

THE WATERFRONT AND THE COSMOPOLITAN SETTLEMENT:
SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN SMYRNA BETWEEN THE 1688
EARTHQUAKE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUAY

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2023

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EARTHQUAKE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUAY

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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Boğaziçi University

2023

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Ege Gutay, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
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ABSTRACT

The Waterfront and the Cosmopolitan Settlement: Spatial Transformations in Smyrna Between the 1688 Earthquake and the Development of the Quay

This dissertation examines spatial transformations in the urban environment that took place in nineteenth century Smyrna, with a special focus on the area on the waterfront and the so-called *Rue de Franque*, the main artery of foreign, Levantine, “cosmopolitan” settlement. Since the early-modern period, Smyrna played an essential role in mercantile activities in the eastern Mediterranean and became a commercial hub where diverse communities coexisted. Thus, these changes are observed and assessed as landscape transformations, in the sense that special attention is given to the subjective, perspectival aspects of representation, subject to change over time and according to contexts and backgrounds. Nevertheless, the transformations that took place in Smyrna’s urban landscape were a product of gradual, complex, and contested processes. Several factors, such as geographical features, natural disasters, changes in the global regime of commercial exchange, international relations, and state/communal regulations, impacted this process. Besides, in this remarkably diverse urban and social space, cross-cultural relations and plural affiliations were important parts of the transformation process in which individuals and communities became significant actors. In this regard, this thesis investigates how, when, and why spatial transformations took place, how the changing landscape was represented, how urban changes were affected by cross-cultural relations and communities, and to what extent these transformations impacted a multicultural urban and social environment.

ÖZET

Rıhtım ve Kosmopolitan Yerleşim: Smyrna'da 1688 Depreminden Rıhtımın Gelişimine Kadar Olan Süreçte Mekansal Dönüşümler

Bu tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl İzmir'inde kentsel çevrede meydana gelen mekânsal dönüşümleri, özellikle rıhtım bölgesine ve yabancı, Levanten, "kozmpolit" yerleşimin ana arteri olan *Rue de Franque*'a odaklanarak incelemektedir. Erken modern dönemden itibaren İzmir, Doğu Akdeniz'deki ticari faaliyetlerde önemli bir rol oynamış ve farklı toplulukların bir arada yaşadığı ticari bir merkez haline gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu değişimler, zaman içinde bağlamlara ve arka planlara göre değişime tabi olan temsilin öznel, perspektifsel yönlerine özel önem verilmesi anlamında, peyzaj dönüşümleri olarak gözlemlenmekte ve değerlendirilmektedir. Bununla birlikte, İzmir'in kentsel peyzajında meydana gelen dönüşümler kademeli, karmaşık ve tartışmalı süreçlerin bir ürünüdür. Coğrafi özellikler, doğal afetler, küresel ticari mübadele rejimindeki değişiklikler, uluslararası ilişkiler ve devlet/toplum düzenlemeleri gibi birçok faktör bu süreci etkilemiştir. Ayrıca, bu son derece çeşitli kentsel ve sosyal alanda, kültürler arası ilişkiler ve çoğul aidiyetler, bireylerin ve toplulukların önemli aktörler haline geldiği dönüşüm sürecinin önemli parçaları olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, mekânsal dönüşümlerin nasıl, ne zaman ve neden gerçekleştiğini, değişen peyzajın nasıl temsil edildiğini, kentsel değişimlerin kültürler arası ilişkilerden ve topluluklardan nasıl etkilendiğini ve bu dönüşümlerin çok kültürlü bir kentsel ve sosyal çevreyi ne ölçüde etkilediğini araştırmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. Paolo Girardelli, whose unwavering support has been truly invaluable. His encouragement, insightful suggestions, and corrections have guided me through challenging times, and I am immensely grateful for his guidance. I want to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Ersoy for his instrumental role in helping me refine my methodology and for being a member of my thesis committee. I am indebted to Assoc. Prof. Shirine Hamadeh for graciously agreeing to be part of my thesis committee and for generously sharing her valuable insights. Many thanks to Prof. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for her kind guidance on how to evaluate primary sources meticulously. I am also grateful to Asst. Prof. Yaşar Tolga Cora for inspiring me to explore Ottoman history from diverse perspectives. Also, special thanks to Rijksmuseum curator Eveline Sint Nicolaas for her guidance and contributions to the materials.

I want to express my gratitude to Ferhat for being a true friend and a constant source of encouragement. I am also thankful to Kerem, Rafael, Mustafa, Yasemin, Orhun, and others who have kindly assisted me in evaluating materials. Special thanks to my friend Berke, who shared his knowledge, ideas, and motivation with me throughout the writing process.

I wish to extend a special and sincere thanks to Dr. Barış Eroğlu for being a constant source of motivational support and encouragement, which has been a driving force behind my academic journey, and I am truly grateful for his guidance all the way long.

Lastly, I express my gratitude to my family, Belgin, İdil, Turgay and İbrahim, for their boundless love and unwavering encouragement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research, sources, and methodology

The history of art, according to German author Peter Weiss (1916–1982), is the history of social contracts and human life.¹ This assertion might be slightly modified to argue that the history of art and architecture is the history of social affiliations and spatial relations. In this context, my research discusses how Smyrna's urban and social landscape altered over a long process that started with the reconstruction after the 1688 earthquake, and produces a rather homogeneous urban form with the construction of the new quays in 1880. The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw a complicated and protracted process of social interactions, governmental initiatives, and local actors' interventions shaping the environment of Smyrna. The elements of the landscape transformation in Smyrna include commercial relations, demographic changes, natural disasters, legal regulations, cultural shifts, modernization, industrialization, and the movement of people, ideas, and materials in a multicultural environment.

It is crucial to understand the developments in the city from the late 17th century onwards in order to comprehend how Smyrna's urban fabric changed to become the landscape of the early 20th century. Accordingly, the study begins by analyzing Smyrna's environment from the 17th century onward and concludes by studying the urban landscape of the early 20th century, assessing a long historical process of continuity and change. Primary sources in Ottoman, French, and Italian, as well as the writings of individuals and historical figures, official documents,

¹ Weiss, *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, 300.

newspapers, maps, plans, postcards, engravings, and photographs, were all examined and compared while evaluating the successive periods and transformations. The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office (BOA), BNF Gallica, Digital Commonwealth, Archive.org, SALT Research, LocGov, and the Levantine Heritage Foundation are just among the many database and archival sources used. The thesis evaluates both visual and textual primary sources attempting to understand their connections and relationships. Secondary sources were used during the research in order to contextualize visual and textual evidence from primary sources and historical events. To assess the transformation more comprehensively in the urban landscape of Smyrna, the thesis core is articulated into three main chapters (2, 3, 4) corresponding to major turning points in the spatial history of the city.

Chapter Two – Community and Landscape Before 1840 – is divided into two sections examining the waterfront and Frank Street. This chapter explores the development of the urban landscape up until the early 19th century, starting with the major elements of Smyrna's landscape in the mid-17th century. The city is observed and described by both foreign and local visitors in the first waterfront subsection. The factors that led to the formation and alteration of the city landscape are among the research topics of this chapter based on these accounts. The expansion of the city's commercial ties, the rise in the diplomatic significance of the city, and population growth as a result of migration were some of the factors that led to the change in the urban and social landscape. Of course, the city's local actors had a significant role in this transition phase. Members of diverse communities became agents of change who contributed to the urban change in Smyrna, producing a space with plural characteristics, according to its multicultural inhabitants. In this eastern Mediterranean port city, cosmopolitanism was and remains a problematic concept,

but certainly, rigid borders separating communities were not a constant feature of urban society. In the section on Frank Street, the city's multicultural life and social fabric are analyzed, and these changing boundaries, the plural affiliations they implied, and the connected issue of cosmopolitanism are examined.

Chapter Three – Urban Change and Cross-Cultural Relations After 1840 – contains three different sub-chapters discussing the waterfront, the construction of modern infrastructures like the railroads and quay, and, again, Frank Street. During the second half of the 19th century, the state's modernization efforts were intensified, legal regulations were issued, and efforts toward industrialization increased. The population and volume of trade in Smyrna both significantly rose at the same time. Prior to the major infrastructural changes, Smyrna's waterfront underwent a distinctive evolution that included the expansion of the *frenkhâne* properties, which were located on the shore and used as residential places, religious spaces, consulates, and commercial areas. Private individuals owned these properties, and their development as a result of the coastline's extension due to shoreline filling over time, created a unique fabric of narrow and elongated plots flanking each other. This local typology of building corresponded to the prominence of commerce and exchange in the local economy, but also favored smuggling and other criminal activities. The increase in trade volume and private ownership of warehouses and piers located on the shore necessitated legal intervention at both the central and local government levels. Once more, the city's industrialization and modernization initiatives were encouraged by the increase in trade volume but could not be controlled by a single agency or homogeneous group of stakeholders. Railroads were constructed to transport raw materials from the countryside of Smyrna to the port, or to distribute goods arriving in the city by sea to other regions. A modern quay and new factories

were built in addition to the railroads. All these actions, in which local actors played a significant role, had a remarkable effect on the city's urban fabric.

Chapter Four – After 1880 – is divided into two subsections dealing with the waterfront and Frank Street after 1880. Since 1880, when the quay was constructed, construction activities were carried out on the waterfront part of the city. For this reason, the first subchapter examines the waterfront in the making. It investigates how these works happened and what kinds of places and spatial relations were present. The first subchapter investigates which builders, architects, and engineers were employed by the city when the waterfront was in the making. Diverse communities and individual actors were involved in the spatial transformation process on the waterfront. Besides, the migration of people with know-how and the circulation of people, materials, and ideas played a role in the development of the waterfront. Therefore, the first subchapter traces the impacts of cross-cultural relations, diverse communities, and individual actors during the development of the waterfront. The changes that occurred in the 19th century have also had a significant impact on Frank Street. The street's social, cultural, and urban space has transformed. Therefore, the second subchapter examines Frank Street in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, a time of significant intellectual, material, and urban change. On Frank Street, these changes were a consequence of the new flow of people and commodities fostered by the new waterfront and the railway. In this regard, the final section of this chapter explores how architectural and social elements developed in synergy during this period. A special attention is devoted to the changing functions and ownership in this environment.

1.2 Literature review

In this regard, the thesis examines the spatial transformation of Smyrna in the *longue durée*, from the 1688 earthquake to the development of the quay in the 19th century. However, it is natural to encounter differences in the availability and amount of primary sources for different historical phases when examining almost 200 years. In some periods, the number and diversity of sources is greater. For example, while finding sources other than engravings in the 17th century was more difficult, it was easier to find official documents, correspondence, travelogues and maps produced from the 18th century onwards. One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly the loss of existing materials due to earthquakes and fires. In periods when the central government began to increase its control, and modernization accelerated, in addition to the maps produced by travelers, we began to find cadastral maps and scientifically drawn city plans. The late 19th century insurance maps are also a product of modernization. Of course, again in relation to technology, photographs also proliferated after the mid-19th century.

Over time, the structural and material components that would have provided us with insight into Smyrna's past have either vanished or been destroyed. The development of the city over time has resulted in the loss of structures, materials, and landmarks in addition to incidents that significantly altered the appearance of the city, such as the war or the fire of 1922. As a result, it is conceivable to think of the urban landscape's evolution as a palimpsest with layers that were only partly erased, and fragments of different epochs evoking the complex processes we have analyzed. Although some traces have been lost, imprints of transformation, materials, and historical landmarks from Ottoman Smyrna can still be traced in modern-day Izmir thanks to the peculiar nature of this palimpsest. Besides, due to ideological and

political motives, landmarks, documents, materials, and places of Ottoman, “cosmopolitan” Smyrna may have been erased in the decades following the fire. Still, it is possible to discover materials, records, and documents in the archives that will broaden our understanding of the complex historical layers of Smyrna. However, it is required to conduct personal research considering these records have not been digitalized, and some of them are in private archives or cannot yet be accessed.

Ottoman Izmir (Smyrna) has been the subject of various academic studies in modern historiography. Researchers and scholars from various disciplines have studied the city’s development in history, its urban structure, its social structure. The majority of the studies produced after the republican era until the 1990s analyzed the history of Izmir in line with the ongoing trends in Turkish historiography, which stresses the role of the Ottoman state and the impact of the foreign states during the times of so-called “decline.”² For instance, Tuncer Baykara examined the history of Izmir, examining its prehistoric roots, historical turning points, urban growth, architectural heritage, and cultural elements in his study, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*. Although Baykara's work on history Izmir is a very comprehensive work, it explores the historical developments from a perspective that stresses the Turkish identity of the Ottoman Empire and emphasizes the role of the Ottoman state while excluding the involvement of minorities, diverse communities, and foreigners into the process of historical development. Likewise, scholars such as Çınar Atay and Rauf Beyru followed the trend in 20th century Turkish historiography, emphasized the role of the states and foreign powers, and excluded the role of diverse communities, individual actors, cultural exchange, and cross-cultural relations in the development of the city.

² Eranlı, “The Ottoman Empire in the Historiography.”

Perhaps, a turning point in the historiography of Izmir corresponds to the period that increased in globalization at the end of the 20th century, in which the mobility and diversity of people, ideas, and materials began to be a part of history writing in the world. In 1990, Daniel Goffman published his work, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, in which he examines the transformation of a small port town into a cosmopolitan trade hub. In his study, Goffman evaluates Izmir's position in the eastern Mediterranean as a developing vibrant port city and a commercial hub by giving special emphasis to the role of trade and cultural exchange. A study exploring the development of the city in the 17th and 18th centuries was published by Necmi Ülker in 1994. In his book, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyillarda İzmir Şehri Tarihi*, Ülker examines the development of the city and the important role that trade played in this development that took place in the 17th and 18th centuries from a perspective that stresses the significance of mercantile activities and the economic importance of the city in the eastern Mediterranean. However, even though the emphasis on the Ottoman state's and foreign powers' role was lesser in the study of Ülker, the role of cross-cultural relations and the involvement of actors from diverse communities were limited since the emphasis was given to the trade and economic determinants.

In this regard, the involvement of individual actors and the role of diverse communities in the development of Izmir were emphasized in the studies of Elena Frangakis-Syrett and Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis. Frangakis-Syrett published her study, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700-1820)*, in 1992, in which she examines the economic history of Izmir in the 18th and early 19th centuries. In the study, the economic and mercantile activities in Izmir were examined with particular attention devoted to the role of the diverse communities

and individual actors. Therefore, the study constitutes an important example of how diverse communities of Izmir contributed to the economic developments instead of only stressing the role of the Ottoman state and international relations in the trade activities of Smyrna.

The multicultural characteristics of Smyrna and cross-cultural relations were examined by Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis in the early 2000s. In her studies, *Une ville ottomane plurielle: Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* and *Une société hors de soi : identités et relations sociales à Smyrne au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Smyrnelis analyzes the cross-cultural relations and plural identities in the 18th and 19th century Smyrna. She examines the complex relations of diverse communities, Levantines, and foreigners and their everyday practices, their jurisdictions, and their coexistence with other communities in the commercial hub of the eastern Mediterranean. In her studies, Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis challenges the historiography of Smyrna that approached the history of Smyrna from a state-deterministic perspective and did not include the cross-cultural relations, plural affiliations, and role of individual actors. Following this line of analysis, communities of Izmir were studied by various scholars, such as Henri Nahum, who examined the history of Jews of Izmir, and Anahide Ter Minassian, who studied the history of Izmir's Armenians. In addition, Sibel Zandi-Sayek's work emphasizes the cosmopolitan character of Izmir and examines its historical development and spatial transformations during the late Ottoman period between 1840-1880. Zandi-Sayek analyzes the social, economic, and cultural factors that contributed to the rise of Izmir as an eastern Mediterranean port city. While doing so, the interactions between different ethnic and religious groups, such as Ottoman Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Levantine communities,

and how their coexistence shaped the city's social life, urban space, and architectural fabric was examined by Zandi-Sayek.

In the historiography of Izmir, several sources, such as works of Çınar Atay and İlhan Pınar, brought together the visual materials, maps, plans, engravings, and postcards for the use of researchers. For example, Atay published his study in 1998, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları*,² which brings together a collection of maps and plans representing Izmir from the early-modern era up until the early republican period in the 1930s. Recently, Pınar's *Osmanlı Dönemi İzmir Plan ve Haritaları* was published, and it includes certain visual materials that did not appear in the book of Atay. In addition to the works that collect maps and visual materials, Pınar also translated and published the writings of foreign travelers who visited Izmir in the 18th and 19th centuries in his book series of *Gezginlerin Gözüyle İzmir*. Thanks to these studies that collected maps, visuals, and travelogues together, researchers can access the materials easier than before.

In a more strictly architectural perspective, various scholars studied the physical landmarks of the city, such as commercial buildings, residential places, governmental buildings, and religious spaces. For instance, Bozkurt Ersoy's study from 1991, *İzmir Hanları*, examines the plan types of commercial places built up from the early-modern era up to the early 20th century. In 2003, Çınar Atay also published his study on the architecture of commercial areas, *Kapanan Kapılar (İzmir Hanları)*. The architectural characteristics of residential places owned by Levantines and the public/governmental buildings in Izmir were studied by İnci Kuyulu Ersoy. İnci Kuyulu Ersoy also studied the impacts of the Westernization period on the architectural elements constructed in Izmir. Also, she worked the orientalist architecture, and early republican buildings in Izmir, alongside her interests in wall

paintings produced in Western Anatolia. The characteristics of the residential places known as Smyrna houses, a building typology that emerged in the second half of the 19th century, were studied by Şeniz Çıkış. In her study on Smyrna houses, Çıkış stresses the importance of modernization in the formation of the building typology, as well as emphasizing the role of local actors and materials that contributed to the emergence of the modern residential places. Besides, Cenk Berkant published studies on the activities of foreign and Levantine architects in Izmir, giving a special emphasis on the cultural exchange between locals, Levantines, and foreigners. In his studies, Berkant examined the life and works of Italian engineer Luigi Storari, and architects Stefano Molli, and Giulio Mongeri. Thanks to these studies made by scholars, architects, builders, engineers, architectural practices, materials, and styles in Izmir are known today.

1.3 Space, place, landscape

My master's thesis focuses on the urban landscape and spatial transformations that took place in Izmir from the earthquake of 1688 up until the development of the modern quay, with a special focus on the area on the waterfront and the so-called *Rue de Franque*, which was the main artery of foreign, Levantine, "cosmopolitan" settlement. In my dissertation, I examine the landscape transformations and representation of Izmir from the early-modern period onward and study the spatial transformations that took place on the waterfront and in *Rue de Franque* in order to compare the reality in the place with the representation of the space. These changes that took place in the landscape of Izmir are observed and assessed as landscape transformations, in the sense that special attention is given to the subjective, perspectival aspects of representation, subject to change over time and according to

contexts and backgrounds. Therefore, the originality of my thesis and distinctive aspects are related to the study of landscape and spatial transformations in the *longue durée* on a specific area, the waterfront, and *Rue de Franque*, with a closer examination. During my research, I examine how the space was constructed through cross-cultural relations, state/community regulations, international affairs, transformation in the global regime of exchange, and individual agencies.

The *Oxford American Dictionary* defines the landscape as “a scenery of an inland area, or a picture of this.”³ The simple definition of the landscape was perceived as a territorial place and space, with or without human intervention. A space or scenery of an inland area, as a person sees it, stands there. The emotions, feelings, and meanings were attached to it by the observer. The representation of space in history, urban or natural, goes back to ancient times. Homer described the view of Troy, Mount Olympus, or Ithaca, the home of Odysseus, poetically and epically. Afterward, in his *Histories*, Herodotus portrayed the cities and places he encountered during his travels. Their perception and the environment surrounding them shaped their representation of the world. In the medieval era, *Mappa Mundi* represented the world known by the medieval people. It was the world of Christians, positioning Christ on the top of the map and the world view of Christianity at the center. Soon after, the scholars of the Enlightenment challenged with this world, and they replaced the Christian world the secular one, created through scientific observations.⁴

In 15th century Europe, landscape painting became a genre of its own. The development of landscape painting as a genre was related to the evolution following the main cultural transformation of the 15th-century Western world, such as a relative

³ Ehrlich et al, “Landscape,” in *American Oxford Dictionary*, 371.

⁴ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 6-8.

secularization of values, geographical explorations, the so-called scientific revolution, Enlightenment and flourishing in culture and art. In the Renaissance period, the representation of the space and the landscape became the subject of painting.⁵ The idea behind landscape painting was the control of space and the idealization of it.⁶ These became a tool for controlling space, such as maps became the tool of conquest and territorial domination.⁷ Landscape painting at the time allowed for the manipulation of both the visual perception of space and the human actions taking place within it. The invention of perspective played a significant role in visual control over space. Thanks to the usage of perspective, the artist could determine how the landscape would be seen by the observer. Therefore, even though the landscape paintings were seen as realistic, this claim was merely ideological, and the pictorial rules determined the realism of the painting.⁸

The concept of landscape was defined by the active involvement of the actors, and the meaning changed according to their subjective feelings and ideas. Visual materials such as engravings, paintings, postcards, and photographs became the mediators for making distant places visible. The accessible image and landscape became the subject of various people who consider and comment differently on the same view. In fact, one person could interpret the same landscape differently, even with contradicting emotions. Those who represent the landscape or observe the landscape reflect their own emotions and the influence of the environment in which they live.⁹ It is, therefore, inevitable to see the influence of actors in the landscapes represented or observed.

⁵ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 21.

⁶ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 19.

⁷ Harley, "Map, Knowledge, Power," 282. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 20.

⁸ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 21. Cosgrove "Prospect, Perspective, and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea," 47-51.

⁹ Bender, "Place and Landscape," 303-305.

To understand the landscape, the role of the actors within it is also essential. According to Bourdieu, people live in a *habitus* imposed and made experienced by the external world. Although *habitus* is important in explaining social relations, the external world seems more determinant, whereas the individual is an attentive participant.¹⁰ On the other hand, some theories suggest that individuals are more active agents in forming social structures. For instance, Giddens suggests that humans create the social and economic structures they live in with their behaviors and thoughts.¹¹ In addition to these suggestions, Cosgrove argues that landscape can be defined through “human use of the earth, the relationships between society and the land.” For him, material conditions of the world, such as the mode of production, structural changes, such as the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and human actions and society’s interactions with the physical environment play an essential role.¹²

In contrast to the dictionary explanation, Cosgrove points out that “landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. The landscape is a way of seeing the world.”¹³ The construction of the landscape was a product of means of production, the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and human intervention to nature. These aspects played an equal role, and natural, economic, cultural, and social structures cannot construct the landscape apart from each other. Neglecting the role of individuals and societies alongside economic and social developments makes it difficult to understand landscape change. Besides, individuals and communities can have particular tensions and conflicts related to

¹⁰ Bender, “Place and Landscape,” 306.

¹¹ Bender, “Place and Landscape,” 306.

¹² Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 1-6.

¹³ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 13.

social, religious, or political reasons. These tensions and conflicts can arise at any time and any place, and imprints of these conflicts can be seen in the landscape.¹⁴

Therefore, individual, social, and cultural relations reflect on the landscape. However, the representation of the space can be misleading due to its subjective, conceptual, and contextual nature of it. In this regard, spatial relations and cross-cultural relations cannot understand from the perspective of the landscape, but it is necessary to study the spatial transformations that took place in a given place in order to compare and understand the reality that existed behind the landscape. Besides, examination of the spatial transformations helps us to study continuities and changes in the urban fabric. Hence, my dissertation examines the spatial transformations from the 1688 earthquake onward up to the late 19th century Smyrna and compares these changes with the landscapes in the textual and visual documents.

¹⁴ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 56-68.

CHAPTER 2

COMMUNITY AND LANDSCAPE BEFORE 1840

2.1 Waterfront

Smyrna, a small city on the Aegean coast, included a multicultural population and established commercial ties with the other eastern Mediterranean port cities in the 16th century, however, the early 17th century became a turning point in its urban history.¹⁵ The town started to develop its commercial ties with ports of other cities and began to develop among neighboring ports such as Chios and Çeşme.¹⁶ The growth in Smyrna's trade volume and improvement of its commercial ties with the other markets paved the way for infrastructural developments, such as the building campaign of the castle of *Sancakkale* in 1650.¹⁷ The castle was built by order of grand vizier Köprülü Mehmet Pasha (1578-1661) in order to protect the entrance of the city on the seaway and get the smuggling under control because "infidel ships anchor away and flee without notifying the custom."¹⁸ Thus, the central and local governments took precautions to protect the city from losing its revenues and smuggling. The castle also offered a certain level of protection for the merchants, and it was also a significant reason why Smyrna's port was preferred among other ports of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, grand vizier Fazıl Ahmet Pasha (1635-1676) also ordered the construction of the *Vezir Han* in 1685, which became an important

¹⁵ When the Ottomans conquered Smyrna, it was a small town. It started to develop as an important port-city under the Ottoman city. See further for historical progress of a small town into an eastern Mediterranean port city of the 17th century: Goffman, *Izmir and Levantine World, 1550-1650* and Goffman, "Izmir: from village to colonial port city."

¹⁶ Goffman, *Izmir and Levantine World*, 61.

¹⁷ Baykara, *Izmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, 39.

¹⁸ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 52-53.

component of the city's landscape and its commercial life.¹⁹ Hence, more protection, revenue, and trade attracted new people from different geographies. For instance, some accounts indicate that the population rose from 3.000 to approximately 10.000 people in the early 17th century.²⁰ Thus, the mid-17th century marks the period that Smyrna began to develop and become a significant port city in the eastern Mediterranean, a period the circulation of people, ideas, and materials started to accelerate.

Some visitors who traveled in the city in the 17th century produced travelogues and illuminated manuscripts about early modern Smyrna. For instance, Francesco Luppazolo (1570-1702), an agent of the missionary Catholic organization *Propaganda Fide*,²¹ depicted the view of Smyrna in his manuscript, *Isolario dell'Arcipelago et altri luoghi particolari*, in 1638. The drawing (Fig. 1) of Luppazolo represents the early-modern view of the city, with its symbolic landmarks such as *Kadifekale* castle at the top, ruins of the tomb of St. Polycarp, the protector saint of Smyrna, wharves at the waterfront, the port castle (St. Peter or Genoese Castle), and customs. Besides, ships and boats of various sizes emphasize Smyrna's connections with the eastern Mediterranean and Western trade. Alongside the larger port protected by the Genoese castle, small wharves were attached to the buildings located on the left side of the castle. The horseshoe-shaped harbor, which was filled up in the 18th century, was also indicated on the right side of Genoese castle in the port. While religious or public buildings such as churches, mosques, or castles were indicated with their unique architectural styles, ordinary buildings were depicted

¹⁹ The construction order was given in the year 1675 by Fazıl Ahmet Pasha, son of Köprülü Mehmet Pasha. However, the building was completed by grand vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (1634- 1683) in 1677. See further: Ersoy, *İzmir Hanları*, 120-121.

²⁰ Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 15.

²¹ Wilson, "Francesco Lupazzolo's *Isolario*," 189. Hasluck, "Depopulation in the Aegean Islands," 153. Toliaş, "Shaping the Levant," 423.

schematically. The residential places represented on the seashore, which most of the foreigners and consuls believed to inhabit, were depicted with small boats and wharves attached to them. Frank Street, or so-called *Rue de Franque*, was represented right behind the buildings on the waterfront. The street was depicted as a scattered line, referring to the street's fragmented urban fabric. However, Luppazolo's drawing does not reveal the city's urban fabric in extreme detail. Still, it demonstrates a remarkable representation of the area on the waterfront and *Rue de Franque* in early-modern Smyrna.



Fig. 1 Luppazolo, F. (1638). View of Smyrna, 1638 [Engraving]. From Pınar, İ. (2020). *Osmanlı Dönemi İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*

The development of the city as an important port city in the eastern Mediterranean caused an increase in the flow of people and materials to the city, and regarding the increase in circulation, the number of commercial places and accommodation places (inns) began to increase. In 1671, the number of inns increased to 82,²² whereas there were only 60 inns in 1648.²³ A Dutch traveler, Cornelis De Bruyn (1652-1727), who visited the city in 1678, produced both textual and visual documents about the early-modern urban space of Smyrna. De Bruyn's panorama shows similarities with the drawing of Luppazolo from 1638: a fragmented shoreline, the *Kadifekale* castle at the top, Genoese castle in the port, and the Ottoman custom, and horseshoe-shaped harbor, wharves at the waterfront.²⁴ However, there were also several differences with the drawing of 1638. The urban layout of the city was represented in more detail. There were consulate flags adorning the waterfront, and even the ordinary buildings in the city were depicted more realistic, while the structures in Luppazolo's drawing were depicted schematically.

In the panorama (Fig. 2), number one points out to the castle on the top, and number two refers to the old Chapel of St. Polycarp and the ruins of the tomb of St. Polycarp, a disciple of St. John. Number three means the remains of an ancient theater, and it is also where St. John's tomb rested. From number four, De Bruyn began to describe the houses and buildings located on the seashore and in the city. According to his accounts, number four was the *kiosk* of *Ahmet Agha*, and a caravansary belonging to the Ottoman Greek families was marked with number five. Two or three houses at the northern part of the panorama with a flag representing the

²² Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 51.

²³ Ersoy, *İzmir Hanları*, 4.

²⁴ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 26.

Consul of Genoa were numbered six. The House of Dutch consul indicated seven, and Venetian Consulate with eight (Fig. 5). The building with number nine represents Grand Vizier Mustafa Pasha's residential place, "which was the most prominent house"²⁵ on Frank Street. British Consulate numbered ten, and French Consulate numbered eleven (Fig. 6). Number twelve represents the custom for commercial activities. *Bedesten*, or covered market,²⁶ which was the primary space for commercial activities in the city, was indicated by number thirteen, and *Vezir Han* numbered fourteen. Number sixteen refers to the port for the galleys and for small Turkish boats. Another custom for the vessels, which carries a large number of foods that were consumed in the country, was marked by seventeen.²⁷

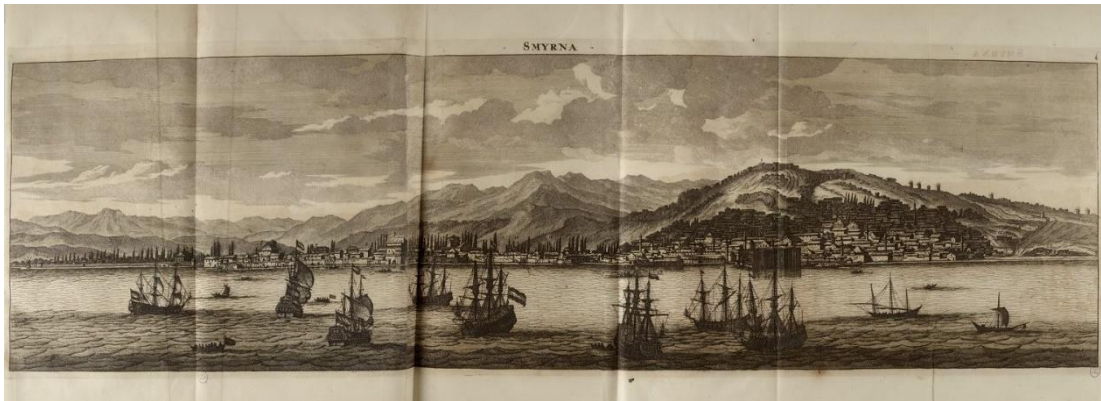


Fig. 2 De Bruyn, C. (1714). Panorama of Smyrna, 1678 [Engraving]. Retrieved from BNF Gallica

De Bruyn depicts the early-modern panorama of Smyrna, just before the 18th century, when it was in making and developing due to increased trade and flow of people. Besides trade and migration, the central government's relationship with foreigners and foreign countries in terms of commerce and diplomacy impacted the

²⁵ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 24.

²⁶ "Bedesten" means Covered Turkish Bazaar. (March 20, 2023). Retrieved from *Kubbealti Lügati*, <http://lugatim.com/s/bedesten>

²⁷ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 24.

landscape of Smyrna beyond measure. Moreover, the lack of city walls improved Smyrna's and Smyrniots' relationship with the sea, and it cleared the way for new trade opportunities. Smyrna's waterfront and *Rue de Franque* became a commercial hub for diverse communities in Smyrna, such as foreigners, Ottoman Christians, Ottoman Jews, and Ottoman Muslims.

However, although Smyrna was a city where diverse communities coexisted, it is possible to find traces of tensions among the communities in some accounts. For instance, Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682), a Muslim traveler who visited Smyrna in 1671, refers to the existence of eighteen consuls in this *iştiharlı* (*famous*) city and portrays it as a *Frengistan-misal* (*Western-like*)²⁸ city and he emphasizes the dominance of foreigners and their privileges in the social life. In his account, he claims that foreigners protected themselves well, and judges favored them in the judicial cases. He says that if someone hits or hurts an *infidel*²⁹, the person would be killed by foreigners immediately, or the judges would sentence the person to death.³⁰ Indeed, although Smyrna was a cosmopolitan port city, the communities tended to reside in separate neighborhoods in Smyrna, according to their ethno-religious affiliations (Fig. 3). Foreigners were settled in the waterfront and the area known as Frank Quarter; the Greeks inhabited the northern part of the city behind the Frank Quarter. Armenian quarter was in between the Greek and the southern-east parts of the city where Jewish and Muslim neighborhoods were located. The Muslims mostly lived in

²⁸ "Frengistan-misal" means Western-like. Çelebi compares Smyrna with the cities in the western countries and gives the example of Malta. See further: Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 52.

²⁹ "Kefere" means infidel in plural. (March 20, 2023) Retrieved from *Kubbealtı Lügati*. <http://lugatim.com/s/kefere>

³⁰ Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 52. Although this statement may sound exaggerated, many writers have written about the freedom and prosperity of foreigners in the city. For instance, Michaud, *Correspondance D'Orient 1830-1831*, 216.

the hills of Mount *Kadifekale*, while Armenians and Jews settled in the plains closer to the shore.³¹

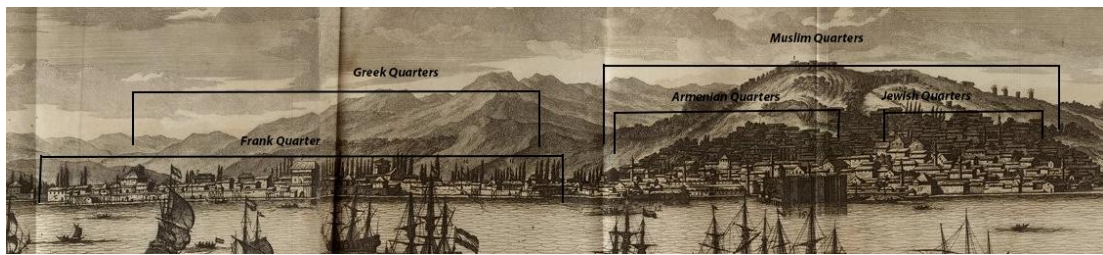


Fig. 3 Neighborhoods in Smyrna according to ethnicity. Based on De Bruyn's Panorama

Nevertheless, the neighborhoods according to ethnicity did not constitute sharp boundaries between diverse communities. In contrast, there were small units of ethnic or religious neighborhoods located in or close to areas that other communities inhabited.³² These small units of neighborhoods created an urban fabric that diverse actors encountered instead of distinctly separated communal neighborhoods. Besides the neighborhoods, public places, commercial areas like Frank Street, and the bazaar area near *Veziir Han* were important sites of encounter for diverse communities. However, these encounters did not necessarily create a public space where different actors and communities happily coexist and encounter each other. For instance, Cornelis de Bruyn visited the city during the great plague epidemic, when the city was “under the reign of plague and disorder caused by the illness.”³³ According to his accounts, the plague had already killed thirty thousand people in Smyrna, and “he even could not go for a walk in the city because Turks were walking together without precautions during the epidemic.”³⁴ Hence, De Bruyn stayed in Smyrna's Dutch

³¹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 11-14.

³² Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 11.

³³ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 23.

³⁴ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 23.

consul Jacob van Dam's (1629-1709) residential place which was located on the waterfront in order to protect himself from the epidemic.

In fact, the travelogue of De Bruyn's enlightens us about the behaviors of the communities during the epidemic. For instance, while Turks were pacing up and down without any precautions, foreigners and consuls locked themselves into their properties. These properties were known as *frenkhâne*, *ferhane*, or *verhane*, and they were located in between the waterfront and Frank Street. During the epidemic, foreigners were closing the doors of their *frenkhâne* properties, and they would not let anybody in until the plague was gone and kept the doors closed unless there was a rightful reason.³⁵

2.1.1 The *frenkhânes* and the waterfront

These properties, which were named "kefere hâne" (infidels' house) by Evliya Çelebi in his *Seyahatname*, were large and strong buildings with multifold structures in which "whenever ships approached their wharves, they would fire a cannonball."³⁶



Fig. 4 Closer view of the waterfront, detail from De Bruyn's Panorama

These residential places located on the shore, *frenkhâne* properties, became a distinct urban component of early-modern Smyrna. Both drawings of 1638 and 1678 demonstrate the imprints of *frenkhânes* on the shore: it was an irregular settlement, and the shore did not present a straight alignment of properties. The reason behind this lack of regularity lies in the historical development of the place: the shore was

³⁵ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 23.

³⁶ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, 52.

not subject to a conscious initiative of urban planning, but it was instead a palimpsest resulting from successive layers and phases of private construction led by individual investment. The shore did not keep the same layout over time, and it was in a state of constant change. Especially between the 17th and the late 19th centuries the spatial transformation was remarkable for its sudden and rapid phases of evolution: The seashore filled up, and the buildings were extended over time by building up new wooden piers and new structures. Property holders built up piers in those sea lots when the areas first filled up. After a while, they had to fill up the sea lots in front of their properties again, so they removed piers, built new structures instead, and constructed new docks in the newly filled-up sea lots.³⁷ These expansion practices towards the sea were carried over for years by people and local government, and it took a long time for the *frenkhânes* to complete their development and reach the state they were in before the modern quay was built in the second half of the 19th century. However, although the early accounts and drawings introduce us to the landscape of Smyrna and its shore, neither the drawing of Luppazola nor the panorama of De Bruyn represent *frenkhâne* properties as longitudinal, narrow, and tall buildings. Nevertheless, both De Bruyn and Çelebi give us a common perspective about them: *frenkhâne* properties were located on the shore and functioned as both storage and residential places owned by wealthy foreigners and consuls.



Fig. 5 The Genoese (6), Dutch (7), and Venetian (8) consulates in a waterfront detail from De Bruyn's panorama

³⁷ Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*. 183.

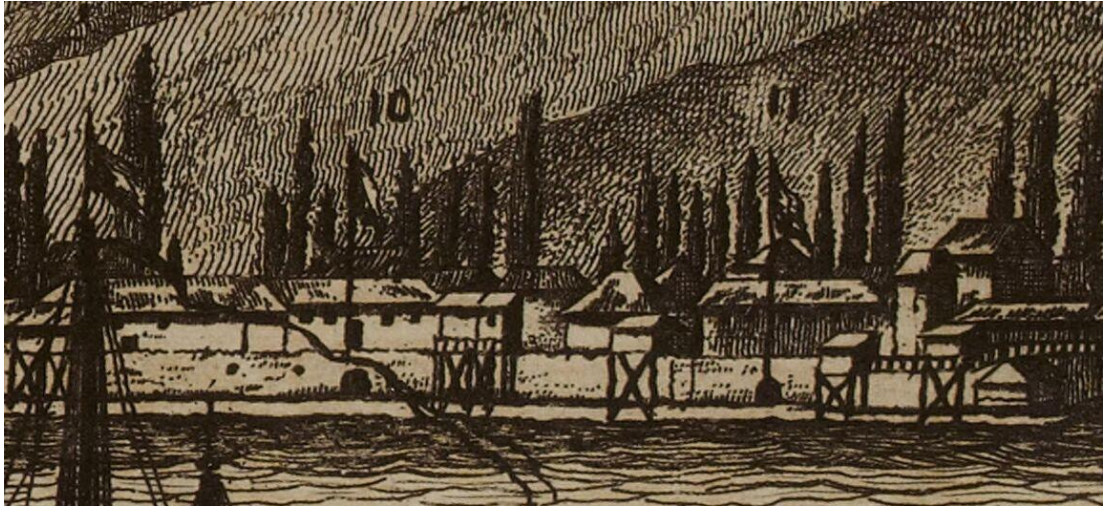


Fig. 6 British (10) and French (11) consulates. Waterfront detail from De Bruyn's panorama

According to travelogues from the 18th and 19th centuries, the upper floors of the *frenkhâne* properties were used as residential places, while the ground floors were used as warehouses,³⁸ and they created passages between the shore and Frank Street that travelers and people could use.³⁹ However, in this regard, we should note that the drawings of Luppazolo and De Bruyn, and the itinerary of Çelebi refer to ~~the~~ view of Smyrna before the devastating earthquake took place on July 10, 1688, whereas the accounts of the 18th and 19th centuries refer to the post-earthquake period when the urban fabric of Smyrna was largely reconstructed. It was generally assumed that these places continuously belonged to wealthy foreigners and consuls and were used as passages, warehouses, and residential places for centuries. In this regard, I argue that the social, cultural, economic, and legal dynamics that existed before and after the 1688 earthquake must be examined in order to determine the differences, continuities, and spatial transformations that took place on the waterfront.

³⁸ Ülker, *XVII, ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İzmir*, 15.

³⁹ Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 159.

2.1.2 Before and after 1688

The 1688 earthquake was extremely violent, and it damaged Smyrna harshly, caused loss of lives and properties, and destroyed buildings in the city (Fig. 7).⁴⁰ The earthquake was followed by a fire, which was also devastating. The earthquake and fire damaged the city to a greater extent, causing the demolition of most of the structures and streets; among structures damaged, there were inns, bazaars, public places, commercial buildings, residential places, and historical structures such as *Kadifekale* and St. Peter castles. Besides, the Armenian neighborhood also suffered from the fire and was almost entirely damaged because the houses in the quarter were made of wood and mudbricks. The earthquake caused a loss of population in Smyrna, according to some estimates between 15.000 and 16.000, it affected Turks more severely, and Europeans to a lesser extent, as most of them were in villages or their residences in the countryside.⁴¹ The damage of the earthquake and fire, in fact, troubled the trade in the city and caused a cutback.⁴² Thus, after 1688, Smyrna went into a process of recovering itself from the loss of population, decline in trade volume, and the rubbish caused by the earthquake in the urban fabric.

⁴⁰ Ülker, *XVII, ve XVIII. Yüzyillarda İzmir*, 18.

⁴¹ Iconomos, *Etudé sur Smyrne*, 128. Ülker, *XVII, ve XVIII. Yüzyillarda İzmir*, 18.

⁴² Ülker, *XVII, ve XVIII. Yüzyillarda İzmir*, 18-19.



Fig. 7 Luyken, J. (1695). The 1688 Earthquake in Smyrna [Engraving]. Retrieved from the Rijksmuseum

The recovery of the population, trade volume, and urban fabric in Smyrna progressed in correlation with each other. As the report above indicates, the population decreased significantly after the earthquake. Before the 1688 earthquake,

the population estimates measured between 55.000 and 90.000.⁴³ For instance, one decade before the earthquake, De Bruyn measured the population as 80.000.⁴⁴ However, the estimations after the 1688 earthquake made by French travelers are quite below those given by De Bruyn. Aubry de La Motraye (1674-1743) measured the population as 24.100, while Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708) estimated it as 27.200 at the beginning of the 18th century. According to Motraye, Smyrna's population of 24.100 in 1699 included 14.000 Turks, 8,000 Greeks, 400 Armenians, 1.500 Jews, and 200 foreigners.⁴⁵ Similarly, Tournefort estimates the city's population as 27.200 in 1702, and there were 15.000 Turks, 10.000 Greeks, 200 Armenians, 1.800 Jews, and 200 foreigners.⁴⁶ Hence, the estimations of Motraye and Tournefort show the earthquake's impact on the city's population.

Although an increase in population and fluctuations in numbers were apparent in the accounts about Smyrna, the estimated populations by travelers are debatable, and there is no consensus among scholars due to a lack of official documents. Still, a comparison of population figures for Smyrna by travelers from the early 18th century and late 18th century suggests that the population of Smyrna increased a few decades after the earthquake. According to measurements made by travelers in the years between 1714 and 1737, the Turkish population reached between 80,000 and 50,000, Greeks rose between 20,000 and 8.000, Armenians between 600 and 8,000, and Jews between 2,000 and 6,000. In terms of foreign population, British merchant and traveler Charles Thompson gives an estimation of

⁴³ Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, 55-61.

⁴⁴ De Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, 27.

⁴⁵ Motraye, *Voyages du Sr. A. de La Motraye*, 179. About the population of Turks, Motraye was not sure. According to his book, Turkish population was in between 12.000-14.000. The highest number was taken into consideration in my thesis.

⁴⁶ Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, 495.

400 people.⁴⁷ The differences between population assessments in the first half of the century must have been caused by migration and natural disasters such as earthquakes, fires, or plagues. However, the estimations from the second half of the century show more consistency among each other and estimate a population between 100,000 and 150,000.⁴⁸ The estimations from the second half of the 18th century show a noticeable increase in Turks, Greeks, Jews, and foreigners. In contrast, the increase in the Armenian population was gradual and measured closer to the numbers from the first half of the century. To illustrate, in 1778, while the Greek population rose to 30,000, the foreign population approached 3,000, but the Armenian population was estimated between 6.000 and 8.000.⁴⁹ The fluctuations in numbers were a reflection of the lack of sufficient methods of population census, and some estimations are still debatable. Nevertheless, the estimates show that the population decreased due to the earthquake recovered over time and reached approximately 150.000 in the second half of the century.

The 1688 earthquake generated a stagnation in the city's economic activities and trade volume due to damage to the commercial buildings and perish of trade goods. Thankfully, raw materials and agricultural products in Smyrna's countryside helped the merchants to continue their trade activities and relaxed the economic situation in the city.⁵⁰ The city recovered from the earthquake, and the increase in economic activities and growth in trade volume before the earthquake was followed up during the 18th century. Especially after 1740, Smyrna's port started to gain importance in the eastern Mediterranean region.⁵¹ There were several reasons behind

⁴⁷ Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, 55-61. Thompson, *Travels through Turkey*, 10-24.

⁴⁸ Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, 55-61.

⁴⁹ Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, 55-61.

⁵⁰ Ülker, *XVII, ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İzmir*, 18-19.

⁵¹ Frangakis, "The Ottoman Port Izmir," 149.

the city's economic development in the 18th century. Commercial ties between the West and Ottomans were strengthened through the port of Smyrna, and Western products penetrated the Anatolian and Iranian markets thanks to the city's geographical position.⁵² Also, food and raw materials were exported to the West market via Smyrna's port. For instance, 55% to 97% of the shipped goods were raw materials used in Western Europe manufacturing. In return, most of Smyrna's imports constituted cloths.⁵³

Given the destructiveness of the earthquake, it was necessary to rebuild the commercial buildings, warehouses, and inns destroyed in the 1688 earthquake to sustain economic development. The accommodation of merchants and storage goods were essential necessities for the continuation of commercial life.⁵⁴ There is no doubt that reconstruction works had to be carried out in order to revitalize the destroyed city. The rebuilding of Smyrna should have impacted on urban space. In fact, Motraye describes the city he encountered in 1699 as "new Smyrna" and claims that the old Smyrna was utterly destroyed in the earthquake of 1688.⁵⁵ Although the term "new Smyrna" seems like an exaggeration, we can think that the urban fabric of the city changed when it was redeveloped. For instance, one suggestion assumes that the earthquake created an enormous disaster because buildings in the city were made of stone before the earthquake. Thus, stone was used only in the foundation of structures built after the earthquake, while wood and brick were preferred in the remaining parts.⁵⁶

⁵² Frangakis, "The Ottoman Port Izmir," 150.

⁵³ Frangakis, "The Ottoman Port Izmir," 151.

⁵⁴ Ülker, *XVII, ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İzmir*, 18-19.

⁵⁵ Motraye, *Voyages du Sr. A. de La Motraye*, 182.

⁵⁶ See the notes in Stiros, "Archaeological evidence," 735.

In his accounts, Paul Lucas (1664-1737), a French merchant and traveler who visited Smyrna in 1714, indeed resonates with this opinion. According to Lucas, the bases of the houses were made of stone up to ten or fifteen feet high, and the upper parts were made of timber and mudbrick. He also stated that this was a precaution for the earthquakes, and even though there were severe earthquakes after 1688, only a few buildings were demolished.⁵⁷ Another traveler, British churchman Richard Pockocke (1704-1765), who visited Smyrna around 1740, also makes a parallel observation and states that the upper floors of the buildings were constructed of mudbrick.⁵⁸ After the devastation caused by the earthquake, as a precaution against future earthquakes, the construction of buildings using wood and mudbrick instead of stone is an important indicator. This shows that the earthquake affected the city's landscape, and that different materials and techniques were used in the buildings constructed after the earthquake.

Moreover, Pockocke's memoirs refer to the long structures stretching from the seashore to Frank Street. These structures, *frenkhânes*, had galleries between the street and the seashore for the passages and were built as two floors. The lower floors were used as shops and the upper floors as residential places. The structures with gardens and courtyards, which serve as a gateway between the street and the coastal part, have piers on the seashore where merchants load and unload their goods.⁵⁹ In fact, these buildings fundamentally correspond to the structures mentioned by De Bruyn and Evliya Çelebi before the earthquake of 1688. However, an important question is how widespread these properties became after the disaster and what role these structures, which were said to have belonged to consuls and wealthy

⁵⁷ Lucas, *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas*, 150.

⁵⁸ Pockocke, *Voyages de Richard Pockocke*, 17.

⁵⁹ Pockocke, *Voyages de Richard Pockocke*, 17-18.

individuals before the earthquake, began to play in the commercial life of the city after 1688. It is also crucial to how these structures, which existed before the earthquake and continued to be built after, affect the urban fabric of the city.

To answer these questions, comparing visual and written documents before and after the earthquake is necessary. Two visual materials, one was engraved by Tournefort (Fig. 8), and the other is in the Rijksmuseum today, but the painter is unknown, representing Smyrna's urban landscape in the early 18th century (Fig. 9). Both images represent the panorama of Smyrna. However, unlike Tournefort's panorama, the image from Rijksmuseum also includes a representation of an official encounter between the *kadi* of Smyrna and the Dutch consul. Tournefort's panorama was made in 1717. The image was reminiscent of previous examples in its style. It gives a view of the city from the sea. The waterfront had tall, slender buildings, flags adorning the waterfront, and significant landmarks such as *Kadifekale* castle, ruins of St. Polycarp's tomb, and Genoese castle on the horseshoe-shaped harbor. In contrast, the image in the Rijksmuseum, while similar in style to the older examples, provides a different view of the waterfront and the buildings on the shore. The painting shows common elements depicting Smyrna's view from the shore such as ships, camels carrying cargo, consulate elements at Smyrna's waterfront, and historical and religious landmarks, such as *Kadifekale* and Genoese castles. However, the most noticeable difference in the city view was the representation of the buildings, *frenkhânes*, on the waterfront. According to the view, the number of *frenkhâne* properties had increased considerably, and they share a common plan type: they were narrow, longitudinal, and tall structures. In this regard, the image represents the view of urban fabric developed after the 1688 earthquake.

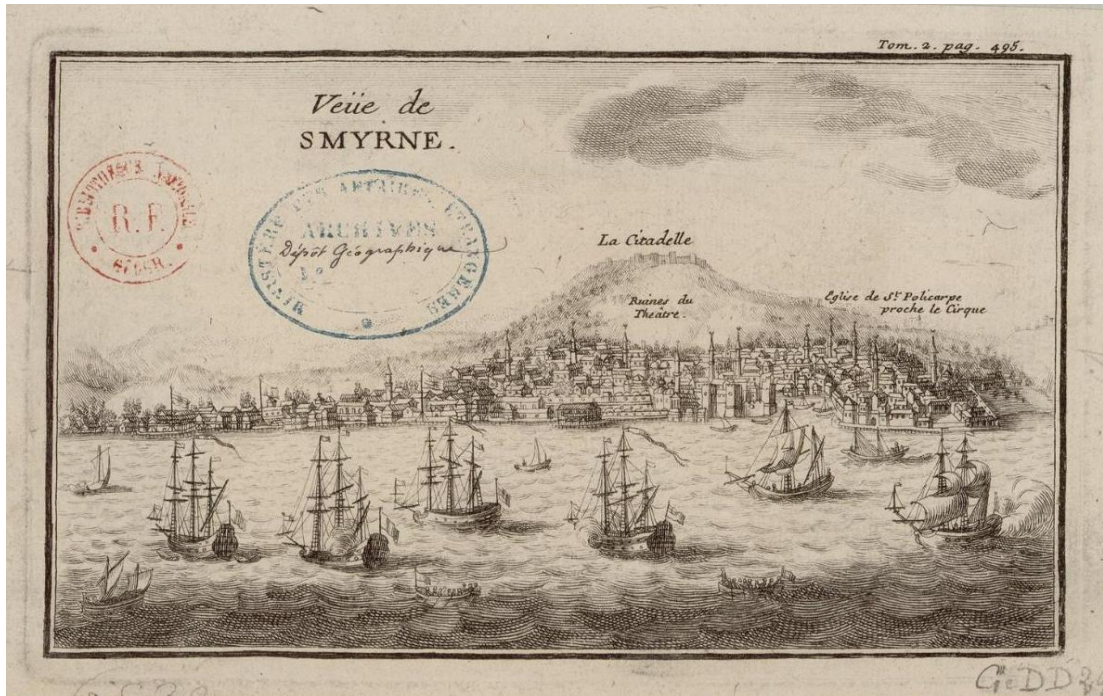


Fig. 8 Tournefort, J. P. (1717). View of Smyrna [Engraving]. Retrieved from BNF Gallica



Fig. 9 Anonymous Painter, (c.1709-1723). View of Smyrna (Izmir) and the Reception Given to Consul de Hochepped (1657-1723) in the Council Chamber [Painting]. Retrieved from Rijksmuseum

However, there were contradictions about the date of the Rijksmuseum painting, and it was assumed to have been painted between 1687 and 1723. In this respect, whether the painting shows the pre-earthquake or post-earthquake view of Smyrna was debatable. Nevertheless, it is possible to get an idea about the painting's date from the reception between the Dutch consul and the *kadi*.⁶⁰ It is believed that the consul who visited the *kadi* was a member of the de Hochepped family, who were Dutch consuls in Smyrna for a long period⁶¹ and the image was considered a representation of Dutch consul Daniel Jean de Hochepped's (1657-1723) first visit to Smyrna's *kadi* in 1687 when he was appointed as the consul of Smyrna. In fact, an interesting detail makes this assumption dubious. According to a recent study, it has been suggested that the consul in the painting could be Daniel Jean de Hochepped or his son Daniel Alexander De Hochepped (1689-1759). In the painting, the consul wears a medallion around his neck, which was given to Daniel Jean de Hochepped in 1709 as an award by Joseph I (1678-1711), Holy Roman Emperor and the ruler of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy (Fig. 10).⁶² However, it was also assumed that the painting represents Daniel Alexander de Hochepped with his father's medallion during the reception with the *kadi* in 1723 when he succeeded to the duty of consul in Smyrna.⁶³ Thanks to the wearing and medallion of the consul depicted in the painting, we know that it must be painted after the 1688 earthquake, between the years 1709 and 1723. Therefore, the panorama in the Rijksmuseum painting represents the urban landscape of early 18th century Smyrna. In fact, I assume that the representation of the urban landscape in the painting was more accurate than most of the sources produced in similar periods, especially when it was compared

⁶⁰ Heylen, "Kunst in de Levant," 53-57.

⁶¹ Vanneste, *Intra-European Litigation*, 52-53.

⁶² Heylen, "Kunst in de Levant," 54-55.

⁶³ Heylen, "Kunst in de Levant" 55.

with other visual materials representing the urban landscape of the city after the 1688 earthquake.



Fig. 10 The details of the consul's wearing and the medallion

The image, which shows that Smyrna was a city of diplomatic and commercial importance, is one of the most remarkable sources showing the urban layout of Smyrna after the 1688 earthquake. On the waterfront, there were *frenkhâne* properties, similar to Pockocke's description, extending from the shore to Frank Street. These properties were represented: narrow, longitudinal, and tall (Fig. 11). In order to know to what extent this image represents the landscape after the 1688 earthquake, it is necessary to compare it with visual and textual materials produced after the earthquake. However, unfortunately except for the Rijksmuseum painting, a

few panoramas and drawings represent these properties on the waterfront and depict their structures in detail (Fig. 12 and Fig. 13). Besides, we should also note that images depicting the landscape of Smyrna could be a reproduction of available materials to artists of the time rather than a production of an eye witnessing. Still, the urban changes can be examined through maps and plans drawn from a bird's eye view, and those showing parcels. In this regard, the painting from the Rijksmuseum depicts a different urban fabric than other materials produced in the same period. The image represents the spatial transformations in Smyrna that took place after the 1688 earthquake.



Fig. 11 The details of the waterfront area

Visual materials depicting the urban layout of Smyrna represent the city from a subjective, perceptual, perspectival, contextual, and contested dimension. The drawings of Luppazolo, De Bruyn, Tournefort, and the Rijksmuseum painting were produced for the viewers probably unfamiliar with the urban layout of Smyrna, and they usually represented the urban landscape with the city's political, historical, and religious landmarks, such as consulate flags, St. Polycarp's tomb, and Genoese and *Kadifekale* castles. The consulate flags adorning the shore, marking the place as a familiar space for the viewers, was one of the common elements that we encounter in almost all representations, and the ships emphasized the city's importance in the eastern Mediterranean trade. Even though these representations were subjective and

contested, they give us hints about the spatial transformations and urban changes that took place in Smyrna. For instance, a city map prepared by an English merchant, Captain Andrew Elton, in 1730 depicts the urban view of Smyrna from a parallel perspective and emphasizes significant landmarks in his map (Fig. 12). However, like in the paintings and drawings produced after the earthquake, the map shows *frenkhânes* on the waterfront as narrow, longitudinal, and tall structures. The emphasis was given to the length of the side facades of the buildings located on the seashore, and there was not a promenade space on the shoreline. Elton's drawing demonstrates approximately thirteen buildings located on the shore parallel to the drawings of Luppazolo and De Bruyn, which illustrate thirteen piers. However, the textual and visual sources produced before and after the 1688 earthquake shows that *frenkhâne* properties became tall, longitudinal, and narrow after the earthquake. Thus, the sources produced after the 1688 earthquake emphasize the longitudinal, narrow, and tall *frenkhânes* on the waterfront, whereas the emphasis was given to the wharves and individual ownership of the wealthy foreigners in the sources produced before the earthquake.

Likewise, a city view was engraved by French writer and diplomat Chouisel-Gouffier (1752-1817), who arrived at Smyrna in 1782. In contrast to Smyrna's views depicting the city from the gulf, Choisel-Goiffier's drawing represents Smyrna's landscape from a different angle, from the endpoint of Smyrna on the north where the mill was located (Fig. 13). The mill was also visible in the drawing of De Bruyn, both did not appear in the drawings of Luppazolo, Tournefort, Elton, and the Rijksmuseum painting. In the city view, people in traditional Ottoman costumes were playing games, singing music, riding horses, and herding camels. Behind the people, Smyrna was visible with *Kadifekale* castle on the mountain and possibly the ruins of

St. Polycarp's tomb. The waterfront was once more depicted with the consulate flags adorning it, but this time the perspective of the image allows us to see the waterfront from the northern part of the city. Besides, the perspective of the engraving demonstrates the *frenkhânes* from the side. Parallel to other visual and textual sources, *frenkhâne* properties located on the waterfront were depicted as longitudinal, narrow, and tall. Although the customs and wharves were not visible from the side view, small boats between ships and buildings represent the movement of people and materials from ships into the city. Chouisel-Gouffier's engraving, on the other hand, offers an orientalist view of the people and city through the representation of people and remarkable flags adorning its waterfront.

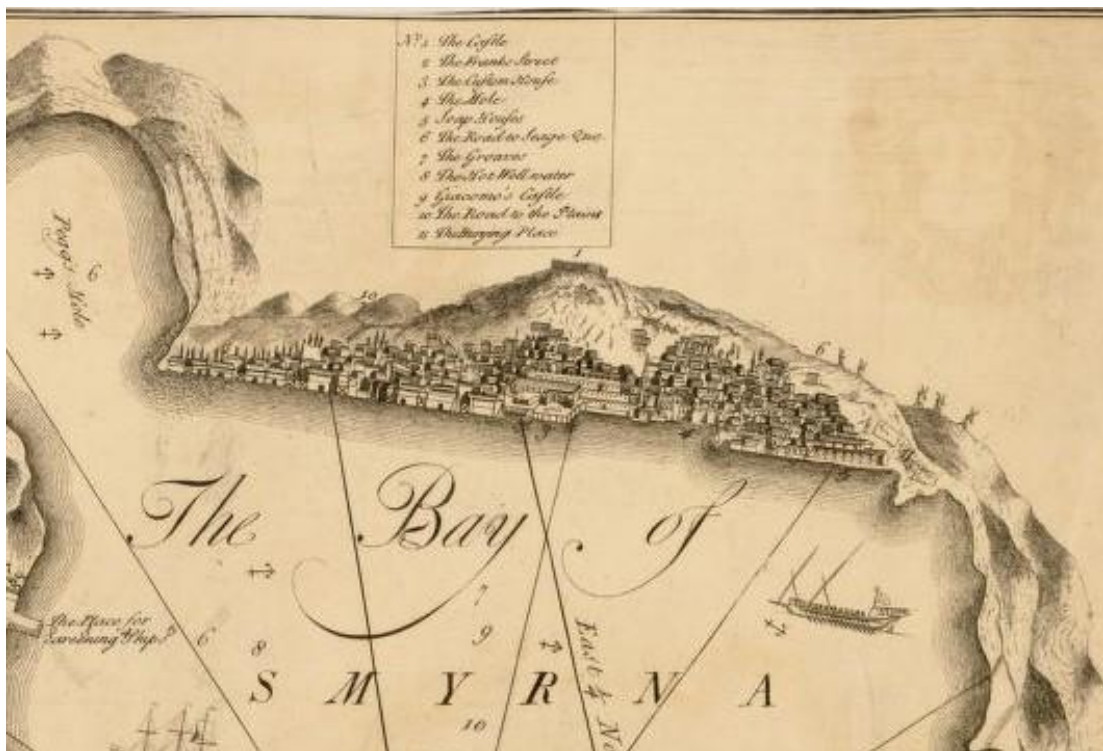


Fig. 12 Andrew, E. (1730). The waterfront detail from the Chart of Smyrna [Map]. Retrieved from Stanford Libraries



Fig. 13 Choiseul-Gouffier. M. G. A. (c.1780). View of Smyrna [Engraving]. Retrieved from BNF Gallica



Fig. 14 The waterfront detail in Tournefort's engraving



Fig. 15 Dutch flag detail in Choiseul-Gouffier's engraving



Fig. 16 Dutch flag detail in the Rijksmuseum painting



Fig. 17 Dutch flag detail in the Choiseul-Gouffier's engraving

2.1.3 The waterfront in late 18th and early 19th century maps

The earliest projective and iconographic city plans were prepared by a French geographer and cartographer Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, in 1780⁶⁴ and Livio Amadeo Missir, a Levantine who inhabited Smyrna, around the year 1800.⁶⁵ While Barbié du Bocage's plan shows the city and its surroundings (Fig. 18), Missir's plan focuses on the area on the waterfront and Frank Street (Fig. 19). Barbié du Bocage's plan shows the parcels on the waterfront and represents an overall city plan with an emphasis by color difference, pink in ordinary places, blue in important places such as religious, historical places and commercial areas such as *Veziir Han*, the Church of St. Polycarp, the Church of St. Photini, *Hisar* mosque. Also, some places on the map were named, like the waterfront was indicated as *Quai des Francs* (Quay of the Europeans), Frank Street was marked as *Rue de Franque*, and the area at the northern end of Frank Street was named *Plate de Fasula*. The map shows that the area known as the horseshoe-shaped harbor was already filled up in 1780, and the place was indicated as *Place de l'ancien port* by Barbié du Bocage. A few properties on the waterfront were indicated with symbols and names. For instance, one property was marked by the sign of a cross (+), indicating that it was a religious place, accompanied by the writing "Zoccolanti" or "Les Recollets."⁶⁶ Another property was marked with a star (*) accompanied by a writing "Maison du M. Caravali acheté par le Consul" indicating that it was a residential place of a consul bought from another person. One property was defined as "Maison Giraud, ancien temple Cybele."

⁶⁴ Yılmaz, "XVI. Lui'nin Coğrafyacısından Kemeraltı," 65.

⁶⁵ Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 16-19.

⁶⁶ According to Serap Yılmaz, it was "J. Zaccolanti, les Recellets." See in Yılmaz, "XVI. Lui'nin Coğrafyacısından Kemeraltı," 70. In Serap Yılmaz's article, the name Zoccolanti or Le Recollets were erroneously considered as family names. These were in fact the Italian and French names given to the Franciscan order of Reformed Observantines, based in Istanbul at Santa Maria Draperis, and in Izmir at Santa Maria. Both institutions were protected by the Habsburg. I gratefully thank my advisor Prof. Paolo Girardelli for this clarification.

Moreover, the property in the end of the northern part of the waterfront was indicated as “Han...” (inn), but the writing below is unreadable.⁶⁷

On the other hand, Missir’s city plan, which was adorned with flags and ships on the waterfront area, and produced around 1800, includes an indicator of streets, commercial areas, consulates, churches, hospitals, cemeteries, inns, religious spaces, and historical areas. For instance, British Consulate, Dutch Consulate, Holy Roman/German Empire Consulate, and Swedish-Denmark Consulate were listed in the indicator. The religious spaces of Capuchin, Dominican, Lazarists, Armenians, and Greeks were listed, however, any Jewish and Muslim religious spaces were not indicated in the plan. Frank Street was shown as “Strada Franca.” In addition to Frank Street, there were also other streets listed such as “Strada di S. Demetrio”, “Nuovo Strada di S. Demetrio,” “Strada di S. Giorgio,” “Strada de Giardini”, “Strada dell’impurità,” “Strada delle Caravanes,” and “Rue de Roses.”⁶⁸ Besides, even though only a few places on the waterfront were indicated in the list, three places indicated were referred as “Chani di Bortolo,” “Chani di Bottaio,” and “Balikchi” Inn.⁶⁹ Similar to Barbié du Bocage, Missir also located the religious space of Catholic order Dominicans, “Casa de’ P.P. Domenicani,” on the shore.

The two city plans show the development of the waterfront area after the 1688 earthquake, and they demonstrate that there were *frenkhâne* properties on the waterfront functioning for different purposes, such as residential places, religious spaces, consulates, and commercial areas. Both plans indicate the city had developed, and spatial transformations took place since the visit of De Bruyn in 1678. Indeed, the development of the city can also be seen in two maps, the city expanded to the

⁶⁷ It could be *Barbaris Han*. See in Yılmaz, “XVI. Lui’nin Coğrafyacısından Kemeraltı,” 70.

⁶⁸ The names were written as they were in the indicator, see the list in Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 19.

⁶⁹ The property was “Balikchi Han” according to Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 19.

northern part, known as “Fasula” Street, in the twenty years that Barbié du Bocage and Missir produced their city plans. During the development of the city from the earthquake until the end of the 17th century, the number of *frenkhâne* properties on the waterfront also increased. The city expanded towards the north, and new properties on the shore were constructed. Therefore, when the travelogues of Motraye and Pockocke were also taken into consideration alongside visual materials, the Rijksmuseum painting representing Daniel Jean de Hochepped’s encounter with *kadi* between 1709 and 1723 demonstrates the urban fabric of Smyrna after the 1688 earthquake.

However, we should not consider the image as an exact representation of the urban space of Smyrna that developed after the earthquake, but only an accurate one in contrast to others since the representations were shaped by subjective, perceptual, contextual, and contested dimensions. The visual materials produced by Tournefort, Gouffier, Barbié du Bocage, and Missir represent places according to their perspective. Tournefort and Gouffier emphasized the religious and historical landmarks familiar to their viewers and depicted the waterfront as a space adorned by consulate flags in great sizes, indicating that an Oriental place of their days, but which was Christian and Westerner initially, was still dominated by Westerners. Although Barbié du Bocage and Missir produced city plans rather than panoramas, their plans still carry the imprints of subjectivity and their perspectives. For instance, Barbié du Bocage marked the waterfront as “Quai des francs” and mostly represented historically, religiously, and politically important places for Westerners, such as ruins of temples, churches, consul houses, and castles in his plan. Besides, property ownerships were shown under the name foreigners, like the residential place of Giraud, although foreigners could not legally freehold properties. In the early-

modern era, foreigners could not obtain property, but only Ottoman subjects and Levantine women. Hence, properties were registered under the name of foreigners' mothers-in-law or their wives in the Ottoman courts.⁷⁰

Perhaps, the city plan of Missir can be seen as a counter-example due to its remarkable inclusion of important streets, commercial areas, religious spaces, and historical places. Still, it did not include religious spaces of Muslims and Jews in the city. Therefore, the visual materials represent the landscape from the perspective of its author, and it could contradict with the reality in the space. In fact, Smyrna's urban space was transformed by various factors, such as geographical characteristics, transformations in global economic conditions, international relations, and state/communal regulations. Individual actors, diverse communities, plural affiliations and played significant roles in these spatial transformations taking place, therefore it is not possible to assume that space belonged to one group. On the contrary, the plural society in Smyrna constructed the urban space and they became the active agents of spatial transformation.

⁷⁰ The foreigners were not allowed to freehold properties before the reformations took place in the second half of the 19th century. Thanks to the edict of 1856, all Ottoman subjects were equally allowed to obtain properties. However, foreigners in the Empire should have asked permission from the central government in order to grant the property right. Collas, *La Turquie en 1864*, 126-127.



Fig. 18 Bocage, J. D. B., (c.1780). Plan of Smyrna [City Plan]. Retrieved from BNF Gallica

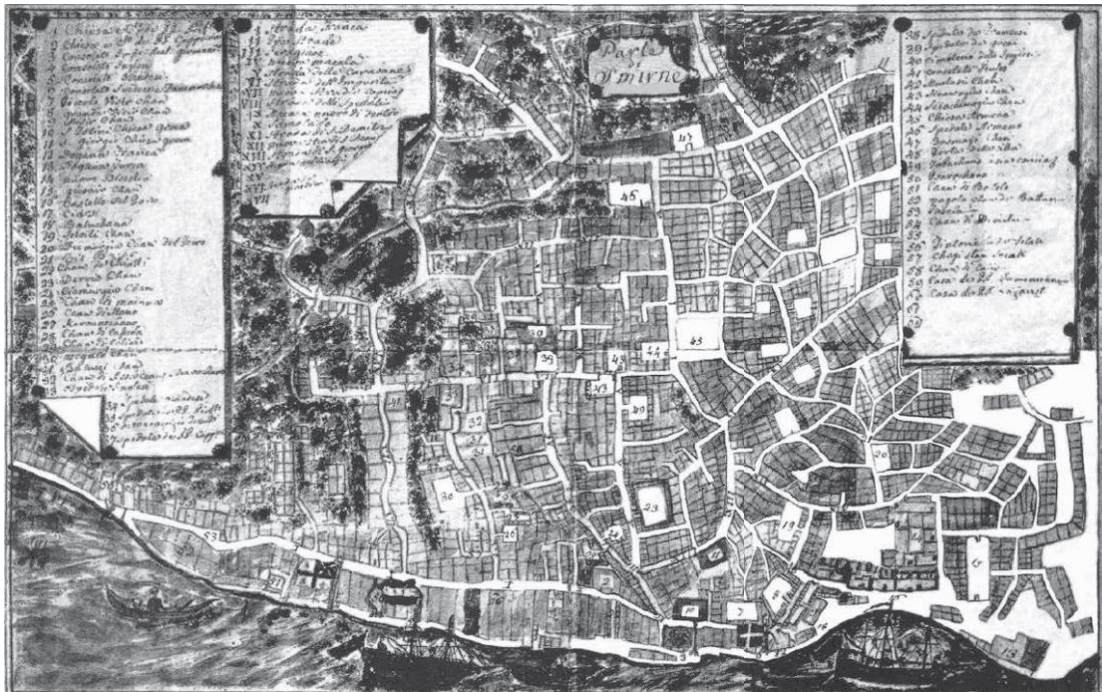


Fig. 19 Missir, L. A., (c.1800). Plan of Smyrna [City Plan]. From Pınar, İ. (2020). *Osmanlı Dönemi İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*



Fig. 20 Details of the waterfront from the plan of Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, 1780

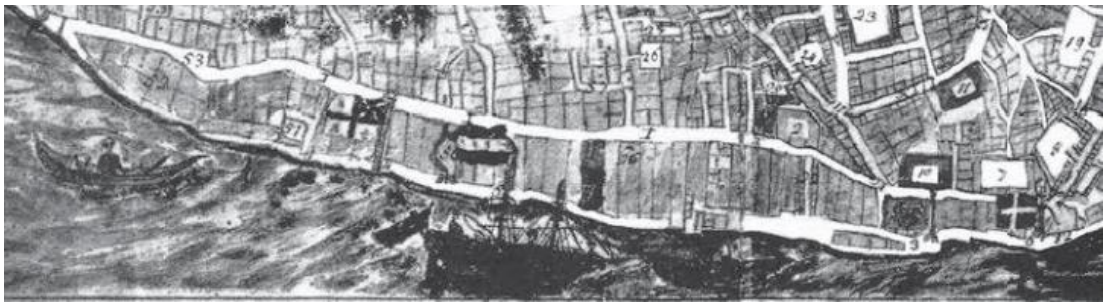


Fig. 21 Details of the waterfront from the plan of Livio Amademo Missir, c.1800

Indeed, the development of Smyrna’s multicultural environment was also related to the developments taking place at the state level, such as international affairs and agreements. Smyrna’s commercial ties with the West and eastern Mediterranean developed in the decades following the 1688 earthquake due to privileges, via *ahdnames* or capitulations, to the merchants from foreign nations. For instance, in 1740, Ottoman and French rulers signed an *ahdname* giving privileges about taxation and guaranteeing their religious freedom to the French merchants who involve in commercial activities in the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹ Following the capitulations given in 1740, Smyrna started to be the most important port city in the eastern Mediterranean due to the enormous increase in its trade volume. Smyrna surpassed its rivalries, such as the Egyptian and Syrian ports of the empire, and it became the most significant trade route between the Ottoman Empire and the West.⁷²

⁷¹ Aliotti, *Des Français en Turquie*, 38-40.

⁷² Frangakis, “The Ottoman Port Izmir,” 151.

Raw materials such as cotton, cotton yarn, mohair yarn, wool, and silk, alongside agricultural products such as wheat, raisin, opium, and figs were exported to the West through Smyrna's port.⁷³ However, even though Smyrna's trade was mainly import oriented in the first half of the 18th century, the city's import volume also remarkably increased after the second half of the 18th century, and manufactured goods such as cloth flowed from Western markets.⁷⁴ Until the French Revolution in 1789, France was the most notable country in terms of cloth imports, both in terms of popularity and sales. After the French Revolution, trade relations between the Ottoman Empire and France weakened, and British trade gained prominence in the Ottoman lands from the 19th century onwards.⁷⁵

Of course, the capitulations did not only cause a rise in the trade volume but also increased the cultural exchange through migration of merchants and foreigners from Western countries.⁷⁶ Thanks to international affairs, regulations, agreements, migrations, and mobility, the flow of individual actors, communities, and institutions accelerated, and encounters between them shaped the urban space of Smyrna. Although the urban landscape of Smyrna was represented with national flags, or as in the case of Barbié du Bocage, spaces were marked as territorial places of certain groups, like "Quai des Francs," the reality in the urban space contradicts these kinds of representations. The plural environment of Smyrna created encounters between diverse communities. In fact, textual documents, visual materials, and scientific maps that were produced in the first half of the 19th century allow us to trace spatial

⁷³ See further in Peyssonnel, *Traité sur Le Commerce*, 87-94. For the history of the French Revolution, see Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, 53-76.

⁷⁴ Frangakis, "The Ottoman Port Izmir," 151.

⁷⁵ Keyder et al., "The Trade of Cotton and Cloth in Izmir," 181.

⁷⁶ Capitulations or *ahdnames* were long-term practices, and these agreements were made between Ottomans and Western powers such as Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines in different periods, see Goffman, "Negotiation with the Renaissance State."

transformations and encounters between different parties. In this regard, the earliest nautical charts representing the geography of Smyrna were produced by British Royal Navy officers Thomas Graves (1802-1856) and Richard Copeland in the early 19th century. Graves' map was drawn in 1836-37 for the British Admiralty, but it was edited in 1876 to demonstrate changes in the urban space, such as the construction of a modern quay (Fig. 22).⁷⁷ Likewise, Richard Copeland's map of Smyrna for the British Admiralty was prepared only three years before Graves' map, in 1834.⁷⁸ But again, Copeland's map was also edited in 1860 and 1887 to include the borders of the modern quay and railway lines. However, since the question of modern quay and custom will be the matter of the third chapter, the initial plans will be examined in order to trace the imprints of spatial transformations in the first half of the 19th century (Fig. 23).

2.1.4 Diplomacy and property

To start with, Graves' map shows Smyrna's urban setting as parcels, both the waterfront and inner city. Consequently, the map lets us trace the imprints of possible changes from the 18th century onwards. The waterfront shown in Graves' map resembles the waterfront visible in the maps of Barbié du Bocage and Missir. The properties in the waterfront were narrow and longitudinal. In the map of Graves, a few properties were numbered in order to show ownership. The map of Graves indicates new consulates on the waterfront that we did not encounter before, such as Swedish, Austrian, Russian, Prussian, Sardinian, American, and Danish. However, the increase in the number of consulates alone does not explain the increase in the number of properties on the waterfront. Similarly, Graves' map, like the maps of

⁷⁷ Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 16.

⁷⁸ Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 16.

Bocage and Missir, shows more than thirty properties located on the shore. Graves' map also indicates the properties on the waterfront extended towards the sea in comparison to earlier plans prepared by Barbié du Bocage and Missir (Fig. 24). Although similar extensions were also indicated on Copeland's map (Fig. 25), Graves' map shows more expansion towards the sea in comparison to Copeland's map. The expansion level into the sea between the two maps is noteworthy. According to maps, only a few *frenkhânes* were extended in 1834, whereas almost all *frenkhâne* owners extended their places into the sea in 1837 (Fig. 24). Besides, the Sardinian consulate (9) was placed in the filled-up area, just in front of the American and Danish Consulates, and it partly blocks the Danish Consulate's (11) access to the shore.



Fig. 22 Copeland, R. (1734). Smyrna Harbor [Map]. Retrieved from UWM Libraries

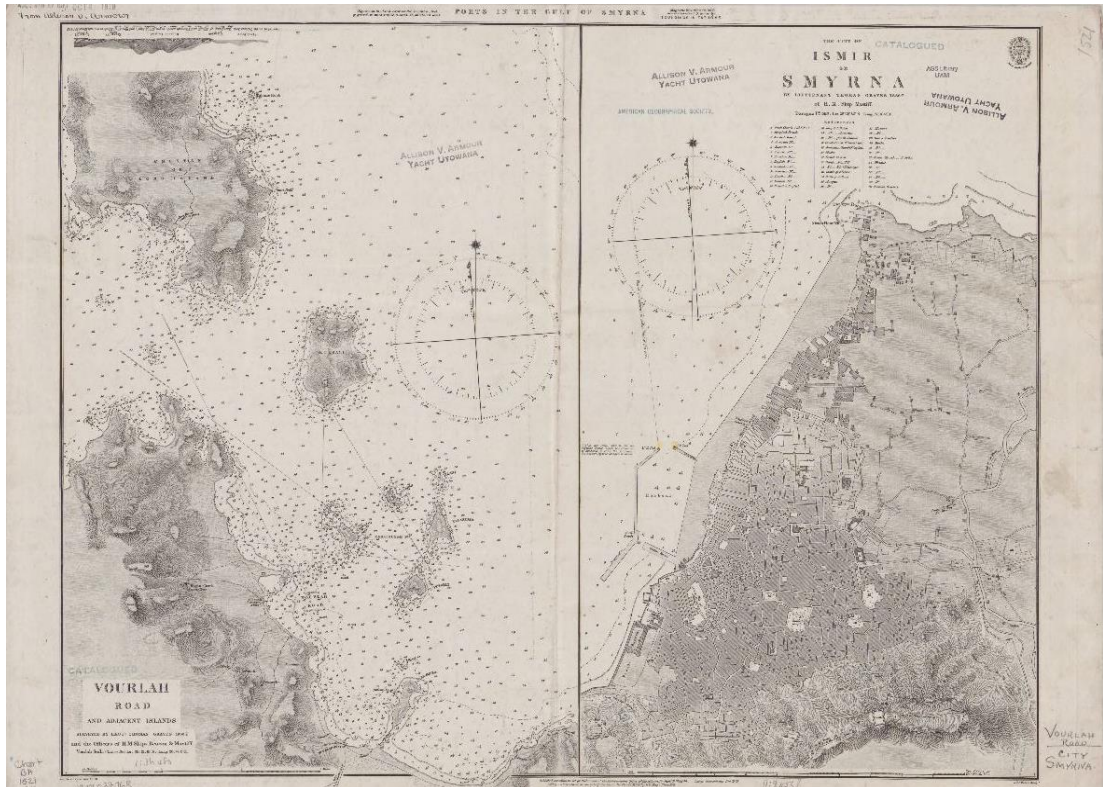


Fig. 23 Graves, T. (1836-37). Plan of Smyrna [Map]. Retrieved from UWM Libraries

Frenkhânes' extensions into the sea were notable on the maps of Thomas Graves and Copeland. Indeed, *frenkhânes* stretched out as the sea was filled in over time, with new structures being built in the areas in the sea lots.⁷⁹ Even though the practice of filling up the sea lots was old, and it was carried over for decades, the reorganization of land legislation and the formation of the Ministry of *Evkaf* in 1826 opened the doors for a new era on the waterfront. Before the land legislation in 1826, lands belonged to the waqf of *Bezm-i Alem Sultan*, and all the property rights belonged to the waqfs. However, new legislation enabled the Ministry of *Evkaf* to raise its revenues by selling, transferring, and auctioning lots on the shore.⁸⁰ The highest bidder could acquire the land on the shore from the ministry and build new

⁷⁹ Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 183.

⁸⁰ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggle Over the Shore," 59-60.

facilities over the sea by filling it up. Indeed, some reports from travelers also confirm the sale of lots by waqf and acquisitions by various actors. For instance, Joseph-Francois Michaud, who visited Smyrna in 1830, complained about the behaviors of the local government. According to him, a quay would be a wise option for the city habitants; however, local governors do not prefer to build a quay but raise their revenues by giving the lots for a certain amount of money and letting them erect new buildings on the shore.⁸¹ Besides, Elliott argues that lot selling was a way to avoid sea regression,⁸² while Hamilton says that the governor found a way to raise money by “selling the sea” and asking purchasers to fill up the sea soon as possible. In some cases, the purchaser must have bought the lot one more time when it was relisted for sale in some cases, such as if the sea was not filled up in a proper time. Lastly, he points out that when the lot was for sale, the property owner in front of the listed lot should buy it in order to prevent others from buying the lot and building structures in front of theirs.⁸³ Perhaps, this was a case of Sardinian Consulate (9) blocking the access of the Danish Consulate (11) into the sea.

⁸¹ Michaud, *Correspondance D'Orient 1830-1831*, 206.

⁸² Elliott, *Travels in the Three Great Empires*, 35.

⁸³ Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 3

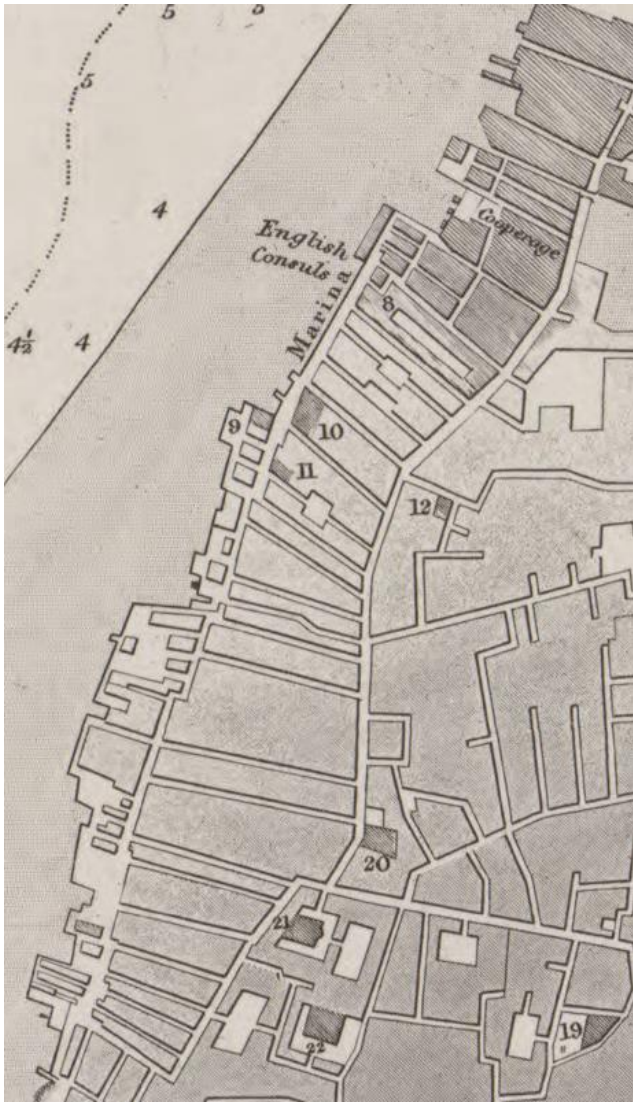


Fig. 24 The waterfront detail from the map of T. Graves



Fig. 25 Details of the waterfront from the map of R. Copeland

Maps and visuals did not show any detailed property ownership until the second half of the 19th century, and there are only a few written documents about *frenkhânes* before the second half of the 19th century. However, it is still possible to learn about the property ownership patterns on the shore by looking at the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office (BOA). For instance, one document indicates the ownership of a person instead of a consulate. According to the document, Petro, son of Matyo, was the owner of the *frenkhâne* until his death in 1795. Following his death, various actors claim ownership of the property in the

waqf land. However, even though beneficiaries claimed some rights, the waqf did not give any rights to the beneficiaries.⁸⁴ Another document is dated back to 1782 and tackles the issue regarding the frenkhâne land owned by *Evkaf-ı Hamereyn*. According to the document, an inn was built upon a *frenkhâne* property by *Hacı Sinan*, son of *Hacı Ahmed* from Algeria. The inn was built on *Kasap Hızır* Street.⁸⁵ Of course, the structure was an inn rather than a *frenkhâne*. But what the document shows us is noteworthy: firstly, it demonstrates that new actors came into sight during the boom of trade and economy in the region. That is to say, not only foreigners but all Ottoman subjects have begun to become a part of Smyrna's newly growing trade world. Secondly, while trade grew, new property and ownership problems arose. In both documents, the issue of inheritance became a matter of discussion.⁸⁶ The issues regarding inheritance and property rights and the involvement of new actors in the process of spatial transformation generated problems that needed to be legally and solved. I assume that, instead of "imported Westernization" and "the wish of ruling elites,"⁸⁷ the individual actors and diverse communities in the Ottoman Empire and their involvement in the spatial transformations became a driving force behind the changes in the Ottoman reformations regarding the equality, property rights, and modernization policies that took place in the second half of the 19th century; since the individual actors, diverse

⁸⁴ BOA, AE. SSLM, III., 170/10116, 5 Safer 1210 (August 21, 1795).

⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the street's location is not precisely known today. Atay, *Kapanan Kapılar*, 95.

⁸⁶ BOA, AE.SABH.I., 220/14527, 12 Şevval 1197 (September 10, 1783).

⁸⁷ The so-called Westernization period in the Ottoman Empire was usually considered as something imported from the West or as the sole product of the wish of the ruling elites or the enforcement of the Great Powers to heal the "sick man of Europe." Nevertheless, the involvement of diverse communities and actors in the reformation process was long neglected. In contrast, I argue that the modernization and reformation policies that took place in the Ottoman Empire cannot be fully understood without the contributions and participation of individuals, institutions, and diverse communities. Such as in the architecture, diverse communities and individual actors played an imported role in the modernization of the Empire. See for the architectural pluralism in the Ottoman Empire, Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 127-153.

communities, institutions, local and central governments found the solutions for the problems caused from the traditional laws in the modern regulations as we will discuss in the third chapter.

The developments in the economic and social structures paved the way for the transformation of the urban space of Smyrna. Also, since an increase in population accompanied economic growth, these changes profoundly impacted the seashore of Smyrna. During the early years of the 17th century, the shore was occupied by wealthy Ottoman subjects, foreigners, and consulates. However, the transformation in global regime of exchange in the 18th century was reflected in Smyrna, and it became the most important port city in the eastern Mediterranean. Consequently, new actors emerged on the shore, such as *frenkhâne* owners - foreigners, consulates, or Ottoman subjects- due to their involvement in Ottoman trade. The properties on the shore, *frenkhânes*, were also changed and transformed during this period. The sea was filled, and *frenkhâne* properties were extended into the sea by construction additional structures and wharves in the filled sea lots. Although documents are not high in number, imprints of this transformation are apparent in several maps and official documents from earlier periods. Moreover, since the structures and plan types were different from inns, *frenkhânes* were a particular feature of Smyrna's urban landscape thanks to Smyrna's important position in the Ottoman trade and the lack of city walls that enabled expansion of properties towards the sea. Since *frenkhânes* were not only places for storage and business but also private residential structures, they differed from inns in several ways. They were also used as residential places, religious spaces, consulates. *Frenkhâne* properties were owned by individuals and had private wharves where trade goods were exchanged. Although the local government sold sea lots in order to

raise its revenues and fill up the sea soon as possible, private wharves and *frenkhânes* created the smuggling issue, which became a significant problem for the central and local governments and triggered the modernization projects in the second half 19th century.

2.2 Frank street

Behind the *frenkhânes*, which creates a peculiar landscape in the bay that looks “even more beautiful like the bay of Naples,”⁸⁸ there was Frank Street. The street, also known as *Rue de Franques*, was one of the main arteries of cosmopolitan Smyrna, and it was the most crowded and dynamic place. The street, sometimes introduced as a European-looking part of the city, started from *Veziir Han* and St. Peter’s castle towards the north of the city and stretched until Bella Vista. With the growth of the city, the street expanded into the north, and the street also started to be known as *Rue de Verreries*, *Rue de Franque*, *Rue Fasula*, and *Rue Trassa*.⁸⁹ From early-modern era onward, the street has been described by travelers as a crowded and lively area where various goods were sold, and commercial activity was intense. For many travelers, it was the most delightful street in Smyrna. Nevertheless, some travelers were not very happy with the conditions of the street:

But if a first view be calculated to make a favorable impression, this is not confirmed by an inspection of the interior of the city. The quarter occupied by the Franks, called Frank Street, has a gutter running through its centre, and its dirty, ill-paved, and narrow; in addition to which; it is rendered almost impassable by long strings of camels and porters carrying huge bales of cotton, who compel the pedestrian frequently to seek refuge under a gateway. The houses are miserably built; the sides consist often of planks; and when of bricks, the walls are too thin to keep out cold and damp. Neither windows nor doors are made to shut close: none of former have weights attached, to allow

⁸⁸ Elliott, *Travels in the Three Great Empires*, 32-33.

⁸⁹ The street was named in aforementioned order from south to north. These streets also known as *Mahmudiye*, *Frenk*, *Sultaniye*, *Mecidiye*, and *Teşrifkiye* in Turkish. See further: Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 213-214.

of their remaining open at any revelation; and if locks appear on the latter, it is too much to expect that they should be serviceable.⁹⁰

Although Frank Street once formed the coastal line of Smyrna, the street was distanced from the sea due to expansions into sea lots over time.⁹¹ The buildings constructed over the newly filled areas blocked the entrance from the sea into the street. Nevertheless, the connection between the shore and the street was provided through galleries and passages. The goods arriving in the city were stored in warehouses located in *frenkhâne* properties and then sold in the shops, and people arriving in the city by ship reached the street through the passages below the *frenkhânes*.

One of the earliest visual materials representing Frank Street was the view of Smyrna drawn by Luppazolo in 1638 (Fig. 26). The street was shown as a highly curved and moving line just behind the *frenkhânes* with piers on the shore as if emphasizing the irregular settlement. Besides highlighting the irregularity in the street and city plan, Luppazolo drew human figures on the street, perhaps to emphasize the street's dynamism. It is known that Frank Street did not follow a straight line due to the irregularity of the area facing the coast, where goods were imported and exported from the *frenkhânes*.

⁹⁰ Elliott, *Travels in the Three Great Empires*, 33-34.

⁹¹ Atay, *İzmir Planları*, 6.



Fig. 26 Details of *Rue de Franque* in Luppazolo's drawing

De Bruyn's account is a valuable source of the early-modern urban fabric of Frank Street, although he did not represent Frank Street in his panorama. He points out that Franks inhabited the street, and they established their consulates there. There were residential places of *Ahmet Agha*, and grand vizier Mustafa Pasha, and the Dutch consul. Besides, a caravansary belonging to Greek families, and British, French, and Venetian consuls were located on the street. According to De Bruyn, grand vizier Mustafa Pasha owned the most prominent place on Frank Street (Fig.

27).⁹² The emphasis on the magnificence and prominence of Vizier Mustafa Pasha's residential place is noteworthy if we consider that this street was usually associated with wealthy foreigners and foreign consuls. There could be several reasons behind this fact; first, the residential place's location and prominence were significant in reflecting the governors' relationship with the consuls and merchants. Thus, grand vizier Mustafa Pasha could demonstrate his status and hierarchy among the street's inhabitants with his magnificent and grandiose residential place. Second, grand Vizier Mustafa Pasha's residential place, which distinguishes itself from others in its size, may emphasize Smyrna's belonging to the Ottoman Empire since contemporary accounts compare Smyrna with other cities in the West and emphasize the resemblance of Smyrna to Western towns because of the flags adorning the seashore.

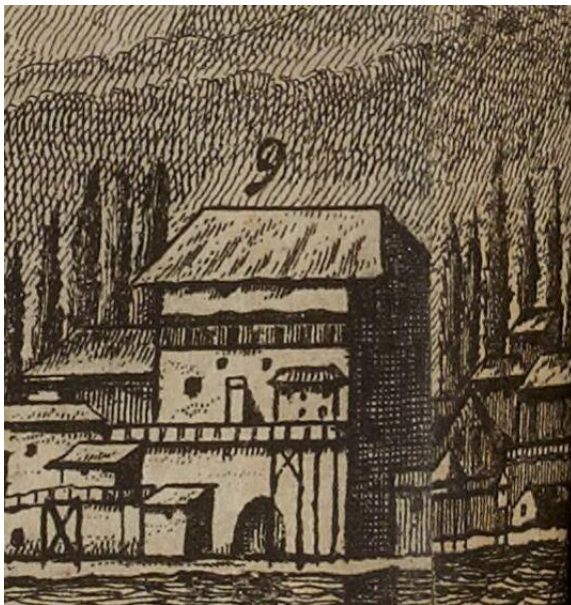


Fig. 27 Grand Vizier Mustafa Pasha's residential place in De Bruyn's Panorama

⁹² De Bruyn, *Voyages au Levant*, 24-26.

2.2.1 Bauffremont's visit: A prominent French visual source

The case of the grand vizier's residential place points out a crucial point about the street. Frank Street was mainly known as a commercial hub for diverse communities. But it was also a religious, social, and political urban space. For instance, a painting in the *Musée National de la Marine de Paris* that depicts an official parade on September 28, 1766, provides us with valuable information about the street's religious, social, and political significance in early-modern Smyrna. The painting depicts the arrival in Smyrna of Joseph de Bauffremont (1714–1781), the prince of *Listenois* and the commander of the French naval forces assigned to protect the merchant fleet in the Mediterranean during the 7-years' war.⁹³ The painting shows Joseph de Bauffremont accompanied by the French consul, the consul's wife, guards, janissaries, customs officers, and dragomans. Besides, inhabitants of Frank Street, dressed in traditional Ottoman and French clothes, watch the official parade from their windows.

⁹³ Courcelles, *Histoire Généalogique.*, 30.



Fig. 28 Anonymous. (c. 1766). Entry of Joseph de Bauffremont into Smyrne 28 September 1766 [Painting]. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons

The painting depicts the procession of Bauffremont taking place on Frank Street. The image also shows the Capuchin church of St. Polycarp, which was built in 1630 by Louis XIII's wish and Consul Jean Dupuy's efforts.⁹⁴ The church was depicted in ruins due to the damage it took in the fire of 1763.⁹⁵ Although the French consul demanded permission from the *kadi* of Smyrna for the rebuilding of the church in 1765, providing that it would not be more significant in size and more pleasant in layout than the destroyed church, the painting suggests that the permit for reconstruction had not yet been granted, or that the repair works could not be undertaken.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the Capuchin church was reconstructed in a basilica plan with three naves towards the end of the 18th century:

⁹⁴ San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau*, 263-265.

⁹⁵ San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau*, 341.

⁹⁶ BOA, HAT, 1429/58495, 11 Rabiulevvel 1187 (June 9, 1773).

This church, which was built at the end of the 18th century, has three naves on a basilica plan, with a flat chevet and no apse or apse aisle. The main nave, divided into seven sections by columns supporting the main side aisles, is covered by a barrel vault. The first section forms the narthex with its three traditional doors and houses the organ loft. The seventh section forms the sanctuary, crowned by a dome with twelve compartments on pendentives.⁹⁷

Near the church, there is a long two-story building with bay windows. The painting did not give any information about the structure, whereas the name of the church was written in the painting. Still, the presence of the consul's wife and French women at the larger door on the far-right side of the building suggests that the building represents the French consulate. Yet, Thomas Grave's map indicates that the French consulate was located on the southern part of the shore and was at a distance from the church of St. Polycarp in the second half of the 18th century. In this regard, the building representing the French consulate could be an imaginary space, or Madama Han (or Madame Han) located near St. Polycarp.⁹⁸ In fact, *Madama Han* had two windows that connected itself to the church.⁹⁹ It was assumed that *Madama Han* was constructed or bought by the Consul of the Netherlands, Daniel Jean de Hochepped, in the 18th century for his wife Clara Catherina Colyer (1662–1733), who was known as *Madama*.¹⁰⁰ The Dutch consul himself could not be entitled to own property as a foreign subject, and as it often happened, the property was registered in the name of a Levantine woman who may have been an Ottoman subject. The

⁹⁷ San Lorenzo, *Saint Polycarpe et son tombeau*, 331-332.

⁹⁸ The map drawn by Barbié du Bocage is available on BNF Gallica. Both maps are also included in the work of İlhan Pınar, *Osmanlı Dönemi İzmir Plan ve Haritaları*. A detailed redrawing of Barbié Bocage map was made by Serap Yılmaz and published in İlhan Pınar's work. In the case of *Madama Han*, since the two maps show two very close but different points, the identification of this building is based on Serap Yılmaz's work. See: Pınar, *İzmir Planları ve Haritaları*, 17-23.

⁹⁹ The two windows connecting the *Madama Han* and the Church of St. Polycarp was demolished in 1798. See: BOA, C..HR., 67-3314, 23 Şaban 1212 (February 10, 1798).

¹⁰⁰ Atay, *Kapanan Kapılar*, 434-435. In his study, Atay did not specify the names of the consul and the wife. Names are based on family tree of de Hochepped: Wife of Daniel Jean de Hochepped, Clara Catherina Colyer was also known as *Madama*. Also, wife of Daniel Jan de Hochepped (1727-1796), son of Daniel Alexander de Hochepped, Marie Dunant (1726-1811) was known as *Madama*. See Family tree of de Hochepped in Levantine Heritage Foundation, (April 15, 2023). Retrieved from Levantine Heritage Foundation. http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/de-Hochepped_Dynasty.pdf

belonging of the building to a consul's wife suggests that it could also have been used for diplomatic affairs. Therefore, when we consider the fact that property ownership changed frequently in the period, and the French consul's wife was also identified as *Madame* in the painting, it is possible that the structure in the image represents *Madama Han*.

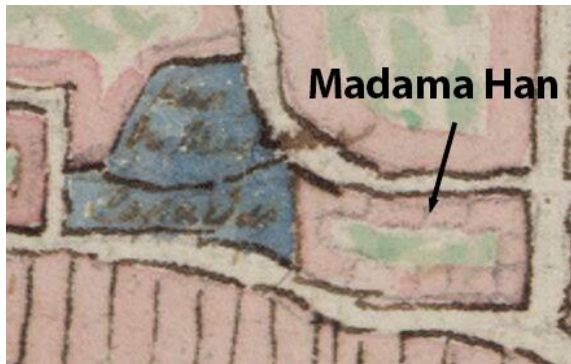


Fig. 29 *Madama Han* in the city plan of Barbié du Bocage, c.1780

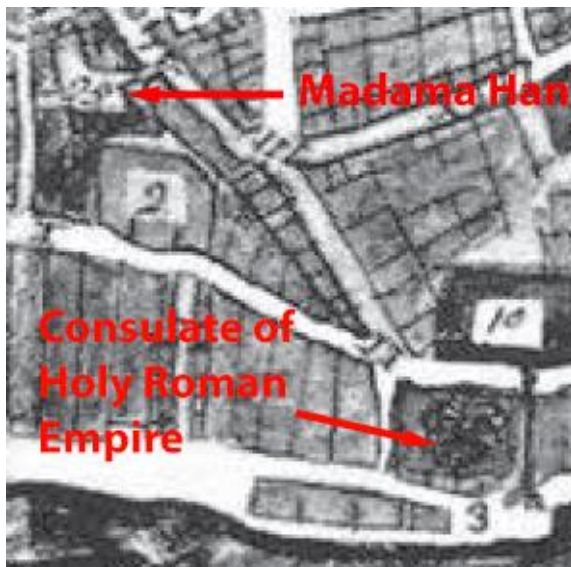


Fig. 30 *Madama Han* and Consulate of the Holy Roman Empire in the city plan of Livio Amadeo Missir, c.1800



Fig. 31 Portraiture of “la Büyük Madama,” Clara Catherina de Hoche pied-Colyer. From Heylen, *Kunst in de Levant*

Another possibility is that this structure represents the consulate building of the Holy Roman Empire due to the House of Bauffremont’s relation with the Holy Roman Empire. The Buffremont family was a part of the royal court and succession lines of the Holy Roman Empire rulers.¹⁰¹ According to Missir’s map, the consulate of the Holy Roman Empire was close to the old French consulate building given in De Bruyn’s panorama. The Holy Roman Empire’s consulate was near the Church of St. Polycarp and *Madama Han*. The monastery of St. Polycarp was thought to be connected to the French consulate by a wooden gallery.¹⁰² However, the distance between the monastery and the French consulate shown on maps and visuals makes such a connection unlikely. The wooden gallery of the monastery could provide a

¹⁰¹ They were engaged in many wars with other rulers and some members of Bauffremont family were titled as “*Prince de Saint Empire*”, such as Alexandre Emmanuel Louis de Bauffremont. See further: Courcelles, *Histoire Généalogique*, 1825. and Duvergier, *Mémorial Historique de la Noblesse*, 1839.

¹⁰² Pallini, “Early Nineteenth-Century Smyrna,” 77.

passage between the 18th century Holy Roman Empire consulate, which was built in a similar location to the property of the pre-earthquake French consulate that was visible in De Bruyn's panorama.

It is not possible to know which of these three probabilities was accurate without further research, and the likeliest possibility was that the structure represents an imaginary French consulate. However, there was a possibility that *Madama Han* was used for diplomatic affairs and religious activities. In fact, in accordance with the general spirit of the mid-18th century Frank Street in which the spaces served various purposes, we can assume that *Madama Han* was not only used for commercial activities but also for religious activities and political encounters as we see in the parade of Bauffremont. Besides, *Madama Han* was near the Church of St. Polycarp, and there were two windows from *Madama Han* to the church. Moreover, the depiction of the building in the painting resembles the local architecture of Smyrna developed after the 1688 earthquake, use of stone on the lower floors and mudbrick in the upper floors, rather than the 18th century Western and French architecture (Fig. 32). Thus, the structure in the painting was *Madama Han* instead of being an imaginary representation of French consulate, and it demonstrates that *Madama Han* was also used for diplomatic affairs.



Fig. 32 Details of the building techniques of *Madama Han*

The painting is an interesting representation of the social fabric of Frank Street. In the painting, people watch the procession of Joseph de Bauffremont from the windows. Blue and white flags adorned the windows, which may be associated with the flag of the French royal family of the House of Bourbon and their royal standard from 1643. The environment simultaneously contains local and Western elements: a building with bay windows and round-arched doors,¹⁰³ local people with traditional costumes, and Ottoman and French officers with their official uniforms. The encounter of diverse communities during the procession of Joseph de Bauffremont, in fact, represents the plural affiliations that existed in the city. The relationships between the Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Turks, and foreigners living in Smyrna are remarkably dynamic. Although people's identities were mostly based on religion and ethnicity, there were examples where these identifications evolved into plural affiliations. For instance, in 1833, there were 6354 Catholics in Smyrna;

¹⁰³ Ottoman architecture developed as an encounter of different cultures, materials and ideas. Therefore, it is not proper to assume that local architecture was purely Ottoman, but it was a combination of different architectural ideas and cultures gradually composed. See Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman House Types," 116-156.

among them, 1990 people were Ottoman subjects (Fig. 33).¹⁰⁴ The encounter between the Ottomans and the French seems intriguing. A structure resembling local architecture with its building technique and bay windows, and the church St. Polycarp stand there, and officials in both Ottoman and French clothes trespass ahead of these buildings. In this regard, the visual material depicts a view of Frank Street with its local and foreign components, a hybrid environment rather than a European-dominated urban space as it was assumed in general.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, we can think that Frank Street was not only a place for commercial activities¹⁰⁶ with a Western urban fabric¹⁰⁷ that other components only have passed to do business or shopping. Instead, it was an urban space where different actors encountered and inhabited.

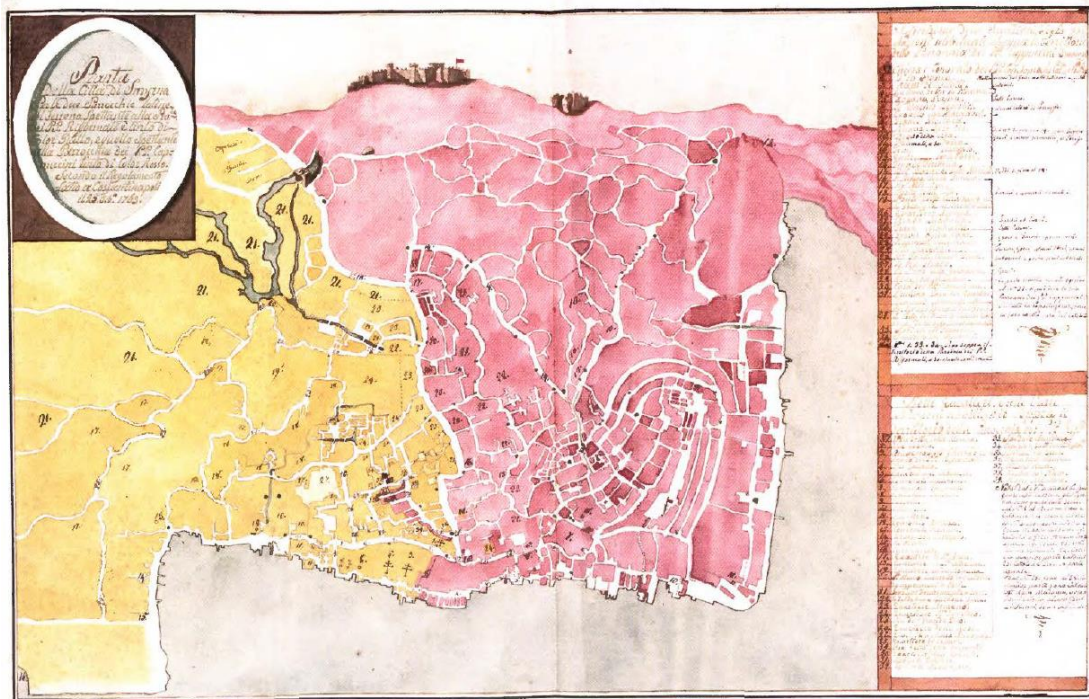


Fig. 33 Two Latin Parishes of Smyrna: Reformed Fathers (Yellow) and Capuchin Fathers (Red). Retrieved from Pallini, *Early 19th-century Smyrna*

¹⁰⁴ Hofmann, “L’arcivescovado di Smirne,” 459 and Pallini, “Early Nineteenth-Century Smyrna,” 78.

¹⁰⁵ Grand Rue de Pera, for instance, another important sphere to examine hybrid identity in Ottoman urban space and encounters between local and foreign components. See further: Girardelli, “Religious imprints along the Grand Rue,” 117-136.

¹⁰⁶ We should also note that other actors, besides foreigners, engaged in trade and commercial activities such as Turks, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews.

¹⁰⁷ Some accounts described Frank Street as “petit Paris.” This very adjective of “petit Paris” was also applied to Smyrna in general. For instance, Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 112.

Most materials from earlier periods consist of written documents rather than images. That's why it becomes harder to compare visuals about the landscape of Frank Street for the 17th and 18th centuries. However, the parade of Bauffremont reveals the urban layout of Frank Street, at least to a certain level. The written documents about Frank Street usually emphasize its significance in commercial activities and its vividness. Hence, the image shows us another aspect of the street, political and formal. We can correlate De Bruyn's accounts on the house of vizier Mustafa Pasha and the image above and assume that the street's importance relies not only on its volume of commercial activities but is a space for encounters between locals and foreigners. It is not purely an Ottoman urban space or an idealized European urban layout. On the contrary, a hybrid landscape was born from many sources: interactions between actors, new spatial relations, exchange of knowledge, and use of materials. Besides, being local or foreign cannot be categorized as two static identities, but a variety of identities and plural affiliations between people created a dynamic co-existence in Smyrna, like in other multicultural eastern Mediterranean cities such as Istanbul, Alexandria, and Salonica.¹⁰⁸ Last but not least, as the maps and plans demonstrated, although the street's urban layout would not be changed dramatically until the 19th century, the images of Frank Street from the 19th and 20th centuries illustrate a better perspective of everyday life on the street which was characterized by Smyrna's economic, cultural, and social realities.

¹⁰⁸ Multicultural environment does not necessarily mean a cosmopolitan environment. Therefore, I would intentionally use term "multicultural" instead of "cosmopolitan." See further for the discussions on cosmopolitanism and co-existence in a multicultural environment: Jasanoff, "Cosmopolitan," 393-409, Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality," 233-264.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN CHANGE AND CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS AFTER 1840

3.1 Waterfront

The horizon stretches out once again. We see, from a certain distance, the delicious sea where we sailed yesterday between Samos and Chios.¹⁰⁹

On his tour to Egypt in 1863, Sultan Abdulaziz (1830-1876) visited Western Anatolia and traveled through trains that a British company had constructed. Construction of the railways was a significant development for Smyrna. The railways' impact on the urban space was also enormous; like many other imprints, it came with the profound developments and novelties that took place in the second half of the 19th century, such as constructing the quay, implementing modern infrastructure, and implementing modern regulations.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, the changes did not take place suddenly. Instead, all these changes were the product of processes that have developed over a long period of time. In the mid-19th century, Smyrna was overgrowing in terms of population and volume of trade, and the cultural exchange accelerated. The inhabitants started constructing buildings in empty districts, infrastructural works were carried out, and modernization projects increased.¹¹¹

Foreign investments in Smyrna increased in number, and the city started to integrate

¹⁰⁹ Gardey, *Voyage du Sultan Abd-El-Aziz de Stamboul au Caire*, 223 (Fr. "L'horizon s'étend de nouveau. Nous revoyons quelque distance, la délicieuse mer où nous voguions hier entre Samos et Chio.")

¹¹⁰ Sea routes were the preferred choice for transportation over land routes due to their advantageous features. Nevertheless, the rise of railroads bolstered trade along the land routes. Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, 415-430.

¹¹¹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 23. Melih Gürsoy states that the trading activities in Izmir were in decline due to changing structures in the Mediterranean trade. For instance, Alexandria, Trabzon, and Mersin ports started to increase their export and import capacities. The rise of Izmir port corresponds to aftermath of the Crimean War. See further in Gürsoy, *Our Izmir*, 123-124.

international trade more densely.¹¹² For instance, according to British railway engineer Sir Macdonald Stephenson (1808-1895), the import amounts rose to £2,2447,493, and the export amounts increased to £2,2397,342 in 1857.¹¹³ However, the commercial activities were not the only income of the city, but agricultural activities in the provinces played a prominent role in the development of its economy.¹¹⁴ Thus, the city's growth did not merely impact the center, but also the exchange of agricultural products, raw materials, and workforce between Smyrna and its peripheries started to be more frequent.¹¹⁵

Travel accounts and population estimates indicate that the city's population almost doubled in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially between the 1840s and 1880s. The population figures indicate that Smyrna's population began to increase in the second half of the 19th century, from 150.000 to 200.000.¹¹⁶ Some accounts demonstrate that the Greek population of the city exceeded the Turkish population of the town, and already before mid-century the population of foreigners rose to 10,000 in some estimations. The British physician and zoologist George Rolleston (1829-1881) gives numbers as follows: 45.000 Turks, 50.000 Greeks, 10.000 Armenians, 17.000 Jews, and 10.000 foreigners.¹¹⁷ Although some researchers claim that the Greek population of the city was exaggerated purposely, the increase in the Greek population of the city is visible on multiple accounts, while the percentage of the Turkish population was decreasing.¹¹⁸ The increase in the city's population suggests that the city did not attract only people from the lands of the

¹¹² Gürsoy, *Our Izmir*, 124-129.

¹¹³ Stephenson, *Railways in Turkey*, 9.

¹¹⁴ Georgiadès, *Smyrne et l'Asie Mineure*, 66.

¹¹⁵ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, p. 24

¹¹⁶ For detailed numbers please see Beyru, *19. Yüzyıl'da İzmir'de Yaşam*, 49-66.

¹¹⁷ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 20-49.

¹¹⁸ See further for the increase rates in population, Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 17-27.

empire, but also welcomed a migration wave from outside of the Ottoman borders. The foreign population, over time acquiring the hybrid identity of the so-called Levantines, migrated from the West to find better economic and social opportunities. Moreover, some foreigners relocated due to the political instability of Europe, especially after the revolutions of 1848, and sought asylum from Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁹

The growth in population and economy progressed parallel to the developments in the Empire, which was trying to modernize and regulate itself according to the needs of the age in order to compete with the rest of the world and the Great Powers. Since the Ottoman Empire's population was composed of diverse communities from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, legal regulations were made to protect the rights of different parties or new legal rights were given. For instance, *Gülhane Hatt-ı Humayunu*, widely known as *Tanzimat* reforms, was declared in 1839 and it is generally assumed that it lasted until the succession of Abdulhamid II (1842-1918) to the throne in 1876.¹²⁰ *Tanzimat* reforms aimed to generate equality among different groups in the Empire, such as Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Muslims, which were defined according to the *Millet* system in a religious framework. Reform policies in the empire started with Selim III (1761-1808), when he formed a military force known as *Nizam-ı Cedid*, meaning *new order*. The early reform policies of Selim III mostly focused on the military aspects rather than social policies. However, the inability of Ottomans to defeat Great Powers on the battlefield forced them to give importance to diplomacy. The reformation policies of the Sublime Porte were the reflections of changing global conjectures. The Ottoman

¹¹⁹ Findley, "The Tanzimat," 15. Besides, the digital humanities project coordinated by Prof. Paolo Girardelli "Talents in Transition: Italian-Ottoman Networks, Migration and Mobility in the Architecture and Construction Sector" focuses on exploring the movement of individuals from Western countries, aiming to investigate the reasons behind their migration and the living conditions they encountered after relocating.

¹²⁰ Findley, "The Tanzimat," 13.

Empire wanted to adapt itself to the world market, and create an order based on modern regulations instead of the traditional Ottoman laws, which was based on the juridical autonomy of the communities regarding their individual/communal cases.¹²¹ Foreigners or Levantines were subject to the jurisdiction of consulates, but this became also a matter of contention.

The territorial jurisdiction and courts handled several matters related to inheritance, property, taxation, security, governance, and inter-communal disputes. The court cases between Muslims and non-Muslims were conducted at the *kadi* courts, which were at the top hieratically in the Ottoman juridical system. If non-Muslim complainants wanted to handle the matter in the *kadi* court, the court would also be responsible for the case. The *kadi* court was also responsible in terms of resolving disputes among parties that arose due to a diverse understanding of the laws of different religious institutions and consuls. The different understanding of laws and separated religious jurisdictions for diverse communities, indeed, generated problems that Ottoman courts must have dealt with. Therefore, the traditional Ottoman juridical system and its courts were not only dependent on Islamic laws but also customs and sultanic degrees were taken into account in the cases. Besides, fatwas and intermediacy of the other parties to protect communal harmony played important roles in Ottoman law, therefore it was dynamic and flexible.¹²² Nevertheless, although traditional Ottoman courts and laws were flexible, the central government implied new regulations in the juridical system that aimed to establish a standard law application in the territories of the empire in order to enforce its rule over all the subjects and foreigners on a modern basis. As an outcome of this aim, *Nizamiye* courts were founded in 1860. In theory, these new courts would apply

¹²¹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 47-75.

¹²² Zandi Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 52.

equal juridical decisions throughout the empire, and they would serve independently from *sharia* courts.¹²³

Long before the introduction of *Nizamiye* courts, the central government was aiming to regulate the social, juridical, and economic life of the empire. In order to achieve this, a series of reforms were carried out, such as the *Tanzimat* reforms in 1839, the 1858 Penal Code, and the 1858 Land Code. Although these reforms brought up many novelties, foreigners in the empire were prohibited from owning property according to Ottoman laws until 1867. In contrast, the Ottoman subjects could acquire property for themselves freely. Hence, foreigners in the multinational territories of the empire, such as Smyrna, Alexandria, and Istanbul, found gaps in the existing system to acquire properties in the Ottoman lands. In order to purchase properties, foreigners married local Ottoman subjects, and Ottoman subjects, often their mothers-in-law or wives, were proclaimed as beneficiaries. Indeed, the central and local governments were aware of these kinds of activities and practices, but these day-to-day practices were beneficial for all parties.¹²⁴

However, property ownership through Ottoman subjects also created legal issues between Ottoman courts and consulates because the beneficiaries were registered differently in two places. The foreign consulates registered the foreigners as beneficiaries, whereas the courts recognized only Ottoman subjects as legal owners. This difference caused severe problems in legal matters that are difficult to resolve. For instance, in the case of a bankruptcy of foreigners, the wife or mother-in-law of the person was not considered responsible for the debt and payments.¹²⁵ Problems caused by the duality between Ottoman courts and consulates issues mostly

¹²³ However, ulema class and traditional Ottoman laws were still influential in *Nizamiye* Courts. See: Akiba, “*Sharī’a* Judges,” 209. Ayoub, “The Mecelle, Sharia, and the Ottoman State,” 121-146.

¹²⁴ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 53.

¹²⁵ Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi*, 292.

resolved in *kadi* courts. In such cases, there was often a negotiation between the *kadi* court and the consulates, impacted by bribery, corruption, and favoring a party.¹²⁶ Therefore, Sublime Porte wanted to create more systematic law codes to apply in its lands and enforce its rule on different parties throughout the Empire. In the second half of the 19th century, the Sublime Porte established new regulations and codified the existing laws in order to modernize itself.

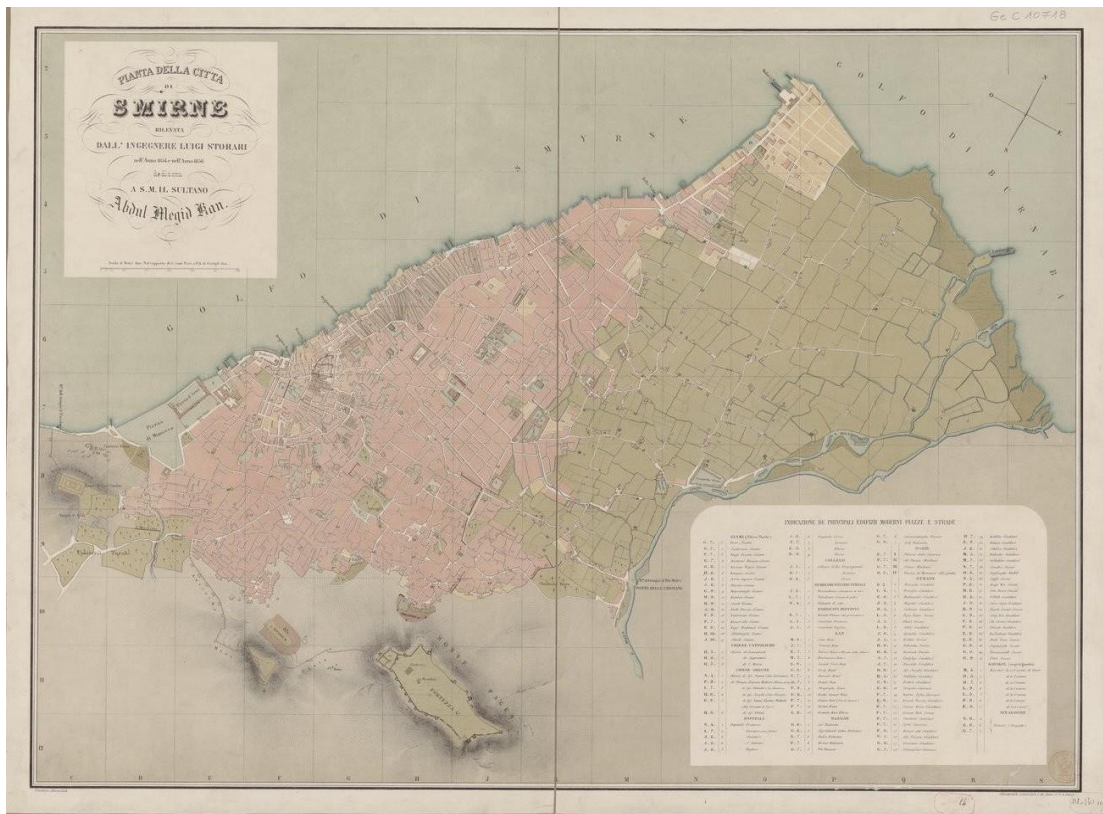


Fig. 34 Storari, L. (1854-56). Pianta Della Città de Smirne [City Plan]. Retrieved from BNF Gallica

Of course, the judicial system and the legal order were not the only aspects affected by the reforms and modernization taking place within the Ottoman Empire. Some of the works carried out in this period also led to the emergence of a new understanding of municipalism and the city. Modern urbanization and modern

¹²⁶ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 51-52.

infrastructure works gained momentum. The spatial transformations in the age of regulations can be observed through the plans and maps of the city produced in the second half of the 19th century. In this regard, an earlier city plan was prepared after the nautical map of Graves between 1854 and 1856 by an Italian engineer, Luigi Storari (1821-1894).¹²⁷ In addition to the city plan of Smyrna, Storari drew a plan for *Kemeraltı* district in 1852¹²⁸ and published a guide about the city in 1857.¹²⁹ The plan was dedicated to Sultan Abdulmecid (1823-1861), which indicates that the plan's preparation was requested officially. The plan, prepared nearly two decades after the maps drawn by Graves and Copeland, shows the city's waterfront before its transformation between 1865 and 1875. Storari's plan illustrates the inner city and the seashore, and it allows us to compare it with earlier plans and maps since it is a very detailed and reliable plan. A comparison of city plans produced by Storari and Graves indicates that several changes occurred in Smyrna's urban fabric in two decades. On the Storari's city plan, the territorial expansion of the city towards the northern part is apparent. Still, another intriguing difference also reveals itself in the Armenian quarter and at the Steam Mills located at the end of the seashore. According to the plan of Luigi Storari, while the urban fabric of the city and waterfront were still fragmented in general, the effects of modern urbanization were noticeable in certain districts, such as the Armenian quarter and the area around Steam Mills. The regulation of streets was also observed by George Rolleston in 1856. According to his report, the Armenian quarter was renewed after the devastating fire of 1845:

The streets strike the attention by their great regularity and straightness, and the houses by the large size of their doors and windows. These are conditions

¹²⁷ To find further information about Luigi Storari, please see Berkant, "L'Impero Ottomano e l'Italia," 119-133.

¹²⁸ Berkant, "L'Impero Ottomano e l'Italia," 125.

¹²⁹ Storari, *Guida con Cenni Storici di Smirne*.

rarely to be seen in an Asiatic town, and, though realized in the quarter allotted to an Asiatic race, show clearly that foreign models were followed in the reconstruction of this part of Smyrna.¹³⁰

3.1.1 The Armenian district after the 1845 fire, and the development of *Punta*

The renovation of the Armenian quarter presents an interesting example in order to demonstrate the relationship between the different actors. Like the social and economic transformations, Smyrna's urban form was impacted by cross-cultural relations. The Sublime Porte was criticized by newspapers of the time, such as *The Times*, *Echo de l'Orient*, *Courrier de Constantinople*, due to their insufficient support for the reconstruction works. In response to these criticisms, the central government took action by providing funding for the reconstruction project and actively promoting modern urban construction.¹³¹ The particularity of the newly built space rests in its modern urban layout. Storari's map and Rolleston's account illustrate that the new neighborhood plan was implemented according to the new regulations born from the modern understanding of urban planning. Although another fire hit the Jewish and Turkish quarters in 1841, as Storari's plan and Rolleston's report demonstrates, these areas were built up in their layout existing before the fire. Compared to the Armenian quarter, the streets of other neighborhoods continued to look irregular. However, rebuilding the Armenian quarter in a different urban layout than the Jewish and Turkish quarters raise an important question: why was the Armenian quarter rebuilt according to modern urban planning regulations introduced in the 19th century? One possible answer to this question lies in the existing communal relationships and those in the making. The burnt district was built according to the new urban regulations introduced with

¹³⁰ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 10.

¹³¹ Bilsel, "The Ottoman Port City," 230.

the *Tanzimat* reforms in 1839. With the declaration of *Tanzimat* reforms, the central government also wanted to implement new rules regarding the urban fabric, architecture, and construction sector and encouraged the building of large boulevards, squares, and modern quays.¹³² All these regulations aimed to modernize and regulate the empire, not only in aesthetic terms but also in its veins: it emphasized hygiene to prevent diseases and natural disasters, regulating the seashore to stop smuggling, and controlling migration in its new urban regulations.

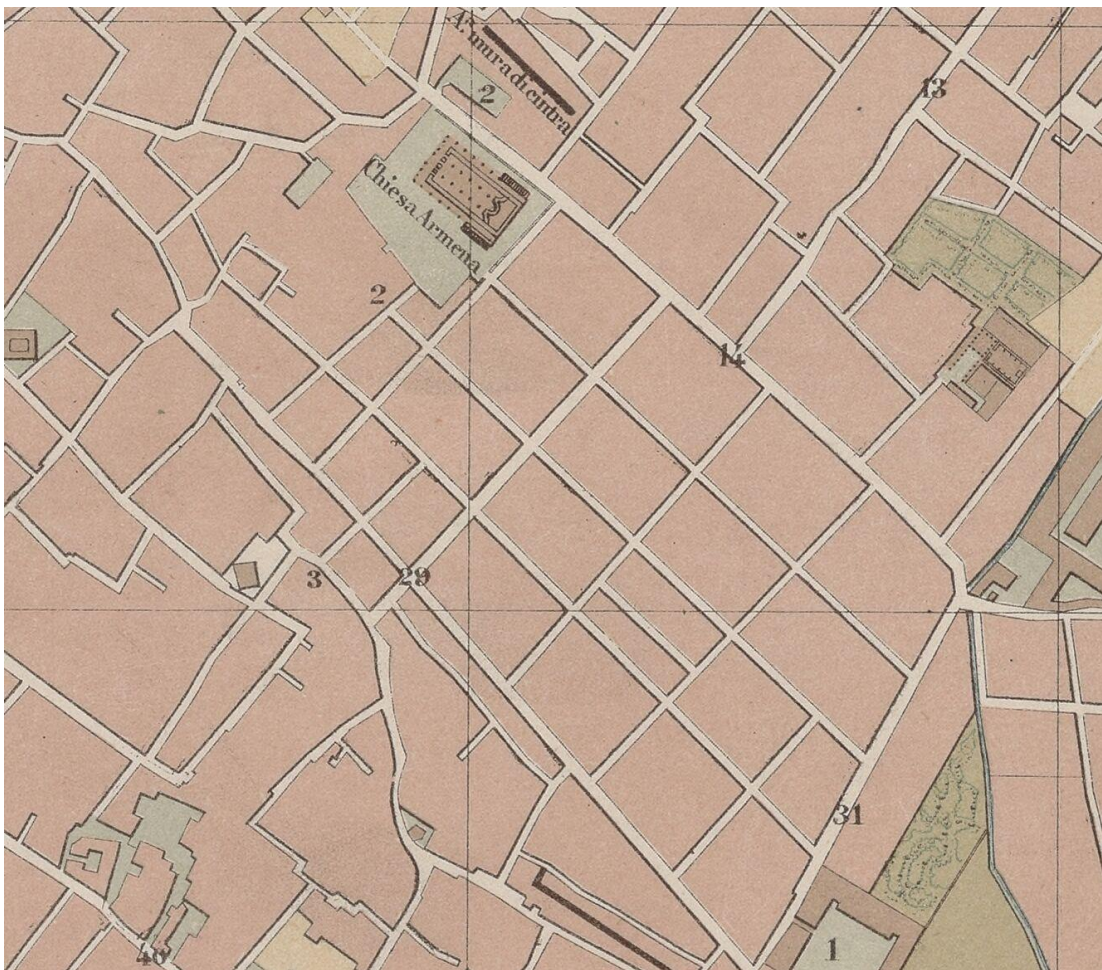


Fig. 35 Details of the Armenian Quarter after the regularization of the urban fabric

The Armenian quarter on Storari's map has a regulated grid and orthogonal plan according to the urban regulations introduced by the *Tanzimat* reforms. The

¹³² Yerasimos, "A propos des réformes urbaines," 20-21.

dead-end streets damaged in the 1845 fire incident were eliminated and regulated, and well-connected streets and roads were constructed in the neighborhood. Besides, the new regulations on the width of the roads were followed during the construction of the streets in the quarter. These regulations ordered that the old streets with 5-12.5 feet width must have been rebuilt as 15-20 feet width.¹³³ Even though fire incidents damaged the neighborhoods, they paved the way for negotiations between the local people and central and local governments to rebuild the area and renovate it. For instance, the old regulations forbade Christians and Jews to build new religious buildings, and they had to ask Sublime Porte's permission to restore their religious buildings in their neighborhoods. However, it was easier for non-Muslim communities to grant permission to rebuild or renovate their religious buildings in such cases.¹³⁴

The fire of 1845 damaged the Catholic hospital of St. Antoine and the Greek hospital alongside the churches in the neighborhood, such as the Armenian Church of St. Stephen and the Orthodox Church of St. George. During the reconstruction process, the Armenian community and other non-Muslim communities had a chance to rebuild their community buildings damaged due to fire incidents, and their hospitals and churches more prestigiously. The rebuilding process enabled non-Muslim communities to show their prosperity and visually more elegant buildings. However, the renovation of the buildings in a more prestigious way was not only afforded by the central government's funds but also wealthy community members contributed to the construction process.¹³⁵ Rolleston also noted that the growing trade volume and population increase created new financial opportunities for Smyrna's

¹³³ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 79.

¹³⁴ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 79.

¹³⁵ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 79.

population. The Armenian community engaged in trade and controlled the steamships traveling between Liverpool, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria; some Armenians even became the wealthiest members of the empire.¹³⁶ In fact, documents from the nineteenth century demonstrated that the Jewish and Armenian were in the majority in the list of *sarrafs* (bankers) and controlled the banking sector of the commercial business.¹³⁷

Besides, after the Greek War of Independence, the Armenian community of the Empire was favored by the central government, and they started to occupy critical positions on. From 1821 onwards, Ottoman Greeks who occupied critical positions were replaced with the members of the Armenian community due to the growing untrust of the central government towards the Greek community as a result of the war. While the community's prosperity was growing, its overall economic, social, administrative if not political influence was also increasing. Besides, the Armenian community, like other communities in the Ottoman Empire, established and founded relationships with foreigners. Although most Armenians were subjected to their national church, there were also Catholic and Protestant Armenians. Besides, the Armenian community had a stronger relationship with Russia, where the head of the Armenian national church was located, in comparison to the other communities.¹³⁸ The existing ties between foreigners and the Armenian community were also influential in urging the central government to enforce the application of the urban regulation introduced in 1839. In this case, newspapers became negotiation tools. Some community members spoke to the European newspapers in 1845, such as *The Times*, to get the attention of the Great Powers, their representatives, and the

¹³⁶ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 1856, 44-45.

¹³⁷ Cezar, "The Role of the Sarrafs," 64-65 and Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 44-45.

¹³⁸ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 45-46.

Ottoman government.¹³⁹ Ultimately, both sides, the Armenian community, and the Ottoman government, benefited from this situation: the Ottoman government showed its commitment to modernity by building the neighborhood according to new regulations, since Smyrna was one of the regions where the empire communicated most with the international community and markets; while the Armenian community built up their neighborhood, residential places, churches, and hospitals according to new standards of hygiene, decorum and functionality. Unfortunately, the identities and nationalities of engineers and architects summoned by the central government to rebuild the Armenian district were unknown, hence, we do not know which local or foreign builders worked in the construction project of the district.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the rebuilding of the neighborhood still indicates the importance and impact of the existing cross-cultural relations since the central government, wealthy members of the Armenian community, and foreigners contributed to the reconstruction process of the urban space altogether.

A difference between Storari's and Graves' maps can also be seen in the area known as *Punta*, around the Steam Mill. Storari depicted the site in a regulated grid plan, but the area was not completely built yet. Lands in *Punta* were marked with dotted lines, indicating that the area would be built up in the upcoming years.¹⁴¹ The plan demonstrates that only several buildings were erected around 1856. Industrial plants and empty lots constituted the majority. *Punta* was a vital intersection point between the seashore and the railways, and it was chosen as the terminal station of the Smyrna-Aidin Railways. Consequently, in the upcoming years, the lands in *Punta* became an investment tool for Smyrniots and local elites. Most of the parcels in

¹³⁹ Bilsel, "The Ottoman Port City," 231.

¹⁴⁰ Beyru, *19. Yüzyıl'da İzmir Kenti*, 64.

¹⁴¹ Bilsel, "The Ottoman Port City," 231-232.

Punta were freehold by the Aliotti family, and a German railroad engineer, Mülhausen, owned houses and properties in Punta, as consulate records demonstrated.¹⁴² Besides, when an issue arose, these actors participated in the boards established by the local government and tried to solve problems regarding the properties with other actors, including local Ottomans.¹⁴³ Hence, it is possible to argue that even though it was not legal, properties were obtained by foreigners thanks to day-to-day practices such as registering the name of their wives or mothers-in-law, and foreign property holders became important actors behind the spatial transformations.

3.1.2 The evolution of the *frenkhânes*

In Storari map, change cannot be reduced to the city's expansion towards the east, north, and south or the modernized reconstruction of demolished areas. The waterfront was also considerably transformed in two decades due to the expansion of the coastline towards the sea, probably by following the earliest practices: filling up the seashore. Storari's map was more detailed than the previous maps, better illustrating the architectural plans and enabling us to see the extent to which the structures along the seashore were haphazardly constructed. Buildings randomly extend to the left, right, or front with no regulated pattern. The buildings between Frank Street and the coastline formed a fragmented urban fabric. Beyond these buildings, a street was formed reaching up to English Pier, and beyond that street, extensions of *frenkhânes* were visible on the map. There are also yellow-colored dotted lines on this part, indicating that the sea lots would be filled up and constructed. The map also demonstrates that St. Peter's Castle and *Vezir Han* were

¹⁴² Bilsel, "The Ottoman Port City," 232-233.

¹⁴³ Smyrnelis, *Une société hors de soi*, 288-296.

distanced from the sea due to the expansion of the shoreline. The districts located between the Ottoman and Frank customs were highlighted with dotted lines and in yellow color like Punta, indicating the upcoming construction projects on the seashore. The area between the two points was not completely built yet in 1856.



Fig. 36 Details of the newly developing district at *Punta* according to the urban reforms introduced with the edict of *Tanzimat*

Although Storari's city did not reveal any property ownership, religiously, publicly, or politically important buildings and places were indicated in his city plan, such as the Church of St. Polycarp, British and French consulates, mosques, inns, hospitals, and streets. His indications made it possible to discover some interesting facts about the structures that stand between Frank Street and the shoreline. From the Frank custom towards the north, the first structure marked was "Gioia Hâne," and the

second one indicated as “Barbaresco Han.”¹⁴⁴ The following places indicated refers to the Church of St. Maria and the Church of Lazarists. The British consulate was settled in front of the English pier a few blocks away. Rolleston also attests to the presence of foreigner-owned businesses, residences, consulates, and mercantile buildings along the coastline.¹⁴⁵ Interestingly, the description of the warehouses in Rolleston’s report and the description of *frenkhânes* on the previous documents and visual materials correspond to each other. According to Rolleston, the warehouses, “generally long and lofty arcades,”¹⁴⁶ were where the exports were stored. In terms of their architecture, they have “small windows let in considerable height above the ground, and strong iron-plate doors which are regularly locked and barred at sundown.”¹⁴⁷ The markings on Storari’s plan and Rolleston's report indicate that the usage of *frenkhâne* properties on the waterfront has varied, and the structures constructed on these properties served as shops, houses, warehouses, gardens and passages, religious spaces, and consulates.

These multifunctional structures serve as the hub for the various daily activities carried out by Smyrniots of all nationalities and beliefs. *Frenkhânes*, rather than being merely houses of Franks, served in various capacities as a consulate, a storage facility, or a residence. Nevertheless, even though these structures have long been used for storage, the term “warehouse” appears for the first time in Rolleston's report. In the second half of the 19th century, the word was shortened to “ferhane” or “verhane”. It was believed that the term *ferhane* was a contraction of *frenkhâne* and

¹⁴⁴ Barbaresco Han may could be the place for the products imported from North Africa. See the documents in Levantine Heritage Foundation website. (April 25, 2023). Retrieved from Levantine Heritage Foundation. <http://www.levantineheritage.com/murat3.htm>

¹⁴⁵ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 46.

¹⁴⁶ Walter Benjamin defined arcades as department stores built by modern construction materials such as iron, glass, and steel. However, Rolleston’s definition and other authors’ descriptions of *frenkhânes* do not match with Walter Benjamin’s description of arcades. See further: Benjamin, *The Arcade Project*, 3-5.

¹⁴⁷ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 83-84.

related to the Ottoman Turkish word "fer," which signifies "light." The term *ferhane* was claimed to have originated because these buildings received light from windows positioned above and on both sides.¹⁴⁸ The term *frenkhâne* was frequently used in documents from the 18th century, according to those found in the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office (BOA), although records from the first years of 20th century demonstrate that the term *ferhane* was preferred instead of *frenkhâne*.¹⁴⁹ Another abbreviated term, *verhane*, was used by Charles E. Goad's insurance map from 1905.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, in the years following the French Revolution in 1789, as British trade intensified in Smyrna and there were more frequent cultural and material exchanges with the British merchants, the concept of the warehouse was encountered more commonly in the region. Just as we encountered in Rolleston's report, we see that "generally long and lofty" structures built in these properties started to be called warehouses. Therefore, I argue that the abbreviation *verhane* was formed by the vernacularization of the term warehouse in the course of time.

¹⁴⁸ Atay, *İzmir Planları*, 5.

¹⁴⁹ For instance, two *ferhane* were built without permission in 1905 and 1909. BOA, BEO, 2628/197097, 20 Cemazeyilevvel 1323 (July 23, 1905) and BOA, ŞD, 71/3, 7 Rabiulahir 1237 (April 28, 1909).

¹⁵⁰ See "Chapter 4: After 1880" for the visuals taken from the insurance map of Charles E. Goad. For instance, Fig. 71.



Fig. 37 The waterfront on the city plan of Luigi Storari

In this regard, I think the term *frenkhâne* was transformed into *verhane* simultaneously as the function of the properties changed. Before the 1688 earthquake, these properties served as residential places and consulates for wealthy Ottomans, Levantines, and foreigners. However, after the 1688 earthquake, this area, the waterfront, and Frank Street, began to be an attraction center for individuals from diverse communities as commercial and social hubs due to the population increase, cultural and material exchange thanks to the growing trade volume, and human mobility. After the 1688 earthquake, the properties on the waterfront were used by diverse communities as commercial areas, religious spaces, residential places, consulates, shops, and warehouses during the redevelopment of the city. However, due to territorial expansion toward the north, the construction of the residential areas toward *Punta* district, and the implementation of projects that took place in the modern era, such as quay construction, decreased the attraction of Frank Street and the waterfront as residential places. Indeed, the increase in the trade volume, construction of the quay, infrastructural works, and street widening projects by the municipality caused an increase in the traffic of ships, vehicles, and humans as well

as a rise in the disturbing noise level.¹⁵¹ Hence, people living in the area may have been motivated to move. Thus, as the city plans from the mid-19th century and early 20th century show, these properties were used as offices, warehouses, and shops instead of residential places for wealthy Ottomans, Levantines, and foreigners, as I will try to demonstrate in the fourth chapter.¹⁵²



Fig. 38 Details of *frenkhâne* properties.

¹⁵¹ This issue will be discussed in the next subchapter. See Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 75-114.

¹⁵² The Ottoman tax registers from 1845 demonstrates that there were bachelor's rooms for single men in *frenkhâne* properties. Thus, although these spaces were used as residential places, they were not Frank houses (*frenkhâne*) as they were used to be before the 1688 earthquake, but properties that were owned and rented by institutions and wealthy Ottomans, Levantines, and foreigners. Özdemir, "Italian immigration," 18.

3.1.3 Communal spaces, contested borders

Several names given in the city plan of Storari indicate that buildings, places, and spaces were named according to the communal affiliations, communal identities, or the prominent members of the communities living in Smyrna. In general, inns, bazaars, squares, and streets were the places named according to communal affiliations or after the communities or significant individuals.¹⁵³ For instance, there were inns called “Armeno Han,” “Cezaer Han,” “Eschi Cezaer Han,” and “Grande Han Ebreo.”¹⁵⁴ Besides, some inns bear the name of the owner such as “Abagioglu Hané,” “Imrocor Hané,” While some streets were named after the prominent occupation or professions clustered around the street, such as “Boja Hane” Street, “Sabun Hane” Street, “Adlié” Street, “Civigiler” Bazaar,¹⁵⁵ other streets that Storari indicated bear the name of politically or historically important individuals, Muslims and Non-Muslims. Some public places were named as “Halim Agha” Bazaar, “Ali Pascia” Street, “Ali Pascia Meidané,” “Yapicioglu” Street, Alaj Bei” Street, “San Rocco” Street, “Inglisoglu Kuleli.” One street, near to Frank Street, was named after the Greek Church of St. Giorgio, and indicated as “Ayi Yorghi” Street.

Besides, Storari indicates religious and community buildings such as mosques, synagogues, churches, schools, and hospitals. In the indicator list of the plan, Storari included 17 mosques, 9 churches, 3 synagogues, 9 hospitals, and 3 schools. According to the city plan, the mosques were usually clustered in the southern and eastern parts of the city, and there was no mosque or synagogue indicated around the Frank Quarter, but only churches. Three catholic and six Greek churches were listed on the indicator of the city plan. Besides, the Armenian church

¹⁵³ The person, place, and other names will be written same as Luigi Storari wrote in his plan.

¹⁵⁴ Armenian Inn, Algeria Inn, Old Algeria Inn, and Great Jewish Inn.

¹⁵⁵ Dye (*Boja*) Inn Street, Soap (*Sabun*) Inn Street, Courthouse (*Adlié*) Street, Nailers (*Civigiler*) Bazaar.

in the Armenian quarter was shown on the map but not listed in the indicator of Storari's plan.¹⁵⁶ The three catholic churches, the Church of Lazarists, the Church of Capuchins, and the Church of St. Maria, were built closer to each other and all located on Frank Street. On the contrary, the location of Greek churches varied: the Church of *Panaia Espano Makata (Madonna di Sopra)* and the Church of *Aji Janni Epano Makala (St. Giovanni di Sopra)* located on the south-east,¹⁵⁷ the Church of St. Giorgio and the Church of St. Photini located near Frank Street, the Church of St. Giovanni was built in *Punta*, and the Church of St. Demetrio located near to the Armenian quarter. The diverse communities established nine hospitals in the city: two catholic hospitals were established, the French Hospital and the Hospital of St. Antoine. The French hospital was at the starting point of *Punta*, near the French consulate, while the Hospital of St. Antoine was in the Armenian quarter, near Armenian, Greek, British, and Dutch hospitals. However, the Turkish and Jewish hospitals were in the southern part of the city, near Turkish and Jewish neighborhoods. In terms of educational institutions, the Catholic Propaganda School was on Frank Street near the French and British consulates,¹⁵⁸ the Greek School was located around Frank Street, in between the Church of St. Giorgio and the Church of St. Photini. Similarly, the Armenian School was close to the Armenian Church located in the quarter.

¹⁵⁶ Unlike the Armenian church which was not indicated on the list but marked on the map, some buildings on the map have a plan type resembling the basilica plan associated with the churches, but they were not indicated or listed on the map.

¹⁵⁷ In the same order, they were indicated as Church of St. Jean and Church of St. Marie in the city plan of Lamec Saad from 1876.

¹⁵⁸ Probably there were other small community schools, non-Muslim or foreign, not mentioned in the plan of Storari. Still, Rolleston emphasizes the French government's support for the Catholic institutions in Smyrna, and the Propaganda School was one of them. Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 46.

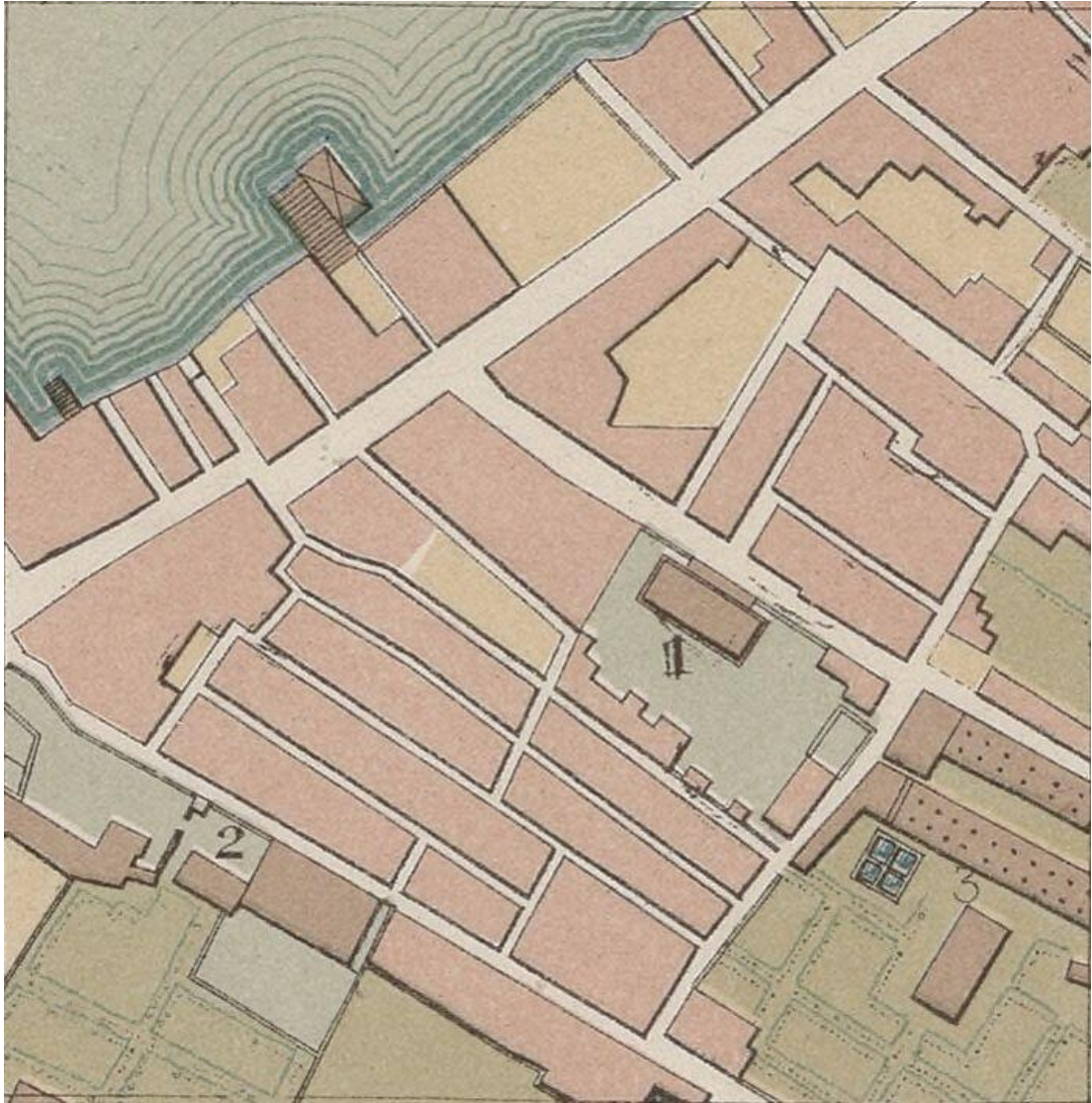


Fig. 39 The Greek Orthodox Church of St. Giovanni (1) at Punta.

Storari's map demonstrates how diverse communities, such as Ottoman Muslims, non-Muslims, Levantines, and foreigners, shared Smyrna's urban landscape. Nevertheless, the communities were clustered in separate quarters and belonged to their communities to a certain extent. However, through intermarriages, commercial partnerships, and religious conversions, some members within communities are known to have established relationships with each other. Through such means, an individual or more than one member of a community can have plural affiliations. In fact, if Storari's map is carefully examined, there are indications to be

found about this phenomenon. For example, there were neighborhoods where Armenians, Jews, and Turks clustered according to their ethnicities. Besides, community buildings and religious places were built around these neighborhoods. On the contrary, the Greek community and their churches were established in various parts of the city, near Frank Street, the Armenian Quarter, and in *Punta*, along with the churches located in the Greek Quarter. Similarly, Rolleston's report shows the relationship of Greeks with other communities and Westerners through religious conversion, commercial partnerships, or being *protégé* as obtaining legal status from Western states.¹⁵⁹ A relevant number of Ottoman Greeks were most likely converted to Catholicism, whereas only a few converted to Protestantism. Nevertheless, between 2.000 and 3.000 Ottoman Greeks were the subjects of the British government.¹⁶⁰ Hence, the distribution of Greek hospitals, churches, and institutions in various locations can be explained through two reasons; first, the Ottoman Greeks constituted most of Smyrna's population with the Turkish population, and they were actively involved in commercial activities. Consequently, their neighborhoods extended into a larger territory in comparison to other communities of the city, and they built their communal buildings and religious spaces where they inhabited. Second, they were associated with other communities and developed plural affiliations. Although Greeks were concentrated in a quarter like other communities, their plural connections, intense engagement with mercantile activities and interactions with diverse communities brought them to surpass the communal notion of spatial boundaries and to inhabit the districts where they could interact and live with diverse communities, such as Frank Quarter, and *Punta*.

¹⁵⁹ Ottoman subjects gained nationality and protection from the European states. See Groot, A. "Protection and Nationality."

¹⁶⁰ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 28-42.

Rolleston claims that around 1856, “the business of exporting and importing goods to and from Europe is becoming more and more monopolized by the Greek merchants day by day.”¹⁶¹ Indeed, the Ottoman Greeks, including those subjected to the foreign consulates or the Independent Greek state, were engaged in mercantile activities, and they were important actors of the trade business in Smyrna since the early 18th century. They competed successfully with other communities like Armenians, Jews, Turks, and foreigners such as British, German, and French actors, and finally, they constituted 40 or 50 percent of the merchants of Smyrna in the early 20th century.¹⁶² As a result of the Ottoman Greeks’ success and prominence in trade, they established business relations with the foreign actors working in Smyrna’s trade business. For instance, foreign companies appointed Greeks as their directors who would control the interior trade business. Even though it was possible to see Armenians and Jews as the directors of foreign firms, Greeks dominated this business too.¹⁶³ The strong mercantile traditions of the Greeks and the prominent commercial role they played in commercial activities in Smyrna necessitated that they develop close associations with the city’s waterfront.¹⁶⁴ Hence, the proximity of two Greek churches and the Greek school to Frank Street and to the waterfront and their expansion into other neighborhoods while other communities concentrated on their quarters could also be explained by the Greeks’ predominance in the commercial activities and the relations that they have established over time with diverse actors.

¹⁶¹ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 30.

¹⁶² Frangakis-Syrett, “The Economic Activities,” 17-19.

¹⁶³ Frangakis-Syrett, “The Economic Activities,” 22.

¹⁶⁴ Frangakis-Syrett, “The Economic Activities,” 20.

3.1.4 Ownership on the shoreline

The waterfront of Smyrna was occupied by different actors and parties, not only foreigners or merchants. It was a hybrid space constituted by foreigners, Levantines, Ottoman Muslims, and non-Muslims. Examining the property ownerships established on the seashore demonstrates the complexity of the communal relations in Smyrna. In this regard, the earliest maps and plans showing the property ownership at the waterfront were prepared in the years around when the construction of the quay started. A map prepared in Ottoman Turkish around 1865 shows the property ownership at the sea lots and the extension buildings located at the shore.¹⁶⁵ The map only shows the seashore and the buildings located on the sea lots. Except for a few examples, the map does not reveal the ownership of the properties known as *frenkhânes*. On the map, parcels were colored yellow, pink, brown, green, blue, and purple. However, the meanings of the colors are not clear. One possibility is that the colors indicate the different legal status of the parcels, such as blue, which usually indicates the sea lots.

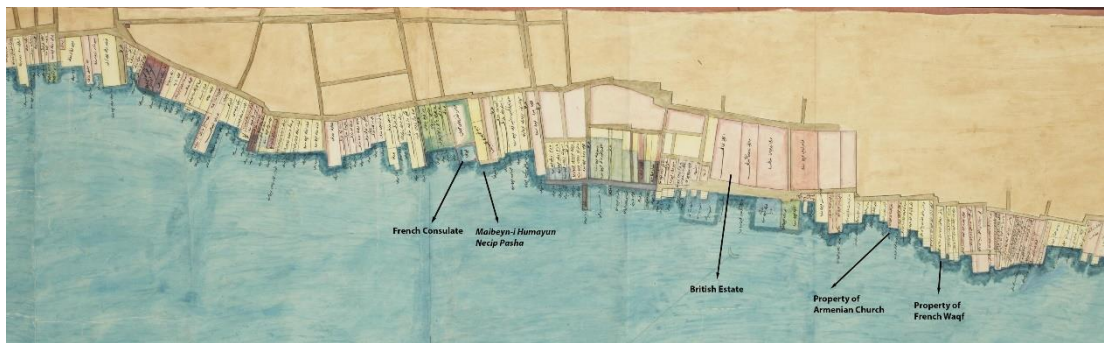


Fig. 40 Map showing the property ownership on the waterfront [Property Map]. (c.1865). Retrieved from BOA

The map was prepared approximately one decade after Storari's map and two years before foreigners and Levantines were legally allowed to obtain properties in

¹⁶⁵ BOA, PLK.p., 12.

1867.¹⁶⁶ The map demonstrates that the parcels on waterfront colored yellow in the city plan of Storari were filled up, and new structures were erected on the sea lot from *Vezir Han* up to the Steam Mills. The building types varied: shops, residential places, public service buildings, warehouses, and consulates.¹⁶⁷ Besides, industrial buildings were clustered in Punta. The map shows that individuals, waqfs, and institutions from diverse nations and religions owned the properties. For instance, some of the property owners at the shore were *Reşit Efendi, Necip Pasha, Seyit Bey, Hacı Nikola, Yanoko, Marko, Gorgi, Yorgaki, Hristaki, Istefan, Gorgi, and Aliotti*. Except for *Aliotti*, foreign and Levantine properties were registered under the names of wives or mothers-in-law.¹⁶⁸ Besides the individual names, there were properties owned by foundations and institutions such as *Armenian Church, Austrian Hospital Waqf, Austrian Church Waqf,*¹⁶⁹ *French estate, and Kudüs-ü Şerif Waqf*. The map also shows the outcomes of the local government's practice of selling sea lots. While some properties were registered for a single name or institution along with the sea lots, some of the sea lots in front of properties were owned by different people than those who owned the property on the seashore.



Fig. 41 Map showing the property ownership on the waterfront [Property Map]. (c.1865). Retrieved from BOA

¹⁶⁶ Atay, *İzmir Planları*, 108.

¹⁶⁷ I encountered with such terms *Akaret, Balıkhane, Fabrika, Karakol, Konak, Konsoloshane, Menzil* and *Talimhane* in Ottoman Turkish.

¹⁶⁸ Many parcels were registered as "... *zevcesi* (wife of...) or *property of madam* ..."

¹⁶⁹ *Nemçe İspitalyası Vakfı* and *Nemçe Kilisesi Vakfı*.

The ownership map is significant as it shows that various actors from different ethnicities and religions occupied Smyrna's waterfront. The map also demonstrates the property ownership practices on the waterfront before 1867. For instance, the cadastral map indicates that churches and foreign-owned hospitals owned property through endowment institutions. *Waqf*, fundamentally an Islamic term, was also founded by the non-Muslim communities living in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁰ In fact, Christian waqfs in the Ottoman Empire did not differ fundamentally from the Muslim waqfs, and they were categorized into two; *hayri* and *ahli*. *Hayri* waqfs maintained charity activities for public welfare, such as food aid, hospital services, and *ahli* waqfs served as institutions that were responsible for the financial situation and welfare of clergy, monks, and church.¹⁷¹ However, Christian waqfs in the Ottoman Empire were not legally allowed to obtain properties as Muslim waqfs did, due to the Islamic legal doctrine. Similarly, non-Muslim waqfs found other ways that surpass the legal doctrine to obtain properties, like in the case of individual foreign property practices. They established their waqfs in the lands that were given by Ottoman sultans, or privately-owned properties of community members. Besides, they registered their waqf properties under the name of community members or fictitious characters such as saints and significant religious figures.¹⁷²

The foundation of Christian waqfs indicates that non-Muslim communities adopted a common practice in Islamic tradition in order to maintain charity activities and the welfare of their communities. Nevertheless, the legal status of Christian waqfs was differentiated. Although the Ottomans integrated the religious and

¹⁷⁰ Shaham, "Christian and Jewish waqf," 460-472.

¹⁷¹ De Obaldia, "Latin Catholic Church," 172-173.

¹⁷² De Obaldia, "Latin Catholic Church," 174-175.

military groups in its mechanisms during the foundation years, the Orthodox church became a part of the state and favored by the state among other groups. Therefore, their properties and privileges were acknowledged by the Ottoman state, and their advantageous status was used by the Ottomans as a tool that created tension between the Orthodox and Catholic churches.¹⁷³ In fact, Catholic waqfs of Smyrna demonstrate that not only Ottoman non-Muslim communities but also those who migrated to the empire adopted Islamic and Ottoman practices to use the legal advantages of the waqf status. Thus, the establishment of non-Muslim and Catholic waqfs in the Ottoman lands also shows that communities living in the multicultural port city constituted a hybrid, plural society, both individually and as communal organizations.¹⁷⁴

3.2 New sites of encounter: The railways and the modern quay

On 23 September 1856, a British company, namely the Ottoman Railway Company, took the concession from the central government for constructing the first railway lines of Western Anatolia.¹⁷⁵ The concession was a crucial step for developing the city and its port. Smyrna was the distribution center of goods imported from outside the empire, circulating goods among nearby territories and cities. Nevertheless, before the construction of the railways, although Smyrna was a prominent commerce

¹⁷³ R. De Obaldia, "Latin Catholic Church," 175-177.

¹⁷⁴ The Catholic church of St. Anthony in Galata was rebuilt in 1763 after the fire destroyed it. An archival document demonstrates that the new church plan did not follow Roman liturgical standards in its rebuilding process, but instead, the interior plan of the church was prepared according to the division of ethnicity, gender, and status. The interior plan resembles the common mosque plan scheme with *mahfils*. Thus, we can think that long-term Ottoman and Muslim practices found a way for themselves in a Catholic space thanks to hybrid identities that emerged over time. In the case of Catholic waqfs, we can also argue that long-term Islamic practices were adapted into Catholic belief in order to use the legal advantages of waqfs and legally obtain properties. See further: Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity and Liminality," 248-252.

¹⁷⁵ See for the historical development of the company concept in Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, 433-457.

hub where goods and capital flowed, modes of transportation needed to be improved for the circulation of exports and imports from one point to another. Besides, the conditions of the roads by no means make the long-distance travel comfortable. For instance, in 1856, George Rolleston harshly criticized the severe conditions of roads in Smyrna and the Empire:

The Turkish empire cannot be said to possess any roads or ever to have made any, or even attempted to preserve such as it found ready to its hand. Its internal communications are tracks formed by the passing traffic, uninterrupted where spared by the mountain torrent, impassable occasionally when this has not been the case, either covered with loose stones of all sizes and shapes, or consisting of deep and yielding sand.¹⁷⁶

Thus, traveling around Smyrna was not always a source of comfort or pleasure. Before the railroads' implementation, common vehicles were "camels," but the "use of mules, asses, and horses *was* not uncommon." Besides, according to Rolleston, the conditions of the roads were not suitable for vehicles with wheels. Therefore, a string of heavily burdened camels played a vital role in transporting the goods.¹⁷⁷

Besides Rolleston, other travelers also criticized the roads of the Ottoman Empire due to severe conditions, long hours of travel, and the lack of modern modes of transportation. Due to the lack of modern transportation, travelers traveled in traditional ways, such as on horseback.¹⁷⁸ Besides the conditions of roads and old modes of transport, the bandits on the trade routes created a critical issue for travelers and merchants. Banditry was common on the routes from Smyrna to other towns, and the roads were sometimes dangerous due to unpredictable acts of bandits.¹⁷⁹ The severe conditions created a need for modern modes of transportation to facilitate,

¹⁷⁶ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 82.

¹⁷⁷ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 82.

¹⁷⁸ Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 44-45.

¹⁷⁹ Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama*, 74-80.

accelerate, secure, and cheapen the flow of goods from Smyrna's port to other markets, as Stephenson declared:

As the trade of the country has been hitherto obstructed by every conceivable natural difficulty, it is certain that it will be materially increased by a transition from the slowest, most insecure, most costly, and most irksome existing means of transport, to the most rapid, safe, and economical medium of a Railroad.

Furthermore, Stephenson argues that most of the profit from the trade goes to the camel owners:

Another great drawback in this country, arising from the scarcity of the transport, is that the produce cannot be all sent to Smyrna when it is ripe and in fine weather. Raisins are on the road now, which with a ready transport, should have been in Marseilles or Liverpool six months ago. This wretched state of things stops enterprise in the cultivation of the boundless fresh land, the improvement of the sample of cotton and other produce, the importation of better implements and modes of culture, as now, with the most frugal habits, the producer's profit all goes to the camel owner.¹⁸⁰

Smyrna's traders and merchants wanted to reduce the cost of transportation fees caused by the camel owners to hold maximum profit in their pockets.¹⁸¹ Consequently, the construction of railroads was also a good solution to reduce the transportation costs that would be given to the camel owners. Thus, to secure and regulate the roads and profit from the trade, the railways of Smyrna were constructed, and it changed the everyday travel experiences of Smyrniots, merchants, workers, and travelers. In addition to the stations in the city center, the railway reached rural areas and suburbs like *Buca* (1858) and *Bornova* (1861), where residential places of wealthy Ottomans and foreigners were located. Besides, the railways created new opportunities for the transportation of goods from the lands

¹⁸⁰ Stephenson, *Railways in Turkey*, 8.

¹⁸¹ For further details camel trade in Western Anatolia between 17th and mid-19th centuries see İnal, "One-Humped History." Besides, Braudel suggests that the control exerted by the Ottomans over caravan trade played a vital role in the trade life of the Ottoman Empire, see in Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, 475-476.

where agriculture was the dominant economic model, expedited the circulation of low-level technological products, and triggered the making of the working class.¹⁸² Thus, the suburbs and towns in the countryside became easily accessible, the long distances shortened, and the troubling roads became a spectacle for voyagers.

Even though the railways seemed to impact the city positively, the implementation of railways and the construction processes were not easily manageable since there were many different actors and problems to solve, such as decisions concerning routes and stops, financing the construction, and avoiding problems generated due to property rights. In order to solve problems, negotiations among locals, foreigners, local and central governments, investors, and companies were necessary. The first round of negotiations took place among the British company, investors, and local and central governments. Before the concession was granted to the railway company for the construction project, the central government received detailed reports from engineers and companies about the possible outcomes of the railway implementation in Smyrna. The reports informed the central government about the railway construction plans, expenses, revenues, and benefits that the Ottoman Empire and Smyrna would gain after the construction.

Finally, on September 23, 1856, after a series of negotiations about the uncertainties and obstacles regarding the expenses and financing of the construction,¹⁸³ the central government granted the concession to the Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway Company.¹⁸⁴ British company took the central

¹⁸² For the making of the working class, please see further: Quataert and Zurcher, *Workers and The Working Class*.

¹⁸³ Stephenson, *Railways in Turkey*, 9-12.

¹⁸⁴ Clarke, *Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 3.

government's concession for fifty years.¹⁸⁵ However, the duration of the concession did not end in fifty years; the central government extended the concession first up to 1910, then extended it again up to 1935.¹⁸⁶ However, while the grant was given in 1856, the company could not maintain the implementation of railways in the first 4 years as it was expected. Consequently, the company charged officially about being culpable for the delay and severe criticisms raised about the company by the public.¹⁸⁷ Thus, although the first construction projects started at *Punta* station in 1858, the station at *Aydın* was completed in 1866.¹⁸⁸ When it was completed, the Smyrna-Aidin railway lines started from *Punta* and passed through *Caravan Bridge*, *Buca*, *Seydiköy*, *Cumaovası*, *Develiköy*, *Torbaltı*, and several small settlements until the last stop, *Aydın*.¹⁸⁹

However, railway construction required much time, materials, and workforce, and wide spaces and costly expenses were obligatory for the construction of terminal buildings. Besides, spatial and physical adjustments to the existing urban space were necessary to create suitable ground for the construction of the roads.¹⁹⁰ In the case of Smyrna railways, the companies and the engineers faced two vital issues during the construction and planning: firstly, meeting at a joint station was very difficult for the two railroads. Even though the companies made plans and wanted to connect those two lines on a joint station, the joint station plans could not have been realized until a suitable location was found. The second problem was to determine the locations of railways' terminal stations, since it had to be near the city center and accessible to

¹⁸⁵ The central government bought the shares of the British company in 1893. A French company, *Smyrne-Cassaba et Prolongement*, bought a small percentage of the shares from the central government in the same year. See in Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 275.

¹⁸⁶ Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 275.

¹⁸⁷ Clarke, *Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 3.

¹⁸⁸ Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, 102-103.

¹⁸⁹ The timetable for August 1875 was published in the Levantine Heritage Foundation. (May 6, 2023). Retrieved from Levantine Heritage Foundation. <http://www.levantineheritage.com/rail.htm>

¹⁹⁰ Krim, "Squeezing Railroads into Cities," 137.

the suburbs. In the case of the Smyrna-Aidin railway, the concerns were related to its proximity to the port and the roads' suitability to give access to the suburbs. For instance, British engineer Hyde Clarke (1815-1895) states that the construction of the train station in the city center would be costly, therefore, the engineer must have avoided building the terminal in the heart of the city. Besides, the information about crowds and traffic in the city center was insufficient.¹⁹¹ Consequently, *Punta* was chosen due to several reasons related to its location. First, it was close to the seashore and the city center, where diverse communities inhabited. Secondly, Caravan Bridge was only three kilometers away from Punta, and the location of the train station allowed for easier access to the countryside. Last but not least, *Punta*'s location would allow for new arrangements in the case of establishing a joint station with Smyrna-Cassaba Railway.¹⁹²

Besides, another British company, Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company, took concession from the central government in 1863 for 99 years and constructed 93 kilometers long railway roads for the Smyrna-Cassaba railway in 1866.¹⁹³ The Smyrna-Cassaba railway lines started from *Basmane* and passed through *Karşıyaka*, *Bornova*, and *Menemen* until *Turgutlu (Cassaba)*.¹⁹⁴ Similar concerns about the location of the terminal station were also raised during the construction of the Smyrna-Cassaba railway. In the Smyrna-Cassaba railway line, *Basmane* was chosen as the terminal station due to its proximity to the city center, and the location was suitable for constructing new railroads reaching the suburbs, such as *Karşıyaka* and *Bornova*. Besides, a suitable location for the joint station for two railroads was

¹⁹¹ Clarke, *Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 8.

¹⁹² Atay, *İzmir Planları*, 84-85

¹⁹³ Rougon, *Smyrne*, 149.

¹⁹⁴ Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, 137-141.

found, and the Smyrna-Cassaba railway line intersected with the Smyrna-Aidin railway line at the Caravan Bridge station.¹⁹⁵

Spatial transformations in Smyrna, the commercial hub of the eastern Mediterranean, both impacted and caused by diverse communities such as Ottoman Muslims, non-Muslim Ottomans, Levantines, and foreigners. All the elements of the Ottoman public sphere were interested in the construction of the railways, which was a highly significant development. In this regard, heated debates took place in newspapers, magazines, or official documents. For instance, a debate about the construction of the railway lines in the Caravan Bridge area was published in *Journal de Constantinople* on 10 November 1858. While the location of the railway implementation was a matter of discussion, Imperial Commissioner Colonel Reshad Bey reminds the responsibilities and obligations determined by the concession contract:

Staff Colonel Reshad Bey, Imperial Commissioner of the Aidin Railway, relying on article 8 of the concession contract, still insisted that a bridge be built near the Caravan Bridge, where the barriers are currently located and where the rails pass. To serve as a double roadway, this bridge must have at least seven and a half peaks under the vault. The aforementioned article reads as follows: "The railway meeting public roads or watercourses must pass either above or below these roads or watercourses, by throwing bridges or by making excavations. Level crossings will be tolerated only for small roads."¹⁹⁶

Another debate, which Hyde Clarke brought up, shows that public opinion considered the expenses for Punta terminal station construction costly, and several criticisms were raised during the construction. On the other hand, Clarke argues that

¹⁹⁵ Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, 137-140.

¹⁹⁶ *Journal de Constantinople*, November 6, 1858. (Fr. "Le colonel d'état-major Réchad bey, commissaire Impérial du chemin de fer d'Aidin s'appuyant sur l'article 8 du contrat de concession, insiste toujours à ce qu'un pont soit construit près du Pont-des-Caravanes, à l'endroit où se trouvent actuellement les barrières, et où passent les rails. Ce pont, devant servir à une double voie, doit avoir au moins sept pics et demi sous voute. L'article précité est ainsi conçu : "Le chemin de fer a la rencontre des routes publiques ou des cours d'eau devra passer soit au-dessus soit au-dessous de ces routes ou cours d'eau, en jetant des ponts en faisant des excavations. Les croisements de niveau seront tolérés seulement pour les petits chemins.")

constructing Punta Terminal Station was not expensive but only moderate. He argues that the terminal station includes all necessary rooms and spaces for a city like Smyrna, and the cost would be considered as cheap eventually due to the ongoing increase in the land prices, *which was as precious much as it was in London*. Further, he states that the land's price would be equal to the cost of the construction in three years:

The station at the Point is a very fine building of stone, having a good effect from the sea and being an ornament to the city. It has been already criticized as being too expensive and costly, when in fact if there be any traffic at all, it will be found that the station is on a very moderate scale. It includes the necessary offices, waiting rooms and courts, company's, engineers', audit, cashiers', booking, parcels, goods, post and telegraphic offices, arrival and departure platforms, of good dimensions; porters'-room, lamp-room, store office, and the many small offices and departments which are required for railway traffic at a central and terminal station; and which so far from being dear will be regarded as cheap in a city like Smyrna, where land is rising in price, and is as dear as in London. In three years the land alone of the stations will be worth the whole present outlay for land and buildings.¹⁹⁷

Finally, the charming train station of *Punta* started to operate in 1865 with all its glory.¹⁹⁸ However, since it was a significant development and impacted the urban fabric of Smyrna, the construction of railroads and train stations became another driving force behind the landscape changes that materialized in the second half of the 19th century. For example, one of the questions that needed to be addressed after the trains started to operate was how to transport goods from the port to the terminal station, especially when the distance between two points was considered. The traditional modes of transportation were carried out for a while, such as porters, camels, etc. At last, a possible solution already proposed by Clarke and Stephenson was integrated into the planning process of the modern quay: a tramway line. During the planning and construction processes, adequate transportation of goods from the

¹⁹⁷ Clarke, *Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 9.

¹⁹⁸ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 32.

port to the railways was one of the main concerns of the merchants. Thus, constructing a tramway line between the terminal station and the port for transporting goods was considered a satisfactory solution.



Fig. 42 Terminal Station at *Punta* [Photograph]. (c.1860). Retrieved from Levantine Heritage Foundation

Even though building a modern quay was on the agenda of the investors, local people, visitors, and local and central governments since the 1850s,¹⁹⁹ the construction of the quay only started in 1868.²⁰⁰ The modern quay construction started as a British construction but ended up as a French one thanks to the investment of the French engineering company Dussaud Brothers, which was

¹⁹⁹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 127. For instance, L. Storari raised concerns about the insufficient port facilities in Smyrna that were unable to support the trade volume adequately. Storari, *Guida con Cenni Storici di Smirne*, 24.

²⁰⁰ Frangakis-Syrett, "Le Développement d'un port Méditerranéen," 42.

internationally famous and realized many projects in different parts of the world.²⁰¹ Besides, the construction of the quay demonstrates one of the striking examples of how Smyrniots from diverse backgrounds were actively involved in the modernization process since it impacted many people directly regarding property rights, business opportunities, public order, and daily life on the waterfront. Besides the investors and local and central governments, the modern quay project resulted from a local need and was initiated and financed by the locals of Smyrna. The first three British investors, J. H. Charnaud, A. Barker, and G. Guarraciano,²⁰² were actively involved in the trade business in Smyrna. Besides, the Smyrna Quay Company's board of directors in 1868 was constituted of A. Cousinéry, Baron Aliotti, P. Aliotti, A. Aliotti, E. de Creamer, F. Charnaud, K. Abro, A. Spartali. Like the company's initial investors, these people were engaged in trade in Smyrna. Among all names, only A. Cousinéry had a French origin; the other people were British at birth or had British nationality afterward. Although the project started as a British investment initially, the British consulate and diplomats opposed the project due to property ownership issues. Because, after the construction, the British consulate would be distanced from the seashore. Besides, while the initial investors tried to gain the support of British diplomats for the project, the British diplomats opposed more after the construction became a French project in the hands of the Dussaud Brothers. On the other hand, the French consul and local and central governments favored the project.²⁰³

Since the project was transforming the land tenure and public space, the British consulate and diplomats were not the only opposition sources. Still, some of

²⁰¹ Frangakis-Syrett, "The making of an Ottoman port," 26-27.

²⁰² Demetrius, *Smyrne et l'Asie Mineure*, 154

²⁰³ Frangakis-Syrett, "The making of an Ottoman port," 26-27.

the wealthy members of Smyrna and property owners at the waterfront opposed the project since they faced the danger of losing their properties on the seashore.²⁰⁴ The property owners at the waterfront considered the project dangerous for their own interests but only good for the British investors. The company would gain profit from the reclaimed lands and revenue from all the exports and imports, whereas property owners would lose direct access to the waterfront, and their lands' values would reduce. Consequently, even though the central government supported the project because the Sublime Porte wanted to regulate the waterfront to avoid smuggling and bring order to the urban space, gaining the support of local people was not easy. Therefore, newspapers such as *Levant Herald* and *La Turquie* became the voice of public opinion. While several articles advocated the project, opponents published articles about how the company was lawlessly benefitting from the project and the privileges granted to the company.²⁰⁵ For instance, according to articles published in *Levant Herald* on January 8, 1868, the company had authorization, capital, and power to fill the seashore. Since the Sublime Porte issued an edict in 1856 that permitted the expropriation of the lands for the public welfare, the company could expropriate the properties on the shore in case of need. Nevertheless, the company was obliged to pay the confiscated properties' value in order to protect landowners. Besides, while some people advocated the project and emphasized the prosperity that would be generated thanks to the new quay, the property owners were trying to defend their rights. According to another article published in *La Turquie* on July 2, 1868, property owners claimed that the company did not pay the actual value or use it for the public good but aimed to profit for its own good.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Frangakis-Syrett, "The making of an Ottoman port," 30.

²⁰⁵ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 66-67.

²⁰⁶ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 67.

The issues about property created discontent and disturbance among the shopkeepers, inhabitants, and property owners. Some people even stopped maintaining their facilities because they believed their property would soon be seized. Consequently, neglected structures caused incidents on the waterfront. One striking example occurred in 1873 and forced local and central governments to take action. According to an article in *Levant Herald*, a coffee shop located in the piles, *Kivoto* (or *café de l'Arche*)²⁰⁷, collapsed and caused the death of almost 100 people (Fig. 43).²⁰⁸ The *Kivoto* incident was also reported internationally. On March 15, 1873, *Le Monde Illustré* reported the death of 250 people caused by the accident (Fig. 45), and as it noted, the Greek coffeeshop owner sought shelter in Greek consulate in order to escape from the anger of the crowd. However, his demand was rejected by Greek consulate since they were also feared from the temper of the crowd, and finally the shopkeeper surrendered to the police to survive from the rage of the people.²⁰⁹ Like in the example of *Kivoto*, shopkeepers and property owners wanted to delay the seizure and the implementation of the project even though the company had authorization for the expropriation, and the central government ordered the demolition of the wooden structures on the shore. But the landowners did not want to fill in the lots in the sea and refused to pay the costs for filling the land. In the example of *Kivoto*, the company already spent the money to take over the property to the owners of *Kivoto* and wanted them to abandon the building before the accident. However, the shopkeeper slowed down the process of abandoning the property until the violent incident took place. After the incident, the central

²⁰⁷ *Le Monde Illustré*, March 15, 1873, 171.

²⁰⁸ *Levant Herald*, February 19, 1873. (In Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 70. Although the number of death people were given around 100 in *Levant Herald*, *Le Monde Illustré* reports the death of 250 people caused by the *Kivoto* incident.

²⁰⁹ *Le Monde Illustré*, March 15, 1873, 171.

government enforced its power to demolish all the wooden structures and coffee shops on the waterfront (Fig. 46).²¹⁰



Fig. 43 *Kivoto* (or *café de l'Arche*) before the violent incident. From *Le Monde Illustré*

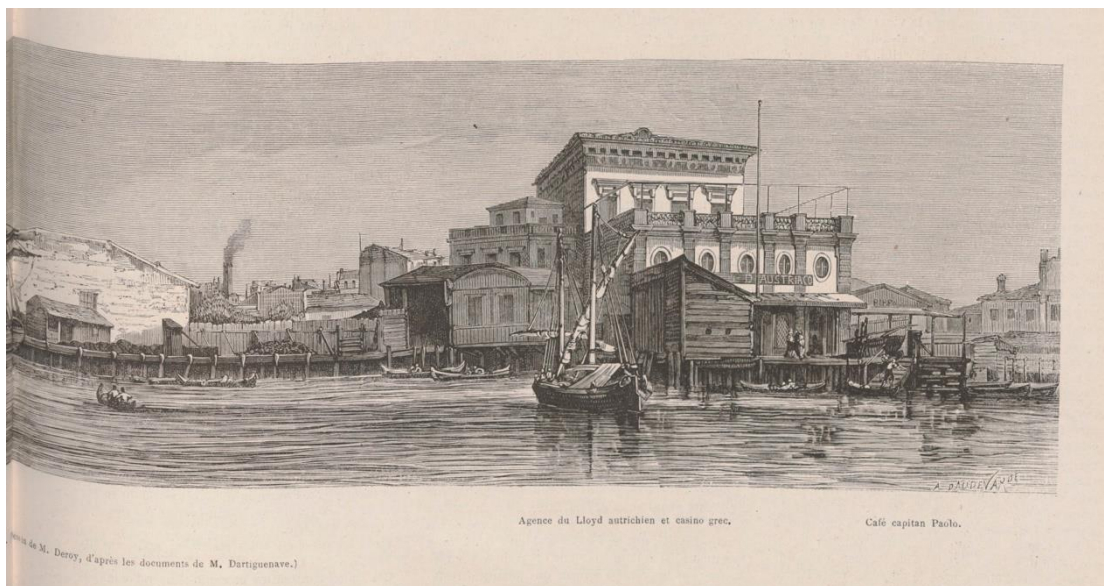


Fig. 44 Lloyd Insurance Agency and Greek Casino on the waterfront. From *Le Monde Illustré*

²¹⁰ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 70-71. Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 141.

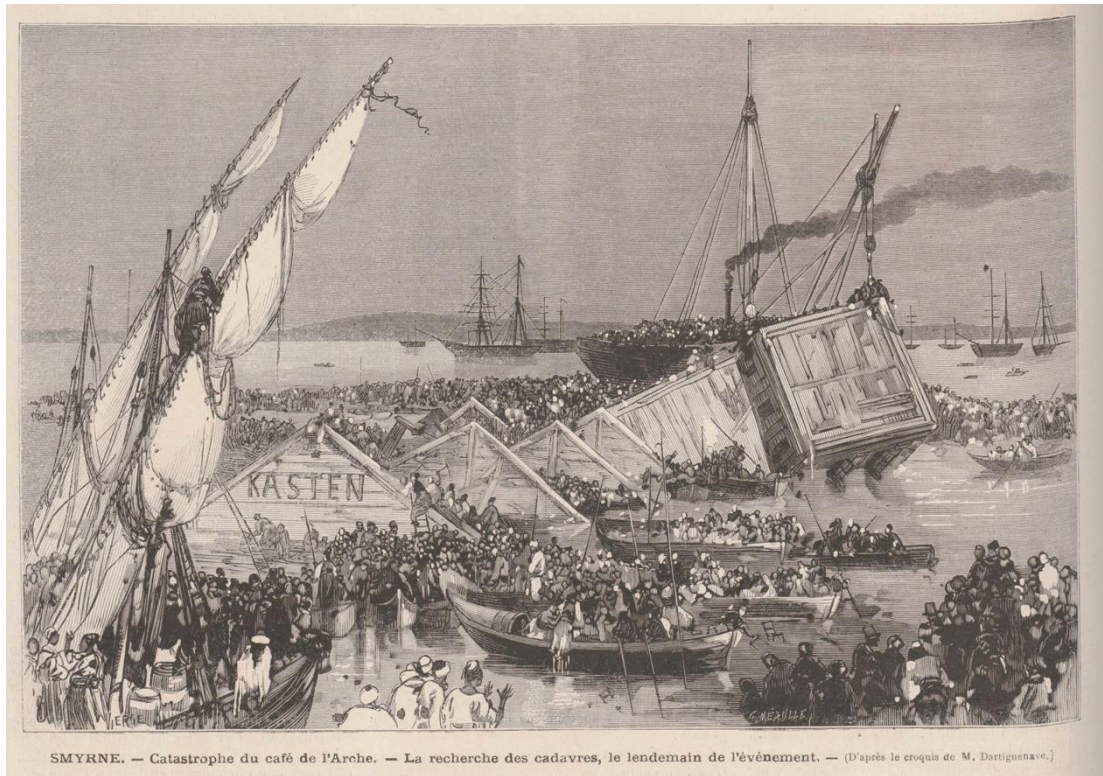


Fig. 45 The drawing showing the view during/after the incident of *Kivoto*. From *Le Monde Illustré*



Fig. 46 The waterfront with wooden piers and properties extending to the sea. (c.1860). From Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*

Similarly, another interest group, the city's merchants, opposed the project. The merchants believed that the project was profitable only for a few people. The company's agreement with the central government about the taxation of imports and exports generated a vital issue among the actors. According to the agreement, the Quay Company would acquire 12% of the total revenues.²¹¹ Besides, merchants had questions about the quay facilities that the company could offer and if merchants could afford to pay the fees determined by the company in exchange for these facilities. For instance, merchants did not know if their vessels could approach the quay easily and if the necessary precautions would be taken, such as lighters and sheltered ports to avoid crashes. Besides, the mercantile community believed that the quay proposal sent to the central government was unsuitable for the large vessel traffic but better suited for coastal trade.²¹² Consequently, the merchants of the city and property owners believed that the project would not serve public welfare; it would not increase the trade volume and bring prosperity. On the contrary, merchants and property owners thought that the property would only maximize the company owners' revenues and not bring prosperity but only inequality for the mercantile community.²¹³

The mercantile community and property owners were also a significant part of the mercantile community and needed to be convinced to build the quay. They were high in number, influential in local government, and some of the members of the mercantile community were the local elites. The mercantile community and property owners believed that public welfare was related to protecting their properties and their right to free trade. Therefore, the company must have made

²¹¹ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 66-67.

²¹² Frangakis-Syrett, "The making of an Ottoman port," 32.

²¹³ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 68.

several compromises, like all other actors, to find a middle way. The central government decided to take steps in order to convince the mercantile community and local elites. The central government and the company reduced the taxation fees for the traders of Smyrna. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Pasha (1814-1868), declared that direct shipments to the Customhouse would not be taxed even though this change was against the company's and central government's initial agreement. However, the Sublime Porte gave the company 12% of its revenue since this action reduced the original income estimated on the contract with the Dussaud Brothers. While the opposition of different actors continued, the company started constructing the quay, and bought all shares of the first three initiators.²¹⁴

On the other hand, while the construction was ongoing, there was another matter of discussion for the project. Some parties considered the public good outside the property and free trade rights framework and were interested in the general welfare, hygiene, and urban space. While some actors thought that a modern quay would diminish the pleasure of daily promenade and that increased vessel traffic would not be good for the public, another problem related to public health was caused by the lack of a sufficient sewerage system on the construction site. The company wanted to build walls for the quay construction, but water pools accumulated between the walls and the old shore created an issue of public health. Before the construction, the wastewater was going into the sea, however, the construction works blocked its flow into the sea. Consequently, some people criticized the company that the water pools could spread diseases and infections. This was due to rapid population growth in the city, an insufficient draining system, and a lack of coordination between the local government and the company about how to

²¹⁴ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 69-70.

manage the sewer lines and clear out the unhealthy waters on the construction site. In 1872, the wastewater started to make a disturbing smell, and British, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, Belgian, Danish, and Russian consulates petitioned the central government about the issue. In order to prevent diseases and infections caused by the wastewater, the company and the central government agreed on the implementation of the sewer lines, which did not exist in the original concession. Therefore, the company wanted a more profitable agreement and to extend the territories of the quay. The company wanted to extend the quay towards the Customhouse, a tax-free zone for merchants. The quay company offered merchants a notable discount on export and import taxes in exchange for the extension zone. The merchants formed a commission to evaluate the offer, constituted by the local elites such as Psiaschi, Paterson, Aliotti, Farkoa, Henriquez, Yenisehirlizade Ahmet Efendi, and Evliyazade Mehmet Efendi.²¹⁵ However, the negotiations lasted approximately two years, and all the parties made offers and counteroffers to find the middle way.²¹⁶

Indeed, although the construction and planning processes were troublesome for all parties, the modernized quay project was supported by many Smyrniots. Until the construction period, the seashore was highly fragmented and unregulated, which created a space open to illegal activities and smuggling. Some property owners even claimed that the irregularity blocked their access to the sea. Besides, natural events such as hurricanes and storms caused problems for vessel traffic at the shore. Consequently, the modernization of the quays was perceived as a necessity for some, not only for trade purposes but also for the city's security, health, and welfare. For instance, on 16 August 1864, an article was published in *Levant Herald* about the prosperities that would come with the new quay. According to the article, the new

²¹⁵ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," 69-74.

²¹⁶ Frangakis-Syrett, "The making of an Ottoman port," 34.

quay would bring welfare, hygiene, and order to the urban layout, thus, the flaneurs of Smyrna would be able to make long promenades if the project would be realized.²¹⁷ Therefore, the construction of the quay was supported by different actors, such as local and central government, the mercantile community, and property owners. Finally, the quay construction was completed in 1880. The tramway line started to operate for passengers and to transport goods from the quay to the terminal station. However, the tramway only carried goods at night to avoid disturbing pedestrians and human traffic during the day, most likely due to public concerns about the disturbance of daily pleasures.²¹⁸

Thus, the construction of railroads and the quay demonstrates to what extent the different actors were involved in the processes and developments that shaped the urban fabric they lived in. The local elites, mercantile community, local and central government, intellectuals, and property owners were actively involved in modernization. These parties, in fact, did not only include wealthy foreigners or capital owners *who wanted to bring imperialism to Western Anatolia*,²¹⁹ but also locals such as Ottoman Muslims and non-Muslims. Besides, we cannot consider such parties, like local elites, property owners, and Smyrna's mercantile community, as monolithic unities within them. Instead, even the components of these "monolithic unities" have taken various positions in construction processes. Diverse groups and

²¹⁷ *Levant Herald*, August 16, 1864. (In Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore," p. 64)

²¹⁸ Frangakis-Syrett, "Le Développement d'un port Méditerranéen," 42. Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 140.

²¹⁹ Several scholars considered the construction of modern quay and implementation of the railroads as the penetration of imperialism (economic expansionism) into the Ottoman Empire since their financiers were foreigners and Great Powers. The modern infrastructure projects, railways, and quay construction demonstrate the integration of modernity and the global exchange regime into the Ottoman Empire. Besides, the construction of such projects cannot be considered as the penetration of imperialism into the Ottoman Empire since diverse actors, communities, and institutions actively participated in the processes, and these projects fundamentally born out as a result of local needs. Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Gelişi*, and Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*. The italic emphasis in the sentence was given by the author of this thesis.

elements within these groups behaved differently depending on the situation. For example, although the British consulate opposed the project, believing that it would devalue its waterfront pier and property, the initial financiers of the project were three British. Moreover, the project, opposed by the British consulate and diplomats, was later bought and realized by the French Dussaud Brothers, but the British investors wanted to repurchase the project. The Dussaud Brothers wanted to sell the company because of disagreements between the central government and the company during the construction process and the decrease in profitability due to mutual concessions. However, the French government and the Sublime Porte tried various ways to prevent the project from falling into the hands of the British investors, who already controlled the railways and telegraph, either stopping the sale or ensure that the French would repurchase it. The motivation behind such a move was to prevent the entire infrastructure from being owned by British capitalists. Ultimately, the company was sold to another French, the nephew of the Dussaud Brothers, Elie Guiffroy.²²⁰ Thus, the reflections of the cross-cultural relations into the urban fabric were even impacted by the personal interests of individuals who could act outside the community framework, at least at a certain level.

3.3 New face of urban coexistence: Frank street

In the second century of the 19th century, one of the places heavily impacted by the outcomes of the Ottoman Empire's efforts to regulate and modernize itself was Frank Street in Smyrna. Additionally, migration and economic growth profoundly shaped the urban layout of the street. Even though some scholars defined Frank Street as an area where foreigners used to live and imported commodities from the West were

²²⁰ Frangakis-Syrett, "The making of an Ottoman port," 34-39.

sold,²²¹ Frank Street was not a hub only for foreigners and their goods but rather an area where many diverse communities coexisted as I tried to demonstrate in the previous chapter. In Frank Street, it was possible to find goods from the West and goods already manufactured in Smyrna and imported goods from other geographies. Besides, Frank Street was not a European space characterized by the Western urban fabric, on the contrary, it was a very local space and shared many commonalities with the rest of Smyrna. Like many others, the street was irregular, narrow, and usually unmaintained.²²² Consequently, Frank Street, like other parts of Smyrna, became a target of regulations and modernization projects enforced by local and central governments. Hence, the Smyrniots, who were indeed members of local government and commissions, have also been involved in this transformation, and almost all elements of this multicultural city have been actively involved in this process of change.

Frank Street, main artery of Smyrna, remained one of the most prestigious and vital streets in nineteenth-century due to its essential role in diplomacy, trade, and social and cultural life. Consequently, as in previous centuries, the street was frequently visited by locals, travelers, visitors, and diplomats. The travelers' accounts from the first half of the century give us similar insights about the urban fabric of the street to the previous century. For instance, a French visitor, Alexis de Valon (1818-1851) says that even though the street has its own character, it is far from the imagined. According to him, the street was occupied by foreign or Ottoman shopkeepers selling different goods, such as tobacco and *Parisian fabrics*. The

²²¹ Beyru, *19. Yüzyıl'da İzmir Kenti*, 179.

²²² The drawing of Thomas Allom ca. 1838, "A street in Smyrna," (Fig. 47) gives an idea about how the streets of Smyrna looked like. A narrow street with houses built in local architecture but also ornamented with decoration patterns common in west or east. Allom, *Constantinople and the scenery*, 75.

horribly paved street was so narrow that even a wheeler could not pass, it was crowded with people, and walking was almost impossible without getting hurt due to the traffic of porters, donkeys, and camels. Besides, houses and their roofs were in a dilapidated condition.²²³



Fig. 47 A Street in Smyrna [Lithograph]. From Allom, T. (1838-40). *Constantinople and the scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor illustrated*

²²³ De Valon, *Une année dans le Levant*, 48-49.

However, Frank Street, or the “endless street (that) runs along the face of the town”²²⁴ was, in fact, transformed over time. The expansion of the street towards the north was one of the changes caused by the transformations that took place in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The length of the street was emphasized by travelers and one of them, Rolleston makes a similar statement and defines the area as “long shore.”²²⁵ Besides, Rolleston gives a detailed information about the street and the shore. According to Rolleston, Frank Street begins in “the esplanade” that was located a few meters away the Frank custom, marine shops, and drinking houses. The street, where several consulates, residential places, and shops are located, continues up to a second esplanade, where some fragments of ill-built Greek houses were visible:

Still following the water line we come, at the end of this handsome esplanade, upon a block of ill-built closely aggregated houses, a fragment of the Greek quarter, interposed between two portions of the European. Its streets are mere alleys ; the houses are either the dwelling houses of the "long shore" Greek boatmen, or drinking houses of an almost exclusively Greek character, as the pictures on the walls show. It contains a second fish market and vegetable market; and part of the neighbourhood is appropriated to a colony of Maltese, chiefly boatmen. Along this part of the shore we may observe several wooden piers running out ten or twelve yards into the sea.²²⁶

The area where Greek houses were common was known as “Rue de Roses,” which was connecting the Frank Street and Greek neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city. According to a different account, Roses quarter was inhabited by rich, merchant Greek class, and they have lived in the houses with interior gardens surrounded with walls, doors, and windows.²²⁷ According to Rolleston, the area where Greek character was apparent were decorated with pictures on the wall. In

²²⁴ Oldmixon, *Gleanings from Piccadilly to Pera*, 375.

²²⁵ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 9.

²²⁶ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 9.

²²⁷ Martins, *Promenade Botanique*, 4.

fact, the walls were decorated with icons and images related to the faith during the religious festivals.²²⁸

Rolleston's description of the street, in fact, corresponds to the visual materials that we encounter from the late 19th century.²²⁹ Although there are only a few accessible visual materials about Frank Street of Smyrna, the images from the late 19th century help us to imagine the architectural texture and urban character of the street. For instance, one photograph of the street taken around the 1890s show people, signboards, posters, and buildings, probably residential places and shops (Fig. 48). The street, which had a narrow width, was crowded with people who walked on the road itself because sidewalks were extremely narrow and occupied by tools or vehicles of the shopkeepers. People on the street wore clothes associated with modernization, such as neckties, hats, dresses, and shirts, while only a few with traditional and local clothes were on the street. Signboards mainly were Greek, but a few in French and English were on the photograph, such as Pears Soap and Dentist *Granier*.²³⁰ The image contains buildings in different types and shapes. However, many buildings have iron shutters on their windows, a characteristic element of eastern Mediterranean architecture. There are few visible ornamentations. For instance, the balcony of Pears Soap and the one closer to the camera had decorations in meander form.²³¹ The bay windows of the Dentist *Granier* had ornaments too, but this time resembled more the traditional Ottoman wooden decorations. Next to Pears Soap, a building with Corinthian columns and a neo-classical façade catches the eye.

²²⁸ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 162.

²²⁹ Unfortunately, accessible visual materials about Frank Street usually produced around late 19th century. Only a very few materials on 17th and 18th centuries are known today.

²³⁰ While there was not any soap manufacturer under the name of "Pear Soaps" in 1888 *Smyrna Commercial Guide*, the dentist *Granier* was registered in the guide. According to guide, dentist *Granier* was operating business in Madama Han in 1888. It indicates that the photograph was taken after 1888.

²³¹ An ornamentation mostly associated with Ancient Greek culture and art.

The street layout surely fits with the descriptions: fragmented, irregular, and did not have a regular urban fabric. Therefore, the street indeed carries many Ottoman elements and foreign ones in the same urban fabric. The urban fabric of the street shows the coexistence of diverse communities, and “they speak Greek, Turkish, English, and French but fall far from agreeing.”²³²

²³² *La Turquie*, January 16, 1872. (In Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 109.)

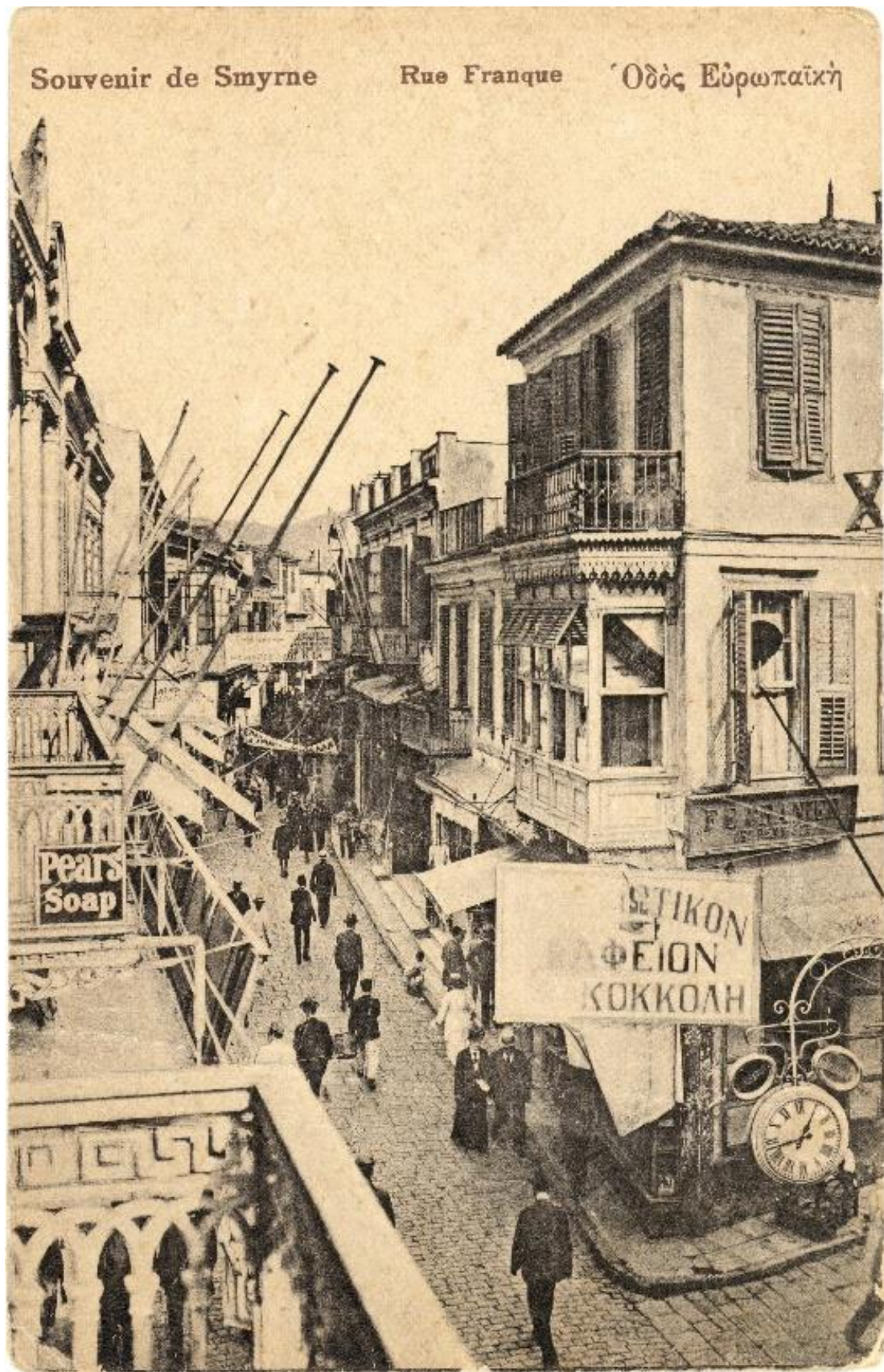


Fig. 48 Frank Street in Smyrna [Photograph]. (c.1890). Retrieved from SALT Research

3.3.1 A street with many names

After the second esplanade, Rolleston moves towards *Punta*, until the end of the longshore, “where the town reaches no further in *that* direction.”²³³ As he described, on the “long handsome but ill-paved street” were well-built houses, a French hospital, a Turkish guard house, consuls of France, Austria, Prussia, Portuguese, and Greece, a windmill, and a barrack.²³⁴ While the end point of the street was Bella Vista in the previous century, the expansion of the city towards the north lengthened the street toward *Punta*. Storari’s city plan shows the long street, starting from *Veziir Han* up to the Steam Mills. The street was indicated under four different names from *Punta* towards the starting point on the south: *Mesudiye*, *Teşrifiye*, *Mahmudiye*, and *Sultaniye*. In the 19th century, *Mahmudiye* and *Sultaniye* streets constituted Frank Street, while *Teşrifiye* was *Fasula Street*,²³⁵ and *Mesudiye* was *Trassa Street*.²³⁶ Even though when and how the streets were named after Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839) is unknown, it should have been named after the devastating event, the Greek War of Independence, which took place during the reign of Mahmud II. In this regard, several possibilities exist. First, the central government could have enforced the naming of the streets because of the disruptive events, and second, the local government, which indeed influenced Ottoman subjects and foreigners, could rename Frank Street after Sultan Mahmud II.

The first possibility is that the Ottoman government wanted to dominate the public space, which Greeks and foreigners intensely inhabited, by changing the street names and making itself more visible. In the maps and visual materials from 18th and

²³³ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 9.

²³⁴ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 9-10.

²³⁵ In the map of Lamec Saad (Fig. 54), *Fasula Street* were named as *Teşrifiye* and *Mecidiye*. In Storari’s city plan, *Mecidiye Street* was *Rue de Roses* in the Frank Quarter. The street visible at Fig. 49 as number 1.

²³⁶ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 18-19.

early 19th centuries, this area on the waterfront and Frank Street was represented as a “European part” of the city. Therefore, local and central government wanted to rename the street in Turkish and aimed to represent it as an Ottoman space in the maps and city plans produced after the *Tanzimat* reforms. The second possibility was related to the developments regarding the local Latin and catholic community of Smyrna. In 1836, Mahmud II recognized the local Ottoman catholic subjects as *Latin millet*.²³⁷ Besides, the Greek War of Independence strained the relationship between the Greeks and the mercantile community of Smyrna. Indeed, Jewish, foreign, and Levantine merchants were accused by Greeks of being crueler even than the Ottoman government for their lust for money.²³⁸ Moreover, we should also consider that some of the local Greek elites who were influential in the city administration might also support the Ottomans in the Greek War of Independence in order not to lose the wealth, properties, and business opportunities that they had built over the years.²³⁹ Thus, the streets might be renamed after Mahmud II by the wishes of local elites and local government, both constituted by diverse communities, as an appreciation and glorification of the Sultan for the recognition of the local Catholic community as *millet* and to show their loyalty to the Sublime Porte due to recent Greek War of Independence that tensed the relations between Greeks and the mercantile class of the cosmopolite port city. In all possibilities, the various names for Frank Street in different languages demonstrate the multicultural texture of the street and how a

²³⁷ Unfortunately, the edict is lost today. However, see further for the details: Jehay, *De la situation légale*, 320. See further for the source and the formation of *Latin Milleti*, Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 161.

²³⁸ Comstock, *History of Greek Revolution*, 450.

²³⁹ In his report, Rolleston says that upper class Greeks in Smyrna adapted the European lifestyle, for instance, in how they dressed, whereas local Greeks were wearing their traditional costumes. As this situation points out, upper class Greeks and wealthy Greek merchants might behave according to their own class interests rather than communal interests such as supporting the revolutionary Greeks in the Independence War. Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 29.

hybrid environment became a sphere of public discourses and politics due to the impact of cross-cultural relations.²⁴⁰

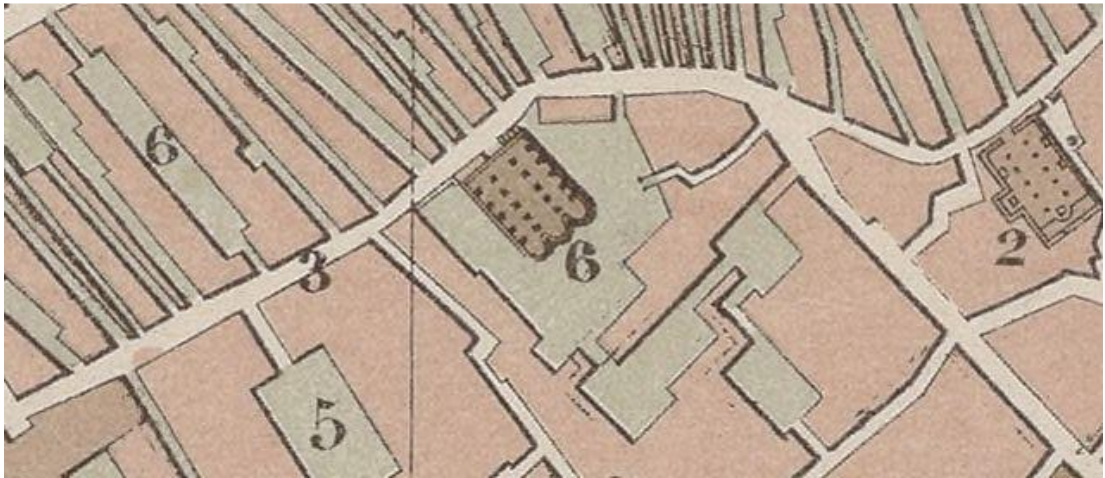


Fig. 49 *Rue de Franques* or *Mahmudiye Caddesi*



Fig. 50 *Rue de Franques* or *Sultaniye Caddesi*

²⁴⁰ The names turn spaces into places where the memory of a group, an individual, an historical moment, a collective memory, or common feelings of communities revitalize. In this regard, my suggestion takes its roots from the concept of “memory places.” Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.”



Fig. 51 *Rue de Fasula* or *Teşrifîye Caddesi*



Fig. 52 *Rue de Fasula* or *Teşrifîye Caddesi*

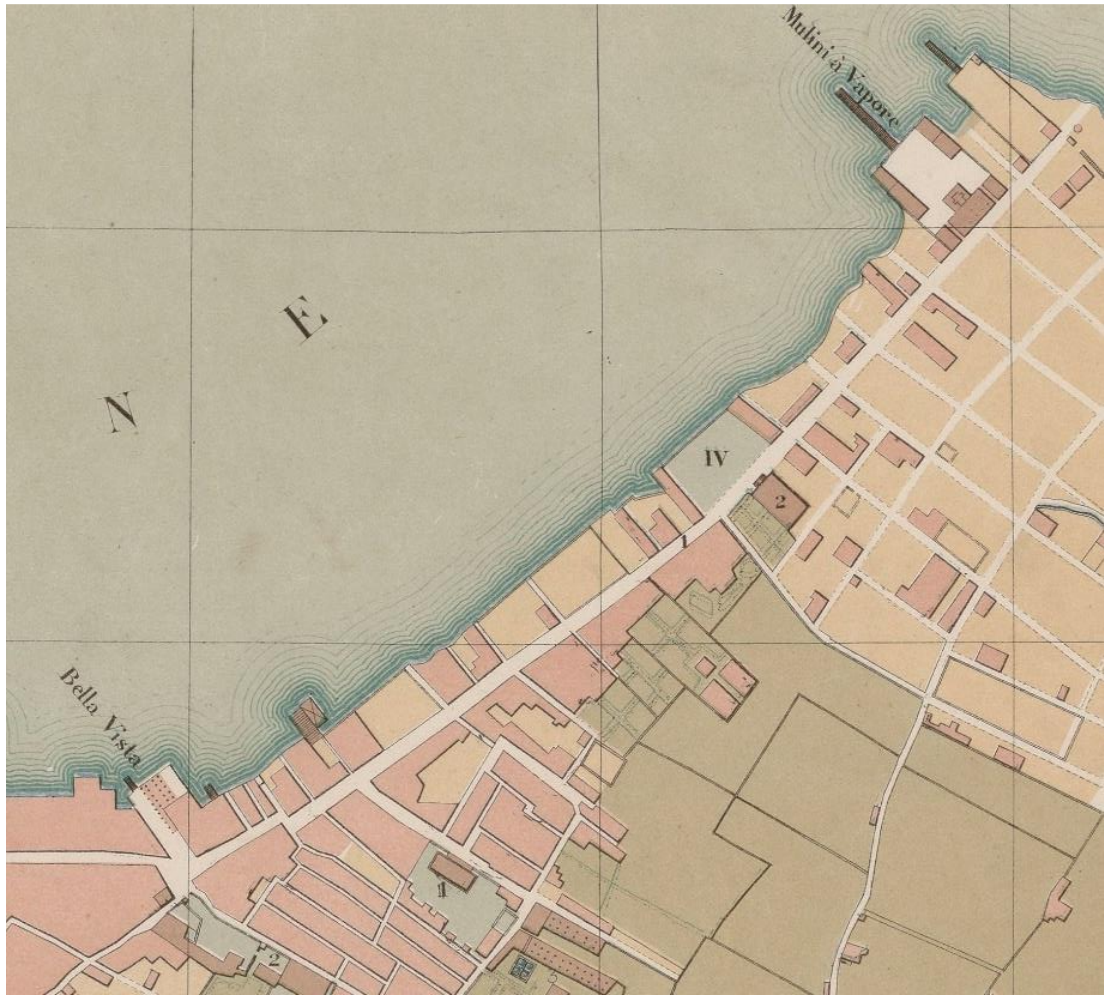


Fig. 53 *Rue de Trassa* or *Mesudiye Caddesi*

Frank Street, with its churches, shops, houses, warehouses, and consulates belonging to diverse communities, constituted a hybrid public space. This hybrid space, in fact, became a sphere of public visibility: it was a place for communal rituals, and a route for parades organized by different communities, as the procession of Bauffremont demonstrated in 1766. Although all communities in the Ottoman Empire organized communal festive, the edict of *Tanzimat* gave liberty to the non-Muslim communities more than ever, and it helped them to become more visible in the public sphere. Besides, these organizations strengthened communal identities and created a sense of solidarity among community members. For instance, in 1872, the Greek Orthodox community celebrated Christmas in their churches:

Today the Greek churches are celebrating their Christmas—twelve days later than ours, old style instead of new style. I attended their "mass" in the morning, at eight o'clock, in the city church, and in another in the afternoon. Their exercises were chiefly singing, reading, kissing sacred-pictures, and crossing themselves, much like the Roman Catholics. All stand during worship. The Greek churches are well constructed and finely adorned.²⁴¹

However, religious festivals and days were celebrated not only in the religious spaces, but they were significant occasions that spread into streets. For instance, the Latin community of Smyrna held a religious parade in Frank Street in the year 1842, *Corpus Christi*. The religious ritual, organized by the Catholics of Smyrna, constitutes an important example of how the public sphere played an important role in the visibility of the communities and how the cross-cultural relations impacted the design of the rituals. A procession for *Corpus Christi* was organized by the Latin Catholic Church and archbishop of Antonio Mussabini (1805-1861).²⁴² The procession of 1842 started from the College of the Propaganda and stopped at several significant points, such as Levantine Club, and Lazarist Church, and finalized at St. Mary, the Austrian church. Although the Catholic Church was under the protection of France officially, the parade was stopped at the Austrian church and met with the Austrian consul, which was a rival state of France. The Austrian consul showed that they also protected the Latin community of Smyrna. Besides, although France officially protected the Latin community of Smyrna, they abolished their Capuchin organization in 1802. Thus, their control over the Latin community weakened. For instance, archbishop Mussabini (1805-1861) was a Syrian-born Italian and had relations with Rome, which was not well received by the French consul of Smyrna.²⁴³ However, the Latin community did not have any

²⁴¹ Andrews, *Travels in Bible Lands*, 73.

²⁴² Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 152-154.

²⁴³ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 168.

specific national affiliations and associations and was constituted by diverse communities of Smyrna. In the processions of *Corpus Christi* in 1842 and in later ones, the Catholic Church of Smyrna considered the national and religious tensions among different parties and organized parades according to this reality. Therefore, processions were organized in consideration of the supranational character of the Latin community.²⁴⁴

Frank Street witnessed religious events such as Easter, Ramadan, or *Corpus Christi* and social, diplomatic, and imperial occasions. Both tension and solidarity could be seen during these occasions since friendly and rival states and diverse communities were in the same area. In 1867, a national holiday was organized by the Greek community of Smyrna. The national holiday, the celebration of King George's rule, started in 1863, and it was also St. George's Day, celebrated in 1867 with the participation of Greek and Russian consuls in the church service. In the church, the crowd and consuls celebrated Russian, Ottoman, and Greek rulers.²⁴⁵ However, of course, the communal and diplomatic interests were in conflict sometimes, creating tension between the consulate, the Greek community, and the Ottoman state. The consul wanted Ottoman Greeks to take its side and sold Hellenic passports to the Ottoman Christians. However, in some cases, the Ottoman Greeks protested the Greek state. 1862 when first king of Greece, King Otto (1815-1867) was taken out of power, the Ottoman Greeks who supported the revolutionaries hung the Greek flag on the Church of St. Photini. This action generated tension between the consul and the local Greek community. In order to suppress the protests, the Greek consul needed to ask for help from the Ottoman government.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 162.

²⁴⁵ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 174.

²⁴⁶ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 174-175.

Besides being a hub for diverse communities, Smyrna was always a highly diplomatic place where different states and consuls encountered. From the early centuries, national and state flags constituted a principal element of the city landscape. Flags were, indeed, powerful tools of visibility, not only for trade ships but the city's inhabitants, consuls, and visitors.²⁴⁷ Around 1880, there were 17 consulates in Smyrna carried the flags of different nations: Sweden, Norway, Samos, Italy, Netherlands, Austria-Hungary, Portugal, Spain, Britain, France, Greece, United States of America, Russia, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, and Persia. And except for the Persian consulate, which was located near Armenian quarter in the southeastern part of the city,²⁴⁸ all other consulates clustered at Frank Street and the waterfront.²⁴⁹ Surely, the 19th century witnessed many diplomatic plays, conflicts of interest, and power relations. As a result, complex diplomatic activities and inter-state relations between different parties were reflected in the landscape of nineteenth-century Smyrna and, consequently, in Frank Street, where the flags were hanged. In Smyrna, the consulates celebrated national events and important days. As a courtesy, other consulates also participated in these events. However, in some cases, rivalries did not participate in these celebrations. For instance, in 1852, the French consulate celebrated the coronation of French emperor Napoleon III (1808-1873). While some consulates raised their flags to honor France, Austrian, Prussian, Russian, and American consulates did not raise their flags. A similar case was observed during the birthday of King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel (1820-1878). Consulates raised their flag if their government recognized the Italian Kingdom founded in 1860. Again, when the British consulate celebrated birthday of Queen Victoria (1819-1901), the Spanish

²⁴⁷ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 176.

²⁴⁸ The location of Persian consulate was based on 1876 city plan of Lamec Saad.

²⁴⁹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 172.

consulate refused to raise its flag. All these events demonstrate how the space was used as a diplomatic arena with the rivalry or friendly relations among the states.²⁵⁰

Frank Street, as a multicultural and hybrid space, constituted an important part of the everyday life of Smyrniots. Consequently, the regulations, infrastructure works, and modernization impacted the street's urban fabric. For instance, inhabitants of the street criticized the narrowness of the street, as well as visitors. The fire of 1844 damaged the street. For some inhabitants, it was an opportunity for renovation. Even some property owners gave up their shares for the sake of the enlargement project. As a result, *Fasula* square was widened during the renovation of the street. Moreover, another measure was taken in 1864 when the local government forbade the placement of shop goods, vendor vehicles, or consumer goods on the street.²⁵¹ All these works were carried out as a result of regulation projects, directly aiming to regulate everyday life on the street. However, the construction of the quay had a profound impact on the street. As the map of cartographer Lamec Saad from 1876 demonstrates, the street was notably distanced from the seashore (Fig. 54). Nevertheless, the street continued to play a significant role in the commercial and social life of Smyrna, but the construction of the quay created a new space for commerce, leisure, diplomacy, and residence. Thus, the next chapter will focus on the changes the transformation of the landscape brought to the waterfront and Frank Street.

²⁵⁰ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 176-177.

²⁵¹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 104-109.

CHAPTER 4

AFTER 1880

4.1 Waterfront

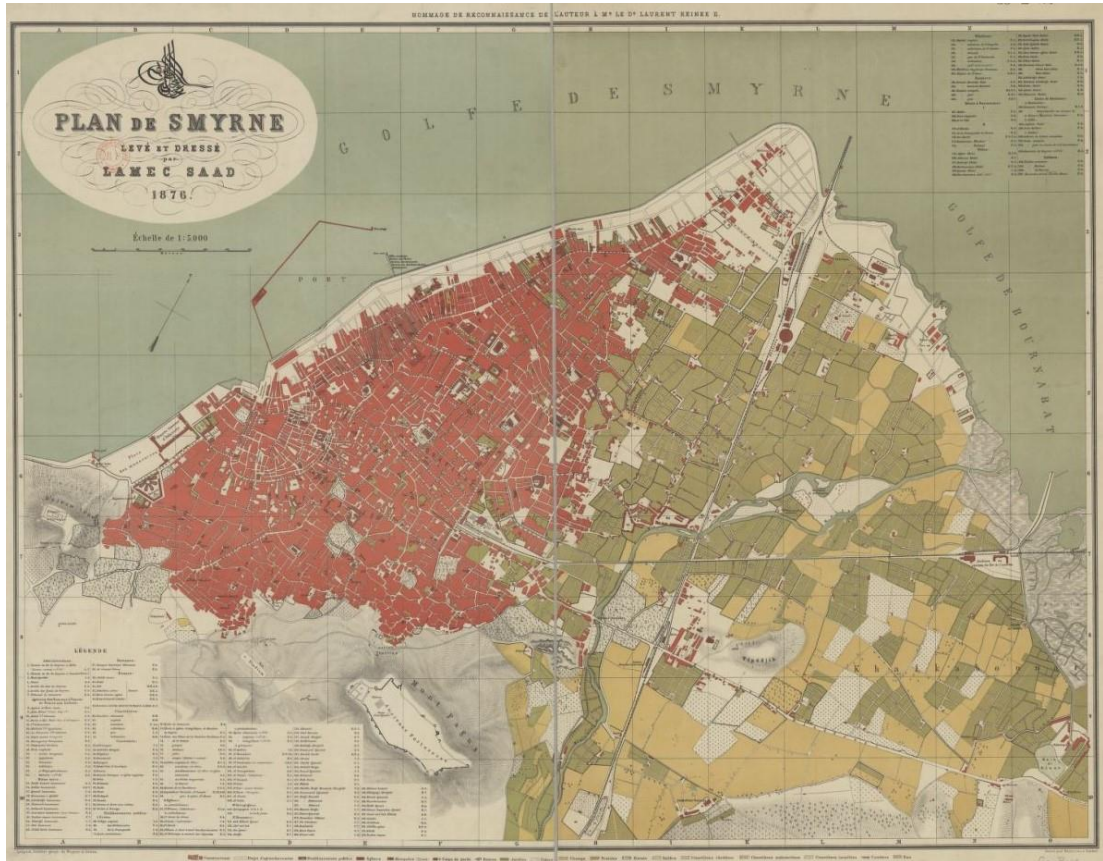


Fig. 54 Saad, L. (1876). Plan de Smyrne [City Plan]. Retrieved from BNF Gallica

The implementation of the railways and the construction of the modern quay transformed the waterfront and inner city of Smyrna profoundly. After two decades from Luigi Storari, Lamec Saad drew Smyrna's plan in 1876. Saad's plan illustrates the waterfront in its new shape after the construction of the quay. Saad also illustrated the new elements of Smyrna's landscape, such as the modern port, new Ottoman and Frank customs, regulated space on the shore, tram line, terminal station at Punta, industrial buildings near the terminal station, and another terminal station near the Armenian quarter. Besides, the map illustrates that the city expanded

towards the east. In contrast to previous periods, the plan indicates that people started to build new structures in the rural areas, which were barely occupied in the plan of Storari. The expansion of the city center was in harmony with Izmir's population growth. According to the *Annuaire Oriental*, from 1891, the population of the city, including its suburbs and villages, was measured as 234.000²⁵² in 1909, it reached 350.000,²⁵³ and in 1913 it increased to 500.000.²⁵⁴



Fig. 55 The waterfront after the quay construction



Fig. 56 Newly constructed area on the left side of the Ottoman custom

²⁵² Cervati, *Annuaire oriental (ancien Indicateur oriental) du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature... 10e année, 1891*, 805.

²⁵³ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909, 1890.*

²⁵⁴ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1708.

The newly constructed quay was colored white, indicating that this area was planned to be built soon. Indeed, in the insurance plan of Charles E. Goad, this area was indicated as completely constructed, and many buildings serving in different ways have been built. Visual materials from the 1890s, one decade after the quay was constructed, show that the quay became a regularized space with residential places, coffee shops, hotels, financial institutions, and consulates. Most of the buildings were built in a hybrid character; both local and Western architectural elements were prominent. Besides, the new quay project has made the coastline accessible to the public. Although the tramway occupied the space reserved for public use, it worked only at night for transporting merchandise, to avoid disturbing human traffic during day hours. Nevertheless, the urban layout of the waterfront in the early 1880s was different from its urban fabric in the 1890s. Six photographs taken by Alphonse Rubellin in *Pierre de Gigord Collection* show the waterfront of Smyrna in 1880.²⁵⁵ Photographs show Smyrna's seashore from *Punta* up to *Değirmentepe*, the hill at the end of the city's southern part, after the quay construction was completed. Rubellin's photographs, in fact, constitute a panorama of the shoreline. The first photograph shows a mill (*Moulin Goût*) in the front,²⁵⁶ while an industrial building and the Ottoman Greek Church of St. Jean Giovanni²⁵⁷ are visible in the background. Towards *Değirmentepe*, two Greek Churches, St. Photini and St. Georges, were visible in the front. The panorama also shows the Armenian Church of St. Etienne in the background behind the two Greek churches.

²⁵⁵ For the full view of panorama and original versions of photographs please see: Photographer Unknown. Smyrne, 1880 (1880). Retrieved from Getty Research Institute. https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/tjqn6u/GETTY_ROSETTAIE2370981. On the website, the photographer was indicated as "unknown." However, Alphonse Rubellin was usually considered as the author of photographs. See further: Maeso and Lesvige, *Smyrna in the 18th and 19th Centuries*.

²⁵⁶ For the mills in Smyrna see further: Alpaslan, "Kent Merkezindeki Değirmenler."

²⁵⁷ S. *Giovanni* in the city plan of Storari.

The rest of the panorama displaying the southern part of the city shows *Vezir Han* alongside Hisar Mosque. Near the modern pier, the panorama shows warehouses and inns built during the process of the quay construction. On the panorama, *Aliotti Han*, *Haralambo Yossifoglou Han*, *Balouzoglu Han*, and *Maksoudian Han* were visible.²⁵⁸ In fact, these structures were colored red in the plan of Saad in the newly constructed area on the left side of the old Ottoman custom, showing that these structures were built before the quay construction was completed (Fig. 56).

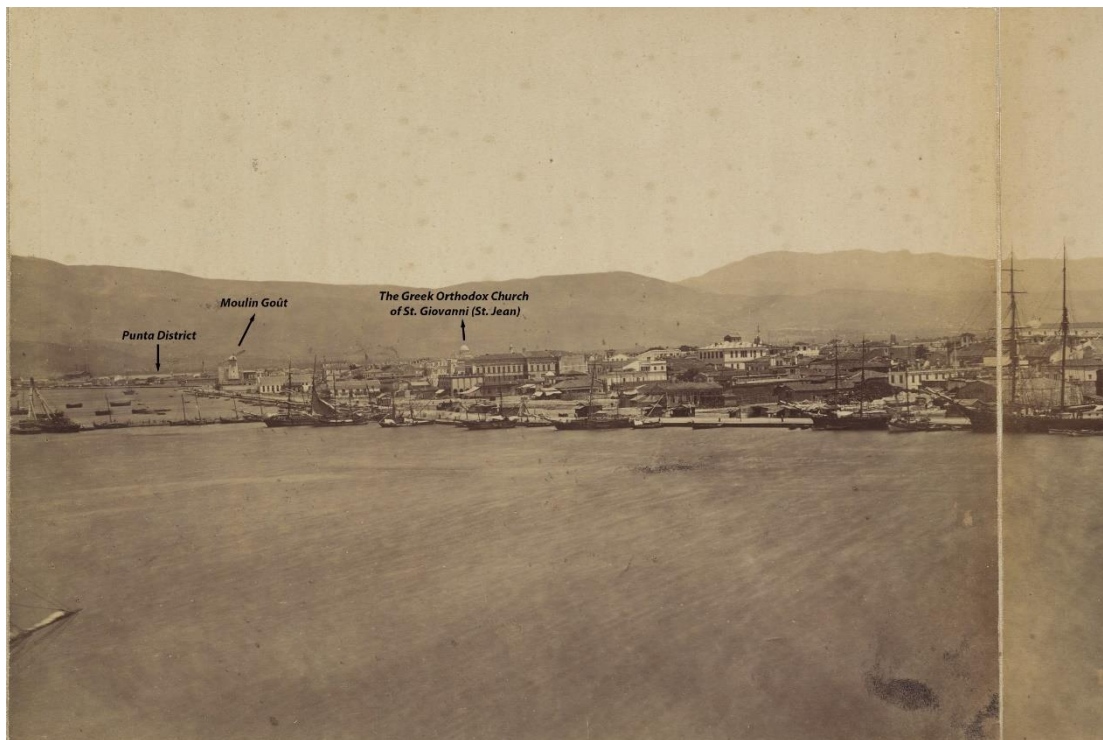


Fig. 57 Rubellin, A. (1880). Smyrna, 1st photograph. Retrieved from Getty Research Institute

²⁵⁸ The project of *Izmir Time Machine* aims to reconstruct significant buildings digitally. See further: www.izmirtimemachine.com. For detailed information about the inns mentioned above please see Atay, *Kapanan Kapılar*.



Fig. 58 Rubellin, A. (1880). Smyrna, 2nd photograph. Retrieved from Getty Research Institute



Fig. 59 Rubellin, A. (1880). Smyrna, 3rd photograph. Retrieved from Getty Research Institute



Fig. 60 Rubellin, A. (1880). Smyrna, 4th photograph. Retrieved from Getty Research Institute



Fig. 61 Rubellin, A. (1880). Smyrna, 5th photograph. Retrieved from Getty Research Institute



Fig. 62 Rubellin, A. (1880). Smyrna, 6th photograph [Photograph]. Retrieved from Getty Research Institute

Although only a few structures were built in 1880 in the recently filled-up area, the construction works on the shoreline were once again based on property relations and the involvement of various parties. Besides *Aliotti*, *Yossifoglou*, *Balouzoglu*, and *Maksoudian* (Fig. 63), there were various actors who contributed to the construction process of the modern waterfront. In this regard, we are fortunate that, unlike in previous periods, there were more documents and maps showing property ownership along the waterfront. Two plans prepared in French around the late 19th century and early 20th century show the property owners on the waterfront. According to the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, one of the cadastral plans was produced in 1889,²⁵⁹ and other plan was produced in the early 20th century.²⁶⁰ Both plans demonstrate the old shoreline and the newly constructed

²⁵⁹ BOA, PLK.p., 9, 18 Safer 1307 (October 14, 1889).

²⁶⁰ BOA, 230/0/0/0, Nafia Vekaleti, 131/21/1, 35R.

area. According to the plans, the newly constructed parcels were bought or given to the persons, foundations, and consulates that had pieces of land behind the constructed areas. For instance, the French consulate acquired the filled-up land located before its property in the first plan. Although some plots were blank in the first plan, in the latter, these spaces were registered under the name of individuals or institutions, such as governmental and administrative institutions, hotels, and banks. Besides, some names registered differently in the two plans. For instance, *Yossifoglou Han* was not registered at first property map, but that parcel was recorded as the *Office and Warehouses of the Smyrna Quay Company* (Fig. 64). Similar to previous periods, Armenian, Greek, Muslim, Jewish, and foreign names appear as property owners in both plans (Fig. 65). However, in contrast to earlier periods, the properties of foreigners were registered under their own names, not the names of their wives or mothers-in-law.



Fig. 63 Details from the 1889 property map showing the properties of *Balouzoğlu* and *Maksoudian* [Property Map]. Retrieved from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office



Fig. 64 Details from the 1889 property map showing the properties of the Aliotti Family and *Quay Company* [Property Map]. Retrieved from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office

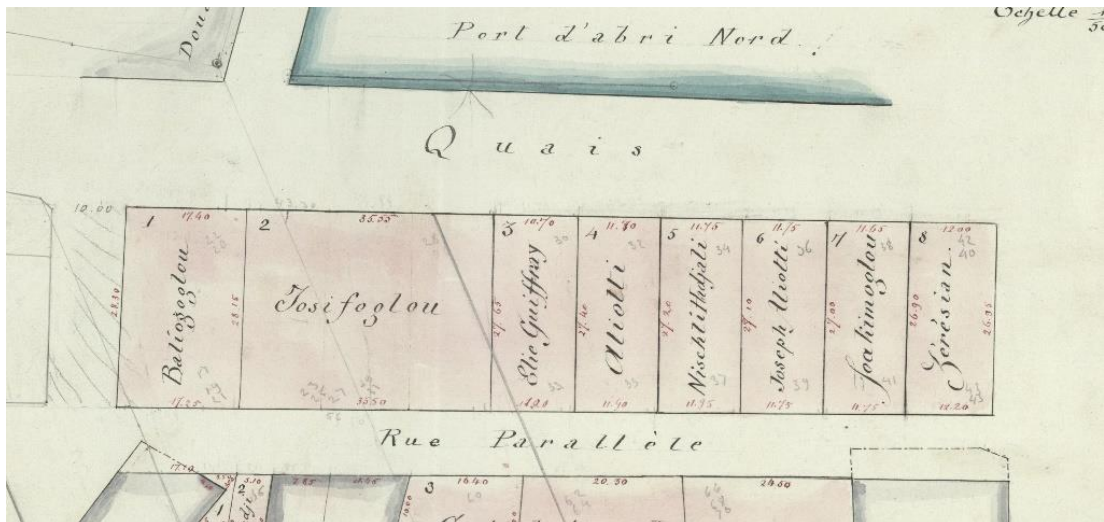


Fig. 65 Details from the early 20th century property map showing the new owners of the properties once belonging to the Aliotti Family and *Quay Company* [Property Map]. Retrieved from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office

The panorama does not reflect the colorful image for which the promenade was best known, full of residential places with bay windows, coffee shops, theaters, clubs, and hotels. Instead, it remained dominated by an irregular settlement pattern. Old building types and structures were still prevalent. The panorama shows that there were long and narrowly built structures made of wood or stone, probably used as warehouses or offices. The products to be used for export or import were also placed

haphazardly on the quay. Besides, the panorama shows that large-scale ships could also dock in the harbor after the quay construction. This panorama suggests that the transformation of the waterfront was also extended over a period of time and that the construction process in this area was completed long after the construction of the quay. Two postcards from the early 20th century illustrate the urban landscape of Smyrna after the construction works were mostly completed, which was a more familiar image of the quay. The first postcard shows *Hotel Alexandria* and *Hotel Elphiniki* (Fig. 66).²⁶¹ There were coffee shops downstairs of the buildings, while the upstairs were used as hotels. The hotels' signboards were written in English and Greek, but there was also a sign of a boulangerie in French. The second postcard (Fig. 67) shows the famous hotel, Grand Hotel Huck, and people gathered in front of the place. The Grand Hotel Huck was a neo-classical building decorated with gothic ornaments on its door and pediment.



Fig. 66 *Hotel Alexandria* and *Hotel Elphiniki* [Postcard]. (c.1900). Retrieved from the Digital Commonwealth

²⁶¹ For the history of hotels in Smyrna see: Kayın, “İlk Oteller.”



Fig. 67 Grand Hotel Huck [Postcard]. (c.1900). Retrieved from the Digital Commonwealth

One of the commercial guides about the Ottoman Empire was prepared by *Raphael C. Cervati* in 1881, indicating that coffee shops and hotels started to be a part of the landscape of the waterfront since the very years the quay was constructed. According to the indicator, there were three hotels in the quay, namely *Des Deux Auguste, Egypte, and Ville*. *Hotel Egypte* also had a restaurant on the same property.²⁶² Besides, a few hotels were located near the quay or on Frank Street. The

²⁶² Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1881, 503.

indicator demonstrates that there were no theaters yet in the quay, whereas there was an Armenian theater in the Armenian quarter, *Theater Euterpe* in the Rose Street, and *Theater Smyrne* in Horiat Alan Street.²⁶³ However, there were many coffee shops located on the shore, such as *Alcazar*, *Alhambra*, *Astre de l'Orient*, *Capital Polo*, *Constantinople*, *Corinna*, *Jérusalem*, *Kissavos*, *Mimico*, *Pausilipe*, *Pera d'ora*, *Phénix*, *Rodocanachi*, *Thermopyles*.²⁶⁴ Moreover, two casinos were registered in the guide: *Smyrne Rest* and *Club Grec*. In 1883, two new coffee shops started to operate in the quay: *Concordia* and *Cercle Commercial*, and the first theater in the quay opened its doors: *El-Dorado*.²⁶⁵ Although no new coffee was registered in the guide, the Grand Hotel Huck was recorded in the commercial guide in 1885.²⁶⁶

Towards 1890, new coffee shops began to serve the customers such as *Amerique*, *Athènes*, *Anatolie*, *Belle Vue*, *Byron*, *De la Bourse*, *Ermis*, *Louvre*, *New York*, *Nouveau Monde*, *Petit Marseillais*. Additionally, there were places for musical activities, such as *Alhambra*, *Monaco*, *Capitan Paolo*, *Orphée*, and *Théâtre des Quais*. Besides coffee shops and concert areas, there was an increase in the number of brasseries. In 1890, there were six brasseries serving the Smyrniots, *Kraemer*, *Procopios*, *Franghias*, *Gagarnon*, *Tissot*, and *Homsy*, and two new clubs were founded for the gatherings, *Smyrna Club* and *Armenian Club*.²⁶⁷ In 1891, new restaurants were opened in *Rue Parallèle* and in the quay such as *d'Amérique*, *L'Angleterre*, *L'Artemis*, *La Belle Grèce*, *Le Bosphore*, *L'Espérance*, *L'Europe*, *La*

²⁶³ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1881, 508-509.

²⁶⁴ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1881, 504.

²⁶⁵ Cervati, *Indicateur Ottoman Illustré Annuaire Almanach du Commerce* 1883, 577 and 589.

²⁶⁶ Cervati, *Indicateur Oriental Annuaire Almanach du Commerce* 1885, 454.

²⁶⁷ Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1889-1890, 670.

*France, Grande Bretagne, Leonidas, Milan, Smyrne, and Sparte.*²⁶⁸ Hotels such as *Aivali, Cousadasi, Thesalonique, Alexandrie, Anna Bey, Etrangers, Lesbos, Kidonie, and Samos* were registered in the guide from 1893.²⁶⁹ In 1913, there were 28 hotels recorded in the *Annuaire Oriental*.²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, there were several shopkeepers for mechanical and construction works alongside the coffee shops, hotels, and clubs, as the indicators demonstrate. Besides, administrative organizations, banks, warehouses, and companies occupied the quay. Therefore, as indicators also show, the quay started to be a place of social, cultural, and commercial activities for Smyrniots, adorned with various coffee shops, brasseries, theaters, clubs, and hotels.

The new construction works attracted engineers and architects. According to the indicator of 1881, there were six architects in Smyrna, *Amat, Bouvet, Darvan, X. Lattry, R. Vitale, and Werry*.²⁷¹ In 1883, this number increased. There were eight people, *Dawam, X. Lattry, Margossoff, E. Petrokokinos, A. Pezzaros, P. Vitale, R. Vitale, and Werry*, who worked as architects and engineers in the city.²⁷² According to the guide of 1889-90, *Aslan Efendi, I. Cochino, E. Latris, N. Maganiotis, D. Rambaonis, G. Stefanidis, and E. Veri* began to work in Smyrna as architectures.²⁷³ And in 1896, numbers continued to increase: *D. Andrus, R. Bailley, Yanis Bambakeros, M. Coutsoufiadhi. Calfas Douman, B. Hodder, E. Johnson, D. Lorimer, Moelhausen G., L. Rice Brothers, and S. Watkins* were registered as architects in the commercial guide of the year besides the existing ones.²⁷⁴ Surely, as the years went

²⁶⁸ Cervati, *Annuaire oriental (ancien Indicateur oriental) du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature... 10e année, 1891*, 823.

²⁶⁹ Nalpas, *Annuaire des commerçants de Smyrne et de l'Anatolie 1893*, 305.

²⁷⁰ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1728.

²⁷¹ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 509.

²⁷² Cervati, *Indicateur Ottoman Illustré Annuaire Almanach du Commerce 1883*, 582.

²⁷³ Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1889-1890*, 667.

²⁷⁴ De Andria, *Indicateur des professions commerciales et industrielles de Smyrne, de l'Anatolie, des côtes, des îles, etc. 1896, IV*, 2.

by, we no longer see the names of some architects, but when we come to 1909, we see a significant increase in the number of architects. In the indicator, there were forty-two architects registered. These were *M. Anghelides, D. Apostolides, P. Bouyouca, A. Brant, G. Calokerinos, A. Caloghiros, J. Catalanos, G. Cokinis, M. Coutsoudiadis, E. Courmoulis, J. David, A. Deliyannis, G. Delovoia, J. Demeris, E. Draco, P. Farmakis, S. Fexas, J. Fotiades, A. Ghavans, M. Grafa, A. Grispis, J. Halapas, M. Lignadis, M. Limneos, D. Lytis, A. Manganiotis, Emm. Manganiotis, Calloust. Eff. Maxoud, G. Meimaroglou, C. I. Mercurian, A. Meletis, A. Moliviadis, B. Papadopoulo, S. Pavlides, E. Petrocchino, A. Pacourellis, Achilles Pompeati, D. Rambaonis, C. Raymond, Elia D. Simitopoulo, S. Tsakarellis, Th. Stavrides.*²⁷⁵

Interestingly, the guide of 1909 shows a remarkable increase in the number of painters and decorators too. According to the guide, there were nineteen artisans in Smyrna who could also work in interior and exterior decoration during the construction works. Indeed, in the guide of 1883, Raymond Charles Péré (1854 – 1929) was mentioned under the article of painters, but in 1909 his name appeared in the article of architects. Raymond Péré was an important architect and builder in Smyrna who worked on significant construction projects such as the Clock Tower of Smyrna in 1901²⁷⁶ and restored the Church of St. Polycarp between 1892-1896.²⁷⁷ Surely, there were other architects who were not mentioned or located in Smyrna but undertook significant construction projects, such as Italian architects Luigi Rossetti (1876 – 1949) and Stefano Molli (1858 – 1917).²⁷⁸ Two Italian architects carried out the construction project of the Italian School for Girls or *Regie Scuole Femminili*

²⁷⁵ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909, 1896.*

²⁷⁶ Kuyulu Ersoy, "Saat Kulesi," 278.

²⁷⁷ San Lorenzo, *St. Polycarp et son tombeau*, 264 and Gültekin, "Antik Smyrna Kenti'nin Koruyucusu," 101.

²⁷⁸ Berkant, "Italian Architects in Smyrna."

(Fig. 68).²⁷⁹ The school was built in 1906 in the *Rue Parallèle*, nearly when the new French consulate building was constructed in the quay. In fact, the commercial guide of 1909 indicates the existence of several schools in Smyrna, Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, American, French, Italian, Catholic, and Protestant. Besides, there were many professors registered in various subjects from diverse communities.²⁸⁰

In the second half of the 19th century, one of the important modernization projects undertaken by the central government was the regulation of education. In order to regulate the education system in the empire lands, the government issued the Ottoman Education Reform in 1869 based on the French educational system.²⁸¹ Although there were religious schools for foreigners, the new educational reform was a driving force behind the emergence of new foreign and minority schools in the empire due to the growing number of students, and liberty was given to the communities. Thus, the construction of a school for Italian girls was a result of a need, and the Italian community in Smyrna took permission from the Sublime Porte in 1904. The school building's plan was prepared by Stefano Molli, and the school opened its doors to students on October 6, 1906. The school was near the French consulate and Sporting Club, and it was built in an eclectic style. On its lower floors, rusticated ashlar work decorated the building. The windows with triangular pediments on the second floor were placed, while the upper floor windows had niches. Besides, the building had a tower on the northwest corner, which was built

²⁷⁹ First appears in *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1909, 1908.

²⁸⁰ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1909, 1920.

²⁸¹ Fortna, "Islamic Morality," 372. Also, education emerged as a powerful instrument in the hands of nation-states for the purpose of nation-building in the 19th century, see in Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, 117-121.

higher than the other buildings surrounding it and was therefore prominent in the landscape, even though it was not built on the quay.²⁸²



Fig. 68 Italian School for Girls [Photograph]. (c.1905). Retrieved from Levantine Heritage Foundation

Smyrna's waterfront was an important public space for visibility and diplomacy. Even before the construction of the quay, flags constituted an important element of its landscape. Likewise, its waterfront turned into a space for visibility after the construction. In the second decade of the 20th century, consulate buildings

²⁸² Berkant, "Italian Architects in Smyrna," 334-336.

became a remarkable element of the waterfront. Besides, the commercial guide 1913 indicates fifteen consulates in Smyrna, nine of which were in the quay. Germany, Belgium, Denmark, France, Norway, the Netherlands, Principality of Samos, Romania, and Russia consuls were in the quay, while the United States of America consulate was in *Punta*,²⁸³ Italian and British (Fig. 69) consulates were in *Fasula* Street, Spanish consulate (Fig. 70) was in *Madama Han* Street, Greek consulate was in *Verreires* Street (Fig. 71), and Austria-Hungarian consulate was in *Negropont* Street.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ The consulate of United States moved to the waterfront from *Rue Parallèle*. Cervati, *Annuaire Oriental du commerce l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1889-1890*, 665.

²⁸⁴ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magisture de l'Orient 1913*, 1709-1710. The guide does not show the address of Persian consulate. Also, according to the guide of 1883, Italian and Greek consulates were in Frank Street. Cervati, *Indicateur Ottoman Illustré Annuaire Almanach du Commerce 1883*, 573.

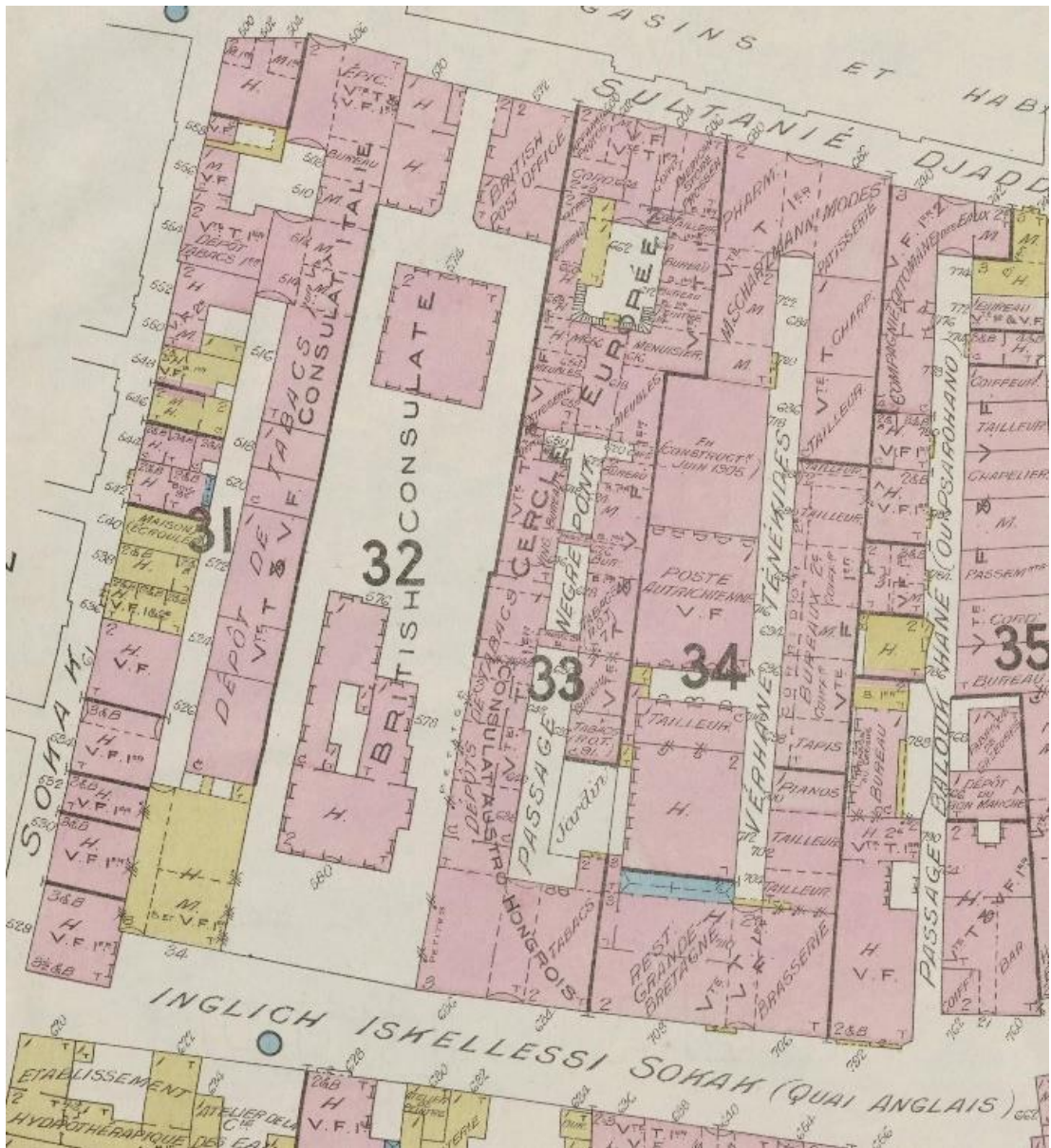


Fig. 69 British Consulate (32) in Charles E. Goad's insurance map, no 3 [Insurance Map]. (1905). Retrieved from SALT Research



Fig. 70 Spanish Consulate (69) in Charles E. Goad's insurance map, no 4 [Insurance Map]. (1905). Retrieved from SALT Research

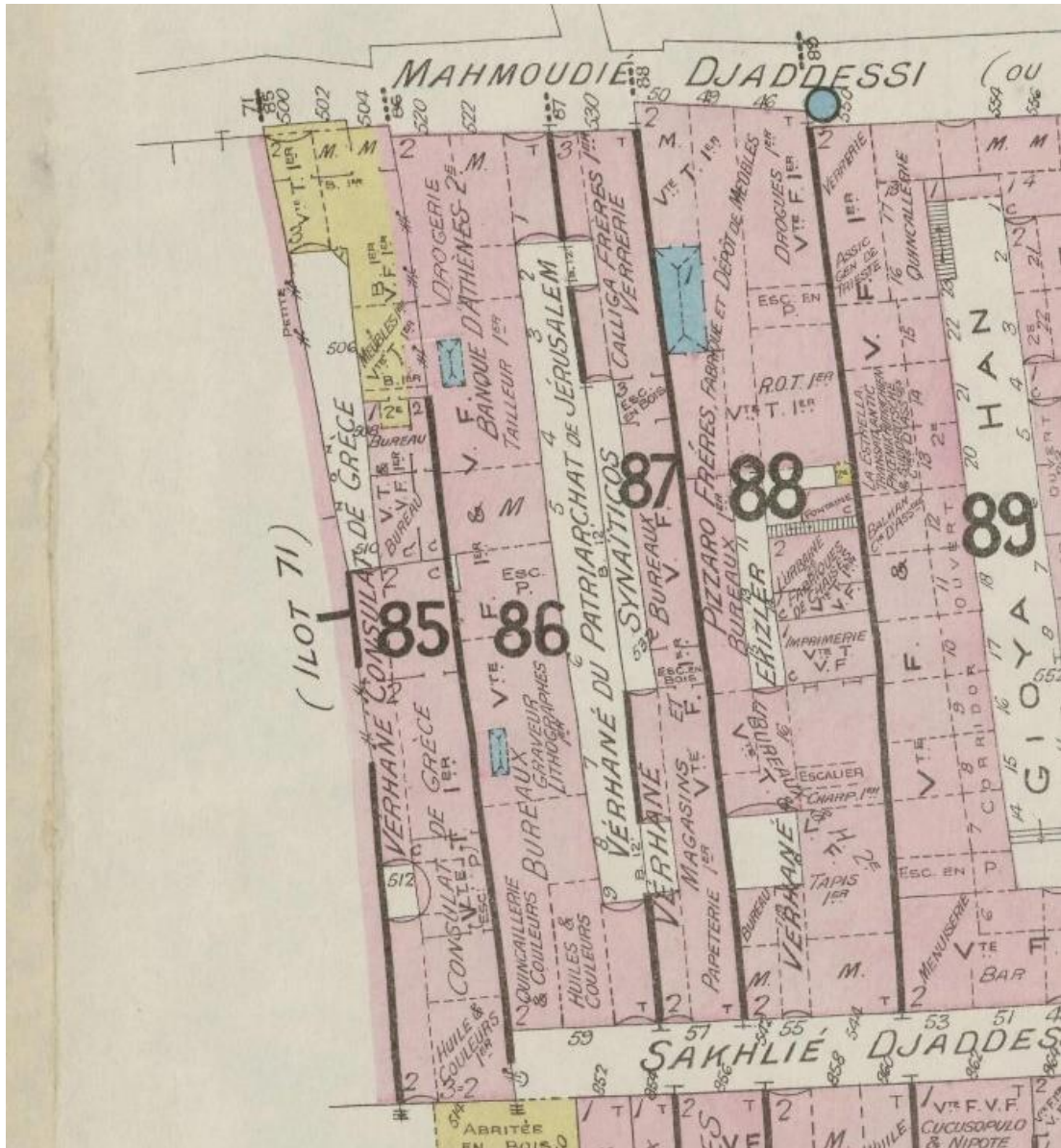


Fig. 71 Greek Consulate (85) in Charles E. Goad’s insurance map, no 5 [Insurance Map]. (1905). Retrieved from SALT Research

However, according to Goad’s insurance map, there were none in 1905, and Austria-Hungarian, British, Spanish, Greek, Italian and Romanian consulates were in Frank Street or in the area where *verhanes* was located. Nevertheless, visual materials and cadastral plans show that the French consulate was on shore. The cadastral plans of 1889 and the early 20th century demonstrate that the property near Sporting Club belonged to “Consulate de France” (Fig. 72). However, that property was not included in the insurance plan of Charles E. Goad. A postcard from the early

20th century shows that there was a small, stone-built structure (Fig. 73). The building was known as a French kiosk, and it was replaced by a large consulate building in 1906 (Fig. 74). French architect Emmanuel Pontremoli (1865-1956) was commissioned for the construction of the new consulate.²⁸⁵ Pontremoli was born in an Italian-Jewish family in Nice, which could have relations with the Italian-Jewish family of Pontremoli from Smyrna.²⁸⁶ He graduated from *Ecole des Beaux Arts* and won the *Grand Prix de Rome d'Architecture* in 1890,²⁸⁷ which was a prestigious award given by the French government for young French artists to study in Rome.²⁸⁸ The new consulate building, which still stands today,²⁸⁹ has two floors and one terrace on the roof. The building was built of concrete and decorated with massive stones. It has an eclectic style, and upper windows have niches and lower windows are ornamented with pediments. While the lower floor has a porticoed balcony with round arches, the upper floor has a balcony with Doric columns.

Although visual materials and commercial guides²⁹⁰ suggest that there were several consulates on the shore at the end of the first decade of the 20th century, the cadastral maps and city plans did not show any property freehold by foreign states before 1905 except the parcel acquired by the Consulate of France. In the first years of the 20th century, there was only the French consulate located on the waterfront. After 1909, two new consulates started to serve on the seashore. According to the commercial guide of 1913, the Russian and Dutch consulates moved to their new

²⁸⁵ Abensur-Hazan, "Aspects of Social Life," 124.

²⁸⁶ See note 11 in Abensur-Hazan, "Aspects of Social Life," 124.

²⁸⁷ Ch. P., "Emmanuel Pontremoli (1865-1956)," 77-78.

²⁸⁸ "Prix de Rome," in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (May 10, 2023). <https://www.britannica.com/art/Prix-de-Rome>

²⁸⁹ The building was restored by Raymond C. Péré after the devastating fire in 1922. For several years it continued to serve as consulate building, and now functions as *Arkas Art Center*.

²⁹⁰ Besides Commercial Guide of 1913, the guide of 1909 indicates that there were consulates of Germany, Belgium, Denmark, France, Norway, Persia, Romania, Swedish, and Principality of Samos in the quay. *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909, 1891-1892.*

buildings on the quay. In 1909, Russian consulate was in *Limanaki* Street, and the consulate of the Netherlands was in the Rose Street. The commercial guides demonstrate that these consulates moved from their old places to Quay between 1910-1913. Therefore, we can assume that some consulates started moving into the waterfront or consuls established after 1905 acquired properties. The commercial guides of 1921 and 1922 also point out that the Italian consulate relocated to *Parallèle* Street between 1913 and 1921, while British, Spanish, and Greek consulates kept their original locations and continued to serve in Frank Quarter.²⁹¹



Fig. 72 Elie Guiffray's property and French Consulate in the 20th century cadastral plan [Property Map]. (c.1900). Retrieved from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office

²⁹¹ *Annuaire Oriental. Oriental Directory, commerce, industrie administration magisture. 1921, 1448-1449 and Annuaire Oriental, Oriental Directory. Commerce, industrie, administration, magisture. 1922, 1392-1393.*



Fig. 73 Old French Kiosk before 1905 [Photograph]. (c.1900). Retrieved from the digital archives of George Poulimenos

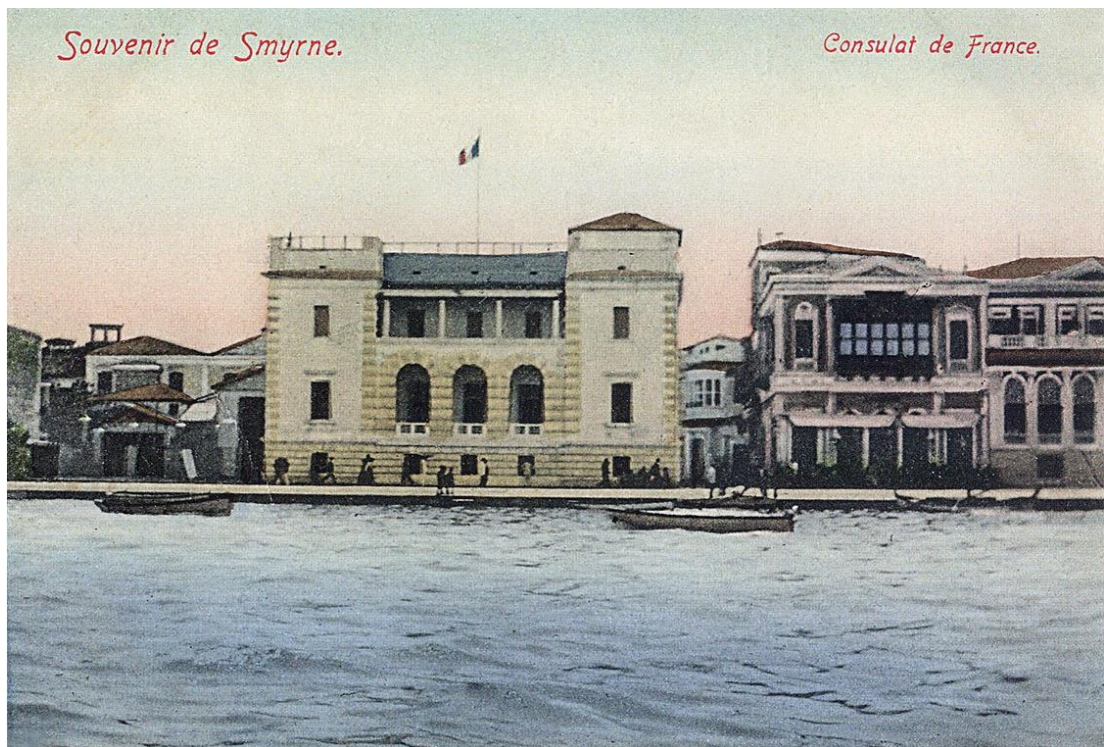


Fig. 74 New French Consulate after 1905 [Postcard]. (c.1910). Retrieved from the digital archives of George Poulimenos

Nevertheless, communities and institutions that did not have a consulate on the waterfront found a way to make themselves visible. For Smyrniots, banks and post offices became a tool of visibility in the city and on the seashore. In 1881, there was only Imperial Bank Ottoman serving the city.²⁹² In 1905, there were five banks in the city, and only two banks located on the waterfront, Imperial Ottoman Bank and *Banque de Mételin*. *Banque d'Orient*, *Crédit Lyonnais*, and *Banque d'Athènes* were in the Frank Quarter and used offices of *verhanes* as their bureaus. The bureaus of *Banque d'Athènes* was in *vernahe* of Jerusalem Patriarchate, *Banque d'Orient* in *verhane* Baltazzi, and Bank Lyonnais in *verhane* Arapian. In 1909, *Ziraat Bankası*, and *Banque de Salonique* were recorded in the guide in addition to those mentioned above.²⁹³ In 1913, three more banks opened their doors to the customers. Smyrna Bank, *The British Oriental Bank*, *Wiener Bankverein*, and *Société Anonyme Hongroise de Banque et de Commerce* were recorded in *Annuaire Oriental 1913*.²⁹⁴ Besides, *Banco di Roma* established its Smyrna branch in 1919, even though it was not registered in the commercial guides.²⁹⁵

Dynamism in the financial sector and relocation of institutions in the city complicates finding their exact locations. Even though several banks continued to operate for a remarkable time, such as *Banque d'Orient* and Ottoman Imperial Bank, some branches were closed, changed their names, or turned into new banks. However, visual materials, documents, and maps show that there were at least four banks operating on the waterfront at various times, namely the Imperial Ottoman Bank, the Ottoman Bourse, *Banque de Mételin*, *Banque d'Orient*, and *Banco di*

²⁹² Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1881, 503.

²⁹³ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature*. 1909, 1891-1892.

²⁹⁴ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1709-1710.

²⁹⁵ Berkant, "Ticari Yapılar," 53.

Roma (Fig. 75). The banks and financial institutions located on the waterfront and Frank Street made diverse communities, and different states visible in the city through institutions. Indeed, the institutions were aware of their visibility on the waterfront and used flags and decorative elements to represent their nations.²⁹⁶ For instance, when Italian finance institution *Banco di Roma* settled in its building on the waterfront, the façade of the building was redecorated by the institution. The bay windowed balcony was removed, the entrance holes on the façade facing the waterfront were transformed into windows, the door was taken to the left side on the façade looking to the street, and the façade on the waterfront was altered to give the impression of early Florentine renaissance palaces.²⁹⁷ Thus, although the view of the city after the quay construction was different from the appearance created by consulates and *frenkhânes*, it was significant in reflecting the city's cosmopolitan urban fabric, its integration into global regime of exchange, and modernity.

²⁹⁶ In the long 19th century, the concept of nation, nationalism, and national symbols took on a profound significance in contrast to earlier eras. See Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*, 142-164. In fact, communal symbols/architectural styles became important tools for communities in Smyrna to represent themselves. Thus, the buildings they lived in or practiced their communal activities were decorated with religious/communal/national symbols. For instance, Greek communal buildings, such as universities, commercial buildings, and churches were decorated with the motives and elements evoking the Hellenic classical or the Byzantine religious affiliation. Besides, individual agencies such as patronage networks and architects played important roles as much as community identities, individuals, and collective feelings. For the impact of Greek Architects in 19th-20th century Smyrna, see Colonas, *Greek Architects*, 93-125.

²⁹⁷ Berkant, "Ticari Yapılar," 53.



Fig. 75 *Banco di Roma* on the waterfront [Photograph]. (c.1910). Retrieved from the archives of George Poulimenos

In 1881, there were already several national post offices serving Smyrniots: British, Austria-Hungarian, Egyptian, French, Greek, Ottoman and Russian post offices were active in the city. Besides national post offices, there was also private postal service and ferry companies such as *Lloyd Autrichien* company.²⁹⁸ According to *Annuaire Oriental* registers, only the Imperial Ottoman Post operated in the quay, while British Post was in the *verhane* where the British consulate was located, and Austria-Hungarian, Egyptian, and Russian post offices had their bureaus in the *Honischer* building.²⁹⁹ Additionally, French Post Office operated at the *verhane* Homsy in Rose Street.³⁰⁰ Records also show that Italian Post Office was founded between 1896-1909.³⁰¹ In this regard, Goad's insurance map shows that there was

²⁹⁸ While the post offices had state affiliated names, such as Italian, French, and British Post Offices, there were also private investment postal services and ferry companies without state affiliated company names.

²⁹⁹ The building known as *General Han* or *Ismail Effendi Han*. It was in the crossroad between *Rue Parallèle* and *Hukumet Caddesi*.

³⁰⁰ *Rue de Roses* was also known as *Mecidiye* street in the city plan of Luigi Storari.

³⁰¹ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909, 1893.*

also the office of *Messages Maritimes* near Russian and German Post Offices.³⁰²

Also, next to the Imperial Ottoman Post Office, there was the office of *Llyod Autrichien*. Thus, in addition to *Annuaire Oriental* registers that indicate that their warehouses and bureaus were in inns or *verhanes*, Goad's map also shows that the postal services and post offices were located on the quay.

Besides, a Greek guide which was printed in Alexandria, "Calendar and Guide of Smyrna and the Surrounding Cities and Islands for the Year 1890," shows that there were ferry companies operating on the shore besides *Llyod Autrichien* and *Messages Maritimes*.³⁰³ According to the guide, Ottoman state initiatives *Hamidiye* and *Hidiviye*, British investment *Papagianni and Co.*, two private Ottoman investments *Mahsuse* and *Egeu-P.M. Kurci and Co.*, *Limnos Ferry Company and Co.*, and a German investment *K. A. Fraytas* were operated their businesses on their offices on the waterfront. Also, British *Bell's Asia Minor* and Italian *Floriorouvatino* ferry companies were in *Rue Parallèle*. In 1913, *Annuaire Oriental* register records thirty-four ferry companies operating in Smyrna.³⁰⁴ In fact, although they were registered as national private investments, or as in the case of *Hamidiye* and *Hidiviye*, state initiatively founded companies, workers, and officers of companies were not necessary only constituted by same nationalities. As in the urban space, diverse communities worked together in ferry companies according to the capacity and manpower that the company had. For instance, officers of *Llyod Autrichien* in 1890 were *Ioannis Dizarzio*, *Georgios Mavrikos*, *Annivas Bogdaniç*, *Slavos Katouriç*, *A. Matessih*, and *P. Varissih*.³⁰⁵ Besides, like in the examples of the

³⁰² It was registered under the title of Ferry and Sailing Companies in *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magisture de l'Orient 1913, 1722*.

³⁰³ The calendar was translated by Engin Berber, and examined in his study. See in Berber, "Komisyoncu İşverenler," 100-113.

³⁰⁴ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magisture de l'Orient 1913, 1722*.

³⁰⁵ Berber, "Komisyoncu İşverenler," 103.

Imperial Ottoman Bank, Railway, and Quay companies, Ottoman ferry company *Hamidiye* had members and officers from Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Levantine backgrounds.³⁰⁶

Branches of post offices, banks, and postal services did not operate in the same venues all the time and relocated their offices occasionally, and they became a significant part of the waterfront's landscape in different times. For instance, the building in which *Banco di Roma* operated their works after 1919 was built as the headquarter of *Banque de Mételin* around 1890s, and between 1911-1919 *Hongroise de Banque et de Commerce* moved to the building.³⁰⁷ Besides, there was a post office building on the waterfront that post services operated their works, and it appears in postcards around 1905 and 1910. The postcard which could be dated back to around 1905 (Fig. 76), shows the post office building with the flags and signboards of the French Post Office and *Messageries Maritimes* ferry company. In the second postcard around 1910 (Fig. 77) shows everyday life on the quay: people walking, flags of different states and nations were hanging from buildings, and the tramway carrying passengers. The post office, which was destroyed during the great fire of 1922, had two floors and was built in neoclassical form. On the first floor, there was the office of *Poste Italiane*. The flag of the Italian Kingdom was erected next to the corner facing the side street. Besides, another flag in red and white, resembling the flag of Denmark, was hung on the left corner of the post office building.

³⁰⁶ Berber, "Komisyoncu İşverenler," 101.

³⁰⁷ Berkant, "Ticari Yapılar," 53.



Fig. 76 The Quay of Smyrna [Postcard]. (c.1905). Retrieved from SALT Research



Fig. 77 The Quay of Smyrna and the Waterfront [Postcard]. (c.1910). Retrieved from SALT Research

The buildings that financial institutions, postal services, and commercial structures operated were mostly built in neoclassical form and shared common architectural features with the rest of the buildings on the waterfront. In this sense, the construction of the structures on the waterfront constitutes a continuity with the architectural understanding of the late Ottoman Empire. From the mid-19th century onwards, architectural elements and styles from the West prevailed in construction projects, realized by local or foreign architects. As a result, the newly constructed buildings on the waterfront created an urban characteristic that resembles Western architecture. Nevertheless, in addition to the monumental buildings, buildings were constructed along the waterfront in line with the characteristic Smyrna architecture that began to emerge in the 19th century.³⁰⁸ The settlement along the waterfront has developed in a manner consistent with the previous landscape of the seashore and Frank Street. The harbor area was characterized by commercial, financial, and entertainment venues, while residential architecture increased towards Punta. Monumental buildings on the waterfront, such as the French Consulate, the Post Office building, *Banco di Roma*, *Banque d'Orient*, Ottoman Bourse, Hotel Kraemer, and Grand Huck Hotel, were mostly neoclassical. However, local architectural elements such as bay windows in inns, cafes, or warehouses were also noticeable. Local architectural elements have mostly been encountered in residential places.³⁰⁹

In the second half of the 19th century, a new type of local architecture developed in Smyrna. These houses were particular in terms of their style and construction materials. The Smyrna Houses were developed differently from those known as Western Anatolian Houses, or as they were also called, Greek and

³⁰⁸ Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 214-215.

³⁰⁹ Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 215.

Armenian houses.³¹⁰ The development of a new type of house architecture was related to the developments in Smyrna. Introducing new types of construction materials and structures through new public buildings such as barracks, hospitals, warehouses, train stations, and factories created an experienced architect class in the city. The construction of modern-era buildings requested the application of new materials such as iron beams, polygonal stones, and decoration elements, and contemporary architectural styles such as pediments and windows/door frames.³¹¹ Besides, the application of new construction technics, both industrial and semi-industrial, was important in order to meet the demand for new residential structures that were born as a result of population growth.³¹² Undoubtedly, the migration also brought new people that were experienced in architecture, and styles were applicable to the construction of new buildings.

Regional migrations from Chios and Aegean islands were essential sources of the workforce in terms of architecture, engineering, artisanry, stonemasonry, and woodworking. This migrated workforce contributed to the process of building the structures on the waterfront and rebuilding the areas damaged by fires and earthquakes. For instance, in Smyrna Houses, there were commonalities with the house architecture of Chios and other Aegean islands.³¹³ These commonalities between Smyrna Houses and the residential architecture of Aegean islands were most likely encountered in the external façades of the houses, plan type, monumental entrance holes, and pediments.³¹⁴ Postcards and photographs were taken after the quay construction was completed show that these types of houses, Smyrna Houses,

³¹⁰ Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 212.

³¹¹ Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 217-218.

³¹² Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 219.

³¹³ Akyüz, "Tarihsel Süreçte İzmir'de Konut," 34.

³¹⁴ Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 222.

were the common architectural type on the waterfront (Fig. 78). Most of the residential places in *Punta* were built in this architectural understanding, and they constitute the earliest examples of Smyrna houses.³¹⁵



Fig. 78 One Part of the Quay [Postcard]. (c. 1900). Retrieved from SALT Research

In addition to the prevalence of this architecture in the houses built in the Punta district and on the waterfront, it was also possible to see examples of modern industrial materials and the changes brought about by migration in other types of buildings constructed in the area, such as commercial and public buildings, coffee shops, and hotels. Perhaps one of the most interesting examples was the coffee shop located near the Hotel Kraemer (Fig. 79). In the construction of a café next to the neoclassic Hotel Kraemer, which was shown on Goad's insurance plan also as property of *Kraemer*, iron and glass were used in a technique that evokes an intensely industrial design. The architectural design of the coffee house, *Kraemer Brasserie et Restaurant*, followed the contemporary trend of 19th century

³¹⁵ Çıkış, "Modern Konut," 215.

architecture, which began with the Industrial Revolution and modernization.³¹⁶ The coffee shop was built of industrial materials like glass, steel, and iron. Therefore, the coffee shop was differentiated from other neoclassical structures built on the waterfront due to the intense use of industrial materials in its construction.



Fig. 79 Grand Hotel Kraemer Place [Postcard]. (c. 1900). Retrieved from SALT Research.

The impact of modernization and industrialization became apparent in the urban fabric of Smyrna thanks to new architectural ideas, materials, and people. It is believed that architects from the islands or different regions were involved in the construction activities in this area together with local architects. The mobility of architects and builders, and the techniques, styles, and materials that came to Smyrna with their mobility was learned and practiced by local architects. Therefore, rather than being an imported product, local/foreign workers and patrons internalized modern or

³¹⁶ The Industrial Revolution and rise of industrial bourgeois in the 19th century transformed the artistic conditions, materials, and construction techniques. Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, 13.

Western techniques and incorporated them into the local architecture. Indeed, there were rational reasons behind this behavior: rapid production to meet housing needs, availability of materials, and a preference for facilitating alternatives to complex old traditions.³¹⁷ Thus, when the waterfront was developing after the quay construction, numerous local and foreign artisans and architects were involved in the construction activities along Smyrna's waterfront.³¹⁸ Even though our knowledge of architects and patronage relationships in the city is still limited, we still know that architects working in the region applied different styles, techniques, and materials. For this reason, the construction process on Smyrna's waterfront and the quay was remarkable to demonstrate the city's integration with a plural, diversified and in part localized version of modernity. Its “cosmopolitan” urban space was the product of complex patronage networks, and cannot be understood outside the mobility and diversity of its actors.

4.2 Frank street

The construction of the quay on the waterfront distanced Frank Street, or as it was indicated in Saad’s city plan, *Mahmudiye*, *Sultaniye*, *Mecidiye*, *Teşrifiye*, and *Mesudiye* streets, from the coastline and cut the spatial affiliation of the street with the waterfront.³¹⁹ The construction of the quay and the building of new coffee shops, theaters, commercial places, hotels, postal services, banks, and public buildings attracted many people to the shore, and the waterfront became a space of prestige in 19th century Smyrna. Nevertheless, the rise of the quay does not necessarily mean that Frank Street lost its importance. Still, on the contrary, it continued to play a

³¹⁷ Banham, *Theory and Design*, 23.

³¹⁸ Çıkış, “Modern Konut,” 223-229.

³¹⁹ *Mecidiye* Street was *Rue de Roses* in the city plan of Storari. However, according to the city plan of Saad, it was used as a name of a part of Frank Street.

significant role in the everyday life of the Smyrniots as a site of encounter. People still occupied the street, and there were many shopkeepers. Besides, new shops, offices, and public places started to operate in the street after quay construction. Therefore, the street did not lose its role in the everyday life of Smyrna, but it changed and transformed according to the developments that took place in the 19th century.

Even though infrastructural developments and street widening works changed the fabric of the street over time, it preserved its characteristic image and commercial aspect.³²⁰ The street was still narrow and occupied with shops selling different products, offices, and bureaus of various professions. In 1881, it was possible to find numerous places for business and business owners in the street, such as assurance companies, butcheries, clockmakers, coachbuilders, coiffeurs, dentists, doctors, draperies, drug stores,³²¹ firefighters, forges, furniture stores, grocery stores, gunsmiths, hardware stores, jewelry, journals, lithographers, *macaroni* stores, mechanics, opticians, perfumeries, pharmacies, photographers,³²² printing houses, shoemakers, tailors, tobacconists, and vine and liquor stores.³²³ It was also possible to find artisanries for iron and wood works and offices of advocates, bankers, and merchants. In addition, companies, traders, post offices, and banks used rented rooms and buildings as their warehouses.

The rooms in the *verhane* buildings on Frank Street were mostly rented by bankers and merchants. The number of these two professions gives us an idea of the

³²⁰ Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 304 and please see note below Figure 1.7 in Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 22.

³²¹ Opium sellers.

³²² The possible author of the quay panorama, *Alphonse Rubellin*, had an office in Frank Street. Also, famous photographer *Antonio Zilpoch*'s office was located in "*local Bänderli*" in the street.

³²³ The profession and shopkeeper list were summarized from Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 502-545 and 1905 insurance map of Charles E. Goad.

commercial and economic life in the city. According to the *Annuaire Oriental* of 1881, there were approximately 40 bankers working in Smyrna.³²⁴ Until 1909, the number of bankers remained approximately similar.³²⁵ However, *Annuaire Oriental* of 1913 suggests that this number decreased to around 30 in 1913.³²⁶ Although this number has decreased, new banks were opened, indicating that the banking sector and bankers were working intensively in the city. Another indicator of the vitality of commercial life was the consistently high number of merchants. Indeed, between 1881 and 1913, there was a remarkable increase in the number of merchants. While there were approximately 160 merchants registered in the guide of 1881,³²⁷ this number reached up to 500 merchants in 1913.³²⁸ Although exports and imports in Smyrna followed an up-and-down graph between 1880 and 1912, the number of merchants continued to increase, and in the first decade of the 20th century, Smyrna enjoyed a remarkable volume of trade. In 1909, the value of export volume reached up to 5,036,000£, and the value of import volume rose to 3,508,000£.³²⁹ Thus, the increase in the city's population and the construction of a modern pier led to both an increase in the volume of trade and the expansion of the merchant class in the city.

Goad's insurance map shows that rooms in the *verhanes* were also used as the offices of advocates working in the city (Fig. 80).³³⁰ Besides modernization in financial institutions, the juridical system was adapting itself to new regulations. In

³²⁴ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 503.

³²⁵ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909*, 1899.

³²⁶ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magisture de l'Orient 1913*, 1717.

³²⁷ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 511-513.

³²⁸ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magisture de l'Orient 1913*, 1733-1736.

³²⁹ For the export-import trade volume graph between 1865-1912 please see Frangakis-Syrett, "The Making of an Ottoman Port," 35.

³³⁰ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 502-503.

the 1880s, *Nizamiye* courts became the primary body of the juridical system in the empire after their introduction two decades before. The regularized courts also increased the need for a new profession for the advocacy of litigants. In order to regulate the juridical system, the empire also founded educational institutions to graduate people trained in judicial work, and organized examinations for people who did not get graduation from law schools. Students who graduated or passed the examinations started practicing their professions in the Empire. They were educated in civil, commercial, and criminal cases.³³¹ In Smyrna, it was apparent that the profession of attorney was practiced as a result of reasons such as population growth, the proliferation of professions, or the increase in the volume of trade. The number of lawyers practicing in this city increased over the years. In 1881, there were only 25 advocates were recorded in the guide,³³² whereas the number of registered attorneys increased to 90 in 1909³³³ and 72 in 1913.³³⁴ There were European, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, and Turkish names among the registered lawyers. In this respect, it can be said that this profession shows similarities with other professions and shows the multicultural structure in the city.

³³¹ Rubin, "From legal Representation to Advocacy" 113-118.

³³² Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 502-503.

³³³ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909*, 1898-1899.

³³⁴ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1716.

construction sector alongside ironwork and woodwork artisans. For instance, there were only two painters working in the city in 1881 who could for decoration the inner and external facades of the structures.³³⁵ However, there was a notable increase in the number of registered painters, and painters and decoration painters were separately recorded in the guides at the end of the first decade. In the years 1909 and 1913, 15, and decoration painters, 19.³³⁶ Besides, sculptures were registered in 1913's guide under the title of engravers.³³⁷ There is no reason not to think that artisans were involved in building and construction activities in the city. This suggests that urban craftsmen, like local architects and engineers, learned new techniques that came with the migration and circulation of materials, knowledge, and people.³³⁸

The offices and workplaces on Frank Street offer a landscape that also reflects the cultural transformation that began in the mid-19th century and was highly visible in the late 19th century. Goad's map and *Annuaire Oriental* registers show that there were shops for postcards and engravings alongside offices of musicians, painters, and dance teachers. The post-1880 *Annuaire Oriental* records and Goad's insurance map show that libraries and schools were located on Frank Street during this period. In addition to the social sciences and mathematics taught in these schools, it was possible to take dance and music lessons in the city. There were also gramophone and piano shops on the street.³³⁹ In 1913, 28 newspapers and magazines were printed in different languages, many of which had printing houses and offices

³³⁵ As I also pointed out earlier, *Raymond C. Péré* was recorded as "painter" in the earlier indicators.

³³⁶ *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909, 1919* and *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913, 1737.*

³³⁷ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913, 1739.*

³³⁸ ÇIKIŞ, "Modern Konut," 219-220.

³³⁹ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913, 1727-1737.*

on Frank Street.³⁴⁰ The street, where libraries, visual materials, and printing houses were located, had an important place in terms of cultural life in Smyrna. It is interesting to note that the offices, businesses, and shops on the street were operated in buildings formerly known as *frenkhâne*, which served mostly single individuals and families previously. This suggests that the functioning of these building types had also changed, and they turned into spaces that outsiders could rent.

Frank Street also remained the focus of municipal activities at the end of the century, just as it had been in the middle of the 19th century. Infrastructure works such as street lighting, street pavements, and electric distribution lines were carried out during this period.³⁴¹ In parallel with this infrastructure work in the city, workplaces in the electrical, paving, and communications fields were established.³⁴² However, it was the change in the political structure that most affected the infrastructure works in Frank Quarter and Frank Street during this period. As can be seen in the *Annuaire Oriental* registers, there were two separate municipal districts in Smyrna.³⁴³ The primary factors that led to this distinction and the change in the municipal organization were urban expansion and population growth. Besides, there was a nationalist discourse in the public sphere, questioning the sovereignty of Ottomans in the empire. The participation of foreigners in the administration of the cities caused discomfort in Ottoman public opinion. Those who opposed this continued these debates in the press and raised a nationalist discourse. The nationalist discourse caused the exclusion of foreigners from political areas. Under the influence

³⁴⁰ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1729-30.

³⁴¹ *Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1730.

³⁴² Three electricity company were working in the city in 1909 and 1913. *Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1909, 1908 and Annuaire Oriental, commerce, industrie, administration, magistrature de l'Orient 1913*, 1725.

³⁴³ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 495.

of the debates taking place in the public sphere, the Provincial Code was issued in 1877.³⁴⁴ After the edict, Ottoman citizenship became compulsory for participation in politics.

With the elections held in 1879, two municipal bodies were established and started to govern different parts of the city. While the first district's municipality took care of the southern part, where Turks and Armenians were concentrated, the second district's municipality took care of the northern part, including Frank Street and its neighborhood.³⁴⁵ The registers of *Annuaire Oriental* from 1881 show the members of two municipality organizations. Although both municipalities include both Muslim and non-Muslim members, the first district's municipality had more Muslim members, while there were more non-Muslim members in the second district's municipality. The member distribution of the municipalities was indeed parallel with the social structures of two districts.³⁴⁶

The establishment of two different municipalities for two different zones directly affected the infrastructure works in these districts. Even the lighting lamps, street pavements, and sewers installed in the areas were affected by this separation. Different quality products were used in the two districts during the infrastructure works. For instance, expensive materials such as *Neapolitan* pavements³⁴⁷ and vaulted sewer conduits were used in the second municipal district, whereas the infrastructural works were implemented in the first municipal district with cheaper

³⁴⁴ The first municipal organization of Smyrna was established in 1866, however, there were many suspicions in the public that if the administrative organization was capable to solve problems of the city. Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 325-326.

³⁴⁵ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 97-98.

³⁴⁶ Cervati and Fatzea, *L'Indicateur Ottoman. Annuaire almanach du commerce de l'industrie, de l'administration et de la magistrature. 1881*, 495 and Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 98.

³⁴⁷ Volcanic stones. *Neapolitan* stones were ordered several times for street paving in 1886, 1892, and 1897. BOA, MV., 15/9, 12 Rabiulevvel 1304 (December 19, 1886) BOA, BEO, 5/ 362, 20 Şevval 1309 (May 18, 1892). BOA, İ.RSM, 7/9, 20 Şevval 1314 (March 24, 1897). See further for the volcanic stones, Langella et al., "Lava stones..."

materials such as common sewers and cobblestones. The main reason for the contrast in quality is the difference in the social and economic structure of the two districts.³⁴⁸ Again, street lighting was important in terms of showing the difference between the two districts.³⁴⁹

Although the first street lighting in Frank Street was realized in 1835, the implementation of street lighting works continued throughout the 19th century.³⁵⁰ Between 1879 and 1890, the number of gas lamps increased from 750 to 1.600, and they were mostly implemented in the second district.³⁵¹ In the first municipal district, petroleum gas lamps were used, and only after two decades were the first gas lamps implemented.³⁵² The difference was sourced due to economic differences between the two districts due to the profiles of inhabitants. Although the mandatory requirement of Ottoman citizenship to participate in politics led to the exclusion of foreign nationals from municipal positions, they still contributed to financing infrastructural works in their neighborhoods.³⁵³ Consequently, their economic contribution to the infrastructural projects in their municipal districts led to more development of areas such as the waterfront and Frank Street than in the first municipal district.

Therefore, it is possible to argue that Frank Street did not lose its importance after the construction of the quay and infrastructure works and new development plans were realized on the street. Besides, the street also continued to contain consulates, religious buildings, banks, and commercial places. Flags were flown on

³⁴⁸ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 100.

³⁴⁹ For the impact of street lighting during the night on the social and cultural life of 19th century Istanbul, see Wishnitzer, "Into the Dark."

³⁵⁰ Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 337.

³⁵¹ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 100.

³⁵² Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 338.

³⁵³ Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 98.

important days, and religious or ceremonial processions continued to take place. In this respect, the street continued to be a multicultural social, cultural and commercial hub in the everyday life of diverse communities. However, the nationalist discourse was not only limited to the administrative organizations but also influenced the architecture that developed in Smyrna, as it did elsewhere in the Empire.³⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Smyrna would maintain its multicultural characteristic until the Greek-Turkish war. The aftermath of the war and the great fire of 1922 drastically changed the social and urban landscape of the city.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Bozdoğan, *Modernism and National Building*, 16. Kuyulu Ersoy, “Orientalist Buildings.”

³⁵⁵ See further in Georgelin, *La fin de Smyrne*.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Due to its protected and secure gulf, Smyrna started to become more significant in eastern Mediterranean trade from the middle of the 17th century onward. The harbor in Smyrna rose to prominence among eastern Mediterranean ports. As trade increased, precautions were taken to safeguard local merchants and ships, and inns and warehouses were constructed to house trade items. The city started to economically and socially thrive as commerce volume increased in tandem with population expansion. The city had a multicultural population structure, including Jews, Turks, Armenians, and Greeks, but it also attracted immigrants from the West and started to welcome individuals and families from the European continent. The social, cultural, political, and economic life of the city was greatly influenced by immigration from the West. Moreover, since foreign merchants were protected by the Capitulation treaties or *ahdnames*, the city developed its importance in relation to diplomacy. The waterfront landscape contained a coastline with flags and imposing consular buildings, several ships, the Pagos mountain, the *Kadifekale* castle on the Pagos mountain, and St. Polycarp's tomb. These were the features that served as the city's historical, political, and religious landmarks.

Smyrna has been the subject of many narratives by travelers to Asia Minor. Among these travelers, some of them also illustrated the city's landscape. The city with this spectacular landscape was shaken by a severe earthquake in 1688. Immediately after the earthquake, a fire broke out, threatening the surviving parts of the city. The major difference in this period was that the destructive effect of the earthquake was reflected in the urban fabric during the reconstruction process. Places

were built according to techniques that reduced the destructiveness of future earthquakes, and warehouses and inns were rebuilt to revitalize the city's commercial life. The landscape of the waterfront changed after the natural disaster, and it was developed in tandem with the fact that the number of commercial places expanded in the years following the earthquake. After 1688, the number of *frenkhâne* structures on the shore, buildings with residential spaces on the top floors, and commercial spaces on the lower, increased, and the waterfront expanded in accordance with both the volume of trade and the population. Due to its piers in the waterfront, *frenkhânes* served as spaces for unloading commodities arriving by ship into the city and loading goods being sent from Smyrna. For this reason, these buildings served as passageways between the seashore and Frank Street.

Nevertheless, these buildings should not be considered only as commercial and residential places. After the earthquake, consulates remained in their pre-disaster locations on the shore and Frank Street. Some *frenkhânes* served as consulates or the residences of foreign consuls. Dating between 1709 and 1723, the painting depicting the visit of Daniel Jean de Hochepeid to the *kadi* of Smyrna shows that the number of *frenkhânes* increased considerably. This change can also be noticed in the maps and plans produced in the late 18th century by Bocage, and Missir, and early 19th century by Graves, and Copeland. It is often assumed that these buildings were owned by foreign merchants and consuls. However, the absence of flags of foreign states on all the buildings on the coast indicates that the city's leading merchants also started to settle in this region. Indeed, some primary sources from the end of the 18th century indicate that not only foreign merchants and consuls but also local actors began to be present in this zone.

In Smyrna, trade was practiced by locals as well as foreigners. Along with merchants, there were Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks working in trade-related fields. The expansion of trade in Smyrna, particularly after 1740, made it possible for local actors to get involved in the commerce sector. Apart from some primary sources that provide some insight, unfortunately, due to the traditional property laws of the Ottoman Empire, no property map was produced until 1865. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the actors who owned property in the waterfront until this date. Nevertheless, as we can see in the image representing Bauffremont's visit, the urban landscape in Smyrna was formed by the interaction of actors from diverse communities. We might suggest that this was also applicable to the seashore. For example, the proximity of Greek Orthodox churches to the waterfront and Frank Street can be considered an important indicator. The Greeks, one of the most populous communities of Smyrna besides the Turks, indeed lived in a neighborhood close to Frank Quarter and played an active role in trade and maritime activities. Some of the Greeks established close affiliations with foreigners and maintained these relations through business partnerships, inner-marriages, and religious conversions.

The relationship between foreigners and local actors was not limited to Greeks. Nearly all communities were related to each other through affiliations such as work, marriage, and religion. The late 18th century parish map and the members of the Catholic Church in the mid-18th century show how this diversity was reflected in the urban fabric of Smyrna and how multiple belonging was shared by members of diverse communities. However, this does not indicate the existence of a cosmopolitan paradise of coexistence. On the contrary, inter-communal conflicts of interest and cultural, political, and social tensions were frequent. For example,

relations between Westerners and Greeks were strained in the years following the Greek War of Independence. One of the reasons for this tension was the Greeks' perception that the Westerners were favoring the Ottomans in order to maintain their commercial influence and not to lose their status. In this context, it is noteworthy how the tension between the Ottomans, Greeks, and Levantines left its impact on the urban landscape.

Moreover, ethnic and religious communities were not a uniform whole. Community members behaved more individually in cases regarding their personal interests. Especially in the period of the city's territorial growth, the emergence of land speculation in the newly developing areas, the beginning of the railroad project, the construction of the modern quay, and infrastructure works, individual actors and institutions played a role as much as communities. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, with the rise of modern ideas and practices or urban life, the implementation of the order, and the central state's attempts to strengthen itself, new regulations and projects were imposed on Smyrna. Particularly in the case of quay construction, landlords, merchants, and business owners found themselves in conflict with the local and central governments. Of course, some parties would benefit from the project. For instance, the central and local governments wanted to prevent smuggling, the Quay Company wished to raise profits from constructing the quay, and people wanted a regularized promenade space. Therefore, the realization of these projects required negotiation and compromise among property owners, city dwellers, merchants, and institutions, regardless of their affiliations with communities.

Structural changes were equally crucial as individual actors in the transformation of Smyrna's urban landscape. Starting from the second half of the 18th century, traces of modernity began to be visible in Smyrna. The products of

modernity and technology, such as railroads, factories, gas lighting and electricity, were the most prominent of these. Structural changes were as crucial as individual actors in transforming Smyrna's urban landscape. As of the second half of the 18th century, traces of modernity began to be seen in Smyrna. The products of modernity and technology, such as railroads, factories, gas lighting, and electricity, were the most prominent. Sultan Abdulaziz's journey by train in 1865 represents an exciting moment. The Sultan, a symbol of the *ancien régime* but also of the Tanzimat program of reforms, traveled through Western Anatolia by train, a symbol of the new world and modernity. Instead of horse riding or passing through the neglected roads of Smyrna with horsecar, he travelled in the region thanks to railroads. Thus, during his journey, he became a passive observer of the landscape that lies beyond the windows of the trains. In fact, this instant represents an intellectual transformation as well. Trains have contributed to Smyrna's urban landscape beyond carrying goods and passengers. Of course, trains were not the only examples. The local flaneur came into being thanks to the quay, and the nightlife was redefined by the implementation of gaslights. The streets were regulated, and hygiene became a matter of discussion. The central government and the municipality have made a great contribution to these developments.

Another important point was related to the movement of materials, ideas, and people. The central government and the municipality have made a great contribution to these developments. Another important point was related to the movement of materials, ideas, and people. The migration of builders, the flow of intellectual interactions, and the circulation of industrial materials played an important role in the transformation of Smyrna's urban landscape. With the contribution of industrialized materials, different ideas, and construction workers from other regions, the building

type known as the "Smyrna house" emerged in the second half of the 19th century. It is possible to see both local and foreign elements in this building type. Architects from islands, industrial materials, and influences from Western architecture were instrumental in shaping the form of these houses. Circulating techniques and styles of construction were also learned by local craftsmen and continued to be practiced. Of course, this process was also influenced by foreign architects who did not live in Smyrna or in the Ottoman Empire. However, especially the period after 1880, when the quay was built, shows that the number of architects and construction workers in the city increased considerably due to numerous constructions taking place in different parts of the city, such as *Punta* and the waterfront.

Dominance, visibility, and control of space were important issues in the urban landscape of Smyrna. Control of the urban space and visibility were maintained thanks to a variety of techniques. First, it was controlled through maps and city plans, which showed the certain areas as belonging to Muslims, or Europeans. After the *Tanzimat* reforms, the Sublime Porte wanted to control the space through maps and city plans and wanted to dominate the city's main artery, Frank Street, through renaming it. There were also consulates and religious buildings on the shore, which imposing their religious symbols and flags. However, the transformation in the global regime of exchange, increase in industrialization, and modernity altered the old visibility and created new control mechanisms on the shore, such as social, economic and financial institutions. National post offices, companies, hotels, educational, and financial institutions occupied the modern quay, and became the tool of visibility on the waterfront.

Secondly, public visibility was also an important for the communities. On national and religious holidays, communities become apparent. In the city, parades

and ceremonies were organized. Imperial visibility was also significant. Smyrna hosted a variety of celebrations for national holidays, official occasions, rulers' birthdays, and government changes. Tensions between different groups were also possible during religious or national festivals. After the construction of the quay, elaborate and monumental buildings were built along the waterfront. These included consulates, hotels, banks, and public buildings. Although the consulates remained on Frank Street and moved away from the waterfront, the flags adorning monumental or institutional buildings, national or corporate, continued to be seen in Smyrna's landscape.

Smyrna's urban fabric transformed over time due to involvement of various causes and individual/communal agencies. Economic, social, cultural, and political reasons were the driving forces of spatial transformations. Smyrna's landscape became a space of conflict, negotiation, and regulation. Its urban landscape was transformed through the agency of social and economic structures and the humans' interactions with the environment. An environmental approach to the study of this city's history may be important in the future scholarship on this extraordinarily rich site of encounter and exchange.

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