Urban Tranformation in Ottoman-Mediterranean Region: A comparative study of Hamiye and Alsancak :

"Almost every country in the world has an interest in this great Sea, through the links of the political and social events which have occurred upon its shores.But, independently of its historical associations, the nations gathered around its basin, and them those occupying the interior 'of the adjacent continents, derive from it advantages which can hardly be exaggerated."[1]

   Thus spoke the authors of the famous "The Mediterranean Illustrated" in their concerted efforts to describe the ever more significant role of the region in the larger world historical scenery during the long 19th century after a brief period of decline. The port cities as the nodal points in this zone of interactions and multiple happenings, were given a number of pioneering roles. In the process of change, these port cities were often valorized as mediators of new economic and social relations, political ideas, cultural and aesthetic forms.[2] They became according to Çağlar Keyder " locales for new populations, new forms of economic activity, social space and material culture." [3]Parallel to these new modes of living and belonging which had altered the worldview of the urban dwellers and important structural reforms undertaken by the Ottoman Empire should also be kept in mind in order to properly account for the complexity of the issue of modernization in general and in these sites in particular.Here these larger historical as well as historiographical issues would be attempted be deconstructed in a variety of ways through the prism of urban expansion more precisely the developmental trajectories of two specific districts Hamdiye and Alsancak in Salonica and Izmir respectively.

   In doing so I would hope to pose a set of questions to a series of assumptions that has largely been taken for granted and as such attempt at providing a contextual analysis of these "terrains of multiplicity"[4] as Meltem Toksöz and Biray Kolluoğlu would define them. The theoretical framework of the research would be the process of modernization at large and what becomes of it when applied to the context of late 19th century port-cities of Salonica and Izmir which could be

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[1] _The Mediterranean Illustrated,_ Th. Nelson & Sons, London and Edinburgh, 1880

[2] Keyder,Çağlar, "Port-cities in the Belle Epoque" in Kolluoğlu and Toksöz, eds., _Cities of the Mediterranean,_ 2010. 14-22

[3] Ibid.

[4] Kolluoğlu and Toksöz, "Mapping Out the Eastern Mediterranean", in Kolluoğlu and Toksöz, eds., _Cities of the Mediterranean,_ 2010. 1-13.

done with respect to at least two[5] units of analysis; the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean region. The Ottoman Empire as a legitimate political entity having defining features and a territorial boundary, albeit constantly have to be redefined in the course of the 19th century, certainly posits a justifiable unit of analysis, but what about the Mediterranean on which much has been said lately?The following quote from Fernand Braudel for whose legacy we owe the proliferation of works regarding the unity of the region:

> I think I can say that two major truth.., have remained unchallenged. The first is the unity and coherence of the Mediterranean region. I retain the firm conviction that the Turkish Mediterranean lived and breathed with the same rhythms as the Christian, that the whole sea shared a common destiny, a heavy one indeed, with identical problems and general trends if not identical consequences.[6]

After digging into what the cities of Mediterranean have gotten through this period is suggesting if not confirming certain regularities that underpinned the social, economic, cultural, political as well as physical experience of these cities. By saying this I do not mean to imply the dynamics of the reform period and the way they modernized were simply uniform and dependent to a weak central state nevertheless trying to impose these reforms on the provinces all aspiring for independence. That would be falling exactly into the kind of preconception that I set out to problematize. All I am saying is that there is a certain thrust towards change and 'progress' and an equally pressing need for reform everywhere in the Euro-Mediterranean world at least. Within this shared drive towards modernization, the modality through which this would be done would be predicated on the peculiarities of each site and the dynamics of the process there.

   Also a series of preconceptions that pertain with regard the modernization of the Ottoman Empire, deconstruction of which would be the prime object of this research. These could be listed as such; that reform period was initiated with the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict, which was actualized ın the demands of the European states, that it was top-down and imposed by the state monolithically to everywhere in the empire. On the contrary to what has been just cited for the Ottoman case, the reform projects as Biray Kolluoglu argues were partial, contingent, shifting and

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[5] To take Aegean as a unit of analysis especially for İzmir and to look at the relations and possible structural affinities would be definitely interesting.
[6] Pamuk, Şevket "Braudel's Eastern Mediterranean", in *Braudel Revisited,* 99-126

flexible.[7] Following her argument of diverse patterns of urbanization as reflecting different articulations of modernity which she adopted for Izmir in different periods, late nineteenth and early twentieth[8], I would try to show this can also be argued in a spatial rather than temporal level in a comparative study of Izmir, Salonica by focusing on a particular district, established later in the century, of Hamidiye, Alsancak respectively and Alexandria in passing. There are a number of significant researches conducted on these cities both on their historical specificities and their redevelopment in the course of the 19th century from the perspective of economic relations and networks, of urban reform and infrastructure projects and specific social and cultural milieu that is the much lamented cosmopolitan environment. In the context of problemitizing and deconstructing the nation-state, the concept cosmopolitanism is once again foregrounded as an alternative trajectory. A corresponding interest arouse in these port cities which were quintessential cosmopolitan nests at a specific moment in history when the world was simultaneously getting more connected and separated. This cause is all the more justifiable in this "current wave of globalization"[9] which is on the contrary to undermine the existing inequalities, make them all the more pronounced.

Even though the experiences of 19th century port-cities is extremely useful in "relativization and bracketing of the nationalist experience"[10] as Çağlar Keyder suggests, an exclusive reliance on a single aspect of this complex environment, I am afraid would not live up to the claim of denaturalizing the nation-state. In order to properly understand this experience we should be apt to attend to different layers of these societies and try to comprehend the truly plural social and cultural composition which is not all about the experience of the composite elite. Leaning too much on this so called cosmopolitan elite circles might lead us to overlook the poor and abject, or the middling classes for that matter and incorporate them only when conflict arises. Such an incomplete treatment would definitely make the analysis as such fallen short. This would also lead to brand

[7] Kolluoğlu, Biray, "Modern Spaces, Cityscapes and Modernity: Smyrna Morphing into Izmir **,***Ways to modernity in Greece and Turkey : encounters with Europe, 1850-1950* / edited by Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder, 2007
[8] Ibid.
[9] Keyder,Çağlar, "Port-cities in the Belle Epoque" in Kolluoğlu and Toksöz, eds., *Cities of the Mediterranean,* 2010. 14-22
[10] Ibid.

each and every conflict in the society as inherently national in character when on the contrary many had underlying socioeconomic motivations clad in national rhetoric. Therefore a problematic engagement with it might do more harm than good. For over a century now, we suffer from the retrospective projections of national identities and imagined boundaries that furthered the conflicts which has assumed a more violent nature in the twentieth century and still continues to inflict peoples with hatred and enmity. The criticism of the concept of cosmopolitanism should not have to entail a total dismissal. The concept could still be of much use if it is defined and used in a much more situated manner sentient to what did this specific experience comprised of rather than resorting to idealized and ideological projections.

Before proceeding with the individual treatment of the districts I believe it is worth digressing for a brief account of some underlying factors that have promoted change in the region. The specific historical, economic and political juncture of increasing integration not only of the Mediterranean region but also of the Ottoman Empire at large did foreground the port cities.

Notwithstanding the intermittent stagnations, the economic activities of these cities which gradually increased from the second half of the 18th century onwards accelerated in the 19th and underwent a qualitative as well as quantitative adjustments with the signing of Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty and ensuing treaties with other major European states. These acts on the part of the state had important economic and social implications in our cities, at the very least of extending European presence concentrated around the commercial centers. At the same time expansion of business and the mercantile community made the inadequacy of the existing infrastructure of the city visible. As Vilma Hastaoğlu-Maritinidis elucidates in her comprehensive study on the harbor construction in Eastern Mediterranean cities the arrival of steam ships only pronounced this inefficiency further.[11] "The construction of new harbors, accompanied by railways and other infrastructure facilities" Hastaoğlu-Martinidis argues "acted as a catalyst for multiple changes in the

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[11] Hastaoğlu-Martinidis, Vilma "The Carthography of Harbor Construction in Eastern Mediterranean Cities", *Cities of the Mediterranean,*78-99.

cities of the Eastern Mediterranean..."[12] and "fostered an extended urban modernization..."[13]. In as much as the construction of port facilities was of utmost importance, urban reform and regularization was by no means confined to them. In fact the cities as a whole, albeit disproportionately, were affected by the reformation acts.

The otherwise indispensable role of the state in these port cities is rather ambivalent. We can talk of a marked absence of it up until the 19th century, at a time when it tries to tap into resources that has previously eluded from it and penetrate into levels of society that were hitherto left largely intact.[14]

There were also structural changes marking the reform period generally referred as the Tanzimat. The Tanzimat elite in fact directed their attention to the built environment from very early on and enforced a number of Building and Road Codes regularizing the urban layout and construction and Land Codes to reorganize the property system, both had important implications for the 19th century city already carried away by the waves of change. The extent of standardization and organization that these measures intended to brought onto the public spaces like the dimensions of the streets gradually enlarging in the regulations of 1848, 1864, 1882 and finally of 1891 respectively were very hard to realize in the densely inhabited areas of the cities.[15] Again it should be worthy to note here that neither these street structures not their 'medievalish' look were specific to the Ottoman Empire, but as Spiro Kostof suggests all European and colonial cities were struggling with similar challenges in their attempts to regularize urban space under with quite similar motivations. [16] However the relational understanding of public and private , taking practice into account[17]in the

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[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Deringil, Selim, *The well-protected domains : ideology and the legitimation of power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909,* London ; New York : I.B. Tauris ; [New York : In the U.S.A. and in Canada distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1998
[15] Yerasimos, Sefanos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine"
[16] Kostof, Spiro, *The City Assembled : the elements of urban form through history,* Boston : Little, Brown, 1999. This except from the book would be much telling: At their most basic, building codes and street ordinances seek to guard against fires and other disasters, to ensure public health and safety, and to improve the flow of traffic.But the fundamental reality of streets, as with all public space, is political. If the street was an invention, it set out to designate a public domain that would take precedence over individual rights, including the right to treat the open space as one's front yard. The street, furthermore *structures(*my emphasis) community. It puts on display the workings of the city, and supplies a backdrop for its common rituals. Because this is so, the private buildings that enclose the street channel are perforce endowed with a public presence
[17] Sibel Zandi-Sayek elaborates the issue of appropriation of parts of public space by private users. Under convenient circumstances, a private owner could "alienate an unessential portion of the street or temporarily put it to private use, granted public passage *(marre)* was not obstructed. A proprietor could also block a public easement crossing his property, if the detriment

Ottoman legal system further complicates the issue.[18] These overlapping understandings and interests made the streets the ground where a number of claims, demands and interests were played out by increasingly diversified domains such as the newspapers. The idea around urban renewal in the form of rational organization of space, embellishment as well as public services is very much embedded in the 19th century discourse of progress. This logic presupposes urban reform as a necessary in rehabilitating the public and reshaping them as more "civilized" citizens.[19]

The development of municipalities and their attending infrastructural services became the model for urban administration during this period and increasingly sough after by the plural communities of the Mediterranean port-cities as well and quite frankly soon enough it disseminated to the region.

Imprinted by an economic logic largely structured on intermediary relations between their hinterland and international centers, these cities was primarily comprised of a merchant population.[20]However as Çağlar Keyder states these "port-cities became more than trading enclaves:The new network also presaged new relations and a social structure, visible foremost in the formation of urban societies."[21] From these cities with their fashionable quays dotted and elegant buildings constructed in the latest architectural idiom, large promenades which became the "places for seeing and be seen"; a variety of cafes for the enjoyment of different classes, hotels, restaurants, sporting as well as social clubs, salons and like, Europe was not a remote dream.[22]

Of course the cities attracted a number of social groups than just the well to do locals and foreigners, virtually members belonging to all levels of society actually from the middling artisans and lower classes workers, peasants to social outcasts and vagabonds. The constant influx of peoples from different regions having disparate backgrounds conferred the cities a truly

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caused to private property exceeded the benefits accrued to the public. In contrast, a period of uncontested public usage of the easement would imply a grant from the private owner. Moreover, Islamic law distinguished between through streets (*tarik-i am* or public way) and dead-end streets (*tarik-i hass* or private way), attributing to each type different access and use rights that expanded and contracted depending on local circumstances. Through streets were open to the circulation of all inhabitants, whereas dead-end streets were considered the joint property of those whose houses abutted on them. If they wished, proprietors on a dead-end street could restrict outsiders or deny the opening of new access doors onto it."(Zandi-Sayek 2012, 101-102). Also Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine"

[18] Zandi Sayek, Sibel, *Ottoman Izmir. The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port,* 1840-1880, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

[19] Ibid Kostof.

[20] Keyder,Çağlar, "Port-cities in the Belle Epoque" in Kolluoğlu and Toksöz, eds., *Cities of the Mediterranean,* 2010. 14-22

[21] Ibid.

[22] Zandi-Sayek, Mazower, Mansel and Reimer all point to this for Izmir, Salonica and Alexandria

cosmopolitan character, but also it became harder and harder to contain this ever growing population within the existing boundaries of the cities. So the cities began grow outside of the core areas of settlement, this urban expansion was implicated by a physical act of transcending the boundaries in the form of demolishing the medieval walls in the case of Salonica.[23]

From a plethora of building activities that marks the era as such undertaken by the state of different communal groups, I chose to focus on a sphere which cuts across that other practices. As Gurdun Kramer suggests "The domain where growing social differentiation was most visibly expressed was residence."[24]As material traces of these profoundly complex and contingent processes that the cities underwent in due course of the long 19th century, I believe they are extremely informative of reflecting and as well as producing new social relations. The way in which these districts came into being, who were residing there and the kind of connotations carried with it as well as the very physical and aesthetic aspects are telling to get an understanding of socioeconomic and cultural transformations of the era. Also in terms of urban inhabitation patterns by now, it has been firmly argued that a shift in the social organization from ethnoreligous lines to that of socioeconomic ones.[25] Discerning how modern this configuration was, merits attention in an attempt to understand the urban transformations and their underlying constituents. These forms of habitations were in their many ways concrete manifestations of modernization in different locales. The meanings attached to these districts, the connotations of being a resident there and the discourses revolving around them is as important as the underlying motivations and historical juncture in which they came into being.

Now without further delay I should proceed with the districts themselves in their responses to larger structural changes and pressing issues engendered predominantly by a peculiar set of experiences.

Salonica:

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[23] Mazower, Mark, *Salonica City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950,* London: Harper Perennial, 2004.
[24] Kramer, Gurdun, "Moving Out of Place. Minorities in Middle Eastern Urban Societies, 1800-1914", P. Sluglett, ed., *The Urban Social History of the Middle East, 1750-1950,* 2008, 182-223.
[25] Ibid.

"the minarets, elegant domes, the harbour and the city's modern, delicate structures; stepped on foot to land in Thessaloniki, at the beginning of the century; these were above all dazzling the eyes of a passenger."[26] H.de Saint-Germain, L'Orient a vol d'oiseau, Paris, 1902.

In the latter part of the centıry what the visitors have taken notice of no longer the minarets, domes and cypresses, for Salonica was changing in the the 19th century, rather rapidly for F.Moore who thought "the quay at Salonica, with its cafes, hawkers, inns and cinemas, its passers-by rigged out in those dreadful bowler hats, is scarcely different from any European port in the Western Mediterranean."[27] and the visitor even though he/she came to look for the characteristically picturesque and inevitably Oriental.

The following except from *Mark Mazower, Salonica:The City of Ghost* would be much telling in what was going on in the city at that time:

For Salonica was escaping the gravitational pull of lstanbul and establishing profitable connections with western Europe. Entire stretches of its walls were demolished, exposing its frontage to the sea and allowing its harbour to be extended. And as the city opened itself to the outside world so its own appearance was transfigured by new suburbs, wide boulevards, factories, retail department stores and trams. For the first time, the city enjoyed municipal government. Indeed, it was perhaps only now that the city acquired a consciousness of itself. Under the leadership of its bourgeoisie, Ottoman Salonica embraced Europe.[28]

The take off for the substantial growth and prosperity was, like Izmir, the relatively steady economic growth that that Salonica has experienced as of the 18th century as a result of increasing integration to world economic systems. The economic prosperity coupled with a considerable rise in population figures,-from 30.000 to approximately 54.000 in 1878, 98.000 in 1890s, 157.000 by 1913-soon followed by social and cultural efflorescence. The number of foreigners which were already higher than many parts of the empire including the other port cities mounted up.

Mazower argues, before the expansion of the city to the east to Hamidiye, the most influential families, the "bearers of a way of life which through inter-marriage and long residence combined European and Ottoman traditions, languages and occupations"[29] famous Allatinis, Abbots and

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[26] H. de Saint Germain quoted from Yerolympos, Alexandra, Colonas Vassilis, "Kozmopolit Bir Kentleşme" *Selanik 1850-1918: "Yahudilerin Kenti" ve Balkanların Uyanışı.* Gilles Veinstein ed. Trans. Cüneyt Akalın. İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları, c1999. 167-185.
[27] F. Moore, *The Balkan Trail,* quoted from Mazower 2004, 208.
[28] Ibid Mazower.
[29] Ibid.

Modianos lived and established businesses in the Frank district.[30] Later when these people and the middling classes who followed their example left these for the fashionable suburb the district increasingly assumed a more commercial and professional character.

A number of factors prepared the ground for the reforms. First of all, we should consider the important transformations brought about and made possible with the advent of new transportation technologies of steamships and railways. "By the 1840s" Mazower suggests "British, French and Austrian lines connected the city with the main ports of the Mediterranean."[31] With this not only the travel experiences and peoples' perception of time and space have revolutionized but also with the dissemination of telegraph lines throughout the empire "knowledge also traveled, and at a hitherto unknown speed."

The major impediment for the expansion of the settled area in Salonica was the old, medieval walls which in addition to being grown useless, suffocating the city swelled by increasing population .[32]Throughout late-nineteenth-century Europe, urban growth was bringing down the medieval walls-1860 in Antwerp and Barcelona, 1870 in Amsterdam and 1878 in Vienna.[33]In Salonica the demolishion of the walls took place in two phases from 1869 onwards.[34] Sabri Pasa's role in realizing this project was crucial in taking the necessary measures in order to attract private investors because the government although confirmed its application, refused to finance the project.[35] There was a substantial interest on the part of "individual entrepreneurs and state organizations such as the new Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Imperial Post" and European investors who acquired the majority of lots.[36] At the time the construction was finished Salonica's new waterfront, indeed a most modern facade, with its cafes, hotels, theaters, the large promenade as the place to see and be seen, business activities and residential blocs "in the uninteresting style of European civilization"[37] came to be the center of social and cultural life of the city with.[38]

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid Mazower.
[32] Ibid Yerolympos
[33] Ibid Mazower 225.
[34] Ibid
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid Mazower
[37] Ibid
[38] Ibid.

If the port and it attending spaces were the social heart of the city, the eastern suburb where the

Hamidiye Boulevard-the materialization of the Tanzimat elite's concern for urban space certainly

residential. Settlement in this region mostly in the form of summer residences of the wealthy

inhabitants of the city in this spacious suburb actually predated the Boulevard itself, not supplanting

but rather complementing to the town houses of the rich.[39]With the demolition of the walls

Alexandra Yerolympos explains, settling outside the walls which was strictly controlled before, was

not only allowed but officially encouraged.[40]A new, spacious boulevard, 18 meters wide and

planted with trees, ending in a square in its upper part was formed on the lands reclaimed by the

destruction of the walls.[41]The 18 meter main artery and the smallest streets being 7.5 meters more

than conformed to the 1864 Planning Regulation[42] and by doing so embodied the civilizational

discourse of the period. However wide and regular it was, Hamidiye was by no means comparable

to the *percées* established by Baron Haussmann in his attempt to generate an urban renewal project

in Paris neither in terms of scale nor in terms of the massive expropriation it caused.[43]

By 1890s the houses of Hamidiye "designed in a row on almost identical layouts" in a plain

articulation of neoclassical style, probably modeled after the Akaretler complex in the capital, were

the smartest buildings in town. These were similar to Akaretler on the basis of being state initiates.

Indeed the houses were called *Sultanik* to imply that they belong to the sultan.[44]In that sense we are

confronted with one of the modalities of modernization undertaken by the state manifested itself in

the urban space. This would be quite different from the development of Alsancak which was

predicated on private enterprise. In that sense maybe we can argue that the state has compensated its

absence more profoundly in Salonica than İzmir in the period.

There were 2 monuments at north and south extremes of the boulevard articulated on a

monumental, straight axis, the White Tower and the new Hamidiye Fountain endowed by the Sultan

in a way both to further promote the initiative and also imprint it with his imperial presence

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid Yerolympos
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid Kostof.
[44] Ibid Yerolympos

symbolized by monumental fountains and clock towers everywhere in the empire. These two edifices framed the boulevard and reinforced its monumental impression. The choice of neoclassical style which became to signify the imperial prestige as well as embodying Enlightenment norms of progress is hardly surprising given the project's ideological underpinnings. These new edifices-showcases of the empire that it is capable of change and progress-represented the image that the modernizing state want to foster and convey. Also in that respect one can read these as an attempt to penetrate the state into the everyday lives of the people as every other centralizing state in the modern period.

Anyone who was someone was living in the Hamidiye district back then. There were not only the most wealthy who commissioned most luxurious villas to main European architects. Vassilis Kolonas explains the prominence of eclectic designs manifesting itself in application of a variety of revivalisms, to its ability to foreground 'plurality' and 'distinction' in a society marked by not only communal or confessional differences but also equally if not more by socioeconomic ones.[45]A closer look at this "palatial" villas would be useful in illustrating the variety of types and forms in use not in the city, fır instance the renowned Villa Allatini at the avenue's end-not on it though-, where, citing from Mazower, "Sultan Abdul Hamid was exiled in 1909, following the Young Turk revolution, and was shocked, on entering its doors, to find its owners had been so Westernized that they had omitted to build a Turkish-style bathroom."[46] and "palatial homes of prominent Greek, Bulgarian, *Ma'min,* Jewish and Turkish families"[47] such as Villa Ida, Casa Blanca and Nesimbe Hanım's apartment house commissioned to noted European architects such as Vitaliano Poselli, Piero Arrigoni and Greek architect Pionidis, lined up on the way back to the town.[48] These prominent examples of residential architecture in the area and as such rendering the bourgeoisie lifestyle tangible in Salonica.

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[45]Yerolympos, Alexandra, Colonas Vassilis, "Kozmopolit Bir Kentleşme" *Selanik 1850-1918: "Yahudilerin Kenti" ve Balkanların Uyanışı.* Gilles Veinstein ed. Trans. Cüneyt Akalın. İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları, c1999. 167-185.
[46] Ibid Mazower.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

Although in the collective memory of the city the district is associated with the aforementioned villas, in reality the social and communal status of its inhabitants were rather complex whereby the middling classes, the new professionals so to speak, such as bankers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, commercial agents of composite ethnic origins were very well represented there.[49]The Muslim officials, Jewish bankers, Greek intermediaries, all tended to move to this social theatre where the people of Salonica could display their wealth and success and affirm their position.[50]The popularity of the suburb was only pronounced with the introduction of horse drawn trams in 1893 which connected the district to the quay and the city center, thereby further promoting settlement there for "the modern suburb" Kostof enunciates "was from the very start the child of fast transprotation."[51]This point is very well taken in our port cities whose economic prosperity and urban expansion was closely bound to a large extent to the development of modern transportation facilities.

Yet the social make up of the district was not confined to upper and middle echelons of the society, the poor was also there living very close to the "Boulevard des Campagnes" the main artery of the district. To those not that fortunate newcommers to the city, those, for the most part Jewish that lost their homes in the 1890 fire were added.[52]However on the contrary to the earlier settlement patterns in the traditional core of the city, they did not intermingled, there were boundaries that separated them, not actual, physical walls perhaps in the sense that we are accustomed to in today's 'gated communities', but cultural and material prescriptions which are at times more forceful and delimiting than their material counterparts.

Izmir:

"On the Anatolian coast...the first and the most famous port is that of Smyrna, the great centre of the commerce of the Levant." *The Mediterranean Illustrated*

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[49] Ibid Anastassiadou
[50] Ibid Colonas, "Vitaliano Poselli. An Italian Architect in Thessaloniki".
[51] Kostof, Spiro, *The City Shaped : urban patterns and meanings through history,* London : Thames and Hudson, c1999.
[52] Ibid Anastassiadou.

"In the throes of tremendous physical change"[53] , in the second half of the 19th century the city as described by Murray's *Handbook* as;

Like every great town in Turkey, it is beautiful at a distance; but on a close inspection falls short of of the expectations which have been raised. It is thickly inhabited, and the streets are narrow and dirty. The houses are chiefly built of wood, with brown roofs, and without chimneys. The warehouses on the Marina are whitewashed, and no house in the town is above one story high.

was gradually being replaced by "the most beautiful and palatial houses with facades of white marble"[54], "banks, postal services, insurance companies, brokerage firms, commercial packing and storage warehouses, dry-goods stores, hotels, commercial clubs, theaters, cafes, printing houses, and similar types of modern establishments"[55] dotting the urban landscape and "A modern harbor equipped for international steamship traffic and railway lines linking the city to its rich hinterland".[56]

I should probably refer from the onset the ambivalent position of the state in a rather complex political environment in which "various power holders, including-European consuls, Ottoman provincial agents, communal leaders, and notables"[57] had stakes "but none could claim full control."[58] During the latter half of the 19th century, "the transformations in Izmir's physical form, institutional structures, and patterns of civic engagement became particularly intensified."[59]Thus we are confronted with a state trying to inverse this in the framework of making of the modern state in the 19th century which came with increasing measures towards centralization. Ottoman state was striving to tap into resources that formerly eludes from its grip and tried to penetrate as deep as it can into the social life. And the best way to reify such abstract encroachments was by means of intervening to the physical space of the city. The public buildings, like the Imperial Barracks-Sarikisla, *Konak*, the Clock Tower and a number of institutional buildings like hospitals and

[53] Zandi Sayek, Sibel, *Ottoman Izmir. The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port,* 1840-1880, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
[54] Mansel, Phillip, *Levant : splendour and catastrophe on the Mediterranean, "*Smyrna: Greeks and Turks". New Haven [Conn.] : Yale University Press, c2011. 156-175.
[55] Ibid Zandi-Sayek.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

schools-erected in in this period show that the state was ferociously trying to invest the kind of imperial monumentality that the city was apparently lacking in the preceding periods.

  The material wealth attained by the composite bourgeoisie of the city was soon translated into social and cultural assets. Many of the travelers who came to the region in did not fail to reflect on the 'Europeanized" outlook of the city even at the expanse of their expectations of recreating an "authentic" Oriental experience. In fact Izmir with its "twenty-eight hotels, cafes and brasseries", "a nearly two mile long and sixty-foot-wide granite quay, complete with an underground sewer system, a tramway line"[60] not to mention "scenic promenade"[61]; the "great centre of commerce" with "a line of palatial edifices"[62] duly called "le petit Paris du Levant". The construction of the quay in Izmir as in the other port cities of the Levant confer to the cities a modern urban facade, a"facade" as remarked by Louis de Launay for Izmir "of European regularity tacked onto an Oriental confusion."[63] It served, above all, to integrate the city further into the international networks and gave the necessary modern amendments to the city it. Other important infrastructural developments of the 19th century were the railway and telegraph both of which appeared in Izmir rather early, in fact "major improvements of the port of Izmir began in 1867, after the railway to Aydın and Kasaba opened"[64]which linked the city and its hinterland to an unprecedented degree, later followed by lines to Buca and Burnabat"retreat for Izmir's mercantile elite"[65]. The choice for the first railway station being the Punta was informative of something else which would be further explained below. And telegraph lines were brought to Izmir in the mid 1870s.[66]The revolutionary developments in transportation along with integrating the city to internal and international cities, not only increased the flows of goods to the city but also that of the people as well. On account of wide range of motivations from better occupational opportunities, high quality life standards and better educational premises, a huge number of people from different political, economic, cultural,

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[60] Ibid
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid Hastaoğlu-Martinidis
[65] Zandi-Sayek
[66] Ibid.

religious and ethnic backgrounds poured into the city making the traditional core of settlement more dense. As in the case of Salonica expanding the area of the city became inevitable and so the city began to penetrate to its hinterland and to make use of the suburbs more efficiently. The question that one must turn to now then, is how to account for these changes, whether these were just ad hoc measures, developed along the way to save the day mutually exclusive of what was going on in Europe, or rather conscious, albeit not always successful attempts symptomatic of a changing mindset.

   "The urban form of the city of Izmir in the first half of the nineteenth century" argues Cana Bilsel, "consisted of the juxtaposition of a variety of settlement patterns, each forming a distinct morphological entity."[67] According to her 'topology', 'cultural differences' and 'functional separation'[68]is necessary but not sufficient to account for this morphological variety between different parts of the city. For her "more than cultural difference, the morphological variations, or the urban "patchwork" that the fabric of nineteenth century Izmir...was the product of successive phases of urban growth, shaped by different historical circumstances and modes of space production." As the century progressed these phases presented more "planned" and wholesome effort than haphazard or organic than the earlier times. As an important and overarching chapter of this process, the planned development of Punta, as shown by Bilsel through a comparative analysis of three city maps prepared from 1830s on-by Thomas Graves in 1836-37, Luigi Storari in 1854-56 and Lamec Saad in 1876-had contemplated rather early, denominated in all three maps starting with Graves', but took remarkably long to actualize. I say remarkably because, again as indicated in Bilsel's article, the intention for development of this region antedated two of the other important instances marking the spatial transformation of the city; the reconstruction of the Armenian district after the fire of 1845 and the monumental quay which were often cited as precursors for the development of this region. This delay in implementation has, I think it has 2 important

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[67] Bilsel, Cana, "The Ottoman Port City of Izmir in the 19th Century: Cultures, Modes of Space Production and the Transformation of Urban Space" *7 centuries of Ottoman architecture "a supra-national heritage* Eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, Selçuk Batur. İstanbul : Yem Yayın, 1999. 225-233.
[68] Used in the article with reference to traditional Islamic understanding of separating living and working spaces.

implications for our understanding of the process of modernization in the Ottoman Empire. One by highlighting the involvement of-as Bilsel and others rightfully argue- private enterprise through speculation on land presented yet another variation in the process and thus challenges the notion that it is monolithic, imposed or simply unsuccessful for that matter. And two, the mere presence of these maps showing the prospective form the city would be expected to take signifies, on the contrary to what is generally assumed concerning the urban lands of the Ottoman Empire that they were left attended, in the context of 19th century Izmir we can say the city space was tended a bit too much. It seems that a motley of actors were interested with what was going on with the city and they exert their claims on land and sometimes used the debates on land to carry out their own agendas. And they were much versed in using discursive tools to attain these. If we acknowledge that the 19th century spatial reorganization of Izmir was predicated on some sort of plan for discrete purposes, which we should, then we can regard the 2 aforementioned instances, especially the construction of the waterfront which is not only conceptually but also physically related with the development of Alsancak, as important and also relational utterances or radiations of mindset oriented towards change and 'progress'Now let's take a brief look at the reconstruction of Armenian district and the waterfront in relation to what would follow in Alsancak and all of collectively as signifiers of a changing modes of production of space and next practices accompanying this.

  The recurrent fires, however devastating for the urban fabric and dreadful for the inhabitants of the city, in this context where urban renewal was a painful process at times with no hope of ever attaining a successful return, provided pretexts for reform by opting to reconstruct the burnt area to be more in line with the standards specified in the subsequent codes. For instance the 1845 fire in Izmir which almost totally swept the Armenian neighborhoods which "unlike former postfire reconstructions that maintained preexisting land-use conditions and followed the same footprint... resulted in redesigning the Armenian quarter and nearby commercial streets on a new grid

plan."[69]The reconstruction was in line with the new regulations introduced by the central government which "mandated that streets two to five pics wide (5-12.5 feet) be enlarged to a minimum width of six to eight pics (15-20 feet), balconies and overhangs conform to specific sizes, and fire walls be erected between every three to four houses."[70]As a result of these measures the rebuilt district assumed the outlook which was described by George Rolleston as " conditions rarely to be seen in an Asiatic town" with "streets" striking "the attention by their great regularity and straightness, and the houses by the large size of their doors and windows."[71]

   As for the waterfront, the plan for the reconstruction of it was on the table for quite some time and the merchants and businessmen of the city was forwarding demand after demand based on a rationale that linked commercial improvement to the welfare and the livelihood of the entire population."[72]From Sibel Zandi-Sayek's account we learn that from the time "three local British entrepreneurs-John Charnaud, Alfred Barker, and George Guarracin" formed the Smyrna Quay Company which was purchased by the Dussaud Brother's ensuing the British's bankruptcy to its completion by them the project was not scarce when it came to contentions.[73]Nevertheless when finished in 1875 the waterfront "a nearly two mile long and sixty foot wide granite quay, complete with an underground sewer system, a tramway line, and a scenic promenade", "a line of palatial edifices ...for hotels and business premises" and "a sort of marine Champs £lysees" with "no less than nine cafe chantants of considerable size ... nearly all on the model ofthe Parthenon." in the words of Grattan Geary, editor of the *Times* of India who visited Izmir in 1878[74]"endowed Izmir with a modern public space that soon became a favorite meeting place and promenade for a large part of the city's inhabitants."[75]The area starting from the *Konak* and stretching all the way to Punta, encompassing also the famed Frank District, one the most prominent commercial and cultural hubs of the city until the formation of the port area, and the Second Cordon which constituted the first

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Rolleston, George, *Report on Smyrna.* 10.
[72] Ibid Zandi-Sayek 128.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

intervention that has occurred in the shoreline, but backgrounded with the subsequent landfill and implementation of the First Cordon.

Immediately after its construction the Cordon became the main 'sight' of Smyrna"[76], "even livelier than the Grande Rue de Pera."[77] it became a sort of social theatre whereby different classes encountered and play the roles ascribed to them. It made the Izmir correspondent of the *Levant Herald*'s dreams came true, as featured in Zandi-Sayek's account, who aspired for turning the bay front into "a broad quay throughout its entire length" to "serve not only the purposes of trade, but ... supply the want so much felt in Smyrna a public promenade, where our carriages might roll ... and our flaneurs might lounge."[78] Robert L. Playfair in *Handbook to the Mediterranean* describes this site as such, "the favorite promenade in the evenings, and in summer up to a late our at night. The numerous cafes along it are brilliantly lit up, and form the rendezvous of motley costumed crowds, while strains of Oriental as well as European music and the bubbling of *nargilehs(*emphasis original) are heard on all sides."[79]

All in all the project gave the city "over 150 new urban lots, bounded by two avenues parallel to the water-the Cordon and the Second Cordon (or Parallel Street)."[80] These parallel avenues as Zandi-Sayek and others state, "were remarkably wide, better paved, and better lit" in comparison to the older parts of the town.[81]"Soon" enunciates Mansel, "the most beautiful and palatial houses with facades of white marble" as the Smyrna merchant/Dutch consul Smyrna Richard van Lennep called the urban blocs built there, "in an elegant neoclassical style, stretched from the konak, or governor's palace, to the promontory known as Alsancak or La Punta."[82]The area was made further attractive with the appearance of horse-drawn trams, the first example of its kind Izmir between Konak and Punto.[83]

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[76] Ibid Mansel 157.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid Zandi-Sayek 128.
[79] Playfair, Robert Lambert. *Handbook to the Mediterranean: Its Cities, Coasts, and Islands.*
London: John Murray, 1882.
[80] Ibid Zandi-Sayek 115
[81] Ibid.
[82] Mansel 157
[83] Bilsel, Cana, "Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru" *İzmir 1830-1930 unutulmuş bir kent mi?Bir Osmanlı limanından hatıralar ed.* Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, Trans. Işık Ergüden. İstanbul : İletişim yayınları , 2009. 143-160

Actually Punta did not come about all of a sudden. As it is mentioned before expansion towards this area has been intended for a long time at least from 1830s onward as the Thomas Graves plan evinced, on this plan prepared in 1836-37 already there were indications of a possible development denoted by a "regular grid pattern"[84] towards the cap of Punta as, according to Bilsel, the continuation of Frank district.[85]Later on Storari's map contrived in 1854-56 and dedicated to Sultan Abdulmecid in which "The area is divided into rectangular lots by a grid of perpendicular streets"[86], the anticipated area to be urbanized is extended further to encompass the whole cap.[87]At this stage there were not much except for a few industrial buildings on the coast, the following Sibel Zandi-Sayek provides a preview of what the area must look like back then:

While up until the first decades of the nineteenth century population rise was largely absorbed within the limits of the existing city, unrelenting growth thereafter resulted in the hasty conversion to urban uses of orchards and vineyards on the urban periphery...By the 1850s new building allotments were being opened at the Point while small industrial plants, including a silk-winding factory, a distillery, a modern olive and sesame oil press, steam-powered flour mills, a paper mill, and gasworks, were spurting up between the Point and the estuary of the Meles River. In the following decades, the marshes in the area were drained and additional working-class neighborhoods...laid out around...[88]

From what we can infer from this is the are was not yet preferable for inhabitation by the upper classes save the poor working class people who put there in the vicinity of their working space, the industrial plants. Also the "rectangular lots" on a geometrical grid pattern delineated in the plans were still not yet realized.

Still in 1876 plan, the area, even the established of the principal station of the Aydın Railway line was constructed there, was scarcely built.[89]Indeed one does not help but agree with Cana Bilsel who found the decision for the location of the railway terminal "in a vacant area at such a distance from the city center quite curious."[90]This choice is representative of something or someone bigger there. As shown by Bilsel, certain notable Levantine families had vested interests in the area since they

[84] Bilsel, Cana, "The Ottoman Port City of Izmir in the 19th Century: Cultures, Modes of Space Production and the Transformation of Urban Space" *7 centuries of Ottoman architecture "a supra-national heritage* Eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, Selçuk Batur. İstanbul : Yem Yayın, 1999. 225-233.
[85] Ibid
[86] Ibid
[87] Ibid.
[88] Zandi-Sayek 25.
[89] Ibid Bilsel 231.
[90] Ibid.

acquired large pieces of land there during the first half of the century.[91]The Florentine Aliotti family was one of them and the fact that they must have acquired a significant portion can be deduced from the 1876 plan in which "the avenue that led from Bellavista on the coast to the main Aydın railway station was called the "Boulevard Allatini"".[92]Bilsel also states the possible involvement of another entrepreneur called Mölhaussen, a German engineer partook in the construction of the Kasaba railway had large parcels of land a number of houses in the region which she argued documented in the consular documents.[93]These personages having estates there is significant for 2 reasons; one is, here in this instance of urban expansion we are confronted with a pattern based on speculation, well established in Europe which has reiterated in İzmir. And two is regarding the issue of private property since acquisition of which by people of foreign nationalities was formally forbidden until the Law of 1867, what happened in Punta reveals that practice has preceded the enforcement in this domain.[94]

When Punta was eventually urbanized towards the end of the 19th century as one of the privileged districts with its row of houses built in stone[95]it became the place to live for the wealthy urban dwellers. We can infer from the photographs of the period that these were 2 story high with a bow window protruding from the second floor on the main facade of each house, aligned on the same axis with the rest. According to Şeniz Çıkış who analyzed the typology of what she calls the' Izmir house' as a modern form of residential architecture accrued its characteristic form as it appeared in Punta in the last quarter of the 19th century.[96]This form as explained by Çıkış typically was; "mostly asymmetrical in elevation(although symmetrical examples could be found) 2 story houses with a protruding upper window on it facade, arranged in a row."[97]Orthogonally laid out in terms of plan and elevation, she argues, these buildings had a narrow axis in the ground floor where the entrance hall was located and a broader one was defined for the living spaces in the upper floor

[91] Ibid 232.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid Bilsel 232.
[96] Çıkış, Şeniz, "'Modern Konut' Olarak XIX. Yüzyıl İzmir Konutu: Biçimsel ve Kavramsal Ortaklıklar" Web. 07.06.2012.
http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/archive/0258-5316/2009/cilt26/sayi_2/211-233.pdf
[97] Ibid.

which was differentiated distinctively from the service sections.[98]The upper floor usually comprised

of two rooms which were connected by a central hall or frequently a small corridor.[99]As the

defining features seem all too familiar, we can safely infer that these structures were not

unprecedented, but rather a peculiar combination of a number of references to earlier structures,

newly emerging types in public architecture and some affinities with rows of urban blocs in Europe

especially with the so called English "through houses".[100]It can be argued that these houses in

England corresponded a comparable need of accommodating growing numbers of urban population.

The advancement of new construction materials produced in masses and techniques made it

possible to account for such an increase. These larger issues of mass production, standardization,

commodification of land due to regular settlement patterns and increasing rents had important

implications for not only the urban fabric of 19th century İzmir but also for Euro-Mediterranean

region where traditional urban settlements became much congested. One consequence of land

becoming an object of investment was economic speculation the first example of which in Izmir as

we have seen occurred in the development of Punta district.

   The most probable reference for these houses were however what Zeynep Enlil called the

"Tanzimat Box" to refer the single family houses became widespread in the period of reform in

Istanbul. A closer look at this structure provided by Enlil would reveal certain similarities in terms

of structure, layout and articulation:

What is called here "Tanzimat Box" is a single family house widely found in Pera as well as in many other parts of
İstanbul. It appears to be a variation on long standing building traditions in the city. It is generally a two to four storey
structure with a projecting bay window...usually built on narrow frontage lots, which measured 4-6 meters...one room
wide. The building depth usually varied between 8-15 meters...almost always two rooms deep. Depending upon the
width of the lot, the front and back rooms were connected either by a short, narrow corridor or a small sofa..."What sets
the "Tanzimat" box apart from earlier generations of ordinary single family houses is its regularity defined by a series
of building regulations passed in the 19th century as part of the modernization agenda...[101]

The passage not only indicates a structural analogy on the basis plan and superstructure but also a

logical one as well foregrounding in both cases "regularity" and "uniformity."

[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Enil, Zeynep Merey, "Residential Building Traditions And the Urban Culture of Istanbul in the 19th Century" *7 centuries of
Ottoman architecture "a supra-national heritage* Eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, Selçuk Batur. İstanbul : Yem Yayın, 1999. 306-315

The inhabitants of this district were indeed among those 'cosmopolitan' citizens of Izmir. The term would do these people justice here, because as we have extensively discussed, 'cosmopolitanism' in the 19th century sense, was very much bound to a specific form of parochialism in which the people attained a consciousness of being the dwellers of that peculiar city. It only flourished in commensurate locales like İzmir, Salonica and Alexandria. Back to the possible resident of Alsancak back then who were the same ones who frequented the cafes, beerhouses, theaters and later cinemas along the Cordon; who consumed European goods and garbed the modern clothes sold in the new malls within the Frank Street; attended the balls given by the prominent members of different communities in the Casino or garden parties arranged in the suburban mansions of the elite. More importantly this *creme de la creme* portion of the society was not solely comprised of the privileged foreigners or Levantines, the elite of the Muslims local Greeks, Armenians and Jews also partook this elite culture. The Muslims for their part started "breaking away with traditions"[102], furnitures that members of different communities decorated their houses with more and more converged with the traditional *selamlık* giving its way to drawing rooms and halls. The rooms were now assigned with peculiar functions at more or less the same time this was happening in different places of Europe.[103]The district was also attractive for being equipped with the services such as gaslight which was introduced in 1862 to the city, the network of which was concentrated to the newly built areas of the northern section of the city; water and sewage systems and electricity as of 1905.[104]A regular police force was established to be responsible for order in this area, which under certain predicaments was not that efficient.[105]

The picture however was not that alluring. Social unrest and brigandage had been a recurrent issue and as the city grew more prosperous these public offenses also accrued. Increasing social stratification within the society were only pronounced with consistent migration to the city which did not only attract the well to do, but the lower classes who did want to participate this wealth and

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[102] Ibid Mansel, "Smyrna Greeks and Turks".
[103] Olsen, Donald J.,*The City as a work of art: London, Paris, Vienna*, New Haven : Yale University Press, c1986.
[104] Bilsel, Cana 159. Sultan Abdulhamid granted an exceptional permission for the provision of electricity to three cities; Smyrna, Salonica and Beirut.
[105] Ibid Zandi-Sayek

luxury, the social riffraff who wanted to make a clean slate. These people were seen as a threat to the affluent members of the society, but in any case they did not leave their city, notwithstanding moving to the newly constructed sections in Alsancak, which was ironically somewhat close to where the less fortunate migrant population were settled, recalling Zandi-Sayek's account of new neighborhoods being laid out in the Punta region which was scarcely built in the 1850s save industrial plants, north of the Punta.[106]This proximity was probably heightened the tensions underlying the social life of Izmir and erupted into violence at of crisis and breakdown.

  So the rich and the poor,as in the old times when people resided with their coreligionist, living close by, perhaps not within the same bloc, but still within each others reach. Moreover rather than huge walls closely monitored and secured by guards against the redundant masses, there were invisible boundaries as such encoded by social and cultural norms and practices. For the contemporary Smyrniots the poor were not decidedly absent from the social scenery, on the contrary they were very much visible along with their dwellings and neighborhoods. Then they should visible to us as well, not only foregrounded only in times of crisis and major conflicts.

Conclusion:

  Before concluding I would also make a few remarks on Alexandria which could not been extensively dealt with here but in any case was undergoing comparable process at the time, probably even earlier, as well. The process here is closely connected with the khedival family starting with Muhammed Ali. In this instance we also witness a much more intense involvement marked by intermittent invasions by French and the British which eventually occupied Egypt in 1882. Michael J. Reimer's brilliant summary the amazing transformations that took place in the course of 19th century could be helpful in throwing light how similar the experience there was to Salonica and Izmir;

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[106] I Bilsel, Cana, "The Ottoman Port City of Izmir in the 19th Century: Cultures, Modes of Space Production and the Transformation of Urban Space" *7 centuries of Ottoman architecture "a supra-national heritage* Eds. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, Selçuk Batur. İstanbul : Yem Yayın, 1999. 225-233.

Briefly, the aspects of change to be considered include the establishment of a centralized and interventionist state, the expansion of commercial agriculture, significant alterations in the socio-demographic regime, and the adoption of new models of political and esthetic culture.[107]

The complex nature of transformations were probably best reflected in the physical space of this rapidly growing cosmopolitan city as such in the construction of Ras-el Tin Palace, the famous Place des Consuls and the surrounding area, the suburb of Ramleh and the new neighborhoods established by for the settling of the poor, immigrant populations from the Nile and beyond, from Southern Europe for instance. The affluent members of the society Muslim, predominantly Turkish ruling elite, European consuls, wealthy merchants and businessmen built villas in the Ramleh, a highly prestigious suburb within 10km or so of the city-became even more popular after the inauguration of railway to there-Rues Rosette and Sherif Pasha which was the" smartest street in Alexandria was...Lined with palatial three or four storey Italianate buildings..."[108]

I would say this in this instance modernization was very much bounded with the formal authorities be it the khedives or the British or the consuls for that matter who even retained influence even after the British occupation.

These three locals which reflect different manifestations of modernization in spatial terms Alexandria would be a perfectly legitimate standpoint been discussed somewhat extensively in our Mediterranean workshop cosmopolitanism was more than an aggregate of individuals coming from different social, political, ethnic and religious backgrounds; but a sense of underlying parochialism that has catalyzed their interactions, negotiations and contentions is necessary. And this was well established in the case of Alexandria, as well as Izmir and Salonica. A motley of actors have significantly imprinted the urban fabric and by doing so experienced alternative forms of belonging order than that of nationality. They formed communal bodies, voluntary associations, not only on the level of the city or the community but that of the neighborhood as well; not to mention the kind of relations fostered by new forms of public spaces which in turn required socialization into the norms of a modern culture promulgating a new form of visibility; to see and being seen in certain

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[107] Reimer, Micheal J., *Colonial bridgehead : government and society in Alexandria, 1807-1882,* **"**Introduction". Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1997. 3.

[108] Mansel, Phillip, *Levant : splendour and catastrophe on the Mediterranean, "Alexandria British Years"*. New Haven [Conn.] : Yale University Press, c2011 134.

places like the theater and the public promenade became much more than just recreational activities, Much like the living space assumed additional signification, so did these social practices. Altogether they indicate a certain lifestyle, known everywhere by the name of the social class that was the proponents of it, the bourgeoisie. The rise of the bourgeoisie contemporarily marked the changing social, political and cultural environment of Izmir, Salonica and Alexandria, and ensured and ensuing profusion of its attending institutions like the theater, opera and cafes; its tastes accompanied by a proliferation of consumption. Along the way social stratification became increasingly pronounced which had led to violent eruptions in times of crisis.

Images:

Map of Salonica before the waterfront
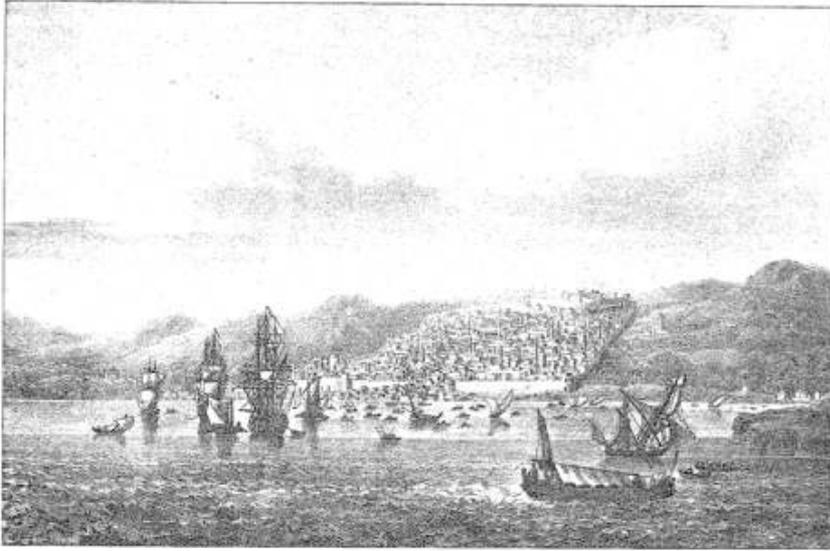
Thessaloniki in 1800, drawing by Fauvel
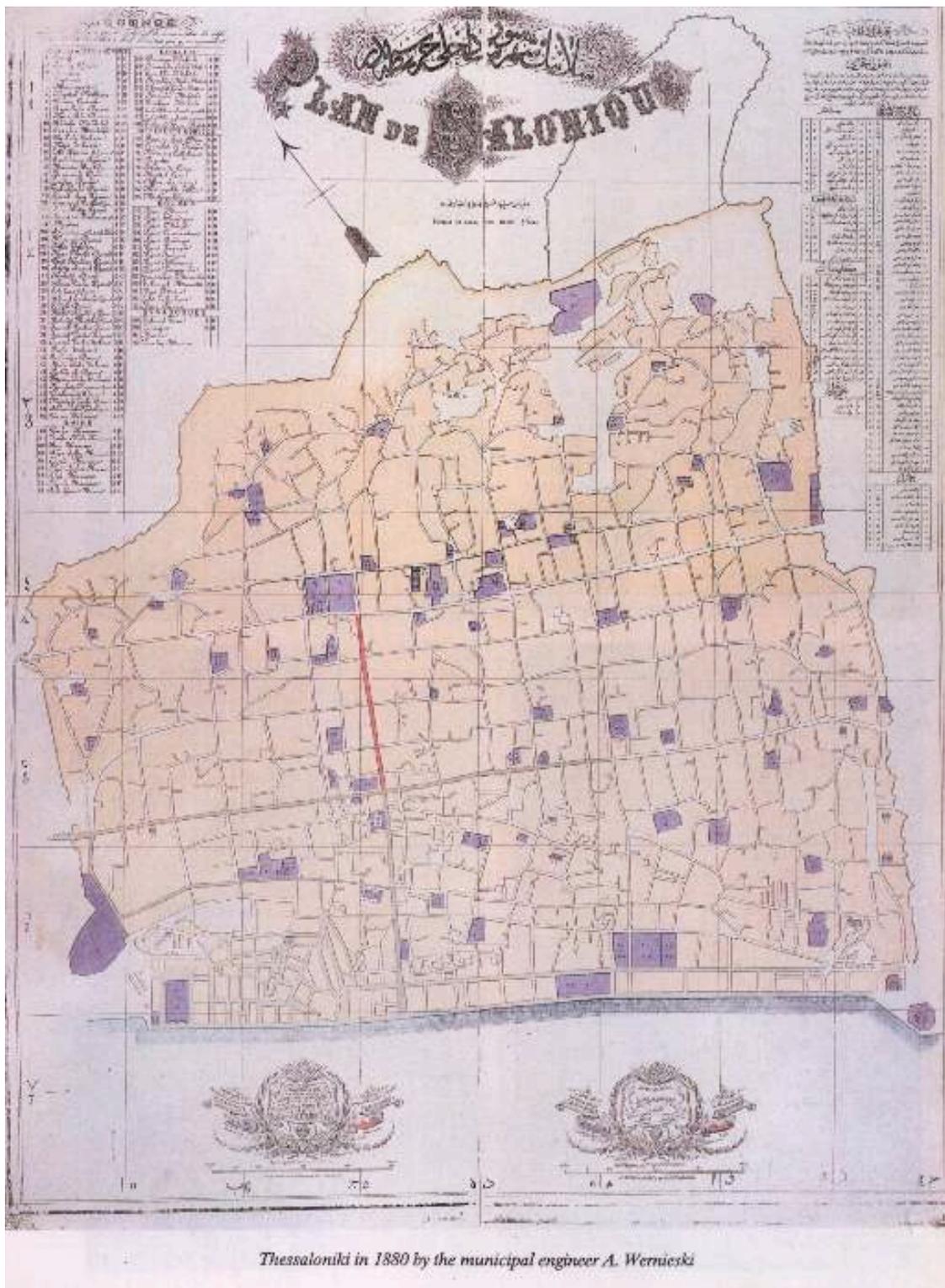
Thessaloniki in 1880 by the municipal engineer A. Wernieski

Salonica, the waterfront

Hamidiye:

Souvenir de Salonique
Prospective du Boulevard de l'Union
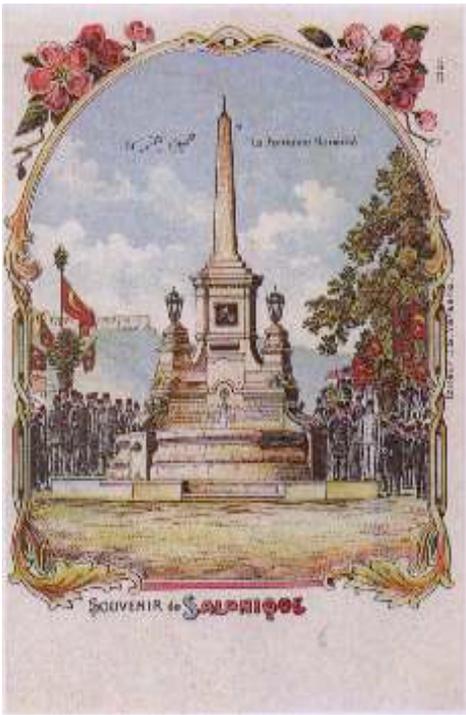
The Hamidian Fountain

and customs. In the words of George Rolleston, head physician of the city's British hospital in 1856, there were "few other towns in the world with a *fixed* and *resident* population consisting of so many distinct and distinguishable elements."[19] Above all, Izmir was a significant breeding ground for the mixing, crossing, and redefinitions of ideas and identities integral to the Eastern Mediterranean experience. It was part of a broader, established Levantine/Mediterranean world with combined communities of Arabic, Greek, Italian, Judeo-Spanish, and French speakers, including Christians, Jews, and Muslims, that had for centuries been connected through trade.[20]

Izmir owed its distinctively plural character as much to its crossroads position on the Mediterranean as to the relative stability and openness it enjoyed under Ottoman rule. Lying at the head of a long and well-protected bay, approximately halfway down the western coast of Asia Minor (or Anatolia) in present-day Turkey, Izmir had occupied a prominent place in history long before coming under Ottoman rule (Maps 1 and I.1). It was a prosperous and attractive trade center during Roman times, boasting such honorific titles as "*Protos Asiæ*" (First of Asia) and "the Jewel of Ionia."[21] It was also the seat of a large archbishopric after the official recognition of Christianity, and the celebrated site of one of the Seven


FIGURE I.1. View of Izmir from the bay highlighting the city's mosques and minarets and its wooden piers and structures lining the bay front, ca. 1840. Lithograph. From Eugène Napoléon Flandin, *L'Orient*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gide et Baudry, 1853).
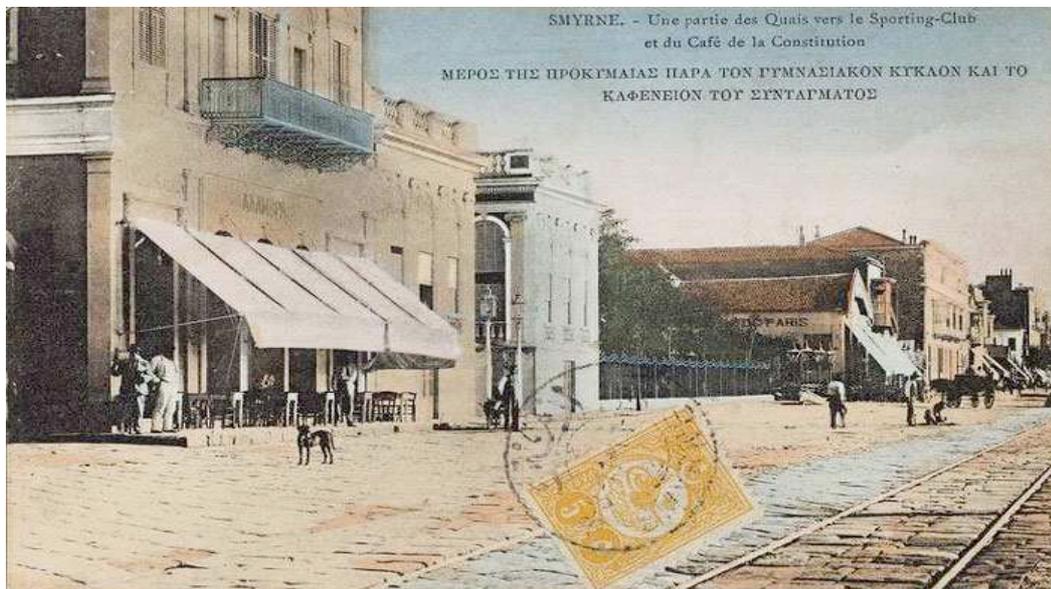
the waterfront
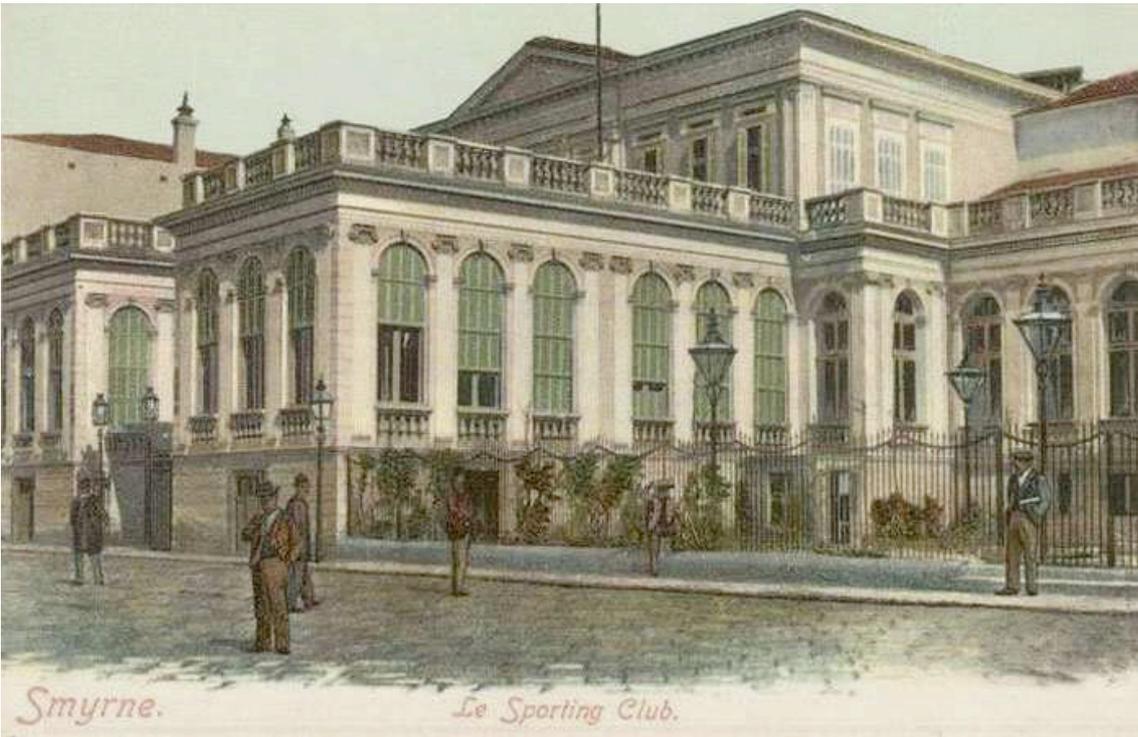
the Sporting Club

general view

Alsancak:

FIGURE 3.1. View of the Cordon looking south from Bella Vista, ca. 1890. Postcard.

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