1862, for example, the governor of Izmir, Mehmed Resid Pasha, nominated a mixed commission to examine the accounts of the steam mill at

lands and building public institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, see Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, vol. 3, 25-27.

⁷¹ The duties of the municipal council included overseeing the construction of all buildings and water distribution in compliance with *vakif* regulations; removing buildings and structures in poor condition and preventing potential public danger; easing free flow within the city; supervising public hygiene and urban beautification; controlling the security of public spaces and roads; monitoring rents; managing fires. The municipal board could also control the provision of piers, public promenades and street lighting. The board was in charge of all urban funds and rental fees, see Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, vol. 3, 37.

the Pointe. The committee consisted of the president Neshed Bey, the political commissary, and eight elected or appointed members whose names indicate the nationally and ethnically mixed character of Izmir's urban elite.⁷³ While these changes may not have produced "a municipality on a large and democratic basis, following the public spirit of the Orient"⁷⁴ as the semi-official paper *La Turquie* rejoiced, the municipal board and mixed committees were important manifestations of a new urban awareness. One that acknowledged that the city was a unified space to be administered by its citizens, albeit with limited participation.

The reform trend in urban government moved away from the Islamic concept that the status, rights, and duties of an individual were rooted in membership in a religious community and toward the western secular concept that status derived from citizenship in the Ottoman Empire and from allegiance to that empire. The reforms not only redefined local government structures and legal practices but also acknowledged, and in many ways facilitated, the involvement of a religiously, ethnically, and nationally plural population in urban affairs. *La Turquie* underscored the new vilayet law's basis in the modern notion of equality of races. "No more Muslims and Christians but citizens of the same nation," publicized the semi-official daily in 1867.⁷⁵

In practice, however, it was a major challenge to undo some of the long held legal differences that existed among peoples. In the system of local powers, foreign consuls, too, had

⁷² On specialized commissions (*Ihtisas komisyonları*), see Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat döneminde Anadolu kentleri'nin sosyal ve ekonomik yapıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 268-272.

⁷³ The members were: Mustafa Efendi, adjunct Imperial commissary to the Aydın Railroad company; Kirkor Abro Efendi and Serkis Semizyan, Armenian Ottoman subjects; D. Amira, Russian; P. Paggy, French; P. Homere, Dutch, John Fischer, British; and Baron de Testa, Austrian. *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, June 18, 1862.

⁷⁴ *La Turquie*, July 17, 1868.

⁷⁵ *La Turquie*, March 16, 1867.

authority that came primarily from the capitulations and from the need to assure that the extraterritorial rights of their co-nationals were observed. In many ways, the consuls in Izmir enjoyed powers that transcended the conventional status of such a body.⁷⁶ They directly managed questions that arose between Ottoman authorities and their co-nationals and held important judicial authority over matters ranging from settling personal disputes to criminal procedures. In addition, while governors' appointments often did not exceed one year, consuls had much longer terms of appointment and local connections, making them more familiar with the issues in the city than government agents.⁷⁷ By the mid-century, as the number of foreign-born residents and -protected subjects increased, so did the sphere of power of the consular body. Often, it was necessary to have local government agents and consuls cooperate on local problems to make decisions respected by the larger population.⁷⁸ Conversely, at times, the consuls were in conflict with the decisions of local authorities, especially when the status of the individual in question straddled the domain of Ottoman and foreign legislation.⁷⁹ At times such opposition

⁷⁶ The consular body was an important part of the power structure in several Eastern Mediterranean cities. On Alexandria, see Robert Ilbert, *Alexandrie, 1830-1930: histoire d'une communauté citadine*, vol. I (Le Caire: Institut Français D'archéologie Orientale, 1996), 103-154; on Salonika, see Meropi Anastassiadou, *Salonique, 1830-1912: une ville ottomane à l'âge des Réformes* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁷⁷ Between 1872-1875, for example, central authorities appointed ten valis to Izmir. Three were successively appointed in 1872: Mehmet Sadik Pasha, Mehmet Sabri Pasha, Hüseyin Avni Pasha; two in 1873: Mustafa Süreyya Pasha, Ahmet Hamdi Pasha; one in 1874: Ahmet Rasim Pasha; and four in 1875: Hüseyin Avni Pasha, Kayserili Ahmet Pasha, Ahmet Esat Pasha, Hurshid Pasha, see Mehmet Okurer, *Izmir Kurulustan Kurtulusu* (Izmir: Ticaret Matbaası, 1970), 117-123. Frequent turnover in the governor's office pointed to increased surveillance and distrust on the part of central authorities. In contrast consular terms tended to be much longer.

⁷⁸ In 1860, for example, the governor Ahmet Pasa, called on the consular body to control the high price of produce and implement the measure among the population of the lower town (composed in majority of non-Muslim), see *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, July 19, 1860.

⁷⁹ As indicated in consular reports, such disputes were frequent because of large number of foreign-protected individuals. One such dispute was reported in the case of the nationality of A. S. Macropoderi, the son of a Roman Catholic reaya who was born in the island of Chios and held an American passport issued by the ambassador of the United States in London. In 1873, when an Armenian subject from Izmir filed a suit against him in the Ottoman court, Macropoderi asked to be tried at the American consulate court. Ottoman authorities, however, claimed that Macropoderi and his father were registered as member of the Latin Catholic community and thus were subjects of the Porte. The case was further complicated because the estate of the father was protected by the Italian consul, see Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, E. S. Smither to Secretary of State, September 6, 1873 and October 24, 1873.

paralyzed the local police. As one observer complained, “whenever an individual who brings himself within the grasp of the police can claim non-Turkish nationality, his consul invariably shields him, no matter what he may have done.”⁸⁰ Such instances were often reported as a “perpetual and often embarrassing interference of foreign consulates,” which complicated the duties of provincial officials.⁸¹ At times they were expressed in terms of cultural or religious clash. Charles Wood, a member of the British colony of Izmir, remarked, for example, that in a city inhabited by a population:

of which the predominant element is Christian, and the distinguishing characteristic a very independent demeanor towards the local authority . . . it has ever been a difficulty with the governors of Smyrna to conciliate the impatient requirements of the Christian part of the population . . . with the habits and notions of the Mussulman part.⁸²

Europe’s increasing influence and the central government’s efforts at modernization did not coalesce as easily as staged in the railway opening ceremony. These two forces that appeared ‘modern’ in inspiration often came into tension, shaping Izmir’s transformation in the course of the nineteenth-century. This tension was perhaps most evident in the conflicts surrounding urban property and trade tax that the Ottoman state introduced in the early 1840s. To reform taxation on urban land was meant to re-establish a greater degree of control over space and society. At the same time, it was critical in a shaping a new awareness of the city as a distinct entity requiring specialized services.

⁸⁰ *Levant Herald*, November 1, 1871.

⁸¹ *Levant Herald*, November 1, 1871.

⁸² *Levant Herald*, May 2, 1866.

Taxation and Citizenry

In 1843, the central government asked the French and English consuls in Izmir to assist the provincial council in apportioning a new income tax called *temettü* that would be hitherto imposed on all their nationals.⁸³ The new tax provision was part of the broader fiscal changes introduced with the Tanzimat and was intended to increase treasury funds through better control over economic life and proper collection of urban taxes. It included not only indigenous populations, but also Europeans who held urban property in Izmir, exercised a trade, or were engaged in local commerce, with the exception of foreign trade. Until then, urban property was exempt from taxation since it was conceived as the extension of one's residence and residence was tax-exempt according to Islamic law.⁸⁴

The tax provision created great turmoil among local foreigners, who held a substantial proportion of urban properties and exercised various trades in the city, but were formerly protected by their extraterritorial privileges that released them from paying the dues imposed on natives. In principle, the Ottoman government had excluded foreigners from the right of holding land in their own names, but this condition did not prevent them from owning urban property in Izmir.⁸⁵ Usually, foreign men registered their real estate in the name of a subject of the Porte or in the name of a female relative or

⁸³ *Écho de l'Orient*, December 8, 1843.

⁸⁴ The provision came as a radical change to former practices. In Islamic legislation, residences were exempt from dues, see François Alphonse Bélin, *Étude sur la Propriété Foncière en Pays Musulman et spécialement en Turquie* (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1862), 66 fn. 133. See also Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. I, 320-322. As to arts and craft permits, they were formerly obtained from the guilds and were not under direct government supervision. For an overview of market and guild practices, see Gabriel Baer, "The administrative, economic, and social functions of Turkish guilds," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* I (January, 1970): 28-50. On guild regulations and organizations in Istanbul, see Ahmet Kal'a, *Istanbul esnaf tarihi tahlilleri: Istanbul esnaf birlikleri ve nizamlari* (Istanbul: Istanbul Arastirmalari Merkezi, 1998).

⁸⁵ Only after 1869 foreigners were allowed to own land and property in Ottoman territories subject to

wife, if she was a reaya and thus could own real estate. The state recognized only the fictive owner, who agreed to figure as the nominal owner vis-à-vis the state and, at the same time, as owing the value of the property vis-à-vis the foreigner (real owner).⁸⁶ This legal fiction seems to have been tolerated by the government since it kept the property subject to the laws of the Empire. It was also agreeable to foreign owners, albeit its inconvenience, since legal tenure required in exchange relinquishing consular jurisdiction and personal privileges in matters related to their property. It became an issue, however, as tax frauds increased. "Smyrniotes have constantly sought to evade paying the dues and now they will be made to pay up" remarked the reporter of the *Levant Herald*, speaking of foreign-born or -protected Smyrniotes. He also blamed civilian tax-officials, who "have been in the habit of swindling it by taking less than the regular dues and returning still less and the Smyrniotes have profited by the system and wherever they could have not paid at all."⁸⁷

This state of affairs was well known to the Sublime Porte and it was probably no coincidence that attempts to redress the situation were initiated in the district of Izmir.⁸⁸ Publishing under government restrictions, *l'Écho de l'Orient* supported the tax-project with ambivalence. Concurring with the decision of the Porte, it promoted it as a way of bringing uniformity to the arbitrary *ad hoc* practices and of introducing a spirit of equity and justice that was deemed to be to the benefit of all. Nevertheless it also cautioned that

⁸⁶ On foreigners' right to hold real estate prior to the 1867 protocol, see Aliotti, *Des Français en Turquie*, 118-134; M. B. C. Collas, *La Turquie en 1861* (Paris: A. Franck, 1861) 80.

⁸⁷ *Levant Herald*, September 17, 1962.

⁸⁸ The terms of the tax to be exacted from Izmir were first detailed in an 'Organic Statute' dated April 29, 1856 and were intended to serve as a model in other parts in the Empire. The regulation was enacted on October 21, 1856. On the official text of the regulation, see *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, November 10, 1856. See also "Memorial to Honorable Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United

such a question required complete openness and good intentions on both parties. "We hope that this tax provision is established with impartiality, intelligence, and regularity as it would be in Smyrna and that it would serve as a principle to be applied throughout the Empire, today applied in only one locality."⁸⁹ The new tax complied with abstract theories of reform and progress, but it was not compatible with the day-to-day practices of Smyrniotes. Foreign nationals had resided in Izmir for centuries. They had claimed the protection of their own consular court, had been subject to the laws of their original countries, and had been exempt from paying any tax except customs duty. Their personal rights had always been linked to original nationality rather than their place of residence. In their view, having to pay taxes on landed property and trade permits contravened the privileges they had enjoyed for centuries. For Ottoman officials, however, the tax was not only a way of increasing treasury revenues, but also of sapping and subverting foreign privileges, which had been increasingly interfering with state actions. Ultimately it aimed at placing many of the covertly protected individuals under Ottoman jurisdiction.

Instituting the tax proved to be more difficult than anticipated and the negotiations between the Porte and the foreign legations in Istanbul took over a decade. In 1856, the Sublime Porte eventually came to some agreement with the foreign powers on the general principle of taxing foreigners' property. Meanwhile, the imperial commissioner, Ali Nihad Efendi, was sent to Izmir to create a modern cadastral survey.⁹⁰ This entailed

States of America from the American residents at Smyrna, Turkey," in Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, E.S. Smither to Assistant Secretary of State, September 7, 1872, Annex E and G.

⁸⁹ *Écho de l'Orient*, December 8, 1843.

⁹⁰ The cadastral survey was part of broader land reforms, aimed at codifying the provisions of *kanuns* (customary laws) and bringing up to date outmoded rules and terminology that had been in existence since the disintegration of the fief system. On Ottoman land reform, see Ömer Lütü Barkan, *Türk toprak hukuku tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940); On the

identifying all property, real estate, and income related to foreign heads of families. It required naming the streets of the neighborhoods, placing the signs on the right hand side of each street, and numbering houses, stores, and vacant lots. It also necessitated drawing up a plan of the city and registering properties in the names of individuals whom the state could then hold directly responsible for the pertinent taxes [fig. 21].⁹¹ In the process, sections of the city with designations that were not agreeable to Ottoman taste were renamed. For example, the Frank quarter was officially subdivided into four neighborhoods and the street that bore its name was divided into four segments, each given a dynastic designation: Mecidiye, Sultaniye, Teşrifiye and Mesudiye.⁹² Although 'Frank Street' continued to be used in popular speech, maps and documents inscribed both the official and the popular designation.

Once the Sublime Porte specified that a total of 1,400,000 piastres would be collected from Izmir and its dependencies, the task of Ali Nihad Efendi was to form a mixed cadastral commission (*emlakın takdiri kıymeti için oluşturulan muhtelit komisyon*) to apportion the amount among individuals.⁹³ Reporting the feelings of Europeans vis-à-vis these changes, the correspondent to the *Journal de Constantinople* questioned the spirit of the new taxation bitterly:

Henceforth, Europeans would be taxed, which is fine; but the intent of the governor should not be to impose taxes for the mere purpose of collecting funds. We believe that he owes us something in return. We are not asking macadam on our streets, nor are we asking for squares and promenades.

reformed land code, see W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation foncière ottomane* (Paris: A.Pedone, 1904).

⁹¹ B.O.A. Irade, Meclisi Vala, no. 5865/4. Also cited in Mübahat Küçüköğlü, "İzmir Temettü Sayımları ve Yabancı Tebaa," in *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler*, 14.

⁹² B.O.A. Irade, Meclisi Vala, no. 5865/1 and 2. Also cited in Küçüköğlü, "İzmir Temettü Sayımları ve Yabancı Tebaa," 14.

⁹³ The commission included foreign and Ottoman subjects as well as consular delegates in order to insure the proper implementation of the tax.

These are luxuries we never dream of. But, at least, the authorities should maintain the roads, allocate a budget to remove refuse that accumulates in the neighborhoods and prevent our streets from turning into pools and muddy marshland on rainy days. They should create a police service, a responsible one. As you see, we are not asking much, but will we ever get it?⁹⁴

Such views were probably heard by the Sublime Porte since from the total amount levied from Izmir, 1,200,000 piastres would be sent to the state treasury and the remainder 200,000 piastres would be used for the beautification of the city and the improvement of sewers and paving.⁹⁵ In the eyes of the reporter to the *Journal de Constantinople*, taxation was not the obligation of the *reaya* as traditionally conceived in Islamic and Ottoman polity. Rather, it was a sacrifice that could only be justified by corresponding benefits by way of urban services and city improvements. Such views articulated a new concept of urban duties, one that bounded residents and authorities in a web of rights and responsibilities. Hence the cadastral commission was granted a municipal statute and was entrusted with the duty of returning a portion of the new funds in the form of city improvement and urban services. Street cleaning, for example, was no longer a task charged to private individuals and charitable foundations. Tax money had to be relied on to finance municipal ventures. Clean streets would become a public good, city dwellers' legitimate expectation of the local government. Such demands also

⁹⁴ "Les Européens aujourd'hui sont imposé, très bien; mais la pensée du gouverneur ne peut pas être de frapper des impôts, dans le seul but d'encaisser de l'argent. Il doit quelque chose en retour, il nous semble. Nous ne demandons pas du macadam dans nos rues, pas plus que des squares ou des promenades; c'est un luxe que nous n'avons jamais rêvé; mais au moins que l'autorité s'occupe de la voirie, qu'elle ait un budget pour faire enlever les immondices qui s'accumulent dans tous les quartiers, pour empêcher que dans les jours de pluie nos rues ne soient transformées en lacs, puis en marais bourbeux, pour créer un service de police, qui soit une police sérieuse. Nous ne demandons bien peu, vous le voyez; mais ce peu l'aurons nous?" see *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, April 30, 1857.

⁹⁵ This provision was also added to the 1864 provincial law, which specified that taxes exacted on real estate or building permits – formerly sent to the central government – would be in part reallocated as city funds. The law, however, did not detail the amount or proportion of such taxes. The sum to be used as

defined a new relation between urban taxpayers and local authorities, forcing officials to be more open and accountable about their actions. Since cadastral officers exacted local taxes directly, taxpayers expected to see action in return. For example, Izmir's newspaper *L'Impartial* supported such views and, in 1861, asked for publicizing cadastral funds and expenditures.⁹⁶

Meanwhile arrears had substantially accumulated by that year. The cadastral commission regularly asked that foreign nationals pay their taxes, a few did, others refused. As such calls fell on deaf ears, the central government requested in 1862 to take

municipal revenue was left open for negotiation within given localities. On the 1864 provincial law, see Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, vol. 3, 37-38.

⁹⁶ *L'Impartial*, the local gazette of Izmir, was an important agent between the government and the foreign colonies.

Summary of the report of the cadastre (Emlak) to *L'Impartial* (reprinted in *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, November 27, 1861).

For the years 1855-60:

Amount exacted as property taxes	3,996,667.75 p.
Id. as income taxes for 1855-57	570,304.50 p.
Id. as certificate for sale or construction:	54,765.00 p.
Id. as government loans	176,988.75 p.
Total:	4,798,726.00 p.
Arrears on property taxes for 6 years 1855 to 1860	931,842.00 p.
Arrears on income taxes	1,829,695.50 p.
Total:	2,761,538.50 p.

Summary breakdown for expenses from March 1855 to Feb. 1860:

To Osman Efendi for misc. expenses before the institution of the office of Cadastre	12,918.00 p.
To the central government for property tax for 6 years	3,506,412.00 p.
Id. for income taxes of 3 years	1,829,695.50 p.
Id. as certificate for sale or construction:	9,250.00 p.
Id. as returns for government loans:	176,988.75 p.
Miscellaneous tax deduction ordered by Commission	2,140.00 p.
Expenses to institute the office of cadastre	18,387.00 p.
Rent of the Konak 2 years + 1,5 months	14,410.00 p.
Lithography shop of Tatikian for printing licenses	15,453.00 p.
Expenses of the Commission for registration of new blgs	1,100.00 p.
Building expenses of the cadastre office at the Konak	1,493.50 p.
Misc. orders of Ali Nihad Efendi. — director of finance	1,008.00 p.
Books, papers, quills, coffee, oil, coal etc.	10,905.00 p.
Paving expenses in various quarters	6,634.50 p.
Six years salary for the employees of the cadastral office	448,831.00 p.
Misc. expenses for the registration of property in villages depending on Smyrna	20,815.50 p.
Warden of trades, 26,5 mos. salaries on the order of the Off. of Finance in Constantinople	19,125.00 p.
Total:	4,798,726.00 p.

firmer measures to exact tax-arrears.⁹⁷ Resorting to political maneuvers, Neshed Bey, the political secretary of the province, decided that a buyer had to get a certificate of Ottoman nationality from him without which the cadastre could not register the transfer. The purpose of the certificate was to identify each owner individually as Ottoman or non-Ottoman and get rid of what the government saw as sham-protected subjects of the Hellenic, English, and Russian consulates. Parties who had provided themselves with 'borrowed' nationalities now had to prove their Ottoman subjecthood to Neshed Bey before any land transaction.

The certificate of nationality aroused foreign proprietors who had been unable to complete several pending and unregistered purchases. It also irritated the consuls who were interested in land. Furious about these new proceedings, the consuls made strong objections to Istanbul, declaring the governor, the political secretary, and the secretary interpreter of the government, Divan Efendi to be "a set of imbeciles."⁹⁸ The certificate of nationality enforced Ottoman nationality as prerequisite for all land transactions and connected national identity, landownership and tax obligations in a novel way. These dealings had profound meanings in that they explicitly tied Ottoman nationality to access to socioeconomic resources and participation in the broader public sphere.

Foreign language papers interpreted the cadastral struggles in various terms. Under partial government sponsorship, they generally eschewed any direct criticism of the new tax law. *Journal de Constantinople*, extended its reproaches to the larger European residents for not understanding their responsibilities and for their unwillingness to comply with their basic urban duties and obligations. "The consuls should show more

⁹⁷ B.O.A. Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası, Sadaret 3426/143 (1278/1861).

interest in the cadastral question,” complained the reporter attributing part of the dysfunction to the hostile attitude of the consular body.⁹⁹ The *Levant Herald* too blamed Europeans’ and protected-residents’ subversive practices, remarking that “with the bulk of the property under the sham title of women’s names, Mary, the wife of Joseph, or Maria, the daughter of John, it is useless to bully or humbug the government.”¹⁰⁰ At the same time, these papers appealed to the government for fairness and just spirit on the basis of liberal economic tradition and demanded adequate urban services in return for tax obligations.

The certificate of nationality, which generated heated debates, was a precursor to the 1867 protocol that officially recognized foreigners’ land tenure. Tenure was granted on the condition that owners complied with local rules concerning their property, that is by paying the necessary taxes and resolving land disputes before Ottoman courts.¹⁰¹ The law came as the formalization of long negotiations between the Porte and foreign delegations. It was adopted on the condition that foreign-protected residents would give up their immunities and privileges and comply with Ottoman territorial legislation only in matters concerning land and property. Other matters would continue to be resolved through capitulation rights. Whether or not these principles were followed in practice, they allowed foreign nationals the possibility of overtly acting as and assuming the role of concerned urban citizens. The 1872 memorandum delivered to Hamdi Pasha that I began this chapter with was thus connected to this particular reconfiguration of the urban

⁹⁸ *Levant Herald*, July 16, 1862.

⁹⁹ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, March 17, 1858.

¹⁰⁰ *Levant Herald*, July 16, 1862.

¹⁰¹ For the official text and interpretation of the protocol, see Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, vol. 1, 19-25. For a discussion of the law, see Aliotti, *Des Français en Turquie*, 118-134.

citizenry. Underlying the struggles between the state desiring taxes and resident actions to avoid them was a conception of the city as an urban collectivity with fellow citizens that were bound to the state through an exchange of taxes versus urban improvement. This vision of collectivity and citizenry was based on uniform laws and was an important challenge to the ways in which Izmir's highly differentiated population had been hitherto arranged both spatially and in terms of their legal obligations. Modern ideals of uniform urban rights and responsibilities did not easily coexist with former social arrangements and differences defined by mores and customs. They created tensions and paradoxes in various spheres of urban life that are further explored in the following chapter.



Figure 6: The inauguration of the Izmir-Aydin railway (*Illustrated London News*, October 31, 1857, vol. 31, 436).



Figure 7: Izmır-Aydin and Izmır-Kasaba railways (Carl von Scherzer, *Smyrna: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die geographischen, Wirthschaftlichen und Intellectuellen verhältnisse von Vorder-Kleinasiën* [Vienna: A. Hölder, 1873], appendix).



Figure 8: Eighteenth-century engraving of the Caravan Bridge (*Üç İZmir* [Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 1992], 102-3).

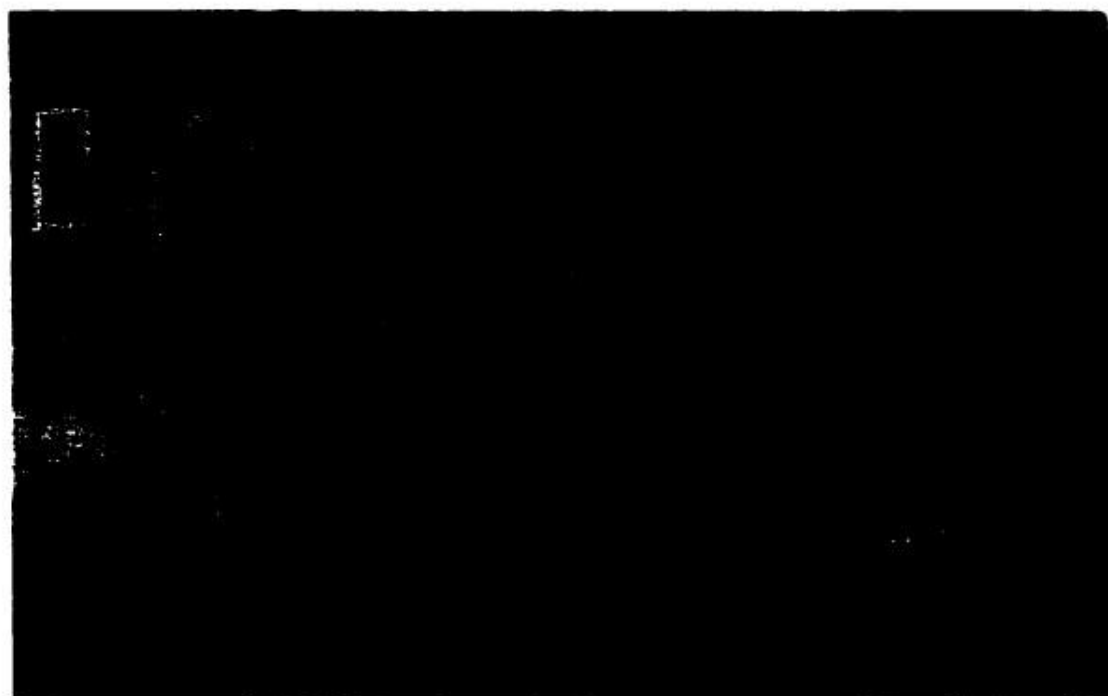


Figure 9: Late nineteenth-century postcard view of the Caravan Bridge (*Üç İZmir* [Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 1992], 81).

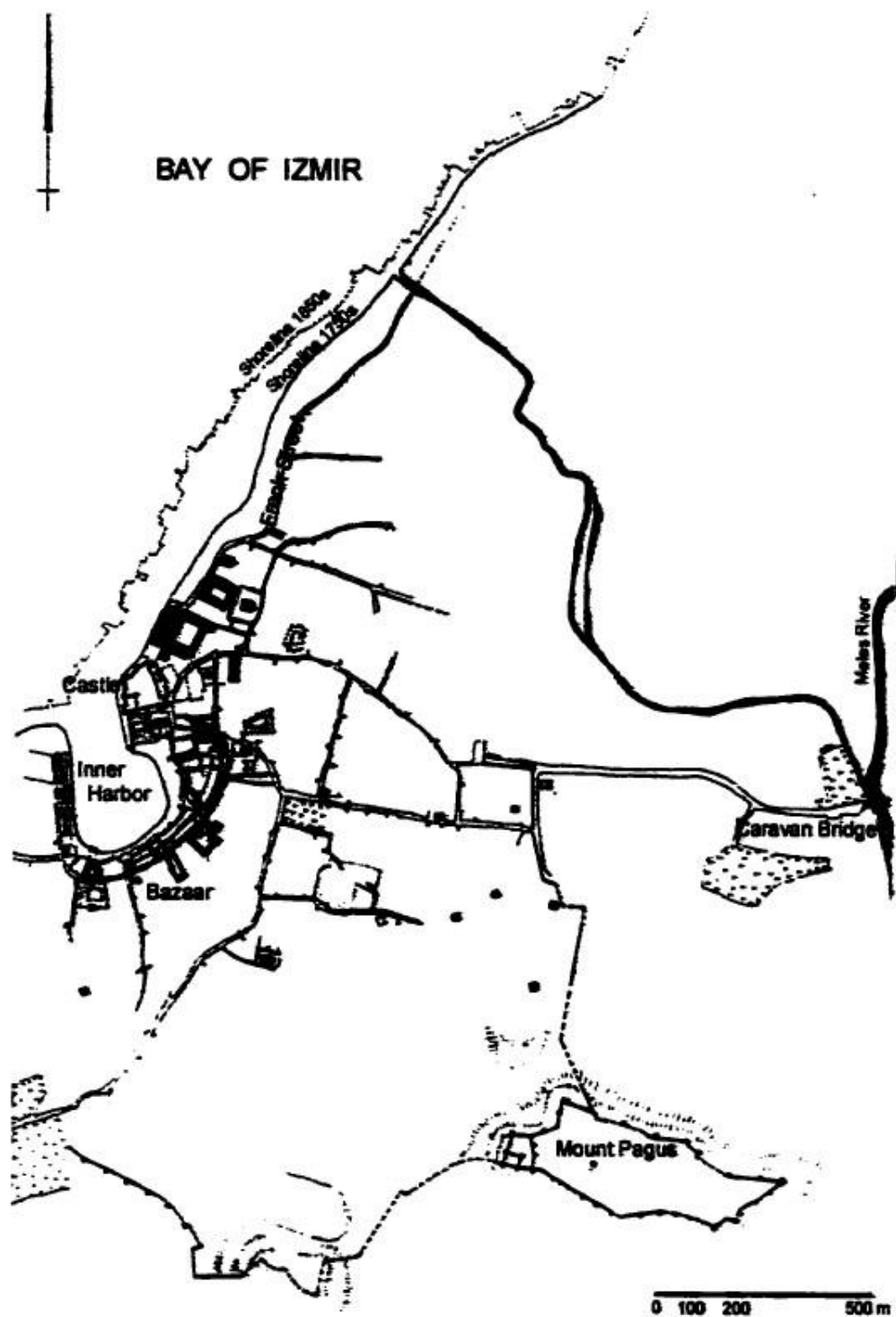


Figure 10: Structure of the bazaar, ca. 1750 (redrawn by author from W. Müller-Wiener, "Der Bazaar von Izmir," *Mitteilungen der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 27/28 [1980/81]).

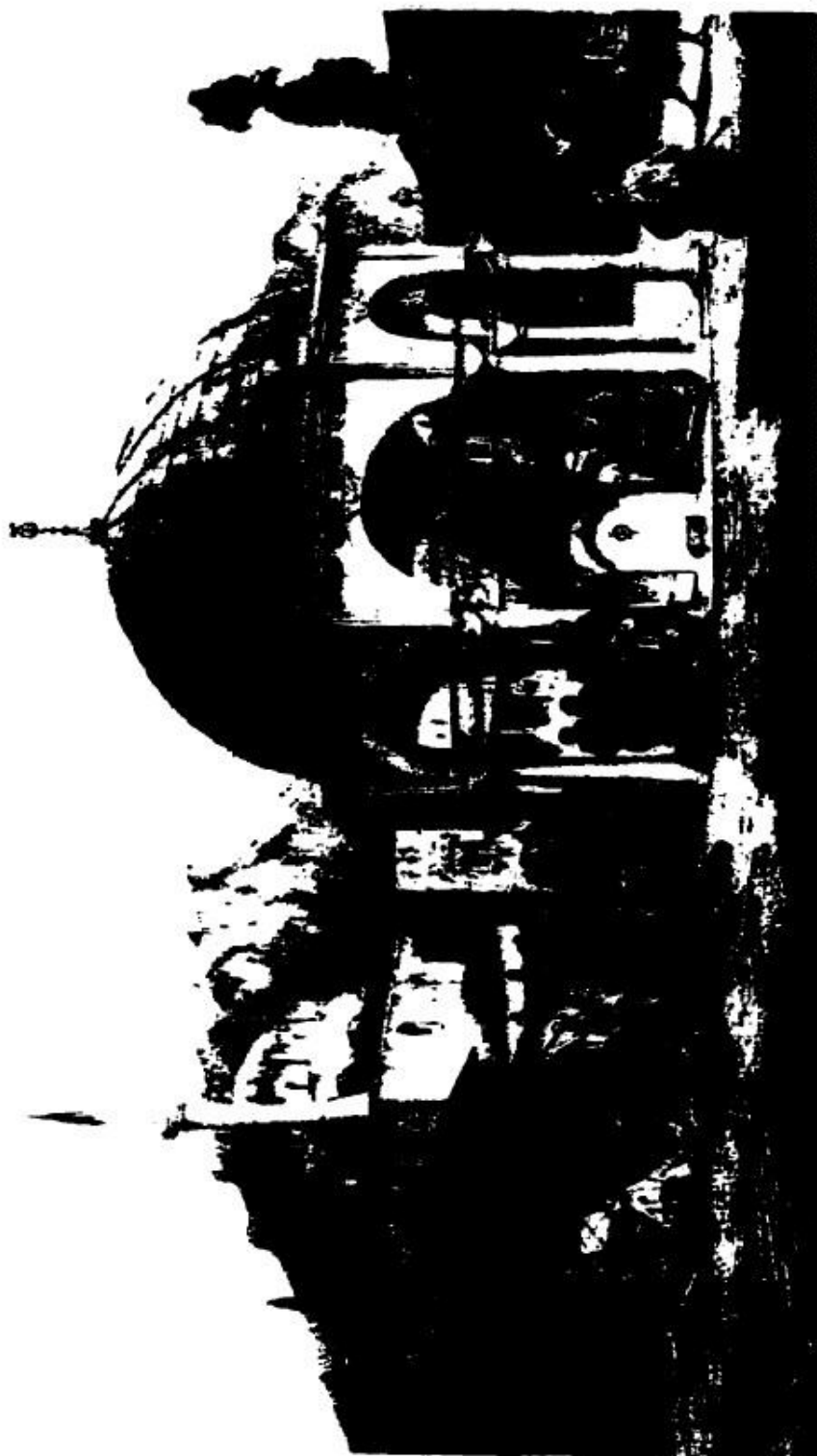


Figure 11: Early nineteenth-century engraving of the fountain at the Khan of Camels (Eugène Flandin, *L'Orient* [Paris: Gide et Baudry, 1852], pl. 50).

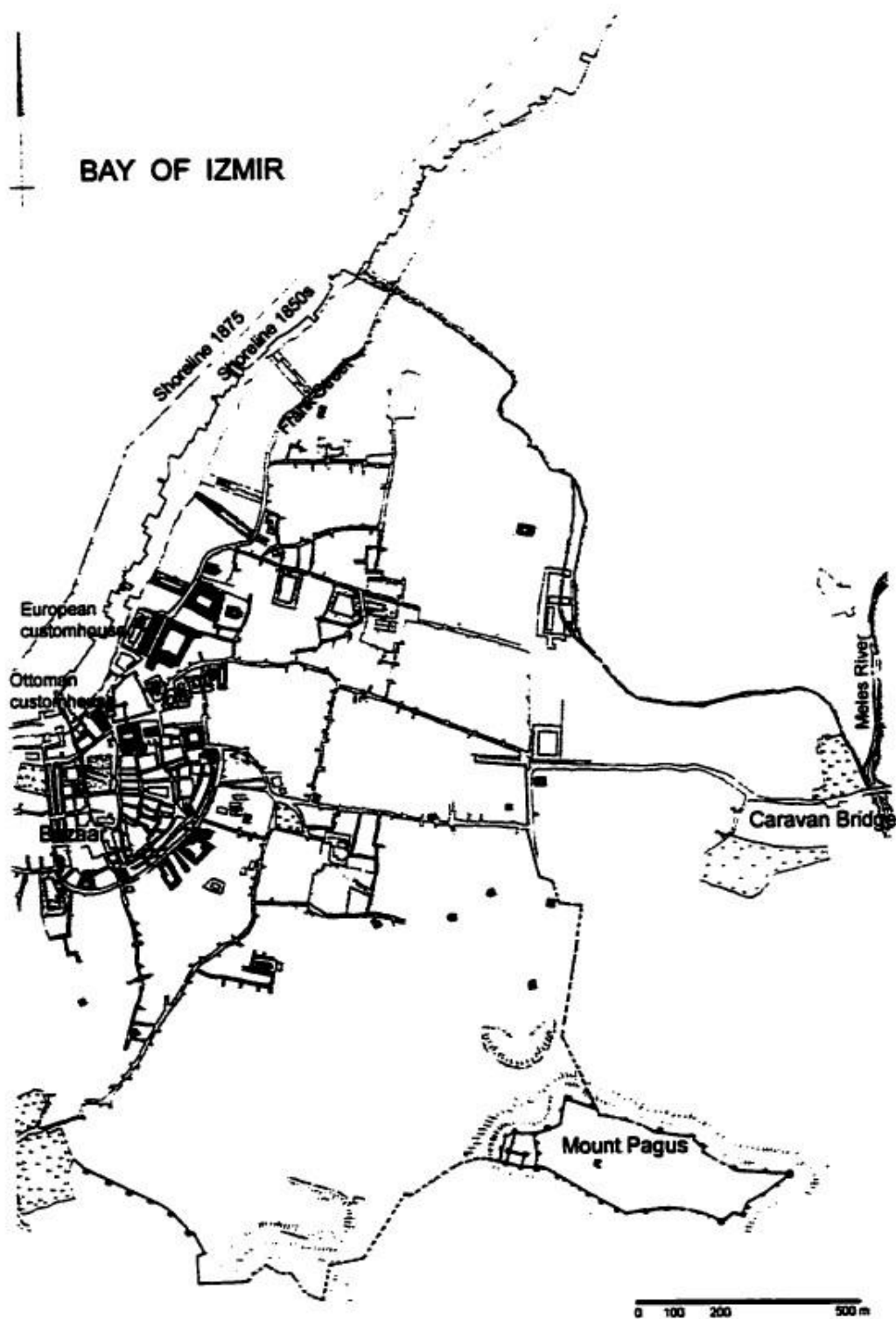


Figure 12: Structure of the bazaar, ca.1850 (redrawn by author from W. Müller-Wiener, "Der Bazaar von Izmir," *Mitteilungen der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 27/28 [1980/81]).



Figure 13: Entrance of the Izmir-Aydin Railway Station at the Point (Manuscript Collection, Istanbul University).



Figure 14: Side view of the Izmir-Aydin Railway Station at the Point (Manuscript Collection, Istanbul University).



Figure 15: Map of Izmir, ca. 1890 (*Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.* [London: John Murray, 1895] facing p.74).

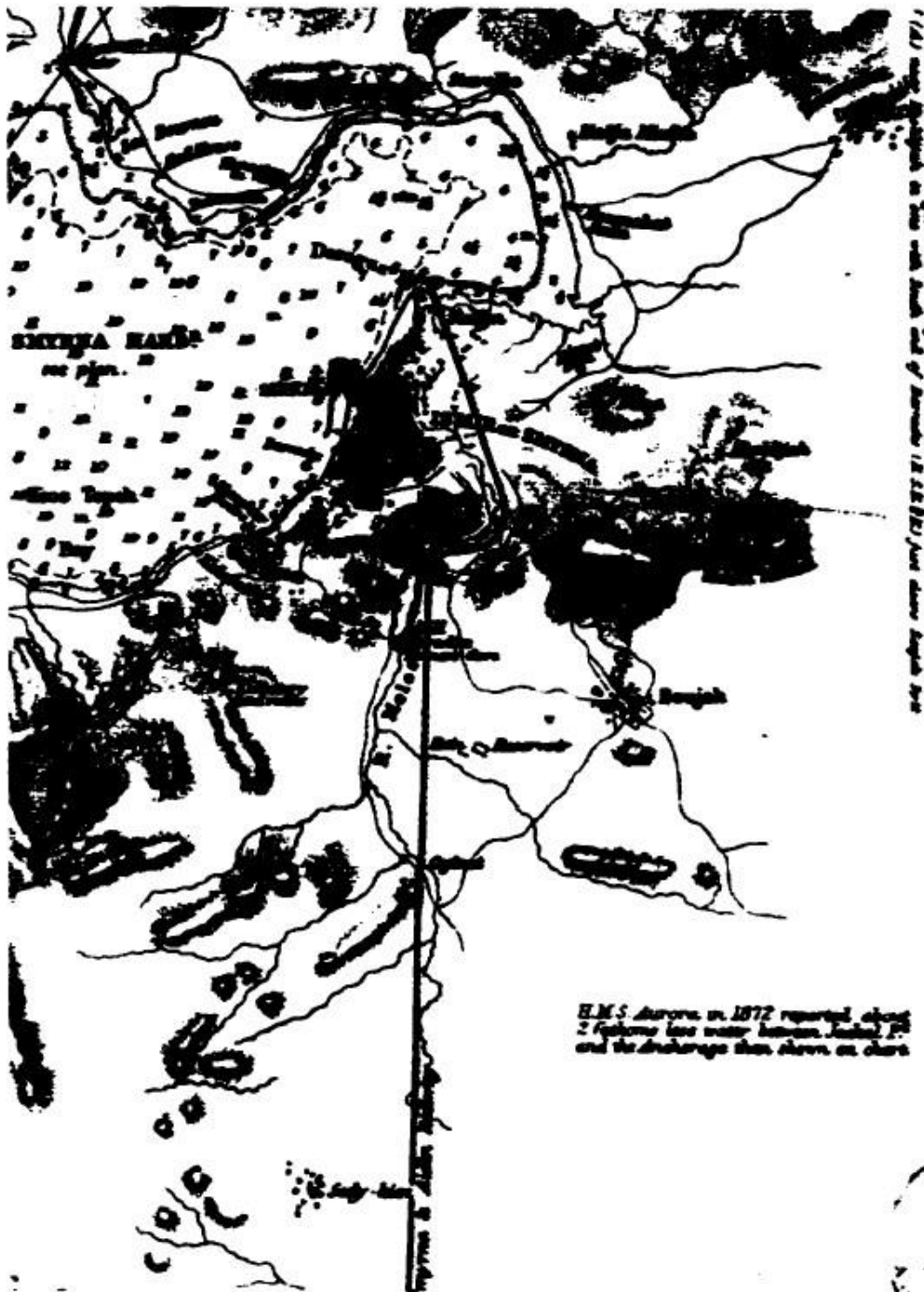


Figure 16: Location of summer villages near Izmir. Bornova (or Bournabat) is to the northeast, Buca (or Boujah) to the southeast and Seydiköy (or Sedy-kiou) to the south of Izmir (Trustees of the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, rpt in Eleni Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century* [Athens: Center of Asia Minor Studies, 1992], 13).

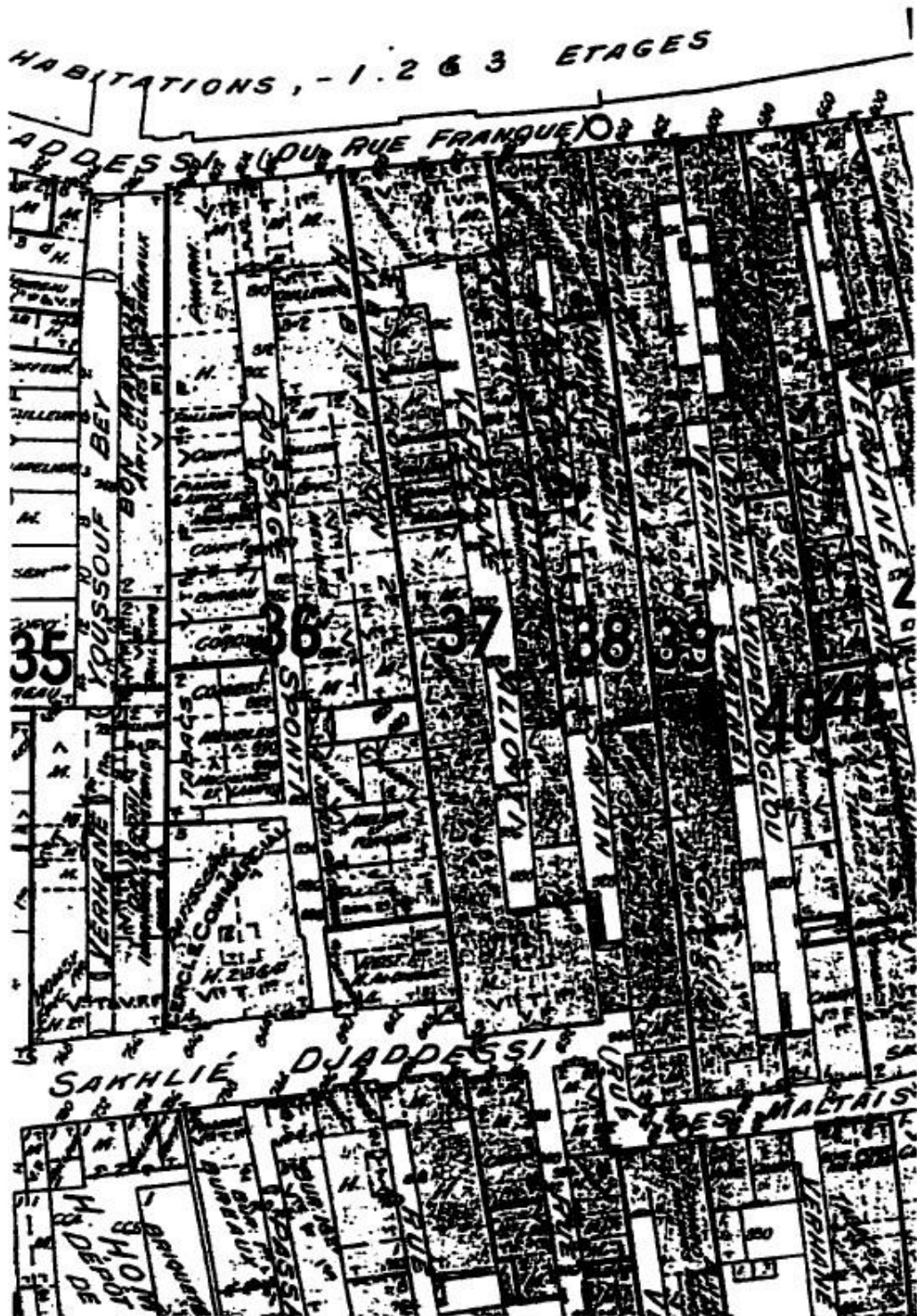


Figure 17: Verhanes or passages opening onto Frank Street (Charles E. Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna): Turquie* [London: Chas. E. Goad, 1905], pl. 3).



Figure 18: Frank Street and its relation to the shore, ca. 1840 and ca.1880 (redrawn from Thomas Graves's map of 1836-37 and Lamec Saad's map of 1876).



Figure 19: The urban fabric, ca. 1840s and ca. 1880 (from Thomas Graves's map of 1836-37 and Lamec Saad's map of 1876 in Cana F. Bilsel, "Cultures et fonctionnalité: évolution morphologique de la ville de Izmir au XIXe et au début du XXe siècles," Ph.D. dissertation [Université de Paris X, 1996]).



Figure 20: Entrance of the Izmir-Kasaba Railway Station at Basmahane (Manuscript Collection, Istanbul University).



Figure 21: Luigi Storari's map of Izmir (1854-1856). Storari also prepared the cadastral survey of Izmir under the direction of Ali Nihad Efendi in 1851-54 (*Guide de Voyageur à Smyrne, Aperçu Historique, Topographique et Archéologique* [Paris: Librairie Castel, 1857]).

CHAPTER 3

ORDERING THE STREETS

In June 1862 a London-based company bought the imperial concession for building the gas works and lighting the city of Izmir. C. Gandon, agent of the concessionaire company and foreign to the country, was in charge of setting up the works at the Point district with equipment imported from England. Two years later, the projected Smyrna Gas Works were completed and the company laid its pipes along major streets of the lower town. In February 1865, the first hundred and twenty-six gas lamps, topped with a small crescent symbolizing the Ottoman empire, were put into nightly action. Starting at the Point, lamps were arranged in two directions. Fifty-seven followed Frank Street, ending at the entrance of the bazaar, while thirty-two followed a more sinuous path to the entrance of the Armenian quarter. A third row of twenty-five lamps between the Church of St. Photini near the bazaar and the Basmahane railway station completed the first phase of the scheme, defining a triangular zone around the Frank quarter [figs. 22 and 23].¹ Although initially gas lamps were placed at large intervals from each other and supplied only a frail light, they brought some level of visual uniformity to this section of town.

Until then, most streets were lit by the casual glow of passerby's paper lanterns. An ancient regulation obliged those who had to go out at night to carry lanterns,

¹ The exact paths were: (1) from Dilber's house at the Point to the bezesten, (2) from Bella-Vista to the street of the Italian consulate, through Chioti mahalle, Adliye Sokak, Aya Dimitri to the entrance of the Armenian quarter, (3) From the church of St. Photini along the streets of shoemakers, the Great taverns, the

offenders running the risk of being arrested by night patrols. Occasional edicts also required householders and shopkeepers whose structures adjoined main streets to hang out lanterns outside their doors, providing a series of navigation points.² Before the establishment of the gas works, a few collective efforts helped brighten some wealthier sections in town. For example, individual kerosene (petroleum) lamps lit by hand were placed in parts of the Frank quarter and paid for by householders.³ In addition, in 1862, a small private collaboration was developed among the residents of the Point for lighting this area and the adjoining streets. A model lamp was made and private contractors were solicited to supply oil and determine the necessary number of lamps.⁴ These arrangements of parochial householders, however, did not amount to a systematic brightening of the streets. The oil lantern with its fuel reservoir was a self-contained apparatus. It was lit and extinguished independently. Gaslight, however, required a system of underground conduits to connect to the gas works.⁵ It necessitated excavating the streets for placing the pipes. In 1864, as the company was laying its pipes, streets had been torn up for months. Many were aware of this disruption but tolerated this temporary

main street of the Armenian quarter to the Basmahane. *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, February 24, 1865.

² An 1832 order required neighborhood residents to carry lanterns and take turn watching the streets. Another order in 1847 encouraged shop owners to hang lanterns, see Sıddık Tümerkan, *Türkiyede Belediyeler: Tarihi Gelişim ve Bugünkü Durum* (Istanbul: R. Zelliç Basımevi, 1946), 7.

³ During the office of Kayserili Ahmet Pasha, in 1860, major streets were lit with kerosene lamps and a first order house paid 6 piastres per month while a second order paid 3 piastres. *La Turquie*, April 18, 1866.

⁴ The chairman of the committee was Hyde Clark, the treasurer A. Kyan, and the secretary Lawson, all British or British-protected residents of the Point. The collaboration also wanted to appoint a private supervisor for lighting and policing the streets of the Point. *Levant Herald*, June 11, 1862.

⁵ For a social history of street lighting, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Light: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Petroleum lamps – *reverbères* – were in use in the streets of Paris as early as the seventeenth century. Gas-lighting industry, however, began in the 1810s in England and was disseminated by British firms to other parts of Europe and beyond. On the history of street lighting in Paris, see Eugène Defrance, *Histoire de l'éclairage des rues de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904). On the technology of gas lighting see, Dean Chandler, *Outline of History of Lighting by Gas* (London: Chancery Lane Printing Works, 1936).

inconvenience, bearing in mind "the great advantage and comfort which will eventually accrue."⁶ Gas lighting had been awaited for several years in the second city of the Empire.⁷ Those who favored a modern ideal of the street as a 'safe' and 'civilized' space in which residents moved "as freely through the streets after dark as was done in the capital" fervently acclaimed its implementation.⁸ More importantly, they equated gaslight with a spirit of progress and soon after its advent, frowned upon earlier oil lamps as outdated "dirty petroleum makeshifts" which had to be "speedily replaced by Mr. Gandon's excellent gas."⁹ In the following months, the number of lamps was gradually increased to 400 as pipes were completed in the yet unlit streets of the Frank quarter.¹⁰

The lighting scheme required not only a rationalization of street space, but also a regularization of the cost of gas and a standardization of the mode of payment. While the scheme progressed on the surface, a sharp disagreement arose between the company and the beneficiaries of the light about how to fix the price per lamp and distribute the lighting tax. The rates were made compulsory on both native and foreign residents who benefited from lighting. A large portion of both, however, refused to incur the sum demanded by the company. For the company, this was an "unreasonable and dishonest resistance" since residents evaded payment, "pleading either that they 'don't want them,' or still more shamelessly taking shelter under their fiscal privileges as foreigners."¹¹

⁶ *Levant Herald*, February 3, 1864.

⁷ M. Marchais, a Frenchman, had obtained a former concession for gas lighting but unexpectedly died in 1859 in Istanbul, leaving the project unrealized. *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, February 2, 1859. See also, B.O.A. Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası, Sadaret 3/10, (1275/1859).

⁸ *Levant Herald*, December 11, 1861. In the capital Istanbul, however, the only lit street was the Grande Rue de Pera, a major thoroughfare of about a mile. It had been lit since 1856 and was directly financed by the sultan, see Steven Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 42.

⁹ *Levant Herald*, July 18, 1866.

¹⁰ *Levant Herald*, September 5, 1866.

¹¹ *Levant Herald*, November 9, 1864.

Householders, however, found the price of 850 piasters per lamp that the company was imposing excessive compared to the 360 piasters they had formerly paid for kerosene lamps.¹² They also believed that the price was not set through a common agreement between the company, the local government, and the inhabitants as specified in the concessions but was simply decided by individuals who had “neither legal mandate nor authority.”¹³ Local authorities had little power to compel those liable for the tax to pay because most were under consular protection. In June 1866, failing to obtain payment of the arrears due to his company, C. Gandon cut off the supply to the street lamps but continued to provide gas to private houses and stores. The gas-strike plunged the main thoroughfares of Izmir into darkness and lasted over three years, producing unforeseen consequences to the parties involved in this modernizing endeavor. In the meantime, while petroleum lamps did substitute duty on Frank Street, a prolonged public debate pitted the gas company, which resisted jeopardizing the profitability of its business, against residents, who refused to incur the cost, leaving local authorities to mediate some solution.

Attempts for urban order had led to disorder and battle lines were soon drawn up when this nineteenth-century technology was introduced to the streets of Izmir. As people debated the cost of gas lighting and the parties liable for it, their visions of urban duties and responsibilities clashed, as did their perspectives on the city, its people, and the proper uses of public space. The controversy over gas lighting was just one instance in which competing notions of city management were played out in mid-nineteenth-

¹² *La Turquie*, April 18, 1866. According to the Gas Company, however, the price of 850 piastres was considerably lower than that in Istanbul or than the amount the Egyptian government paid to the French Company that lit Alexandria and Cairo, see *Levant Herald*, July 18, 1866.

¹³ *La Turquie*, June 5, 1868.

century Izmir. Conflicts over authority and control of public spaces can be traced through other attempts at urban modernization. During the second half of the nineteenth century, similar efforts to order the streets through clearing and policing shaped the urban landscape of Izmir. Frequent fires occasioned the rebuilding of parts of the fabric, while Izmir's growing commercial position motivated the renovation of old structures. In what follows, I explore the projects and legislation devoted to urban improvement as well as residents' responses to them. What interests me is not so much the extent or success of such endeavors, but rather urbanites' changing attitudes and relations to city spaces.

The questions of who had to improve public spaces, who had to pay for them, and how tax-money had to be used came to new prominence as the obligations that tied urban dwellers, local government agents, and central authorities were reconceived through reform of the cadastral and taxation systems. In the wake of these transformations, Ottoman bureaucrats, the business elite and other literate groups perceived the day-to-day problems of the street through different eyes, albeit not in the same way. They conjointly viewed the congestion of the streets and the public life that took place in them with contempt. Their comments and assertions often pointed to some ideal definition of 'appropriate use' of street space. What constituted 'appropriate use', however, differed depending on the interest and values each party represented. Moreover, the everyday uses of the streets conflicted with ideal definitions of street spaces. Who should occupy streets and public spaces and the rights to common property were often decided by negotiations over moral order and physical security as well as by economic class and cultural origins.

To open up the different perspectives on streets and city spaces, I focus particularly on the polemics of 'cluttered' and 'dangerous' streets, produced in newspaper complaints. In the nineteenth-century, newspaper reports from Izmir dedicated considerable attention to concerns about the order of the urban environment. These articles had a distinct audience. They expressed the views of urban elite groups and promoted their interests while they left out the values of less powerful but numerically dominant segment of the population. However limited their reach and the views that they represented, journalistic accounts document a complex narrative of modernization. They tell us about the multiple positions among elite groups as much as the broader aspirations, conflicts, and the unintentional consequences that shaped urban transformations. Newsprint media also had a distinct agenda. Commentaries on the deficiency of the streets were intended to prompt the literate elite and pressure authorities to resolve these questions with a rational set of solutions. They were formulated with awareness of and in relation to the urban improvements that had been reshaping contemporary cities in Europe and its colonies as well as the recent municipal developments in the capital, Istanbul. Reporters usually assumed that ordering urban space required changes in the administrative organ and in the spirit that lay behind it. They believed that clearing, smoothing, lighting, and watching the streets had to become the exclusive province of some municipal institution. At the everyday level, however, effecting urban improvements remained more controversial and debates over whether a particular service ought to be publicly or privately provided shaped the spatial politics of Izmir throughout the later decades of the nineteenth century.

The Municipal Apparatus

Questions of urban improvements had been broached in Izmir's gazettes as early as the 1840s. With the rapid growth that the city experienced in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the business elite began to despise the streets and public spaces as smelly, dirty landscapes of open sewers that needed local authorities' immediate attention. Waves of in-migration affected in particular the lower city and the eastern fringes of the Frank quarter. Near the Point, several Greek neighborhoods had developed on grounds that suffered from poor drains and marshy land in the winter.¹⁴ In March 1845, speaking as a resident of Izmir, Th. Bargigli, founder and former editor of *l'Écho de l'Orient* and consul general of Tuscany in Izmir, viewed the recent urban expansion with anxiety. He complained about the mismanagement of urban spaces and called attention to the twenty new quarters hastily built in the last fifteen years without any prior organization. "Had a capable architect been given the task of formerly organizing the pattern of streets they would have been laid out on a nice model, well-ventilated, wide and well-paved."¹⁵ Bargigli saw it as the duty of the administrative authority to improve paving, to oversee the cleaning of streets, and to organize a new system of pipes. Government action on such matter, however, remained very limited with the exception of improvements taken after the fires that periodically raced through the city.

In 1841 and 1845 two large fires opened swathes of land for redevelopment. The first one ravaged the Muslim and Jewish districts, destroying about 4000 houses and

¹⁴ For example, the Greek neighborhoods of *Choriat-Alan* (Village Place), *Keratochori* (Village of Horns), *Mana-Perivolí* (Mother Orchard) had been recently opened, see *Écho de l'Orient*, March 15, 1845.

¹⁵ *Écho de l'Orient*, March 15, 1845.

public buildings and 2500 stores.¹⁶ A few months after Bargigli's commentary, in July 1845 a second fire burnt down the area between the Frank and Armenian quarters, destroying a large section of Frank Street and of the Greek neighborhoods of St. Dimitri and St. George, and consuming the Armenian quarter.¹⁷ The same fire also ravaged Hospital (*Roum Ispitaliassi*) Street between the Frank and Armenian quarters, which sheltered most of the community hospitals serving the Christian populations.¹⁸ Fires constituted an important mechanism for urban renewal, particularly in prospering non-Muslim neighborhoods that wished to improve their church and add visual pride to their communities. An old regulation prevented the building of new churches and similar religious structures and required government authorization for the renovation of old one.¹⁹ After fires, however, permission to rebuild was granted more easily, thereby helping to circumvent the regulation. Following the fire, for example, more prestigious churches

¹⁶ The losses were reported to be 3050 houses in Turkish neighborhoods; 500 large houses for 1500 families in Jewish neighborhoods; 157 houses in Greek neighborhoods; 17 houses in Armenian neighborhoods; 2 Greek public schools; 15 khans, 7 bathhouses; 17 bakeries and mills; 12 large mosques; 30 small mosques; 22 religious schools; 5 public schools; 7 synagogues; 1 Jewish hospital; 5 tekke (dervish lodges); 2437 Shops. *Écho de l'Orient*, August 14, 1841.

¹⁷ According to one report, the fire spared only 40 houses in the Armenian quarter, destroying 800, see *Écho de l'Orient, Journal de Smyrne*, July 9, 1845.

¹⁸ The English, Dutch, Catholic, and Greek hospitals were located on that street. The English and Dutch hospitals were small and only catered to their own nationals; the Catholic hospital of St. Antoine, also known as Austrian hospital, was founded in 1710. It had 100 beds and served patients regardless of nationality or religion. The Greek hospital of St. Haralambo, built in 1848 was the largest in the city with 300 beds and was funded through donation from the Greek community. In addition, there was an Armenian and a Jewish hospital in their respective quarters, a French hospital at Belle-Vista and an Imperial Ottoman hospital behind the military barracks. On the hospitals of Izmir see Firmin Rougon, *Smyrne: Situation Commerciale et Économique* (Paris & Nancy: Berger-Levrault and Cie, 1892), 58-63; Carl von Scherzer, *Smyrna: Mit Besonderer Rücksicht auf die Geographischen, Wirthschaftlichen und Intellectuellen Verhältnisse von Vorder-Kleinasien* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1873), 54-59; Jacob De Andria and G. Timoni, *Indicateurs des Professions Commerciales et Industrielles de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie* (Smyrne: Imprimerie commerciale Timoni, 1895), 25-67.

¹⁹ Koranic law precluded *zimmis* from building new places of worship. They could only repair those that have fallen into decay, see H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the West: a study of the impact of western civilization on Moslem culture in the Near East*, vol. 2 (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1962) 208. Ottoman sultans followed this principle and generally authorized the repair of old churches. In some cases, they also allowed new churches, see Gülnihal Bozkurt. *Alman-İngiliz*

were erected through community donation and private benefactors. By 1858, the new Armenian Church of St. Etienne was completed, the Orthodox Church of St. George was entirely demolished and rebuilt, the Catholic hospital of St. Antoine was moved to a new building, the hospital of St. Rocco was underway, and the Greek hospital was considerably expanded. In addition, a prominent bell-tower was newly added to the main Orthodox Greek Cathedral of St. Photini and the Orthodox Greek community was also contemplating ways of enlarging the original cathedral [figs. 24, 25 and 26].²⁰

While the fire encouraged the renovation of old institutions, it also prompted the adoption of new urban measures in the Armenian quarter, bringing a 'progressive' appearance to the devastated neighborhood. A decree sent by the Porte specified the guidelines for building balconies and overhangs, erecting fire walls between every three to four houses and enlarging streets of two to five pica wide (1 ½ to 3 ¼ meters) to a minimum width of six to eight (4 ½ to 6 meters).²¹ Following the fire of 1845, the streets of the Armenian quarter were not only widened but also realigned [figs. 27 and 28]. An architect appointed by the Porte suggested rebuilding them according to a new grid plan. This entailed owners' giving away a portion of their lots for a wider public way. To compensate for private land given up to public use, each owner was allowed to encroach on the neighbor's property respectively. The owners of the corner lots received a

belgelerinin ve siyasi gelişmelerin ışığı altında gayrimüslim Osmanlı vatandaşlarının hukuki durumu, 1839-1914 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), 22.

²⁰ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, January 19, 1858. St. Antoine was run by the Sisters of Charity. In 1847, Catholics who left the brotherhood of St. Antoine built a new hospital, St. Rocca, through voluntary subscriptions. The church of St. Photini was erected in 1793. For an overview of the churches of Izmir, see Jean-Baptiste de San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau sur le Pagus: Notice historique sur la ville de Smyrne* (Constantinople: Imprimeur Loeffler, 1911).

²¹ B.O.A., Cevdet Belediye, no. 5078 (1261/1844). 1 pic or *arşın* or *zira-i mimariye* is equal to ¼ of a meter.

monetary compensation.²² This was done not only to alleviate the risk of fire, but also to bring a sense of civility, progress, and modernity. Although the improvement was initially met with house-owners resistance, soon after the rebuilding, the straightness of the streets of the Armenian quarter and “its charming new houses” were called on to encourage other improvements.²³ In 1860, following another important fire that destroyed the St. Dimitri neighborhood, *Journal de Constantinople* announced that the government was intending to widen the streets of the neighborhood on the Armenian model.²⁴ Although such efforts at regularizing the urban fabric remained limited to reconstruction after fires, they hinted at an emerging vocabulary of modern urbanism, which considered street alignment, regular pavement, and unobstructed movement the tangible forms of a civilized urban life.

In other parts of the western world, streets had become necessary objects of reform and showcases of an envisioned modern urban order. The mid-nineteenth century was a time when ‘norms and forms’ of the social environment were reformulated through the discipline of modern urbanism in both Europe and its colonies.²⁵ Streets throughout the world became the tangible measure of modern urbanity and the focus of disciplinary

²² *Écho de l'Orient*, July 17, 1845.

²³ *Journal de Constantinople*, *Écho de l'Orient*, February 2, 1859.

²⁴ *Journal de Constantinople*, *Écho de l'Orient*, September 6, 1860. According to the report, St. Dimitri consisted of old houses exclusively in wood; most streets were narrow with houses that had overlapping roofs and the residents, all Greeks, belonged to working classes or were daily laborers.

²⁵ I borrow the expression ‘norms and forms’ from Paul Rabinow’s discussion on how new fields of knowledge and technology created new urban standards and forms, producing what came to be known as ‘modern society’, see *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989). For a concise treatment of the regulated street, see Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992), 200-212. For a discussion of modern norms and public spaces, see Miles Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680-1780* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998; Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). A host of studies on nineteenth-century urban regulations and on processes of urban modernization in Europe and the colonies – too numerous to list here – have laid the groundwork for this study.

technologies. They were paved and cleaned regularly, lit from sunset to sunrise, cleared from encroachment, and marked with street names. Such systematic regularization of space was meant to ease navigation through streets, turning them into more orderly spaces. Thus the jumble of house signs and house fronts was tidied away to provide clear sight lines, new techniques of lighting eliminated dark corners, and new forms of watching and patrolling placed the street under the direct gaze of public authorities. The bureaucratic elite in Istanbul and the European residents in the Empire increasingly recognized that physical order was the tangible manifestation of a civilized urban society. Newspaper commentators stressed the inadequacy of the existing administrative structure to undertake such physical improvement in cities. In 1865, a long article in the *Levant Herald* announced to its readers that the administration of cities in the empire, hitherto limited to the judiciary sphere, soon would have to encompass the characteristic duties of European municipalities – that is cleaning, paving, and lighting the streets. “Until lately, the dogs have been the scavengers, lighting has been unknown, and the paving has been of the most primitive kind,” wrote the reporter, drawing on familiar orientalist clichés to underscore the magnitude of the reforms that were needed.²⁶ Autonomous municipalities that could directly address problems related to the built environment were viewed as critical to the modernization of the empire.

An important step in this direction had been made in the aftermath of the Crimean war in 1855. In conformity with the spirit of the Tanzimat, an official report of the High Council of Reform (*Meclis-i Tanzimat*) approved the idea of forming autonomous municipal districts. The report asserted that in “every place the affairs of reordering and

²⁶ “The municipalities in Turkey,” *Levant Herald*, January 25, 1865.

similar affairs of cities or sets of districts should be left to an administration composed of its inhabitants under the supervision of the state.²⁷ The first attempt was undertaken in the capital, Istanbul, with the intention of being carried to other parts of the empire.²⁸ Among the fourteen municipal districts that were formed in Istanbul, the district of Galata, occupied primarily by European settlers and non-Muslim elite, was to serve as a model, revealing the growing power of this group in city politics. The district of Galata was also designated the Sixth District after the renowned *sixième arrondissement* of Paris, alluding to the French model that inspired the Ottoman municipal experiment.²⁹ In addition to the formation of municipal districts, a new municipal board (*Intizam-i Sehir Komisyonu*) was established to deal explicitly with urban regularization, improve the appearance of streets and undertake the cleaning, paving, and ordering of public thoroughfares.³⁰ The financial base for these urban improvements initially came from local property tax and grants from the central government. The fundamental regulation of 1858 specified that some of the urban taxes collected from the district – such as the lighting and street cleaning tax levied on houses and shops, and the taxes on deeds and contracts, building repair, and market control – would be used towards municipal services. Thus these urban improvements would be directly financed by the beneficiaries of services, without burdening the state treasury with extra expenses.³¹

²⁷ See Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur Belediye* (Istanbul: 1914-22), 1416 for a reproduction of the report (Mazbata) of Meclis-i Tanzimat (1274/1857), also cited in Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency*, 50.

²⁸ On the effects of the Crimean war on the municipal reforms in Istanbul, see Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency*; Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986).

²⁹ Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur Belediye*, 1410, also cited in Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency*, 51.

³⁰ On the memorandum establishing the new commission, Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur Belediye*, 1377, also cited Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency*, 39.

³¹ Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency*, 67.

The Galata model of duties and responsibilities provided a basis for later municipal mechanisms.³² Aside from its pioneering role in the history of municipalities in the empire, the Galata model was also unprecedented in incorporating foreign nationals into administrative circles. For the first time, foreigners who owned property and had lived ten years in Istanbul partook in local decisions and, like native landowners, had the right to vote, albeit for a higher price.³³ The Porte justified this inclusion on the basis that foreign residents owned most of the houses and shops in the area and that this business community could not be left out of the urban affairs and improvements that concerned them.³⁴ This new structure of membership acknowledged all those who held substantial property as urban citizens, regardless of prior national or religious origins. In that way, the Galata model appealed to prominent Europeans residing in Izmir, who desired to have similar power and political participation in urban affairs. In 1860, for example, a group of Smyrniotes went to the governor, Muammer Pasha, to discuss the advantages of a similar municipal institution and obtain his support to carry the matter to the central government. A petition drafted to the grand vizier promoted the benefits of an autonomous municipality that would clean up, beautify, and improve Izmir to place it "among the most beautiful cities of Europe," receiving over 200 local signatures from residents of all nationalities.³⁵

³² The Galata model inspired municipal organizations in the cities of the Empire, particularly in the Balkan provinces, see İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e yerel yönetim geleneği* (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985), 164-170.

³³ In order to participate in the council, however, native members had to own property of 100,000 piastres while foreign members were required to own property in the district of at least 500,000 piastres, see Rosenthal, *Politics of Dependency*, 54.

³⁴ Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency*, 52.

³⁵ *L'Impartial* reprinted in *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, February 22, 1860.

This was neither the first nor the last call for a citywide organization to supervise urban improvements in Izmir. For over a decade, city governance had become a continually stirred question among urban elite groups and several attempts had been made to establish a municipal institution. The vicissitudes that were experienced in forming a municipality spoke as much of the unsettled nature of Tanzimat reforms as of the difficult relations of forces that characterized Izmir's urban groups. Following the assessment of property and income tax, the cadastral office (*emlak*) and the commission adjoined to it had assumed some municipal responsibilities. The competence of this office, however, was often challenged since it had been created primarily to direct and execute decisions pertaining to land-tax issues. On several instances, the cadastral commission was accused of remaining idle in regard to the condition of public thoroughfares while continuing to exact property taxes.³⁶ Criticism of the commission swelled during the battle waged against the Gas Company. When the cadastral commission had been asked to negotiate the price per lamp on behalf of the residents, householders rejected the price on the grounds that only "the delegates of the city", and not those of the cadastre, had the right to negotiate.³⁷ "The public prefers the decision of their own legitimately named representatives" objected the reporter to the *Levant Herald* during the strike, calling into question the right of the cadastre to settle the price.³⁸ In the eyes of local reporters, what made the negotiation of gas prices problematic, above all,

³⁶ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, March 14, 1861.

³⁷ According to article 4 in the contract, the price would be fixed through a common agreement between the company on the one hand, and the local government and the inhabitants on the other. *La Turquie*, June 5, 1868.

³⁸ *Levant Herald*, December 18, 1867.

was the influence of the consular body on the decisions of the cadastral commission.³⁹ In journalistic commentaries, Izmir was often depicted as “a city strewn with obstacles on account of the various foreign authorities, some of whom created unwarranted difficulties for the local administration.”⁴⁰ During the gas strike, *La Turquie* complained that the gas question had become the exclusive province of consular meetings and reiterated that consular power “certainly does not extend to the point of interfering in our purely urban and communal questions . . . we cannot allow that foreign consuls to the country discuss, decide, in short, meddle with internal questions that concern us as *citizens* of a city of the Ottoman empire.”⁴¹ Such resentful comments directed against the European consuls were significant in more ways than one. First, they reveal the presence of contending ‘westernized’ elite circles that perceived the European consuls and their business interest as antithetical to any change and thus detrimental to the general welfare. Second, such remarks alluded to alternative forms of community. They spoke of a broader public of citizens, which was brought together by their common interest in the city and by a sense of local allegiance. This was different from the standard view of communities of religious or national interest. This broader public was certainly not all-inclusive or comprehensive. It was defined in opposition to the business interests and practices of the consular body. It only included those who shared a similar class position and linguistic affinity and were directly affected by consular dealings. The ‘citizens’ referred to in

³⁹ Objections against gas lighting escalated because of a general conviction that the cadastral commission favored the British company’s interest. In June 1864, the mixed committee that studied the question included Süleyman Bey Kanzibanoglu, Abro Efendi, George Pappa, Polycarpe Barry, and Robert Wilkin, who was involved in the Izmir-Aydin railway. The commission lowered the initial price of 1,300 piastres to 850 piastres, but the latter price was still believed to leave considerable margin of profit to the British company. For a detailed report of the gas question, see *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, August 4, 1864 and *Levant Herald*, December 4, 1867.

⁴⁰ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, February 9, 1859.

journalistic commentaries were limited to those who participated in the 'rational-critical' debate exchanged in newsprint, excluding large segments of urban populations.

By the mid-1860s, as the cadastral commission was increasingly perceived as unqualified to settle municipal questions, an autonomous municipality with the power to address local problems was viewed as a panacea for urban improvement. The *Levant Herald* championed the idea of abolishing the cadastre and creating a regular municipal organization that would combine a new and extended scheme of taxation for city-improvement purposes.⁴² Such calls received approval from the central government and in November 1867, recognizing the size of the city and the neglected state of its streets and marketplaces, the Porte granted to the governor of Izmir the right to constitute a municipality (*belediye*) for "improving and settling" urban problems.⁴³ In this new arrangement, three hundred voters that were chosen among those who paid a property tax over five hundred piastres, would represent the city, elect the members of the municipal council, and be elected. Given the presence of numerous foreign landowners in Izmir, the Porte also authorized the adoption of the Sixth District charter that admitted foreign nationals in such councils. Central authorities extended this right to foreign landowners residing in Izmir with the hope of creating points of convergence within the larger urban

⁴¹ *La Turquie*, June 5, 1868.

⁴² *Levant Herald*, October 11, 1865.

⁴³ B.O.A. Ayniyat, no. 817, 28-29. Municipality translates to Turkish as *belediye* deriving from *beled*, a versatile geographical unit, which may mean city, town, village, or country. In the early years of the Tanzimat, it referred to the "office in charge of streets and other public affairs in a city or town." In the following decades, the meaning of *belediye* was broadened in accordance with European municipalities. In *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*, Osman Nuri Ergin defined *belediye* as: "the capacity of townspeople to come together and manage affairs concerning the common interest and mutual needs of the town, within the limits and rights defined by state law, and by means of commonly elected representatives." *Menafi-i müstereke ve ihtiyacati müteakabile ikasiyla bir beldede temekkün eden ahalinin beldelerine ve dolayisiyla kendilerine ait hususati hükümetin kanunla tayin ve irae etmiş olduğu hudut ve selahiyet dairesinde ve bil-içtima intihab ettikleri vekileri vasitasiyla ruyet ve ifa etmelerine 'belediye' denir.* Also cited in Erkan Serçe, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir'de Belediye, 1868-1945* (Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1998), 54.

community and thus warding off potential consular interference, had this group been left outside the municipal council.⁴⁴ In its report on the first municipal meeting of landowners, *La Turquie* underscored this innovation: “foreigners or europeans have been invited and are acting *outside* the authority of their consulate. However, this could only be in their quality of *Ottoman subjects*, concerning their rights and duties as voters and candidates of the commune: All attendants to the assembly have recognized this fact, it is a condition acknowledged and obtained.”⁴⁵

This inclusion however was short lived as was the municipal council established in 1868. Hostility towards the municipality escalated soon after, leading to its dissolution. Some commentators advocated for a more inclusive conception of city administration and found the requirement of five hundred piasters property tax to be a high price and thereby to encourage a class of the privileged. *La Turquie* underscored that “members elected as such would have no contact point with the peoples, would know nothing of their real needs. They would vote for what they like.”⁴⁶ The fear was that this class of privileged landowners would disregard the interest of lesser groups and would exploit the municipal organization to further its own business interest.

This privileged class of voters and landowners, however, was not so unanimous in their business interests and polarities split the municipal council from the outset. According to the report of the governor Ismail Pasha, who headed the assembly, the first meeting of landowners exhibited tensions between the various factions that wished to establish their majority in the council. One was the powerful local Greek community,

⁴⁴ B.O.A. Ayniyat, no. 817, 28-29, also cited in Serçe, *Izmir'de Belediye*, 55 fn 146.

⁴⁵ *La Turquie*, July 4, 1868.

⁴⁶ *La Turquie*, July 17, 1868.

which was defined as antagonistic to all governmental activities. The second group consisted of foreign merchants, who viewed the prospective regularization of the harbor as a danger to their capitulatory rights and the municipal power as an instrument to preclude it. The last group, however, included those who had a stake in the development of a new quay.⁴⁷ Dissatisfied with the divisions within the assembly, the *Levant Herald* dismissed the municipal attempt and its rationale for being in contradiction with the norms used in Western Europe. "If by municipality we mean a territorial district administered by magistrates elected by the plurality of votes, and by municipal council, a gathering of the principal residents in charge of administering a commune or a city, we have neither a municipality nor a municipal council" admitted the reporter.⁴⁸ However short lived the first municipal experiment was, it laid open some of the power struggles that characterized the multi-cultural urban elite and the different interests and values that motivated them. In the process, it also openly called into question income differential and national origin in defining an urban community and its right to political representation.

The rapid turnover of governors and local power struggles delayed the settlement of the municipal question for another decade. Meanwhile, for lack of a municipal institution, governors supervised the collection of refuse, the maintenance the roads, and the cost of produce through arrangements that hardly lasted beyond their term. The provision of urban services and their extent depended on the enterprise of individual governors, earning them laudable praises, but also bitter reproaches in the papers. In

⁴⁷ B.O.A., Şurayı Devlet, Aydın, no. 1375/15, also cited in Serçe, *Izmir'de Belediye*, 55. On the quay project see "Chapter 3: Struggles over the Shoreline."

⁴⁸ *Levant Herald*, August 7, 1869.

1879, the municipal organization was restructured based on the revised provincial law (*vilayet nizamnamesi*) of 1877. The provincial law allowed the formation of a municipal district per 40,000 inhabitants and gave them a broader base, making them more attuned to local needs.⁴⁹ Given its size and the growing needs of its population, İzmir was divided into two separate municipal districts, one serving the upper town and the other the lower town. The boundary between the two districts ran on a roughly East-West axis, starting at the northern part of the bazaar at the shore and continuing into the city in the direction of the Basmahane train station and the Caravan Bridge road [fig. 29].⁵⁰ The section to the south of this line remained within the boundaries of the first municipal district while the north of it became the domain of the second district.

The drawing of districts recognized and reinforced the ethnic and religious sorting that characterized the city. The first district included mostly the Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods while the second encompassed the Greek, Armenian, and Frank quarters and extended to the Point.⁵¹ Although both appointed mayors belonged to the Muslim bureaucratic elite, the councils attached to each municipal district represented the religious make-up of the areas they served. In that way, the first district retained a majority of Ottoman Muslim members while the second was composed in majority of Ottoman non-Muslim members.⁵² After 1879, foreigners were restrained from

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the 1877 provincial law, see Ortaylı, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e yerel yönetim geleneği*, 170-174.

⁵⁰ Adnan Bilget, *Son yüzyılda İzmir, 1849-1949* (İzmir: Meşher Basımevi, 1949), 23.

⁵¹ Emin Bey and Ragıp Bey were mayors of the I. and II. Municipal districts respectively. Each municipal council had nine members, salaried officers, a head secretary, an accountant, a translator, a treasurer, a contracts secretary, a doctor, an engineer, a commissioner, a market supervisor and an architect, see Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi, vol. I (1307/1889), 100.

⁵² In 1880 the ratio of Muslim to non-Muslim was 6 to 4 in the first district and 3 to 6 in the second district. Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi (1297/1880), 56-57.

participating in municipal elections either as candidates or as voters.⁵³ If not in quality of political representative, however, in their quality of landowners, they remained influential in the management of the second municipal district and continued to serve in other forms of mixed councils.

The two-district arrangement lasted ten years until the districts were merged once again in 1889.⁵⁴ It had, however, a deeper impact on the ways the city developed and city spaces were served and claimed. More importantly, it made power differential among social groups more explicit by giving it a tangible form and a spatial dimension.

Although the provincial law and the broader reform trends in the empire were towards increased uniformity and standardization in urban management, their application did not necessarily create a more congruous landscape. The drawing of districts added to the sense of turf as it gave residents greater control over their immediate geography. After the division of the municipal budget between the two districts, *La Turquie* held the council even more accountable for the provision of public services. "Now that these honorable officials are masters of their own district, for the first time, we hope that they would further confirm the trust of the public by bringing public works under way to completion" wrote the reporter expecting hitherto a firmer handling of urban services in the second district.⁵⁵ Government grants were equally divided between the two districts to insure regularity, but were not sufficient to cover all necessary expenses. Executing municipal works depended as much on the council's power to coordinate endeavors as on

⁵³ *L'Impartial* reprinted in *La Turquie*, March 26, 1879.

⁵⁴ The merging in 1889 was the consequence of financial problems and was precipitated by the central government's decision to have all market taxes directly sent to the central treasury, rather than used as municipal funds, thus depriving the municipality from an important source of revenue. *Hizmet*, July 21, 1888.

⁵⁵ *La Turquie* January 9, 1880.

residents' capacity to help finance them. Most large retail stores, consulates, banks, and other prestigious institutions as well as affluent residential neighborhoods were within the boundaries of the second municipal district and, during this period, improvements achieved in this area were largely funded through resident contributions. In 1888, for example, half of the paving and infrastructure expenses in the second district were collected from its residents.⁵⁶ While considerable portions of the second district could be equipped in this manner, the first municipal district remained comparatively deprived of such amenities, making income differential conspicuous more than ever.

This problem was continually raised in the Turkish bi-weekly, *Hizmet* (literally Service), whose focus was on the Muslim sections of town and its intent to spread among the Turkish-literate population a rhetoric that tied the physical order of streets to the pride and prestige of an urban society. In an attempt to prompt more accomplishments in the first district, *Hizmet* regularly reported the amount of paving completed and the length of sewers built, cleaned, and fixed in each district. In addition to the extent of infrastructure, the quality of paving and sewers set the two districts apart. The affluent sections of the second district benefited from a smoother, more durable and more prestigious paving called 'Neapolitan' (*Napoli taşı*) and from vaulted sewer conducts (*tonoz lağım*) whereas the streets of the upper town were of cobblestone (*arnavut kaldırımı*) and equipped with ordinary sewers (*adi lağım*). Street lighting, too, became a class marker, creating divisions in the physical landscape. The gas strike and the problem of financing street lighting were temporarily settled in 1868 when the governor, Veli

⁵⁶ *Hizmet*, May 1, 1888.

Pasha, decided to pay the expense of the Gas Company out of municipal funds.⁵⁷ This interim arrangement was prolonged in the following decades, creating resentment on part of later governors, who wished to use these funds for other improvements. Nevertheless, it enabled the expansion of the gas lighting scheme.⁵⁸ When the two municipal districts were formed in 1879, the total number of lamps already amounted to 750 and reached 1,600 in 1890.⁵⁹ Gas lighting, however, mostly benefited the areas that remained within the boundaries of the second municipal district. Only in 1873, about a decade after its appearance in the Frank quarter, and with the initiative of the governor Süreyya Pasha that were the first 146 gas lamps installed on the major thoroughfares leading to the bazaar.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, petroleum lamps were used in the streets of the upper town. In the following decades, gas lighting remained comparatively limited in the Muslim neighborhoods and lamp lights dim. Such discrepancy did not go unnoticed. “Whereas lamps in the Frank quarter are illuminated right at twelve [sunset] and their piercing and bright glow dazzles the eye, in our part, except a few conspicuous streets, lamps are lit much later and their glow is frail and pale” wrote *Hizmet*, appealing to municipal agents to notify the Gas Company.⁶¹

Although the achievements of the municipality of Izmir prior to the 1890s are usually overlooked, much of the infrastructure and development trends that characterized the pre-1922 landscape were established during these formative years. In later depictions

⁵⁷ Funds diverted towards lighting came from the market taxes called four-taxes (*rusum-u erbaa*) and included the slaughter (*zebhiye*), weighing (*kantariye*), measuring (*kile*) and animal (*hayvan rusumati*).

⁵⁸ Kayserili Ahmet Pasha, Esat Pasha, and later Hursit Pasha attempted to change this arrangement addressing memoranda to the consular body to remind them of the original article of the concession that required property owners to jointly pay the cost, not the municipality, see *La Turquie*, March 17, 1876.

⁵⁹ In yearly reports, Ottoman provincial almanacs proudly recorded increasing number of street lighting, see, for example, Aydın Vilayet Salnamesi, (1296/1878), 76.

⁶⁰ *Levant Herald*, September 10, 1873

of the city, the new promenade on the waterfront and other major thoroughfares in the second municipal district continued to be distinguished for their Neapolitan stone paving and the brightness of their street lights.

Streets as Common Property

As city government was debated throughout the nineteenth century, urban problems became increasingly measured against municipal competence. Whereas urban orderliness and sanitation were the chief premises of civilized life, their absence were viewed as symptoms of political and administrative inadequacy. The scornful comments that periodically erupted during municipal controversies pointed to this equation. For example, soon after the dissolution of the first municipal council in 1869, the reporter to the *Levant Herald* condemned the experiment in the most scathing terms, appealing to physical disorder as justification of governmental inability:

What did these municipals do so far? . . . we cannot recognize any action accomplished for public utility. I won't even speak of gas lighting; it became a fiction; but our streets have never been so dirty, refuse abounds, waste matter stagnates; but our sewers are not cleaned, many are exposed and none of what needs to be done is done. Is there a municipality in Smyrna? . . . In title, alas, yes. In fact, nobody would dare say so.⁶²

In the press, the critique of the municipality was often expressed through the problems of the street that ranged from broken paving, muddy streets, open sewers, and mounds of trash to inadequate police presence on the streets. Such images of deficiency were significant in more ways than one. They had an obvious political dimension and

⁶¹ *Hizmet*, December 16, 1890.

⁶² "En admettant même qu'elle le soit, ses municipaux, qu'ont-ils fait jusqu'à ce jour? . . . nous ne leur reconnaisant aucun acte accompli en vue d'utilité publique quelconque. Je ne parle pas de l'éclairage à gaz; il est passé à l'état de mythe; mais nos rues n'ont jamais été aussi malpropres, les immondices y foisonnent, la charogne s'y prélassé; mais nos égouts ne sont pas curées; plusieurs restent l'ouverture béante; mais rien de ce qui doit être fait ne se fait. La municipalité existe-t-elle donc à Smyrne? Y-a-t-il un

served as implicit tools for governmental criticism. During the gas strike, for example, reporters condemned not only the Smyrna Gas Company for carrying on its affairs unscrupulously, but also local authorities for their inaptitude in ensuring the proper execution of public duties. "What a shame for the governors of the second city of the Empire to witness gas-lighting reach almost every private house, café, and store, but for three years, not to succeed in making it shine on our streets!" reproached, for example, the *Levant Herald*.⁶³ The problems of the street enabled the foreign business elite to condemn local government practices and, at the same time, to justify its often-challenged participation in city administration. In 1878, when foreign nationals lost their right of representation in the municipal council, they protested the decision based on "the corruption that lately dominated municipal affairs, the pitiful state of our streets [and] the apathy in which all beautification and improvement projects are received."⁶⁴

At another level, however, the problems of the street had material consequences and entailed more profound questions about the use and ownership of city spaces. The project of gas lighting with which I began this chapter spoke of the street not only as a site of technological modernization, but also as the common property of urban dwellers over which they had the right of excluding any private enterprise. During the gas strike, the reporter to the *Levant Herald* attacked the Gas Company for subverting the norms that governed the use of streets:

Our streets at night are given up to darkness. This is scarcely the result we expect when the Company established here . . . possesses the monopoly of lighting the streets for forty years and the right of laying its pipes along public ways without any obligation than that of lighting the streets at a

conseil municipal dans cette ville? De nom, hélas oui; de fait, personne n'oserait l'affirmer." *Levant Herald*, August 7, 1869

⁶³ *Levant Herald*, October 25, 1969.

⁶⁴ *La Turquie*, November 12, 1878.

certain price. Right or wrong it avails itself of its privilege, and traverses the streets in all directions, puts out public lights and relies for business upon lighting private houses & c. What can be thought of such a mode of proceeding?⁶⁵

In the eyes of the reporter, the residents and authorities had given the company the right to disrupt the street only in exchange for a public service. The company's taking advantage of pipes laid on public roads to supply gas to private parties, while depriving the streets, violated this give and take. "Some of these companies really seem to establish themselves in the East as if they want to show the people how to act in the most arbitrary manner possible," he reiterated in the following weeks.⁶⁶ The suspension of public lighting was not only unjustified, but also offensive for undermining residents' control and power over their common property. The controversy over public lighting and the problem of dark streets were framed as an invasive use of public space that prioritized private interest.

Such views were not coincidental. They were linked to broader ideals of 'appropriate use' and 'order' that were developed in the context of Tanzimat standardization of land and property laws. The 1858 land code (*arazi kanunnamesi*), drafted as part of larger governmental reforms, classified all land in the empire within five broad categories, each within the competence of a particular legislation.⁶⁷ Broadly

⁶⁵ *Levant Herald*, October 2, 1867.

⁶⁶ *Levant Herald*, November 13, 1867.

⁶⁷ The Land Code was promulgated on April 21, 1858/1274. For a detailed discussion of the reformed Land Code, see W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation foncière ottomane* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1904). For a discussion of pre- and post-reform land regime, see A. Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 1 (Vienne-Leipzig: C.W. Stern, 1908) 320-346. Grégoire Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane, ou, Recueil des lois, réglemens, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. 1 (Constantinople: Demétrius Nicolaïdes, 1874) is useful as an early compilation of Tanzimat period documents. Vol. 5 has additions to the earlier land code. Another comprehensive compilation of reformed Ottoman codes is George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman; recueil des codes, lois, réglemens, ordonnances et actes les plus importants du droit intérieur, et d'études sur le droit coutumier de l'Empire ottoman*, 7 vols (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905-06). For a handbook on Ottoman Land

speaking, private land (*mülk*) was governed by the Ottoman civil code (*mecelle*), land belonging to charitable foundations (*vakif*) by Islamic law, whereas all types of state owned land (*miri*) including land abandoned for common use (*metruke*), and dead land (*mevat*) were regulated by the new land code. In Ottoman jurisdiction, public ways and streets belonged to the state or public treasury (*beyt-ül mal*) which abandoned them for the collective use of the entire population.⁶⁸ According to Islamic law such property could not be owned privately. The civil code, compiled in 1824, and the later penal code, revised according to the French model, confirmed this fact.⁶⁹ In addition, these codes detailed the use of and the rights of ways on public spaces in a manner that gave priority to passerby's rights of way and restricted any private undertaking on them.⁷⁰ Hence, streets had to be cleared from any private endeavor that encumbered them and be immune of any obstruction.

regime, see R.C. Tute, *The Ottoman land laws, with a commentary on the Ottoman land code of 7th Ramadan 1274* (Jerusalem: Greek Conv. Press, 1927).

⁶⁸ *Arazi-i metruke* also included mosque spaces and courtyards, spaces assigned for marketplace and fairs, and areas within or on the fringe of cities for storing carts and animals. In addition, pastures given for the use of a community were also part of the *arazi-i metruke*, see Tute, *The Ottoman land laws*, 88-96; Rougon, *Smyrne: Situation Commerciale et Économique*, 203.

⁶⁹ *Mecelle* or the Ottoman Civil Code was compiled during the rule of Mahmut II (1808-1839). It succeeded to the *Multeka* Code produced during Suleyman I and based on the Hanefite interpretation of the Koran. The *Mecelle* received modifications and additions in the following decades. For a translation of the *Mecelle*, see Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane*, vols. 6-7; see also Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vol. 6, 169-446. The Penal Code was reformed with the Tanzimat edict of 1856. For a summary of the old and new Penal Code, see Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. 1, 354-441. For the reformed Penal Code, see Young, *Corps de droit ottoman* vol. 7, 1-54.

⁷⁰ The penal code detailed the penalties for endangering the cleanliness of the streets and the general public health. Article 254 imposed a fine on innkeepers who encumber public ways by leaving miscellaneous items on them, by failing to sweep them or by creating any circumstance that may endanger the passerby. Article 264 imposed a fine on anyone who damages public ways, public places, and other spaces intended for common use and who would encroach on them, see Young, *Corps de droit ottoman* vol. 7, 52-54. The *Mecelle* also detailed several regulations on the use of public ways (or *tarik-i am*). Article 1213 prevented an individual, who owned property on both sides of a public road, from building a bridge to connect them or from renovating an existing bridge. Article 1214 stated that a low balcony or overhang projecting on the street could be destroyed when it obstructed circulation, even if it existed since "ab antiquo." Article 926 underscored that public roads were for general use and that everyone could pass through them as long as they did not create any harm to other passers by. Article 927 forbade anyone from

The conception of the street as public circulation was not always congruent with former practices that privileged the protection of private property. Islamic law accorded a greater role to private property and to securing its protection. It allowed for a larger degree of "privatization of public space" that can be best seen in the treatment of dead-end streets as quasi-private property.⁷¹ Islamic law, for example, distinguished between a through street (*tarik-i salik*) left for the movement of all the inhabitants and a dead-end street (*tarik-i ghayr nafiz*) that was the joint property of those whose houses abutted on it. Owners of a dead-end street could gate the street and prevent others from using it.⁷² The importance given to private property also shaped the urban environment in a distinctive way, relegating public ways to functional access-way and cutting them to the minimal width that allowed pedestrian and animal traffic.⁷³ Unlike the codes promulgated during the Tanzimat, Islamic law did not define unequivocal rights or absolute boundaries on the street or other common urban property. The uses of the streets and its boundaries were subject to negotiation among all those who had right of ways.⁷⁴ They were decided by negotiation rather than by absolute laws, which gave an owner the possibility to extend

erecting stands on a public road or from stationing for the purpose of buying and selling without permission from authorities, see Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, vol. 6, 301.

⁷¹ I borrow the expression to Janet Abu Lughod who uses it in the context of Arab-Islamic cities, see Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19 (1987) fn. 44. Abu-Lughod borrows the expression from Lyn H. Lofland's discussion of the American context.

⁷² Article 1220 in the Mecelle confirmed the semi-private status of the dead-end street. For a discussion of urban experience and public spirit in Arab-Islamic cities, see Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the eve of modernity: Aleppo in the eighteenth century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), esp. ch.8.

⁷³ The tendency to privatize the street had been remarked upon in the works of Orientalist scholars such as Jean Sauvaget or Gustav von Grünebaum, but this privatization does not mean 'degeneration' or 'decay' in comparison to the former Greek polis or Roman towns, as they seem to have had assumed.

⁷⁴ On the notion of absolute versus negotiated boundaries, see Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," in Paul Dumont, François Georgeon, eds., *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, trans. Ali Berktaş (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 10-11 and fn 25. See also Robert Brunschvig, "Urbanisme médiéval et droit musulman," *Revue des Études Islamiques*, V (1947): 127-155; Besim Selim Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles* (London & New York: KPI, 1986).

his house into the street or build an overhanging balcony with the consent of the neighbors.

Tanzimat reconfiguration of public ways introduced new notions of public property and absolute boundaries drawn from Roman and Napoleonic codes. At the same time, they continued to recognize some of the prior Islamic and customary principles based on flexible and negotiated boundaries. Hence, attempts to reorder the nineteenth century-street required, resolving the provisions of these two divergent models of public space.

Streets and Free Movement

Pressures of rebuilding after the great fires coupled with the needs of an expanding city had sparked building activity, bringing about new additions to the urban fabric and setting a stark contrast with their unkempt surroundings. "Our city offers an unfortunate contrast," wrote an observer in 1861, alluding to the luxury of buildings and the misery of the streets. "While marble is used unsparingly, the most treasured furniture is of a most fashionable kind, and luxury is making incredible progress, our streets display a shameful spectacle."⁷⁵ In the 1860's, poor paving and mountains of trash became more conspicuous and were frequently pointed at in journalistic reports.

"Nothing is more deplorable than the desolate state of the streets in Smyrna," bemoaned the correspondent to *La Turquie*, playing off Izmir's position as the second capital of the country in population and in trade and its inadequate urban provisions. "Imagine a few rough stones haphazardly thrown and covered with a handful of sand; add to this the lack

⁷⁵ "Notre ville offre un contraste attristant. Tandisque les nouvelles batisses qui s'élèvent sont construites avec tant de richesse que d'élégance que l'on prodigue partout le marbre, que les meubles les plus chers sont ceux qui sont le plus à la mode, tandisque le luxe fait des progrès inouï, nos rues présentent un spectacle qui fait vraiment honte." *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, January 9, 1861.

of sidewalks, the narrowness of the street, the refuse thrown at all times and the scene exhibited by our streets would be before your eyes."⁷⁶ Often, commentators heralded the perils of urban disorder and danger – losing one's footing, losing one's way, the risk of disease, and the ruffians that infested the streets. They depicted the city as a hellhole of scarcely passable streets whose foulness, darkness, and broken or irregular pavement rendered them difficult to navigate. Such representations bore similarities to images of cramped and disordered streets common to European travel accounts and that were intended to reinforce or play to the stereotypes of their readers. Contrary to travelers' representations, however, the poorly equipped and controlled street in newspaper commentaries framed the deficiencies not in terms of exoticism, but in terms of a problematic construction of public space.

In journalistic writings, the despicable condition of the streets was problematic primarily because it limited pedestrians' freedom to be on the streets and their ability to enjoy those spaces. In those years, a stroll towards the Point or along the Caravan Bridge was usually described as practically impossible because of the marshy areas one had to cross to get there. The same was true for the road leading to Halkapinar (Bath of Diana) on the outskirts of the city and famous for its water springs. The Caravan Bridge and Halkapinar were the main places of curiosity that all voyagers rushed to visit on their arrival. On holidays, ordinary people too crowded these spaces. "The weather is beautiful but nobody can enjoy it unless one wants to be soaked in mud up to the knees" moaned a commentator.⁷⁷ While the marshy roads prevented walkers from taking a stroll to the outskirts, their poor paving impeded pedestrian movement within the city.

⁷⁶ *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866.

Particularly as more affluent segments of the population began to use carriages, their wheels were found to damage the pavement. “[T]hese cars are totally useless . . . and they would be better off in some European city where the width of the street would allow them to move” wrote the reporter of *La Turquie*, viewing carriages as an ill-suited pretense that obstructed circulation. “What is left for the pedestrian?” he objected, despising the simultaneous presence of carriages and camels that obstructed free flow and whose slow pace made those on foot restless.⁷⁸ In addition to the uneasy mixture of fancy carriages and animal traffic jamming the streets, tanners had recently begun to carry their merchandise on heavy wagons rather than on the backs of animals. Some landowners despised these heavy carts on their street and complained that their metal rims broke the pavement, sewers, and water pipes. In a petition drafted to the governor general, they attacked the practices of the tanners’ guild and asked for the cessation of this harmful mode of transportation based on reasons of public interest.⁷⁹

However heartfelt such reproaches were, they articulated a modern vision of the street as a single-use space set aside primarily for movement and circulation and to which only a particular class of walkers were granted right of way. This view of urban space directly challenged traditional uses of the streets as places of buying and selling by small shopkeepers and street vendors whose livelihoods depended on a construction of public space much different from that of free flow. Retail stores in the commercial sections of town had narrow fronts ranging from two and a half to four meters in width [fig. 30]. The standard practice for shopkeepers was to display their goods on the street. For small

⁷⁷ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, January 9, 1861.

⁷⁸ *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866.

⁷⁹ *La Turquie*, May 24, 1866.

merchants who often extended their stalls in front of their store, the street was an immediate extension of their store conferring them some priority over its use. Once a merchant extended his display out on the street, others were likely to follow the same pattern to sustain their trade. In addition to permanent shopkeepers, itinerant vendors often took over the sidewalks as private display space. Their merchandise mostly consisted of seasonal produce that they carried in their sack and displayed in the busiest parts of towns.

Spokesmen for the literate public despised the chaotic and competitive space of small-time commerce scattered through shops, markets, and streets. In his letter, Bargigli called the attention of the public administration to the “pitiful state of Fassola,” the commercial heart of the Frank quarter and a major route for a large part of the population going to work daily [figs. 31 and 32]. “Aside from dirt and overcrowding, the cluster of coffeehouses, butchers, *bakkals* [grocers], fishermen turn this street into a scarcely navigable passage.”⁸⁰ Stalls placed alongside the street and extensions that shops had made on public thoroughfares blocked the flow in several commercial areas. Besides more permanent retail stores, weekly markets were set along major commercial streets or in designated open spaces and makeshift stalls were lined up on the streets. On Sundays and holidays, the market improvised on Frank Street slowed down circulation [fig. 33]. This major commercial artery was also an important path for Christian worshippers leading to the British and Dutch chapels, three large Lazarist churches, the churches of St. Marie and of St. Polycarp and the Greek Cathedral of St. Photini. For polite eyes, the

⁸⁰ *Écho de l'Orient*, March 15, 1845.

display of pork, lamb, beef, poultry, fruits and vegetables, fish and other produce made the thoroughfare even more displeasing on Sundays.

The congestion along Frank Street became more problematic after the big fire of 1844 that destroyed parts of the Fassola quarter. At the time, landowners who lost their houses had to give up a portion of their land to widen the street and provide this neighborhood with more air, light, and relative security. A few years later, however, circulation was again blocked at the same location and the fish market, the “most disagreeable of all,” was again established in front of the church of the Lazarists.⁸¹ “Nobody easily gives away a tiny plot of land unless in consideration of public security and public good” wrote the *L’Impartial*, asking authorities to take into account the sacrifice that Fassola residents had made to ease circulation and accordingly to amend the stalls, sheds, and other irregular buildings that encroached on the street.⁸² Objections about the state of the streets took their lead from the recently reformed law codes and aimed to prompt local authorities – the cadastral commission until 1868 and the municipality in later years – into action. In 1864, the cadastral commission took some initiatives to smooth, widen, and clean the streets and remove shop fronts that projected out on public thoroughfares. It also moved the market improvised on Frank Street to the confines of Fassola place that was deemed more ‘adequate’ for such use.⁸³

Such new measures, however, were short lived and did not stop vendors from placing their produce out on the street. The attempt to provide for unobstructed flow was constantly opposed by less articulate but no less strongly held counter views and

⁸¹ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, March 28, 1862.

⁸² *L’Impartial* reprinted in *La Turquie*, July 26, 1866.

⁸³ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, December 22, 1864.

practices. Papers recorded shop owners' taking over the sidewalks in and around Frank Street. In one instance, complaining about the way merchandise was displayed on the street, a reporter humorously recounted how a passerby ran into the head or flank of a cow hanging in front of a butcher. "As is often the case . . . the victim complains to the butcher who in turn insults him; as he retorts, people assemble, they argue, the police intervene; they speak Greek, Turkish, English, and French but fall far from agreeing."⁸⁴ Such episodes revealed more than a Babel of languages. They brought to the fore conflicting views of who had priority over the use of street space. For the westernized elite, the street was above all a space set aside for unobstructed movement. It had to allow for the free flow of people and goods. Thus storefronts projecting on the street and the guild of itinerant vendors exposed their goods for sale to the annoyance of walkers and to the hindrance of free circulation.

The strength of shop-owners' claims to the street was shown by their continued encroachment on public ways and the repeated measures that authorities attempted to enforce. In 1875, *Aydin*, the official Turkish paper, published a notice that gave landowners a deadline to demolish any structure they had built that encroached on a public thoroughfare.⁸⁵ The success of such calls was probably limited, since similar notices were published time and again. Later, in 1878, the municipal commission posted another order in the streets, prohibiting shopkeepers, peddlers, and any other individuals from stacking furniture, barrels, boxes, grain or produce, fish or other commodities intended for public consumption in the street. Similarly, inn-keepers and coffee-shop

⁸⁴ *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866. It was probably no coincidence that butchers were the usual target of criticism. For over a decade, the high price of meat and the monopoly enjoyed by butchers had been an issue of contempt, frequently mentioned in the papers, see *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, March 5, 1857 and March 8, 1860, *Levant Herald*, March 8, 1865.

owners were restricted from placing chairs or tables in front of their stores for a period longer than one hour without prior approval of the municipal commission. In addition, the order detailed that any object that might obstruct public circulation or block sunlight (such as wooden covers or signs projecting on the street) were also prohibited. Thus outdoor frames for hanging produce or other objects projecting from the wall and extending onto the public thoroughfare had to be removed. To maintain the pavement, the commission also asked for carts and animals not to be loaded above their limits and set the limits by a special tariff. Loads exceeding the tariff would be unloaded.⁶⁵

Although official orders prohibited all individuals from displaying on the streets merchandise destined for public consumption, fines seem to be imposed primarily on itinerant vendors and not on shop-owners. Municipal authorities were more aggressive in prohibiting peddlers. Shop-owners, who co-opted public spaces in much the same manner and on a larger scale, however, remained unchallenged.⁶⁷ Such irregularities in practice indicate the relative power of shop-owners' claim over those of street vendors. Shopkeepers' power came in part from their right of way on the street and in part from belonging to a guild, unlike street vendors who remained mostly outside such means of supervision, control, and protection. The relative power of merchants and the difficulty

⁶⁵ Reprinted in *La Turquie* February 5, 1875.

⁶⁶ Five days after the publication of the order offenders were liable to a fine according to article 254 of the Ottoman Penal Code and in case of continual offense the fine would be doubled according to article 8 of the same code, see *Levant Herald*, April 17, 1878.

⁶⁷ On the differential treatment of peddlers and grocers, see *Hizmet*, October 19 and October 22, 1889. The conflict between the ideals of commercialism and modernity, or between the "competitive" landscape of shopkeepers and the "systematic" landscape of experts was common to the modernizing nineteenth century cities. For an insightful discussion of these questions in the context of early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, see Dell Upton, "Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic," in Catherine E. Hutchins, ed., *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (Winterthur, MD: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994); On nineteenth-century New York, see Daniel Bluestone, "Pushcart Evil, Peddlers, Merchants, and New York City's Streets, 1890-1940," *Journal of Urban History* 18, no. 1 (November, 1991), 68-92.

of enforcing regulations restricting them were manifested in other matters such as the setting of provision prices. In principle, the control of the quality of goods and prices was in the hands of an authorized deputy among merchants, the *kethüda*, who watched over the interests of the corporations, regulated salaries, settled disputes, and represented the corporation before the administrative authority.⁸⁸ Twice a year, the government fixed the maximum price of goods (*narh*) to prevent unfair competition and those who sold at higher prices were punished.⁸⁹ By the second half of the nineteenth century, although the principle of drawing up an official price tariff and transmitting it to the guilds continued through municipal agents, it did not seem to be uniformly implemented. Regular complaints about high-priced provisions both in European-language and later Turkish-language papers hinted to this fact. Often, wholesale grocers, butchers, and other provision dealers circumvented municipal control and “gathered in the evening in some taverns to decide on the price of produce for the next day, and all this to the detriment of the consumers.”⁹⁰ In 1865, for example, the authorities abolished the *narh* on meat in order to encourage competition and help lower the prices, but the effect proved the opposite.⁹¹

⁸⁸ The task of the *kethüda* was to control the implementation of official instructions and denounce the culprits. He imposed fines for infractions of the rules of the corporation, the amount of the fine being fixed by a regulated tariff. He likewise exercised a species of police over the members of the corporations, see “The Municipalities of Turkey” in *Levant Herald*, January 25, 1865.

⁸⁹ *Narh* was the Ottoman practice of state regulation of the market by determining the price for food and other basic commodities. It was applied to ensure sufficient food supply and produce a 10-12 percent profit margin for sellers. The price was set by the *kadi* of the district and with the participation of guild representatives. The current prices were recorded and publicly announced, see Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begg, and Efendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1997), 118; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1960-), 964-65. On the practice of *narh*, see Gabriel Baer, “The Administrative, Economic, and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds,” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* I (January, 1970): 28-50; Ahmet Kal’a, *Istanbul esnaf tarihi tahlilleri: Istanbul esnaf birlikleri ve nizamlari* (Istanbul: Istanbul Arastirmalari Merkezi, 1998).

⁹⁰ *La Turquie*, May 24, 1866.

⁹¹ On the abolition of the *narh* on meat, see commentary in *La Turquie*, May 24, 1866.

Popular dissatisfaction about the price of goods and the difficulty in enforcing tariffs were as much signs of limited municipal authority as they were indications of merchants' long-held networks of solidarity. Even though the municipality was intended as a larger organ of control it did not substitute former means of market regulation or abolish the claims that merchants made to street space. Its very existence, however, gave more legitimacy to modern views of unencumbered public circulation and to pedestrian complaints. Beginning in 1886, *Hizmet* devoted ample space to municipal problems, most of which dealt with questions of paving and smoothing the major streets. The paper expressed various complaints, ranging from the extensive traffic of carts and camels that turned the streets into swampy grounds to the importance of regulating the trades that adjoined the streets not to disturb pedestrians. For example, in one article, the reporter complained about the way in which a grocery store that doubled in the back as a restaurant created a heavy odor of oil and bothered the passerby.⁹²

Attempts to clear and smooth the streets and modernize public spaces produced various forms of implicit and explicit objections, demonstrating the ways in which the single-use street of free flow, as promoted in Tanzimat-inspired codes and discourses, co-existed uneasily with former urban practices and control systems. This modern ideal of the street had not only physical implications, but also important social ramifications. It entailed particular forms of exclusions that contrarily affected large segments of the population whose livelihood depended on the street. More importantly, these exclusions were often articulated in terms of economic and occupational class, rather than religious or ethnic difference.

⁹² *Hizmet*, October 29, 1889.

Streets and Public Order

In newspaper reports, while broken pavement and encroachment threatened the physical order, robbers and aggressor endangered public safety and violated the moral order of the streets. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, questions of street safety were frequently broached in the local press. Calls for better protection escalated when armed robbers and bandits, who roamed in the immediate countryside, captured a prominent resident for ransom or threatened affluent members of the urban society.⁹³ They also mounted at times of population influx or when war refugees were brought to the city. Regardless of the circumstances that led to increase in street offenses, malefactors thriving in public spaces were usually blamed on the idleness of authorities. “The police are convinced that all is at its best . . . but where are those sinister figures walking ours streets coming from? Why all these daylight robberies on the streets, at the theater, and in the most busy-coffee shops? Why are no patrol or *cavass* [consular guard] on the watch?” exclaimed the reporter of the *Journal de Constantinople*, in 1856.⁹⁴ Such images of sluggishness were perpetuated not only in the press, but also in consular correspondences. Almost three decades later, the American consul reported on “public un-safety or danger” in Izmir, in a similar tone. He spoke of “the most outrageous assaults” that were of “daily occurrence on the principal and most frequented streets and in broad-daylight” adding that “not even a complaint is made to the authorities, so utterly useless it is considered.”⁹⁵ Throughout the second half

⁹³ Tales of ‘brigandage’ and highwaymen – and especially on the activities of the bands of Yörük Osman and of Captain Andrea – were frequent in the local papers and consular reports. On Banditry in the region of Izmir, see Sabri Yetkin, *Ege’de eskiyalar* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996).

⁹⁴ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l’Orient*, December 19, 1856.

⁹⁵ Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, Duncan to Secretary of State, no. 14, December 7, 1880.

of the nineteenth century, consular agents continued to denounce the offenses committed to property and individuals, while newspaper reporters pleaded for "stricter injunction to local tribunals to deal quickly and severely with offenses."⁹⁶ This unchanging polemic of misgovernment, however, concealed the ongoing debates and attempts to modernize techniques of control as well as the problem of competing legislation, which thwarted governmental action.

Governors were not insensitive to problems of public security. Their views of mischief-makers, however, were somewhat different. They often attributed the numerous offenses committed daily in the city to "individuals, who were strangers to the countries that rid them from their condemnation" or to "disreputable foreigners, expelled more than once from Smyrna, but who always return back."⁹⁷ The large number of foreigners who were outside local jurisdictions and the inviolability of their homes interfered with the actions of local authorities.⁹⁸ Government agents complained that when the police attempted to arrest an offender of foreign nationality, consulates either shielded the aggressor or required witnesses that were often impossible to find, thereby leading the tribunals to release the offender.⁹⁹ In 1862, following successive assaults committed by Maltese and Ionians, who were respectively under the jurisdiction of the British and Greek consul, the governor, Mehmet Resit Pasha, convened the consular body to ask for

⁹⁶ *Levant Herald*, October 26, 1878.

⁹⁷ Note of Hursit Pasha to the members of the consular body in *L'Impartial* reprinted in *La Turquie*, April 19, 1976.

⁹⁸ The inviolability of the home was guaranteed by the capitulations. The provision had been a source of contention as the government had naturally sought to place limitations to the immunity and the foreign government had strenuously protected their claim. On the inviolability of domicile, see Philip Marshall Brown, *Foreigners in Turkey* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1914), 90-92. On controversial cases that arose between the governors and the consulates in Izmir, see Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, E. S. Offley to Secretary of State, copy of communications between Halil Pasha and Consul Offley, January 7, 17 and February 13, 1851.

assistance in implementing measures for better protecting the city.¹⁰⁰ On another occasion in 1876, Hursit Pasha called on the consuls for more "latitude to cleanse the city from malefactors, who profoundly disturb public order."¹⁰¹ Such joint efforts received approval in the papers. Consular disposition on public security, however, remained more equivocal and, in practice, adherence to capitulations overrode problems of safety, limiting the scope of judicial actions.

Government measures for improving street security ranged from incidental enforcement to larger-scale attempts to restructure the police force and remove the undesirables from the streets. In the early 1860s, official orders obliged nocturnal pedestrians not to go out without lanterns and forbade individuals from carrying any kind of firearms in the street, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.¹⁰² Such measures were regularly announced, but were less effective than intended, as they could not be uniformly enforced on a population governed by different legal systems.¹⁰³ In addition, a private collaboration of affluent residents hired private night guards to watch the streets at the Point, which lay outside the immediate reach of local authorities and were often described with apprehension as "sanctuar[ies] of thieves and bravos."¹⁰⁴ Concurrent to these isolated efforts, was the recognition that policing the streets needed centralization and standardization. In 1862, the police department was reconstituted under the authority

⁹⁹ Note of Hursit Pasha to the members of the consular body in *L'Impartial* reprinted in *La Turquie*, April 19, 1976.

¹⁰⁰ Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, J. Bing to Secretary of State, March 4, 1862.

¹⁰¹ *La Turquie*, April 19, 1976.

¹⁰² Consuls were asked to notify their subjects on such measures. In addition, *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, often reiterated the regulation, see February 28, 1862.

¹⁰³ Foreign residents, who daily commuted between the villages of Buca or Bornova and the city were known to arm themselves and "proceed in parties of four or five for mutual protection," while they daily crossed the town from the railway station to their offices, see *Levant Herald*, August 9, 1876 and *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, February 27, 1884.

¹⁰⁴ *Levant Herald*, September 17, 1862.

of the chief of police, Emin Bey, and its range extended all the way to the Point.¹⁰⁵ Local authorities and the news-reading public debated the mode of patrolling and the cadence of the police to bring more regularity to street watch. Enterprising governors usually began their terms by ordering the night watch. In 1860, for example, the governor Osman Pasha asked for making the rounds by “troops of line” to exhibit an orderly force.¹⁰⁶ The act of patrolling was often made by bands of fifteen to twenty gendarmes, moving through the streets, but “no sooner have their backs been turned that those who have been on the watch to rob the unwary find full scope to carry on their unlawful occupations. It would be far better to give every street a *zaptieh* [gendarme] who having a certain beat will thus be better able to watch over public safety” suggested one reporter, calling for further systematization.¹⁰⁷ In 1881, the governor Midhat Pasha, who was loudly praised for his stringent measures on banditry and for restoring security in town, organized, for example, a peace guard service that patrolled two by two with two to three gendarmes following them.¹⁰⁸

Public security required not only a rationalization of the police movement on the streets, but also attuning the composition of this body to better respond to local needs. “Our police force is principally recruited among strangers to the *vilayet* [province] such as Albanians & c.,” wrote one reporter, referring to the mercenary practices in use and attributing this condition to the endurance of disorder. “These strangers care little about

¹⁰⁵ *Levant Herald*, September 17, 1862.

¹⁰⁶ *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, October 20, 1860.

¹⁰⁷ *Levant Herald*, August 9, 1876.

¹⁰⁸ *La Turquie* February 1, 1881. On the achievements of Midhat Pasha in Izmir, see Ali Haydar Mithat, *Midhat-Pasha, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Paris: Stock, 1908); Zeki Arıkan, “Midhat Pasa'nın Aydın valiliği (Ağustos 1880-Mayıs 1881),” *Uluslararası Midhat Pasa semineri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986):127-164. See also, Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, B.O. Duncan to Secretary of State, no. 48, May 17, 1881.

the protection they are called upon to afford to the population, their object being 'by hook or by crook' to make a little money and then return to their own homes," he remarked, linking police efficiency to local know-how and to a sense of territorial loyalty.¹⁰⁹ That a police, composed of natives and drawn among the various classes, would cure disorder was confirmed by the reforms that were underway. In 1878, the police corps was restructured based on a governmental measure that admitted non-Muslims Ottomans into the police force.¹¹⁰ In later years, some commentators praised this reorganization "because the governor knew the traditions of the country . . . chose apt people . . . most Mussulmans spoke the language of the country and managed to communicate with people of all classes, while the others were recruited among indigenous of different nationalities, who knew more or less the nest of prowlers."¹¹¹ This reconfiguration of the police, although soon curtailed by lack of resources, combined standard disciplinary techniques with the challenges of controlling a linguistically and culturally diverse populace.

To suppress acts of violence also involved removing from the streets those viewed as undesirable and controlling the morals of popular classes. "Why for the sake of public safety, authorities are not asking for their expulsion from the city?" insisted one commentator at a time when crime became intolerable.¹¹² Such appeals were written with awareness that similar questions had been recently brought up in Istanbul and that the central government had proposed to remove a number of British-protected Maltese and Ionians and send them to their place of origin.¹¹³ Whether or not such expulsion were

¹⁰⁹ *Levant Herald*, September 19, 1878.

¹¹⁰ This measure was developed in the early 1860s, but was only implemented in 1878.

¹¹¹ *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, February 7, 1887.

¹¹² *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, December 19, 1856

¹¹³ On the deportation of British-protected Maltese and Ionians, see Rosenthal, *The Politics of dependency*, 108.

effected, similar requests mounted when the level of assaults multiplied again in 1874. In a meeting presided by the Austrian consul, Scherzer, the consular body concurred that “all homeless persons or vagrants whose nationality had not been acknowledged by the consular authorities should at once be sent back to whatever place they came from.”¹¹⁴ What was being articulated in this statement was a particular view of who had access to the city and the right to occupy its spaces. From the perspective of the consuls, an approved nationality and occupational status constituted the basis for being in public. Nationality, however, had been an ambiguous criterion in the context of nineteenth century Izmir.¹¹⁵ Not every protected individual was necessarily viewed as a legitimate citizen of the country of protection, leaving them outside the responsibility of any country.

Those who expressed their views in newspapers often viewed public danger and public threat along class lines. They wrote with the conviction that the evils of the streets were linked to the morality of the working classes and equated aggressors with the lower classes of the urban society. Poorer Greek neighborhoods that lay in close vicinity of the Point and the Frank quarter were particularly marked as sites of “murderous assaults and broils [sic]” and were associated with the ills of urban life.¹¹⁶ What made these neighborhoods less delectable to polite society was the presence of a “lawless class” of *palikari*.¹¹⁷ For the upper classes, a *palikaraki* (diminutive of *palikari*) usually meant an

¹¹⁴ *Levant Herald*, June 17, 1874.

¹¹⁵ After 1856 the U.S. State Department required the American consulate in Izmir to regularly submit the list of their legitimate citizens in order to preclude abuses. The consular reports listed the ‘citizens’, the ‘naturalized citizens’ and the ‘protected-residents, separately. In addition they included consular employees who also received protection, an indication of the various grades of citizenship and American protection.

¹¹⁶ *Levant Herald*, September 20, 1871.

¹¹⁷ From Greek, for a young, handsome, and courageous boy.

“offspring of the laboring population who from very childhood led a life of dissipation passing their existence in the myriad of coffee-houses and drinking shops.”¹¹⁸ So were the *mourmourisemeni*, another group of dreaded individuals who, according to one commentator, were “a class of ruffians, heroes of the knife” some of whom kept “brilliant saloons and *café-chantants* on the aristocratic quay.”¹¹⁹ While such characters were perceived as threat to public order, their places of entertainment and diversion were thought to endanger public morality. Taverns and drinking establishments that catered to popular classes had to be controlled and regulated to maintain moral order. In that way newspapers often agreed with and encouraged government regulations that ordered coffee-houses and drinking places be closed at 10 o’clock at night since they served as “meeting place to all these miscreants.”¹²⁰ These coffee-houses and drinking places served not only native residents, but also a more transient population. Sailors of the different men-at-war in the harbor were frequently seen “reeling through the streets intoxicated” and were often detained in consular prisons.¹²¹ In addition, two months after the consular decision to drive out vagrants and homeless, *La Turquie* reported that many expelled prostitutes from Istanbul and Alexandria had been arriving to Izmir. “This deplorable result that [governor] Hüsni Pasha has not taken into account seriously threatens the young male population of Smyrna that is exposed to the continual contact of

¹¹⁸ *Levant Herald*, September 19, 1878.

¹¹⁹ ‘Brigandage at Smyrna’ in *Levant Herald*, February 6, 1884. A *mourmourisemeni* is a growler.

¹²⁰ *La Turquie*, July 15, 1874.

¹²¹ *Levant Herald*, October 18, 1876. According to international treaties, foreign nationals could not be detained in Ottoman prisons. Generally consulates had their own detention rooms for keeping sailors, who troubled public order.

women who are bringing here a morality that was hitherto unknown to us" bemoaned the correspondent.¹²²

The nineteenth-century streets of Izmir increasingly brought together people of differing degrees of wealth or poverty, and men of various occupations and origins with competing livelihood and practices. At the same time, emerging views about public spaces considered such mixing offensive and sought for new methods to control social lives on the streets. Like attempts to physically order the streets, efforts to suppress violence and drive out undesirables articulated specific forms of exclusions and reconfiguration that challenged former ways of being in public.

The various facets of Izmir's modernization, its tensions, ambiguities, and paradoxes, were inscribed in the spaces of the streets. State-sponsored attempts to introduce order in the street often clashed with traditional uses of city spaces, as did the modern ideals of public spaces promoted by the westernized elite. Efforts to order the streets generated various responses, some of which were reported and debated in the press and official documents. These debates included local government officials, consular agents, and a more diverse public whose members shared a similar class position and linguistic affinity and considered themselves as legitimate insiders in local politics. This multi-cultural Smyrniote public constituted an alternative power to state-sponsored or consular actions. Although it did not prefigure an all-inclusive and 'ideal' public in which individuals, in their capacity of citizens, participate in an ongoing process of collective decision-making, its views and actions were critical in shaping the urban landscape and driving and directing changes in the city. In that way newspaper debates

¹²² *La Turquie*, August 26, 1874.

about the order of the street revealed as much about the intricate power dynamic among contending elite groups as about who introduced modernization and what were its explicit and implicit intentions and its unintended consequences.

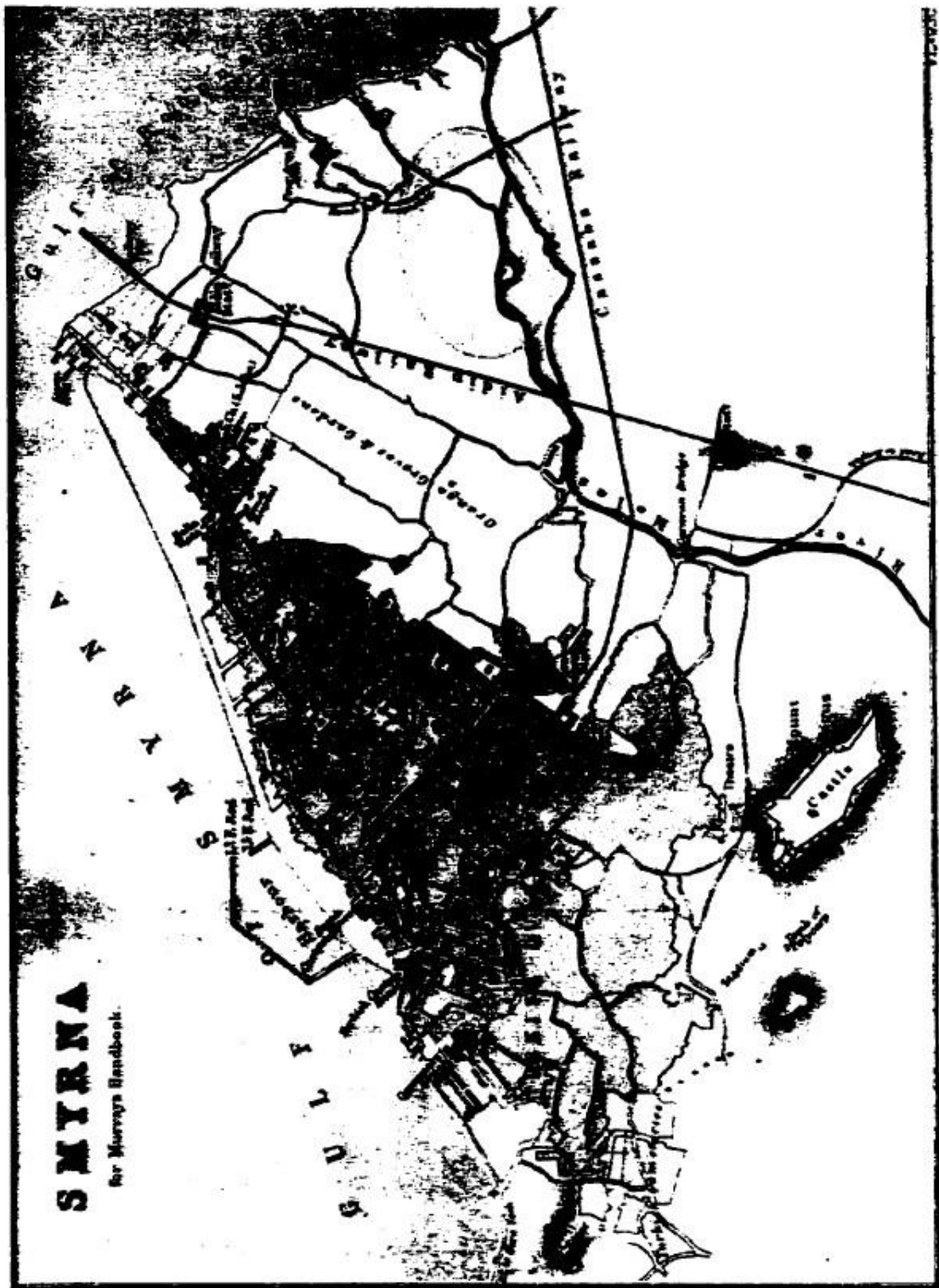


Figure 22: The initial gas lighting scheme (basemap: *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia* [London: John Murray, 1878], facing p. 247).



Figure 23: Gas lamps in late nineteenth-century Izmir (Manuscript Collection, Istanbul University).

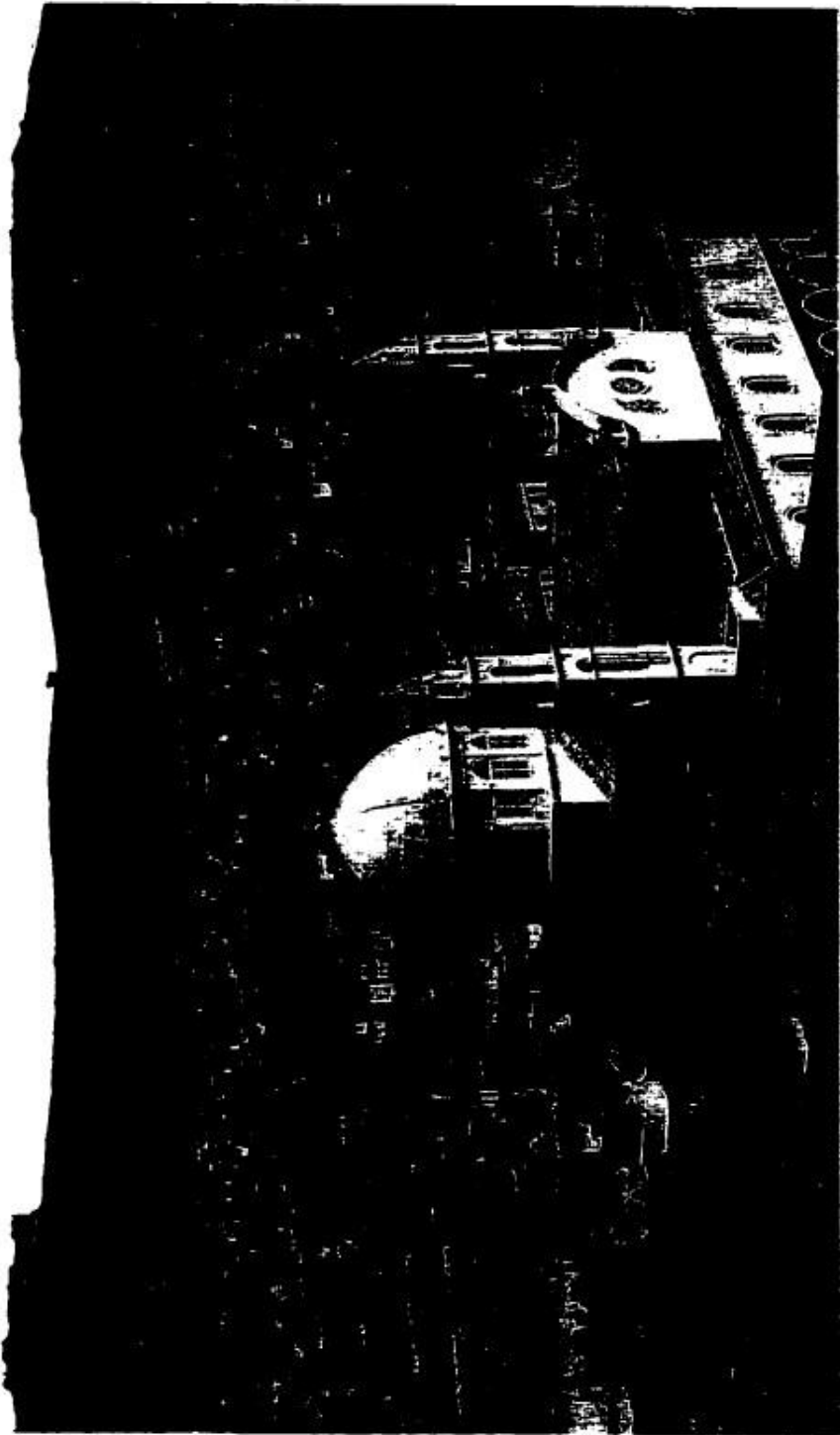


Figure 24: The Greek Orthodox Church of St. George in Izmir (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

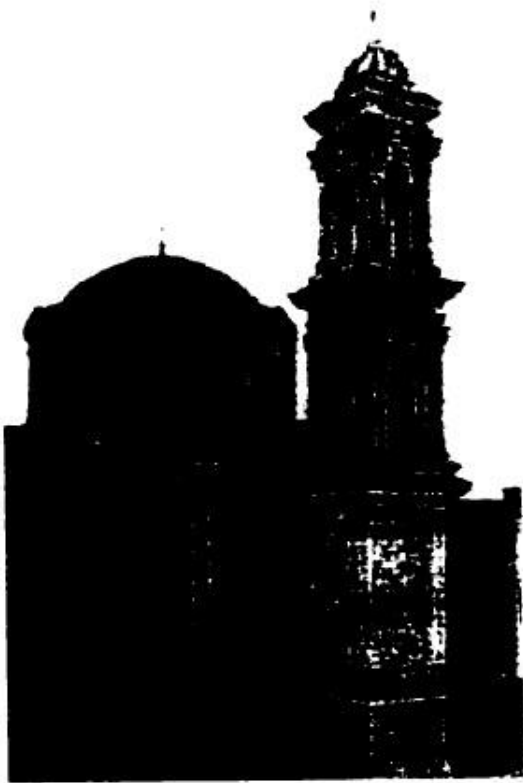


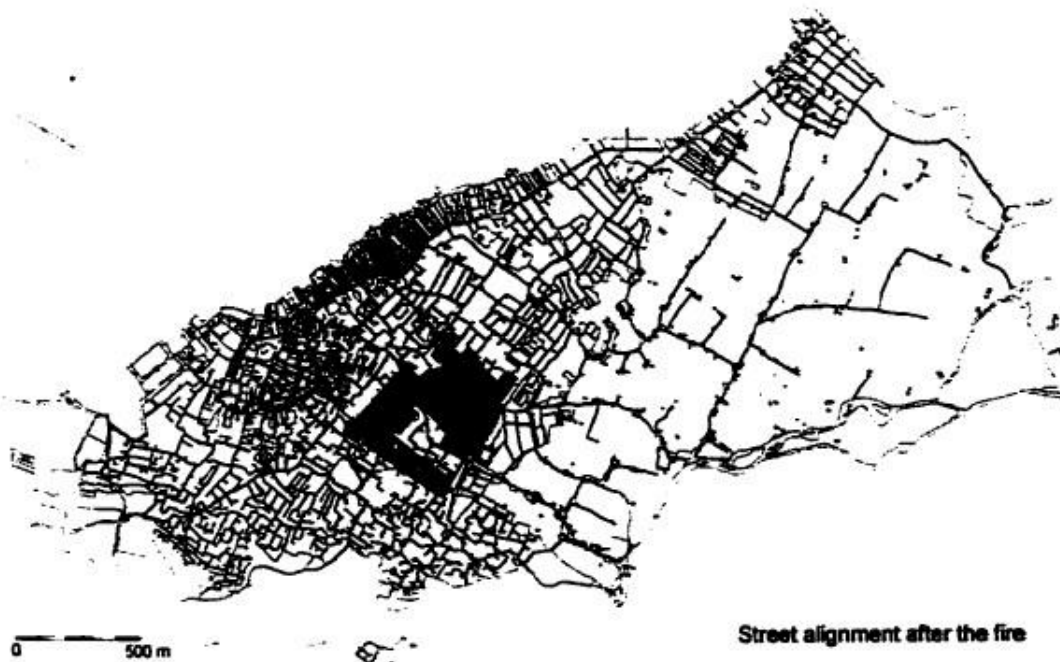
Figure 25: The Armenian Church of St. Etienne in Izmir (*Mer Izmir ew shrjakay k'aghak'nerē* [Niw York': Hratarakut'yun Zmiwrnahay Miut'ean, 1961], 25).



Figure 26: Entrance of the Armenian Church of St. Etienne in Izmir (*Mer Izmir ew shrjakay k'aghak'nerē* [Niw York': Hratarakut'yun Zmiwrnahay Miut'ean, 1961], 23).



The Armenian Quarter before the fire



Street alignment after the fire

Figure 27: The Armenian Quarter pre- and post-fire (from Thomas Graves's map of 1836-37 and Luigi Storari's map of 1854-56 in Cana F. Bilsel, "Cultures et fonctionnalité: évolution morphologique de la ville de Izmir au XIXe et au début du XXe siècles," Ph.D. dissertation [Université de Paris X, 1996]).

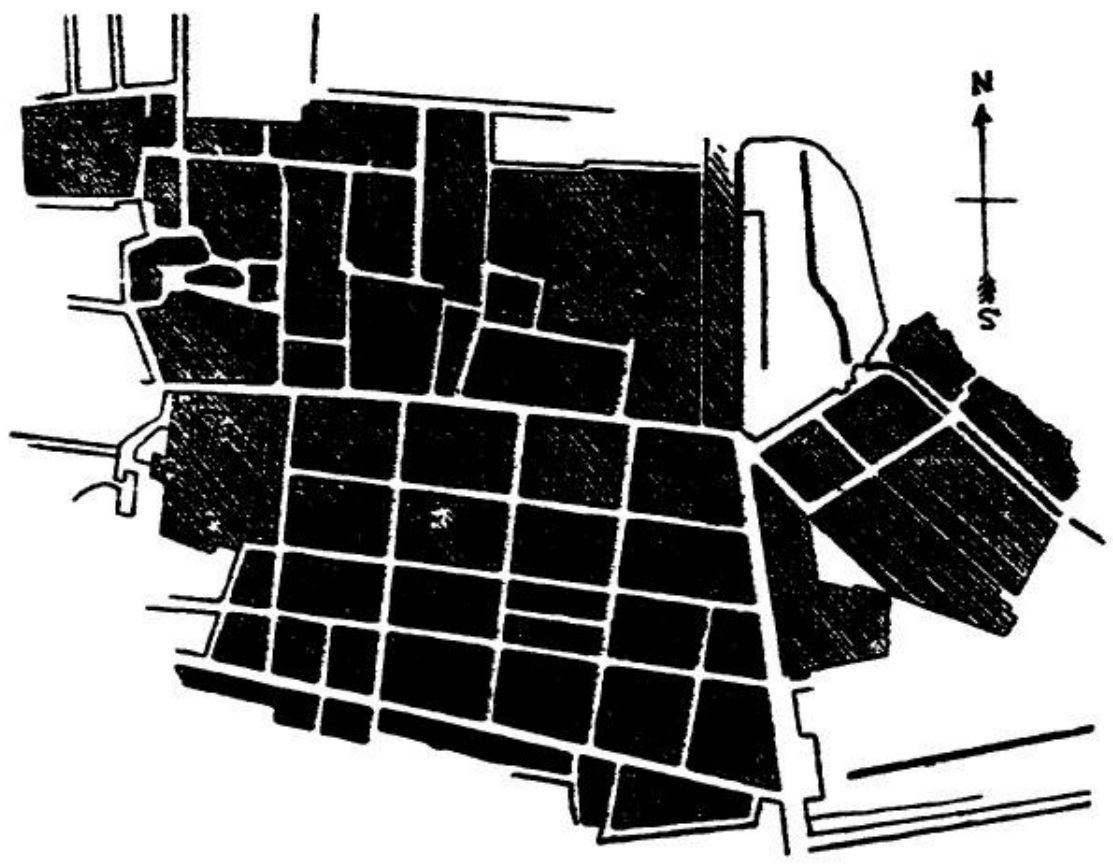


Figure 28: The Armenian Quarter after the fire (*Mer Izmir ew shrjakay k'aghak'ner* [Niw York': Hratarakut'yun Zmiwrnahay Miut'ean, 1961]).

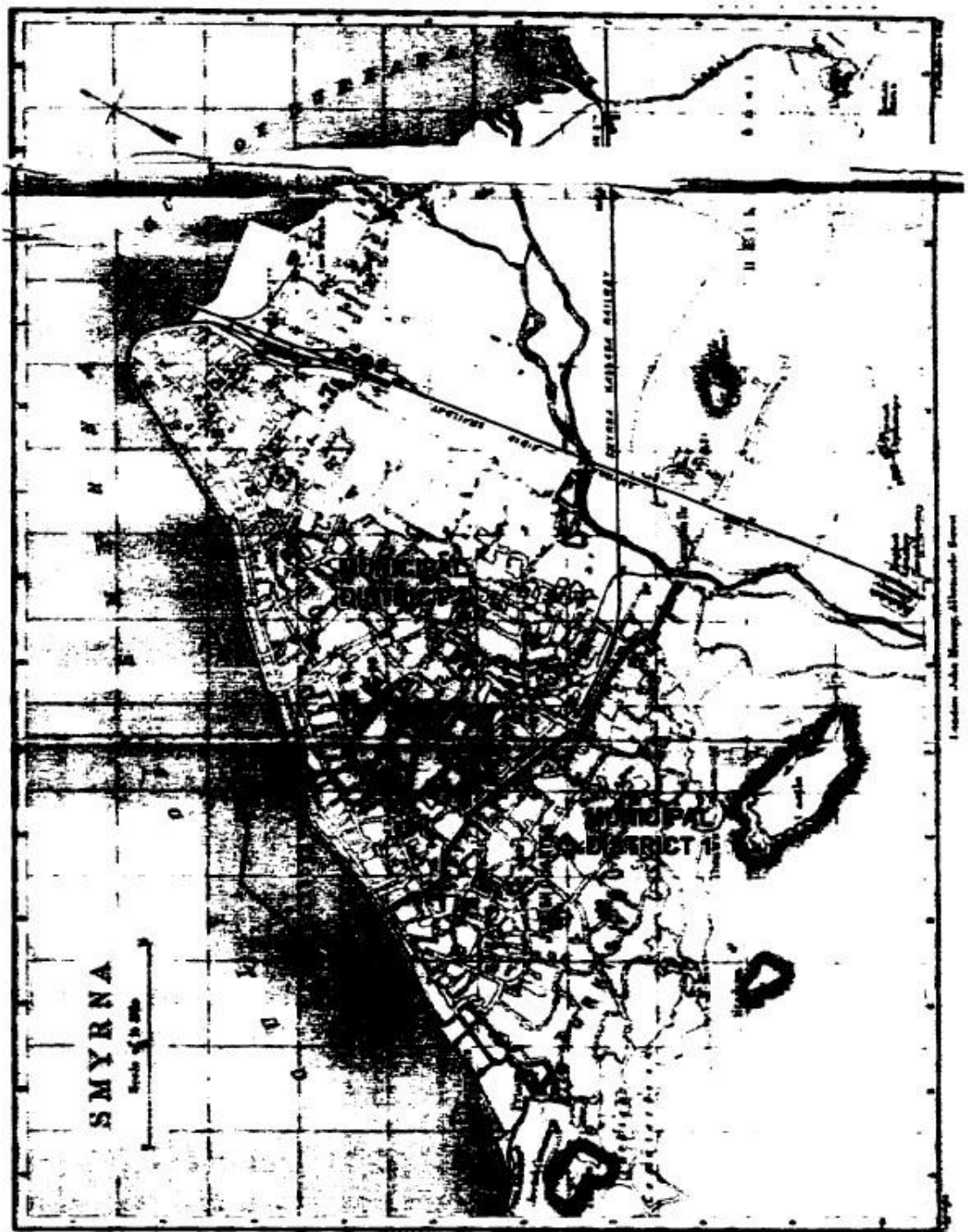


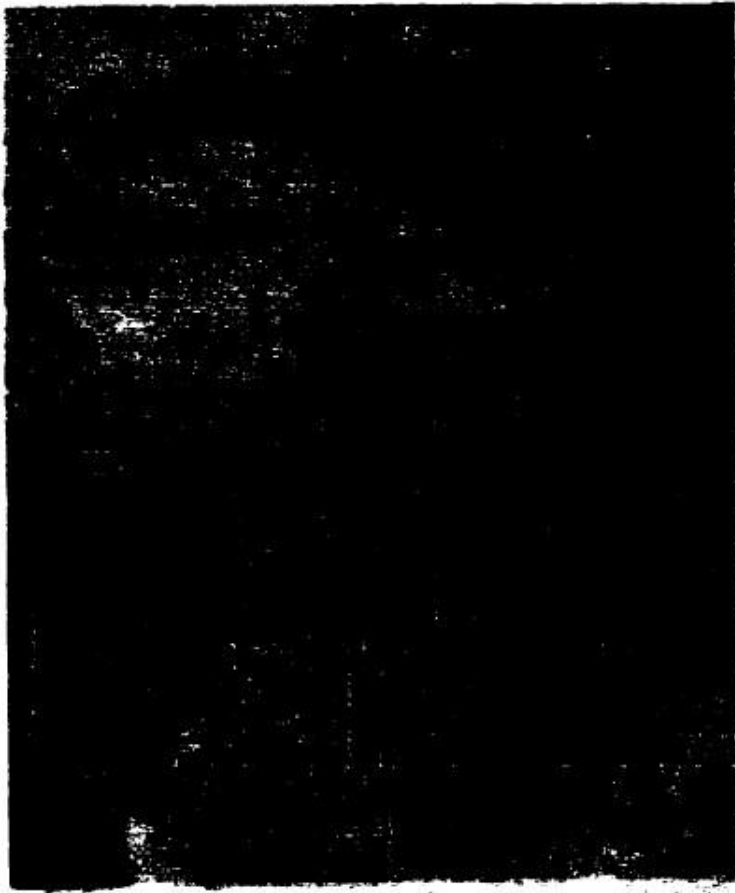
Figure 29: The First and the Second Municipal Districts (basemap: *Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.* [London: John Murray, 1895] facing p.74).



Figure 31: View of Fasula Place, ca. 1890 (Suna Inan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 32: View of Fasula Place, ca. 1890 (Suna Inan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Frank Street

Satyras

Figure 33: View of Frank Street, ca. 1890 (*Üç İzmir* [Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 1992], 59).

CHAPTER 4

STRUGGLES OVER THE SHORELINE

Smyrna is a façade of European regularity tacked onto an Oriental confusion . . . Landing on the beautiful majestic quay built by the French Company we are still in Europe. Passing through a narrow street, we cross a first block of houses. We reach Parallel Street, then Frank Street and from that point on Europe grows more and more distant . . . the most beautiful houses and western-style stores disappear, we have changed countries.¹

The French geologist and traveler, Louis de Launay, was not exceptional in setting the space of the orderly quay apart from the irregular interiors of Izmir. Many late-nineteenth-century visitors staged similar contrasts, remarking that “nowhere else” was “the conflict between East and West more pronounced than between the long promenade on the shore and the side streets opening onto it.”² They often saw the space of the newly built quay as a Western implant on Asian soil. The quay of Izmir was built on a long strip of land reclaimed from the sea and stretched over the two-and-a-half-mile bay front. The development added over one hundred and fifty new urban lots that were bounded by two long avenues running parallel to the water – the *Cordon* and Parallel Street [fig. 34]. The wide, well-paved, and well-lit promenade of the *Cordon* offered a distinct urban experience compared to other parts of the city. It was lined with shops and

¹ “Smyrne est une façade à régularité européenne plaquée sur une confusion orientale . . . On arrive sur de beaux quais majestueux, construits par la Société Française. On est encore en Europe. On franchit, par une ruelle étroite, un premier pâté de maisons; on atteint la rue parallèle, puis la rue Franque, l’Europe commence déjà à s’éloigner . . . les plus belles maisons, les magasins à l’occidentale disparaissent, on a changé de pays.” Louis de Launay, *La Turquie que l’on voit* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1913), 245. Louis de Launay visited Izmir in 1887.

² Paul Lindau, *1900’lerde Izmir*, trans. Selçuk Ünlü in *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, (Istanbul: October 1985), 149-150.

cafés and was defined by regular blocks and façades that were in conformity with each other [fig. 35]. A tramway starting at the Aydın railway station served the entire Cordon, terminating at the customhouse. The quay project was not only an orchestrated design effort that endowed Izmir with a prestigious face much like those of European counterparts, but also an important technological undertaking. It required difficult and costly embankments that were executed through European expertise. The Dussaud frères of Marseilles, who brought the project to completion, had recently accomplished the jetties in Port-Said and had considerable experience in undertaking similar ventures in port cities around the Mediterranean.³ In addition to the embankments and the tramway line, the installations included sewers and a port of anchorage (*port d'abri*), and in later phases a new customhouse, new warehouses, and other commercial facilities that further equipped the port of Izmir for international trade.

The new quay, however, was more than a stamp of European capital, technology, and modernization or an emblem of economic integration into a larger world market, as it has usually been construed. The project was inscribed within a complicated urban landscape and was reshaped by local politics. Like the railway and the gas works, the concessions for the quay works were initially granted to three merchants of the local British colony, who hired the French firm of Dussaud brothers to develop the project. In the face of mounting financial difficulties, however, the Dussaud brothers eventually

³ The Dussaud Company was established in 1853 by Elie Dussaud (1821-1899) and his brothers, Elzéar, Louis, Joseph, and Auguste. By the time they undertook the works in Izmir, the Dussaud brothers had already developed the Port de la Joliette and Pont Napoléon in Marseilles, the docks in Algiers, and the military port in Cherbourg. When the Suez Canal was dug, they also built a dry dock for Messageries maritimes and the jetties in Port-Said. Later, they built the Porto Nuovo in Trieste, collaborated on the port of Genoa, worked on the jetties of Toulon and Sète, and built the port of Talcahuano in Chile, see Roman D'Amat, ed., *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, tome 12 (Paris: Librairie LeTouzey et Amé, 1870) 866-867.

bought the contract. This turn of events allowed the Dussaud brothers to complete the works between 1869-1875 and gain full authority over the management of shore, but it posed a challenge to British merchants, who continually defied the project to maintain their predominance in matters of infrastructure and transportation.⁴ In that way, the making of the quay became a site of power struggle for French and British interests in the region. In addition, the project involved Ottoman administrators, shore owners, local merchants, and a 'progressive' urban elite, all of whom asserted their priorities and interest in bringing order to the shore. The new scheme was more than an aesthetic improvement. It transformed land tenure patterns and modes of handling trade and shipping on the shore and brought about profound changes in the ways the shore was used. By adding a wide and continuous boulevard along the waterfront, the scheme opened the privately owned seashore to public use. It also placed the space of the shore under the management of the Dussaud brothers, ending prior shore-owners' free access to it for shipping and trade purposes. The Dussaud brothers had financed the project to receive, in return, a long-term lease on the wharf and the right to levy a new wharf tax to offset their cost and pay back their investment. The wharf tax applied to all merchandise shipped from and to the port. These changes had important repercussions among shore-

⁴ The French company gave preferential treatment to French and Austrian companies, creating resentment among British. On competing French and British interests over the quay project, see Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizm'in Türkiye'ye Girişi* (Ankara: Bilim Yayınları, 1974) 201-204; Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 167-172; Démétrius Georgiadès, *Smyrne et l'Asie Mineure au point de vue économique et commercial* (Paris, Imprimerie Chaix: 1885), 154-163; Frangakis-Syrett, "Concurrence Commerciale et Financière entre les Pays Occidentaux à Izmir, XIXe-début XXe siècles," in Jacques Thobie, Roland Perez, Salgur Kaçal, eds., *Enjeux et rapports de force en Turquie et en Méditerranée Orientale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996): 117-127; Jacques Thobie, *Interêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire Ottoman, 1895-1914* (Paris, Sorbonne: Imprimerie nationale, 1977); Mübahat Küttükoğlu, "İzmir Rıhtımı İnşaatı ve İşletme İmtiyazı," in *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (March, 1979): 495-553; Pierre Oberling, "The Quays of Izmir," in Hâmit Batu and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, ed., *L'Empire Ottoman et la République de Turquie et la France* (Istanbul & Paris: Éditions Isis, 1986): 315-325; Cevat Korkut, *Belgelerle İzmir Rıhtım İmtiyazı* (İzmir: Dağışan Ofset, 1992).

owners' and merchants, who were anxious not to lose their former privileges and advantages.

As the following chapter illustrates, the modernization of the shore was not uniformly welcomed and it produced adverse sentiment and prolonged lobbying against the scheme and the developers. In the following pages I detail the making of the project and the complications surrounding its implementation. The multiple confrontations, inconclusive skirmishes, and shifting factions shed important light on the various concerns and aspirations that animated Smyrniotes and the alliances and enmities they formed in addressing their ambitions. Debates over land values, urban hygiene, and wharf taxes escalated at various phases of the project, generating vehement protests and delays. These debates spoke of the meanings that Smyrniotes attached to the shoreline and to the idea of a modern public space. At the same time, they pointed to the internal contradictions of this public work project. From the outset, the endeavor was defined and promoted as a project of public utility that was meant to contribute to the general welfare. The long and sinuous process of implementation, however, reveals the difficulty of arriving at a single definition of public good and public interest.

Politics of the Old Shore

Although the construction of the new quay began only in 1869, the question of improving the docks had been on the table since the early 1850s. Local newspaper commentators regularly deplored the state of the shore as they broached broader questions of urban order. They condemned the irregularity of the shore and the successive recesses along the shoreline in which sewers and waste matter accumulated [fig. 36]. By the middle of the nineteenth century the shoreline of Izmir had developed a

very jagged layout [fig. 37]. This rickety shape paralleled the legal and economic forces that regulated the land adjacent to the coastline. The Bay of Izmir belonged to the imperial *vakif* of *Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan*, the pious endowment of the Queen Mother.⁵ In principles, *vakif* (pl. *evkaf*) property was removed from the domain of private ownership and belonged to a charitable institution in perpetuity.⁶ It could not be purchased or sold but only rented for fixed periods of time to generate revenue to the foundation. Over the years, however, as rental revenues became insufficient for rebuilding or maintaining *evkaf* buildings lost in fires and in other disasters, a system of double rent (*icâreteyn*) or life-term lease was devised to raise additional funds.⁷ The life-term lease permitted sale, mortgage, donation, or inheritance of the property, placing double rent *evkaf* property in the realm of private ownership. In Izmir, parcels of shore land could be sold off as double rent *vakif* and the yield in revenue was assigned to local mosques. Since 1826, the management of this imperial *vakif*, like all imperial *evkaf* (*evkaf-ı şerife*) was in the hands of a Ministry of the *Evkaf*, giving this bureau absolute supervision of an important resource for the city's commercial development.⁸ Aware of the demand for shorefront properties, the local office of the *Evkaf* placed on the market parcels of shore land in order to raise its revenues. By auctioning off waterlots and

⁵ *Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan* was the wife of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and the mother of Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861).

⁶ In Islamic legislation, *vakif* or *waqf* refers to buildings or lands that were reserved for some beneficent purpose. On a detailed treatment of *vakif* property, see W. Padel and L. Steeg, *De la législation foncière ottomane* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1904), 228-270.

⁷ The system of *icâreteyn* was applied since the late sixteenth century. By the eighteenth century, the usual form of renting *vakif* property was by *icâreteyn* rather than single rent. For a background on the *icâreteyn* system, see John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to the Religious Foundations in the Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 50-66.

⁸ In principle, the founder of a *vakif* assigned an administrator, *mütevelli*, to manage the *vakif* affairs and transactions. In 1826, Sultan Mahmud II placed all imperial *evkaf* under the direction of a Ministry in Istanbul, who appointed official agents to the provinces, see A. Heidborn, *Manuel du Droit Public et Administratif de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. I (Vienne-Leipzig: C.W. Stern, 1908), 311-315.

selling them to the highest bidder, the Evkaf basically extended an open invitation to opportunism and real estate speculation.⁹ The new owners of waterlots could, at their discretion, fill in the sea and carry existing wharves and lots out into deep water, producing an increasingly irregular configuration with long inlets and frequent breaks. A dispute reported to the Sublime Porte in 1859 provides an example of the speculation facilitated by the sale of the shorefront. Polonie Aliotty, a shore owner of Sardinian nationality, complained about Nishan Pishmissoglou, an Armenian banker who had apparently bought the waterlot adjoining her property from the Evkaf and was trying to sell it to her. Aliotty claimed already to have purchased that same lot from the Evkaf paying cash, though her permanent deed had still not been issued.¹⁰ This case was complicated by the fact that before the decree of 1867, foreign nationals held and transferred property, not in their name, but through Ottoman intermediaries.¹¹ Although local authorities were aware of and recognized this indirect form of tenure, the practice was likely to generate abuses as well as occasional anxieties among foreign nationals' about the security of their tenure.¹² It was probably no coincidence that a few months

⁹ This practice allowed the government that was holding considerable estate to make use of its wealth and to expand and develop the commerce of the city. It was also a prototypical example of privatization that occurred in other commercial cities of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century cities. For a relevant discussion on the privatization of the shore in the context of late eighteenth century New York, see Hendrik Hartog, *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730-1870* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), esp. ch. 5.

¹⁰ Polonie Aliotty sent several petitions to the Porte. The case was eventually resolved in her favor with the help of A. Edwards, the editor of *Journal de Constantinople*, *L'Écho de l'Orient*, and Ovannes Dilbérian, prominent merchant and honorary dragoman of the U.S. consulate since 1847. See B.O.A., Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, no. 801, 1276/1859 for the various petitions, official reports, and letter of A. Edwards to the grand vezir, Ali Pasha.

¹¹ See "Chapter I: Making Urban Citizens" on foreign nationals' right to property.

¹² Several real estate disputes involved two foreigners or a native and a foreign party, indicating that foreigners held a large amount of urban property. Like all land disputes, those involving foreign parties had to be resolved in the Muslim court. For pre-1867 cases see, for example, Rossi vs. Patterson; Curtovich vs. Atkinson; Triandafilo vs. Baltazzi; Soffianopulo vs. Glogovatz; Barker vs. Mitchell; Werry vs. Hussein Bey (superintendent of the Evkaf of Bezmi Alem Valide Sultan); Eliady vs. Hamid Bey (the then chief of Police at Izmir); Aliotty brothers vs. Pishmisshoglou; Curtely vs. Whitall; Nalpass vs. Aliotty;

before the dispute, central authorities removed the director of the Evkaf office in Izmir, Ibrahim Bey, from office.¹³ The embezzlement of Evkaf funds, bribery, and the forgery of title deeds were not uncommon complaints in the provincial correspondence during this period.

A property map from the mid-1860s indicates that the shore consisted of several clusters of narrow lots separated by occasional alleys perpendicular to the bay [figs. 38a and 38b]. The unusual narrowness of the lots in relation to their length and the multiplicity of proprietors revealed high demand of shore lots and an ongoing tendency to divide the lots in order to maximize sea frontage. The shore was almost entirely owned by private individuals with the exception of few institutions. Governmental structures such as the military barracks and the customhouses lay mostly to the southern end, the French and British consulates possessed two large lots fronted by private piers, while the Dominican and the Lazarist orders and the Armenian church held small lots. The names of private owners reveal that non-Muslim subjects possessed a large percentage of the narrow lots in conjunction with some foreign residents, while Muslim high officials held a few large parcels at the extremities of the shore. In addition several lots were registered in the name of wives possibly because until the protocol of 1867, the Ottoman government forbade foreigners to own real estate but by a legal fiction extended this right

Van Lennep vs. Sponty; Braggiotti vs. Woodmass; Sponty vs. Ekisler; Psalty vs. Morałtini; Woodmass vs. Wissing; Fisher vs. Cramer; Helen Offley vs. Zafirah Metakee. Court disputes between women were common and male delegates represented each party. The court dispute between Helen Offley (U.S. citizen and wife of U.S. consul David Offley) and Zafirah Metaki (Russian subject), for example, was about the sharing of a common wall between their properties. The son Frederick Offley and the husband Manolaki Metaki represented the plaintiff and the defendant. The case was dated 1845 (1261). For an English translation of the case, see "Memorial to Honorable Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United States of America from the American residents at Smyrna, Turkey," in *Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna*, E.S. Smither to Assistant Secretary of State, September 7, 1872, Annex C.

¹³ On the appointment of a new evkaf director, see B.O.A., Irade, Dahiliye, no. 27850, 1275/1858.

to their wives or other female relatives who became the nominal owners.¹⁴ Many proprietors also bought the water adjacent to their lots in an attempt to extend their property or to prevent others from blocking them in the future. In some instances, as in the Aliotty versus Pishmissoglou case, the shore and the water lots belonged to different owners – an important indication of the competitive forces at play and of on-going commodification of the bay front.

The old shore not only exhibited a multiplicity of owners but also a variety of functions and life styles. At the southern end was an important state symbol, the massive u-shaped military barrack facing the water and fronted by a large parade ground built in 1827 [figs. 37 and 39].¹⁵ To the north was the Ottoman customhouse that was used for trade within the empire and particularly with North African seaports. Next to it was the empty site formerly occupied by a battery and a short distance from there, after passing through a vegetable and a fish market, one came upon the European customhouse (*efrenç gümürüğü*) that was used in international trade.¹⁶ The two customhouses respectively adjoined the southern and northern ends of the bazaar and organized trade activity by sorting and controlling the movement of goods in and out the harbor according to destination. Next to the European customhouse were the typical appendages of a seaport. Several marine shops, ship chandlers, and drinking houses, mostly operated by the local non-Muslim populations, were lined about one kilometer of the shore, leaving no public

¹⁴ See, Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, E.S. Smither to Assistant Secretary of State, September 7, 1872.

¹⁵ The construction of Barracks was part of the *nizam-ı cedid* (new order) – the larger effort by the Ottoman state to create new infantry corps trained according to techniques developed in France. On the construction of the Barracks and the original plan of the structure, see Necmi Ülker, “İzmir Sarikislanin yapim calismalari,” in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara: 22-26 Eylül 1986* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1994): 2438-2446, pl. 573-575.

access to the water. These establishments were densely clustered and abutted directly on the water in order to have ready access to shipping [fig. 40]. Small boats carrying goods plied between them and the ships that anchored at some distance. Further north was the English Pier (*Quai Anglais* or *Ingiliz iskelesi*) where the shore opened into a short esplanade. Passengers often landed at the English pier [fig. 41]. The British consular agencies, and the French and Austrian steamer lines were located here [fig. 42]. At the end of this short esplanade came a row of closely packed residences and drinking houses operated mostly by Greeks and used partly by a colony of Maltese boatmen. This part of the shore had several wooden piers running out into the sea, suggesting private shipping activity. From there on was another stretch of European houses directly on the bay, among which were the French, Austrian, Prussian, Portuguese, and Greek consulates with the arms of each foreign consulate emblazoned on their seaward façade. On their marine front, most of these houses had private terraces, forming roofs to their warehouses, and upon which their owners commanded a view of the bay. The row of houses terminated at Bella Vista corner near the French Hospital and the Turkish guardhouse, which announced the limit of the built-up zone. Beyond this area houses became sparser. Another military barrack stood on this end of the shore not far from a windmill that marked the northern tip of the shore, adjoining the Bay of Bournabat.¹⁷

Although the city extended for about four kilometers along the shore, public access to the shore was only possible in few designated locations since most of the shore

¹⁶ The European customhouse was rebuilt in 1675 in front of the old castle that had been used for that purpose. European ships had to register their goods at this customhouse, see Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycant at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 3-4.

¹⁷ On descriptions of parts of the old shore, see George Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1856), 8-9; *Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia . . .* (London: John Murray,

was privately owned. As the Evkaf office sold shore lots, it required owners to conform to vakif regulation in matters of land transaction, but did not bestow on these properties a notion of 'public good' or 'public utility.' Until the quay works, there was no regulated attempt to provide a space for collective use on the bay front. Instead the coastline was incrementally extended and reconstituted through the aggregate interests of individual owners. Because properties on the shore were arranged in ways that protected individual rights to the water, any attempt to open a continuous public easement along the shore was in contradiction with owners' right of way. This conflict was recognized by the central government when it began to take initial action in order to set the parameters for the redevelopment on the shore. In Ottoman legislation, actions that concerned any collective property required the preliminary consent of the community of abutting owners.¹⁸ Before proceeding with the redevelopment of the shore, authorities followed the standard practice and sought the accord of shore owners. The official report of the Council of State explicitly stated that the project would go on only after the majority of the proprietors approved it.¹⁹ Although in the same document Ottoman administrators recognized the public utility of the project and the importance of a modern and orderly harbor in "increasing the value and esteem" of the city, they did not readily resort to the clause of the recent law of expropriation for public utility. Whether they viewed the project as justifying massive expropriation or found expropriation in contradiction with the former statute of shore land, Ottoman authorities underscored that it had to be handled in ways that would not generate hardship to the community of owners.

1878), 262-3; David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 22-23.

¹⁸ See "Chapter 2: Ordering the Street," for a discussion of common property.

Ordering the Shore

Desire for greater order came from many sources. Ottoman authorities, the local business community, and newspaper correspondents spoke of the necessity of restructuring the space of the shore, albeit for different motives. To Ottoman authorities, the deformed and tortuous arrangement of the old shore was a problem because it allowed easy and continuous smuggling. Ships often loaded and unloaded their goods at private piers and stored them at *verhanes* without paying custom dues. Rows of small coffee shops and drinking houses built on piles running out into the sea, numerous inaccessible inlets, and construction sites screened illegal activity along the seashore from the sight of custom officials and resulted in important losses of tax revenue [fig. 43]. Access to the shore to apprehend smugglers was severely impeded when the lots belonged to foreign residents. Foreign residents had privileges related to their persons and their residences, allowing them to refuse access to government officials.²⁰ In 1862, disturbed by this state of affairs, the central government asked local authorities for studies and cost estimates to build an improved quay on piles.²¹ The aim was to prevent losses in state revenue by gaining better access, control, and an open line of vision along the wharves.

For the business community of Izmir, the development of a new pier was perceived as an essential addition to the existing network of transportation. Already in 1857, as the first railway was projected, two mixed commissions of landowners had

¹⁹ B.O.A., Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, no. 1317/57, 1284/1867, also cited in Korkut, *Belgelerle İzmir Rihtim İmtiyazi*, 29-31.

²⁰ On the inviolability of foreigners' residence, see "Chapter 2: Ordering the Street," fn. 98.

²¹ On the government's deliberations about how to develop the shore, see B.O.A., Irade, Meclis-i Vala, no. 21555, 1279/1862. The initial proposal consisted of a dock on rafts with iron balustrades and controlled entrances. The government favored the project as it would prevent smuggling and reduce the number of watchmen, but found such a structure difficult to walk on when the sea became rough. A second proposal was made for developing continuous docks on piles. A local builder, named Yanako, suggested a 9 pic-

studied the question of a new pier in conjunction with that of the railway station.²² The proposals for railway piers, however, were limited in scope. They primarily sought to connect the railway terminal directly to the shore, rather than developing the entire waterfront. In addition, because storms periodically interrupted shipping activity at the landing facilities, a safe harbor that reduced the impact of variable weather became increasingly urgent. In 1865, forty-four of the most influential indigenous and foreign merchants in the city sent a memorandum to the governor of Izmir in favor of building new wharves and improving shipping conditions.²³ The merchants' appeal for order was based on a rationale that linked commercial improvement to the welfare and the livelihood of the entire population.

Some 'progressive' spokesmen, however, saw more than utilitarian purposes for ordering the quay [figs. 44 and 45]. The correspondent to the *Levant Herald*, for example, aspired to have "the long line of water frontage" turned into "a broad quay throughout its entire length" and to "serve not only the purposes of trade, but . . . supply the want so much felt in Smyrna of a public promenade, where our carriages might roll . . . and our flaneurs might lounge."²⁴ Such a view was significant in that it intended to transcend commercial requirements and conceive of the shore as a formal public space that would open a new way of experiencing the city and being in public. It alluded to the fact that Izmir did not have a planned space for promenading, seeing and being seen. By

wide and 9 pica-deep dock that ran the entire façade of the city, but his cost estimate was found too high. The government asked for other alternatives.

²² *Journal de Constantinople*, February 16, 1957.

²³ On the 1865 petition, see *Levant Herald* 15 February 1868. The forty-four chief native and foreign merchants included British merchants, J.B. Patterson and F. Whittall, the Gout brothers, owners of steamboat companies, G. Mitchell a ship chandler, Vernazza a local partner of Patterson. Many of these merchants and their local agents would later oppose the project.

²⁴ *Levant Herald*, August 17, 1864.

the mid-nineteenth century, the benefits of boulevards and promenades that European cities derived from their fortification had been recognized way beyond their place of origin. Boulevards and esplanades had become part of a spatial vocabulary that had to be emulated not only to ease movement within cities but also as model spaces for bourgeois entertainment. In Europe and its colonies, there were on-going attempts to create such spaces either on the fringes of the old urban fabric or by cutting through congested urban area.²⁵ Taking his lead from such developments, the reporter stressed the importance of a broad, orderly, and well-paved quay as a space of recreation and of genteel entertainment.

The *Journal de Constantinople* had made similar calls a few years earlier, reminding its readers of the importance of an esplanade for the benefit and the gratification of the public. The correspondent condemned the continual encroachment on the bay and accused the few privileged shore owners of depriving the city of its “fundamental pleasure” and of its “lungs.”²⁶ In the last decade, the few narrow easements that led to and adjoined the shore were gradually blocked as owners extended their property straight down on the water “without bothering to substitute the portion of the quay that they blocked.”²⁷ Owners, however, saw no obligation to compensate for the space they included into their property. The easements that led to the shore functioned as semi-private spaces, much like dead end streets, and belonged primarily to the

²⁵ For an overview of the origins of boulevards and promenades and for their interpretation across world cities, see Mark Girouard, *Cities and People* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985); Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History* (Boston: Little Brown, 1999), 249-276. There is a host of studies on the ways the public geography of the city institutionalizes modernity, civility, and a novel sense of public life. See, for example, Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, N.Y.: Viking Penguin, 1988); Timothy J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his followers* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 23-78; Richard Sennett, *The Fall of the Public Man* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); David Scobey, “Anatomy of the promenade: the politics of bourgeois sociability in nineteenth-century New York,” *Social History* 17 (1992): 203-227.

²⁶ *Journal de Constantinople*, August 29, 1860. One pic, or arsin, is equivalent to 3/4 of a meter.

neighboring properties who were entitled to regulate their use.²⁸ Until then, the office of the Evkaf and the cadastral office (Emlak) did not challenge owners' doings, confirming the weight of proprietors' right to the shore. In his attack, the correspondent of *Journal de Constantinople* overtly reproached such practice for violating "all the rules of common sense and general interest." He asked owners to "advance onto the water, granted that (1) some order preceded such progressive movement, (2) at least 6 pics of quay is reserved to public use, and (3) sufficient number of easements are opened not to prevent the flow between the shore and the town."²⁹ Demands of this nature received official support. A few months later, the Sublime Porte ordered the governor of Izmir to take measures against shore owners who blocked sea views and to enforce a public easement on the seaside of such properties.³⁰ Such actions coincided with authorities' desire to control trade on the shore. They also recognized the shore as a space of collective interest, constituting important steps in redefining the shore as a space belonging to a public rather than to scattered individuals.

By the mid-nineteenth century, local newspapers, French and English alike, played an important role in formulating urban problems and creating points of convergence and alliance among the literate population that shared linguistic affinity. Newspaper correspondents possessed a lobbying power beyond their audience in Izmir. They expressed local problems through themes of universality and openness and transmitted them to newspapers in the capital with the intention of summoning official support or promoting certain views. Regardless of the views they supported, they used a

²⁷ *Journal de Constantinople*, August 29, 1860.

²⁸ On the distinction between a through and a dead-end street, see "Chapter 2: Ordering the Street."

²⁹ *Journal de Constantinople*, August 29, 1860.

³⁰ Bab-i Ali Evrak Odasi, 3426/143, 15 1278/1861.

rhetoric that disapproved of opportunism in municipal questions and condemned endeavors that placed private interest above the general welfare. They often spoke on behalf of the 'population of Smyrna' and framed their views based on considerations of public good – referring to an indivisible collective benefit in opposition to solely particular interests.³¹ The editor of the *Levant Herald*, for example, announced at one instance that the paper must decline to publish letters and comments on subjects that dealt with purely private interest, except as advertisement.³² Such statements conformed to standard nineteenth-century journalistic conventions in that reporters acted not as private individuals but as “disembodied public subject.”³³ Typically, reporters drew on standard discursive methods and wrote not to express themselves as private individuals but as anonymous bodies that certified their disinterested concern for the public good.

As the quay project was debated, newspaper reporters attempted to form a public opinion around the question of what the shore space should be and to whom it should benefit. On the occasion of a prospective landing pier, the reporter of *Journal de Constantinople*, for example, remarked that “the golden dreams of such and such individual fades away, but in counterpart the Turkish, Greek, and Jewish quarters gain more value, the working class is better off and an entire population is not sacrificed for

³¹ In this sense public good takes its lead from economic theory, see Jeff Weintraub, “The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction,” in Jeff A. Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, eds., *Public and Private in Thought and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 5. In Habermas’s account of the public sphere the public good is set in opposition to private interest.

³² See editorial comment to Whittall’s letter of objection to the Quay scheme, *Levant Herald*, February 15, 1868. See also *Levant Herald*, January 15, 1868.

³³ On the conventions of print culture, self-abstraction of writers, and the formation of public opinion, see Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). For a condensed version of his argument, see Michael Warner, “The Mass Public and the Mass Subject,” in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 377-386.

the interest of three or four speculators.”³⁴ Such assertions promoted a notion of public good that transcended not only individual interest and the commercial pursuits that divided and antagonized Smyrniotes but also cultural boundaries. Reporters, however, were not as disinterested as they portrayed themselves and were certainly not immune to the factions within the business elite and to the power relations among various elite groups. Their vision of public good was largely driven by their personal connections and their national and class position. The “Smyrna correspondents” of the major papers in the empire were an intimate part of the multi-cultural landscape of the city, usually belonging to the ranks of French-or English-educated elite whose familiarity with both internal politics and the European context gave them the advantage of reaching broader audiences. Considerations of public good were ubiquitous to their writings. As the debates over the remaking of the shore illustrate, however, diverse motives and intentions were couched in terms of public good. Those who fought the quay works and those who promoted it acknowledged the critical importance of the space for the benefit of a larger public but they spoke of different publics and advocated different ways of ordering the space along the shore.³⁵ The local periodical press recorded and articulated these divergent positions about the project. More importantly, it opened a discursive space for rational-critical debate, allowing its participants to direct, to some extent, the works as they progressed.

³⁴ *Journal de Constantinople*, February 16, 1857.

³⁵ Conceptions of public good and their relation to city governance have been pertinent to the shaping of cities. For a relevant discussion on conflicting views of public good in regularizing the nineteenth-century shore of New Orleans, see Dell Upton, “New Orleans: The master of the world – the Levee,” in Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro and Richard Ingersoll, eds., *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 277-286.

Debating Public Good

In 1864, three British nationals who resided in Izmir and in Istanbul submitted to the Sublime Porte a preliminary plan calling for the construction of a continuous straight boulevard along the shore. Building a straight boulevard along the uneven shoreline meant that some waterfront lots would end up as far as three hundred meters from the shore, creating important disparities in the amount of terrain to be reclaimed and bought by owners. Cognizant of the multiple private interests at stake, and asserting that a new development along the shore required owners' approval, the central authorities asked the governor of Izmir, Ahmet Pasha, to form a committee of local notables and proprietors to evaluate the project.³⁶ Understandably, shore owners whose property would depreciate viewed the project with disfavor. The occupants of one part of the shoreline opposed the scheme by submitting a counter-project, which was sarcastically described by a critic in the *Levant Herald* as a "deformed and tortuous wharf," in place of the straight boulevard originally proposed.³⁷ Seeking to minimize the amount of land reclamation, the counter-project maintained the geometry of the existing shore. In the eyes of this reporter, however, dissenting shore owners were "conservative gentlemen," lacking any sense of public spirit and their proposal was an "insult to the common sense and good taste of the Smyrna public as well as of the Turkish authorities." In addition, their hostility to the project was even less worthy because they lived in "an unsavory part of the shore line" and "lay claim to vested rights in the scum and sludge, which dampen the foundations of their tenements and which the broad straight quay, such as the projectors propose, would

³⁶ *Journal de Constantinople*, January 22, 1864.

³⁷ *Levant Herald*, August 17, 1864.

sweep away and clear up.”³⁸ For the opponents of the scheme, however, it was important to protect their water access without incurring vast expenses to purchase and fill in the land. More importantly, the proposal placed the less affluent owners at the Point at a considerable disadvantage from their neighbors since their properties were the furthest from the proposed straight line. Two opposing views about the purpose of the development were behind this dispute. For the opponents the project was a private enterprise that threatened their individual rights and their livelihood for the sole purpose of serving the pecuniary interest of the three British entrepreneurs. For the *Levant Herald* commentator, however, the new harbor was an enterprise of public benefit aimed at beautifying and transforming the city, providing employment to the working class, and improving the general prosperity. Building a new quay was also a way of partaking in the spirit of progress and its advantages easily offset private interests. These two convictions coexisted and competed throughout the project, producing delays and complications at various phases of the implementation.

Although the Sublime Porte gave priority to shore owners in developing their own scheme, it proved impossible to coordinate such a costly endeavor and reconcile each proprietor’s interest. Taking up the more viable British proposal, but wanting to relieve shore owners’ discontent, the central government asked Alfred Barker, who was living in Izmir at the time and was one of the promoters of the original plan, for suggestions for an alternate scheme. The proposed revisions broke the initial straight boulevard at four points according to the existing layout of the shore thus regularizing the amount of land filled in without destroying the sense of a continuous avenue [figs. 46a and 46b]. This

³⁸ *Levant Herald*, August 17, 1864.

arrangement also conformed to the desires of the customs and tax offices for it allowed easy control and good visibility for guards placed at the break points – a prime concern explicitly stated in official correspondence between the Porte and the governor of Izmir.³⁹ In November 1867, the Ministry of Public Works approved the modified scheme and the British entrepreneurs – John Charnaud, Alfred Barker, and George Guarracino – acquired the concession to build the quay with all required dependencies. The contract specified the construction of a 25 pacs wide (18 ¾ meters) quay over a distance of 4,000 meters, starting at the northern tip of the shore (Tuzla Burnu) and ending at the military barracks. It also included a tramway line, necessary sewers, and a jetty in front of the customhouse. In return, the government granted the company privileges over reclaimed land and the right to operate the installation for a period of twenty-five years, after which the works would become state property. They also guaranteed that in order to protect the sea view of prospective owners they would prevent the sale of the sea beyond the limit of the quay.⁴⁰

A month later, the concessionaires signed a contract with the Dussaud brothers, who committed to build the works within a period of four years.⁴¹ By January 1868, they launched the Smyrna Quay Company as a limited partnership with shares to be divided among select investors in the city and foreign industrialists in London.⁴² The administrative council was composed of local and foreign investors including, in addition to five British investors, Ange Cousinery, a merchant the French colony, and K. Abro and

³⁹ B.O.A., Irade, Meclis-i Mahsus, no. 1317 1284/1867.

⁴⁰ For the original text of the contract between the ministry of commerce and public works and John Charnaud, Alfred Barker and Georges Guaracino, see B.O.A., Irade Meclis-i Vala, no. 26094. The contract was reprinted in *Levant Herald*, January 8, 1868.

⁴¹ Thobie, *Interêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire Ottoman*.

A. Spartali, two native merchants under British protection.⁴³ The company's capital was only 2,500,000 francs, while the cost of construction was estimated to be 6,000,000, which was not so easy to raise for an enterprise recently launched. At the beginning, the Dussaud brothers invested 400,000 francs in the endeavor, becoming important shareholders in the enterprise. The entrepreneurs were hoping to raise additional funds as the works progressed, particularly through the sale of reclaimed land and a wharf tax on shipping and landing goods on the quay.

Negotiating an agreement with the Porte did not guarantee local support for the project. To the contrary, the very stipulations of the contract produced general distrust about the endeavor. Shore owners perceived the privilege given to the company as a direct threat to their private property. The schedule of work granted the company substantial power over water lots, allowing it to fill in the water, to dispose of such land in the manner most advantageous to its interests, and to use the provisions of the Imperial law of 'expropriation for public utility'. In case shore-owners failed to fill in their portion of the water within a period ranging from one to three years – depending on how long they had owned the property – the company could expropriate the property by reimbursing the owners the purchase price shown on their title deeds.⁴⁴ Most water lots were privately registered in the name of individuals who now had to comply with the directives and deadlines of the company to maintain their water access. Owners whose properties would be stranded inland saw their conditions deteriorate since they would not

⁴² *Levant Herald*, December 18, 1867. From the outset, the hundred preference shares produced resentment as they limited the number of shareholders and thus of potential beneficiaries.

⁴³ Thobie, *Interêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire Ottoman*.

⁴⁴ Articles 4, 7, and 10 of the contract, *Levant Herald*, January 8, 1868. The law of expropriation for public utility was passed in 1856, providing a legal basis for the acquisition of private lands for public use, see "Chapter I: Making Urban Citizens."

receive adequate compensation to balance out the loss of water view and free embarking and disembarking facilities. Not only would their property lose value but the new parcel they would acquire, if they could afford to do so, would be subject to high property taxes without generating any revenue unless they spent substantially more money to build on it. As an anonymous 'Anglo-Smyrniote' observed in a letter to *La Turquie*, shore owners saw themselves as victims of the "appetite of a vampire public company aiming for lawless gain."⁴⁵ The letter also called the attention of Ottoman officials by questioning whether notables in Istanbul would "consent to see their charming view and their fresh breeze of the Bosphorus be seized, to be relegated to a back street and have their magnificent property ruined in the personal interest of concessionaires."⁴⁶ Landowners were even more alarmed since they expected the entrepreneurs to place the largest possible amount of building sites on the market in order to maximize their revenue. They denounced the enterprise as greedy and blamed it for promoting private business over general welfare.

Stronger and more enduring objections against the scheme came from local merchants. The Imperial government conceded the company the privilege of levying duties upon all goods landed or shipped along the quay for the period of the contract with the condition of receiving twelve percent of the total revenues.⁴⁷ The wharfage became the object of the longest and most heated public debate. At the beginning, merchants of foreign nationalities contended that they were not liable to the tax given the custom treaties that their nations had with the Ottoman State. Yet, according to the convention,

⁴⁵ *La Turquie*, 2 July 1868.

⁴⁶ *La Turquie*, 2 July 1868.

⁴⁷ Article 15, *Levant Herald*, January 8, 1868.

regardless of the nationality of the vessel all merchandise landing at and shipped from the quay was subject to dues. Troubled by this provision, merchants of foreign nationality raised their protest to the Porte soon after the contract was signed. To mediate an agreeable solution, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Pasha, issued an official note stating that ships loading and unloading directly at the customhouse would be exempt from charges. The ministerial note, however, was in conflict with the contract that allowed uniform taxation throughout the entire length of the works. New negotiations between the government and the Quay Company led to modifications in the agreement. An articles added to the convention disengaged the company from any construction near the customhouse requiring it to allow a 100 pic (75 meters) zone on both sides of the customhouse for free access [fig. 47]. In exchange, the government surrendered its twelve-percent royalty to the company until the completion of the works. This unexpected turn of events created a loophole in the rationale of the agreement. The Quay Company saw its anticipated revenues substantially diminished. Merchants, however, found 100 pics to be too limited. When the company began charging wharf dues on the completed parts of the works, merchants continued to press for further extensions to the free zone.⁴⁸ In their appeal to the government and to newspapers, they referred to the quay works as a private affair, defined by a contract between Ottoman authorities and the Quay Company. They alleged that such a contract should not interfere with international

⁴⁸ Beginning on January 1, 1873, the Dussaud enterprise began charging wharf dues on the completed part of the works. The commercial body felt aggrieved because former methods of shipping by means of lighters were much less costly than the fees. A petition signed by thirteen foreign consuls tried, with no success, to urge the Government to extend the 100 pics to 500, see *Levant Herald*, 22 January 1873.

treatises that protected shipping activity or become a threat to the “commerce of Smyrna” that they represented and upon which the prosperity of the entire city depended.⁴⁹

In 1868, as the 100 pacs free-zone was negotiated, *La Turquie* launched a series of attacks against the scheme deploying arguments that demonstrated the ‘uselessness’ (*inutilité*) of the works with respect to shipping activity and the dangers it inflicted upon public hygiene and public wealth. The articles dedicated particular attention to the deleterious effects of the project upon urban sanitation and accused the promoters of imperiling the health of an entire city in exchange for maximum return on their investment.⁵⁰ The entrepreneurs were only responsible for extending the existing pipes to the new shore. This provision was found inadequate for it would escalate actual sanitation problems experienced in the heart of town. Given the topography of the city, the discharge of refuse water had been a constant concern for inhabitants of the lower town. Part of the city built on an acclivity, naturally drained itself. The lower parts, however, which had experienced a rapid population growth within the previous thirty years, had either no drains at all, or poor drains kept open most of the year.⁵¹ In addition, continual encroachment on the bay had only exacerbated these problems because the grade of reclaimed land was insufficient and typically, during rainstorms, sewers stopped flowing and winds drove the slops back, blocking the ducts and flooding the streets.

⁴⁹ A committee of fifteen merchants, protected by their respective nations and presided by John Honisher, signed the letter. The committee included Italian delegate Pierre Aliotty, British delegates James Whitall and Robert Hadkinson, Austro-Hungarian delegates J. Schiffmann and P. Boscovich, Russian delegate N. Kalomiraki, French delegates Alex Bonnal and A. Farkoa, American delegates E. J. Davee and Alexander Sidi, German delegates Bernard Kuhn and E. Schmidt, Greek delegates J. Christofidhi and A. A. Dalta, and the Belgian delegate L. De Vries. See letter to the editor of *La Turquie*, dated December 23, 1872 and reprinted in *La Turquie*, January 16, 1873.

⁵⁰ *La Turquie*, April 1, 11, and 15, 1868 and May 7 and 14, 1868.

⁵¹ *La Turquie*, April 11, 1868.

Concerns about public hygiene preceded the quay works. The insalubrious state of streets and public spaces was regularly mentioned in newspaper commentaries. In 1866, for example, one commentator reported with reprehension that “behind the barracks at the Point, several streets are real marshlands and we are wondering why the latest cholera epidemic left so many victims in this part of the town.”⁵² He spoke of “greenish water pools, spreading deleterious miasmas” and constituting an assault to public health.⁵³ These were believed to turn city spaces into a source of physical disease – a conviction based and directed by contemporary theories of epidemic disease.⁵⁴ Miasma or malaria was seen capable of sporadically generating specific poisons that spread themselves not by corporeal contact but by gaseous exhalation from sources of infection.⁵⁵ Foul smells and inadequate drainage were perceived to cause the propagation of epidemics. The fear was all the greater because cholera haunted mid-nineteenth-century Izmir. Severe outbreaks in summers of 1831, 1849, and 1865 ravaged thousands of lives. In 1865, for example, the cholera epidemic took 4,000 lives.⁵⁶ In the wake of epidemic threats, dirt and refuse came to be more directly associated with disease.

By the mid-1860s, new anxieties based on theories of disease and concerns about public hygiene led to the relocation of the quarantine facilities and cemeteries to keep

⁵² *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866.

⁵³ *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866.

⁵⁴ Miasma was a common fear to nineteenth-century cities. The concept was based on the medical theories of the time asserting that diseases were propagated via miasma – the noxious exhalations of decomposing organisms. On nineteenth-century medical theories and public spaces, see Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); François Delaporte, *Disease and Civilization: The Cholera in Paris, 1832*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge & London: The MIT Press, 1986); Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx and the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991), 26-46.

⁵⁵ This definition is drawn from George Rolleston’s report on the sanitary conditions of Izmir. Rolleston was a medical practitioner, who worked at the English hospital of Izmir. Here, malaria refers to air infected with a harmful substance and not to a specific human disease, see Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 58.

⁵⁶ Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, John Griffitt to Secretary of State, September 23, 1865.

potential disease outside city limits. Since the 1840s, Izmir possessed a quarantine office and a lazaretto to detain those with contagious diseases. Authorities imposed precautionary measures on ships and required health passes from incoming sailors to help suppress or contain contagious diseases. By the 1860s, however, the lazaretto building, located on the shore about one mile southwest from the military barracks, became obsolete as the city rapidly expanded in that direction, leaving no safe distance to isolate the lazaretto. Although sanitary measures stated that lazarettos had to be isolated at least 400 pias (300 meters) from residences, by 1864, some proprietors, including Hacı Ragib Bey, the director of the quarantine office, had already erected their new country cottages on the coastline not far from the lazaretto.⁵⁷ In 1866, the municipal commission had to sell the old site to procure funds to relocate the facilities at a more appropriate place.⁵⁸ After a long controversy and several years of complaints about the impossibility of imposing quarantine in Izmir, a new lazaretto was eventually built at the island of Clazomene at the entrance of the Bay of Izmir.⁵⁹

In 1865 as the quarantine was still being debated, the governor ordered extramural interment for public health reasons (*hiifzi sıhhati umumiye*) even though the provision was not immediately applied.⁶⁰ Until then burial mostly took place next to churches and mosques, in small cemeteries that were interspersed in the city and provided green areas for the local population. A large peripheral cemetery lay near the Caravan Bridge and the Jewish community had another large cemetery to the south of the city on the slope of the

⁵⁷ *Journal de Constantinople*, July 21, 1864.

⁵⁸ *La Turquie*, April 6, 1866.

⁵⁹ Complaints about the lack of a lazaretto mounted during the inroads of a cholera epidemic in 1871, see *Levant Herald*, September 27, October 4, and November 1, 1871.

⁶⁰ On governmental order for extramural interment, see Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, John Griffitt to Secretary of State, October 18, 1865.

Degirmendagi. After governmental enforcement, extramural burial was first adopted by the Catholic community, when on the suggestion of the archbishop, established a private cemetery on the road to Buca next to the tracks of the Izmir-Aydin railway. This private cemetery and “its high rate of charges” created contention among those who believed that the cemetery was “made too much a source of profit.”⁶¹ According to one reporter, the “majority of the Greek and Armenian communities, who have more of the lay element in their administration, rather favor the project of large general suburban cemeteries, instead of small, private, and exclusive ones.”⁶² Large suburban cemeteries, however, required leveling and laying out tracts of ground and surrounding them with suitable walls, all involving heavy expenses and other pragmatic concerns that often stood on the way.⁶³

The relocation of the lazaretto and cemeteries was part of a larger discourse that related public health to urban topographies. It also indicated that private interests often took precedent or interfered with the implementation of urban hygiene measures. In 1868, when *La Turquie* attacked the Smyrna Quay Company for compromising public health for the sake of filling a few private pockets, it drew on these broader debates. It maintained that the new structures on the waterfront, consisting of continuous tall buildings (3-4 stories) along the water, would prevent the flow of fresh air from the sea to the inner quarters of town, infecting the city, particularly during hot periods. The paper used the opinion of the medical practitioners of Izmir to support these claims and referred

⁶¹ *Levant Herald*, October 23, 1967.

⁶² *Levant Herald*, October 23, 1967.

⁶³ To encourage extramural burial, for example, the Ottoman government gave a piece of land to the English, Dutch, and Prussian consulates to use as a Protestant cemetery. B.O.A., Irade, Dahiliye no. 41301, 1286/1869. The U.S. Consulate was later offered a portion of that land. On the proposed American cemetery, see Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, E. S. Smithers to Secretary of State, February 15, 1879. The site of the cemetery, however, was found inappropriate by the American pastor as “the road to it is through the most disreputable part of the city and in its vicinity are low caffès and drinking houses where

to former studies that tied the lack of adequate drains to death toll during the last cholera epidemic. It also reminded its readers of “the deleterious miasmas that infected vast neighborhoods,” when winds and storms pushed refuse water back to the streets, “creating ceaseless pestilential sources” and announced with unprecedented gravity that all would be lost if the scheme was allowed to go on as suggested.⁶⁴

If shore owners, merchants, and newspaper commentators were united in their antagonism against the enterprise, there was no immediate congruence in their conception of public good. What constituted public good and how this public good related to individual interests and interacted with ideas of progress and improvement depended on the community of interest and its relative power to assert its views. Shore owners, most of whom were also part of the mercantile community, saw the protection of individual property and free trade rights as a prerequisite and a necessary condition to general welfare. In their letter to the editor of *La Turquie*, the spokesmen of the ‘commerce of Smyrna’ underscored that if their trade interests and rights perished, “those of the government would certainly not prosper.”⁶⁵ While the business elite worked with the assumption that increased trade served the interest of the state and benefited the larger segments of the population, the reporter of *La Turquie* did not necessarily share this view. Instead, he saw excessive trade activity as contaminating the quay and spoiling the quality of a modern urban space [fig. 48]. The company had to set aside a space three to six meters wide all along the quay for laying a tramway, running the full length of the quay with direct access to the customhouse and serving the company as well as the

the lowest classes meet to drink and carouse on fête days,” see Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, B. O. Duncan to Secretary of State, November 22, 1880.

⁶⁴ *La Turquie*, April 11, 1868.

⁶⁵ *La Turquie*, January 16, 1873.

general public.⁶⁶ In his attacks, the reporter disapproved of the idea of a tramway since it was to carry both freight and passengers [fig. 49]. He despised the idea that the tramway was to transport merchandise as it would prevent free circulation along the waterfront and crowd the whole area, ruining the quay and depriving all classes from enjoying the “beautiful public promenade.”⁶⁷

Public good was a flexible signifier that was capable of expressing different views and assumptions about who comprised the public and what public good entailed. As various parties debated the value of the works they produced competing ideas about what public good entailed and whom it should serve. At the same time, the debates about the project defined a number of concerns, ranging from considerations of urban hygiene and recreation to the preservation of property and trade rights, all of which directed the execution of the works, albeit with much controversy.

Sites of Friction

With heavy dependence on the disposition of the business community for building its capital and unable to withstand local distrust, the company could not raise the necessary funds and eventually went bankrupt. In the meantime, the Dussaud brothers had already begun carrying out their agreement. Experienced in dealing with large-scale ventures and less dependent on the financial support and trust of the business community, they took on the concessions previously granted to Barker, Charnaud, and Guarracino and acquired all the shares to become the sole owners of the Smyrna Quay Company. The revised contract and the takeover by the Dussaud brothers allowed the completion of quay in 1875 [fig. 50]. In addition, the full involvement of the Dussaud brothers, an

⁶⁶ Article 12 of the contract, *Levant Herald* January 8, 1868.

esteemed international firm, provided more local support for the works, particularly among promoters of French interest. After the Dussaud takeover several newspapers began to praise the project for making Izmir "the first city in the empire to enjoy such progress."⁶⁸

This change in the perception and the merit of the project was not unanimous. The Dussaud enterprise faced mounting difficulties in enforcing the stipulations of the contract, and their takeover did not eliminate antagonism against the works. In 1872, three years after the project began the Quay Company met with landowners' resistance to filling in the land or paying for its cost. Months after the official expropriation of their land, coffee-shop owners and other small businesses refused to give up their establishments and vacate the premises. Forced expropriation produced not only discontent and delaying tactics among owners, but also a heightened level of opportunism. Business owners, knowing that they ultimately had to vacate their properties, no longer bothered to maintain their structures. On at least one occasion this led to a tragic accident. On February 9, 1873, at around 10 o'clock in the evening, a coffee-shop built on piles off shore, known as *Kivoto*, gave way suddenly during an acrobatic performance and the audience was thrown into the deep water, causing the loss of 100 lives.⁶⁹ Six weeks before the disaster, the Dussauds had officially paid for the purchase of *Kivoto*. They had ordered the owner to vacate the premises because the structure was in a dangerous condition and it was necessary to demolish it to facilitate the

⁶⁷ *La Turquie*, 15 April 1868.

⁶⁸ *La Réforme* reprinted in *La Turquie*, 23 March, 1880. *La Réforme* was a local French language newspaper that was launched by Arteshas Oskanian, a local Armenian in 1868.

⁶⁹ *Levant Herald*, February 19, 1873.

quay works.⁷⁰ Although central authorities sent two orders for taking down such structures, all remained unheeded until the grievous event forced local authorities to demolish all other wooden coffee-shops running out into the sea.

The layout of the sewers was another site of friction. In 1872 government approval of the sewer lines was pending. Meanwhile, the company put off the filling in of reclaimed land and started building the outer wall of the quay, which was their priority in order to fulfill the terms of the contract.⁷¹ The process of construction produced long and stagnant water pools between the old shore and the new quay walls [fig. 51]. In the spring of 1872 the foul smell around the quay walls alarmed many people, particularly waterside residents and foreign consuls whose houses were near this wet zone. The formation of wet zones stimulated the anxiety that mounted in seasons of rain and extreme heat about sewers and public health. The stench of sewers was not only unpleasant to the eyes and the noses, but also dangerous. In summer months Frank Street and its vicinity were "little better than cesspools, whose nephitic exhalations placed the health of the residents in direct jeopardy."⁷² Shops were sometimes closed because "sewers spread such an infection."⁷³ Before the quay works, streets and houses bordering the water had small private sewers flowing freely into the sea, with discharge washed off by sea currents. During the works, however, these sewers emptied into a narrow pool that no longer had a connection to the open sea. All sorts of deposits accumulated and neither the company nor the authorities took effective measures to alleviate this

⁷⁰ *La Turquie*, February 15, 1873.

⁷¹ The contract specified that the 25 pica-wide quay was mandatory (*mecbur*) while landfill was optional (*muktedir, salahetli*) for accomplishing the works. This point was reiterated in later negotiations, see letter of Richard J. Van Lennep (administrator of the Quay Company) to Nihad Efendi (Imperial Commissary of the Quay Company) on March 28, 1872, in B.O.A. Bab-ı Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872.

⁷² *Levant Herald*, September 7, 1870.

unhygienic situation. Twelve consuls of Izmir sent an official note to their respective embassies in Istanbul to protest against the company's leaving sewers open during hot weather thus poisoning the atmosphere.⁷⁴ For lack of sufficient study or by omission there was no clear agreement between local authorities and the company about the tasks related to the sewer lines and embankment works. The only stipulation was that the company should be bound to establish drains down to the sea within the limits of its works.⁷⁵ In the note, the consular body decried the threats that the project presented to health of the city and to the commercial interests of all nations. Their hope was to urge the Sublime Porte to delay the quay wall until all landfill was completed. The consular note also demanded that the company relieved the town of the noxious discharges by building temporary conduits that connected the unhealthy water pools to the sea.

Meanwhile, the Governor, Hamdi Pasha, asked Margossian Efendi, the chief engineer of the province of Aydin, and W. Williamson, municipal engineer, to draft a detailed report on how to improve urban hygiene.⁷⁶ Initially the company's scheme provided thirteen sewers lines to the sea. The municipal engineers rejected the scheme and suggested instead a hierarchical web with one large collector sewer along Parallel Street, thirty-one sewers connecting the collector sewer to the sea, and smaller private sewers from the waterside buildings connecting to these thirty-one sewers [figs. 52a and

⁷³ *La Turquie*, July 15, 1874.

⁷⁴ See note addressed to the governor Hamdi Pasha and a copy of the note sent to the embassies in Istanbul in B.O.A., Bab-ı Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872. The official note carried the signatures of the consuls of Great Britain, Spain, Netherlands, France, Italy, Greece, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, Denmark, and Russia.

⁷⁵ Article 18 of the contract, *Levant Herald*, January 8, 1868.

⁷⁶ Margossian Efendi had studied at the *École des Ponts et Chaussée* in Paris and was then recently appointed as chief engineer, see *La Turquie*, April 18, 1871.

52b].⁷⁷ Margossian and Williamson made further suggestions, proposing to dig out the ancient galleries that connected the old crusader castle near the shore to the sea and thus develop a "large and magnificent sewer." Their report advocated modern urban planning techniques based on a rational and comprehensive underground web for the entire city. Invoking the methods and the practices used in European cities, the two engineers conceived a triple duct system including the sewer, water, and gas conduits. The sewer plan proposed by the engineers provided the basis for later negotiations with the Quay Company. It also revealed local authorities' determination in having the company execute a modern infrastructure system suited to the second city of the Empire.

Although the company recognized the importance of a collector sewer along Parallel Street as the engineers proposed, it refused to build the scheme or to provide any public or private sewers outside the scope of the contract unless the government provided additional compensation for the work. The Quay Company acknowledged, but was not bound to, a notion of public utility. It defined its responsibilities based on the conditions of the contract and on the desire to build up a profitable business. The Dussauds went to Istanbul to negotiate new terms with the Porte and received an extension on their contract in return for developing the public and private sewers from the old shore to the sea and completing the landfill in conjunction with the quay walls. By the close of the negotiations the Ministry of Public Works decided that it was the responsibility of individual owners to improve their property and make the necessary connection between street sewers and private lots. Future construction sites on the shore, except the projected streets, were privately owned either by new waterside proprietors or by the company,

⁷⁷ "Rapport sur les égouts de la ville de Smyrne," in B.O.A., Bab-i Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872.

which became a major property owner on the shore and had to abide by the common rights that regulated these properties. If proprietors refused to improve their lot, the company had the right to perform the necessary work and charge landowners according to the length of their street façade.⁷⁸

The problem of drainage exhibited the difficulty of reconciling the requirements of a private enterprise with those of a public endeavor. This conflict between private pursuits and public purposes can be further traced within the controversial position of some of the parties involved in the project. Richard Van Lennep, the consul of the Dutch community and an established merchant in Izmir, was also the local administrator of the quay enterprise. Van Lennep's name appeared in the diplomatic note that the consular body sent to Istanbul to deplore the state of the water pools and ask for official intervention.⁷⁹ In his dealings with Ottoman authorities, however, Van Lennep defended the actions of the Quay Company. In his response to the report of the municipal engineers and to the Imperial Commissioner, Nihad Efendi, he attenuated the harms caused by the stagnant water pools and dismissed on "scientific" grounds that they constituted a threat to public health.

In 1880, a few years after the completion of the works *La Turquie* approvingly reprinted a long article from the French newspaper of Izmir, *La Réforme*. The article glorified the quay works for considerably improving urban hygiene and bringing about changes in the habits of the population. The reporter drew on standard views that tied physical order and social improvement, linking "new streets, new quarters, new

⁷⁸ See report of the Ministry of Public Works, "Égouts de la ville débouchant à ses quais et comblement du vide restant entre le rivage et les quais," in B.O.A., Bab-i Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872.

⁷⁹ B.O.A., Bab-i Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872.

buildings” to “broad-minded ideas, elegance, and comfort” and assessing that “straighter, wider, better paved, and better ventilated streets inevitably lead the mind to seek betterment.”⁸⁰ Such optimistic portrayal, however, glossed over some persistent resentment that continued to mar the project, even after the major parts of the works were completed. In 1874, for example, opposition came from new shore owners. As building constructions were to begin soon a group of proprietors sent a petition to Istanbul to complain about the “uniform plan” that the Dussaud brothers imposed on buildings along the quay. More than the uniformity of the plan, it was, however, having to make room for a two-meter footpath that produced strong resentment. The street along the quay was to be eighteenth meters broad. Considering that a tramway was laid down about five meters from the sea, the remainder was insufficient for the construction of a suitable footpath. The Dussaud brothers proposed to build an arcade, asking all owners to give two meters of grounds in exchange of which they would be allowed to extend their second floor for four meters over the arcade [fig. 53].⁸¹ According to the Dussauds, the proprietors would in the end lose nothing while the quay would be endowed with a regular arcade and gas lamps attached at every four pillar as well as sufficient space for pedestrian circulation. Landowners, who were reluctant to incur extra expense, however, resented the plan, attacking its regimented aesthetic. The arcade was never built and the casual canvass awning of stores and cafés provided shade to pedestrians.

⁸⁰ *La Réforme* reprinted in *La Turquie*, 23 March, 1880.

⁸¹ *Levant Herald*, November 25, 1874. In the nineteenth century, the arcade had become a standard convention for street uniformity and the symbol of great streets like Paris’s Rue Rivoli or the Quadrant in London. Such remodeling probably inspired the Dussaud proposal. On period writings on nineteenth century arcaded-streets, see the collection of short essays compiled in Richard Harding Davis, W. W. Story, Andrew Lang, Henry James, Francisque Sarcey, Paul Lindau, Isabel F. Hapgood, *The Great Streets of the World* (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1892).

After the completion of the contracted works, the question of the 100 pics free area was again brought to the fore. The free zone left around the customs house did not entirely resolve the problem of wharf dues and throughout the execution of the works, the business community, particularly British merchants maintained a fierce opposition against wharf dues.⁴² On their part, the Dussaud brothers wanted to extend the quay works in front of the customhouse and abolish the 100 pics free zone to be able to apply uniform taxation on the quay. The space around the customhouse was also disagreeable to those who perceived it as a remnant of the old shore that needed to be improved. In 1874, Dr. Borg, the government sanitary doctor, had addressed a report to the governor about the dangers caused by "the heaps of refuse accumulating around those coffee-houses, which are built on piles in the immediate vicinity of the customhouse."⁴³ In 1876, a new round of negotiations started between Ottoman authorities, merchants, and the company. The Dussaud brothers proposed to give merchants a considerable reduction in quay dues and to provide important urban improvements in the city if they agreed to forfeit their rights of landing goods at the customhouse free of quay dues.⁴⁴ In return they received a ten-year extension on the privilege of operating the installations. On this basis, a mixed commission of experienced local merchants, including Psiachi, Paterson, Allioty, Farkoa, Henriquez, Yenisehirlizade Ahmet Efendi, and Evliyazade Mehmed

⁴² On the continual antagonism of British merchants see Georgiadès, *Smyrne et l'Asie Mineure*, 154-163; Kütükoğlu, "İzmir rıhtımı inşaatı ve işletme imtiyazı,"; Korkut, *Belgelerle İzmir Rıhtım İmtiyazı*; Thobie, *Interêts et impérialisme français dans l'Empire Ottoman*.

⁴³ *Levant Herald*, September 2, 1874.

⁴⁴ *Levant Herald*, March 3, 1877. The Company would reduce the tariff by 30 percent, transfer the custom house, join the two lines of the railway with the quay by means of a tramway, built stores for the wares embarked or disembarked, give a bonus of 50 percent on the reduced tariff to merchants whose ships do not use the quay, repair the streets and supervise the sewage of the town.

Efendi, developed a new reduced tariff.⁸⁵ The issue, however, would not be entirely settled for another decade.

Taxation on the quay not only agitated merchants but also more modest, yet not less indispensable segments of quay users. In 1874, when the quay works were mostly completed, the government decided to impose a monthly tax of three *beşlik* per month on the boatmen (*kayıkçı*) who plied between the ships and the shore [figs. 54 and 55].⁸⁶ Once they were informed of their tax liability, the boatmen protested by drawing up a petition to the Porte. Their demand did not seem to be heard since a new order was received, enjoining that the tax should be levied and that the boatmen had to pay additionally eighteen *beşlik* as six-month arrears. As boatmen did not consent to such terms and not being permitted to continue their task until they had paid the required arrears, they went on strike. All work in the port was suspended that day and passengers who had to embark on that day were obliged to pay the eighteen *beşlik* tax in addition to their usual fare. In the meantime quarrels between the boatmen and the police and mounting turmoil led to the granting delays that allowed boatmen to resume their work.⁸⁷

The making of the quay opened another layer of Izmir's Tanzimat landscape. While continual calls for order demonstrated the presence of powerful local groups to back up the quay works, the delays, changes, and frictions experienced throughout the project revealed the existence of equally powerful groups to fight and resist its execution. Contentious groups were organized across religious, ethnic, and national communities. Shore owners, the business community, and governmental bureaucrats were composed of

⁸⁵ *La Turquie*, March 24, 1880.

⁸⁶ A *beşlik* is a five-piastre coin.

⁸⁷ *Levant Herald*, September 3, 1874.

Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans as well as of foreigner residents who shared a common interest in promoting or resisting the project. The making of the quay thus indicated that modernization was neither painless nor uniformly enlightened. It was an interactive and highly negotiated process that often conversely intersected with established practices and individual interests. Although the space of the quay was eventually made into an emblem of European modernity, it had been intimately shaped by and existed within the social and material conditions of nineteenth century Izmir.

The strenuous process of executing the works also hinted at the difficulty of arriving at an unequivocal definition of the public good. By the mid-nineteenth century “public good” and “private interest” were increasingly viewed as antagonistic categories and the pursuit of one inevitably meant the violation of the other. Newspapers as well as governmental deeds insisted on a public/private divide while debating the project. In practice however, various aspirations were couched in terms of public good and it was difficult to neatly separate the public good of the project from the private interests it served. Appeal to the public good was important but less for what it precisely entailed. Instead the public good was a legitimizing rhetoric for rational actions and a way of creating points of convergence between the publics that fought or supported the project.

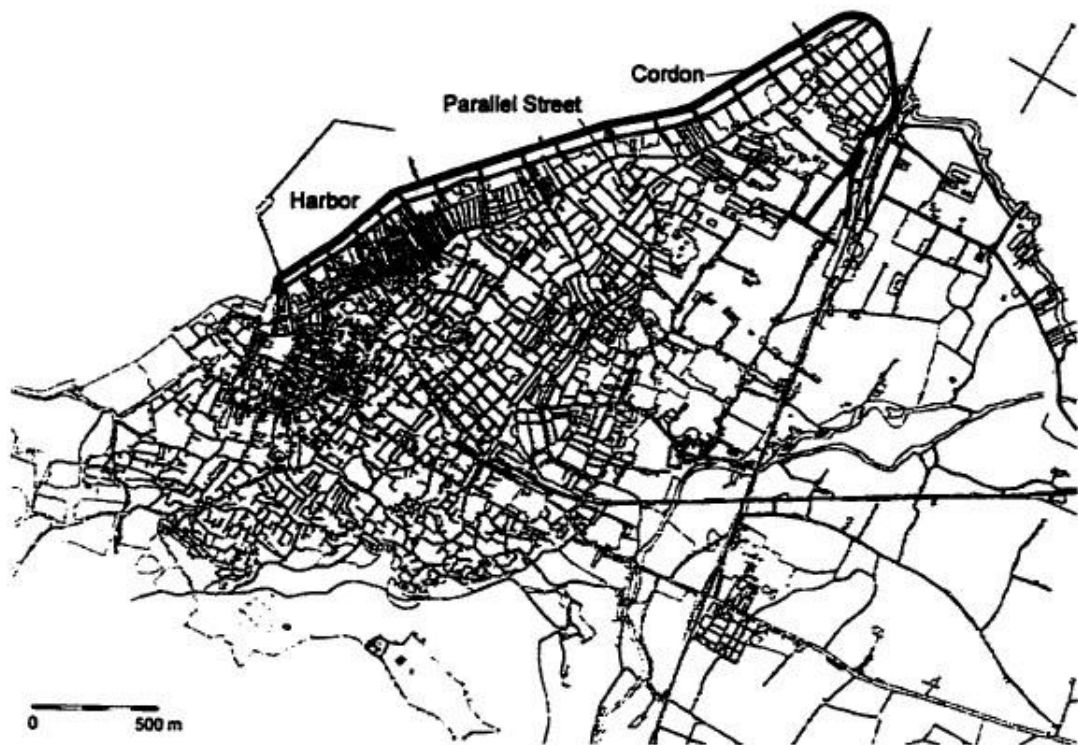


Figure 34: The quay project (from Lamec Saad's map of 1876).



Figure 35: View of the new quay (Suna Inan Kır aç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 36: View of the old shore, ca. 1865. In the background from left to right are the tower of the Church of St. Photini, the dome of St Etienne, and the Church of St. Georges. (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 37: View of the old shore with the military barracks on the foreground, ca. 1865 (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

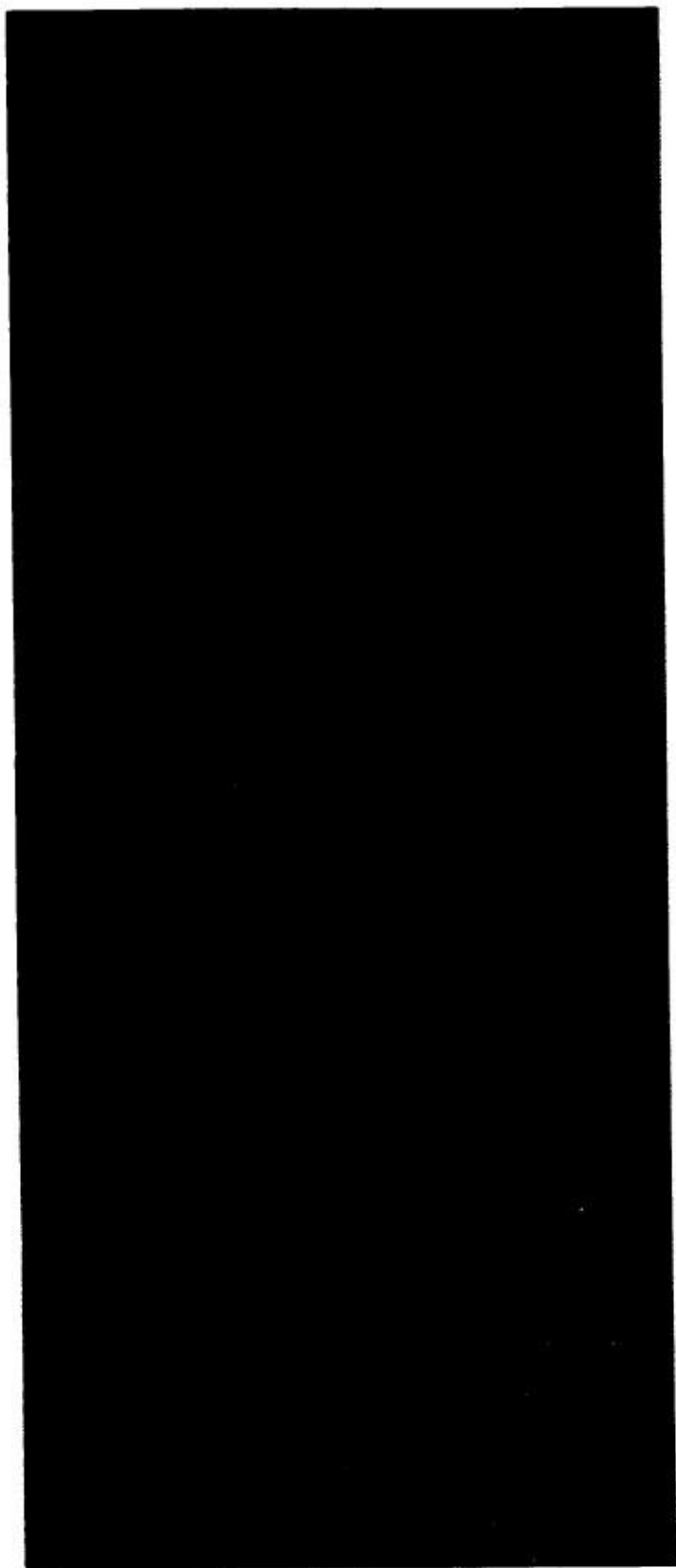


Figure 38a: Property map of the shore, ca. 1860. Part 1 (B.O.A., Plan, Project, and Sketch Collection).

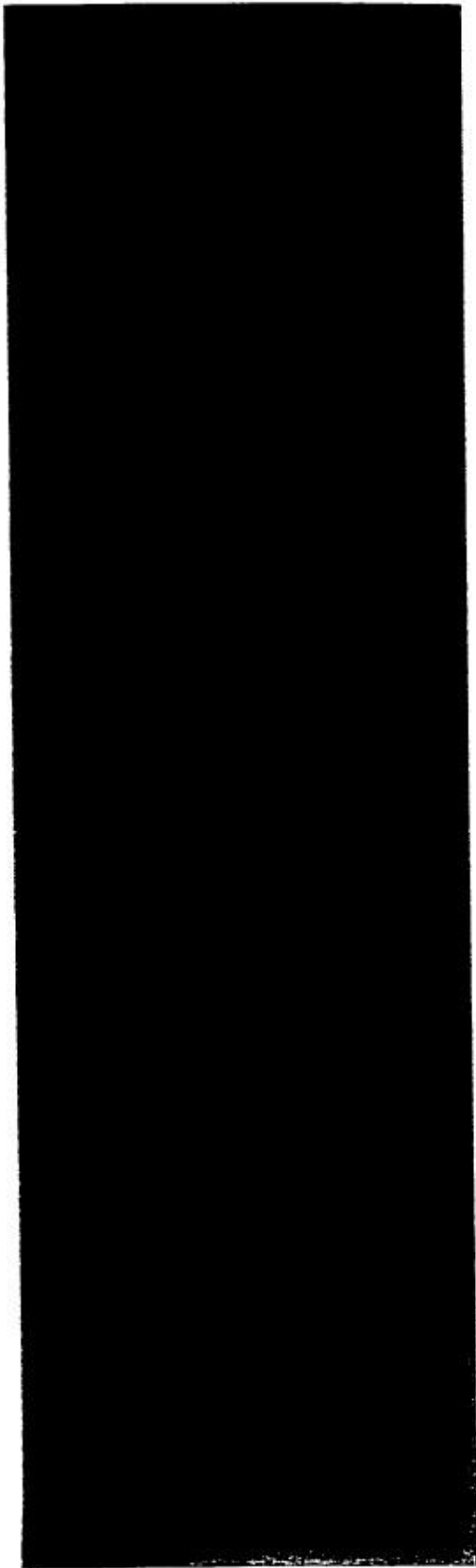


Figure 38b: Property map of the shore, ca. 1860. Part 2 (B.O.A., Plan, Project, and Sketch Collection).

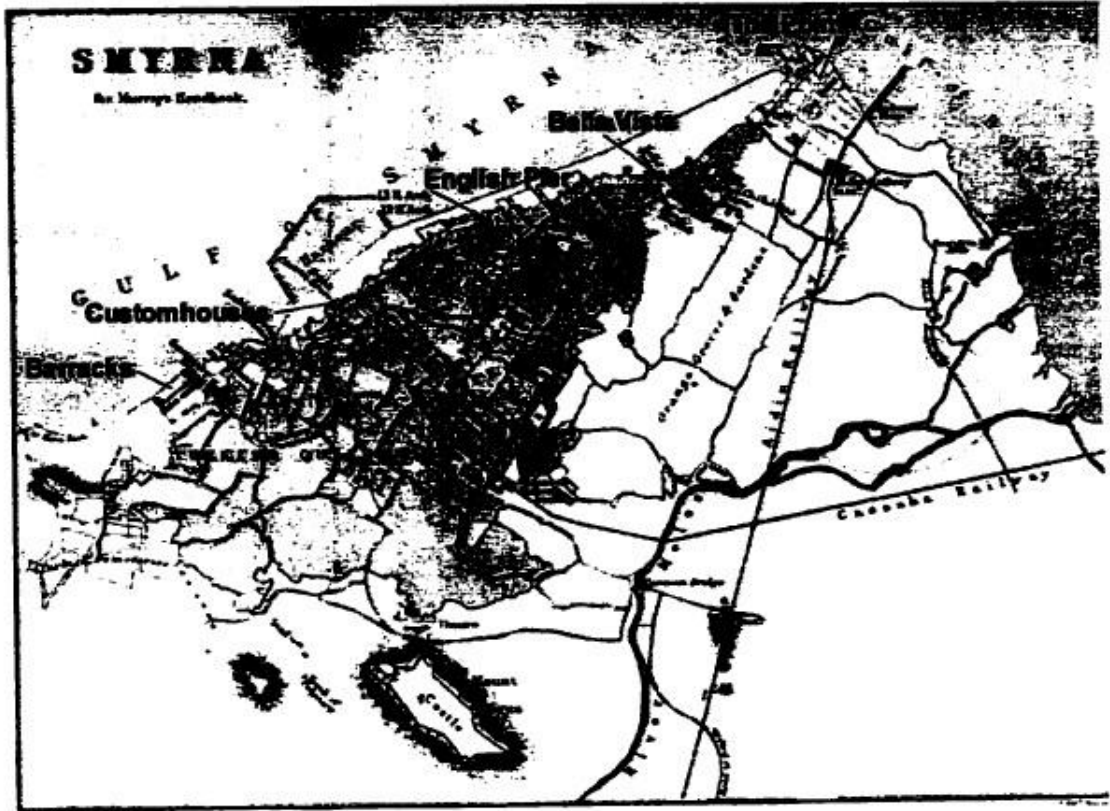


Figure 39: Map of the old shore with the projected shoreline (*Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia* [London: John Murray, 1878], facing p. 247).

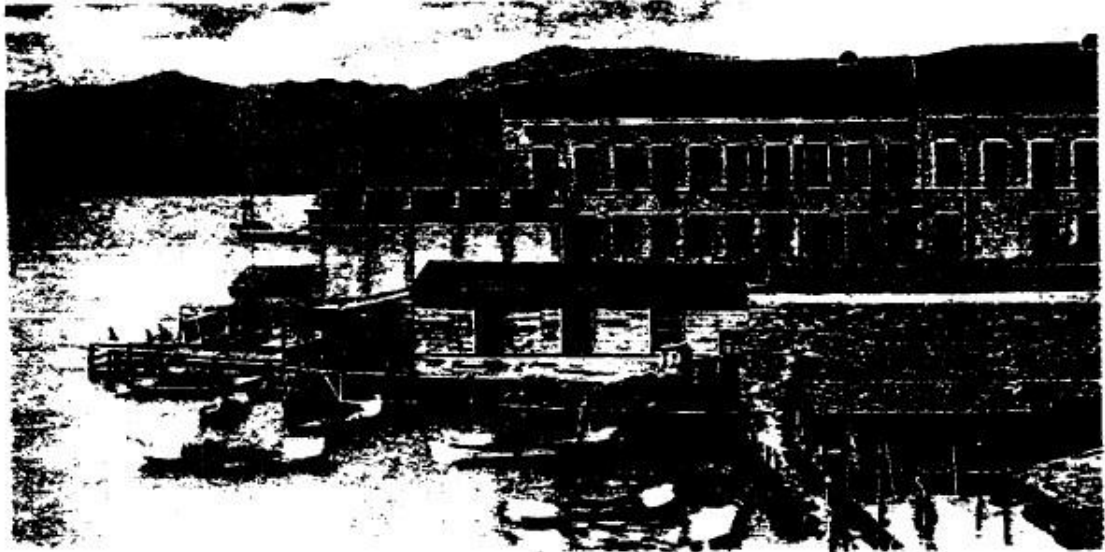


Figure 40: View of the old shore with cafés on pilotis and ship chandlers (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

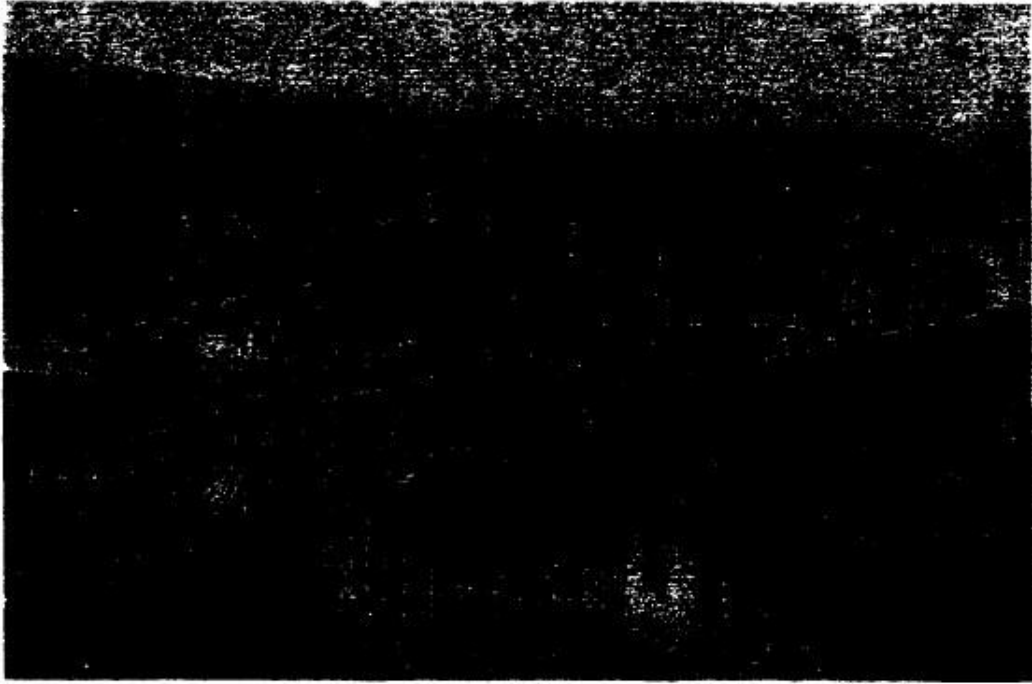


Figure 41: View of the English Pier, ca. 1855 (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 42: British and Austro-Hungarian Consulates on the English Pier, ca. 1855 (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

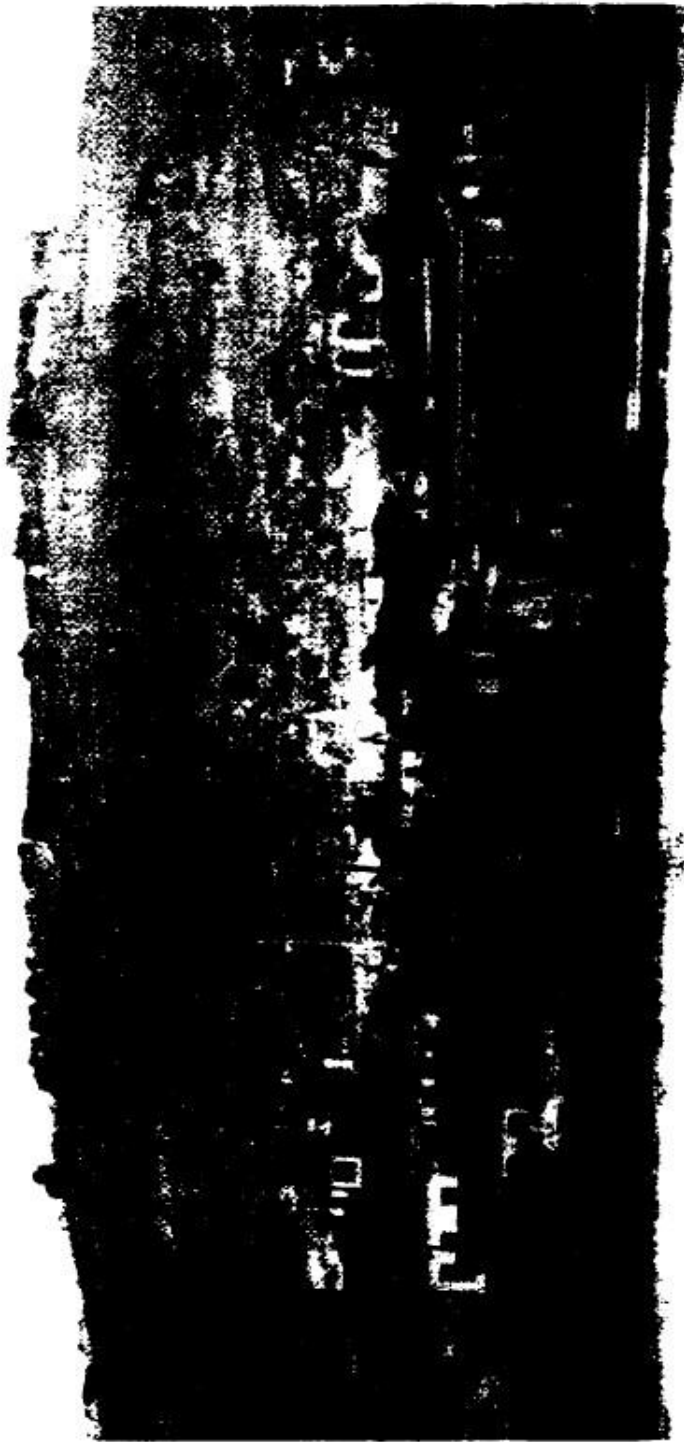


Figure 43: View of the old shore with properties abutting directly onto the water, ca. 1860 (Suna Inan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 44: Women promenading on the new quay near Bella Vista (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 45: View of the new quay as a modern space for promenade (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

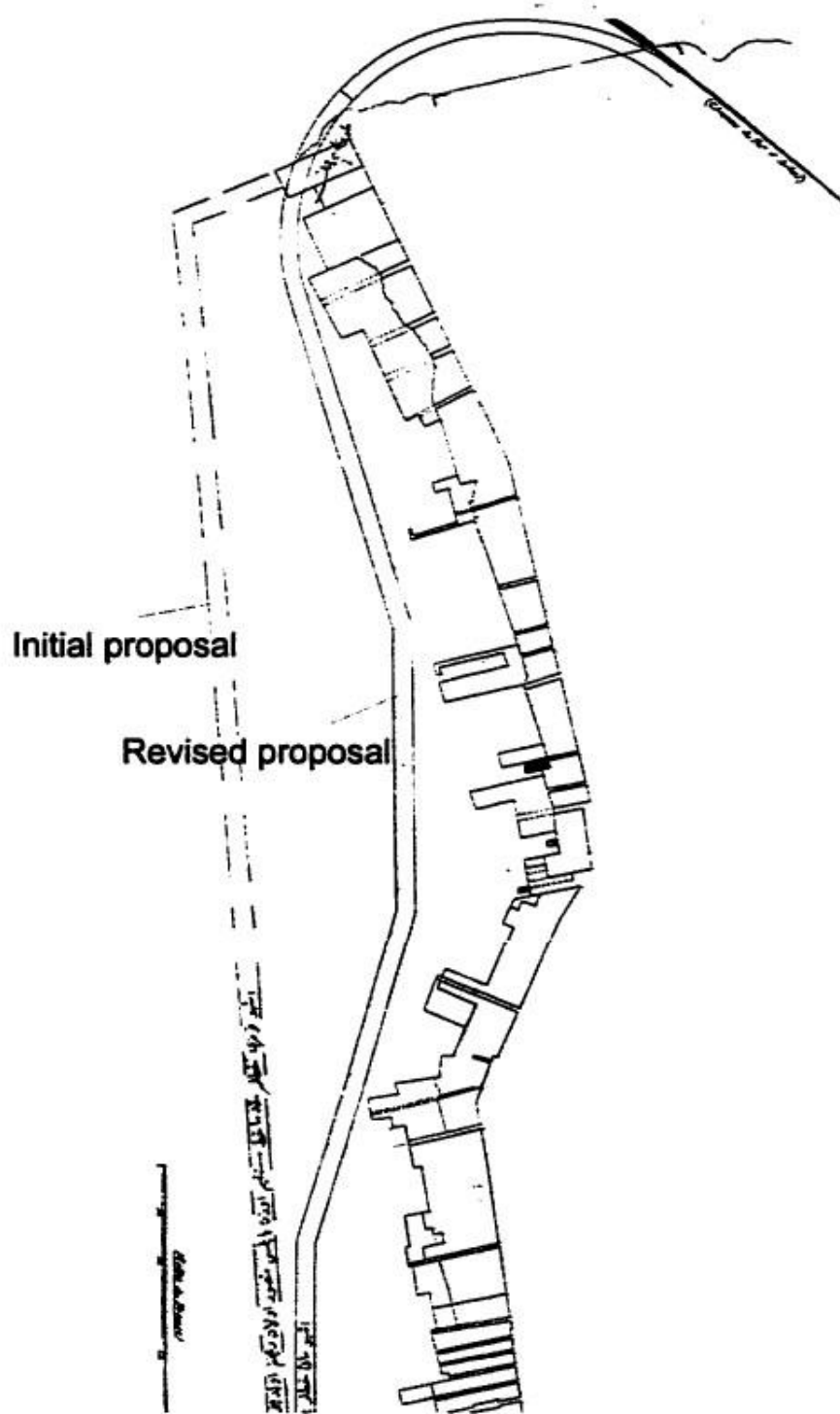


Figure 46a: The quay scheme proposed and revised by Charnaud, Barker and Guarracino. Part I (B.O.A, rpt in Cevat Korkut, *Belgelerle İzmir Rıhtım İmtiyazı* [İzmir: Dağışan Ofset, 1992]).

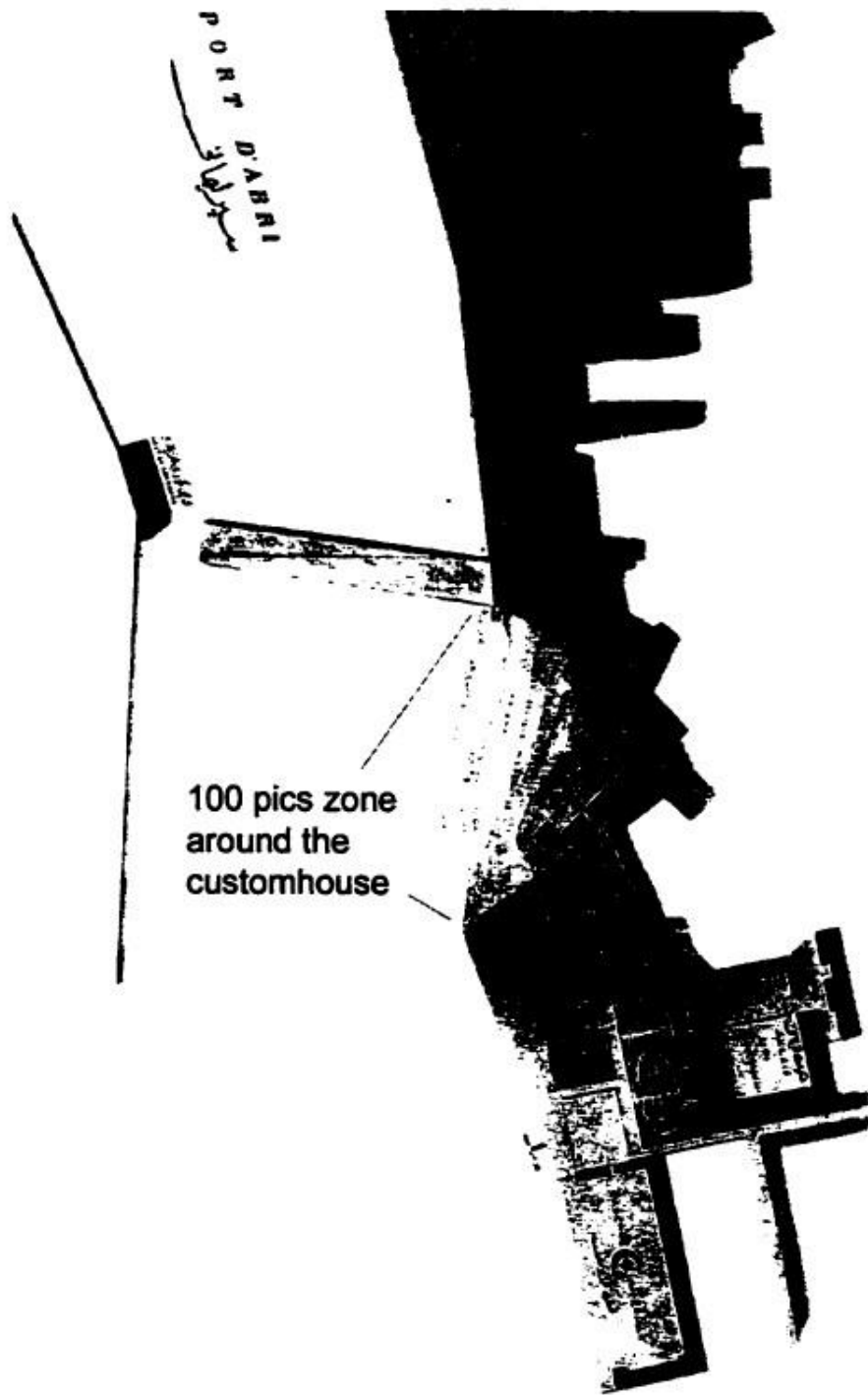


Figure 47: The negotiated zone near the customhouse (Izmir Maritime Museum Archives, rpt in Çınar Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları* [Izmir: Yaşar Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı, 1998], 117).



Figure 48: View of the commercial quay (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 49: View of the tramway along the quay (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 50: The quay scheme built by the Dussaud Brothers. The plan was presented to Sultan Abdulaziz in 1875 (Izmir Maritime Museum Archives, rpt in Çınar Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları* [Izmir: Yaşar Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı, 1998], 116-17).



Figure 51: The construction of the quay wall (Suna Inan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

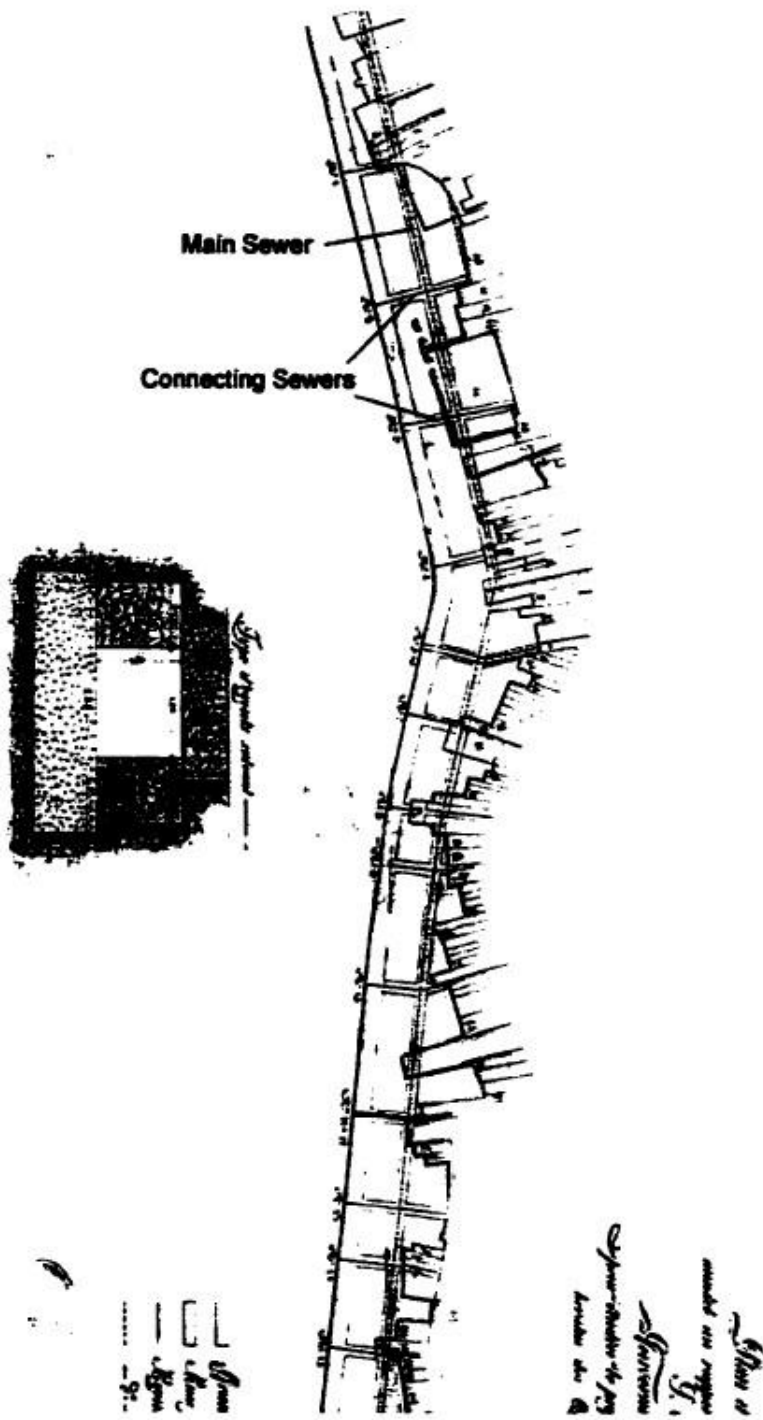


Figure 52a: The sewers proposed by Margossian and Williamson. Part 1 (B.O.A., Bab-i Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872).

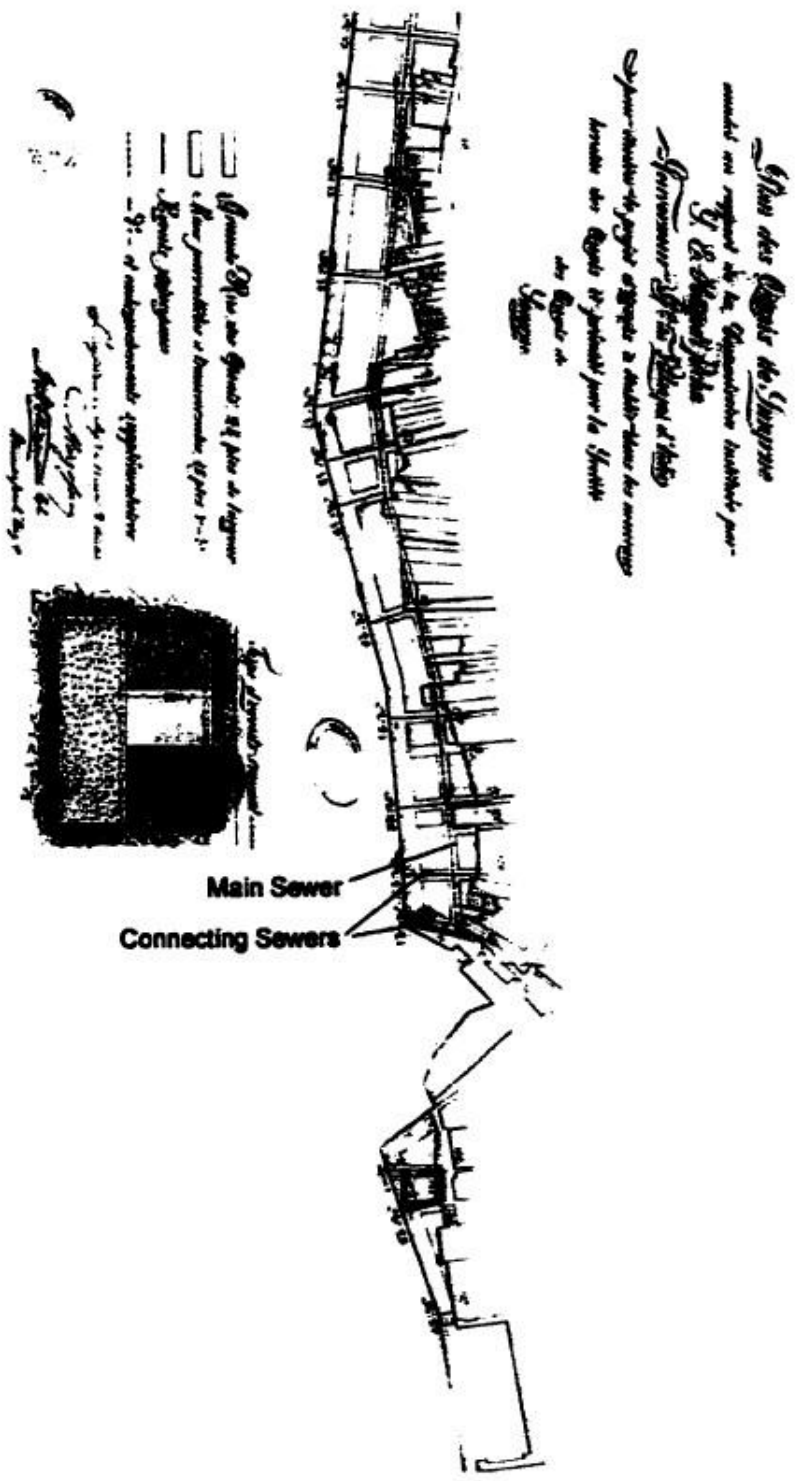


Figure 52b: The sewers proposed by Margossian and Williamson. Part 2 (B.O.A., Bab-i Ali, A. AMD. MV. 112/44 1872).

PROJET D'ARCADES
 par MM. DUSSAUD FRÈRES
 1878

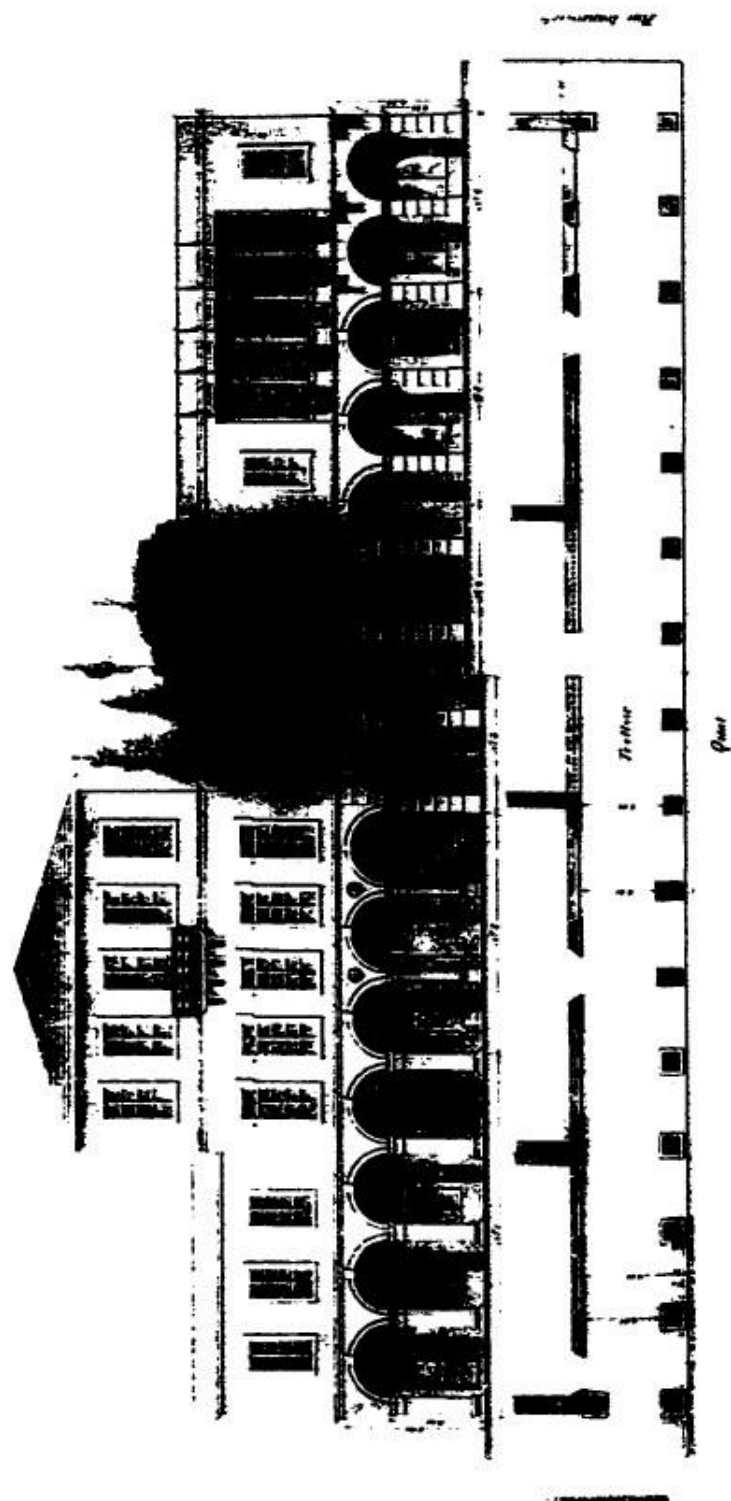


Figure 53: The Arcades proposed by the Dussaud Brothers (B.O.A., rpt in Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Izmir Tarihinde Kesitler* (Izmir: Izmir Yayıncılık, 2000).

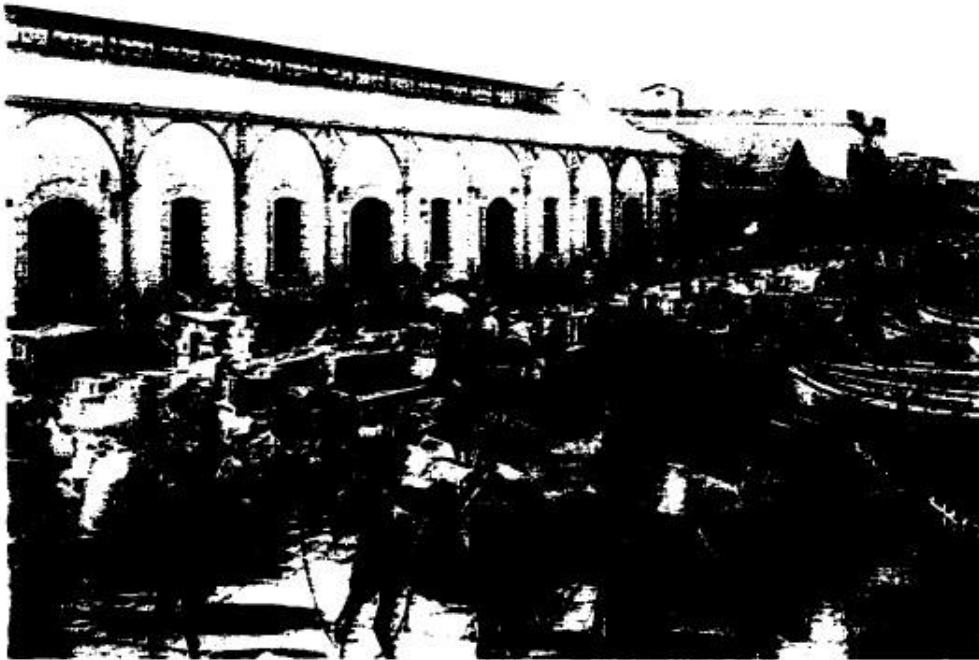


Figure 54: Boatmen at the harbor near the customhouse (Suna Inan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 55: Boatmen at the quay (Manuscript Collection, Istanbul University).

CHAPTER 5

CLAIMING SPACES, PERFORMING IDENTITY

On May 27, 1842, *l'Écho de l'Orient*, the French newspaper of Izmir, ran a long report describing the unusual pomp of the Corpus Christi procession. For the first time the celebration had emerged from the precinct of the major Catholic church of St. Polycarp into the streets of Izmir. The areas marked on the itinerary of the procession had taken a festive look the night before. Façades of buildings had been decorated with myrtle and flowers, and the crowd waited anxiously for this solemn ceremony, which was unprecedented in the history of the city. When the procession began, a Muslim military guard escorted the Holy Sacrament through the streets of the city, obliging onlookers to respect its passage. At the center of the procession was the Archbishop, holding the Eucharist under a grand canopy. He was preceded by the clergy and students of the city's Catholic schools, followed by the French consul – “the safeguard of the Catholics of the Orient” – and by many of the consuls of the other Catholic countries of Europe.¹

The Corpus Christi procession, or the carrying of the Eucharist across town, was a medieval Catholic ceremony that first appeared in the context of mid-thirteenth-century Europe. This part of the rite, which did not have to be enacted within a church, was performed out of doors as a public event.² During the nineteenth century the devotion was still alive throughout the Catholic world, but was frequently under attack in places

¹ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, May 27, 1842.

² Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 243.

where the influence of the French Enlightenment and secularization had made itself most felt. In these places, the ruling elite saw it as a danger to advancement, and they strove to abolish or simplify its enactment. In Spain, for example, where the Corpus Christi tradition was well established, the elite of Madrid perceived the event as putting the capital behind the times, and tried to limit its performance.³ Ironically, the local paper of Izmir, *l'Écho de l'Orient* announced the event with great pride, underscoring that the celebration signaled an important step forward and indicated a level of freedom and mutual respect that was lacking even in Europe. Remarking that elsewhere, unbelievers constantly hindered such events, the reporter proudly presented the Corpus Christi in Izmir to his co-religionists in the empire, as evidence of increased tolerance in Ottoman territories:

Today, religious animosity has disappeared among us. The Catholic population of Smyrna saw, with satisfaction, Greek merchants decorate . . . with hangings and flowers their shops located on the processional route. All took place in the most perfect order and we cannot sufficiently acknowledge the concern of His Excellence Sabri Pasha on this solemn occasion.⁴

The parade passed along a selected path that included Frank Street, the prominent thoroughfare of Izmir, before a public of spectators who were not predominantly Catholic. According to the reporter, in addition to Catholics, "Greeks, Muslims, Armenians, etc., wordlessly attended the performance."⁵ The visibility of the event and its diverse audience suggested that it represented more than an incidental display of religious tolerance. The presence of a Muslim guard of honor put at the disposal of the Archbishop, the participation of the French consul as representative of the "Catholic

³ Francis George Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession: a Literary and Folkloric Study* (Valencia: Tipografía Moderna, 1962), 107.

nations," and the pride in having an all-inclusive audience further revealed the effort by the Catholic community to assert itself in relation to other groups in the city.

The emergence of the Corpus Christi procession corresponded to a critical period in the history of non-Muslim Ottoman communities. The Tanzimat reforms brought not only administrative and financial changes, but also sought to redefine the relations between local religious groups and Ottoman authorities. The *Gülhane* edict of 1839 and the Imperial rescript of the *Hatt-i Humayun* in 1856 called into question the nature and terms of plural coexistence in the Empire.⁶ Even though Christians and Jews had been allowed to practice their religions and had enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy within their community, they had been subject to various discriminatory rules, which legally placed them in the position of second-class subjects.⁷ These restrictions applied to various spheres of life, ranging from judicial, political, and economic matters to purely ecclesiastical ones. For example, they were not allowed to build new places of worship, hang or ring church bells, or carry crosses in public. The reform decrees abolished such constitutional distinctions in an attempt to end the aspirations of non-Muslim communities for independence. They promoted a new political community based on the idea of uniform citizenship by standardizing former non-Muslim communities into *millet*s (nations) and confirming the equal rights of their members.⁸ This represented a new way

⁴ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, May 27, 1842.

⁵ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, May 27, 1842.

⁶ For the text of the edict promulgated on February 18, 1856, see Grégoire Aristarchi, *Législation ottomane, ou, Recueil des lois, réglemens, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. 2 (Constantinople: Demétrius Nicolaïdes, 1874), 14-22.

⁷ On the legal status of non-Muslims, see "Chapter I: Making Urban Citizens," fn. 25.

⁸ On Tanzimat reconfiguration of non-Muslim communities, see Roderic Davison, "Turkish attitudes concerning Christian-Muslim equality in the nineteenth century," in *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History 1774-1923* (Austin: University of Texas, 1990); Roderic Davison, *Reforms in the Ottoman Empire: 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); the collection Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vols. 1-2 (New York: Holmes and Meier

of thinking, elevating the non-Muslim individual to the status of equal citizen, rather than a member of an autonomous, yet subject, community. It also presented reformers with the challenging task of introducing a unified Ottoman allegiance to override the heterogeneous social constitutions. Granting full equality to all Ottoman subjects did not, however, eliminate the propensity of local communities to express their religious and national differences. To the contrary, it provided these communities with an opportunity to reinvent and enact these differences more openly. As groups gained more freedom, they were less hesitant to practice their particular rituals in public. In several towns church bells were rung, crosses were carried in procession, parades were performed on the streets, and wine shops were opened in marketplaces.

In 1842, the desire to move the Corpus Christi celebration to the streets accorded with this more general freedom that allowed communal differences to be carried into the public realm. At the same time, the decision to undertake such a public enactment was in part connected to papal changes that confined to the Archbishop of Izmir, jurisdiction over the Latin Catholics in Asia Minor.⁹ The Catholic population of Izmir was linguistically and nationally diverse. It included Greek, Armenian, and Arab subjects of the sultan as well as foreign colonies of French, Italians (Sardinians), Maltese, and

Publishers, Inc., 1982); Moshe Maoz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968). Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989). On contemporary accounts on the Tanzimat, see M. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey: An account of the religious, political, social and commercial condition of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Arno Press, 1973); Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le tanzimat; ou, Histoire des réformes dans l'Empire ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: A. Cotillon et Cie, 1882).

⁹ In 1818, Pope Pie VII reorganized the administration of the Vicariate Apostolic of Asia Minor, originally founded in the seventeenth century, and placed it under the authority of the Archbishop of Smyrna. Since then the Archbishop of Smyrna has exercised jurisdiction over the Latin Catholics of the greater part of Asia Minor. In the nineteenth century Archbishops Luigi M. Cardelli (1818-1830), Julien M. Hillereau (1832-1834), Pierre Marcelin Bonamil (1834-1837), Antonio Mussabini (1838-1861), Vincenzo Spaccapietra (1862-1878), and Andrea Policarpo Timoni (1879-1904) served in Izmir, see Firmin Rougon, *Smyrne: Situation Commerciale et Économique* (Paris & Nancy: Berger-Levrault and Cie, 1892), 32-35.

Austro-Hungarians.¹⁰ Catholics had come to constitute millets or official communities much later than had the Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish populations. Only in the early nineteenth century, did the Porte recognize the Armenian Catholics as a separate community and allowed other Catholics to constitute a Latin community (*Latin millet*) and establish delegates in major cities such as Istanbul, Izmir or Chios.¹¹ The Catholic population usually attended missionary schools, particularly Lazarist institutions established throughout the eastern Mediterranean and supported by the French government.¹² After the independence of Greece (1821-1829) and the passing of the Aegean islands to the Greek nation, the number of Catholic Greeks considerably declined in the region.¹³ In 1841, to solidify Catholicism, the French foreign ministry allocated a substantial budget to be spent on Catholics in the Ottoman empire and on their religious institutions – a portion of which was sent to the Izmir delegate.¹⁴ Additional funds also came from the kingdom of Sardinia.¹⁵ European support, coupled with the new political climate of the Tanzimat, encouraged Archbishop Antonio Mussabini to bring together the diverse elements of the city's Catholic population. In that way, the Corpus Christi was

¹⁰ On Catholics in Izmir see Livio Missir Reggio Mamchi di Lusignano, *Épitaphier des grandes familles Latines de Smyrne*, vols. 1-2 (Brussels: Dembla, 1885); Marie-Carmen Smyrnalis "Gli Italiani a Smirne nei secoli XVII e XIX," *Altre Italie* 12 (Fondazio Giovanni Agnelli, 1994): 39-59.

¹¹ On the schism of the Armenian community and the formation of an Armenian Catholic (or United Armenian) millet, see J. H. Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, trans. Lady Easthope (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 246-341. On the organization of a Latin millet, see Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, 375-392. For a detailed treatment of the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, see Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹² Missionary activity in the Middle East received French support, despite France's ambivalent position towards its missions after the 1789 Revolution. On the relation of France to its missions in the Orient, see J.-B. Piolet, *Les missions catholiques françaises au XIXe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Colin, 1901).

¹³ Catholic Greeks were mostly concentrated in Izmir, Istanbul, Chios, and few in Salonica and Crete, see Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 252.

¹⁴ An amount of 31,000 Franks was allocated to the Lazarists and Capuchins in Istanbul, Izmir, Chios, and the Geek islands, see Alfred Schlicht, *Frankreich und die Syrischen Christen, 1799-1861* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1981), 157.

¹⁵ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 252.

not so much the natural expression of a long-subdued religious identity, as the reporter implied, but invented means to construct and perform a Catholic community.¹⁶

Although the reporter proudly depicted the event as exceptional, the Corpus Christi was not as unusual as it seemed. By virtue of its multi-religious and multi-national population, Izmir possessed a complex calendar of ritual events and a large repertoire of communal celebrations. In the decades following the 1840s, Orthodox Easter and various saints' days, Muslim festivals, the sultan's accession to the throne, and the coronation of foreign emperors were all important public events that were annually observed with varying levels of pomp. These events represented different religious views. They indicated divergent political ambitions, including local groups' predilection to affirm their differences and Ottoman authorities' effort to create a unified political allegiance. Public celebrations diverged in their meanings, but they overlapped in the spaces of the city. In this chapter, I discuss how these events were constituted in the physical landscape of Izmir. More specifically, I examine, through a range of spatial strategies, how public celebrations produced temporal social arrangements on the streets and in urban spaces and how they advanced alternative configurations of community that cut across economic, linguistic, national, and religious interests.

¹⁶ There is a host of recent studies on how cultural practices perform and construct ethnic, national, and racial identities, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 1991); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic, Modernity and the Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993); Gupta Akhil and James Fergusson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6-23; Allan Pred, *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

The Ritual Calendar and Intercommunal Dynamic

Ethnic, religious, and national heterogeneity had characterized Izmir since the mid-seventeenth century. Multi-communal existence occasioned various observances that had affected everyday life long before the Tanzimat era. Muslim, Christian, and Jewish ritual calendars were simultaneously observed in Izmir. In addition, Christian Orthodox and Catholic calendars were not aligned, and each contained a great number of saints' days, many of which were kept as holidays. The coexistence of multiple religious rites had always drawn the attention of those unaccustomed to such levels of confessional plurality, often compelling them to portray this plurality in sensational terms. "Divines of every persuasion exchanged their views with an open-mindedness verging to heresy" wrote Sonia Anderson, summarizing the impressions of foreign observers who visited late seventeenth-century Izmir.

The Greek bishop was in disgrace for neo-Jewish observances; the Armenian patriarch on a visit from Erivan in 1672 scandalized his congregation by wearing a pall and mitre presented to him by Pope Clement IX; the Jews produced a pseudo-Messiah who later turned Turk. . . . Once a year the French consul and nation, accompanied by several Turks and one or two Jews, marched in procession to the Greek cathedral of St. Photin to celebrate Maundy Thursday by Orthodox rites.¹⁷

Regardless of the accuracy of these syncretic practices, all these religious groups and their rites were extant in mid-nineteenth-century Izmir. Although each group in the city observed its own holidays, many observances were made known to all by their daily implications. Muslim, Jewish, and Christian businesses respectively closed on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday leaving four workdays for the entire city. Bakeries and groceries owned by local Greeks or Armenians were closed on Sundays or major Christian

holidays, leaving Muslims and Jews to make their provisions accordingly. Likewise, during the month of Ramadan official transactions were suspended during the daytime.¹⁷ In addition, the calendars of Muslim, Jewish, Orthodox, and Catholic feasts sometimes intersected. When Easter overlapped with the month of Ramadan, as it did in 1860, the entire month was dedicated to celebrations. "Jews are preparing for the Passover starting next Saturday. Catholics are already in their Holy Week and are preparing for Easter, Greeks and Armenians are soon ending Lent and celebrating their Easter that will be a week before the Bairam of the Turks" reported *La Turquie*, announcing the slowness of business.¹⁸

The ritual calendar affected more than the pace of economic and administrative life. It also corresponded to a relative positioning of communities with respect to one another. In 1859, *L'Impartial* published a letter signed by the representatives of the Jewish community who condemned the unfounded belief that was held among the "bottommost classes of Greek people" that "Jews use Christian blood for their unleavened bread."¹⁹ The grand Rabbi Haim Palacci, the president of the Jewish community, Léon Sidi, and three deputies, Salomon Gelardino, Ushua Arditi, and Isaac Dano pleaded for the ceasing of the suffering and torments that were periodically inflicted on their community between Passover and Easter.²¹ They termed such acts "worthy of the most barbarian times" and in violation of the freedom of creed granted to

¹⁷ Sonia Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 8-9.

¹⁸ A decree of governor Süreyya Pasha abolished this practice in 1873, but until then, government agencies were closed during the day and public business was only conducted during nighttime. *Levant Herald*, October 22, 1873.

¹⁹ *Journal de Constantinople*, March, 14, 1860.

²⁰ Letter to the editor of *L'Impartial* on May 1, 1859 reprinted in *La Turquie*, May 14, 1859.

them by the Sultan.²² Such calls produced ephemeral relief, but did not entirely abolish old religious prejudices. In the following years, before several Passovers rumors went around that Jews kidnapped a Christian child for religious purposes. Greek and Armenian rioters would then rush to the Jewish neighborhoods to harass passerby or break into stores. Though the child was often found in a day or two, the same tragedy of 'ritual murder' was renewed in later years.²³ At times of potential anxiety, casual incidents were often blown up and distorted to extreme proportions. In 1860, on Yom Kippur, for example, another rumor about a possible Greek attack distressed the Jewish community. Alarmed that Greeks would set their houses on fire while they congregated at the synagogue, Jews sought the protection of the governor. That night, however, three Greeks attacked a small synagogue, Jews ran to Muslim quarters crying out for help, while the police rushed to the scene, trying to explain that the attack lacked the scope originally assumed.²⁴ Traditional dispositions fueled and sustained mutual sentiments of anxiety during ritual seasons. Potential tension also raised awareness about communal boundaries, forcing people to define temporary territorial limits. In 1873, for example, reporters for the *Levant Herald* wrote that three Jewish salesmen had been assaulted by a mob in a Greek neighborhood known as Tabakhane and that a Jewish child had been

²¹ Léon Sidi, a businessman and a prominent member of the Jewish community, was a naturalized American and served as dragoman (translator) for the United States consulate in Izmir from December 1856, see Despatches from U.S. consuls in Smyrna, Consular Returns for December 31, 1856.

²² The letter also evoked a universal spirit of tolerance that had already been set by France's admission of Jews as citizens, and supported by the Ottoman government's protection of the Jewish community, see letter to the editor of *L'Impartial* on May 1, 1859 reprinted in *La Turquie*, May 14, 1859.

²³ Such incidents were repeated in 1864, 1872, 1874, 1888, 1890, 1896, 1901, and 1921. On the 'calamity of the ritual murder' in Izmir, see Abraham Galante, *Histoires des Juifs d'Anatolie*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: M. Babok, 1939), 183-199. See also Kozmas Politis' autobiographical novel on late nineteenth-century Izmir, *Yitik Kentin Kırk Yılı* (Istanbul: Marenstrum, 1992), ch. 11.

²⁴ *L'Impartial*, September 28, 1860 reprinted in *Journal de Constantinople*, October 4, 1860.

thrown into the sea and seriously wounded near the site of the Café Kivoto.²⁵ Events of the sort made it unsafe for a Jew to be seen near working class Greek quarters before Passover. They inscribed a sense of Greekness and Jewishness over particular neighborhoods, symbolically marking certain urban sections as potential sites of danger to be cyclically avoided around Passover and Easter.

Despite periodical incidents, religious celebrations were times of diversion and enjoyment. Greek Easter was an important event that affected the broader segments of the population [figs. 56 and 57]. The season was all the more colorful when the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Carnivals fell together. When favored by beautiful weather, many celebrated the week with picnic and excursions to the country. Charity balls that provided annual funds for communal hospitals and schools were mostly organized then. The annual horse race that took place in a large open field in Buca also coincided with Tuesday Easter and drew Greeks and non-Greeks, elite groups and commoners alike to this resort village.²⁶ The eve of Easter Sunday, however, was traditionally celebrated with pistols discharged on the streets. The practice often produced criticism among the European elite as it challenged their sense of public order. Reporters of the European newspapers regularly complained about “haphazard discharges of firearms that deafen the ears,” comparing them to the calm pace of Bairam solemnities.

²⁵ *Levant Herald*, March 26, 1873. Tabakhane was located at the eastern fringes of the city along a branch of the Meles river and was named after the tanneries established in the area.

²⁶ Annual horse races were organized by the Jockey Club of Izmir that was established by the foreign colony of Izmir in the late 1850s and received an annual grant from the Sultan. The races were regularly reported in the *Levant Herald* and later in *Hizmet* as animated and joyful celebrations. On the Jockey Club, see Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. 3 (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890), 466-467. See also L. Gardey, *Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz de Stamboul au Caire* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1865), 250-253.

²⁷ “Numerous Muslims, of all ages and all classes strolled in our quarters in their holiday garb and no incident was reported . . . Turks . . . celebrate their holidays in a serene fashion that Christians should imitate particularly during Easter,” wrote the *Journal de Constantinople* on another occasion.²⁸ Pistols fired into the streets often led to accidents in popular Greek neighborhoods, designating these places as sites of potential turbulence. In 1876, for example, thirty-seven injuries and four deaths took place during various celebrations in the city.²⁹ Ottoman authorities always remained alert during Easter season, asking the consular body to prevent their co-nationals from “loud and dangerous expressions of joy” and increasing their police force to maintain public order on the streets.³⁰ Turkish and European newspapers reported with satisfaction the lack of incidents on a given year as indication of the authorities’ successful monitoring of public order. At one instance, *Hizmet* proudly wrote that the chiefs of police were decorated for insuring proper security during the Easter festivities that started at night and lasted till dawn.³¹

Religious predisposition affected not only the relative positioning of Christians, Muslims, and Jews, but at times severed the larger Christian population. For example, a sense of distrust existed between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic communities and was nurtured, according to an English physician in Izmir, by the

²⁷ *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866.

²⁸ *Journal de Constantinople*, March 23, 1864.

²⁹ The article referred to the neighborhoods of St. Photini, St. John’s Cathedral, St. Dimitri, St. Catherine, St. Mary as well as to Bahçeli and Scalabrini streets and the street of the Great Taverns, see *La Turquie*, April 26, 1876.

³⁰ *La Turquie*, April 4, 1866.

³¹ *Hizmet*, March 7, 1887.

attitudes of the priesthood of both persuasions.³² "It is rare for a Catholic to intermarry with a Greek family and the priests employ all the means in their power to prevent such unions," he wrote, in his report on Izmir.³³ Such remarks were not without basis. A decision taken in 1869 by the Roman Catholic synod of Izmir (*concile de Smyrne*) reconfirmed the divide between Catholics and Orthodox. The council prohibited Catholics from marrying with Orthodox, from hiring servants belonging to the Greek creed, from serving houses that were not of Catholic religion and from sending their children in schools other than those of the Roman faith.³⁴ The statement of the synod had repercussions much beyond Izmir and its decisions were ardently debated in the newspapers in Greece and Italy. The Florentine paper, *Correspondence Italienne*, for example supported this decision stating that Greek Catholics were discriminated against since they were perceived by Orthodox Greeks as obstacle to the "triumph of Hellenism." The Greek newspaper, *Indépendance Hellénique*, however, qualified the decision of the clergy as "antisocial and anti-Christian."³⁵ The council also occasioned overt reactions in Izmir. Two weeks later, the Catholic clergy abstained from attending the funeral of the Greek Metropolitan who had served long years in Izmir. The funerals of religious community leaders were imposing public events, performed with great solemnity. Ottoman and foreign officers of various religions followed in uniform the funeral procession of the Metropolitan and the local Armenian clergy, Protestant pastors, and Jewish delegates were also present. Catholic priest who encountered the procession

³² Ill-feelings also existed between Armenian and Greek populations but mostly because of commercial competition than religious antipathy, see George Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1856), 34.

³³ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 47.

³⁴ *Indépendance Hellénique* reprinted in *Levant Herald*, September 11, 1869.

along the way, however, "simply watched it pass without even taking off their headgear," remarked one reporter, disapproving such dogmatism.³⁶

The attitude of the clergy did not have a uniform effect on the urban populations and ecclesiastical tensions did not prevent intermarriage or daily coexistence among individuals. As the reporter of *La Turquie* once remarked, the standard practice among affluent segments of the population was to subvert the canonical rule. "[Greeks] usually celebrate underhand marriages when their spiritual authority disapprove such union. They pay some considerable amount to an odd priest who agrees to give the marriage blessings."³⁷ Occasional incidents, however, temporarily erected religious boundaries. In 1887, an increase in Protestant missionary activity in Izmir troubled the Orthodox clergy since it led to the conversion of some of their flock. A group of Orthodox Greeks attacked the evangelical room on the quay, where the Protestant pastor usually held sermons in Greek as well as the evangelical church near Basmahane that belonged to the American mission. The group was subdued only after police intervention and the closing of the evangelical room by the English consul on the request of Ottoman authorities.³⁸ The incident reinvigorated a sense of boundary. A month after the event, for example, the Greek Metropolitan Vassilios made a public verdict annulling the marriage of a Greek Orthodox with a Protestant for being against canon law.³⁹

The incidents leading to the closure of the room were, according to an article in the *Levant Herald*, provoked by "destitute people who were united by fanaticism and

³⁵ Both articles were reprinted in *Levant Herald*, September 11, 1869. For further repercussions on the Council of Smyrna, see also *Levant Herald*, October 5, 1869.

³⁶ *Levant Herald*, September 27, 1869.

³⁷ *La Turquie*, May 17, 1887.

³⁸ *Levant Herald*, April 2, 1887.

³⁹ *La Turquie*, May 17, 1887.

religious ignorance.”⁴⁰ European observers of Izmir’s social life found religious intolerance to affect only the lower classes, who were “scrupulous in the performance of what they hold to be religious duties,” thus sparing the better educated portions of the urban populations from bigotry.⁴¹ For example, when a heated religious discussion resulted in a “Greek pulling his knife against an Italian who in turn fired his gun,” local commentators underscored the “benightedness of both parties.”⁴² Among the European elite, religious tension was increasingly perceived, not so much as a cultural problem, but rather as a class issue and education as a way to overcome certain forms of religious divisions. In practice, however, one’s religion continued to determine one’s access to education since in most part it was the religious community that provided and sponsored public schools.⁴³ Throughout the nineteenth century, religion remained critical, albeit ways of transcending it and everyday life required a continual process of boundary making and remaking.

Performing Community and Difference

In the face of potential religious tensions, the decision by Archbishop Mussabini to carry the Corpus Christi procession to the streets of Izmir had more profound

⁴⁰ *Levant Herald*, April 2, 1887.

⁴¹ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 41.

⁴² *Levant Herald*, August 9, 1876.

⁴³ Ironically, however, throughout the nineteenth century, public schools in the Ottoman Empire were classified according to the religious community they served. On the ‘Muslim’, ‘Greek’, ‘Armenian’, ‘Jewish’ and ‘foreign’ schools of Izmir, see Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi, vol. I (1307/1889), 206ff. European descriptions further subdivided foreign schools according to the religion and nationality of the community that sponsored them. On French, Austro-Hungarian, Italian, and British (or Protestant) schools, see Cuinet, *La Turquie d’Asie*, 452-462; Rougon, *Smyrne: Situation Commerciale et Économique*, 36-52; Carl von Scherzer, *Smyrna: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die geographischen, Wirthschaftlichen und Intellectuellen verhältnisse von Vorder-Kleinasien* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1873), 60-77; Jacob De Andria and G. Timoni, *Indicateurs des Professions Commerciales et Industrielles de Smyrne, de l’Anatolie* (Smyrne: Imprimerie commerciale Timoni, 1895), 25-67. Secondary schools and colleges usually catered to a more mixed population but were generally limited to affluent segments of the population.

meanings. The event was as much about forming social unity out of the various Catholic groups as it was about asserting the political position of the Catholics in relation to other groups in the city. Generally, civic and religious rituals have provided an important site to examine political action, conflict, and consensus and the construction of collective identities.⁴⁴ Even though both the social and the physical contexts of performance are critical to such constructions, the spatiality of the performance has largely been neglected in discussions of identity formation [fig. 58]. The Corpus Christi procession, for example, continued to be annually enacted on the same format for the following twenty-five years. The parade drew on a range of dramaturgical keys and spatial tactics to make social and political claims and constitute communal allegiance in Tanzimat Izmir. As the following pages demonstrate, the location and spatial arrangement of the event made social hierarchies and ideological positions visible and thus were critical to its meanings.

The Corpus Christi procession took place in and around Frank Street [fig. 59].

Led by the Archbishop, the march began at the College of the Propaganda, a school erected in 1802 by the Lazarists and expanded into a college in 1839.⁴⁵ In the early

⁴⁴ See Paula Sanders, *Ritual, politics, and the city in Fatimid Cairo*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Anne-Marie Fortier, "Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)," *Theory, Culture and Society* 16, no. 2 (1999): 41-64; Susan Slyomovics, "New York City's Muslim World Day Parade," in Peter van der Veer, ed., *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995): 157-176; Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 131-153; David Waldstreicher, "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Ascent: Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism," *The Journal of American History* 82 (June, 1995): 37-61. On imperial ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire, see Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).

⁴⁵ The Lazarists succeeded to the Jesuits in 1782 and opened a small school that was burned down in 1797. In 1802, a Lazarist father, Davier, reestablished the school. During the term of Archbishop Bonamil it became a secondary school and was renamed the after the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (usually called Propaganda and established by the Papacy to centralize missionary activity in the Orient). The College offered both classical and 'modern' (applied commercial education), taught French and Greek and was a popular institution, not only among Catholics, but also among upper class Greeks, Armenians,

morning several squads of Ottoman soldiers had been stationed at intervals along Frank and Rose Streets, and Salih Pasha, the governor himself, had crossed the area several times to herald good order and tranquillity. Participants were strictly positioned within the procession. Guards (*cavass*) of the governor and of the consulates opened the march [fig. 60]. They were followed by twelve members of each Catholic order, all carrying banners and torches.⁴⁶ Next came the students of the College of the Propaganda, accompanied by the Friars of the Christian Schools. They were followed by two hundred young girls of the Sisters of Charity, dressed in white and holding banners representing the Virgin Mary. Scattered among them were the girls of St. Vincent de Paul, followed by a choir of artists chanting religious hymns to the sound of various instruments. Official translators (*dragomans*) of Catholic countries' consulates preceded the clergy, and twenty altar boys strewing flowers and incense cleared the way for the Archbishop, who carried the Corpus Christi under a grand canopy. The French consul and the consuls of other Catholic nations immediately followed, while an Ottoman guard of honor, assigned by Governor Salih Pasha closed the procession and separated it from the crowd.

Leaving the College, the procession walked towards Rose Street, which had been decorated for the event, and continued down this street to reach Frank Street [fig. 61].

On Frank Street the canopy stopped in front of an altar placed at the entrance of the

and occasionally Muslims. The institution expanded and in 1886 it was transferred from Rose Street to Frank Street to a larger building next to the Church of the Lazarists. On the college, see Piolet, *Les missions catholiques françaises*, vol. I, 142-144; Jean-Baptiste de San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau sur le Pagus: Notice historique sur la ville de Smyrne* (Constantinople: Imprimeur Loeffler, 1911), 339-342. On the Propaganda, see Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, ch.6. On Muslim students educated at the college, see later government inquiries and reactions about the education of Muslim students' in Christian institutions in B.O.A., Yıldız Esas Evrakı – Sadrazam Kamil Pasa, no. 86/13 1283, 86/15 1427 (1319/1901).

⁴⁶ The orders active in Izmir were the Lazarists supported by France, the Franciscans-Recolets by the Austrians, Capuchins initially by France, and after the revolution, by the Italians and Dominicans by

Levantine Club. The altar had been built by the Sisters of Charity, with the assistance of club members, and had been approved by the Archbishop. According to the report of *l'Écho de l'Orient*, at the altar, the Archbishop blessed the large crowd in attendance. The march then continued along Frank Street, which was lined with shops owned largely by Greek merchants and "covered with hangings and flowers."⁴⁷ The procession next went to the Lazarist Church on the right, continued a few steps down to the establishment of the Sisters of Charity on the left, crossed back to pass by the Church of St. Mary, and finally ended at the Church of St. Polycarp. Accompanying the blessing at each of these station points, the French corvette *la Cornaline*, an Austrian schooner, and a Tuscan three-master anchored in the harbor fired twenty-one gun salutes.⁴⁸

The itinerary of the parade was critical to the event. The procession passed along Frank Street, the most public area in the commercial part of the city. Until the construction of the quay, this was one of the main thoroughfares, including many European consulates, three Catholic churches, a Protestant chapel, and the major Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Frank Street always occupied a central place in travelers' depictions. It epitomized the diversity of Izmir and lent itself to multiple representations. For some it was a meeting point of races and languages. Romaic Greek and dialects of French and Italian were heard at all times of the day. Frank Street was also a bustling marketplace, where "the world's trading posts met."⁴⁹ Yet even though the street epitomized Izmir's connection with the larger network of goods and commodities, it was

Italians. Oriental Catholic rites such as the Armenian Mechitarists were also established in Izmir since 1846, see San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau*, 321-351.

⁴⁷ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, May 27, 1842.

⁴⁸ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, May 27, 1842.

a narrow, two-lane street located about two hundred meters from the sea. In 1842, shortly before the Corpus Christi parade, the French traveler, Alexis de Valon, gave a colorful description of this commercial street. He saw "houses of all colors, shapes, and heights, a bad pavement on which no carriage can run, stalls on the left and right operating as stores, large awnings on top serving as canopy and projecting squares of shade onto the street."⁵⁰ De Valon also depicted a motley crowd, "rushing without hassle," and combining stereotypical elements of 'East' and 'West' in an unusual mixture of hats, turbans, and fez. He observed the peddlers "who pushed you on the side" and the variety of goods, including "European cloths facing edibles . . . a milliner displaying pink hats newly arriving from Paris next to a Turkish merchant selling tobacco by the stack."⁵¹ As a link between the residential neighborhoods and the bazaar, the part of Frank Street stretching from Fasula place to the bazaar was the busiest and most animated part of the entire city, and two-thirds of its retail shops, stores, and offices were located there [fig. 62]. All classes of people walked through the area everyday to get to work, and clusters of coffee-shops, butchers, grocers, and fishsellers' stalls crowded the street during the day time. Several times, the authorities attempted to remove "the fishsellers' stand in front of the door of the Lazarist church" that "poison[ed] the Frank quarter with stoves placed in the middle of the street and risking any moment to cause an accident."⁵² Commercial encroachment on these spaces, however, was never eliminated.

⁴⁹ Charles Reynaud, "D'Athènes à Baalbeck," in Jean-Claude Berchet, ed., *Le Voyage en Orient: anthologie des voyageurs français dans le Levant au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1985), 50. Date of visit to Izmir is 1844.

⁵⁰ C. M. F. Alexis de Valon, *Une année dans le Levant: Voyage en Sicile en Grèce et en Turquie*, vol. 2 (Paris: Dauvin et Fontaine, 1850), 48.

⁵¹ de Valon, *Une année dans le Levant*, 48.

⁵² *L'Impartial*, July 20, 1860 reprinted in *Journal de Constantinople*, July 27, 1860.

Most characteristically, the western edge of Frank Street opened to the shore through a series of narrow passageways, called *verhanes*.⁵³ Past Fasula to the bazaar, a number of institutions fronted onto Frank Street. The English Consulate and Chapel, the United States Consulate, the Levantine Club, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and the Austrian church of St. Mary were all entered through these passageways [fig. 63]. Further along on Frank Street to the left were the establishment of the Sisters of Charity next to the Catholic Church of St. Polycarp, and the Archbishop's house. A few steps further and before the imposing *Küçük Vezir* khan were the prominent Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St. Photini with the residence of the Metropolitan, the evangelical school for boys, and a school for girls [fig. 64]. A short distance from there the street ended in the cloth bazaar (*çuha bedestenî*), which constituted the entrance to a dense web of commercial streets in the bazaar. At Fasula place, Frank Street also continued in the opposite direction towards Bella Vista, a stretch of land that extended towards the Bay, forming a favorite promenade for locals and visitors alike. From Bella Vista boats could be hired for excursions on the bay. Numerous coffee shops clustered on pilotis, with terraces extending out to the sea. These places served coffee, drinks, and ice-cream. They had European newspapers, and some evenings they held comedies and musical performances.

Perpendicular streets connected Frank Street to the inner (eastern) parts of town. Opposite the English Consulate was a street leading to a theater (Teatro Cammarano), to the French College of the Propaganda, and into Hospital Street. Parallel to it was Rose Street, mostly residential it was renowned for its beautiful mansions, occupied by local

⁵³ See "Chapter 1: Making Urban Citizens," on the *verhanes*.

Greeks. The street drew the attention of many visitors for "the gracious spectacle offered by the sight of so many beautiful women dressed in white."⁵⁴ Also opening onto Frank Street and adjoining St. Photini, was the street of the Great Taverns. This street was famed for its numerous coffee shops and taverns, which offered a much different atmosphere than the coffee shops on Bella Vista. These places attracted Europeans, Greeks, and Turks of relatively modest conditions, as well as sailors looking for a quick meal or a coffee. Particularly in the evening, these taverns were transformed into exclusively male spaces where alcohol abounded, and frequent brawls took place.

Class, religious, and linguistic difference intersected in and around Frank Street and multiple lives coexisted in this part of town. This entanglement was rendered visible by the names people used to designate parts of the Frank quarter. *Fasulya meydanı* or *Place Fasula* was the heart of the Frank quarter. Most streets, however, were given not only Turkish names for administrative purposes, but also a Greek and a European name when different linguistic communities occupied the same areas.⁵⁵ Late nineteenth-century maps of Izmir simultaneously included these various appellations. They exhibited not only the equivocality of this part of the city, but also its contested character.

The itinerary of the Corpus Christi procession, however, created a Catholic space out of the socially mixed Frank quarter. The route sewed together selective Catholic institutions and link them symbolically and physically to create a seamless space. The movement between stations was carefully traced to reinforce such effect. The processional plays performed at the stations along Rose and Frank Streets connected the

⁵⁴ Comte Joseph d'Estourdel, *Journal d'un voyage en Orient*, vol. I (Paris: Imprimerie de Cr pelet, 1844), 196.

College of the Propaganda with the Church of St. Mary, the institution of the Sisters of Charity, the Church of St. Polycarp. While most of the stops on the route consisted of religious institutions, they were not exclusively so. Curiously, the itinerary included a secular institution, the Levantine Club – also known as the European Casino. Izmir had several such casinos, or family clubs. The Levantine Club, like the Greek one, was supported by the subscription of its members, mostly the multi-national commercial elite, and had, among other facilities, a newsroom, a card room, a billiard room and a ballroom. By erecting an altar in front of it, Catholics appropriated the club into the religious realm, thereby suggesting an idea of Catholicism that was compatible with modern and secular institutions. At the same time, even though the procession stopped at the Levantine Circle adjacent to the English consulate and its chapel, the consulate was not mentioned as part of the route. Thus, if some places were reinvented as Catholic, others were clearly edited out to bring the itinerary into conformity with Catholic ideas.

The actors in the procession – the Lazarists, the Sisters of Charity, and the students of the various Catholic schools – portrayed a unified Catholic presence in town. These institutions, however, had their own trajectories and histories in Izmir. They were supported through different funds – French, Austrian, and Italian as well as by local contributions – each requiring them to meet certain criteria and obligations.⁵⁶ In addition,

⁵⁵ In insurance maps, Teşrifiye Caddesi corresponded to *Rue Bella-Vista* and *Rue Fasula*, while Sultaniye Caddesi was *Rue Franque*, and Mahmudiye Caddesi was *Rue Yaliadhika*, see Charles E. Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna): Turquie* (London: Chas. E. Goad, 1905), plates 2-5, 8-9.

⁵⁶ The Church of St. Mary was erected in 1698 by the Franciscans-Recollets, one of the earliest orders in Izmir and was under the protection of the Austrians. The main cathedral of St. Polycarp belonged to the French Capuchin monks until the abolition of monastic orders in France, after which they were replaced by Italian monks. The Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity came to Izmir in 1841, a year before the public performance of the Corpus Christi celebration to “instigate recognition and appreciation of Christianity and of France.” Alfred Schlicht, *Frankreich und die Syrischen Christen*, 158. For a background on the catholic institutions of Izmir, see San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau*, 321-351; Piolet, *Les missions catholiques françaises*, vol. I, 142-147.

decisions over the statute of Catholic institutions at times split the local Catholics into two camps as in the case of the long controversy concerning the administration of the hospital of St. Rocca, rebuilt after the fire of 1845.⁵⁷ Although Catholic institutions, their supporters, and their users were a diverse lot, for this event they were recast as places of ultimate Catholicism. The performance created a unified social category out of a linguistically, ethnically, and nationally diverse group.

On such processional occasions, not only was the itinerary and the composition of the celebrants carefully selected, but the route was prepared days in advance. The walls of buildings along the way were covered with tapestries, cloths and banners, and decorated with pictures, foliage, lanterns, and small statues. Altars or statues of the Virgin Mary adorned with flowers and lights were placed at street corners, and awnings were stretched between houses to provide shade for the crowd. In addition, care was taken to coordinate the salutes fired by the warships in the harbor with the arrival of the procession at each of the principal station points. Such announcements from Austrian, Italian, and French ships symbolically unified these nations under the banner of Catholicism. Meanwhile, the chanted hymns and smell of incense spread during the procession gave a church-like quality to the space of the street. Such visual and auditory effects opened up a different way of perceiving everyday urban spaces. Bounded by

⁵⁷ A prolonged controversy over the administration of the Hospital of St. Rocca divided the Catholic communities. In 1858, a dissenting group that abandoned the Catholic hospital of St. Antoine erected the new hospital of St. Rocca. After long debates over who should run the establishment, who should be admitted, and whether the institution had to have its own Catholic chapel and chaplain, the management was abandoned to the Ottoman Catholic community under the supervision of the Archbishop, and to the dissatisfaction of the French colony. On the St. Rocca controversy, see *Journal de Constantinople, Écho de l'Orient*, February 3, 1858, July 10, 1858, February 16, 1859, and September 3, 1859. See also Rougon, *Smyrne: Situation Commerciale et Économique*, 62.

guards, asserting sultanic power and official support, the procession created a distinctive experience in Frank Street, claiming temporary command over its space.

At one level the Corpus Christi performance positioned local Catholics vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities and the French nation. Catholic missionary activity had always received official French support, and the ceremony was a matter of delicacy, as it defined a double allegiance to competing sovereignties. On one side was the French consul, walking in the footsteps of the Archbishop, representing the French nation and other Catholic nations of Europe. On the other was the watchful gaze of Ottoman authorities. The parade organized and mediated this dual allegiance. The ambivalent position of the consul as a civic and religious leader was important since it diffused any direct threat toward the Ottoman authorities. Ottoman support was indeed secured throughout the performance, and the governor's involvement and the presence of an Ottoman squad confirmed and reinforced the position of local Catholics as equal citizens of the reformed Ottoman Empire free to practice their religion.

At another level the performance reconfigured the relation of Catholics to other communities in the city, particularly Orthodox Greeks, who constituted the majority of its Christian population. In the following decades, the French periodical press yearly reported the celebration as a moment of tolerance and Catholic pride that was performed in a display of harmony between the celebrants and their audience.⁵⁸ They continually referred to the enthusiasm shown by Orthodox Greeks. In symbolic terms, allusions to Greek cooperation and the enthusiasm of a non-Catholic audience for the Corpus Christi

⁵⁸ See for example, *La Turquie*, June 7, 1866. The itinerary was more powerfully anchored in 1866 as the march began at the imposing Cathedral of St. John, which was newly erected next to the College of the Propaganda. The Cathedral was built with support from the Austro-Hungarian government.

procession were as important as the event itself. Regardless of whether local audiences corroborated such views, the event was promoted to the larger public of readers as evidence of enhanced tolerance and as an indication of Catholic distinction.

The Corpus Christi was not the only celebration in which the physical and social spaces of Frank Street were reinvented, remade, and differentiated. The use of special decorations applied to the façades of buildings, the gathering of crowds as celebrants and spectators, the presence of costumes, music, other visual and auditory effects in designated locations were part of a more general format of celebration in late Ottoman Izmir. Similar spatial strategies were also employed during the Greek Orthodox parade St. George to produce symbolic resonance that distinguished Frank Street from its everyday use and temporarily recomposed it into a ceremonial space. To the Greek community, St. George's day was particularly significant as it corresponded to the name day of King George of Greece. The Greek war of independence (1821-29) and the establishment of an independent Greek Kingdom were pivotal in nurturing feelings of Greek nationalism among Ottoman Greeks. Even though the independent Greek Kingdom did not readily preempt or supplant the older allegiance of Orthodox Greeks to their local leaders, it provided an alternative political loyalty that coexisted with other forms of allegiances.³⁹

Recalling one of these events, Kosmas Politis, a native Greek from Izmir, described how Frank Street was refashioned during the event. The march started at the

³⁹ On Ottoman Greeks after Greek independence, see Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, community and ethnicity in the nineteenth century* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1992); Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1 (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982). Richard Clogg, "The Mercantile Bourgeoisie: Progressive or Reactionary?" Richard Clogg, ed., in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence* (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981).

Greek Orthodox Church of St. George, located behind St. Photini, and proceeded through a portion of Frank Street. On this day, streets were decorated with the blue and white Greek flag. As church bells rang, devotees watching the event from their windows and balconies strewed rose water and flowers on the participants. Two guards (cavass) of the Greek Casino and the Greek Consulate, wearing the national Greek costume led the procession. They were followed first by students, professors, male and female teachers, and the dean of Greek schools, marching in rows of four, and then by the Greek Orthodox clergy in gold-red and gold-blue vestments. The priests held silver censers, a holy flag decorated with angels, and the icon of St. George in a gold plated box. The procession moved to the sound of prayers, chants, hymns mixed with cries of "long live the Metropolitan!"⁶⁰ Politis ironically remarked that the Greek Metropolitan, in his golden vestment, and with his crown and pole, dwarfed the icon of St. George, confirming that piety was secondary to the performance.

Strategically positioned to the side of the metropolitan at these events was the general consul of Greece, dressed in his three-corner hat and medallions, with a sword hanging to his side. The parallel presence of the Metropolitan and the consul illustrated the centrality of the church and of the Greek nation state to the local Greek community in Izmir. In addition, the head of the procession turned to the participants at every stop, took off his hat, and acclaimed "Long live the grand sultan!" followed by "Long live our grand King." The crowd reciprocated with similar cries.⁶¹ The ordering of the procession around the three central actors – the Metropolitan, the King of Greece, and the Ottoman Sultan – displayed the multiple loyalties that characterized the local Greek community.

⁶⁰ Politis, *Yitik Kentin Kırk Yılı*, 72.

Such public acts, however, did more than expressing existing or latent attachments. They helped constitute a form of political identity that combined religious, civic, and national elements. Shows of parallel allegiances were ways of accommodating the conflicting political attachments that were increasingly becoming part of the life of Ottoman Greeks. As confirmed in other commemorative events such acts were common since the mid-century and allowed local Greeks to advance national ideals without directly challenging the authority of the Ottoman rulers.⁶²

Customary religious events were also appropriated for nationalistic purposes, making changing loyalties visible. In the later decades of the nineteenth century Greek Orthodox Easter rituals provided an important channel for public displays of national allegiances. The reporter for the *Levant Herald* attended a midnight Easter ceremony celebrated by ten to twelve thousand people holding lit candles in the courtyard of St. Photini. The belfry was illuminated top to bottom, and after the Metropolitan made his lay announcement, fireworks were set off and firearms discharged [fig. 65]. Viewing the event in light of the secular division of church and state, the reporter found the mixing of religious and nationalistic symbols to be unacceptable, and even offensive. "The chants were not appropriate to the solemn occasion, with national marches and nondescript selections out of place in a Christian church."⁶³ Many visitors to Izmir also remarked on the patriotic dimensions of Easter celebrations. Walking through the streets on an Easter day, Gaston Deschamps described the patriotism that motivated the celebration. He saw

⁶¹ Politis, *Yitik Kentin Kirk Yılı*, 72.

⁶² On another name day of King George of Greece, *Amalthea*, the local Greek newspaper in Izmir, reported that the event was celebrated "openly and freely with the Greek and Russian consuls and their full staffs in attendance . . . the names of the Greek king, Russian emperor and sultan Abdulaziz were memorialized several times in the service," see *Amalthea*, April 28, 1867; also cited in Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor*, 242 fn. 23.

the windows of Greek houses filled with "charming brunettes," who in honor of Greece, had stuck blue flowers, the national color, in their hair. He spoke of a "half-religious, half-patriotic" celebration, marching through the streets under the protection of Ottoman police force, "who conscientiously kept onlookers away as the procession approached." Deschamps also reported scenes of "Muslim *zaptiehs* [gendarmes], paying honors to the Metropolitan" with wonder and as incompatible juxtaposition.⁶⁴ Commenting on a similar Easter event, Louis de Launay remarked on the indifference of eight Muslim policemen, led by a sergeant, who listened calmly to the *zitos* (Greek acclamations) at the doorstep of St. Photini.

All fireworks were strictly forbidden yesterday by a formal edict of Ottoman authorities. The Greek anthem was too: it goes without saying . . . but one should let young people the joy of innocently violating the law: it would sometimes prevent greater upheaval.⁶⁵

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, as state control increased under the Hamidian regime, Greek national symbols became a source of tension for Ottoman authorities. In an official note sent to the Sublime Porte, the governor in Izmir inquired whether during Easter, Greeks should be allowed to raise their flag next to the Ottoman

⁶³ *Levant Herald*, April 28, 1877.

⁶⁴ Gaston Deschamps, *Sur les routes d'Asie* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1901), 152-153. Deschamps visited Izmir in 1887.

⁶⁵ Louis de Launay, *Chez les Turcs de Turquie* (Paris: Edouard Cornely, 1897), 33. De Launay visited Izmir in 1887. De Launay was not unique in interpreting the event as a 'licensed release' to use Bakhtinian interpretations of the carnivalesque. Another European observers depicted the festivity as a "midnight orgie" and a "source of anxiety on account of . . . the explosion of so much of gunpowder and the lighting of so many bonfire in the streets." He interpreted the event as a reversal of established order, remarking that "Church authorities have ceased to oppose it actively, and seek rather to guide quietly, the looser ramifications of the festival into less objectionable channels, by holding midnight religious services, varied by music and addresses," see William Cochran, *Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor; or, Notes from the Levant* (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1888), 137-138. On Bakhtin's conception of carnival, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his world*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968); Peter Stallybrass and Allom White, *The Poetics and Politics of Transgression* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1986).

flag on top of the prominent belfry of the Cathedral of St. Photini.⁶⁶ The propriety of this symbolic act were becoming issues of contention since the public display of national symbols – such as raising the national flag and chanting the national anthem – were increasingly perceived as tangible manifestations of nationalizing Ottoman Greeks. Ottoman authorities were not insensitive to such displays although they seem to have allowed festive events as outlets for communal tension. Public celebrations were ephemeral moments. Their brevity facilitated their official sanction, but did not diminish their political significance and their importance in creating and maintaining community. Communal performances established temporary social arrangements over more widely shared public spaces and in a context of intertwined political allegiances.

Imperial Celebrations and Performing Unity

In 1844, a week after the Corpus Christi procession, *l'Écho de l'Orient* reported with great enthusiasm on the sultan's birthday festivities. "All the mosques, Greek and Armenian churches and synagogues resounded with hymns addressed to the Almighty for the sultan's long life."⁶⁷ To observe this occasion, the delegations of every community of Izmir gathered ceremoniously at their respective temples and celebrated the sultan's birthday according to their own ritual. At the Armenian Church, following the service, Bishop Matteos made a short speech, acclaimed by "long live the Sultan." At the same time, the Jewish quarter displayed a festive atmosphere, and after attending synagogue, Jews marched through the bazaar to the sound of Amen chants performed by students in their holiday attire.⁶⁸ Such formal displays of Ottoman unity may seem incompatible

⁶⁶ B.O.A., Yıldız Esas Evrakı – Sadrazam Kamil Pasa, no. 86/18 1791 (1321/1903).

⁶⁷ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, June 15, 1844.

⁶⁸ *L'Écho de l'Orient*, June 15, 1844.

with communal celebrations such as the Corpus Christi procession or the Greek Easter festivities. While the latter demarcated a single community of religious and national interests and articulated the distinction of such community vis-à-vis other social groups in the city and in the empire, the former crossed religious lines to promote a supra-religious and -national Ottoman community. In major cities like Izmir, the central authorities gave a new impetus to celebrations symbolizing state power such as the sultan's birthday and accession to throne. Imperial events were ways of reinforcing the Tanzimat ideology, by generating firmer state loyalty and uniting peoples "by the cordial ties of patriotism."⁶⁹ They portrayed a unified allegiance to the Ottoman state and also served to represent the Ottoman state to foreign empires and nations.

In Izmir, the sultan's coronation was regularly reported as an ecumenical event. The decorations, illuminations, and forms of celebration all contributed to this sense of all-inclusiveness. A repertory of conventions and a range of visual and auditory techniques were established for symbolic action during state events. A few days in advance the governor general would make an announcement to the consular body and the chiefs of the Armenian, Greek and Jewish communities about the upcoming imperial ceremony. Most preparations were made the night before. Selected official buildings and residences of notables and merchants of all communities would be decorated and lit. And from early evening until midnight warships in the harbor would fire salutes at short intervals. Similarly, at dawn a double salute opening the ceremony would be fired from the battery, which would be reciprocated from the citadel, and such salvos would be

⁶⁹ Aristarchi, *Législation Ottomane*, vol. 2, 15.

repeated throughout the day. Given that the harbor and the citadel were at opposite sides of the city, such gunfire ensured the whole city would be made equally part of the event.

Until the late 1860s Izmir had had no formally designed space for such official ceremonies, and the physical layout of the city had not recognized the need for performances symbolizing state power. In the early days of the *Tanzimat*, the governor's house stood at the end of the bazaar and was flanked to the south by the U-shape military barracks, built in the 1820s for military maneuvers. The space around the governor's residence was not formerly organized. Only in 1865, was a new governor's palace, the *Konak*, erected in place of the old mansion that had served this purpose. The construction of the governor's palace turned this area into a more prestigious space [figs. 66 and 67]. And on the occasion of the sultan's celebration that same year, for example, it was reported that the residence of the governor "glittered like a mass of fire."⁷⁰ On regular business days, the governor's palace was a center for administrative transactions. The streets leading to it and the esplanade in front of it were filled with scribes and petitioners. But on official days the area became a focus of festivities. The remodeling of this area was completed when the new quay was built, allowing the esplanade in front of the palace to extend north the whole length of the city, forming the first *Cordon*. In the following years many consulates moved from Frank Street to the new quay, and on festive days the first *Cordon* was turned into an official thoroughfare [fig. 68]. Framed on one side by the consulates raising their flags and on the other by steamers of different nations anchored at the harbor and flying gay bunting, the *Cordon* was turned into a festive showcase.

⁷⁰ *La Turquie*, July 12, 1866.

Unlike other public ceremonies, which were played out in more bounded areas of the city, the decorations for the sultan's celebration extended throughout the city, in an attempt to include all communities and override everyday divisions and boundaries. Every year *Hizmet*, the local Turkish newspaper, dedicated a special issue to the event, enumerating the buildings, shops, and houses that had been illuminated. Official buildings such as the governor's palace, the military barracks, the customhouses, the guardrooms, the Greek and Armenian bishopric, and the Ottoman Imperial Bank decorated their façades with garlands, while the consulates of France, Italy, Russia, Austria, Belgium, and other foreign countries displayed their flags.⁷¹ Meanwhile, vessels on the port were dressed with banners during the day and by candles at night. And major thoroughfares such as Frank Street, Kemeraltı Street (the ring road around the bazaar), and other large streets had their shops and houses decorated with myrtle and evergreens. The list of decorated buildings ranged from hotels, theaters, coffee shops, stores, and taverns to the Armenian bishop's house on the Street of the Great Taverns, the chief Rabbi's house on the Street of the Synagogues in the Jewish quarter, and the houses of several Muslim notables.⁷² In many places the sultan's portrait, wreathed in flowers,

⁷¹ *Hizmet*, September 1, 1887.

⁷² *Hizmet* reported that special decorations were applied on the Governor's palace, Kemeraltı Street, İdadi School, the Great Caserne, the houses of Yahya Pasha and Hacı Ali Pasazade Sadık Bey. In addition several public structures – the customhouses, warehouses, administrative buildings, shipping companies, the municipality of the second district, hotels, cafés, banks, beerhouses, and theaters were decorated. On Pestemalcılar neighborhood behind the bazaar: The houses of Abdulkadir Pasa, Müftü Efendi, Rüşumat başkatibi Daniş Bey, Mayor Ragıp Bey, Mehmed Efendi, Edhem Efendi, doctor İshak Efendi, Evliyazade İzzetli Hacı Mehmet Efendi, Tütüncü Mehmet Ağa's store. The coffee houses of Acem Mehmet Ağa, Arap Yorgi, Satori, Costi, Christo, Atanas, Banani, Corci, Yanya, and Manol. The taverns of Yanako, Preskova, and Corci. The pharmacies of Nalbantoğlu, Kanbur Nikoli. Abdurrahman's tobacco store, the groceries store of Sakallı Yanako, Spiro, and Kayserili Yanako. On the Street of Great Taverns: The coffee houses of Kokoli and Nanol's. Aleko's barber store, the Armenian bishop's house, Nif hancisi Nicolaki's khan, the houses of military doctor Miralay İshak Efendi, Agop Balıkcıyan Efendi, and Dikran. On the Street of Synagogues near the bazaar: The Chief Rabbi's house. Christo's two coffee houses. For a complete list, see *Hizmet*, April 5, 1890.

occupied the place of honor in the decorations.⁷³ And thousands of many-colored lanterns were lit when the night set in. The remaking of the city spaces through decorations, illuminations, fireworks, and gunfire at such occasions imbued the spaces of the city with new meaning, reinforcing feelings of a unified populous.

Members of various religious and national communities not only experienced, but also performed this coexistence by actively participating in the event. In the morning consuls in full uniform, and accompanied by their dragomans, proceeded to the governor's palace to present their congratulations. They were followed by civil and military authorities, heads of the religious communities (Muslim dignitaries, the Greek metropolitan, the Armenian bishop, the chief rabbi), and chiefs of public administration. In 1864 it was reported that the governor in costume and wearing his *Osmaniye* decoration, made "a welcome in the most distinguished manner and responded with heartfelt words to the speeches delivered by the Greek Archbishop and the Armenian Bishop for the occasion."⁷⁴ Students of Ottoman, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish schools came to the main hall of the governor's palace and delivered speeches in praise of the sultan. These codified sets of actions, periodically performed, displayed feelings of unity and harmony in Ottoman domains.

In the evening hours, the animation increased, and the town assumed a festive appearance. Crowds thronged to the quay to see buildings and vessels brightly illuminated with either gas lamps or colored lanterns. Participants of all classes and faith jammed the streets and public spaces where, ordered by the government, musicians played a variety of songs. Fireworks were set off continuously from the palace and the

⁷³ *Levant Herald*, September 7, 1891.

barracks. All the ships in the harbor were stationed at the esplanade in front of the palace and filled with curious eyes. “ Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and foreigners of all nations would keep pleasant memories,”⁷⁵ concluded the reporter of *La Turquie*, who described how the ceremonies were performed in Izmir in 1866. Through a visual and auditory refashioning of city spaces and an inclusive participation, imperial celebrations exhibited a harmonious coexistence in conformity with the Ottoman political community advanced by *Tanzimat* reformers.

The particular events that I detailed in this chapter illustrate some of the ways in which local groups performed a sense of community, drew temporary territorial boundaries, and forged alliances to claim a place of their own in the plural social landscape of Izmir. The social and the physical context of such public events provide important clues about the terms of cultural plurality and coexistence and help refine the history of non-Muslim Ottoman communities, which is too often flattened and polarized by means of generic story lines that emphasize Muslim versus non-Muslim adversity. At the same time, examining the spatiality of the performances allows a more nuanced understanding of urban spaces. The spatial strategies deployed through these celebrations opened up, and sometimes closed down, different ways of experiencing everyday urban spaces, providing a reminder that city spaces are not uniform stages, but multilayered sites. Such spaces acknowledged different actors, aspirations, and relations of power and allowed for different trajectories to coexist simultaneously.

⁷⁴ *Journal de Constantinople*, February 4, 1864.

⁷⁵ *La Turquie*, July 12, 1866.



Costumes de Carnaval
Smyrne

Figure 56: Greek Carnival costumes (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

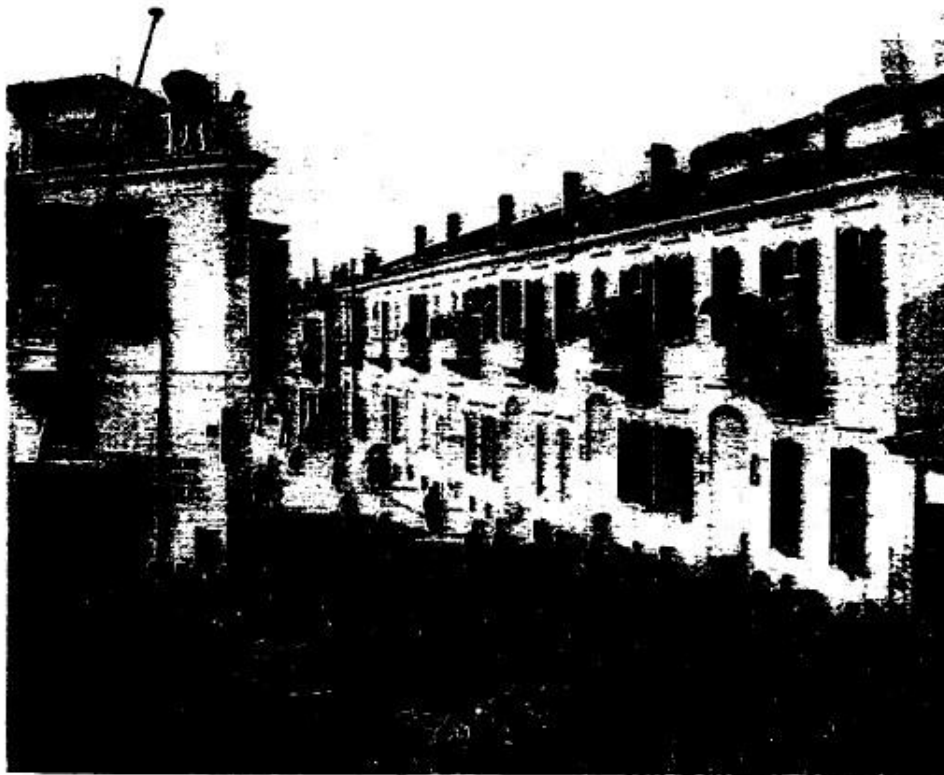


Figure 57: Bella Vista on Carnival Day (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 58: Parade on Reşidiye Street in the Armenian quarter (*Mer İzmir ew şhrjakay k'aghak'nere* [Niw York': Hratarakut'yun Zmiwrnahay Miut'ean, 1961], 84).

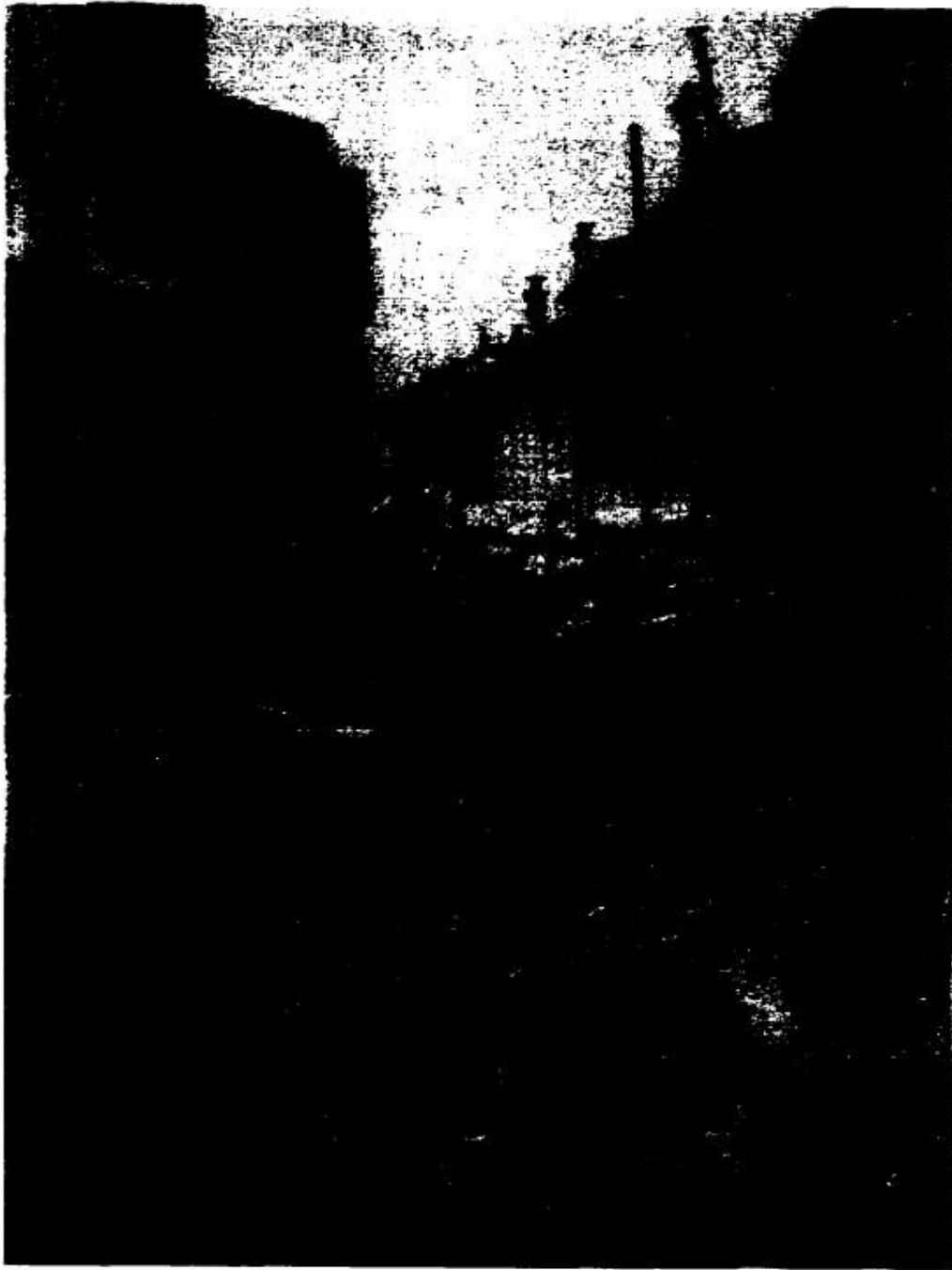
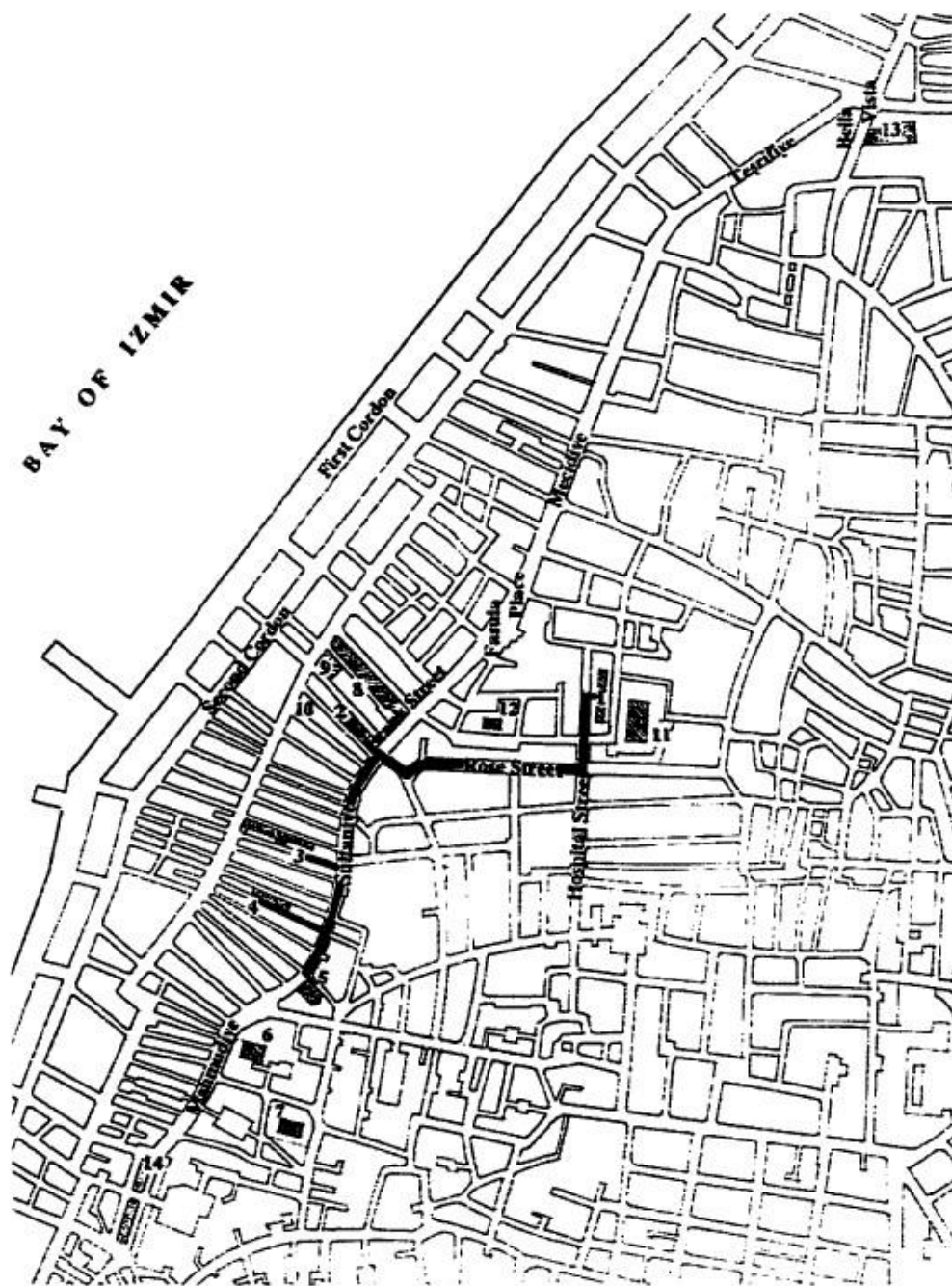


Figure 59: Funeral procession on Frank Street (Suna Inan Kır aç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 60: *Cavass* (consular guard) costumes (Suna Inan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



(1) College of the Propaganda; (2) Levantine Club; (3) Lazarist Church; (4) Latin Church of St. Mary; (5) Church of St. Polycarp; (6) Greek Church of St. Photini; (7) Greek Church of St. George; (8) British Consulate & Chapel; (9) American Consulate; (10) Imperial Ottoman Bank; (11) Cathedral of St. John; (12) Teatro Cammarano; (13) French Hospital; (14) Cloth Bazaar.

Figure 61: Path of the Corpus Christi Procession (drawn by author from *Konstantinopel und das Westliche Kleinasie* [Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Baedeker, 1905]).



Figure 62: Frank Street in the 1890s (Çınar Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları* [İzmir: Yaşar Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı, 1998], 4).

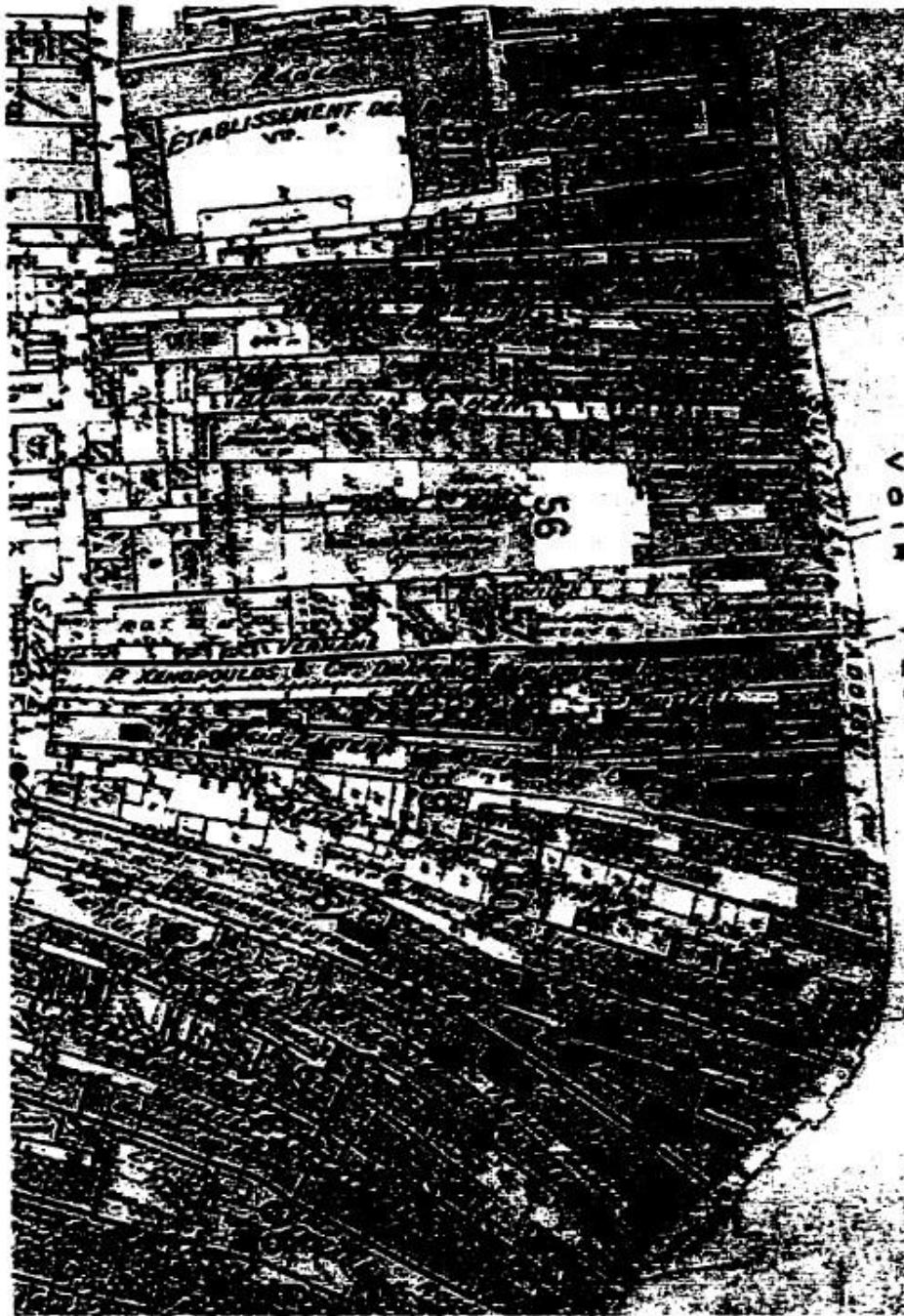


Figure 63: *Verhanes* opening onto Frank Street. The Lazarist Church is on block 51. The school was added to the church in the 1880s. The Church of St. Marie is on block 56 (Charles E. Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna): Turquie* [London: Chas. E. Goad, 1905], pl. 4).



Figure 64: Tower of the Cathedral of St. Photini (Chrestos Sokrates Solomonides, *He ekklesia tes Smyrnes* [Athens: 1960] 289).

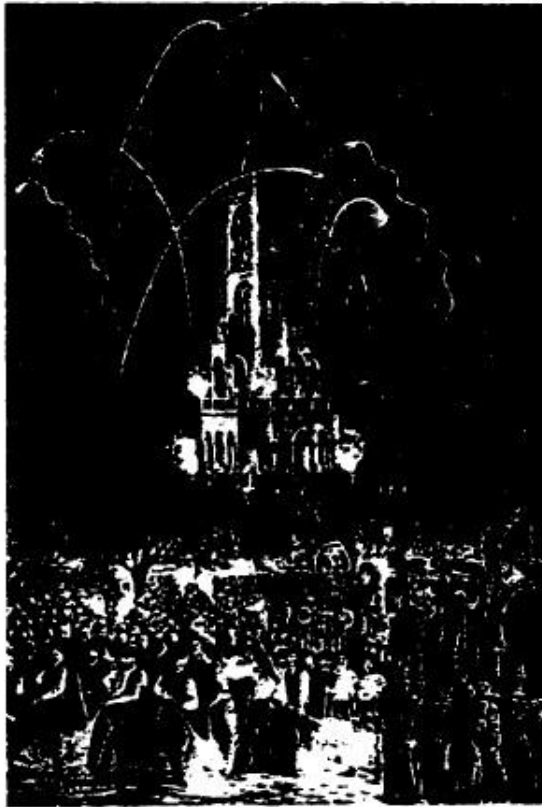


Figure 65: Easter celebration at the Cathedral of St. Photini (Chrestos Sokrates Solomonides, *He ekklesia tes Smyrnes* [Athens: 1960] 292).



Figure 66: The new Governor's Palace or *Konak* (Suna Inan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



Figure 67: The main entrance of the military barracks (or *Sarıkaşla*) facing the Governor's Palace (Suna Inan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).



İ. L. İbrahim, 1948, İstanbul, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti

Figure 68: Building decorated on the occasion of the Sultan's accession to throne (Suna Inan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations).

EPILOGUE

A LOST WORLD?

Contemporary Izmir bears little resemblance to its nineteenth-century form. The tightly knit pattern of narrow streets and buildings that extended from Bella-Vista to the Basmahane train station, including Frank Street and its verhanes, was entirely destroyed in the 1922 fire that occurred during the nationalist struggles of the Greco-Turkish war.¹ The tragic fire consumed the Armenian and Frank neighborhoods, and the largest portion of the Greek neighborhoods, sparing only a few streets at the Point and incidental houses along the quay. From 20 to 25,000 buildings were lost and a 2.6-square-kilometer area in the lower town was burned down. Soon after, the Ottoman empire was dismantled and the Turkish nation-state was created. Communities that had been living together for centuries were separated in the great population exchange of 1923. The entire Greek population was sent to Greece in exchange for the ethnic Turks who resided in Greece and on the Greek islands, eradicating the multi-cultural social makeup and reconstituting Izmir as ethnically Turkish.

Izmir was reconstructed as a city of Republican Turkey after 1923 and a new system of diagonal avenues and wide boulevards was superimposed over the demolished

¹ The burning of Izmir constitutes an important turning point in the history of the region and has been the subject of extensive writings, deliberations and searches for culprits, winners and losers. See Arnold Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1923); Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City* (Kent, Ohio: Kent University Press, 1988); Engin Berber, *Sancılı Yıllar, İzmir 1918-1922: mütareke ve Yunan işgali döneminde İzmir Sancağı* (Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi, 1997). For the Greeks, the burning of Izmir and the events surrounding the fire constitute the Asia Minor catastrophe. For the Turks, however, it marks the liberation of the city from Greek and Allied occupation. On conflicting nationalist interpretations of the 1922 events, see Reşat Kasaba, "Izmir 1922: A Port City Unravels," in Leila Fawaz, ed., *European Modernity and Cultural Difference from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean, 1890s-1920s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

areas, leaving only incidental physical traces of the Ottoman past in this section of the city [fig. 69 and 70]. Today, a handful of structures, including the Church of St. Polycarp, the Church of St. Mary, and the French Hospital, still stand but in an entirely different context in relation to the actual fabric. The Point was renamed Alsancak (Red Banner); an expansive park that became the site of Izmir's International Fair was developed; major traffic circles (roundabouts) were created at the intersection of radiating boulevards. Present-day Izmir is a growing metropolis that continues to attract Turkish immigrants from Anatolia and the East, searching for work to support their families. In the last few decades, like other large centers of the developing world, Izmir has been facing the all-too-familiar problem of rapid expansion and sprawling urbanization. The resort villages of Buca and Bornova have been gradually incorporated within a continuous urban fabric. The built-up areas have expanded linearly on both sides of the bay and are connected through a continuous shore drive running for over 30 kilometers.

Despite dramatic physical, social and political changes, Izmir remains one of the most liberal cities in present-day Turkey, one graced with a lively street life. One may ask whether contemporary Izmir carries some resonance with its nineteenth century past – whether the urban culture and urban consciousness that emerged in the previous century are as extinct or lost as assumed in nationalist positions that categorically condemn the pre-1922 landscape or in post-nationalist counterparts that nostalgically idealize the cultural, linguistic, and religious plurality.

A century ago, Paul Lindau depicted the esplanade of Izmir with its "hundreds of people promenading," as the "refreshing sea breeze tempers the sun's heat."² Like other observers, he remarked that in the early evening hours the marina was turned into an elegant boulevard and crowded with fashionably dressed men and women, strolling to see and to be seen. Izmir's esplanade is still packed with families and groups of young people, promenading along the waterfront on weekends and evenings, as horse-drawn carriages trot past and cars cruise by. The Cordon remains the heart of a distinctive public life with throngs of strollers, crowding the cafés and bars that are open after hours. Contemporary guidebooks continue to recommend taking a walk along the palm tree-lined cordon, just after sunset, to "watch an unusual sight: Hundreds, perhaps thousands of Izmir's good citizens com[ing] out each night to promenade along the splendid bay from Cumhuriyet meydanı [Republic Square] to the Atatürk Museum."³ They suggest taking a seat on the quay and enjoying the *imbat*, the gently cooling breeze of Izmir.

Today the vast Cumhuriyet Square commands a view of the bay on one side and leads to the inner parts of the city through radiating avenues on the other. Ironically, it lies over the former site of the English Pier while the Atatürk Museum is located in a preserved mansion at the former Bella-Vista corner. The two-to-three-story mansions along the former Cordon are almost entirely replaced with a continual row of nine-to-ten-story apartment buildings but the celebrated promenade still follows its nineteenth-century path. Most of the buildings that accommodated late-nineteenth-century institutions, theaters, and other spaces of entertainment have been destroyed.

² Paul Lindau, *1900'lerde Izmir*, trans. Selçuk Ünlü in *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, (Istanbul: October 1985), 149-150.

³ *Turkey: Insight Guides* (Singapore: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 164.

Nevertheless, the builders of the Turkish nation-state shared similar values of urban modernity and took up many of the 'forms and norms' that had been introduced, or debated, in the context of Tanzimat Izmir. As the city was rebuilt, the class divides that had been set in the previous century between the lower and upper town, or between the Frank quarters and the Muslim neighborhoods became only more pronounced. Today, the bazaar area (or Kemeraltı) that survived the 1922 fire preserves a traditional structure and serves the working classes, presenting a social and physical contrast to Alsancak (the former Frank quarters), which continues to retain upper class residences.

In addition to being an important space of urban sociability and public life, the Cordon has also remained a critical focus of the city's public sphere. To cite a recent example, in 1994 after over a century of its initial construction, the Cordon became once again the object of public debates. The municipality decided to turn it into a six-lane highway and fill in parts of the bay to widen the shore drive as a way of resolving the traffic problem in the city. A prolonged controversy surrounded the project as it was underway. The Izmir office of the Chambers of Architects and the Environmental Lawyers office applied to the courts several times to stop the implementation because it would destroy the coastline and kill the view of the century-old Cordon. The scheme was finally abandoned in 2000, but only after six years of continual struggles and the expenditure of large amounts of the city's money on executing the project. During the controversy, civic organizations firmly maintained that there was "no public benefit to be gained" from the project. One member of the Environmental Lawyers Office publicly declared that "Izmir has real guardians who will not give permission to those kind of

people to destroy our city for their own profit.”⁴ He also added that “those people who took the decision for the project’s continuation and damaged the public interest” had to be punished.⁵

Many parallels exist between Ottoman Izmir’s experience of modernity that has been offered in this study and current struggles in present-day Izmir, even though similarities are often matched by equally striking differences. It is critical to remember that beyond the demolished material structure of the city is the material culture represented by that structure. The task of retrospectively evaluating the nineteenth-century legacy from a present-day viewpoint is an important one. Some may see the openness that characterizes Izmir’s public life as a remnant of its cosmopolitan Ottoman past. Others may argue for a set of formative factors arising from its Mediterranean connections. There are no simple or definitive answers to such questions. The questions of what remains of the nineteenth-century urban legacy in today’s world and what survived in the transition from empire to nation-state deserve closer study.

⁴ “The Story of a Unforgettable Burden on A City,” in *Turkish Daily News*, March 12, 2000.

⁵ *Ibid.*



Figure 69: Plan of René Danger for the reconstruction of İzmir, showing the proposed scheme and the old fabric, 1930 (rpt in Çınar Atay, *Tarih içinde İzmir* [İzmir: Tifset Basım ve Yayın Sanayii, 1978]).

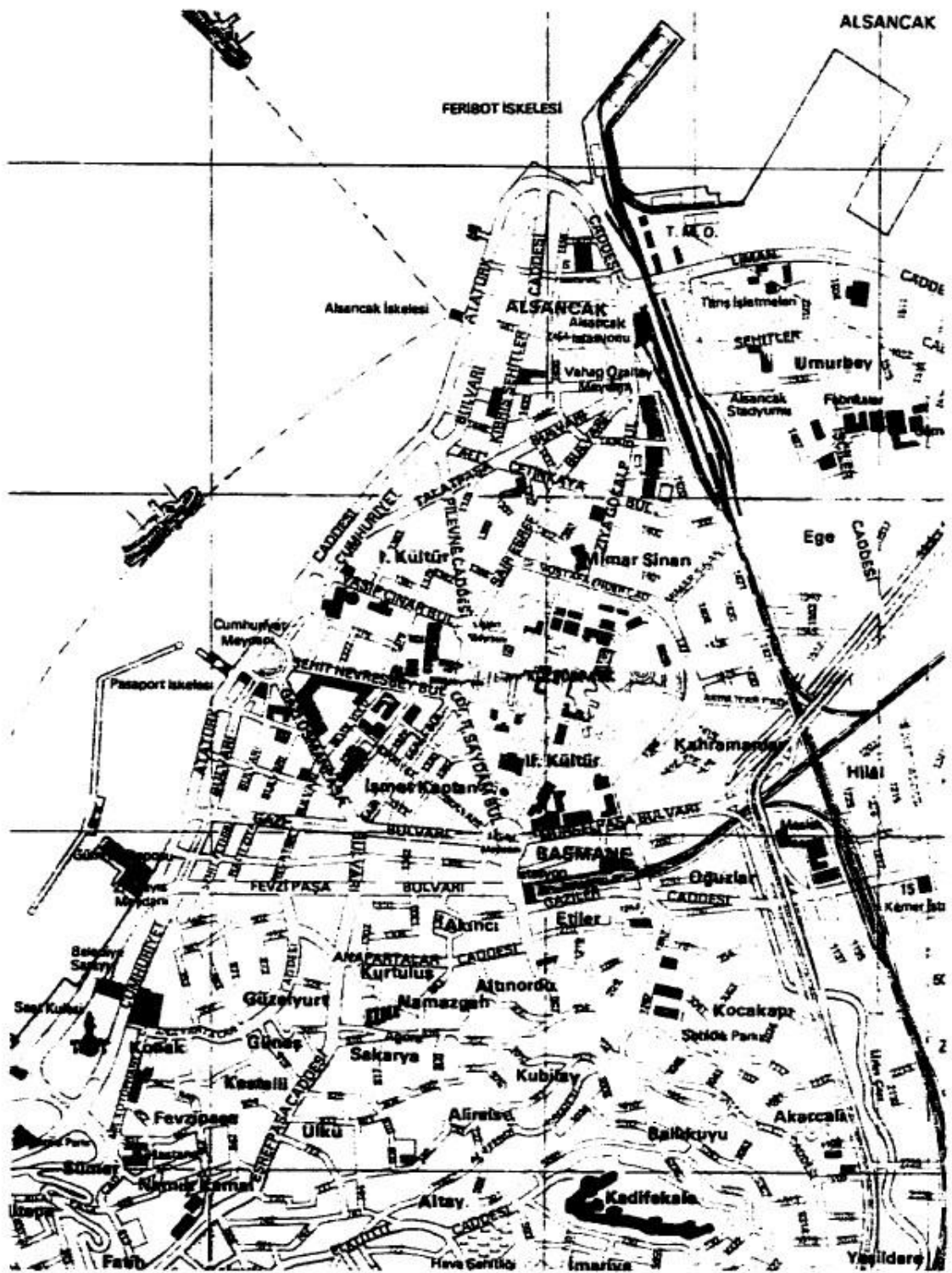


Figure 70: Izmir today (The Ministry of Tourism of the Turkish Republic, General Directorate of Information).

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