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Urban Scenes of a Port City Exploring Beautiful İzmir Through Narratives of Cosmopolitan Practices

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Exploring Beautiful İzmir through Narratives of Cosmopolitan Practices

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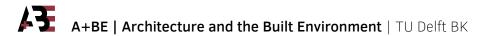
Fatma Tanış



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22#08

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Urban Scenes of a Port City

Exploring Beautiful İzmir through Narratives of Cosmopolitan Practices

Dissertation

for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor at Delft University of Technology by the authority of the Rector Magnificus, prof.dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen chair of the Board for Doctorates to be defended publicly on Monday 9 May 2022 at 15:00 o'clock

by

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in gratitude:

to my grandparents, who inherited the knowledge and wisdom of Anatolia, the cradle of civilizations; to my parents, who always kept confidence in me when I made bold decisions and played a major role in the formation of my coherent narrative with their unconditional support, love and care; to all those, who stood by me during the extreme conditions of this long journey.

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Prologue

"I keep inside myself, in my private museum, everything I have seen and loved in my life."

André Malraux

This dissertation is a long-contemplated project crystallized in my mind as a result of my own life experiences, observations, and choices. So far, I have lived in several ancient and active port cities and observed their dynamics. My interest in maritime cultures and memories made in those cities have been of great importance in developing this manuscript. In this respect, I am indebted to my life experiences so far that have been kept in my private museum. Therefore, the prologue is an attempt to make my private collection partially open; it is a way of acknowledging spaces, places, architecture, and memories. To do so, I will follow the idea of geo-biography, which was introduced by a Finnish geographer, Pauli Tapani Karjalainen (b. 1953), in 2003.

Dalyan, Turkey: Born in the Maritime World

Dalyan is located in the Southwest of Turkey. It is a fishing village that bears traces of maritime cultures since the 9th century BC. By the 4th century BC, it had become an important port for the region ruled by Alexander the Great. By the 2nd century BC, it had become a Roman port and reached its zenith around the 4th century AD. Its architecture includes terrace walls, a castle on the acropolis, custom buildings, an agora, a theater, Roman baths and a necropolis. Tombs with their pediments carved beautifully into the steep rocky mountain are particularly stark reminders of the past. The traces before the 6th century are located across the present-day town. The historical traces and contemporary life are in constant reciprocal relation. A river has separated these two different worlds at different times. I found myself on numerous occasions sailing down this dividing river with space to think about this situation of being "in-between" — "in-between" cultures, as well as "in-between" times.

Being first mate on the boat, I learned how to make choices along complex and intriguing journeys. Dalyan is on a delta where the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea meet. It is a charming place with nature that blends in many colors. Shades of blue, green, and yellow compose a delightful picture. The peaceful green river flows calmly in between yellow reeds. After lifting our anchor at the quay of Dalyan, we set sail on one of the most beautiful 45-minute sailing journeys there are. The sound of motorboats and the lapping waves created by other boats are the background noise of beautiful memories. The morning starts with greetings from captains and passengers, saluting one another by lifting a hand. People at sea have their own way of communication. It is universal. I learned by living with it.

The river follows a meandering trajectory, an echo of my life's path so far. If you don't know the delta and its canals, you will almost certainly get lost in this labyrinth leading to the sea. But if you know how to control your boat and you know the water you sail in, you will have a pleasant journey. When you reach the deep blue of the Mediterranean, you may encounter wind and current in the strait. If you take the wind from the right angle, it will enable you to joyfully sail further. If you know how to follow the current, you will arrive at your destination in time. These experiences gave me the courage to set my course in life for a further distance, and they provided clarity in choosing the right people to invite on board.

The sea gives you discipline. I learned this from an early age. One way to reach the sea was via the water-route, as described above. Another was the land route. It was up to us to make a choice. A remarkable light grey line, the beach called *İztuzu*, runs through this panoramic landscape. It defines the border of the green river and blue sea. We knew that the early hours of the day were the perfect time to be at sea. At noon it becomes windy and wavy. The beach was open from 8am till 8pm. We were always at the gate exactly at 8am. It was thrilling to find yourself driving along the road, dreaming of the approaching beach with its fine sands, smooth as velvet. First, we would pass through the pink flowered oleander trees along the shores of the *Sulungur* lake—a perfect place to watch the sunset. Then we would drive through the mountain, filled with pine trees. And finally, we would arrive at the beach. Walking barefoot in the sand was always an utterly freeing, tactile experience. This, followed by sitting on the beach and looking at the skyline, was a sublime way to reflect on life.

After parking the car under the pine trees, city life was left completely behind us. We faced towards the sea; we were in the maritime sphere. Water is the source of life. I learned this by living in it and living with it. Each time we visited *İztuzu*, my father would dive into the sea. He always returned at noon with a variety of fresh caught fish. While he spent his time out on the sea, my morning was filled with different

activities: swimming in the sea; walking along the beach, barefoot; sleeping in a hammock, hung between pine-trees, listening to the lullabies of the soft voice of the breeze orchestrated with the singing crickets. Being raised in this idyllic environment, I have always felt at home with maritime cultures. The soft, sea-salt infused breeze has filled my lungs since my earliest days on earth. Beautiful landscapes are painted on the canvas of my memories. Being on the shore, both by and in the water, let me be a part of nature. This caused me to see the value of the terrestrial resources of the maritime world.

Bodrum, Turkey: Discovering the maritime and naval world

My life in Dalyan taught me the pure gifts of the sea and the indispensable relationship between water and human beings. Bodrum, a historic port city about three hours away from Dalyan, is the place where I began to learn more about the maritime world and its relation to trade. Its architecture and built environment are different than Dalyan's. Dalyan has remained more or less untouched and is in tune with its natural environment. Bodrum, on the other hand, has been influenced by the active trade between islands. This can be seen in its architecture. The houses are all white and have flat roofs, some of them have towers, and the buildings are open to the sea. Dalyan, in contrast, forbids building activities near the shore, in order to protect natural environment.

There are many places in Bodrum that were important to me, but one fish restaurant stands out: the Sait Restaurant. It offers delicious sea bream and sea bass and other sea food including crabs, octopuses, prawns, stuffed mussels and stuffed squids. This place of my memories is located in a small kiosk next to the sea. The wooden building was an uncomplicated construction of two symmetrical pitched roofs covering a small single storey building. It was a very simple and pure building. It was decorated with elements of the sea and fishing. The dim warm light provided the atmosphere for delicious dinners. In summer time, we sat in its yard. I am not sure if we can call it a yard. The building opened in the back to the sand of the beach. There you could sit at tables, just next to the sea. The perpetual sound of the waves was fascinating music in my ears. The *mezes* (i.e., appetizers) were on the table. Light bulbs hung in the air, strung between the trees. The Sait Restaurant had flawlessly matched itself to the sea culture, nestling perfectly into its space. I vividly remember all these details that were so much associated with the Fisherman house.

Moving around the water

Bodrum is also the place where I departed for an oversea journey the first time. My first cruise trip was to Greece and Italy, when I was 14. I was journeying the reverse direction of the Orientalist travelers of the past. This was the start of my Western travels. Greece and Turkey were not so different —I was essentially seeing the common inherited cultures involved in the earliest exchanges of trade. This experience fostered a sense of familiarity. But then we continued on the second leg of the trip, from Igoumenitsa, Greece up to Bari, Italy. That was the moment I began to experience another world, starting from Rome. It felt like an encounter with the Renaissance—the concrete expression, the buildings, urban patterns, all the statues in plazas and squares. This was my own personal enlightenment bringing me to the realization that there is another world. This was the time, at age 14, that I recognized how architecture and cities can express cultural and social encounters. Physical expression can tell us so much, transmitting a deep and profound understanding of the world around us.

Water is of utmost importance for everyone and every living creature. Water is a neutral element, resting at the accepted zero-level all around the world. But this level of water has different meanings in different situations. Moving around it and changing perspectives has provided a deeper understanding. It has allowed me to comprehend many other patterns that I would never have understood had I remained in one place. Every person is born and raised with a set of knowledge, values, culture and world view. Each encounter with another place creates an opportunity to see the world from a different angle. These encounters lay on the path to universalism. The "in-between" ness that I have experienced has allowed me to look at different realities. Seeing these realities in their contexts has caused me to consider the complexities involved. Being in between the East and West produces a constant questioning. It requires knowing both worlds from many angles. This cultivates agility, a capacity to move between the contexts with an understanding that they are all connected parts of a whole. In order to see İzmir from a different perspective and with a fresh context, I myself followed the route of the European merchants, but in reverse. I moved to Europe, to the Netherlands, to look at the urban matters of İzmir with a fresh pair of eyes.

1 Introduction

1.1 The Point of Departure: Beautiful İzmir, a Portrait of a Port City

This doctoral research found its starting point in my observations of a beautiful city that I love. This city is a very special city, a city of migration located on the Mediterranean Sea in the maritime foreland and connected to the lands of Asia Minor. It has pleasant Mediterranean climate conditions, fertile hinterland rich with vegetation: herbs and fruits, grapes and figs. It has under-ground resources, such as coal and quicksilver that have attracted international traders in the past. Moreover, it is a hospitable city with its welcoming inhabitants at the edge of the Anatolia, the cradle of civilizations and home to multiple social groups since BC 6500. The multinational and multi-religious social structure of the city, with so many different social and ethnic groups living side by side, was an important attracting factor in migration to the city. This migration ran from the 15th century, when it became an Ottoman city uniting the waterfront and land, and reached its peak in the 19th century. This port city has stood astride an international trade route due to its specific condition on the globe. It is a well-known Eastern Mediterranean port city that became a significant example of how continued oversea trade activities can shape and transform a city over centuries. This special city is Beautiful İzmir. With its location on the western coastline of the Aegean Region of Turkey it has come to be known as the East for the West and the West for the East.

I can imagine that calling İzmir¹ a beautiful city may sound too subjective and even romantic. It could be taken as a sentimental approach. Admittedly, there is a subjective part in this research and the reader may find some romantic depictions in

¹ Present-day İzmir is the 3rd biggest city of Turkey with the population of 4.367 million (2019).

the following chapters. But this subjectivity is not something hidden in the subtext. On the contrary, it is quite explicit throughout the manuscript, given this work is located in the heart of my life. But in the case of İzmir, the expression "Beautiful İzmir" is not as much my personal view as one would expect; everyone who has knowledge about the city's history or is interested in the city in one way or another knows the city as Beautiful İzmir.² Leaving my feelings towards this city aside, I have been curious about this phrase. Why is it known as Beautiful İzmir? What makes it beautiful? Who says it is beautiful?

My very first observations of İzmir were entangled with the built-environment. I would meet my friends and have delicious dinners in lively historic districts, parks and old houses, all of which were very specific to İzmir. Often, I could only see beautiful roofs behind high walls or iron fences. I began to look at traces of the city more carefully. Although I knew it was called a beautiful city, and I was guite ready to be convinced of this, I was puzzled with the contemporary image of numerous scenes in the city that I encountered since the 1990s. A voice in my head said: "It is a beautiful city, indeed!" But my mind remained critical when my eyes showed me rows of reinforced concrete apartments — common everywhere in Turkey, large, multi-levelled roads covered with asphalt and full of trucks on their way to the container port in the city center, creating terrible traffic jams from 8 and 11 every morning, empty plots in the city center and abandoned historic buildings. Some of these abandoned buildings were beautiful houses, of whose I became curious of their stories. Some were old factories that were falling to pieces. These scenes did not seem to present a beautiful city to me. On the contrary, they were almost invading the beauty of the city rather than corresponding to my mental image of what beautiful really means. I found myself in a dichotomy: should I trust my heart that wants to believe in Beautiful İzmir, or my critical eyes that struggle to capture the beauty of the city?

Following my first observation which concerned the spatial character of the city, my second observation was towards society and its relation to the city and its history. For many citizens, both former and current, including the present-day mayor,³ there is a strong longing to the history of the city that is associated with

² Ulvi Olgaç, Güzel İzmir: Ne idi, ne oldu? (İzmir: Meşher Basımevi, 1939).

³ Tunç Soyer (b. 1959 -) is the mayor Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir since 2019. Soyer studied in Bornova Anadolu Highschool, a prestigious high school in İzmir, in English and French. After attending to the Faculty of Law at University of Ankara, Turkey, he completed two master's degrees in Webster University Geneva in Switzerland in the field of international relations and another one at Dokuz Eylül University in Turkey about the European Union.

the cosmopolitan past. Old postcards and photographs depicting the city have been widely circulated with comments or captions expressing this longing for the historic buildings and the relationship between the inhabitants and their city. Looking at the many Facebook groups formed by both Levantines⁴ and Turks, they are all centered around the same longing for a bygone era. Facebook offered me a great virtual site for observing society throughout my research. Each post coincides with the beautiful traces in the city that I came across. In addition to the easily accessible social media, local writers have been doing research and writing books about the history of the city. Levantines have a foundation called The Levantine Heritage Foundation which collects dairies, postcards, photographs, ephemera, and gathers primary, secondary and tertiary sources about the former Ottoman Empire, particularly between the 17th and 20th centuries. Apparently there is a strong interest in a specific era known as the cosmopolitan past. Over the years, I came to the realization that it is this notion of cosmopolitanism that is the most relevant to my research. Specifically, I became more and more interested in the merits and the manifestation of cosmopolitanism which left cultural traces visibly in the built environment and in the representation of the city, as well as in memories.

Two observations centered my focus around the cosmopolitan history, its traces and target reader. This gave me courage to start thinking of the problem definition—both in theoretical and practical terms, and the methods to use for my research. Apparently, there is a common desire to be connected with the past and present of the city. Former and present-day inhabitants show their longing and appreciation of this heritage. Even though it occupies less place in the present-day built environment, it is still very strong in the minds and hearts of the people. This longing for the cosmopolitan era, which occurred before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, also gives a hint about the developments in the 20th century which

⁴ According to the Merriam Webster glossary, the term "Levant" encompasses the meaning as follows: "the countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean Sea —often thought of as extending from Greece to Egypt". Oxford dictionary gives a similar definition: "The eastern part of the Mediterranean with its islands and neighboring countries". Etymologically the word derives from the Latin roots. During the late 15th century, present participle form of "lever" meant "to lift" in French. It was used as a noun for the meaning of "point of sunrise, east". https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/levant, retrieved date: March 19th, 2018; https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/levant.

For the Ottoman Empire's social setting, the notion of Levantine was used initially for the Italian Catholics. Although today the term Levantine provides an umbrella notion, it needs to be stressed that Europeans of İzmir were distinguished as Franks and Levantines, In the case of Izmir, Levantines meant Frank's intertwined relations with Ottoman groups forming a new cultural group that contains characteristics from both sides. For further elaboration, please read: Filomena Viviana Tagliaferri, "In the Process of Being Levantines. The 'Levantinization' of the Catholic Community of Izmir (1683–1724)." *Turkish Historical Review* 7, no. 1 (2016): 86-112. Filomena Viviana Tagliaferri, *Tolerance Re-Shaped in the Early-Modern Mediterranean Borderlands: Travellers, Missionaries and Proto-Journalists* (1683–1724) (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

failed to establish emotional relations between the inhabitants and their urban environment. Neither my observations nor the longing of the inhabitants is exclusive to İzmir –it is a problem that has occurred in other port cities as well. Modernism exerted a tremendous influence on port cities during the 20th century. Principles of modern architecture and modern town planning have been a solution to wounds of the wars for some time now. 20th century port cities, however, suffered from the split between port activities and urban life, and modern spatial developments failed to establish relations between inhabitants, port cities and their unique contexts in material and immaterial senses.

In this regard, with this dissertation, I aim to reinforce the sense of belonging to the place by writing narratives of historic Smyrna (the former name for İzmir) and contemporary İzmir. In the new narratives that I wrote, I particularly used knowledge derived from historical texts and images related to activities and annual events and carefully traced memories and emotions related to places that make port cities both unique and generic. To convey my research to the reader, I described spaces and places with the intention of reviving memories. In addition to reaching out to the inhabitants through evocative means (e.g., a story embedded in the following chapters of this manuscript), this work aims to provide a valuable perspective to contemporary architects, urban planners and landscape architects and researchers in this field and local government by departing from and contributing to the collective memory of the port city of İzmir, as well as creating awareness of the significant historical cosmopolitan traces that the city carries. In İzmir, East and West met, exchanged, and mingled, thus producing an invaluable heritage still present today. I sincerely hope to foster an inclusive debate regarding the city and its spatial qualities. This intention coincides with the detailed understanding that İzmir's present-day mayor has of this city, rich in cosmopolitan history. I therefore hope that this work will reach a diverse audience for a discussion of our built environment and will establish a conversation with decisionmakers, with citizens. and with stakeholders, providing an inclusive approach. This is crucial to spur action for the solution of the city's present and future problems concerning society and the built environment.

In this research, working with narratives and artworks and writing new narratives with evocative literary descriptions⁵ allowed me to bring tangible and intangible cross-cultural traces as a consequence of particular interactions in the city of İzmir into focus, providing perspectives for future developments that can take into account

⁵ Please see the chapter "Writing as: Evocative Description" in Klaske Havik, *Urban Literacy* (Rotterdam, nai010: 2014, 37-41.

its valuable heritage, not only tangible and intangible assets, but also thinking systems. This valuation will be possible by means of the establishment of a working relationship between diverse disciplines (including architecture and urban history), the preservation of the historic built environment, and the participation of connected citizens and decisionmakers. My hope is that this approach will help to change the perception and appreciation of the specific port city heritage and will provide insights for urban planners, architects, and decisionmakers who are responsible for İzmir's future. Namely, my hope is that my approach, both in research and writing method, could help to shine a light on this heritage could be a catalyst for the city to make use of its rich cultural resources for further development. This perspective opens the way for a culturally and socially sustainable development of the city, while it re-establishes the connection it has to other port cities.

Acknowledging the important role of narratives in building an image of the city in my doctoral research, I propose that developing a particular narrative writing method may help to re-establish emotional connections between present-day inhabitants of port cities and their environments. I share this method in detail in Chapter 3. I offer this as an alternative way of writing and an unconventional reading for the urban and architectural history of İzmir to revive the atmosphere and socio-spatial practices.⁶ My attempt to develop a writing method and reinforce the sense of belonging to a place is in line with the Christian Norberg-Schulz' conception for the *genius loci*, to find the spirit of place. Indeed, as Norberg-Schulz suggested, human beings exist in relation to "physical objects, psychic objects, social objects and cultural objects."⁷ Norberg-Schulz criticized modern buildings for not relating themselves to their landscapes, environs, and historical identity. The direct engagement of buildings lies in establishing relations between topography, surrounding landscapes and natural

7 Christian Norberg-Schulz, Intentions in architecture (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963), 27.

⁶ Please see other works: Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century*, *1700-1820* (Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992); F. Cânâ Bilsel, "Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'évolution Morphologique de la Ville de İzmir du début du XIXe au début du XXe siècles" (PhD diss., Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1996); Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.), *Smyrne 1830-1930 De la fortune à l oubli* (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2006); Emiliano Bugatti, "Urban identities and catastrophe: Izmir and Salonica at the end of the Ottoman Empire," *Geographical Review* 103, no. 4 (2013): 498-516; Malte Fuhrmann, "Staring at the Sea, Staring at the Land: Waterfront Modernisation in nineteenth century Ottoman Cities as a site of Cultural Change," in Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks, eds. by Hein, Carola, 138–155 (London & New York: Routledge, 2011); Kalliopi Amygdalou, "A tale of two cities in search of a new identity: The politics of heritage and modernisation in early 20th-century Izmir and Thessaloniki" (PhD diss., University College London, 2014); Mehmet Kuru, "Locating an Ottoman Port-City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: İzmir 1580-1780," *Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Toronto* (2017), Onur İnal, "The Making of an Eastern Mediterranean Gateway City: İzmir in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 5 (2019).

context.⁸ Similarly, British architect Quinlan Terry reflected, with a somewhat fiercer tone: "Architecture depends on function, durability, order, humanity, nature and beauty. Modern architecture has none of these things."⁹

Modernism is a boldly defined and framed movement. It is possible to put all of its thoughts and ideas under the umbrella term "modernism," or in this case "modern architecture." If we refrain from a wholesale objection to this movement, we can trace a debate within the movement itself that critically examined the conditions of their era. A group of avant-garde architects founded the CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) in 1928 in La Sarraz, Switzerland. In 1947, right after World War II, they held their 6th meeting in Bridgwater, England. In this meeting, the idea of "Cultivation of Mind and Body" had an important place in the agenda amongst four town-planning elements (i.e., dwelling, work, circulation).¹⁰ The Bridgwater statement included the following notes: "the aim of CIAM is to work for the creation of a physical environment that will satisfy man's emotional and material needs," complemented with the words of Dutch architect Jaap Bakema: "and to stimulate man's spiritual growth."¹¹ With this acknowledgment of the need for establishing a bond between humans and their environment, there is a common understanding that the physical space alone does not fully provide for the need human have regarding the space and the built environment.¹² People need to establish emotional connections to their environment, as Norberg-Schulz highlighted in his renowned work, 1971 book "Existence, Space and Architecture."¹³ In this dissertation, I address this need with a double ambition. I firstly aim to develop a writing method that summons emotional relations between the inhabitants of İzmir and their city (as well as other port cities), encouraging readers to cultivate their own narratives. My second aim is to uncover and elucidate the information that helps us understand what makes port cities specific. In this case, it is a specificity that has come to be known and framed as Beautiful İzmir.

⁸ Christian Norberg-Schulz, Existence, space & architecture (New York: Praeger, 1971), 24-27.

Quinlan Terry, In Building Design, September 17th, 1976. As cited in Léon Krier, "The Blind Spot" Architectural Design (1978) 4: 218-221.

¹⁰ Oscar Newman, CIAM '59 in Otterlo (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1961), 12.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Norberg-Schulz. *Existence, space & architecture*, 10.

¹³ Ibid.

Indeed, just like Beautiful İzmir, port cities are fascinating places, and scholars accept that they are distinguished from other cities.¹⁴ It is still under discussion, however, which elements are integral to a port city and what are the underlying causes of their special character. Is it their special development on a body of water which establish a tight relationship with their natural environment and regions historically? Is it the global networks of trade that connected those cities to one another economically, spatially, culturally? Is it the shared experience of passing through destructive events, like world wars and great fires, and coming out with the resilience to rise from the ashes each time? Or is it due to their capacity to transform and adapt themselves in line with the changes in global and local politics and economics, technological advancements, environmental challenges, and changing social context?

To study the particular development of port cities, some scholars have suggested notions such as "maritime cultural landscape"¹⁵ and "seascapes."¹⁶ Amongst diverse scholarship from a range of fields —from the history of architecture and urban planning to geography— Carola Hein suggests the concept of "port cityscape" to study changing networks and their consequences in port cities and their interconnected locations.¹⁷ With this notion of port cityscape Hein proposes that "maritime and associated networks create dynamic, multi-scaled, and interconnected cityscapes."¹⁸ With this, port city research has extended its focus beyond the waterfronts.¹⁹ A precursor to this work, urban designer Han Meyer's renowned book "City and Port" offered a deeper understanding of port cities' characteristics with a specific focus on port organization and the influence this spatial organization has on the city as a whole. Meyer also looked into the transformation of port cities like

18 Hein, Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks, 5.

¹⁴ Günter Warsewa, "The Transformation of port cities: Local culture and the post-industrial maritime city," *WIT Transactions on The Built Environment* 170 (2017): 149-159.

¹⁵ Christer Westerdahl, "The Maritime Cultural Landscape." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (February 1992): 5-14.

¹⁶ Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, eds. *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

¹⁷ Carola Hein, *Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 5-7.

¹⁹ Brian S. Hoyle, "Development Dynamics at the Port-City Interface," in *Revitalising the Waterfront*, eds. Brian S. Hoyle, David A. Pinder, and M. Sohail Huseyin (London: Belhaven Press, 1998).; Brian S. Hoyle, The port-city interface, *Geoforum* 4 (1989): 429-435.

London, Barcelona and Rotterdam and discussed the reconstruction of derelict port areas in relation to the reconsideration of the city structure.²⁰

Although these proposed concepts and approaches by researchers provide valuable insight into port city developments and their interconnected features, there is still room to explore their unique developments and characters. Despite the fact that most of the port city research has been focused on the interaction between the local and the global,²¹ it is surprising that there has not been more attention given to the state of being "in-between" (geographically and culturally) in the development of these cities. To provide insight into this discussion, I have based my research on the hypothesis that the cosmopolitan situations developed under the provided cosmopolitan condition of the pre-industrial and early industrial eras. This condition allowed for the creation of specific knowledge and its circulation which led to port cities being built in a way that engaged the local city with other port cities. In this research, I consider that studying a port city in relation to a specific condition, the cosmopolitan condition, could produce a fundamental source of knowledge which could be consulted and help to quide future developments in port cities that are in transition. With this in mind, I use my doctoral research to investigate, through a reading of the city's spatial reality, what makes a port city specific. I do this by placing protagonists, who are selected from the cosmopolitan individuals who have a kinship within the society, in the heart of port city developments and the production of urban cultures. Studying a particular port city, İzmir, through the notion of cosmopolitanism is also a way of doing justice to cities in the Mediterranean Basin²² that have developed their distinct character based on the presence of the 19th century Ottoman society, but have been generically defined under term "port cities."23

Conversely, studying the cosmopolitan situations in İzmir also provides a deeper understanding of the notion of cosmopolitanism and its relevance to knowledge exchanges in the development of architecture and the built environment. There is an increasing interest in the question of how and why architectural knowledge

22 Please see also other research on cities Athens, Beirut, Alexandria, Istanbul.

²⁰ Han Meyer, *City and Port: The Transformation of Port Cities* (London, Barcelona, New York and Rotterdam. International Books, 1999).

²¹ See for instance Brian S. Hoyle, "Global and Local Change on the Port-City Waterfront," *Geographical Review* 90, no. 3 (2000).; Barry Shaw, "History at the Water's Edge," *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities* (Taylor & Francis, 2001).; Rinio Bruttomesso, "Complexity on the Urban Waterfront," *Waterfronts in post-industrial cities* (Taylor & Francis, 2001): 47-58.

²³ Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul as a Cosmopolitan City," *A companion to diaspora and transnationalism* (2013): 214.

disseminated across the globe.²⁴ İzmir offers one of the most significant cases for two reasons. Firstly, as a port city; professor of planning history Stephen V. Ward pays particular attention to port cities by considering them as "knowledge hubs."²⁵ And secondly, İzmir's geographical position: the city that has been considered a place where "East meets West."²⁶ The city, indeed, is at the intersection of local and global, located in entangled territories,²⁷ connecting İzmir and its hinterland to Europe. In this particular field, there is a need to go beyond the existing understanding which is based on the export of knowledge from the West to the East.²⁸ The reality is far more complex. This dissertation aims to contribute to the on-going discussion on alternative modes of writing cross-cultural histories, as it takes the Eurocentric written history to a non-Western context, revealing the complexity in the process of circulation and formation of knowledge. It discusses the knowledge circulation that shaped İzmir through the notion of cosmopolitanism.²⁹

In essence, my dissertation observes the social dimension in the process of urban formation. İzmir has developed under the negotiation of diverse social groups, both local and international, with conditions set by specific global and local dynamics. In this regard, not only is Chapter 4 intended to provide a background information about İzmir's history within the changing global politics, advancing technologies, and societal contexts, but also it is dedicated to explaining the complexity involved in the building practices and urban development in order to establish a better

²⁴ See for instance Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2005); Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, & the Modern House* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Tom Avermaete and Maristella Casciato, *Casablanca Chandigarh: A Report on Modernization* (Montreal: CCA, Canadian Centre for Architecture = Centre canadien d'architecture, 2014).; Tom Avermaete, Klaske Havik, and Viviana d'Auria, "Crossing Boundaries: Transcultural Practices in Architecture and Urbanism," *Oase: Tijdschrift voor Architecturu* 95 (2015).; Stephen V. Ward, "Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories," in *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*, ed. Carola Hein, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 76-90.

²⁵ Stephen V. Ward, "Port Cities and the Global Exchange of Planning Ideas," in *Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks*, ed. Carola Hein (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 70.

²⁶ Please see the weaknesses in the terms "West and East", "Western and non-Western": Esra Akcan, "Melancholy and the Other," *Cogito* 43 (2005).

²⁷ Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979). Please see also: Esra Akcan, ed. Intertwined Histories. Turkey and Central Europe, 2 vols., vol. 7 (2007).

²⁸ Joe Nasr, and Mercedes Volait. *Urbanism: imported or exported?* (London: Academy Press, 2003); Mercedes Volait and Joe Nasr, *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (Wiley-Academy, 2003).

²⁹ Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2005); Esra Akcan, Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, & the Modern House (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

understanding of the specificity of the knowledge that diverse variables have collectively generated in İzmir. Precisely for this reason, I first unfold the history of İzmir by emphasizing the social context as the starting point for further encounters in the city in Chapter 4.2 Unfolding the Urban Context within the Cosmopolitan *History of İzmir*. I chose a painting which depicts İzmir and a social space, the very first contact zone, for establishing commercial relationships between the Ottoman Empire and the Netherlands. Then, with the case of 19th century residential quarter along the waterfront, I explore the processes of cross-cultural exchanges and their contribution to the architectural and urban cultures in İzmir. In doing this, I highlight not only diverse social groups as the agent of development, but also how much the West is present in the East, and vice versa. Chapter 4.3.2. The Role of Trade and Representation in Building the City from the Waterfront to the Outskirts reveals the intrinsic relationship by connecting the representation of the spaces of trade with the actual places of the city and the practices of trader families at the intersection of the imagined Orient and Occident. The analysis explores how European elites secured the production and expansion of trade-related public and private spaces. This chapter showcases that these three elements—representation, places, and practices—formed a feedback loop that strengthened the economic power of the city and of select individuals, who then helped expand the larger port cityscape from waterfront to hinterland.³⁰

I further continued my research by writing narratives in chapters 5, 6 and 7 as a continuity of retrieving knowledge about cities and sites, their construction, and spatial developments, and understanding the merits of the cosmopolitan situations that acted on port cities. In the narratives that I wrote for this research, I reproduce meaning gained from the intangible traces of the city. This knowledge is a shared resource between Europe and İzmir.³¹ I investigated how the depiction of the city has contributed to the building of the city – both spatially and culturally. In this perspective, I consider the narratives and any depictions that have been created of the Beautiful İzmir as intangible resources of the city, and I suggest that reproducing İzmir from these intangible resources could be a way for future development of the port city by providing soft data and going beyond the hard data in times of transition.

³⁰ Please see: Fatma Tanış and Carola Hein, "Space, Representation and Practice in the Formation of İzmir During the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, C. 1570–1940*, eds. Christina Reimann and Martin Öhman (New York: Routledge, 2020).

³¹ The culturally fertile conditions that existed at this special intersection of East and West inspired many writers and painters. From the ample textual and visual accounts, it can be understood that the city has a long history of being an attractive destination for many travelers. The production of maps, engravings, and photographs became a part of the culture of the city.

Next to the success of literature in capturing the complexity of urban life more than any plans, maps and statistics could do, Han Meyer emphasizes the importance of literary writing in urban planning.³² In reference to Jonathan Raban's Soft City and Italo Calvino's Invisible Cities, Meyer highlights the need of an imagined city for the present-day port cities' developments —particularly for finding the meaning inscribed in the city.³³ My approach, therefore, has a Janus-faced ambition: while exploring the specificity of a port city and providing a deeper knowledge about port cities at large, it also contributes to the continued cultural production of rebuilding its own particular character to establish meaningful connections. In this way, I argue, it is possible to influence the perception of inhabitants. The quest for finding and establishing meaning is, again, aligned with the architectural critique developed by the Situationists:³⁴ "A section of a city is no longer primarily to be determined by geographic and economic factors, but by its users' perception of it. Architecture was no longer to be produced according to volumes, merely organizing positive and negative spaces. Instead, architecture urged projection onto the actuality of an exciting future world. Its focal concern is no longer the house but the architectural complex, a combination of all factors conditioning an atmosphere on the scale of a constructed situation."35

Architecture critique is not central to this research, but clearly it is highly relevant. History teaches us that there is a close, mutual and constructive relationship between local culture and local institutions, economic and social structures for the development of port cities.³⁶ Thus, as important as the research itself is, engaging with a diverse audience has become equally important for my study. The worldwide organization for port cities, *Association Internationale Villes et Ports* (AIVP), has recognized the value of cultural connections to inhabitants' participation. This supports port city debates as they suggest "promoting and capitalizing on the specific culture and identity of port cities and allowing residents to develop

³² Meyer, City and Port: The Transformation of Port Cities, 18.

³³ Please see: Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (San Diego, California: Harcourt Publishing, 1974); Jonathan Raban, *Soft City* (London: Harvill Press, 1974).

³⁴ For further reading, please see: Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, eds., *Anxious Modernisms*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000).

³⁵ Jean Louis Violeau, "A Critique of Architecture: The Bitter Victory of Situationist International," in *Anxious Modernisms*, eds. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000), 250-251.

³⁶ Robert Lee, "The Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of port cities: A typology for comparative analysis?" *Urban History*, 25(02), 147–172, 1998.

a sense of pride and flourish as part of a city port community of interest."³⁷ This is also in parallel to UNESCO Deputy Director Jyoti Hosagrahar's statement: "Culture is who we are, and what shapes our identity. Placing culture at the heart of development policies is the only way to ensure a human-centered, inclusive and equitable development."³⁸ In the same line of thought, the United Nations agreed on a set of Sustainable Development Goals in September 2015 for the 2030 agenda including: "Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable."³⁹ 11.4 particularly accentuates the protection of cultural heritage.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the UN clustered their goals around three pillars: economic, social, and environmental objectives, with an emphasis on the culture and creativity that serve those pillars transversally.⁴¹ With my research and creative writing method based on reproducing cultures from the city's own immaterial resources, I hope to foster cultural productions and provide insight for a larger discussion. The method developed in this research could be applied to other port cities and multiply cultural productions while consolidating the cultural ties between them.

By the recognition of this study's relevance to multiple and intersecting fields and implications for the practical terms of design, planning, preservation of cultural heritage, and decision-making, I decided to unpack the Beautiful İzmir to address the specificity of a port city on the one hand, and on the other hand I hoped to address the need to be connected to the environment. The more I deepened my research and exploration, the more I became convinced that Beautiful İzmir fulfills my intention of contributing to diverse fields while bringing attention to the societal context. Therefore, the essence of my research highlights the societal aspect and relates it

39 "Sustainable Development Goals," United Nations, accessed on 17 January 2022, https://www.un.org/ sustainabledevelopment/cities/. Jyoti Hosagrahar highlights that placing the culture in the center of the development was pointed out in May 2013 as "Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies" during the international congress organized by UNESCO in Hangzou, China. Hosagrahar, "Culture: at the heart of SDGs," 12.

40 In October 28th, 2020, AIVP had a webinar titled "Protecting Cultural Heritage as a Resource for Sustainable Development of Port Cities" with the participation of Deputy Director Jyoti Hosagrahar, a port heritage director, and an assistant general manager from port authority. In this webinar, they emphasized on the sustainable development of port cities lies in the cultural connections. For further details of this topic, please visit: "How to enhance the cultural identity of port cities and turn into a development asset," AIVP, http://www.aivp.org/en/2020/10/21/how-to-enhance-the-cultural-identity-of-port-cities-and-turn-it-into-a-development-asset/, accessed on 12 December 2020.

41 "Sustainable Development Goals," United Nations, accessed on 17 January 2022, https://www.un.org/ sustainabledevelopment/cities/.

³⁷ Hermeline Delepouve, "AIVP 2030 Agenda Gains New Signatories!," AIVP, https://www.aivp.org/en/ commitment/port-culture-and-identity/.

³⁸ Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Culture: at the heart of SDGs," *The UNESCO Courier*, no. 1 (April-June 2017): 12.

to the shaping of specific urban cultures in port cities. Let's now have a look at how Beautiful İzmir relates to the discussion.

1.1.1 Genius Loci, Cosmopolitan History and the Beautiful İzmir

The inhabitants of İzmir frame their longing for the past with the idea of "cosmopolitan history." Cosmopolitanism seems to have been a central term, and the longing attributed to the cosmopolitan era is associated with the idea of Beautiful İzmir. It remained, however, vague to me how cosmopolitanism was understood. Was the longing simply nostalgia for a significant era? Or, if we pay attention to the spatial traces that remain in the city and people's longing for the history, could this era provide knowledge that has been used and produced by a specific group of people, a knowledge that further acted upon architecture, urban development and urban cultures in a particular way? Could this knowledge be the crucial starting point for contemporary, sustainable development of port cities that takes into account the social, spatial and cultural dimensions of the past? As renowned historian Antony Gerald Hopkins (b. 1938, London) pointed out: "It is worth noting, if not too wistfully, that under other circumstances Ottoman cosmopolitanism would have been well suited to the needs of globalization."⁴² And, finally, in this string of questions: does the term "cosmopolitanism" merely refer to a historical era before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, or does it refer to a timeless phenomenon that found a natural place to flourish in the Ottoman Empire? Is it possible that attaining a more universal knowledge offered better potential than staying in either the East or the West? And would this unique geographical condition, being at the intersection of both, allow for the complementing of the knowledge of a group of people who might have been small in number and living in their own microcosms, yet having an influence that was wider and long-lasting? Having those guestions in mind, from my observation of the social and spatial components of my home city. I directed my focus towards cosmopolitanism and its relation to building the city in a particular way that has been framed as Beautiful İzmir.

⁴² Antony G. Hopkins, "Introduction: Interactions between the Universal and the Local," in *Global History: Interactions between the Universal and the Local* ed. Antony G. Hopkins (London: Palgrave, 2006), 23–4.

1.1.2 Cosmopolitans under the Spotlight: Protagonists in Building Specificity of a Port City

An old and famous American architect (if my memory serves me well), said to another who was much younger and was asking for his advice: "Open your eyes wide and look; it is much easier than you think." He also said to him: Behind every building that you see there is a man that you don't see." A man, he said. He did not mention whether he was an architect or not.

J. A. Coderch de Sentmenant, August 1961, Barcelona

Before moving on to the merits of the cosmopolitan condition and its role in the port city's unique development, let me introduce to you the protagonists that share the common sphere who will appear in the main narrative of this manuscript. In this regard, my focus is on a select group that was situated between İzmir and the outside world (particularly Europe) due to their numerous interactions in these places. Amongst them are elite traders, travelers, and, in the last narrative, myself. Through focusing on a particular group that share common knowledge and experiences, rather than individual designers, we will look at the production of space as a consequence of the interaction between the intertwined social network (the circulation of artefacts), commercial network (the circulation of the trading catalogue), intellectual network (the circulation of art and writings), and local Ottoman building networks (building guilds). The spatial construction and the social production were a result of the multiple interactions among the diverse contacts and components. Thus, this research does not delve into the architects and planners, but rather into the individuals and social groups and their interactions that influenced how the city was made. Understanding these actors (i.e., the social groups and individuals) is key to discerning how they were involved in urban and cultural production.

In this regard, the first group of people that I will turn a spotlight on are the European traders who migrated to İzmir centuries ago. The migration of European traders was of great importance in connecting local İzmir to overseas global trade activities. As many of the accounts acknowledged, Turks were quite used to trading along land routes in the Ottoman Era. However, although they had naval power, they were not so advanced in sea routes.⁴³ First and foremost, the migration of traders from Europe meant the development of new oversea trading lines. These

⁴³ Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant.*" Three Parts. Viz. *Into I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East-Indies* (London: H. Clark, 1686), 73.

migrants, who soon became long-term residents of the city, had been building their networks to run trade within the city and with the outside world. Trade networks and marriages were key elements in foreign merchants establishing themselves in the city.⁴⁴ Members of the elite trading families of İzmir and upper-class European migrants have intermarried often within the European circle. European migrants were from different nationalities, for instance Dutch, French, English, or Italian. But once they were in İzmir, they did not conform to their national identity. Rather, their exclusive relations created a unique character.

From the trading social group of İzmir, I selected the intertwined trading dynasty of the İzmir French Giraud and British Whittall Families for the center of my investigation.⁴⁵ I will introduce the families in detail later in the Chapter 4.1 Cosmopolitans: The Key Nodes for Engagements. I chose the Giraud and Whittall families based on their substantial role in the establishment of an oversea trade network, their capital resources, extended social network (including artists, writers and travelers), and important social relations with decisionmakers that collectively played differentiated but complementary roles in the production of activities, urban developments and cultural formation. These two renowned families were active in the oversea trade that connected İzmir to the global market.⁴⁶ The Giraud Family became best known for their carpet company, Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, that held a guarter of the market in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the early 19th century, C. Whittall & Co. was engaged in several branches of export, which sent goods such as figs, raisins, and bales of raw cotton to Liverpool. The family was also active in marine insurance, mining, and the opium trade. In oversea trading, the 19th century is known as the "Whittall Century," due to the increasing and successful trading activity of the Whittall family in this time

⁴⁴ Fatma Tanış and Carola Hein, "Space, Representation and Practice in the Formation of İzmir During the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, C. 1570–1940*, eds. Christina Reimann and Martin Öhman (New York: Routledge, 2020), 48.

⁴⁵ Gertrude Bell writes in her letter on 10 March 1902 for the Whittall Family "There is an enormous colony of them." Gertrude Bell, "Gertrude Bell to her stepmother, Dame Florence Bell." letter, in Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle: University Library, Newcastle University, accessed May 29, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1294.

⁴⁶ Gertrude Bell writes in her letter on 04 April 1907 for the Whittall Family, "They have the bulk of the English trade in their hands, branch offices all down the southern coast, mines and shooting boxes and properties scattered up and down the SW corner of Asia Minor and yachts on the seas." Gertrude Bell, "Gertrude Bell to her stepmother, Dame Florence Bell." Letter, 4 April 1907, in Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle: University Library, Newcastle University, accessed May 29, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/ letter_details.php?letter_id=1294. G.W.Whittall, The Whittall Family in the 18th & 19th Centuries & Associated Families, 69. 40: Whittall, The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973, (N.P.), "A Record of the Origin and the History of the Giraud and the Whittall Families of Turkey" and "Trading in the Levant the Centenary of C. Whittall &Co. Smyrna". 41:

particularly in İstanbul and İzmir. Charlton Whittall adopted the trading principles of the British Levant Company which allowed his company to enjoy continuous success for a century. Living in İzmir allowed the Whittalls and Girauds to develop knowledge and cultural perspectives from both Europe and the Ottoman Empire, which contributed to their commercial success.⁴⁷ The spatial traces of their vast interactions can be seen in the city, particularly in borough Bornova, as an important part of İzmir's cultural heritage.

I will thus look at the activities of the selected families in trade and actions in this port city that is located at the intersection of the East and West. I will look at the way they used the representation of the elements that were associated with the East and the West and their increasing success in using this knowledge in space, representation and practice in İzmir. Through this study of the influence of the Whittall and the Giraud Families we may be able to unveil what makes port cities specific.

Another group that I focus on is travelers who were part of the extended network of the trading families in İzmir. Travelers have captured lots of details and knowledge about İzmir's cultures, social groups, customs, and traditions. They also captured knowledge of the built environment with a scale that varies from a piece of furniture to the entire region that housed it. The impact of these cosmopolitan visitors on urban development, as well as on cultural production, was enormous. Indeed, Orientalist narratives played a role in building a portrait of İzmir in the minds of Europeans collectively prior to their direct contact with the city. These narratives promoted trade on one hand, but also created an invisible border and a bias in the relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans until European visitors arrive and explored İzmir. The Orientalist bias is evident in the diaries of Gertrude Bell, one of the sources used in this research. In her diary, dated 11 March 1902, she wrote of being perplexed: "But *these people* [European elites] *get on with the Turks!*"⁴⁸ Indeed, the housing estates and social life of the elite society were closely connected to the Turkish population.⁴⁹ Another similar surprise can be read in John Murray's Handbook. Murray noted in 1845

- 48 Gertrude Bell, Gertrude Bell Collection, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/.
- 49 Antony Wynn, Three Camels to Smyrna (London: The Estate of the late Bryan Meredith Huffner, 2008), 124.

⁴⁷ Fatma Tanış and Carola Hein, "Space, Representation and Practice in the Formation of İzmir during the long nineteenth century," in *Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World*, edited by Martin Öhman, and Christina Reimann (London/New York: Routledge, 2020), 44-61.

"How different are now my feelings towards the Turks, from those uncharitable prejudices with which I looked upon them on my first arrival at Smyrna! To their manners, habits, and character, equally as to their costume, I am become not only reconciled, but sincerely attached; for I have found truth, honesty, and kindness, the most estimable and amiable qualities, in a people among whom I so little looked for them."⁵⁰ Indeed, elite traders and their close relations with travelers and local dignitaries (e.g., governors and Turkish elites⁵¹) have been essential in cultural exchanges and in the specific formation of port cities. These accounts already give a hint of the personal relations of cosmopolitans in the formation of Beautiful İzmir.

Following this social network, which existed in the previous century, I chose to focus on the following contemporary individuals. First are traders of the Arkas Family, whose knowledge both in trade and İzmir's specificity is invaluable. Second, Tunç Soyer, the mayor of the city, whose rational decisions are of utmost importance for the future of the port city. And lastly, myself, based on the archetype of foreign writers whose mind was set in an absorbing mode and informed through multiple channels before they arrived in cities. Travel accounts contain information and offer a glimpse into personal experiences and feelings that cannot be obtained through other conventional sources. I merged the internal and external views in my observation and cultural production. I selected all individuals and their extended networks due to their contribution to capturing and producing knowledge that impacted the development of İzmir in a particular way while operating in the cosmopolitan sphere, particularly with their life, personal experiences and encounters. The historical characters are significant in their contribution to building the city, while the contemporary individuals are significant in their recognition of the importance of those traces from the past for the future of the city. The actions of these individuals provide further insight into the value of being "in between" and the thinking systems of cosmopolitans.

⁵⁰ Murray, A hand-book for travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople, 137.

⁵¹ Turkish landlords (the *ayân*s) such as Karaosmanoğlu, Katipzade and Arapoğlu families had close trade relationship with European merchants.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Concept of Cosmopolitanism and Different Viewpoints

Let's turn our attention to a central notion for this research that I have repeatedly used so far and clarify its relevance for this study: cosmopolitanism. There are different views and interpretations of this term discussed by a diverse scholarship, varying from political philosophy to cultural theories. To start with the geographical context, cosmopolitanism is indeed one of the main concepts in studying the past and present of the former Ottoman territories.⁵² In this body of studies, scholars use the notion in reference to the multi-cultural nature of Ottoman cities, with a growing interest in studying globalism.⁵³ The scholarship has given attention to the meaning of cosmopolitanism as it corresponds to ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity.⁵⁴ On the other hand, zooming out from the Ottoman territories, the notion is also used for studying colonial legacies at large.⁵⁵ As for political philosophy, Immanuel Kant's

⁵² Edhem Eldem, "Plurality, cosmopolitanism, and integration: The dangers of comparing the incomparable," in *The Economies of Urban Diversity* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 2013), 47-62.

⁵³ Will Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," *History Compass*, vol. 6, *no.* 5 (2008): 1346 – 1367.

⁵⁴ Keith David Watenpaugh, "Cleansing the Cosmopolitan City: Historicism, Journalism and the Arab Nation in the Post-Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean," *Social History*, 30/1 (2005): 4.

^{55 &}quot;Cosmopolitanism must take into account colonial legacies, corporate abuse of peoples, places, and environments, and the new geographies and identities that these dynamics continually produce." International Encyclopedia of Human Geography (Second Edition), 2020.

view on perpetual peace, in line with universal ethics, has been essential for the development of the literature on this concept. $^{\rm 56}$

I will stay with Kant for a while, but for exploring my own understanding of cosmopolites and cosmopolitanism in relation to this study, different scholarly views have also been illuminating. First and foremost, studies conducted on the Ottoman Empire and Middle East scholarship indicate that cosmopolitanism is related to "nostalgia for a more tolerant past, along with grief over modern-day Middle Eastern states and societies."⁵⁷ This line of thought is in sync with my aim of establishing emotional relations between inhabitants and their environment. When we look further, a part of this scholarship is limited to the notion of elites.⁵⁸ For the Ottoman Empire's social setting, it is indeed true that the notion of cosmopolitanism has been closely related to the elite's lifestyle.⁵⁹ This is also true for this study's chosen individuals, particularly the historic protagonists, the Whittalls and Girauds, who were the elites of the Ottoman Empire in İzmir. I wish to underline that my understanding of cosmopolitanism is not limited to the elite circles.⁶⁰ Rather, it is related to any form of encounters based on their personal experiences and innate knowledge, regardless of their national identity and socio-economic status. To this point, Chapter 4.3 (Re) Setting the Stage for the Rise of Cosmopolitanism: Transition from the Sail-Boat Era to the Steam-Boat Era touches upon encounters between the Ottoman Building guild, seasonal labors, and foreign developers, among others in the urban development of İzmir. My main focus on a limited circle of society does not imply that I ignore other ethnic groups or anyone else from the society. It only caries the intention of making the research more focused in order to understand the knowledge transfers, the interconnected social and spatial constructions and the skills that shaped the city in a specific way.

⁵⁶ See for instance: Martha Nussbaum, "Kant and Cosmopolitanism," in *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*, eds. James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 25–57.

⁵⁷ Will Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," History Compass, vol. 6, no. 5 (2008): 1346.

⁵⁸ Henk Driessen, "Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered," *History and Anthropology*, 16, no. 1 (2005): 129 – 141.

⁵⁹ The elites of the Ottoman Empire have been considered as the bureaucratic elites who were the Tanzimat reformers, elites of non-Muslims such as the European traders, and a handful local powerful and rich non-Muslims. Eldem Edhem, "Istanbul as a Cosmopolitan City: Myths and Realities" *A companion to diaspora and transnationalism* (2013): 214.

⁶⁰ I need to clarify that one of the reasons why I have chosen those families next to their roles in developments and vast contribution to the cultural production as explained before, is based on a very practical reason: the substantial amount of spatial and cultural traces that they have left in one way or the other for me to work with as a researcher.

According to my understanding, merits of cosmopolitanism are closely related to the state of being "in between". As the two selected families represent, the cosmopolitan situation is very much related to this state of being "in between", the condition of being between two others.⁶¹ This condition provides space for capturing knowledge from two different sides and lays the path for reaching a more universal knowledge. Another aspect of being "in between" is related to freshness. A fresh pair of eyes helps to grasp the context quickly, allowing for the building of connections and relationships with two supposedly different worlds (in the case of İzmir, the East and the West). For example, trader families, such as the French Girauds, the English Whittalls, and the other elite families that will be discussed in more depth later in this work, created a multifaceted social and spatial network in İzmir that reached from the waterfront into the city and further inland. They shaped physical spaces -commercial, residential and leisure—as part of their trade activities, and created practices—public service, social life, domestic etiquette and cultural engagement through their everyday life, thoughtfully weaving European and Oriental elements together in their trading strategies. Their presence in İzmir translated into Europeanstyle buildings and practices in the city, while their contact with the Orient allowed them to export carpets, dried fruits, spices and other goods from the East to the West.

Buildings and urban areas of different typologies—ports, warehouses, headquarters, workers' housing, merchant villas, places of worship, theatres and sport venues—all stand as a concrete proof for how the trading family heads used their knowledge of two worlds gained from their personal experiences. Moreover, the families and their contributions represent their deeper understanding of the universal knowledge patterns, some of which infiltrated into what is known as Orientalism. Professor of literature, Edward Said, introduced the concept of Orientalism in 1978 in his renowned work "Orientalism." The Levant, of which İzmir is a part, has been represented in various post-Enlightenment records, including pilgrims' notes, literature, travel books and art works. These representations promoted the contrasts between the known (Europe, the West) and the unknown or exotic (the Orient, the East).⁶² According to Edward Said, Orientalism was a European and colonialist projection, representing people and places of a vaguely defined "East."⁶³ Orientalism, in this way, allowed European cultures to control and reproduce the East—from a western point of view—"politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically,

- 62 Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979), 43.
- 63 Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 1.

⁶¹ Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "betweenness," accessed October 27, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/betweenness.

scientifically, and imaginatively."⁶⁴ A great number of authors, novelists, poets, translators, and travelers have widely contributed to the Orientalism project.⁶⁵ If we consider that Edward Said only did his research on Orientalism in the second half of the 20th century, the elite trading families were ahead of their times.

The cosmopolitan condition benefitted from the state of being "in-between." In this regard, I had a look at different dictionaries, natural mirrors of the different scholarly views, to better grasp the meaning. When we look at its etymology, the word "cosmopolitan" dates back to the Cynics of the 4th Century B.C.⁶⁶ The Merriam Webster dictionary defines cosmopolite as "a person with the outlook, experience, and manners thought to be typical of big city dwellers."⁶⁷ This definition clearly does not correspond to the use of this term in this dissertation. In the same dictionary, however, cosmopolitan is defined as "having a wide and refined knowledge of the world especially from personal experience."68 Taking into consideration this second meaning of the term, the emphasis for this dissertation is placed on the "refined knowledge of the world" and "personal experience." Thus, I will look at the formation and development of the urban context in İzmir through the personal experiences of selected social groups and individuals whose influence have been essential and long-lasting. This is key to understanding how port cities have been produced in a particular way, and conversely it also reveals the merits of cosmopolitanism and how it acted upon the development of these cities The moral responsibility of moving toward a better future in port cities is to create an inclusive environment and to provide insights into developments of those cities within a global cohabitation.

It is important to clarify that the appropriateness of the notion of cosmopolitanism is not centered on political views, legal conditions like citizenship rights, or the discussions of multi-culturalism. Instead, it focuses on knowledge dissemination and its meaningful use for humanity. In line with this intention, free from political positioning, I introduced myself in the group of cosmopolitans amongst others in the previous sub-chapter. On one hand, this is related to my position. On the other hand,

68 Ibid.

⁶⁴ Said, Orientalism, 3.

⁶⁵ Said, Orientalism, 196.

⁶⁶ Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (Issues of Our Time) (WW Norton & Company, 2010). xiv.

⁶⁷ Merriam-Webster.com Thesaurus, s.v. "cosmopolite," accessed January 4, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/cosmopolite.

it is based on the recognition of existing knowledge, experience and observation that I carry and which has been the cornerstone for this study.⁶⁹

Once I acknowledged the value of bringing my agency to the forefront, I approached this research with my pre-existing knowledge, gained intuitively over the years. The reflexive nature of this work only became clear to me in the very last phase of the research trajectory, after several differentiated encounters. My insights are due to the mobility I have had that created for me a sphere in which to experience the state of being in between different countries and cultures. This experience has come through the numerous studies that composed my interdisciplinary background. This relatively long process, spread through a lifetime, allowed me a critical distance from my own background and the subject matter I am now handling. Because of this distance, I was able to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions. This, in turn, allowed me to unlock the universal knowledge patterns that allow us to get closer to understanding the world as a whole. Although it may sound contradictory to bring my own knowledge while at the same time claiming distance from the subject, this position provides for the process of cross-checking thoughts. The Stoics also emphasized that the cosmopolite "does not need to give up on local identifications and affiliations, which can be [a] great source of richness in life."⁷⁰ Indeed, I, as a cosmopolitan individual, benefitted greatly from the innate and distilled knowledge of Anatolia, the cradle of civilizations. and deepened my understanding by developing manifold perspectives to liberate the reality from manipulations with the help of encounters.

⁶⁹ For some of the travel writings, please see: Fatma Tanış, "London," Güneyege. 2015 Jun 17;22(492).; Fatma Tanış, "Destination Canberra," Güneyege, 2015 Apr 15;22(483).; Fatma Tanış, "Hamburg," Güneyege, 2015 Aug 19;22 (501).; Fatma Tanış, "Bremen," Güneyege, 2015 Jul 22;22 (497).; Fatma Tanış, "Australia," Güneyege, 2015 May 27;22 (489).; Fatma Tanış, Rotterdam. Güneyege. 2016 Mar 2;23 (529).; Fatma Tanış, "Porto," Güneyege. 2016 Feb 3;23 (525).; Fatma Tanış, Lissabon, Güneyege, 2016 Dec 14;23 (569).; Fatma Tanış, Storks are leaving "Okçular." Güneyege, 2016 Jul 6;23(547).; Fatma Tanış, "Delft," Güneyege, 2016 Mar 16;23(531).; Fatma Tanış, "Citta-Slow," Güneyege, 2016 Nov 2;23(563).; Fatma Tanış, Amsterdam'ın Düşündürdükleri, Güneyege, 2016 May 4;23(538).; Fatma Tanış, "İrlanda," Güneyege, 2017 Apr 5;24(585).; Fatma Tanış, "Tulip Season in the Netherlands," Güneyege, 2017 Mar 29;24(584).; Fatma Tanış, "Cuba," Güneyece, 2018 Feb 8.

⁷⁰ Please see: Martha C. Nussbaum. "Kant and Cosmopolitanism," in *The Cosmopolitanism Reader*, eds. Garrett Wallace Brown and David Held (Cambridge & Malden: Polity, 2010), 31.

The cosmopolites that I am interested in are the citizens of a shared community of rational thinkers. James Bohman reads Kant's understanding of the cosmopolitan sense of community as producing a transnational dialogue.⁷¹ The cosmopolitan condition allows "individuals to engage with one another to communicate, criticize, remonstrate, debate, evince, expostulate and to have their own conceptions measured by critical examination."72 Cosmopolitan law and universal justice are tremendously important for such a condition, and it is for this very reason that the Ottoman Empire has provided a better condition for cosmopolitanism in the long-19th century with its citizenship rights, tax exemptions and immunity for foreign traders. However, while I do acknowledge the vital importance of this condition for cosmopolitans, my fear is that we may overlook the current state of cosmopolitanism. We may do this due to the limitations of established concepts like transnationalism, or we may consider the idea of cosmopolitanism as a counter part of the "national" or "nationalism."⁷³ This would ignore the timeless situations that fall in the 20th and 21st century that are characterized with the rise of nation-states. Although all are true, it is misleading to suggest that the cosmopolitan situations were lost after the foundation of nation states, thus ignoring the microcosms that still exists.

Oversea trade historically brought cosmopolitan individuals into contact with each other in port cities. Today, port activities are no longer the main driver of the creation of cosmopolitan society, but being a port city is a precondition. The manifestation of cosmopolitanism in port cities can be considered as a layered form of engagement between a city, global developments, and other cultures. In this sense, cosmopolitan practices are related to mobility (regardless of where the main residency or roots are) and creating channels for engagements through rational thinking. I will identify those channels throughout the dissertation. Social networks, which hybridized due to mixed marriages, conversion, and social intercourse have been essential for the creation of meaningful lines of exchange historically. Notions, concepts, and knowledge have been transferred through the web of social relations, reinforced with family ties.

⁷¹ James Bohman, "The Public Spheres of the World Citizen," in *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*, eds. James Bohman and Matthias Lutz Bahman (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997).

⁷² Garret Wallace Brown, "Kant's Cosmopolitanism," in *The Cosmopolitanism Reader*, eds. Garrett Wallace Brown and David Held (Cambridge & Malden: Polity, 2010), 57.

⁷³ Will Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," History Compass, vol. 6, no. 5 (2008): 1346.

2.2 The Notion of Contact Zone

Cosmopolitanism flourishes in social spaces. Social relations are key to establishing social networks that attract trade and cultural networks within a city and with the outside world. To address these relations and the spaces in which they evolved, the concept from the field of linguistics known as the contact zone has great potential to provide a deeper understanding. Professor Mary Louise Pratt defined the term as "spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination."⁷⁴ In the book Casablanca Chandigarh: a report on modernization, Tom Avermaete and Maristella Casciato adopted this term and inserted it into the domain of architecture, addressing how "architects, experts, politicians, international agencies, and citizens negotiate modern planning."75 Avermaete and Casciato considered contact zones to be places where transculturation took place in cross-cultural practices.⁷⁶ Furthermore, they tied the notion of transculturation to the contact zone. The Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz coined the term transculturation to enhance the understanding of cultural exchanges between cultures.⁷⁷ In this conception, there are three associated terms which collectively constitute the transculturation process: acculturation, deculturation, and neoculturation.⁷⁸ Acculturation, the first term, is defined in Merriam Webster as "cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another," also, "a merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact; the process by which a human being acquires the culture of a particular society from infancy."79 Ortiz elaborates on the process through *deculturation*, the second term, and considers it as "the uprooting

⁷⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, Eyes, Imperial: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷⁵ Tom Avermaete and Maristella Casciato, *Casablanca Chandigarh: a report on modernization* (Zürich: Park Books, 2017), 45-46. That was also the title of the exhibition that Tom Avermaete and Maristella Casiato exhibited between 26 November 2013 and 20 April 2014.

⁷⁶ Tom Avermaete, Maristella Casciato, Yto Barrada, Takashi Honma, and Mirko Zardini. *Casablanca Chandigarh: a report on modernization.* Canadian Centre for Architecture; Park Books, 2017, 45.

⁷⁷ Ortiz, Fernando, Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1947).

⁷⁸ Tom Avermaete and Janina Gosseye, "The Travelling Type: How Buildings and Practices Migrate Across Cultures," in *Acculturating the Shopping Centre*, eds. Tom Avermaete and Janina Gosseye. (New York: Routledge, 2019).

⁷⁹ Merriam-Webster.com Thesaurus, s.v. "acculturation," accessed January 4, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/acculturation.

of existing cultures."⁸⁰ Deculturation, therefore, is related to losing the culture. The third term in this transculturation process, *neoculturation*, is related to forming new cultural practices. Ortiz's perspective points out that transculturation is related to the simultaneous occurrences of gaining and losing.

Deepening this line of thought, Tom Avermaete and Cathelijne Nuijsink recently suggested cross-cultural contact zones as a conception for re-writing an alternative history for modernism, particularly in the post-war era.⁸¹ To test their framework, they had a specific focus on architectural competitions, exhibitions, congresses, biennales and summer schools alike. Through studying the Shinkenchiku Residential Design Competition, they defined cross-cultural contact zones under three domains: cultural spaces, social spaces and spaces of ideas.⁸² In the writing of global histories, both with a specific focus on port city developments historically and transnational histories in the 20th century, people, images, texts and knowledge have been central to research in this field. Precisely for this reason, I adapt their theoretical framework for looking thoroughly at the production of specific urban cultures that cover the architecture and urbanism in port cities, with a particular focus on İzmir. Port cities have naturally been structured as places to operate the global commercial network through housing international, domestic and differentiated networks (i.e., local goods producers, building guilds, commissioners, and elite traders). The port city of İzmir as a prime case for studying social relations and their impact on the city. Urban development and architectural practices gained their form in İzmir from the common interest of economic, political, and social drivers that brought with them knowledge from different cultures. I, therefore, intend to identify the urbanization and architecture of port cities as products of the relationships of its social encounters.

By concentrating on the encounters between cosmopolitan groups and individuals, my research's focus differs slightly: I leave the timeline⁸³ and architects in the background. Instead, I focus on a specific group of people who operate in the timeless condition which has had an enormous influence in building the port city.

⁸⁰ Tom Avermaete and Janina Gosseye, "Coda: The Travelling Type: How Buildings and Practices Migrate Across Cultures," in *Acculturating the Shopping Centre* eds. Tom Avermaete and Janina Gosseye (London & New York: Routledge, 2018) 169.

⁸¹ Tom Avermaete, and Cathelijne Nuijsink, "An architecture culture of 'contact zones': Prospects for an alternative historiography of modernism," *in Rethinking Global Modernism*, eds. Vikramaditya Prakash, Maristella Casciato, Daniel E. Coslett (London & New York: Routledge, 2022), 103-119.

⁸² Avermaete, and Nuijsink, "An architecture culture of 'contact zones': Prospects for an alternative historiography of modernism," 109.

⁸³ Fatma Tanış, "Limitations of the Timeline," Talk, *Mimarlık*, 1963-1979: An Architectural Journal, Delft, September 30, 2021.

It is a time in which the historic port city is the pre-condition for the development of the city today. I explore the merits of this cosmopolitan condition that still carries a potential to influence the future of the city. It is a fact that parallel global developments in the port cities, such as the foundation of nation states after the fall of the empires, subsequently changed the social context and led to the redefinition of roles and the redistribution of the power of the institutions, politicians, developers, building masters, architects and planners for the reformulation of urban production and technological advancements that replaced both blue collar workers in port activities and decreased the direct or indirect participation of trading families in port city developments. I will illustrate this in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 in which I focus on social spaces by bringing attention to the cosmopolitan individuals and their interactions that took place in port cities and shaped those cities in a specific way.

Therefore, this research is ordered by starting with setting the stage to showcase how "actors adapt and adjust (acculturation), or intermingle their opinion with that of different cultures (neo-culturation) to arrive at a hybrid, yet authentic, new form of architectural knowledge (transculturation)."⁸⁴ Particularly subchapter 4.3.1 *Building Waterfronts of İzmir: Building 19th Century İzmir House* represents the transculturation process through revealing the encounters between different social groups (i.e., decisionmakers, traders, European developers, Ottoman building guilds) in which multifaceted discussions took place, including for the use of local and imported building materials and techniques and the coexistence of multiple cultures in the city.⁸⁵ Their knowledge exchange and negotiation created the new form of architectural knowledge that is manifested in the presented case that has become known as the "İzmir House."

The impact of the elites and the upper-class European society and their extended networks on the built environment was not always a top-down process and should not be understood as being simply imported. Their design approaches and planning ideals were not applied directly from their native culture to the port city. Rather, spatial developments were heavily dependent on the regional characteristics such as climate, ecology, topography, building materials and to building knowledge

⁸⁴ Avermaete, and Nuijsink, "An architecture culture of 'contact zones': Prospects for an alternative historiography of modernism," 108.

⁸⁵ The concept and its use for the intertwined history has been discussed with blind reviewers within the framework of the conference Critic | All Conference held in São Paulo, in 25-26 March 2021.; Fatma Tanış, "Architectures of the Intertwined East and West: Building the 19th century İzmir House," in *Critic-all IV International Conference on Architectural Design & Criticism: #dual-ectics Digital Proceedings*, eds. Silvia Colmenares and Leandro Medrano (Madrid, São Paulo: Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Departamento de Proyectos Arquitéctonicos, 2021), 574-582.

construction techniques, and craftsmanship. Moreover, social relations were closely dependent on the local societies' tolerance, acceptance, resistance, customs and beliefs. Merchants and visitors transmitted technological developments, building typologies, and contemporary functions to the city contingent upon the capacity and nature of interactions with the city. Negotiation was, thus, not limited only to trade, but had an even larger impact on building practices. This effect was visible, for instance, in the façade orders of row houses along the quay which were based on local practices. It was also visible in the new forms of architecture and building practices. For that reason, this research does not discuss the elites of the city in isolation, but, rather, positions them in the local context. The existence and interactions of different social groups in the city is reflected in architectural and urban forms that stand as a testimony to a cosmopolitan era.

Because of the vast quantity of interactions that occurred between human and non-human aspects of İzmir, the city itself became a crucial zone for several internal and external contacts (i.e., empires, city states, treaties, cultures, diverse types of urban figures, and urban typologies). The various users consisted of locals as well as long and short-term migrants, such as seasonal laborers, foreign merchants and visitors, like tourists, and experts. Engineers, architects, and planners of different nationalities all came together and engaged with one another in this contact zone. These different encounters were sometimes inclusive, resulting in mutual embracement. They could also be exclusive, resulting in rejection. The selective, variant, and asymmetrical relations between paired contacts nourished the complex transculturation process in the city.

During the long 19th century when cosmopolitanism is considered to have reached its zenith, the reciprocal relationship between oversea trade and cosmopolitanism acted on the city and gave the city its particular shape. Fundamental port facilities have contributed to the generic side of port city developments. But beyond existing for the preservation and distribution of goods and being the hub of loading and unloading activities, port cities were the locus of multiple encounters between many human actors (e.g., foreign and local laborer, local goods producers, artisans, elites, traders, consuls, local governors, experts and developers) and non-human entities (e.g., city states, empires, political ideologies, and materials which centered on the economic interests between the related parties). The "encounter, confrontation, negotiation"⁸⁶ cycle that played out in port cities led to cultural developments that bear traces from both the local and foreign cultures involved. Social relations and their impact on the spatial

 ⁸⁶ Avermaete and Gosseye, "The Travelling Type: How Buildings and Practices Migrate Across Cultures,"
 164.

development of port cities are brought to attention by following the urban cultures in successive periods, in tandem with the developments of trading technologies.

Both human and non-human variables have triggered, fostered, or inhibited the architecture and urban interventions in İzmir. As a natural consequence of the oversea trade, İzmir consists of international, domestic and differentiated networks (e.g., local goods producers, guilds, commissioners, and elites in the city). The conditions and the potential in this contact zone allowed cosmopolitanism to flourish and to influence urban life. To arrive at an understanding of the cosmopolitan practices under the changing dynamics in port cities, I aim to explain the constitution of contact zone(s) in the port city of İzmir by uncovering its essential contacts and the relationships between them. These contacts are political, economic, and social, including master builders with their technical knowledge and everyday users with their cultural variables.

2.3 Cosmopolitan Practices in Port Cities: As Way(s) of Engagement(s)

The port city of İzmir engaged with the world through immigrants who were at the heart of the connection between the city and the outside world, particularly in the 19th century. Thus, globalization, through the mobility of people, and urban development went hand in hand. A part of the spatial development in the city can be understood by following the circulation of groups of people that were either consular, trader elites and upper-class migrants or sailors and travelers. Each group that was part of the cosmopolitan structure had a large impact on the city. Foreign merchants, who had settled down in the port cities as free merchants or factors of worldwide trade companies,⁸⁷ mediated between the local and the global. They facilitated the technological transfers and engaged İzmir with the modern world by introducing new concepts, such as public space, public squares, and public participation in decision making. The port cityscape in İzmir developed in important respects as a consequence of the initiatives and capital power of the prominent and intertwined

⁸⁷ For example: the English Levant Company, Dutch Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie.

European descent families. These have contributed to the emergence of spatial and socio-cultural patterns of dynamic, multi-scaled, and interconnected cityscapes, or port cityscapes,⁸⁸ that speak of entangled histories of space and migration.

In order to determine the cosmopolitan practices that formed the city's cultural heritage, it is crucial to identify the channels of engagement. Port cities are different than most other cities, in that their urban formation developed under the influence of exchanges between diverse cultures. Up until the 20th century this was quite a unique condition. Diverse and multifaceted encounters of various pre-existing cultures with a circulation of imported ones had a profound effect on port cities. The mobility of cosmopolitan people established a web of knowledge and a circulation of materials and artifacts. Moreover, these people brought their values and norms, adjusting to fit within the local conditions. The central concern of this study is to investigate the tangible and intangible traces of cosmopolitanism that can be found in the city today, and provide a perspective for further developments that take into account this valuable heritage. For a better understanding of the culture and architecture of port cities it is essential to establish a bridge spanning past, present and future. To do so, this dissertation discusses the spatial and urban developments in the East Mediterranean port city of İzmir from a cross-cultural perspective.

Amongst the inhabitants of İzmir, the international trading families were important for the engagement of the local economic system with the outside world (mostly Europe). These families ran port activities and trade in İzmir based on treaties that existed between the empires and the states. The long-term immigrants included merchants, consuls,⁸⁹ and laborers who brought with them knowledge, skills, capabilities, and craftsmanship. Short-term visitors included tourists, consuls, and experts (e.g., engineers, periodic laborers, and contributors to the local building guild). Although immigrants arriving from different countries and nationalities were looked at as foreigners and strangers, with time they became long-term residents and localized. Understanding the social setting is important, as the built environment in the port city was responding to the needs and interests of short- and long-term immigrants. Moreover, some of these groups have been directly or indirectly involved in building practices. Thus, the impact of long-term immigrants and short-term visitors on İzmir could be "sometimes transitory and sometimes more lasting."⁹⁰ The

⁸⁸ Carola Hein, Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks (New York: Routledge, 2011), 5.

⁸⁹ Depending on their choices, they arrived to İzmir for a limited time according to their assignment. However, there are some consuls who decided to stay as long-term residents.

⁹⁰ Rosenberg, ed. A World Connecting 1870-1945.

urbanism and urban culture of the port city of İzmir have been largely shaped by the interaction between cosmopolitan societies and urban forms.

3 Methods: Reading and Writing the Port City of İzmir

3.1 Tracing Social-Spatial Developments in Narratives

Port cities' fascinating urban scenes, social dynamics, everyday life practices, and liveliness, complemented with captivating landscapes in which water and land meet, have always been appealing to travelers, artists, and writers. Primary written and visual sources offer a great deal of variation based on the personal perspectives, backgrounds, expectations, intentions, and techniques that were applied. Tracing these sources and recognizing their differences was an essential starting point for my research method. To be able to read the social-spatial developments in İzmir captured in those accounts, I first analyzed the spatial, social, and cultural elements of documents of all kinds, such as engravings, travelogues, novels, manuscripts, paintings, maps, diaries, sketches, and interviews. The elements and knowledge in the sources cover information about society, individuals, and information related to the functions of buildings, architectural styles, elements of architectures, the composition of the façade, spatial organization, building materials, and urban elements (i.e., streets, quay, square).

I began by consulting the narratives of İzmir written by travelers and family members like Ray Turrell, the granddaughter of Edward Whittal.⁹¹ As Michel de Certeau argued, narratives are crucial for the study of everyday urban life. De Certeau makes clear how stories of social practices simultaneously reveal spatial practices, as they imply the use of and movement in space. "Every story," he states, "is a travel story - a spatial practice."⁹² It is through stories that we might be able to trace the socio-spatial practices of İzmir's cosmopolitan environment and their urban and architectural implications. Narrative research will allow us to investigate the spatial impact of the culture of commerce through the stories of its trading families.⁹³

Furthermore, travel writing and art was essential, not only for the sake of joy, but also for capturing knowledge. Given the typically short time of their contact with the city, painters often sketched their works very rapidly and then completed them upon their return home. These productions in short time periods result from the freshness of the context and the painters' agility in composing their frames. This process requires being selective—deciding what to depict and what to exclude from the context. Painters were often trained in art schools in Europe.⁹⁴ Their background in this precise skill enabled them to capture the port cities. As for writing, Mary Louise Pratt, in her book *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* discussed the relationship between travel writing and the construction of diverse forms of knowledge, particularly in Europe.⁹⁵ Thus, travel accounts contain invaluable sources for my research, beyond the representational intention of defining the West over

⁹¹ Ray Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922 (London: Richard Bell, 1987).

⁹² Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 115.

⁹³ Tanış and Havik, "Spatial Stories of Izmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City."

⁹⁴ Please see: Fatma Tanış, "Port City Architectures: The Role of the Port City Narratives and Depictions in the Contemporary Design," in Port Cities - Historical Urban Narratives and Contemporary Design Approaches, eds. Tanış, F., van der Hoeven, F., Schrijver, L. SPOOL, *vol.* 8, no. 1 (2021): 139-153.

⁹⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

the East.⁹⁶ The writers come from an array of different backgrounds. Their reasons for visiting İzmir also differed. In most of the accounts, writers reflected local and European expectations, depending on the intended use for the writing. For instance, travel guides highlighted the hospitality and secure environment in İzmir. Designers and authors of cultural productions like trade catalogues reflected spaces of commerce, working life and class differences.

Beyond these, I consulted a number of archives, such as the British Library, National Archives of the United Kingdom,⁹⁷ Amsterdam City Archive, the Turkish State Archive, and the İzmir Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum (APIKAM).⁹⁸ There I found maps produced by navigators, cartographers, naval engineers, governors, and international trade companies who were part of cosmopolitan İzmir. Their understanding of port cities in the course of the 19th century was mostly of the waterfront and its close proximity, the downtown area. As my research intended to study the impact of the port city beyond the waterfront, I sought for the few cartographers who went beyond the waterfronts of İzmir. Captain Richard Copeland, for instance, drew İzmir's villages, including Bornova, the village I focus on in depth in my research, in 1834.⁹⁹ In his maps, he depicts the physical environments of İzmir and its direct surroundings. These maps also provided information on the villages where the trading families I studied resided in the 19th century.

Zooming in to the architecture, I needed to learn about building practices and materials that were used in İzmir at that time. Again, I turned to 19th century maps which provide accurate information about İzmir, particularly its downtown. For example, Lamec Saad drew a 1/5000 scaled map of İzmir in 1876. The Fire Insurance maps (commonly

- **97** https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r?_q=sir+edwards+smyrna.
- 98 https://www.apikam.org.tr/.

⁹⁶ Often the travelogues start with reviewing the previous notes of fellow Oriental travelers.

They then continue with physical features of the environs, information about mining. Furthermore, a number of accounts provide information about the city, its streets, building techniques of vernacular architecture, household furniture and lighting. Some of them also give a hint about the family structures from both in the Occident and Orient, roles in the family, their traditions—including wedding ceremonies, festivals, funerals— in relation to the landownership and spatial creations. Most of the early travelogues contained engravings. Richard Pococke's engraving (1739) and M. Stephan Schulz' engraving (1752/1753) are examples of such. In 1689, Dutch Jan Luyken William engraved the city from the Northern entrance to İzmir. Page's 1812 depiction on the house of the landlord is a water color work. These vast materials produced in different techniques provided information about the history of İzmir depicting the built environment within the physical environment.

⁹⁹ Smyrna Harbour, by Richard Copeland, Capt. RN, 1834, with corrections etc., by T. Spratt, CB, Capt. RN, 1859–1860. Admiralty chart 1522. 1:37,000. Admiralty, Division: Records of the Library, Research Department and Research and Library Department, Series Foreign Office 925/2876, Foreign Office: Library: Maps and Plans, National Archives, Kew, the United Kingdom.

known as *the Goad maps*) provide detailed information about the owners of the buildings with a written index.¹⁰⁰ The Goad maps are large scale maps consisting of a key plan for the general outline of the area. Numbers on the master map refer to a corresponding sheet. Each plan identifies street names, and different colors communicate different building materials. For instance, magenta denotes bricks, stone or concrete, yellow represents wood, blue and purple denote skylights, and grey refers to metal.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, in order to study the port's fundamental spaces, such as the quay and warehouses, and its economic conditions in the Ottoman Era, I have relied on the work of historians who have explored the history of İzmir before me.¹⁰² Professors of history Necmi Ülker,¹⁰³ Daniel Goffmann,¹⁰⁴ Elena Frangakis-Syrett,¹⁰⁵ Rauf Beyru,¹⁰⁶ and Sibel Zandi-Sayek¹⁰⁷ are key scholars on the history of İzmir. Goffmann is one of the earliest authors who wrote about the emergence of İzmir in global trade.¹⁰⁸ A recently finished Ph.D. thesis, "Locating an Ottoman Port City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: İzmir 1580-1780," by Mehmet Kuru, addresses İzmir's regional setting in the success of İzmir in the primitive port era, focusing on the period between 1580 and 1780.¹⁰⁹ Zandi-Sayek has written about the construction of the quay, discussing the influence of traders in decision-making.¹¹⁰ Moreover, Malte Fuhrmann has addressed the social life of inhabitants on the quay of İzmir.¹¹¹ Cânâ Bilsel examined the formation and transformation of urban space in relation to the socio-cultural structure and its changes over time and produced numerous

- 104 Goffman, İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650, 5.
- **105** Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century*, *1700-1820* (Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992).
- 106 Rauf Beyru, "Geçmişten günümüze İzmir'de planlama ve imar uygulamaları," Ege Mimarlık 3 (1991): 41-47.
- 107 Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles over the Shore: Building the Quay of İzmir, 1867-1875," *City & Society* 12, no. 1 (2000): 55-78.
- 108 Daniel Goffman, İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650, vol. 5 (University of Washington Press, 1990).

110 Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles over the Shore: Building the Quay of İzmir, 1867-1875," 55-78.

¹⁰⁰ Cartographer and engineer Charles E. Goad produced numerous fire insurance plans for diverse industrialized cities that varied from Manchester to İzmir and İstanbul.

¹⁰¹ Gwyn Rowley, "Fire insurance plans," Manchester Region History Review 3, no. 2 (1990): 34-35.

¹⁰² Malte Fuhrmann, "Staring at the Sea, Staring at the Land: Waterfront Modernisation in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Cities as a Site of Cultural Change," in *Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks*, ed. Carola Hein (Routledge, 2011), 138-155.

¹⁰³ Necmi Ülker, "The Rise of İzmir, 1688-1740," (1975).

¹⁰⁹ Mehmet Kuru, "Locating an Ottoman Port-City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: İzmir 1580-1780," *Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Toronto* (2017).

¹¹¹ Malte Fuhrmann, "Down and out on the Quays of İzmir: 'European' musicians, Innkeepers, and Prostitutes in the Ottoman Port-Cities," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24, no. 2 (2009).

maps.¹¹² Through these sources I was able to identify the key building functions and typologies in relation to port activities in different historical periods.

Next to the archival research, my quest for looking at specificities continued with revisiting my own memories and studying my own observations. As an author of this research, I positioned myself as both a participant and an observer to write the last narrative in the time when cosmopolitan individuals are no longer visible. On site observation, interviews with the family descendants, and field visits have been essential in collecting this information. With the interviews, I was also a participant-observer, experiencing the spaces of the elite traders today.¹¹³ Since I have benefitted from my own experiences in these cosmopolitan spaces, I included elements of autobiography and autoethnography. Autoethnography is a method with a dual character, being both a process and the product.¹¹⁴ In this research, particularly in Chapter 7, I locate myself as the storyteller, narrating my high school years (2004-2008) and including years from my graduate studies (2016-2018). Therefore, I used my personal experiences and observations that evoked my concerns related to social and spatial problems in my city which mirror similar problems in other port cities.

For the contemporary narrative in which I revisit the cosmopolitan microcosms in İzmir, I read the cosmopolitan condition through its spaces of memories. As the title indicates, Chapter 7 *Urban Scenes of Spatio-Temporal Engagement Experiences: Perpetual Cosmopolitanism in İzmir*, I focused on spaces in which I could read Beautiful İzmir. As Friedrich Ratzel put it, "in space we read time." This idea was also celebrated by historian Karl Schlögel.¹¹⁵ Through focusing on the perpetual cosmopolitan condition, I read İzmir almost like a book in its historic traces that cut through time. In contrast to most historiography that narrates events sequentially, I share events across spaces, as a composition of different times and places. This is a sphere in which the lived experiences and memories of cosmopolitans bounce across time.

¹¹² F. Cânâ Bilsel, "Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'évolution Morphologique de la Ville de İzmir du début du XIXe au début du XXe siècles," PhD diss., Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1996.

¹¹³ Interview by Fatma Tanış with Brian Giraud and Mark Giraud. 8 November 2018, İzmir.

¹¹⁴ Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams & Arthur P. Bochner, "Autoethnography: an overview," *Historical social research/Historische sozialforschung* (2011): 273-290.

¹¹⁵ Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit: Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2003).

3.2 Framing Cosmopolitan İzmir through Writing Narratives

After studying the primary sources and my own memories and observations in a detailed way, the challenge was to write in a way that highlighted the treasure of knowledge which is embedded in them. To explain the way in which the construction of İzmir was influenced by cosmopolitan practices, I have chosen to use a narrative approach. Stories help us to associate with cities and their built environment. Stories about cities invite us to stroll along streets and locate ourselves in urban spaces. Narratives can help us to imagine places and spaces that we have never been to and help us to see a city through the eyes of another person. This can be seen in the İstanbul novel of Orhan Pamuk, which shares the spaces through the eye of a child.¹¹⁶ Stories about cities we know can also evoke memories or provide a clear vision of details we might have missed during our stay. They may lead us to create connections with other cities and help put the city in context. In the field of architecture Klaske Havik has proposed a literary lens to the experience, use of and imagination of architecture and city.¹¹⁷ Her distinguished approach has broadened perspectives on the tangled aspects of spatial experience.¹¹⁸

As it becomes evident from the expression *Beautiful İzmir*, words are powerful. The way travelers, inhabitants, and citizens write and talk about a city builds mental images. Such discourses on a city often depend on the world building nature of literary narratives.¹¹⁹ In "Narratology," Mieke Bal points out the importance of repetition in building an image of a character.¹²⁰ Indeed, by repeating the phrase *Beautiful İzmir* over and over again, the idea of Beautiful İzmir has become very powerful. Thus, I first channeled my curiosity to the repeated phrase, urban scenes

¹¹⁶ Orhan Pamuk, Istanbul: Memories and the City, trans. Maureen Freely (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004).

¹¹⁷ Klaske Havik, Urban literacy. Reading and Writing Architecture (Rotterdam: nai010 publishers,2014).; Klaske Havik, "Acts of Symbiosis: A Literary Analysis of the Work of Rogelio Salmona and Alvar Aalto," Montreal Architectural Review 4 (2017): 41-60; Klaske Havik, Bruno Notteboom, and Saskia De Wit, "Narrating urban landscapes," Oase: Tijdschrift voor Architectuur 98 (2017): 1-8.

¹¹⁸ Klaske Maria Havik, "Urban literacy: A scriptive approach to the experience, use and imagination of place" (PhD diss., Delft University of Technology, 2012), 15.

¹¹⁹ Joanna Gavins, and Ernestine Lahey, *World Building in Discourse, in World building: Discourse in the mind,* Joanna Gavins, and Ernestine Lahey, eds. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016, 1.

¹²⁰ Mieke Bal, Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 113.

and elements related to the urban cultures that constitute Beautiful İzmir. I mined the spatial knowledge encapsulated in literary sources and infiltrated the depictions of the city during the Ottoman Era. By depicting the scenes of cosmopolitan İzmir in detail through a narrative mode of writing in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I hope to give a better understanding of the particularity of these spaces and the way in which they are part of a specific port city culture. In this way I aim with my narratives to add meaning and value to a given context, and to draw attention also to the unknown or unrecognized in the city.

In *Site-Writing* Jane Rendell spoke about spaces in terms of the remembered, the dreamed, the imagined and the observed. Likewise, in my narratives, I focus on the spaces as they were *remembered* before the mid-20th century, *dreamed and imagined* through old postcards, black and white photographs, told stories, and written travelogues. And finally, I describe the spaces as I have *observed* them, both as former inhabitant of the city and during my research visits.¹²¹

For this investigation history and collective memory thus have a great importance, and it is through narratives that I will bring these values to the fore.¹²² As Mieke Bal explained, the relationships between past and present are complex: "Time is thick and complex, not at all linear and single-stranded."¹²³ As philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs suggested, memories related to any chapter of our lives are preserved and then continuously reproduced each time they are recalled. Through this continual relationship that leads to the repetition of memories that are closely related to system of notions, it is possible to maintain the identity.¹²⁴ People who are interested in the histories of İzmir or related to it in one way or the other preserve their memories and reproduce them continuously.¹²⁵ Some of those memories are associated with their family ties and stories dating back to the 19th century and early 20th century, while some of the memories are from *the first mouth*, referring to the decades before the 1970s.

125 Ibid.

¹²¹ Original passage is as follows: "From the close-up to the glance, from the caress to the accidental brush, criticism can draw on spaces as they are remembered, dreamed and imagined, as well as observed." Jane Rendell, *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism*, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010. p. 169.

¹²² Maurice Halbwachs, On Collective Memory, Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, 85.

¹²³ Mieke Bal, Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2017, 66.

¹²⁴ Halbwachs, On Collective Memory, 74.

To explore the formation of the port city of İzmir in a particular way, I have attempted to spatialize those memories taking the textual form as a medium. I combined a poetic practice with theoretical analysis in those narratives. In line with this ambition and in line with the main research question for addressing the engagements I chose three themes for these three different micro-narratives. Subsequently, they will address socio-cultural, socio-spatial, and spatio-temporal engagements between İzmir and the outside world.

3.2.1 Construction of the Content

Chapters 5 and 6 include the first two narratives. From a number of diverse situations of transculturation I selected two cases to focus on: the 19th century housing development along the waterfront and the development of the family quarter in the village of Bornova, located on the outskirts of the city. These chapters reveal the social and economic networks and shared cultural settings that are specific to port cities. After historical inquiry, I explain the changing roles of the protagonist families and the port city culture's imprint on the city. Then, I zoom into the city and explain why societal context matters in spatial development.

The first narrative, in Chapter 5, with the theme of socio-cultural engagement, presents İzmir's best known places that have repeatedly appeared in postcards and writings. If culture is understood as "the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations," then we can extend that understanding to port cities specifically, exploring how the culture of such cities is intrinsically related to the special condition of cross-cultural exchange. Indeed, as Mieke Bal beautifully says, "narratology is a perspective on culture."¹²⁶ To better explain the impact, and evoke the cosmopolitan urban scenes in İzmir, Chapter 5 depicts the waterfront and downtown by revealing its selected cosmopolitan spaces in business (warehouses, retail places, and headquarters), domestic (19th century housing), and social life (public and semi-public spaces). In this narrative of Chapter 5, the agent visits the public space (the quay), semi-public space (café's extension towards quay), and social spaces (café, casino, theatre and cinema).

¹²⁶ Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2017, p. xx.

In the second narrative, in Chapter 6, the traveler this time starts his journey in İzmir in private spaces (residential quarter, large mansions and gardens of elite trading families) and hotels. These components in which the social relations have come under the spotlight with specific characters, are the very place of the social spaces in relation to the contact zone, where the social relations have been established and contributed to the web of networks that run port cities and oversea trade essentially.

In the last narrative I present the socio-temporal engagements of İzmir by highlighting the cosmopolitan practices that coexist with the present-day's multilayered city pattern. What needs to develop now is a firm relationship between the history of the port city's development and its existence as a heritage today. In this chapter I aim to connect the present-day to history and argue that this connection is crucial for developing a sound understanding for the future.

3.2.2 Storyline and Storyteller

In the storyline all agents interpret their environment and their interactions with the human and non-human aspects of port cities. All events and depicted scenes constitute components of port cities. These components are interwoven in the stories that are shared as a common sphere by cosmopolitan social groups.

As I mentioned at the start of this chapter, Mieke Bal suggests that repetition is the fundamental principle of constructing the image of a character, and I argue that the same goes for the mental image of the city – as I mentioned earlier, this is how the image of Beautiful İzmir was created.¹²⁷ Bal continues that the "accumulated characteristics" and "piling up of data" in literary description creates a fuller, more complete image of a character.¹²⁸ In a similar way, I use repetition to some extent in my research, and make use of accumulated characteristics and information. Because I made use of sources that run across different time periods, there is no strict indication of time in my dissertation, particularly in the first two narratives. I sketch the atmosphere of a certain era rather than of a very specific date or year.

In this dissertation I constructed the narratives scene by scene. Each of the narratives is a semi-fictional one. As a storyteller of the first two narratives, I have

¹²⁷ Mieke Bal, Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2017, 113.

¹²⁸ Bal, Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, 114.

created fictional characters on the basis of existing historical persons and of the manifold accounts of events and encounters that took place in the described urban sites. This semi-fictional character appears in reference to 19th century travelers who visited İzmir and recorded their experiences in notebooks and sketchbooks. This storyteller is an informed traveler: an intellectual person who visits museums in Europe, reads from previous visitor's accounts, and has listened to the story of the Orient. He will also be the storyteller of the second act, where he will be accompanied by several other leading characters from the selected trading families. Chapters 5 and 6 are written from the perspective of a traveler. I formed this character based on a large number of real people that stopped by İzmir. He is, thus, a composition of fragments of multiple travelers.

Each narrative will inform the reader through a composition of scenes. The movement of the storyteller leads the transitions from one space to another. Chapter 5, *Urban Scenes of Socio-Cultural Engagement: Through the Eyes of a Traveler - Cosmopolitanism along the Waterfront and in Downtown İzmir* is the first narrative. The focus is on the socio-cultural engagement to emphasize the intrinsic relationship between the representation of İzmir and the real İzmir during the long 19th century. The fictional character, called simply "a traveler," departs from a European port and arrives in İzmir (Smyrna) by boat. He is an observer and the narrator, telling the story, scene by scene, starting from the waterfront and strolling through the downtown of the city. The waterfront and downtown are depicted as a selection of cosmopolitan spaces, such as: business (warehouses, retail places, and headquarters), domestic (19th century housing), and social life (public and semi-public spaces).

In 2019, editors of *Writingplace Journal #3* on processes of transversal writing, questioned the position of the author. They asked, "is the author an insider, participant or an external observer? And is it possible, at times, for the positions of researcher, author and experiencing subject to merge?"¹²⁹ As the author of this research, indeed, I have been an insider and participant as well as an observer. In the first two narratives, I employed a fictional traveler. Although I created this character based on the multiple historic characters, I composed the fictional traveler based on my own experiences. In the third narrative, *I* will be the story teller. Chapter 7 is a narrative written from the perspective of myself as a cosmopolitan individual. To shine a light on the situations of cosmopolitanism within the contemporary conditions in İzmir, I revisit historic buildings and stroll through the city's historic arteries. I

¹²⁹ Catharina Gabrielsson, Hélène Frichot, Klaske Havik, and Marko Jobst, eds., "Reading (s) and Writing (s) Unfolding Processes of Transversal Writing," *Writingplace*, no. 3 (2019): 7.

consulted my memories to write this last chapter in the series of narratives. Each memory reveals a contemporary situation of the cosmopolitan spaces.

In each of these acts I follow the same route from the sea towards the land. A similar approach of looking to the city from the sea exists in the narrative of contemporary productions like the 1971 film *The Death in Venice*.¹³⁰ In this story the protagonist Gustav von Aschenbach arrives to Venice by boat. Before the arrival of the train there was no other way to reach Venice but by water. Though İzmir and many other port cities in the 19th century could be approached by land routes, they were often approached by boat. Thus, I followed the same path that many of the 19th century travelers followed. While in the previous chapters I followed the route starting from the waterfront to the village of Bornova, in Chapter 7 I follow the reverse route as a reflection to the present-day realities.

3.2.3 Time Span and Sequential Order

Cosmopolitan sceneries are interrelated and associated scenes. In the first two of these three chapters I trace the socio-spatial interactions during the rise and zenith of cosmopolitanism. In these eras, İzmir was often approached by the sea. I followed the same path that many of the 19th century travelers followed. Thus, Chapters 5 and 6 start from the waterfront and gradually move towards the outskirts of the city. In Chapter 7, where I reflect on the re-use of these spaces and their meaning to the users and citizens today, I follow the reverse route: I start from the outskirts of the city and move towards the waterfront, as this is the reality of the present-day city.

In the first narrative, in Chapter 5, *Urban Scenes of Socio-Cultural Engagement*, each scene is depicted in detail to explored the cosmopolitan İzmir in the long 19th century. But the order of narratives that I have written are linear. As a product of imagination, I ordered the fictional events in the storyline based on everyday logic that is told by the agents in a chronological order. As a reflection on the reality of the 19th century, the narrative begins with the traveler's approach to the city by boat. He comes ashore, finds his hotel and takes a stroll through the downtown, discovering spaces in which social relations are cultivated and revealed in the story.

¹³⁰ The film was based on the novel Thomas Mann, *Der Tod in Venedig* (München: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1912).

He then passes through the quarters of Turks, Greeks, and Jews, and finally arrives at the top of Mount Pagos for a sunset view of the city.

In the following narrative, Chapter 6, *Urban Scenes of Socio-Spatial Engagement*, the traveler again arrives at the shores of İzmir and walks along the quay, describing life along the waterfront. He then goes to a casino, one of the established meeting places within the network of trade. After strolling in the commercial area and visiting the warehouses of the Whittall family, the story continues with a commute from downtown Smyrna to the outskirts of the city. This is where the Whittall family home is located. The chapter concludes with scenes from the domestic and social life of the Whittall family in Bornova.

In Chapter 7, in which I reflect on the re-use of these spaces and their meaning to the users and citizens today, I follow the reverse route: I start from the outskirts of the city and move towards the waterfront, as this is the reality of the present day. In this chapter I focus on the cosmopolitan spaces in the era of the fall of cosmopolitanism and look at the impact this fall has had on the built environment within changing local and global dynamics. This period allows us to understand the contemporary situation of cosmopolitan practices in a place which has become a port city heritage today.

3.2.4 Writing Style

The writing style is complementary to the search for Beautiful İzmir. In terms of writing style, I highlighted the words that depict İzmir in the real accounts of travelers. This is to understand how İzmir was depicted and why it is known today as Beautiful İzmir. The narrative includes descriptions that came from original texts written by travelers who came in brief contact with the city. It also exemplifies how to reproduce new narratives from a city's own resources while exhibiting the fragments of the cultural productions in a written form. Those fragments compose the Beautiful İzmir and came from the cosmopolitan era's production that are not limited to a few decades on the timeline. I brought together those fragments from the writings of Robert Semple from 1807, George Thomas Keppel from 1831, John Murray from 1840s, Hans Christian Andersen from 1871 and Louis Auguste Alphonse de Launay from 1913.

An image is a strong element in evoking memories. In addition to the text, I used the depictions of the city that were frequently used and circulated in the depicted era. To display 19th century İzmir (Smyrna), I chose to use postcards, which the inhabitants of İzmir are very familiar with. I particularly used postcards in Chapters 5 and 6.

Postcards are simple, light, cheap, easy to access, and keep for a long time. Despite being a mere 148 x 105 mm, their small frame can convey much about the visited place, refresh the memory, and promote further visit by family members and friends. Moreover, they usually comes with a feeling of happiness, which can even trigger a decision to settle down there. The postcards are one of the most important parts of the representation of a city. There are also tourist guides with detailed explanations of İzmir, as well as local accounts, including diaries and photographs, all of which have been of great importance in this research.¹³¹ The stories were complemented with descriptions of sensory perception, sounds and scents found in the many sources as well as from my own experience. For the last narrative I also inserted photos and sketches produced and reproduced by Deniz Dokgöz (architect and professor in the Dokuz Eylül University) which portray the cosmopolitan spaces of İzmir. Some of these sketches were exhibited in 2019 in the Chamber of Architects in İzmir.

In the first two narratives in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 I particularly presented the point of view of travelers. These travelers were important representatives of transients that constituted cosmopolitan society. This helps us to understand how the port city of İzmir was constructed in the memories of social groups and how stories have been inherited by the inhabitants of İzmir. Social and spatial aspects of cosmopolitan society were closely tied with representation. For this reason, I wrote a semi-fictional narrative through the eyes of a seasoned traveler as he closely observes the socio-spatial developments of the Whittall and Giraud families. This character is a composite of real travelers who visited İzmir multiple times and were guests of the Whittall Family. The storyline is a gentle invitation into the historically cosmopolitan Smyrna (İzmir).

I highlight redefinition of cosmopolitanism after the mid-20th century. In Chapter 7.1 *Redefinition of Cosmopolitanism in the turn of the 20th Century: Repurposing the Domestic Place as a Microcosm for Education*, I explain how the 20th century social, political and economic interventions led to the creation of a high school where students have been educated as cosmopolitan individuals. The location of the school is particularly important: the former farm of the Giraud Family. The changes in landownership and the transformation of the domestic space for educational purposes are one of the examples that I present. Other examples include the

¹³¹ Ethem Ruhi took İzmir's photographs. Ruhi published postcards particularly in the early Republican era. The postcards give an overview of the aftermath of the transition from the empire to the republic. And it is a concrete testimony that the traces of Ottoman İzmir still existed in the urban pattern, particularly in the first half of the 20th century.

establishment of two universities in two old villages where trader elites used to live. In this sub-chapter, I extend the scope of the high school memories to include social places. In this narrative, I share the memories of the micro cosmopolitan community (students of the high school) in the very space of 19th century buildings, streets and properties. I then continue with two routes starting from Bornova moving towards the downtown and waterfront. Through these narratives, I bring the spaces from the 19th century into focus. In Chapter 7.2, *Two Routes, Multiple Scenes from the* Cosmopolitan Era: Abandoned, Re-purposed and Re-lived Domestic, Industrial and Diplomatic Spaces, I enlarge the scope to include other social groups, making the story theirs. In other words, in telling my own memories I aim to highlight the cosmopolitan traces that belong to the inhabitants of the city. To do this, I follow the common arteries, streets and roads, as many citizens of the city follow in their every-day life while they are commuting in the city. With each visit to the different buildings and the writing of a narrative of the memories connected to these buildings, I aim to connect the citizens to their environment and make visible the embedded cosmopolitan İzmir within the 21st century realities. Moreover, I open up private spaces and historical treasures that are behind the walls. In this respect, I conclude this chapter with a visit to the Giraud Family's property in Bornova. In order to recognize and reveal the site-specific atmospheres of these seemingly overlooked spaces of the port city culture, I explore the atmosphere that these spaces create. I then look closer into the Edward Whittall Garden, the property of the elite trader families Whittall and Giraud, with two goals in mind: first, to understand the changing role of the spaces within the new urban and societal settings; and second, to read the atmospheres of a specific site.

Above all, rather than building on the dichotomies—historical or contemporary; Ottoman, Turkish, Republican Era, or Levantine—my aim was to tune into the resonating cosmopolitan traces that cut through time and that are appreciated by inhabitants of the city. Therefore, I attempted to connect past and present. This resonance corresponds to the memories of the past and present-day inhabitants of the city. It offers a common ground for an inclusive debate, which is precisely what port cities need in times of transition. By working with narratives based on both historical resources and the contemporary era, and relying on my observations and memories, I intend to compose an image of Beautiful İzmir, reproducing it from its own resources. The image constructed in this dissertation is a single portrait of port city through my own lens, a photomosaic composed of many portraits co-produced by writers and readers.

A last clarification I wish to make before moving on to the next chapter is related to the name of the city. The name of the city was *İzmir* in the official documents, as Sibel Zandi-Sayek noted in her book. Thus, many international scholars choose

to write İzmir in their account. This is also the preference in the international, present-day publications, and that is the name I generally adopt in this thesis. However, in line with the duality of East and West which exists in this manuscript and my perception of the historical continuity and analysis of the construction of the understanding of the city, I do make an occasional exception: I use the name *Smyrna* in Chapters 5 and 6, because this name was associated with the cosmopolitan history of the city, of which these two chapters present a narrative account. In all other chapters, I use the name İzmir in line with contemporary writing.

4 (Re)Setting the Stage for Cosmopolitanism

"The city in its complete sense, then, is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theater of social action, and an esthetic symbol of collective unity. On one hand it is a physical frame for the commonplace domestic and economic activities; on the other, it is a consciously dramatic setting for the more significant actions and the more sublimated urges of a human culture. The city fosters art and is art; the city creates the theater and is the theater. It is in the city, the city as theater, that man's more purposive activities are formulated and worked out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations."¹³²

Lewis Mumford, 1956: 15.

132 Lewis Mumford, "The City – Design for Living," Wisdom (November 1956):15.

4.1 Cosmopolitan Characters as the Key Nodes of Engagement(s)

Before moving on the merits of the cosmopolitan condition and its role in the port city development; let me introduce you to characters who will appear in the main narrative of this manuscript. In this regard, my particular focus is on the migrants who had been in between İzmir and the outside world, particularly with Europe due to their vast interactions in between İzmir and Europe.

Let's first get acquainted with families that I chose to focus in this dissertation and their family histories. The first Giraud, Jean Baptiste, came from Nice to İzmir in 1742 and made his fortune in imports and exports.¹³³ The trade network, which was created through marriage, began when Jean Baptiste Giraud,¹³⁴ married Helene Cortazzi in 1787,¹³⁵ the daughter of the Consul of Venice. Through this marriage he became part of one of the city's most prominent families. Following this engagement, numerous marriages took place between the French Girauds and the British Whittalls, beginning with Charlton Whittall's marriage to Magdaleine Giraud in 1814, daughter of J. B. Giraud.

From the Whittall Family, Charlton Whittall was the first leading figure of the family who migrated to İzmir. He was born in Liverpool,¹³⁶ and came to İzmir as a representative of the trade company, Breed & Co, in 1809.¹³⁷ This migrancy was the start of the large family clan in Turkey. Soon after his arrival, Whittall founded a firm, C. Whittall & Co, in 1811.¹³⁸ His brother, James Whittall, joined him in 1817.¹³⁹

134 Jean Baptiste Giraud arrived in 1765-1766. Although it is prior to the French Revolution in 1789, numerous accounts have noted that he came to İzmir because of the terrors of the Revolution.

¹³³ The scanned copy of the original letter can be found in http://www.levantineheritage.com/giraud-letter.htm.

¹³⁵ Philip Mansel, Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean (Hachette UK, 2010).

¹³⁶ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 8.

¹³⁷ Edmund H. Giraud, *Family Record: A Record of the Origin and History of the Giraud and Whittall Families in Turkey, and a Short Note on the History of the La Fontaine Family* (London: Adams Bros. and Shardlow, 1934).; C. Whittall and Company, *Trading in the Levant: centenary of C. Whittall & Co., Smryna 1811-1911,* (Manchester: C. Whittall and Company, 1912).

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Alison and Martyn Rix, "Edward Whittall (1851–1917) and his Contribution to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew," *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* 28, no. 3 (2011), 214.

He was in charge of transshipment from İzmir to Liverpool of madder roots, valonia, figs, raisins, silk, oil, olive oil and wool.¹⁴⁰ The firm, C. Whittall and Co., also imported goods from Manchester with manufactured iron.¹⁴¹ In this research, Edward Whittall and Ray Turrell will appear frequently amongst other family members. The merchant Edward Whittall (1851-1917) was the son of James Whittall (1819–1883), who was Charlton's second son.¹⁴² Edward was known for his deep interest in botany.¹⁴³ Although he was not a professional botanist, his interest and knowledge regarding botany flourished within the Whittall property. He contributed to botanic literature through publications, including the *Kew Bullettin*,¹⁴⁴ and exchanged letters with the director of the Kew Garden between 1890-1907.¹⁴⁵ He was also a consultant of the local governor, *Vali*.¹⁴⁶

Travelers were often accompanied by local guides, such as Tatars and Zeybeks,¹⁴⁷ who provided security during their journey in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁸ Foreigners were accommodated in various places, including *han*s, hotels, and private houses.¹⁴⁹

141 Ibid.

142 C.F. Derrick, "Edward Whittall," Bulletin of the Alpine Garden Society 433 (1975).

143 Gertrude Bell, "Gertrude Bell to her stepmother, Dame Florence Bell." letter, 1902, in Gertrude Bell Archivee, Newcastle: University Library, Newcastle University, accessed May 29, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1294.

144 Anonim, Kew Bulletin, 1893: 147.

145 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 43.

146 A letter written by Gertrude Bell to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, 11 March 1902, Gertrude Bell's letter to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, Gertrude Bell Archive, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed February 13, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_ id=1294 .; also, she noted again in 1907: "The clan plays a considerable role in AM *(AM in notes of Bell must be referring to Asia Minor)*. Edward W. was the most intimate friend of the last Vali, Kiamil Pasha. I believe he consulted him in everything." A letter written by Gertrude Bell to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, 04 April 1907, 1907, Gertrude Bell's letter to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, Gertrude Bell Archive, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed June 1, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_ details.php?letter_id=1572.

147 "The Zeybeks, like the Swiss, are a band of mercenary mountaineers, employed, as were the Albanians, in the capacity of body-guards to the pashas. They formed also a kind of guard in the coffee-houses, and had a right to levy a tax upon the traveler, for the protection they afforded him on the road." In Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 124.*

148 Ibid., 302.

149 The hotels varied from the grand hotels along the waterfront (such as Grand Hotel Huck) and the hotels in the historic Bazaar (like the fashionable *Locanda di Nuova Europa* on Bondstreet). Gustav Flaubert stayed at the Hotel *des Deux-Augustes*.

¹⁴⁰ Hugh Whittall, The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973 (Moda: The author, 1973), 15.

Travelers also stayed at the trading families' and consuls' houses.¹⁵⁰ Some of the travelers, like Gertrude Bell¹⁵¹, were hosted by leading and well-known trading families, like the Whittalls. Even when travelers began their stay in a hotel, the Whittall family would invite them to stay at their place by the time they heard about the traveler's presence in the city. George Thomas Keppel, shows an example of such habit, when Mr. Whittall invited him to stay further in 1831.¹⁵² Keppel's testimony shows the exclusive relationship amongst travelers, consuls, and local traders when he wrote in his traveloque: "The consul-generalat Constantinople, Mr. Cartwright, had given me a letter of introduction to Mr. Charles Whittall, one of the principal merchants of Smyrna."¹⁵³ Their stay in the houses of the traders opens up the domestic sphere of the families with vivid description. Bell for instance, while staying at the Whittalls' "big house" in Bornova in 1902, 1907 and 1914 during her visits to İzmir, she described the Whitthalls' house and its surroundings in March 1902 in her diary and letters to her stepmother.¹⁵⁴ She also described the everyday life of the Whittall family, just as Ray Turrell did. Since she was a temporary visitor, not a family member, her descriptions offer a valuable counterpart to Turrell's observations.

Based on the hypothesis on the timeless condition of the cosmopolitanism, considering the correlation between merchants and travellers who produced visuals and scripts on the cosmopolitan İzmir, I selected a contemporary merchant Arkas Family, and myself from the contemporary times. Let me introduce the Arkas Family first. The family is an active oversea trading family that arrived in İzmir from Marseille, France in 1711.¹⁵⁵ They were a trading family involved in the export of fruits (e.g., grapes and figs) to France. Gabriel J. B. Arcas founded an import agency

153 Ibid., 309.

¹⁵⁰ Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor: Including a Description of the Ruins of Several Ancient Cities, and Especially Antioch of Pisidia, Vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1834), 417-418.; George Christian Roeding, The Smyrna Fig at Home and Abroad: A Treatise on Practical Smyrna Fig Culture, Together with an Account of the Introduction of the Wild or Capri Fig, and the Establishment of the Fig Wasp (Blasiophaga Grossorum) in America (Fresno, California: The author, 1903), 16.

¹⁵¹ Amongst many travelers, Gertrude Bell who was known as the "Desert Queen" is an important character. She was an archaeologist, policy maker and traveler who played a key role in the foundation of modern Iraq.

¹⁵² Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829–30, Vol. 1, 309.

¹⁵⁴ A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 11 March 1902, 1902, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle: University Library, Newcastle University, Newscastle, the United Kingdom, accessed July 8, 2019, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=120.

¹⁵⁵ Arkas Holding, "Over a century of proud achievement 1902-2019", (İzmir: Arkas Holding S.A., 2019), accessed February 21, 2021, http://arkas.com.tr/files/ArkasKurumsal/download/WEB_Kronoloji_Haziran_2019_EN.pdf.

with his name in 1902.¹⁵⁶ When he died in 1935, his son, Lucien Gabriel Arcas, was called to Turkey to be the successor of his father. In 1944 he established his own international shipping agency: Lucien Arkas Shipping Agency.¹⁵⁷ In 1964, he became active in tourism, which led to the building of a passenger port in Kuşadası. Also in 1964, the grandson, Lucien Arkas, took the lead of the company, operating in various domains (e.g., sea-oriented logistic services, information systems and cruise ship tourism).¹⁵⁸ In 1966, he moved the focus back to maritime trade. In 1978,¹⁵⁹ Arkas was responsible for shipping the first container from İzmir to Northern Europe on the deck of a DSR Lines vessel named the "BURG."¹⁶⁰ This was a historical first, and the dawning of a new era of container shipping in Turkey.

Today, Lucien Arkas (1945-) maintains the growing success of the holding. He owns 66 companies, operating under the same roof. The family is still successfully active in trade and combines their expertise with the port city culture of İzmir. Today, Arkas Holding has 54 branches: 14 of them working in Turkey and the other 40 located in Greece, Italy, Monaco, Spain, France, Portugal, Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, Libya, Iraq, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan.¹⁶¹ The Arkas Holding shares partnership with leading shipping companies.¹⁶² Besides their success in oversea trade, what makes Arkas Family appropriate for my research is their investment in the conservation of cultural heritage and their attitude to preserve port city culture in those spaces. In addition to their trading business, which began in the 19th century, the family is actively engaged with the re-representation of the city's cosmopolitan character. For instance, they have initiated an art center in the former French Consulate house on the waterfront of İzmir, in which they present exhibitions of İzmir's past and exhibits orientalist paintings. This building is an important place for the representation of its missed past which connects to today. Their attempt to reconnect the past and present of the city is very much in line with my goal with this dissertation.

156 http://www.arkas.com.tr/en/history.html, accessed 7 August 2020.

157 Ibid.

- 159 http://www.arkas.com.tr/en/history.html, accessed 7 August 2020.
- 160 Arkas Holding, "Over a century of proud achievement 1902-2019."
- 161 Arkas Holding, "About," accessed January 30, 2018, https://www.linkedin.com/company/arkas-holding.
- 162 such as MSC, Hapag Lloyd, Yang Ming and Tarros SPA or representative of Hanjin Shipping, Grimaldi Lines, ACL, Marguisa Line, DAL and UAFL in Turkey.

¹⁵⁸ https://www.linkedin.com/company/arkas-holding, retrieved date: 30.01.2018

While Arkas Family represents the merchant of present-day İzmir as a mirror to the cosmopolitan era in the 21st century, I inserted myself as a contemporary individual as a substitute to the travelers who have captured the cosmopolitan era in the long 19th century. I traced the cosmopolitan İzmir with the cosmopolitan spaces that are embedded in the contemporary city and their meaning in the 21st century. This choice speaks to the changing dynamic of the world; reverse migration to Europe from İzmir, particularly in the 21st century. Inserting myself into the story is also appropriate because it mirrors the 19th century approach. Moreover, it enables us to enter into a local perspective, a sense of belonging, and the appropriation of cosmopolitan spaces that have become a heritage today. I have had the particular experience of being in between İzmir and Europe repeatedly in my life with a similar experience of the travelers before the 20th century. This perspective provides freshness and clarity in writing the story of the cosmopolitan spaces in contemporary İzmir. I used my personal experiences and observations during my high school years, which evoked my concerns related to social and spatial problems in the city around me. Observations during my sails from one port cities to another allowed me to recognize that these same problems are mirrored in other port cities. Meanwhile, I have built my knowledge by studying port cities in detail and combined my personal interests in writing and fascinations of port city dynamics to trace beautiful İzmir in this manuscript.

4.2 Unfolding the Urban Context within the Cosmopolitan History of İzmir

"Smyrna a noted Town of Ionia was anciently founded by Tantalus, and since called Smyrna, from the name of the Amazones that invaded Asia and took that town; long after that, it was ruined by the earthquake, and rebuilt by Marc Antony, nearer to the sea, because of the commodiousness of the harbour. It brags of being the native place of the Poet Homer; and the Turks at present calls it İzmir."¹⁶³

Jean de Thévenot, 1686: 91

The urban designer, Han Meyer, points out that the network of port cities on the Mediterranean Sea represented the most important trade center in the world in the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁶⁴ Trade relations between İzmir and other ports increased due to cotton cultivation, especially in the Aegean region. This led to İzmir becoming the center of eastern Mediterranean trade.¹⁶⁵ Increasing oversea trade allowed commerce to flourish, and the whole country benefitted from the wealth.¹⁶⁶ Changes, reforms and developments in politics, economics and technology have built and transformed the urban context of port cities, including İzmir. İzmir is located on the Mediterranean Sea in the maritime foreland, and on the Anatolia, connected to its generous hinterland. Anatolia is known as the cradle of civilization. As a natural consequence of its geographic significance, filled with fertile lands and water sources, the Eastern Mediterranean port city of İzmir hosted multiple civilizations and became a significant example of how continued commercial activities can shape and transform a city. Each civilization has inherited architectural knowledge from the previous one. Although some traces have vanished, the traditional trade routes remained and determined the further development of the city in modern times.

¹⁶³ de Thévenot, "The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant," Three Parts. Viz. Into I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East-Indies, 91.

¹⁶⁴ Han Meyer, *City and Port: The Transformation of Port Cities: London, Barcelona, New York and Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: International Books, 2003).

¹⁶⁵ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and capitalism*, 15th and 18th Century, Vol 3: the perspective of the world (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

¹⁶⁶ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30. Vol. 1, 299.



FIG. 4.1 View of Smyrna (İzmir) and the Reception Given to Consul de Hochepied (1657-1723) in the Council Chamber, Anonymous (painting date c. 1687 - c. 1723, Rijksmuseum).

4.2.1 Historical Traces of İzmir

Paintings in the early sailboat (primitive) port era (16th and 17th century) could be a starting points to enter into the geographical, historical, spatial and material aspects of İzmir. Painters often depicted imposing mountains in their frames' top line under a sky full of clouds. The picturesque view captures the physical features of the topography with steep mountains. One could see, the forested plain full of trees and a winding river. The mountains hint at the natural sources of the city. If we look at the far back, we see large gardens surrounding mansions. On the foothills of the mountain there are some divisions of land. These may be public gardens functioning as agricultural areas supplying the needs of the city, or they may belong to certain families, who live in or close to the city. In addition to the physical charm of the mountains and an emphasis on the fertile lands, a castle can be seen on the zenith of the mountain called *Kadıfekale*, or *Mount Pagos*.

As it could be understood from this old castle, the city is not a newly settled place. The city has, indeed, a long history at this point, as the castle belongs to the 4th century BCE, being built by Alexander the Great. Centuries later, the upper hill was the first place where Turks settled. In the 14th century, Turks approached the city from the hinterland. In 1310, the Turkish Seignior *Aydınoğulları* took control from Mount Pagos.¹⁶⁷ This was the time when the first distinction was made between the upper and lower parts of the city. Turks dominated the land-trade routes while international merchants ruled sea-trade. This dual character has been maintained for many centuries and is reflected in the urban pattern of later times. While Turks inhabited the upper hills of Mount Pagos, city-states like Genoa dominated the waterfront and built the lower part of the city. Let's stay on the hill for a moment, before moving slowly to the waterfront, where we can see traces from the Genoese.

After several struggles between Turks and Venetians, Cyprian, and Rhodesian Knights, İzmir became an Ottoman city in 1425, when Sultan Murad II conquered İzmir.¹⁶⁸ This meant a change in the governance and borders of the city which unified the waterfront and hinterland. This was an important milestone in the history of İzmir as a port city, because it opened the primary channel for the influence of port activity to reach to the hinterland. Soon after, İzmir became the center of the eastern Mediterranean trade due to its fertile plain and cotton cultivation.¹⁶⁹ The network of port cities on the Mediterranean Sea represented the most important trade center in the world at the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁷⁰

İzmir was, therefore, an attractive destination for traders and also an important subject for treaties. Trade relations between İzmir and other port cities increased,¹⁷¹ and provided opportunities for further and enhanced encounters between diverse social groups and cultures.

¹⁶⁷ Çınar Atay, Kapanan Kapılar: İzmir Hanları (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2003), 19.

¹⁶⁸ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler, vol. 1 (İzmir Yayıncılık, 2000). p. 517.; Bilge Umar, İzmir'de Yunanlıların Son Günleri: Bilge Umar, vol. 11 (Bilgi yayınevi, 1974). p. 306.; Neslihan Ünal, "İzmir ve Selanik Liman Kentlerinin Gelişim Süreçlerinin Karşılaştırılmalı Analizi (1650-1750)" (Dokuz Eylül üniversitesi, 2013). p. 74; Necmi Ulker, "The Rise of İzmir, 1688-1740," (1975). p.17; for further reading about İzmir's history please see: F Yılmaz and Sabri Yetkin, "İzmir Kent Tarihi," İzmir Liseleri Sertifikalı Kent Tarihi Konferansları Projesi, Proje Sorumlusu: Oktay Ekinci, Proje Yürütücüleri: Sabri Yetkin, Fikret Yılmaz, TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İzmir Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi (2002). And Halil İnalcık, Osmanlı Tarihi: Toplu Bir Bakış, vol. I (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999).

¹⁶⁹ Fernand Braudel, "Civilization and Capitalism, Vol 3: The Perspective of the World," (1949). In the context of the global trade, "naval surpremecy, gunpowder, talent, resources that intangible ethos of empire" has been considered as the pillars of the Ottoman Empire's seapower and success in the turn of the sixteenth century, that has come to be known as the Age of Discovery. Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1994), 1.

¹⁷⁰ Han Meyer, *City and Port: The Transformation of Port Cities: London, Barcelona, New York and Rotterdam* (Rotterdam2003).

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

4.2.2 Moving from the Hills towards the Waterfront: Neighborhoods of Diverse Social Goups of İzmir



Because of the topographic condition of the city, organic growth in the early spatial development tended to spread along the shore and towards the hill. Separate settlements for foreign traders and Turkish inhabitants developed over time based on geographical conditions and commercial interests. İzmir's natural resources, stone and wood, the climate conditions of sun and wind, and the indigenous knowledge of traditional building methods all contributed to the local style specific to the islands of the Aegean Sea and İzmir. If we look at the large building complex on the right, its structures are stronger. The material choice depended on the capacity of the materials and the size of construction. In this complex, stone and brick are the main building materials. I will get back to these large complex buildings soon. Let's stick to the smaller buildings in the neighborhood for a moment.

As our eyes follow the hill, we see multiple houses that constitute neighborhoods in the city. Typically, each neighborhood had a worship place. The tall white minarets of mosques are very dominant in the image, and mark neighborhoods as Turkish. We do not see any other religious buildings, such as churches or synagogues, in this image that might signify other social groups. The city seems totally a Muslim city. However, as the date for this depiction is the late 17th or early 18th century, there were, in fact, different social groups in the city. For instance, there were many Jews in the city, and their presence was visible in synagogues (*havras*). The city already included diverse ethnicities and religious backgrounds, given the fact that the Ottoman Empire had a multinational and multi-religious structure in the studied era. But these diversities were not explicitly depicted in this painting. The selection of the spatial elements in the painting leads us to understand that there was already an expectation for a city that was not located in Europe. Given that this painting was presented in Europe,

the painter reflected the Oriental image with which European recipients were most familiar. This depiction supports the Orientalist narrative that was present in many other accounts of that time (manuscripts, texts, paintings, engravings).¹⁷²

Let's continue with information concerning the constitution of neighborhoods. The value system of particular social groups and diverse social patterns in which they lived defined the architecture and urban development in the city. Depending on the perception of life and the value system, there were differences in the building practices and desires for architecture. The local Ottoman architecture was humble, particularly in terms of the domestic spaces, as an outcome of their introverted, humble and conservative life style. Houses of Turks are usually "low and small."¹⁷³ Having said that, there were landlords who ruled large territories in which they worked. While peasants lived and worked in İzmir and the surrounding villages, their landlord's wealth was manifested in the city and villages. One landlord, Kara Osmanoğlu, for instance owned large properties in the Aegean Region including in Bornova.¹⁷⁴ He also had warehouses in the *Kemeraltı*, the grand bazaar of İzmir. There were also local magnate families who were crucial in the political atmosphere of the city, particularly in the 19th century.¹⁷⁵ The Turkish family Katipzade was one of these. In 1804, the family commissioned the building of the governor's house that now defines a border of the Konak Square.¹⁷⁶

The streets in the Jewish and the Turkish quarters are characterized by being narrow.¹⁷⁷ The Jews were in charge of wholesaling, translation, commissioning, and weaving.¹⁷⁸ Some Jews were watchmakers (e.g., Jewish Sakaroff).¹⁷⁹ Doctors and pharmacists in the city were also Jews.¹⁸⁰ The Jews living in Bornova were

176 Ibid., 298-299.

¹⁷² For the concept of Orientalism, please see the Chapter 1.

¹⁷³ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 315.

¹⁷⁴ Zandi-Sayek, Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880, 36.

¹⁷⁵ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, 298-299.

¹⁷⁷ Gustav Flaubert, *Oevres Completes Illustrees de Gustave Flaubert, Voyage en Orient 1849-1851* (Paris: Librairie de France, 1925), 238.

¹⁷⁸ David Goffman, İzmir and Levantine World -1550-1650 (Washington: University of Washinngton, 1990).

¹⁷⁹ http://www.levantineheritage.com/testi76.htm

¹⁸⁰ Ernst Christoph Döbel, Wanderungen Durch Einen Theil Von Europa, Asien Und Afrika in Den Jahren 1830 Bis 1836, vol. 2 (Müller, 1838). Found in İlhan PINAR, «Hacılar, Seyyahlar, Misyonerler Ve İzmi Yabancıların Gözüyle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmi 1608-1918,» İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, İzmir (2001); Ernst Christoph Döbel, Wanderungen Durch Einen Theil Von Europa, Asien Und Afrika in Den Jahren 1830 Bis 1836, 2, 135.

occupied with mending pans and other metal utensils, and they had shops for draperies and haberdashery.¹⁸¹ Their presence in the city introduced the spatial typology of *havras* (synagogue in English, places of worship) and *cortijos* (traditional Spanish farmhouses).

Another difference appears in the typology of Anatolian Muslim housing which had a front garden, unlike Greek houses which were directly linked to the main street. They were built next to one another as row houses.¹⁸² The color of the houses distinguished the ethnicity of the social groups in İzmir. For instance, pastel yellow was used on Greek houses. Turks chose blue and white, often using burnt lime (tr. *kireç*) or indigo blue (tr. *çivit*) in the plaster to give the colour.¹⁸³ The outside plasters had multi-layers in different colours so that when the upper level was carved the Masters could apply the Maltese, geometrical, and floral patterns as a façade engraving.¹⁸⁴ Greeks of İzmir filled several roles in the city. They were artisans, active in taxes, farming, shipping, mining, the light industry, banking, finance, and merchants for trading wine, cloth, and liquor.¹⁸⁵ They introduced the cultivation of the famous *Sultana* raisins, and improved the curing and culture of tobacco.¹⁸⁶ The Greek population in Bornova was active in trade, wine and olive oil production.¹⁸⁷ They also had taverns and introduced the fish culture to the city.¹⁸⁸ Armenians often took the role as mediators for Europeans.¹⁸⁹ They were also involved in the performance arts. For instance, George Thomas Keppel noted in 1831 that the son of an Armenian broker was performing in the theater, in the play Il Bugiargo.¹⁹⁰

184 Ibid., 31.

186 George, Horton. "The blight of Asia." With a foreword by James W (1926), 25-26.

187 Arıcan, Bornova Tarihinden Yapraklar, 15.

188 Arıcan, Bornova Tarihinden Yapraklar, 15-16.

189 Ibid., 15.

¹⁸¹ Hasan Arıcan, Bornova Tarihinden Yapraklar (İzmir: Tepekule Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2009), 15.

¹⁸² Atay, Kapanan Kapılar:İzmir Hanları, 31.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 31.

¹⁸⁵ Feryal Tansuğ (2011) The Greek Community of İzmir/Smyrna in an Age of Transition: The Relationship between Ottoman Centre-Local Governance and the İzmir/Smyrna Greeks, 1840–1866, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 38:01, 41-72, DOI: 10.1080/13530194.2011.559002, 51.

¹⁹⁰ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, 311.

4.2.3 The Waterfront: The Privileged Line between İzmir and the Outside World



The waterfront is an important line, as it marks the transition from local İzmir to the outside world, linking these two worlds through oversea trade. If we start following the shore from the left side of the painting, we see houses, piers of varying size, and the larger houses of merchants and consuls. The established trade network in the previous centuries and further economic potential in the region attracted European merchants. A clergyman scientist, Dr. John Covel, wrote about İzmir's waterfront around 1675 during his voyage.¹⁹¹ Covel described those houses along the waterfront as belonging to Dutch, British, French, and Genoese consuls and merchants.¹⁹² Representative consuls, global trade companies (e.g., the Levant Company formed in 1592 and the Dutch East India Company formed in 1602), merchants and free traders arrived in İzmir according to the commercial acts that bound the Ottoman Empire and European countries. This line is occupied mostly by privileged families who were doing trade. Close proximity to the water was important for the trade, thus the houses also functioned as trade offices. The waterfront has always been a privileged line, historically, unless there was a threat coming from the sea. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the elites living along the waterfront.

But how did consuls and elite traders arrive in the city? Let's visit their journey. The economic engagement between allied port cities and empires was made explicit in treaties. Treaties were important in the sail-boat era, not only for economic alliances but also for the security of merchants. Being abroad as a foreigner often meant being

¹⁹¹ Covel, J. & Grélois, J. P. 1998. Voyages en Turquie: 1675-1677, P. Lethielleux. Dr. Covel's Engraving from his own travel notes, British Museum, 1675.

¹⁹² Rauf Beyru, 19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti (İstanbul: Literatür, 2011).

in danger.¹⁹³ When Levantine merchants lived away from their houses in England, for instance, their rights had been protected by the Royal Charter since 1581.¹⁹⁴ In the sail-boat era, political unrest and new commercial alliances long encouraged the migration of traders, the development of new trading lines and, ultimately, the emergence of new urban forms in port cities. After the French Revolution of 1789, for instance, many French merchants fled to İzmir following the establishment of commercial treaties between France and the Ottoman Empire. Another agreement was signed in 1799.¹⁹⁵ The Ottoman Empire had formed an alliance with England, forcing all activities to be part of the Levant Company, a global trade company.¹⁹⁶ The treaties provided privileges like tax exemptions and high security for their houses and business properties. Thus, their rights could not be violated. Moreover, those traders had diplomatic immunity, which meant they could only be arrested by their responsible ambassador. Those treaties secured and legitimized the mobility of the experts.¹⁹⁷ Owing to agreements, merchants' rights were under protection by their respective consuls and the strong articles of treaties provided a safe environment for them.¹⁹⁸

4.2.4 Transition from Hinterland and the Waterfront

Now, let's have a closer look behind the traders' houses. The curving lines depicted with the string of camels on the bridge are calling our attention. Before goods were uploaded to the ships, they were first collected from the hinterland of the city and transported to the waterfronts. The depiction here is in reference to this infrastructural connection. The painting also reflects the technologies of its era that were manifested in infrastructures. On the left hand-side there is a bridge with camels on it. This is a very important detail, because it shows that there is an important river reaching from inland to the city. The bridge was part of an essential infrastructure that was built for trade (camels being very much associated with trade).

¹⁹³ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 9.; Elena Frangarkis-Syrett, "18. Yuzyilda İzmirİzmir'de Ticaret (1700-1820)," (İzmir: İzmir Buyuksehir Belediyesi Kultur Yayini, 2006).

¹⁹⁷ Kütükoglu has written about the Baltalimani Treaty, Raşid Kasaba has reflected the treaties' impact to İzmirİzmir in his work "Treaties and Friendship".

¹⁹⁸ Reinhold Schiffer, Oriental Panorama: British Travellers in 19th Century Turkey, vol. 33 (Rodopi, 1999).

In that time, the technological developments would not allow for the building of an advanced infrastructure. Moreover, it shows how trade was facilitated from waterfront to the inland by sailboats, bridges, and camels.

The sea as a main connector of İzmir to the outside world and its relation to land also explains a lot about how the city was urbanized and developed in line with commerce. The port is positioned in the natural inner bay that we can see on the right-hand side of the painting. Steam power had not been invented yet, thus the ships were relatively small and vulnerable compared to today's large vessels. The naturally protected bay was a great location to function as a port and a safe refuge for ships, as the bay would provide shelter to boats and inhabitants.¹⁹⁹ In the 17th and 18th century, the urban area was located on the bay of İzmir. The city largely developed around the gulf with commercial buildings and a public shore. In this era, shipping, trading, living, and leisure life were concentrated on the waterfront, ²⁰⁰ where diverse social groups mingled. Unlike the string of consul houses on the left, in red coloured buildings, the crescent-like bay is surrounded by large buildings. Functional changes in the urban pattern can be easily seen simply by looking at buildings and the transition from the neighborhoods to the more commercial center that the port created.

The plain structure that we see in front of the buildings is almost on the same level as the water. We are on the friendly, open shore and there is no flood risk for the city. There is not much difference in tide levels, we understand, in this geography. Not having the water as a threat is essential in establishing a good relation between inhabitants and the water. Maritime cultures are therefore embedded in the urban cultures because the geographical conditions allowed having close proximity with the water. As buildings existed that were purposed for both domestic and business functions directly along the waterfront, the crescent bay was the central place for commercial activity that became a crucial part of paintings, drawings and

¹⁹⁹ Please see analysis of Dirk Schubert on the relationship between advancements in the shipping industry and the changes on the waterfront in the article Schubert, Dirk. "Transformation processes on waterfronts in seaport cities–causes and trends between divergence and convergence." Kathrin Wildner, Astrid Wonneberger (eds.) Port Cities as Areas of Transition (2008): 25-46 with a specific focus on the figure captioned, "Cycles of Waterfront Transformation" on page 25 in the same article.

²⁰⁰ Traveler Léon de Laborde included a drawing of the waterfront entitled *Débarcadère du Quartier Turc* in his 1838 account *Voyage de L'Asie Mineur*. His depiction included sailboats and fishing boats alongside Turkish city inhabitants. Léon de Laborde, *Voyage De L'asie Mineur* (1838). Planche III, p. 3.

engravings.²⁰¹ The French custom building, the quay, and the *bedesten* (covered bazaar)²⁰² were located alongside the primitive port facilities which appear on the waterfront.²⁰³ The warehouse on the right-hand side of the painting has an inner yard and is directly linked to the sea. There is a primitive pier in front of the building, and the gate directly opens to the pier. This is a typical typology in the Ottoman Empire and is called a *han*. Generally, in the Ottoman Empire, *hans* served as commercial spaces to accommodate and facilitate the functions of religion, education and health in the city by vakifs (charitable foundations).²⁰⁴ Hans were places in which goods were traded and some professional offices were located. They also functioned as places for accommodations. There are several hans in the city, as we can see in the painting. After the shallow bay was filled, in the next century, these hans became detached from the waterfront and remained in the city as extensions of the grand bazaar. The bazaar itself is a very specific place. There, one can see a fish market, synagogues, mosques, coffee houses, fountains, hans, caravans, and organic streets which follow the pattern of the shallow bay. It is an amazing place as it is the meeting point of the manifold typologies that relate to commerce. There one can see Iranian carpets and Indian spices among local figs and olive oils.

Social spaces also have a place on the shore. The Ottoman traveler, Evliya Celebi, emphasised the entertainment facilities on the waterfront in 1671 by referring to the number of café houses (40) and taverns (200).²⁰⁵ Coffee houses came to play an important part in the literary, social, political and even religious life of inhabitants and short-term visitors.²⁰⁶ Public spaces, cultural buildings and coffee houses were important nodes for cultural exchange. The castle, custom house, warehouses and bazaar were all within walking distance. There were no physical restrictions or separations, like the high fences we see today, separating the port and the city

²⁰¹ Pitton, Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du roi, contenant l'histoire ancienne & moderne de plusieurs isles de l'archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la mer noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontiers de Perse & de l'Asie Mineure. avec les plans des villes & des lieux considerables... enrichie de descriptions & de figures d'un grand nombre des plantes rares, de divers animaux; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle. par M. Pitton de Tournefort... Tome premier-[second] aux dépens de la compagnie, 255.; ibid. p. 194.

²⁰² Bedesten is explained in a Turkish dictionary as a covered bazar where cloth, jewelery and valuable items were sold. URL: http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&kelime=bedesten (translated by the author).

²⁰³ Han is explained in a Turkish dictionary

²⁰⁴ Vakıf is a charitable foundation that raised funds for the services in the Ottoman Era. Atay, *Kapanan Kapılar:İzmir Hanları*, 71.

²⁰⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* ed. Zuhuri Danışman (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danışman Yayınevi, 1969).

²⁰⁶ Calças, Gateways to the Past: Houses and Gardens of Old Bornova.

in container areas. On the contrary, everything was respectfully and harmoniously taking position next to each other. The transition between places is smooth and suited to engagement with inhabitants and visitors of the city.

Because port cities are positioned at a border, they need suitable protection. In the primitive port era this was particularly to protect against pirate attacks and other outside dangers. Naturally, this led to the construction of defense buildings. As promised while looking at the castle on the hill, we can now consider the other castle along the waterfront. This castle, called *Ok*, was located at the entrance of the inner bay of the city, protecting the inner port of İzmir. The castle was constructed by the Byzantines in the 12th century.²⁰⁷ The old castle is located on the left side of the bay next to the large building complex. Although administratively the city belonged to Byzantine, the Genoese were the active traders in the city.²⁰⁸ Between the 13th and 15th century, the Genoese settled in İzmir and from that time on, they dominated trade around the castle on the waterfront.²⁰⁹ According to the Nif (Kemalpasa) treaty between Byzantine and the Genoese, dating back to 1261, Byzantine gave privileges to the Genoese merchants in İzmir. Through these, the Genoese had the right to establish a neighborhood, church, bakery and *hamam* (public bath) in the city.²¹⁰

Historically speaking, the sailboat era (also called the primitive port era) was the period when İzmir's port activities centered in and around the inner bay. The turning point between the medieval era and the 19th century is marked with industrial developments, which is why the definition of the primitive port era is mostly related to pre-industrial conditions and based on the spatial and economic structures of this era.²¹¹ The developments in this period are also characterized by political and military purposes of defense.²¹² In this time, the ships were not so powerful. They carried solid goods in loading sacks and liquids in *amphoras* (tall ceramic

208 Atay, Kapanan Kapılar:İzmir Hanları, 14.

210 Ibid., 18.

²⁰⁷ In some sources the castle is also known as Neon Kastron, Genoese Castle, Castrum Smyrnarum, St. Petros Castle, Le Chatesu, Hafen Kastell, Kal'a-İzmir-i Cedid, Liman Kalesi, Hisar and Sogan. Kalesi. http://www.İzmirİzmirdergisi.com/tr/dergi-arsivi/49-25inci-sayi/1734-yikildi-ama-ismi-yasiyor-İzmirİzmir-liman-kalesi

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 18.

²¹¹ Hoyle, Brian Stewart. "The port—City interface: Trends, problems and examples." Geoforum 20, no. 4 (1989): 432. Please also see further phases in the port city development, not only in the "table port-city interface" showing port and city relations, but also the whole article Brian Stewart Hoyle, "The port—City interface: Trends, problems and examples." Geoforum 20, no. 4 (1989): 429-435.

²¹² Han Meyer, City and Port: The Transformation of Port Cities: London, Barcelona, New York and Rotterdam. International Books, 1999, 25.

containers used for storage and transport). They directly anchored to a primitive quay that often followed the natural line of the shore of the inner bay and had a direct relation with the bazaar and *hans*. The carriers unloaded and loaded goods to the warehouses or to camels in order to circulate them towards the Eastern bazaars. The warehouses are the next typical storage buildings that appear in the port. These were important in keeping the goods safe until they were sold or shipped away. A clear pattern of interconnectedness can be seen in all of these port activities and the urban lives they touched.

4.3 (Re) Setting the Stage for the Rise of Cosmopolitanism: Transition from the Sail-Boat Era to the Steam-Boat Era

The transition from the sailboat era to the steamboat era later on led to several developments in spatial, social and cultural components of port city culture in İzmir. I start with the general changes that occurred in every port city, almost simultaneously, due to common adjustment in the spatial conditions. The advancement in transportation (e.g., railways) was primarily intended to facilitate the transport of raw materials from the port city region. Urban designer Han Meyer explains that this innovation in transshipment transformed ports from being "centers of international trade," as they were in the sailboat era, to "transshipment sites," becoming a chain in the string of transportation.²¹³ In this era, Meyer continues, urban planning concepts were still related to the city and the port.²¹⁴ Indeed, industrial developments centered on port activities. Building the quay and port were essential points in the urban development of İzmir. These continuous developments at the infrastructural level did two things: they 1) connected the port city region to the port and to the chain of global trade, and 2) became an important driver for the migration and urban development that manifested in the 19th century residential blocks in İzmir, as I will explain soon. The arrival of European merchants was soon followed by other upper-class European migrants. This caused the need

²¹³ Han Meyer, *City and Port: The Transformation of Port Cities* (London, Barcelona, New York and Rotterdam. International Books, 1999), 26.

²¹⁴ Meyer, City and Port, 27.

for residential quarter in İzmir in addition to the required developments for the infrastructure of port's advancements due to the technological changes.

The turn to the 19th century demonstrates a big leap in economic development. This financial growth caused the city to prosper and solidified its place among its alliances in oversea trade. The Ottoman port controlled one quarter of the Empire's trade of raw cotton, spun cotton, waxes, dyes, and leathers, linking it to Livorno, Genoa, Messina, Trieste, Ancona, Venice, Marseille, Amsterdam and London.²¹⁵ The 1838 Treaty of Balta Limanı between England and the Ottoman Empire fostered the process of building infrastructure, such as ports, train stations and railways in the Ottoman Empire.

In the 1830s, the city lacked proper planning. For example, the Turkish Governance sold plots along the waterfront, which allowed for buildings that prevented the sea breeze from entering into the inner part of the city. This improper planning continued when lands owned by the *vakif* began to be sold.²¹⁶ The new landowners filled the sea, which also belonged to the *vakif*, ²¹⁷ in order to gain more land on which they could build. This resulted in a haphazard urbanization along the shore. At the same time, some of the orchards and vineyards in the city began to be rapidly transformed into neighborhoods, due to the emergence of migrant populations, including Greek, Maltese and Ionians.²¹⁸ Meanwhile, diplomatic visits to Paris, Vienna and London awakened the recognition of the underdevelopment in urban matters in the Ottoman Empire. After the decline in the economy and haphazard urbanization in the early 19th century, building activities in İzmir accelerated when the *Tanzimat Fermani* (Imperial Edict) was launched in 1839.

Following the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty, the *Tanzimat Fermanı* – *Gülhane-i Hattı Humayun* (Imperial Edict) was established on 3 November 1839. The Ottoman reforms, established in 1839 and 1856, aimed to modernize streets, waterfront feasts and rituals in the city, and accommodate infrastructure and social and spatial practices.²¹⁹ Before the *Tanzimat* charter, municipal rules and regulations were based on imperial orders and juridical rules, as well as customs and traditions. The *Tanzimat* charter adopted a Western viewpoint in urban transformation.

²¹⁵ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "18. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Ticaret (1700-1820)," Çiğdem Diken (Çev.), İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını (2006).

²¹⁶ Gençer, "1840-1912 Yılları Arasında İzmir ve Selanik'teki Kentsel ve Mimari Değişim/ Urban and architectural transformation in İzmir and Thessaloniki between 1840-1912."

²¹⁷ Vakif is a charitable foundation that raised funds for the services in the Ottoman Era.

²¹⁸ Zandi-Sayek, Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880, 25.

²¹⁹ Zandi-Sayek, Ottomanİzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880, 4.

The *Tanzimat* reformers established a new understanding on urban administration. These reforms rapidly facilitated modern urban development in İzmir. Between 1838 (the Anglo Turkish commercial Treaty of 1838) and 1908 (the young Turk Revolution) the Ottoman Empire went through an economic, social, and political transformation. In addition to facilitating the synchronization of İzmir with other port cities in terms of fundamental port facilities and infrastructures (like building the quay, a new custom house, and railways) the edict also accelerated the negotiation between local and global knowledge.

This was manifested in the architecture and is considered by numerous scholars to be the Westernization Period²²⁰ in the Ottoman Empire. As an outcome of the *Tanzimat* charter, the Ottoman bureaucracy was reformed, and transformed into a centralized hierarchy of civil servants. Upon this event, the council of public works was founded in order to supervise building activities in the city.

With the edict of 1839, the Ottoman Empire established a new regime, a new social status for its inhabitants, and socio-economic activities were altered. Non-Muslims gained the same rights as Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. They were accepted equally in front of the law.²²¹ Additionally, the Ottoman Empire provided privileges for artisans and merchants — tax exemptions, secure houses and working offices, and extraterritoriality (exemption from Ottoman laws) — on the grounds that these migrants would build and develop cities.²²²

To secure the promised rights with the law, the *Islahat Fermani* was announced in 1856.²²³ This new ruling included regulations for the building practices of Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants in the city. While in the multi-religious neighborhoods, the building and repair work on existing buildings was subject to permission from the government, neighborhoods characterized by a homogenous religion were not

²²⁰ The Westernization movement dates back to the 18th century in Turkey. In the 18th century, there was an attempt to modernize the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Selim III. Between the years 1789-1807, Selim III promulgated reforms and launched innovative regulations which are called *Nizam-i Cedid*. As Stanford J. Shaw points out, the *Nizam-i Cedid* (ing. New Order, *tr. Yeni Düzen*) was the first awareness of the modern world's realities and first attempt to follow western developments.

²²¹ Ceylan İrem Gençer, "Dualities in the Transformation of the Urban Realm: Smyrna and Salonica 1840–1900," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 31, no. 2 (2016), 130-131.

²²² Geyikdağı, Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations 1854-1914, 27. ; Berkes, "Yüz Soruda Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, Cilt: 1, Gözden Geçirilmiş Ve Genişletilmiş 2," 73. as cited in Geyikdağı, Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations 1854-1914, 27.

²²³ U. Gülsoy, "Islahat Fermanı," İslam Ansiklopedisi1992. Pp.185-186 as cited in Gençer, "Dualities in the Transformation of the Urban Realm: Smyrna and Salonica 1840–1900," 130.

required to get government permission for restoration of the building (however, re-building still required obtaining permission from the government).²²⁴ Another outcome of the *Islahat Fermani* was election rights for non-Muslims in cities and in the regional administration.²²⁵ In this way, long-term resident international traders began to get involved in decision-making for urban matters in İzmir.

To keep up with the port facilities in other port cities, relocation of the port came into question in 1860.²²⁶ Prominent trader families initiated a petition for building a new port and quay. To build a modern port, İzmir needed to read and respond to the global developments occurring in other port cities, which were part of the same global network of trade. Since the 1850s, French and English newspapers began writing about the improvement of the docks.²²⁷

At the turn of the 19th century, simultaneous conditions, such as plague, technological advancements that allowed for commuting between the waterfront and the outskirts, and increasing trading facilities, led to functional changes in the city. The gradual separation of domestic life and trade life for traders was one of these changes. Another change was related to the extension of the city to the sea. In the painting, we can see that there was a continuous quay. As the straight-edged, clean cut shoreline and man-made building activities indicate, it is not the natural shoreline: the waterfront had been extended towards the sea at least once. The first line of buildings along the shore are built on the sea. Those houses on the water and waterfront defined the face of the city.

Indeed, the shore was extended into the sea multiple times during the 18th and 19th century. This redefined the physical form of the waterfront, its image and all associated narratives. In the 18th century, all port activities were concentrated along the waterfront of İzmir. The houses of some of the consuls and elites were directly linked to the sea, thus, the shore was partially a private asset. In this era, the houses of the traders served as their offices. Over time, the old waterfront became one of the streets of the city which is parallel to the gulf of İzmir.

²²⁴ Gülsoy, "Islahat Fermanı". 186 as cited in Gençer, "Dualities in the Transformation of the Urban Realm: Smyrna and Salonica 1840–1900," 130.

²²⁵ Ibid., 131.

²²⁶ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2000), 202.

²²⁷ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles over the Shore: Building the Quay of İzmir, 1867-1875," 59.

This prominent street was called "Frank Street" (in reference to the presence of the French), and the houses were known as *Verhanes* or *Ferhanes*, the contracted pronunciation of *Frankhane*, *house of Franks*.²²⁸

Between the long, narrow houses were narrow passageways connecting Frank Street with parallel streets: the *Inglich İskelesi* (English Pier) and the *Sahil Caddesi* (Waterfront Street). With this extension, the office of Jean Baptiste Giraud, one of the main characters in this investigation, would remain in the center of the city on the renowned Frank Street that was formerly adjacent to the water.

Understanding the historical background of İzmir also allows us to understand the further developments in the city in terms of infrastructure, historic land routes, and the evolving bazaar (in its present-day place as the determined from the historic references). The traditional urban pattern was maintained until the 18th century: settlements of long-term migrant European merchants could be found along the waterfront, while Ottomans lived in the downtown as well as in the outskirts of the city and in the hinterland. This spatial separation was complemented by the segregation of people of Western and Turkish descent in different neighborhoods. With the knowledge we gain from the 17th century depiction that is exhibited in the *Rijksmuseum* of Amsterdam today, it is possible to recognize that in the 19th century there is a particular building typology that is directly linked to the water, and which became more present on the shores. The bathing house shows the inherited building typologies from the houses along the waterfront that we see in the painting. As in the previous centuries, some houses were still directly linked to the sea in the 19th century.²²⁹ The wooden house was built on "hundreds of iron piles" in the sea.²³⁰ The bathroom was rectangular and surrounded with changing rooms.²³¹

In parallel to the financial growth, the transition from the sailboat era to the steamboat era mirrored global changes, events and technological advancements. The transit port facilities were a direct consequence of global developments in the shipping industry after the invention of steam power. Steamships were larger and faster than sailing boats, and more suitable for shipping a greater quantity of goods.

²²⁸ Biray Kolluoğlu, "Cityscapes and Modernity: Smyrna Morphing into İzmir,» in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey, Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950,* Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder (eds.) (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

²²⁹ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 59.

²³⁰ Ibid., 59.

²³¹ Ibid., 59.

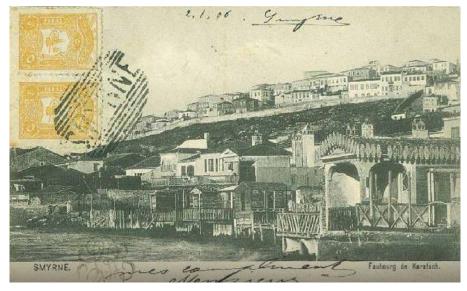


FIG. 4.2 19th century waterfront houses with bath (courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).

As a consequence, the inner harbors of many port cities were no longer big enough to facilitate the changing technologies in the maritime world. During the transition from the sailing boat port era to the steamboat port era, the port city of İzmir began to adapt to the technological advancements. In this shift, foreign capital holders initiated the construction of new infrastructure in İzmir and its hinterland. Consequently, İzmir became a primary site for urban refinement in the 19th century.

In the 19th century, the Eastern Mediterranean was strongly interconnected with Western, Central and Southern Europe.²³² Historian Malte Fuhrmann sheds light on how upper-class Europeans lived in the Ottoman Empire. He discusses upper class spatial presence in terms of "locality" in spatial, legal and subjective dimensions. According to Fuhrmann the locality is *where a certain person stays the de facto largest amount of his or her time (the spatial dimension)*; secondly, he continues, *locality that recognizes the individual as a legitimate user of a particular space (the legal dimension)*; thirdly, *the locality to which the individual attaches a predominant degree of his sense of belonging (the subjective dimension)*. This belonging to the locus is an outcome of the transculturation process which manifested in the architecture. In particular this engagement was visible in domestic spaces (e.g., residential blocks along the waterfront in the downtown) and social spaces of their daily life.

²³² Fuhrmann, 'I Would Rather Be in the Orient': European Lower Class Immigrants into the Ottoman Lands. p. 227.

These preexisting conditions complemented the parallel developments of the joint relationships between politics, economics, and technological advancements. They also set the conditions for the cross-cultural situations in which cosmopolitanism took hold and flourished in the long 19th century. The condition of the long 19th century is characterized by a multi-cultural atmosphere with a high degree of respect for one another between social groups. The city and its inhabitants flourished financially, providing a secure environment for the development of the city. I will now move to two situations that exemplify how trade relations, co-existence of East and West (in relation to oversea trade), and representation played out in the studied era.

4.3.1 Building Waterfronts of İzmir: Building 19th Century İzmir House²³³

I chose to focus first on 19th century residential quarter in order to understand the building practices in 19th century cosmopolitan İzmir. For instance, the urban plan reveals the encounter between the foreign experts and the local governors. This makes clear that superior expertise was valued and this led to the decision for the start of the modern planning application (e.g., the application of the grid plan in İzmir's waterfront and the Armenian Quarter). It is crucial to understand the physical manifestation and urban context within the complexities of economic, political and technological drivers for oversea trade. In the course of the 19th century, İzmir's building practices gained their form while being at the intersection of the local and global circulation of knowledge. Indeed, port activities introduced knowledge, building materials and experts that entered into local building practices. The Ottoman Empire had its seasonal labor for the building practices of the building guild. Each encounter between the global circulation and İzmir's character created unique architectures, specific to İzmir.

Besides the local Ottoman inhabitants of the city (Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews), there were also travelling Ottoman social groups responsible for the urban production of the city. The production of buildings and Ottoman urban culture was a result of cross-cultural exchanges between the regions. The multinational, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious structure of the Ottoman Empire allowed master builders to work and produce together. For instance, masons, stoneculters and

²³³ This subchapter has been published in the Tanış, "Architectures of the Intertwined East and West: Building the 19th century Izmir House."

carpenter from Anatolia and the Balkans worked together.²³⁴ Stonecutters came from Kayseri, Konya and the Aegean Islands. Carpenters came from the Balkans, the Pontus region, and the wooded areas of Macedonia and Anatolia. Thus, Turkish, Greek, Rhodopean, and Pontus carpenters worked together at building sites with Albanian, Armenian and Walachian hydraulic craftsmen. Buildings in the vernacular architecture were based on stone masonry and wooden framed traditional structures. The master builders designed public and private buildings.²³⁵ Ornament was not the fundamental concern of the artisans, although it was appreciated.²³⁶ To both the building guild and the buildings, the artisans and their craftsmanship were very important in architectural design.²³⁷ The Ottoman Empire cultivated their craftsmen with the benefit of the inherited knowledge of building techniques developed in the Balkans, Cappadocia and Syria since the middle ages.²³⁸

Building techniques in 19th century İzmir House included both local and imported knowledge. Traveler and writer Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell wrote in 1834, "The wooden framed house, though gaudily painted without, was considered the indispensable protection against the desolating earthquake, which might occur once in a century, but against the fires of every day, stone was never thought of."²³⁹ The housing development shows the adaptation of the advancing building techniques and the negotiation on the use of materials against fires. In addition to the building knowledge gained from prior experience in the Ottoman Empire, new building techniques and building materials from abroad had been tested and learnt. In this period, a modern building approach developed, focusing on faster, mass and serial production that created more rational building systems.²⁴⁰ For instance, the polygonal stones that were used in station and workshop buildings of the Aydın-İzmir Railway, were quickly adopted in the new residential development project in the northern part of İzmir's downtown. The non-human agent of this development of row housing was the Aydın-İzmir railway construction in the region.²⁴¹ The building of the

240 Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam* (İstanbul: Literatür, 2000). Ünal, "İzmir Ve Selanik Liman Kentlerinin Gelişim Süreçlerinin Karşılaştırılmalı Analizi (1650-1750)." 217.

241 Ö. Eyüce, "Türkiye'deki İl Demiryolu: İzmir Aydın Hattı ve Alsancak Garı, İzmi," İzmir Dergisi no. 1999/ Mart-Nisan (1999).

²³⁴ Maurice Cerasi, Late-Ottoman Architects and Master Builders, 1988, 87-102: 89.

²³⁵ Ibid. p. 89.

²³⁶ Ibid. p. 91.

²³⁷ Ibid. p. 91.

²³⁸ Ibid. p. 89.

²³⁹ Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor: Including a Description of the Ruins of Several Ancient Cities, and Especially Antioch of Pisidia, Vol. 2, 417.

station itself (consisting of station building workshops, hangars, housing for officers and other social places) was a turning point for the application of the advanced building techniques that were imported from Europe. It was the first pilot project that informed housing building techniques in the city.²⁴² Iron beams were used in new houses right after being used in the station's service buildings. Standardized and mass building materials were often produced in the factories (iron foundries) that were established after the Alsancak Train Station project began to be realized. In these factories, cast iron consoles under the balconies (*jumbahs, cumba*), door knobs, tiles (*karosiman*), iron beams, and nails were produced.²⁴³ Maltese bricks and cast iron were used as ornaments to emphasize the class differences of the residents.

Urban Planning: The Application of the Grid Plan

Infrastructure construction like the railway, the tram and the quay along the shore was the driver of development, opening up new possibilities for housing plots in the city. According to the insurance maps, the first housing parcels were established between 1837 and 1856.²⁴⁴ Developers owned the lands and sold the plots for further development. When the French company of developers built the quay around the waterfront, they gained some spaces when the sea was filled. On these sites, the French company produced housing parcels.²⁴⁵ The same thing happened when the Belgian tram company established a tramline. They produced housing islands on the avenue, with plots which they sold.²⁴⁶

²⁴² Şeniz Çıkış, "Addern Konut> olarak XIX. Yüzyıl İzmir Konutu: Biçimsel ve Kavramsal Ortaklıklar," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 26, no. 2 (2009): 217.

²⁴³ Martal, Degisim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme: 19. Yüzyıl.

²⁴⁴ Çıkış, "‹Modern Konut› olarak XIX. Yüzyıl İzmir Konutu: Biçimsel ve Kavramsal Ortaklıklar," 227.

²⁴⁵ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Western and Local Entrepreneurs in İzmir in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Son Yüzyillarda İzmir ve Bati Anadolu (İzmir and Western Anatolia through History) T. Baykara, ed., İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994).

²⁴⁶ Cânâ Bilsel, "19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir'de Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Kent Mekanının Başkalaşımı." *Ege Mimarlık* 36 (2000): 34-37. cited in Çıkış, "‹Modern Konut› olarak XIX. Yüzyıl İzmir Konutu: Biçimsel ve Kavramsal Ortaklıklar," 227.

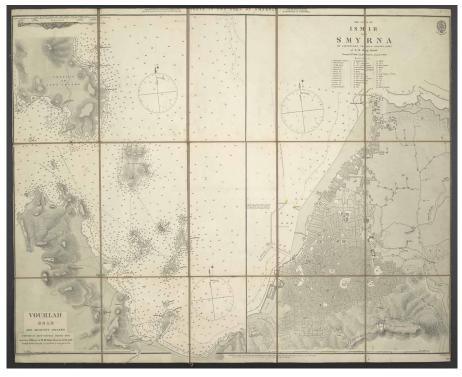


FIG. 4.3 Thomas Graves Map shows the extension of the city for the construction of the housing and the quay (source: National Maritime Museum Greenwich, courtesy: United Kingdom Hydrographic Office (UKHO) Graves, Thomas Walker, J. & C.).

Another parallel development in urban development was related to natural disasters. As many port cities suffered from the great fires in history (e.g., Amsterdam in 1452, London in 1666, Hamburg in 1842), so did İzmir. For instance, the Great Fire of 1845 devastated the Armenian neighborhood. İzmir was not the only city that suffered from these fires, it was the same in Istanbul, the capital city of the empire. The Ottoman Empire followed new planning approaches for the burnt plots in the city. In 1845 the first planning approach was applied in the burnt area in İzmir. Luigi Storari²⁴⁷ applied the first grid in İzmir in the Armenian neighborhood. Storari had

²⁴⁷ Luigi Storari arrived in İzmir due to political unrest in Italy. The Papal State was not a comfortable environment for Storari given that he was a member of the revolutionary group called *Carboneria;* Emiliano Bugatti, "The Contribution of Luigi Storari to the Analysis and Development of the Levantine Urban Fabric," in *Italian Architects and Builders in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Design across Borders*, ed. Paolo Girardelli and Ezio Godoli (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 64.

worked in the Italian army before, and had gained knowledge related to modern urban mapping techniques.²⁴⁸ Luigi Storari arrived in İzmir in 1849 and collaborated with the Ottoman officer Ali Nihat Efendi.²⁴⁹ He introduced the modern square to the Ottoman Empire.²⁵⁰ This first applied urban planning, for the housing of the labor class in Basmane after the fire of 1845, was in line with the manuals produced by the central government.²⁵¹ Complementary to this grid based urban plan, he wrote and published a guide as well.²⁵² His text included extensive descriptions of the Ottoman urban fabric based on his surveys in the city. He noted that the city was lacking squares and public spaces for entertainment and promenade.²⁵³ His views on public and social spaces were influential in further development in İzmir.

Spatial Organization and the Façade Order

The collaboration with Luigi Storari is a testimony to the emergence of modern developments on the shores of İzmir, and also to the acceptance of a new life style. Until the 19th century, the urban fabric of the Ottoman Empire mostly consisted of dead-end streets. The development of the urban pattern is an expression of the value system of the local Ottomans. Given that Anatolia is the cradle of civilization, the first implications of the grid system were in fact already applied much earlier in Asia Minor, even in the region of İzmir itself. The ancient cities *Miletos* and *Priene* are great examples of the grid planning system.²⁵⁴ The modern town planning principles carried by Luigi Storari to the Ottoman Empire were, indeed, historically present.

²⁴⁸ Bugatti, "The Contribution of Luigi Storari to the Analysis and Development of the Levantine Urban Fabric," 64.

²⁴⁹ Stefanos Yerasimos, *Quelques Elements Sur L'ingenieur Luigi Storari, Architettura E Architetti Italiani Ad Istanbul Tra Il XIX E Il XX Secolo* (Istanbul: Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul, 1997). as cited in Bugatti, "The Contribution of Luigi Storari to the Analysis and Development of the Levantine Urban Fabric," 64.

²⁵⁰ Bugatti, "The Contribution of Luigi Storari to the Analysis and Development of the Levantine Urban Fabric," 64.

²⁵¹ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-I Umur-U Belediye, İstanbul: Matbaa-yi Osmaniye (1914-1922). cited in Çıkış,* "Modern Konut' olarak XIX. Yüzyıl İzmir Konutu: Biçimsel ve Kavramsal Ortaklıklar," 229.

²⁵² Luigi Storari, *Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1857).

²⁵³ Ibid. as cited in Bugatti, "The Contribution of Luigi Storari to the Analysis and Development of the Levantine Urban Fabric," 65.

²⁵⁴ For further elaboration, please see: Wolfgang Rabbel, Harald Stuempel, and Susanne Woelz, "Archeological prospecting with magnetic and shear-wave surveys at the ancient city of Miletos (western Turkey)," *The Leading Edge* 23, no. 7 (2004): 690-703.; Luigi Mazza, "Plan and constitution: Aristotle's hippodamus: towards an ostensive' definition of spatial planning," *The Town planning review* (2009): 113-141.

However, the introverted, conservative and humble lifestyle in the Ottoman period, complemented by the family relations, had led to a very different urban model: a web of streets with dead-ends. The dwellings in Anatolia were developed by learning from the existing built environment; accepting, rejecting or adapting particular principles of the existing codes which had been inherited from previous civilizations. The spatial composition took its source from the existing typology in the region and retained and adjusted it in the design process, taking the local climate conditions into account.

When we come to the façade orders, we see different norms and values of the diverse social groups in the city becoming fundamental entries at this level. The architectural elements on the façade reveal overlapping patterns, which reflect the social and cultural encounters. Interaction between different social groups was fundamental in the urban cultures of İzmir. Amongst the other values of the society, the notion of respect was an important actant in decision making. This was reflected in the façade orders and ratio of the windows and doors. Respect to one another was a key of the Ottoman multi-religious, multi-ethnical social structure.

The balconies (*cumba*) exhibit how local practices have been accepted and maintained by migrant societies. The form of the balcony, a living space extended towards to street, established a relationship with the street and allowed inhabitants to be in contact with their neighbors. Having good relations with neighbors was one of the important pillars of the local cultures, particularly amongst Turks. Additionally, the façade of the special balcony allowed the benefit of light and fresh air.²⁵⁵ The circulation of iron and cast iron for buildings, introduced through the railway construction, affected the way housing façades developed, particularly balcony construction. Previously, the local housing had simple wooden supporters underneath the balconies. Iron replaced this supporting material and became an ornament in the façade, reflecting social status. This was associated with contemporary developments and was a reflection of the modern serving as a counterpart to the local.

Climate, topography and existing building materials in the region have been important determinants in the building techniques and spatial organizations for the development of the housing typology. For instance, 19th century housing was designed to receive the local wind (*imbat*) by having the façade extend out from the external wall with a special type of balcony. Ornament was not the fundamental concern of the artisans, although it was appreciated.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Huseyin Egeli, https://youtu.be/NMbT6zOCBts, retrieved day 28 April 2020.

²⁵⁶ Maurice Cerasi, Late-Ottoman Architects and Master Builders, 1988, 87-102: 91.

To our knowledge there is no record of who the designers of the row housing typology in İzmir were. Atilla Yucel (1996) argued that the row housing was a result of the initiation of a British developer who was familiar with the British row housing tradition and applied this building manner on the shore.²⁵⁷ Due to the spatial organisation and the order of the façades, the local government considered the typology suitable to local Turkish family traditions.²⁵⁸ It seems that the typology resonated with local Turkish tendency to an introverted and conservative lifestyle, which favored a distinct separation between the inside and outside of houses. Local and European cultures together have determined the final development of the row housing. Rather than dependency on one another, the formation of the modern row housing reflects the mutual respect of cultures, beliefs, and values between the multi-religious and multi-ethnical societies of İzmir.

4.3.2 The Role of Trade and Representation in Building the City from the Waterfront to the Outskirts²⁵⁹

The Imagined Orient and Occident in Buildings and Trade Catalogues

Trading families used their income to shape the architecture of İzmir. The company maintained several trade offices on the quay and in the center of the city. Photos taken from the sea and the quay document the warehouses and production process, indicating their relevance to the city's everyday affairs.²⁶⁰ Western-style buildings stood on the quay, greeting the ships arriving from Europe with familiar architectural forms.

²⁵⁷ Yücel, "İstanbul'da 19. Yüzyılın Kentsel Konut Biçimleri." as cited in Çıkış, "<Modern Konut> olarak XIX. Yüzyıl İzmir Konutu: Biçimsel ve Kavramsal Ortaklıklar," 233.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ This sub-chapter "The Role of the Trade and Representation in the Building the city from waterfront to the outskirts" was published as: Tanış, Fatma, and Carola Hein. "Space, Representation and Practice in the Formation of İzmir During the Long Nineteenth Century." Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, C. 1570–1940 (2020): 44-61. It is the same copy of the published version. The text is almost the same text that appeared in the article with a few attunements and rearrangements.

²⁶⁰ *Rubellin et Fils* Photographs Collection is the most extensive source for photographs of İzmir's waterfront in the 19th and early 20th centuries.; Rubellin et Fils, "Rubellin Et Fils Photographs Collection," ed. Manuscripts Division (Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.1880s).

The carpet trade was a key business in İzmir and serves as a good example of the exchange between East and West. Prominent traders from İzmir established companies that took part in different stages of carpet production and global distribution.²⁶¹ These companies worked with local producers in the hinterland who fabricated objects that would make their way into European homes, lending them an exotic feel.²⁶² To sell their goods, trade catalogues often included local elements like traditional costumes or scenes of production. In 1886, G. P. & J. Baker's carpet catalogue included extensive descriptions of the villages of Kula and Usak, where peasants wove carpets.²⁶³ The World Fairs (e.g., 1851 London, 1855 Paris) were places to promote products. Charles La Fontaine, the brother of the merchant Sydney La Fontaine from İzmir, and one of the owners of the five companies constituting the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers (OCM),²⁶⁴ was responsible for the 1851 World Fair's Turkish Section.²⁶⁵ The fame of Turkish carpets spread rapidly in England when Queen Elisabeth ordered one.²⁶⁶ The increasing demand for carpets and the resulting increase in production and workforce numbers indicate the success of these marketing strategies.²⁶⁷

In the second half of the 19th century, as trading families prospered, the port cityscape in İzmir expanded. The new quay, initiated by foreign merchants in the 1850s, connected the city's port with its outskirts via a new perpendicular railway system.²⁶⁸ The Whittall and Giraud families played an important role in developing a network of buildings (warehouses, sales offices, and depots) which spread from the waterfront, through the city's industrial zone northeast of the city center, and out to the villages on the city's edges. The building design at

267 Ibid., 48.

²⁶¹ P. de Andria & Co., established in 1836 in İzmir; G. P. & J. Baker Ltd., established in London in 1878; Habif & Polako, established in İzmir in 1840; Sydney La Fontaine, established in İzmir in 1880; T. A. Spartali & Co., established in İzmir in 1842; and Sykes & Co., established in İzmir in 1902. Wynn, *Three Camels to Smyrna*.

²⁶² Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979).

²⁶³ Trade Catalogue of the GP & J Baker Ltd, manufacturers and dealers in Oriental carpets and upholstery fabrics, 1886. Catalogue NRA 30807 GP & J Baker Ltd, HMC Records of British business and industry 1760-1914 textiles and leather, the National Archives, Archives Sector Development, Richmond, the United Kingdom.

²⁶⁴ OCM was established before 1908 and owned by the De Andria, Baker, Habif and Polako, Spartali, Sykes, La Fontaine and the Giraud family.

²⁶⁵ *Journal De Constantinople*, March 9, 1851. cited in Gülname Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," *Design Issues* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter, 2009), 67.; more about the family tree can be read in Giraud, *A Record of the Origin and the History of the Giraud and the Whittall Families of Turkey*, 131.

²⁶⁶ Wynn, Three Camels to Smyrna, 21.

²⁶⁸ Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles over the Shore: Building the Quay of İzmir, 1867-1875," 60.; ibid., 59. The railway reached to Uşak in 1897.; Wynn, *Three Camels to Smyrna*, 37.

the waterfront reflected waterfronts in Europe. From the 1860s to the 1920s, the waterfront became, as one scholar put it, "the business card of the city."²⁶⁹ Postcards and paintings commissioned by merchants show the city as if it were an extension of Europe in the Orient, with European-style sales offices. The quay also hosted several consulate buildings, and multiple hotels, theaters, cinema buildings, and cafes. Gothic revival styles, neoclassical ornaments, and symmetrical façades in the commercial part of the quay emphasized a European look. Many postcard depictions of İzmir feature the quay with the tram and European elites along the waterfront in European-style clothing. Memoirs written by merchants' children support this image of European urban life along the shore.²⁷⁰

In their promotional literature, the companies included elements of the Occident and the imagined Orient (e.g., camels and mosques). Postcards and other representations of İzmir featured a European-style building²⁷¹ belonging to the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers (OCM).²⁷² The OCM building, with its late baroque architecture and ornamented door profiles, was depicted in a company promotional photo album of 1908.²⁷³ The brochure contains a painting of the building which features a distorted reality. The European style building was shown with a mosque in the background, while, in reality, the mosque was not visible, given that the neighboring building was blocking the view.

Other attempts at mixing Orient and Occident are evident in the OCM trade album that was distributed through agents in various trade centers, including London, Paris, Vienna, and New York. Traders used the fabled Orientalist image of camels to promote the city. OCM's prosperity depended heavily on work performed inland, where peasant workers wove carpets in their own houses. The OCM board members were in charge of the company's marketing strategies and used images of this work to promote their goods. Illustrations in OCM's promotional photo album depict Turkish, Greek, and Armenian women working on their carpet looms in their houses in the villages of Kula, Uşak, Burdur, Isparta, and Eskişehir.

²⁶⁹ Hein, Port Cities: Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks, 11.

²⁷⁰ Giles Milton, *Paradise Lost: Smyrna* 1922 - *The Destruction of Islam's City of Tolerance* (London: John Murray, 2008), 7-8.

²⁷¹ More information about the trade book can be found in Wynn, *Three Camels to Smyrna*, 273.

²⁷² An example can be seen in the http://www.levantineheritage.com/punta.htm.

²⁷³ The painting has a sign of the *Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche* founded in 1873 in Bergamo, Italy. The painting can be seen in the Trade book of the OCM Company in the Levantine Heritage Foundation, accessed April 14, 2019, http://www.levantineheritage.com/ocm.htm.

These villages were located in the Western part of Anatolia, between 200 and 400 kilometers away from İzmir. Camels or trains transported the carpets from villages to the port. The company's promotional literature showed the camels (that Europeans would associate with the fabled East), but not the trains (considered to be signs of European modernity and superiority.)



FIG. 4.4 The Painting of the OCM's Headquarters with an imagined mosque in the background.

Extending the Imagined Occident and Orient from the Workplaces to the Domestic Sphere

By the mid-nineteenth century, the workplaces and houses of the elite traders became important forces in this new image construction, attracting the attention of travelers and local writers and painters. Accounts of the families' everyday leisure lives promoted the family businesses mainly to a European audience.²⁷⁴ Imaginations of Orient and Occident were not limited to spaces of trade. Rich traders worked in the city but lived with their families in the outskirts. After the plague repeatedly hit İzmir (several times between 1720 and 1837), large mansions and gardens were built in the outskirts of the city, such as those belonging to the Giraud and Whittall families, accommodating luxurious European lifestyles.²⁷⁵ While the men of these families traveled between the waterfront and the outskirts, their wives and children remained in the village of Bornova. The mansions and the family neighborhood housed leisure, sport, and social activities, which helped to maintain family cohesion and status and secure trade interests.²⁷⁶ Most members of these families had studied in Europe, and families cherished their family traditions and values.²⁷⁷ Frequent visits to England, among other European countries, continued to shape their cultural memory and identity. Bornova's mild local climate fit with preexisting European references. Hortense Wood, daughter of the Steinbüchel family and related to the Whittall and Giraud families, associated the view in Bornova with those she had enjoyed in Switzerland.²⁷⁸ The sense of similarity was reinforced by European-style houses that were built in the family quarter.

²⁷⁴ Whittall, "A Week among Brigands," 769. Whittall, "A Note on Fig Cultivation," 185-186.

²⁷⁵ Wynn, Three Camels to Smyrna.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 16.

²⁷⁷ Interview by Fatma Tanış with Brian Giraud, 8 November, 2018, İzmir.

²⁷⁸ Caroline Zambrano Steinbüchel, "History Revealed," 1994, accessed July 2, 2019, http://thebighouse. biz.tr/EN/History.aspx.

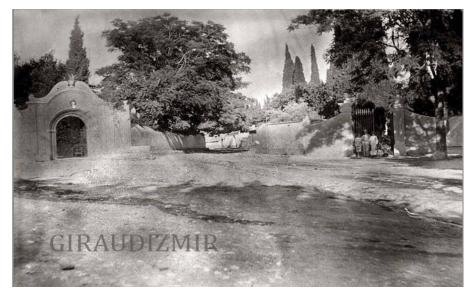


FIG. 4.5 Bornova Square (courtesy Giraud Family).

The Whittall family home reflected profits from oversea trade and a social status that allowed for a bending of local architectural forms to accommodate European standards. In the early 18th century, a Greek monastery had occupied the site of what would become known as the Big House.²⁷⁹ When James, brother of Charlton, bought it, it was only a one-story building.²⁸⁰ Over time, the family extended the building, adding a second floor for reception rooms, an additional third floor, two ballrooms, a large dining room, a drawing room, and a library. A kitchen, storage rooms, and rooms for local Ottoman housekeepers and other servants occupied the so-called garden floor. High living standards led to these spatial modifications of the buildings. Ballrooms and large dining rooms show the importance of social gatherings in family and trade networks. The house was the site of large family occasions that included royalty: King Otho of Greece visited the house in 1833, Sultan Abdülmecid in 1849, Sultan Abdülaziz in 1863, and Prince Andrew of Greece in 1921.²⁸¹ The Big House thus served as an important location for diplomatic gatherings and was exceptional in this regard among private properties in İzmir.²⁸²

282 Ibid.

^{279 &}quot;Her father's house" is The Big House.

²⁸⁰ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 21.

²⁸¹ G.W.Whittall, The Whittall Family in the 18th & 19th Centuries & Associated Families.

Public spaces in Bornova played a crucial role in connecting the trading families, facilitating collaborations and marriages, and providing places to display wealth. The trader families pursued their social lives in clubs, which only accepted registered members, ensuring solidarity between elites. Sports clubs and social activities depicted in postcards became part of the city's identity.²⁸³ Murray's Guide included these images and information about the social life of trader families.²⁸⁴ Religious spaces contributed to the social cohesion that formed the backbone of trade. The elite families constructed churches that became a social space for young men and women where they could get to know each other in respectable ways.²⁸⁵ Charlton Whittall built a church in Bornova in 1857 in the garden of the Big House.²⁸⁶ Elite families also used their financial power to establish and maintain public facilities such as streets, a water system, and public clubs.²⁸⁷

In 1887 Octavious Whittall wrote, in Murray's Magazine, of the English families in Bornova and their social life.²⁸⁸ Prominent trader families also appeared in the wellknown tourist guide, Murray's Handbook. Charlton Whittall's Big House appeared as one of Bornova's most important and inspiring spaces in İzmir in contemporary written accounts. The Big House and its large garden appear in several memoirs.²⁸⁹ Letters and photographs of travelers provide evidence of these intertwined families and their economic contributions to the Ottoman Empire. The Whittall family's property and luxurious lifestyle impressed Bell,²⁹⁰ who wrote of her fascination with the family's Big House and their lives there in letters following her visit in 1902.²⁹¹ She noted that women sometimes wore local dress.²⁹² Bell was impressed by the size of the house and

285 http://levantineheritage.com/st-john-church-archives.html, retrieved date November 9, 2018.

- 287 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 149.
- 288 Whittall, "A Week among Brigands," 769.
- 289 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922.; Gertrude Bell, The Letters of Gertrude Bell, vol. 1 (eStar Books, 2014).
- 290 The Letters of Gertrude Bell, 1.

date: September 6, 2018.

291 Ibid.

²⁸³ Pierre de Gigord collection of photographs. Pierre de Gigord, ed. Gigord (Pierre de) Collection of Photographs of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey (Getty Research Institute Digital and Special Collections). Postcards can be seen in http://www.levantineheritage.com/note54.htm; http://www.levantineheritage.com/dock.htm; http://www.levantineheritage.com/football.htm#1.; retrieved

²⁸⁴ Murray, A Hand-Book for Travelers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople, 1.

²⁸⁶ quoted in: Nedim Sönmez, "Ege University Rectorate "the Big House"," ed. Ege University (İzmir Summer 2010).

²⁹² Gertrude Bell, "A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries" (1902). 11 March 1902. http://gertrudebell.ncl. ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=120; retrieved date: June 14, 2018.

amazed by the beautiful garden; she noted that Edward Whittall had donated tulips to England's Kew Gardens, the famed national botanical garden outside of London.²⁹³ The Whittall garden was also featured in postcards and other public images.²⁹⁴ Such depictions helped to promote the trading families in the eyes of the European elite.

The long-term resident European migrant community in Bornova did not often seek entertainment elsewhere, as the community was large and, as one former resident noted, "life was delightful" with access to local theatres and gatherings.²⁹⁵ By the 1880s, they formed their own tennis and hockey clubs in Bornova.²⁹⁶ The families introduced multiple European sports to the city, as Brian Giraud explained in an interview.²⁹⁷ These spaces and social activities influenced socio-economic relations in the city, fostering societal connections in İzmir.²⁹⁸ Social practices were often based on the cultural memory constituted in their home countries. The building, in 1840, of the Hippodrome in Buca—another village in İzmir—provides an example. The Whittall, Rees, Forbes, and Giraud trading families helped to introduce European horse racing in Turkey.²⁹⁹ İzmir-based photographers Zakariou and Kouri captured this social life, featured in French- and Ottoman-language postcards. From their private sphere, these European families introduced and disseminated a European lifestyle in İzmir.³⁰⁰

By developing the links between East and West, the merchants created new infrastructures, which expanded and unified the city in ways that benefitted this small group. Within this context, international trading families like the Whittalls and the Girauds inspired writers and painters, which in turn shaped how the city and its products were seen and sold abroad. Trader families could also pick and choose elements of what they imagined as two different worlds to create a particular image of İzmir. Their international trade network helped to distill the city's complex reality into a fusion and disseminate this image to other parts of the world.

²⁹³ Bell, The Letters of Gertrude Bell, 1.

²⁹⁴ Postcard of the garden can be seen in http://www.levantineheritage.com/whittall2.htm, accessed June 25, 2019.

²⁹⁵ Interview by Görkem Daşkan with Frederick De Cramer, June 18, 2012.

²⁹⁶ Osman Öndeş, Modalı Vitol Ailesi (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2015), 123.

²⁹⁷ Interview by Fatma Tanış with Brian Giraud. 8 November 2018, İzmir.

²⁹⁸ Daphne Aliberti, "*Levant'ın Aynasında Batılı Yansımalar* [Western reflection in the mirror of the Levant]" interview by Dilek İmançer, filmed in 2005. YouTube video, 28 min 59 sec. Posted in February 2011. https:// youtu.be/cpgzd3Ez63k; accessed June 2, 2019.

²⁹⁹ Sabri Yetkin, "İzmir and Horse Racing, from Yesterday to Today," *Milliyet*, February 22, 2004. accessed December 3, 2018, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2004/02/22/ege/yazyetkin.html; http://www.levantineheritage.com/achiev5.htm.

³⁰⁰ Postcards can be seen in: http://www.levantineheritage.com/note50.htm.

4.4 (Re) Setting the Stage in the 20th Century: After the Cosmopolitan Era

4.4.1 Changes in the Governance of the City: Changes in Urban Interventions

In the construction of the port city of İzmir, up until the 20th century, cosmopolitanism played a key role in cross-cultural developments. In this construction, from the 15th century onwards, there were several simultaneous occurrences in the development of İzmir. The situations which I presented in the previous section show that each situation has its own dynamics and contribution to the urban context. There are clear differences in the way each one was established and the urban forms that resulted. However, in spite of these difference, we can see a clear pattern of cross-cultural developments in the broad, overarching realm centered on oversea trade which allowed cosmopolitanism to manifest in the built environment of the city, in its social life, and urban cultures. During the sailboat and steamboat eras (the 15th thru the 20th century), the developments in the governance of the Ottoman Empire, improving international affairs, the enhancing web of trade, and technological developments in infrastructures refined the condition for cosmopolitanism with an accelerating production in cross-cultural developments. The transitional period from the sailboat era to the steamboat era, between 1840 and 1880, was an important period in the increasing cosmopolitan practices in the city, particularly from the mid-19th century till the first guarter of the 20th century. The repositioning of main port facilities from the inner bay to the shore had a positive correlation with the "rise" and the "zenith" of cosmopolitanism in İzmir.

Let us look at the trajectory of the "zenith" and decline of cosmopolitanism. Port cities are directly connected to global changes and thus global developments have direct consequences. Parallel developments in politics, economics, and technologies were involved in defining conditions. Changes in those drivers, and relationships between them, redefined the conditions for the city and its urban development. The 19th century witnessed increasingly active port activities, which in turn caused the city to expand towards its outskirts. It was the time in which the most cosmopolitan character of the city was manifested in the built environment from waterfront towards hinterland.

By definition, a zenith is followed by decline. Increasing nationalism in Europe and in the lands of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century led to World War I in the early 20th century. Following the global ideological shifts from a multinational character to national movements, the First World War and, subsequently, the War of Independence, reconditioned the social structure in İzmir, altering the multi-cultural character of the city. The foundation of nation-states resulted in a population exchange between Greeks in Turkey and Turks in Greece in 1923. It is important to note that while the social cohesion had been broken, it did not disappear completely in İzmir. Still today, there are European descendant families, like the Giraud family and the Arkas family, amongst the many Levantine families who are living and working in the city.³⁰¹ Particularly, alongside the establishment of factories and businesses founded by the state, these families have played an important role in the revitalization of the economy. Textile companies³⁰² established by the Girauds in 1910 and in 1954 were active until 2006. The Arkas Group is still active and has an important role in oversea trade.

One of the most important results of these changes in the political, economic, and social structure was the direct impact on urban production. Building practices radically changed during the early republican era (1923-1956). The building guild of the Ottoman Empire was disassembled after the social disintegration in the 20th century. Just like the social diversity in the city, the building guild was also composed of people from diverse nations, ethnicities and religious groups. During this period, the city welcomed foreign experts (e.g., Le Corbusier, Danger Brothers, Albert Bodmer, Paul Bonatz and Willem Marinus Dudok), and the architectural and urban development of the city shifted its focal point from port activities to the modernnation state's top-down development attempts which were implemented under the advice from the central government in Ankara.³⁰³ The transnational movement changed the nature of migration from trade-based to knowledge-based, and introduced a mobility of international experts involved in the urban practices of the central government, in line with the modernization project. Thus, port activities were no longer the main driver behind immigration.

³⁰¹ Please see Levantine Heritage Foundation and their works: http://www.levantineheritage.com/,

³⁰² The original names of the companies are in Turkish "İzmir Pamuk Mensucat ve İzmir Basma Sanayii" and "İzmir Basma Fabrikası".

³⁰³ Please see: F. Cânâ Bilsel, "Ideology and Urbanism during the early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization." *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 16, no. 1-2 (1996): 10-15.; F. Cânâ Bilsel, "Le Corbusier'nin İzmir Nazım Planı ve "Yeşil Endüstri Sitesi" Önerisi," *Ege Mimarlık*, no. 31 (1999): 13-17.

In this turn of the nation-state, in line with the national and liberal economy that followed the political atmosphere of the time, İzmir's connection to global trade gradually decreased in the second guarter of the 20th century. Transnational movements and ideologies took over the cross-cultural practices in İzmir which had been a product of port and oversea trade oriented urban production. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the actors involved in building practices had been highly influenced by cosmopolitan individuals, social groups and their interaction with each other in the cosmopolitan era. After the fall of cosmopolitanism, architects that were part of the transnational movement took their place on the stage. In particular, German-speaking architects and urban planners have been of great importance for architecture and urban development in Turkey. The collaboration between government and international experts was an essential characteristic of the second quarter of the 20th century. In this period, the majority of the planning was done by invited architects and planners and urban competition. The Danger Brothers developed an urban plan for the reconstruction of İzmir in 1924 under the consultancy of Henri Prost, for instance.³⁰⁴ National and international competitions have been essential in urban matters, particularly for the waterfront of İzmir, and the establishment of universities in the boroughs, including Ege University in Bornova.³⁰⁵

4.4.2 Cosmopolitan Traces in the Contemporary Era: Spatial and Functional Transformation

In the last part of Chapter 4, I will address contemporary developments in the 20th century to see how remaining traces of the cosmopolitan past are still present in the city within the changing condition of urban production. After the decline in cosmopolitan structure and the transition from the multinational empire to the nation state, there were several changes in the use of cosmopolitan spaces and their situation within this new context. The new condition of the port city of İzmir was a result of changes in the intersecting relationship between local and global drivers; technological advancements, political changes and social transformation. So far, I have discussed the technological advancements in the shipping and industrial

³⁰⁴ Please read further: Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis, "Urban aesthetics and national identity: the refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean cities between 1900 and 1940," *Planning perspectives* 26, no. 2 (2011): 153-182.

³⁰⁵ For further reading, please see: Fatma Tanış and Frank van der Hoeven, "Architecture culture formation in Turkey: The role of the competitions in transnational exchanges in the case of İzmir," *Project Baikal 61* (2019): 162-171.

developments; with the turn of the 20th century, the technological advancement and easy adaptation of new building materials, such as cement, dominated building practices. The entrance of cement to the building market and the use of iron beams have radically changed the look of port cities. With increasing interest in modern planning approaches and the new techniques emerging in building practices, the past identity of port cities has been nearly erased in the course of the 20th century.

Along with the change in governance, presented in the previous section, citizenship rights and land ownership of elites have also changed and resulted in multiple situations for the buildings. Re-arrangements in taxes and land ownership has redefined the rights of long-term migrants who are resident-traders in the city. They also redefined the conditions of cosmopolitan spaces that had become a heritage in the 20th century. The status of traders was thus altered, as well as the spaces in which they lived and worked. In the midst of these changes, the Turkish Republic was influenced by WWII in the 1940s (although Turkey remained neutral and did not participate in the war) which had further consequences in internal politics. In line with the economic struggles and ideologies of the time based on nationalism, the 1942 Wealth Tax was approved by the government.³⁰⁶ The law was only in force for 16 months. According to the Wealth Tax, there were differentiated taxations for minorities living in Turkey. Although it was a short-term application, most of the non-Muslim and foreign merchants lost some of their wealth. Another legal application related to changes in land-ownership was expropriation. The government bought large mansions from traders, and used them for public purposes. For instance, the Richard Whittall House was expropriated in 1947, for the use of the national education ministry,³⁰⁷ the Charlton Whittall Mansion was expropriated in 1948. and today is used for the rectorate of Ege University in Bornova, and the Balliani (Giraud) Mansion in Bornova was expropriated in 1970. Some of the cross-cultural traces, such as an electric factory in the downtown, remained vague in terms of landownership and decisions regarding its use, which led to the building becoming derelict. There are also a handful of private houses not expropriated which have maintained their use as a family home by descendants of the original owners. A house in Bornova, for example, belongs to Giraud Family. The function of some of these houses, still under private ownership, were transformed into cafes, restaurants, hotels, schools, or museums.

³⁰⁶ For further elaboration on the Wealth Tax, please see: Öztürk, İbrahim Mert. "İkinci dünya savaşı türkiye'sinde olağanüstü ekonomik kararlar: milli korunma kanunu ve varlık vergisi." (2013).

³⁰⁷ Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 120, 129, 134.

While modern architecture was gradually emerging in the city, there with an increasing demand for the rapid production of apartment buildings, which began to change cosmopolitan practices. Numerous mansions of the local and international merchants in Bornova were erased from the urban pattern after a mass internal migration in the 1950s. The population increased from 230.000 to 400.000 between 1950 and 1960.³⁰⁸ The need for residential blocks required rapid development for accommodation. Thus, developers began to dominate building activities, particularly for building apartments. The condominium law Yik-Yap-Sat (Demolish-Reconstruct-Sell) provided conditions for developers to operate in the city. Many of the 19th century houses were demolished, and high apartment blocks consisting of eight and nine stories replaced the cross-cultural traces from the cosmopolitan era. Between 1955 and 1983, the face of the city changed radically. The erased traces of the 19th century did not remain limited to the waterfronts. Boroughs like Bornova also experienced a rapid transformation, particularly after the 1970s. The 1973 master plan for the borough transformed Bornova from a village, where cosmopolitanism diffused into residential neighborhoods, into high rise apartment blocks built with concrete. Economic interests also came into play. The plots on which cosmopolitan spaces were located were considered prime real estate for developers. Due to this, the cotton and wool mill factories in Halkapınar in İzmir were recently demolished and the land was sold by the Giraud family to a developer, for instance.³⁰⁹

Looking from today's perspective at the 20th century developments that led to the contemporary situations of the existing physical reminders of the cosmopolitan history of İzmir, we can discuss situations under three main categories: the lost traces of this era, the functional transformation of buildings, and the changing relationship of these buildings with their surrounding context. For now, I have provided the background information that led to these situations in İzmir in Chapter 7. To protect cross-cultural traces and build the city's future on them, it is important to address that the port city has been built over the centuries and is embedded in the built environment as well as in the cultural products. It is crucial to recognize how the city has been built and in what ways it has evolved.

³⁰⁸ G., Ballice, "İzmir'de 20. y.y. Konut Mimarisinin Kentsel Doku ve Mimari Özellikler Açısından Tarihsel Süreç İçerisinde Değerlendirilmesi", (SMD conference, 2008).

³⁰⁹ Interview by Fatma Tanış with Brian Giraud. 8 November 2018, İzmir.

Today, some of the buildings have survived and either maintain their original function or are being used in new ways. For instance, some of the buildings were transformed to be used for education, health or public services. Others (e.g., the electric factory in Alsancak) have been abandoned. The state of cosmopolitan practices remains unclear, but attempts to protect the traces of this era have been increasing, at times aided by personal intervention.

5 Urban Scenes of Socio-Cultural Engagement

Through the Eyes of a Traveler – Cosmopolitanism along the Waterfront and in Downtown of İzmir³¹⁰

Indeed, the inhabitants of the ports undergo without their knowledge the influence of all foreigners staying there; they make a life apart which is a summary of habits of all the peoples with whom they are in relation. The language is corrupted, and national mores are altered in contact with so many diverse nations. A port is a hostel on the great sea route, and cut them hostels are more or less alike. It's like that of Smyrna.³¹¹

Jean Charles Louis Reynaud, 1846, 48

310 A part of this chapter has been presented and discussed with members of COST Action Writing Urban Place Network. Fatma Tanış, "Port City Narratives: Cosmopolitan History of Izmir," Presentation at Webinar Fieldwork within Network: Mapping, Performing, Sharing, Porto, Portugal, 29 January 2021.

311 Charles Reynaud, D'Athenes a Baalbeck 1844 (Paris: Furne et Cie, Libraries-Editeurs, 1846), 48.

5.1 Approaching the City

Thou stormy sea, why dost thou swell so? The sky is cloudless, the sun sinks in ruddy grandeur! Asia' s treble mountain chain breathes greatness and peace! Rest, rest thou stormy sea, and dream of old remembrances!³¹²

Hans Christian Andersen, 217

I took passage from Constantinople to Smyrna with a Russian steamer called *Ionia.*³¹³ In the past I have sailed upon *English, French and Austrian steamers* in the Levant,³¹⁴ but this time, I decided on this boat in order to *acquire new experiences.*³¹⁵ I found my cabin to be dark and narrow and I shared this space with twelve fellow passengers.³¹⁶ Although the cabin was dark, I found that *the stars of night light up*³¹⁷ my trip. I often promenaded on the deck,³¹⁸ and happened upon a *hammock in*³¹⁹ *which I swung and slept so soundly*,³²⁰ *while the moonlight watched me.*³²¹ Occasionally, I would awaken and enjoy *the phosphoric light sparkling in the waves caused by our paddle-wheels.* And one time I caught sight of the sea *lighted by the illumination from the motion of the oar in the water; and a belt of light, some inches in width, [was] drawn around the boat by its motion, whilst a stream of light follow[ed] its course.*³²² "At daylight [we arrive] in the splendid [gulf of Smyrna]."³²³

³¹² Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 217.

³¹³ Van Lennep, Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor, 14.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 15.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 15.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 15.

³¹⁷ Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 218.

³¹⁸ Nathaniel Parker Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean (New York: C. W. Benedict, 1853), 395.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 395.

³²⁰ Ibid., 396.

³²¹ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 396.

³²² Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 10.

³²³ He used the word "splendid bay", I used the word "gulf". In Grattan Geary, *Through Asiatic Turkey* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1878), 298-300.

Our steamboat slowly, but steadily, drew closer to its destination. Before our landing in Smyrna, I wished to seize the moment to look closely at this fair city. I strolled about the deck gazing out at the "water [of the] Levant."³²⁴ The vast gulf was shrouded in the beauty of early morning light.³²⁵ Having been recently in Constantinople, I could not help but compare these two cities in my mind. The character of scenery is so completely different.³²⁶ The scenery of the shores of the Bosphorus was beautiful and perfect of its kind,³²⁷ "but it was all of a diminutive kind; low hills, rich with the most exquisite verdure, and showing every variety of tint as the light fell on them. Here the outline of the hills is far bolder; great wavy lines, enclosing broader lights and deep purple shadows!"³²⁸ Smyrna, surrounded as it is, "gives the idea of vastness and extension.³²⁹

The 33-mile-long gulf in which Smyrna is settled gives a sweeping feast for the eyes and the imagination.³³⁰ There were numerous *headlands and islands intervening between the entrance of the gulf and the town*,³³¹ some of them home to pirates!³³² The city was embraced with high mountains clothed with wood, rising from the water's edge.³³³ As we continued our approach, the first sign of human habitation appears: the extensive cemeteries of Mount Pagos.³³⁴ Surround these, *the environs of Smyrna were green and beautiful.*³³⁵ "The whole country very smiling and pleasant."³³⁶ Its fertile plain produced a cornucopia of riches: olive-trees, fig plantations, sultana vines, corn fields, and a multitude of gardens.³³⁷

- 326 Ibid., 211.327 Ibid., 211.
- 328 Ibid., 211.
- ,
- 329 Ibid., 211.

- 331 Ibid., 262.
- 332 Ibid., 262.
- 333 Ibid., 262.
- 334 Ibid., 262.

337 Ibid.

³²⁴ Van Lennep, Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor, 15.

³²⁵ Mrs. Baillie, A Sail to Smyrna: Or, an Englishwoman's Journal: Including Impressions of Constantinople, a Visit to a Turkish Harem, and a Railway Journey to Ephesus (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1873), 211.

³³⁰ Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, 262.

³³⁵ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 205.

³³⁶ A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 6 December 1899, 1899, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed 21 December 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=1972.

To the right under some fine hills, which were broken into a lovely gorge,³³⁸ there were some carefully cultivated farms belonging to the Sultan who is a rich landowner.³³⁹

The approach to the city was very imposing,³⁴⁰ a great built place of timber and stone. To think that my eyes were beholding the native home of the epic poet Homer! Remarkable were the pattern of streets and buildings blending with the trees and geography in the different quarters of the city. "The town of Smyrna, in situation is beautiful, but in appearance is exactly like a large town of Swiss chalets. The wooden framed houses ³⁴¹ were *very much alike, and all of wood, without chimneys*.³⁴² "Most of the houses were brown, the roofs red and pointed, as in the North."³⁴³ "Innumerable slender minarets, and lofty trees mingled with houses, [and gave] to the whole a romantic appearance."³⁴⁴ The mixture of cypress trees with the houses offered a striking view.³⁴⁵ Beyond these, I could see the distinct outlines of spires and roofs of mosques, minarets, cupolas, and baths of the town, reminding me that I was arriving to a Muslim land.³⁴⁶

This vision of lofty mountains, buildings, and splendid trees aroused my admiration and respect. I thought on the tenacity of the city through the afflictions it had faced over the centuries: illnesses, earthquakes and repeated fires. Oh, beautiful Smyrna; how unfortunate the suffering of such plagues and maladies! Gazing from the sea at its prosperous appearance, I could see the flourishing of Smyrna, despite all of these trials; the rebuilding of itself again and again in a triumph of spirit.

339 Ibid.

340 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 1-2.

341 Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor: Including a Description of the Ruins of Several Ancient Cities, and Especially Antioch of Pisidia, Vol. 2, 417.

342 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 2.

343 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 213.

344 Robert Semple, *Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2 (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1807), 199.; Charles Texier also had the same remark in 1862. Please see Charles Texier, <i>Asie mineure, description geographique, historique et archeologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnise d'Asie* (Paris: Didot, 1862), 175.

345 Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 195.

346 Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, 262.

³³⁸ Ibid.

Now to explore this spirit up close. As a European traveler arriving to an "Asiatic town, everything arrests my attention."³⁴⁷ "Opposite us lay Smyrna."³⁴⁸ I was ready to discover.

5.2 Landing on the Quay: Spaces of Accommodation

Here I am in splendid Smyrna,³⁴⁹ "in the Frank town in Asia Minor."³⁵⁰ "I saw the coasts from whence Homer's songs were sent forth over the world. The East, the home of adventure, was here before me; and I was now about to set my foot upon its soil."³⁵¹ Our boat cast anchor in the middle of the sea, but this came as no surprise; I had been informed by a travel company brochure that passenger boats remain at a distance from the quay.³⁵² According to the regulation of the customs in Turkey, the boatman is responsible for transporting the passengers from large anchored ships in the deep water to the custom building on the shore.³⁵³ After this very short distance was crossed, I finally landed at the pier and entered a building called *Pasaport*, the place for passport control. This rectangular building was attached to the quay perpendicularly. It contained a post office for telegraphs and a police station. After the controls were completed, I stepped through the doors and into the city.

- 348 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 213.
- 349 Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.
- **350** Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 1.
- 351 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 213.

³⁴⁷ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 199.; Texier, Asie mineure, description geographique, historique et archeologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnise d'Asie,307.

³⁵² For instance, the flyer of the *Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen*'s published in 1904 promoting the oversea cruise trips, depicted more than ten *kayiks* that were facilitating passenger transportation. The same depiction can be seen in the *Messagaire Maritimes*' promotional flyer published in 1928; however, the same company published another poster with a real photo, and there were no *kayiks* around the big ship. To see the differences, please visit the published flyers in http://www.levantineheritage.com/note49.htm , accessed December 19, 2020.

³⁵³ Hubert Octave Pernot, En pays turc: L'île de Chio (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1903), 62.

After the long journey at sea, I decided to take a moment to adjust to the land before seeking out my hotel. I sat on the quay, with the *Pasaport* building to my right, extending my legs into the sea. I found this to be a delightful method for recovery; infinite blues refresh one's mind and water has a comforting effect. The fresh sea breeze was both relaxing and invigorating. I looked around, taking in the view. Such a sense of history was expressed in every inch of the city; Oriental and Occidental lore intertwined in the traces anchored in details of various buildings, engraved in materials and signs hanging on buildings. As I scanned the scene before me, I searched for my hotel, which must be close by. From where I was sitting, it felt like I was *still in Europe*.³⁵⁴ I could see theaters, cafés, restaurants, bars, brasseries, clubs, and grand hotels. The names of these establishments were in European languages, mostly French: *Hotel D'Alexandrie, Café de Paris*, and *Club Hellenique*. One could even say that the quay was "a sort of marine *Champ-Elysees*, the extensive row of large shops springing into existence may be expected to do well."³⁵⁵ No wonder I read so many times: *Cette ville est le Paris du Levant*.³⁵⁶



FIG. 5.1 Pasaport building and the quay (courtesy of Levantine Heritage Foundation).

³⁵⁴ Louis Auguste Alphonse de Launay, La Turquie que l'on voit. (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 245.

³⁵⁵ Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

³⁵⁶ In English: This city is the Paris of the Levant. Quetin, *Guide en Orient: itinéraire scientifique, artistique et pittoresque* (Paris: La Maison, 1844), 441.

I was surrounded by elegant buildings. I saw the Grand Hotel Huck for the first time, feeling quite impressed to be sitting right across from this grandiose hotel that I had seen featured in postcards. It had an impressive, symmetrical façade with balconies in the middle, each with different parapets. The rusticated façade of the ground floor was complemented with fine plasters on the first and the second floors. The Ottoman post office was a part of this building. I knew that communication was essential for oversea trade, and indeed I was to find that there were several post offices in the city. My eyes moved to the right and I saw the agency Lloyd Austria. Next to that there was a street and then the French Shipping Company *Messageries Maritimes*. This shipping company had a substantial presence in this part of the city. The company connected to ports of London, Dunkirk, Le Havre, Marseille, Malta, Alexandria, Port Said, Beirut, Syria, Constantinople in Europe and the Mediterranean. It was well located, being very close to the *Pasaport*, the entry point to the city. The hotels also enjoyed this prime location. What a convenience to find one's place of rest so quickly after a long journey!



FIG. 5.2 Grand Hotel Huck and Messageries Maritimes on the Quay (courtesy Tufan Atakişi).

This sitting by the seaside was so pleasant, I did not want to leave my spot! "The harbor was filled with vessels: there lay several steamers, a Turkish one amongst the rest; the red flag with the half-moon waved at the top."³⁵⁷ The port for receiving these vessels and their goods was on the southern side. Finally, I roused myself and putting on my shoes, I gathered my things and went in search of my hotel. I needed to go left, away from the warehouses and retail offices. This meant I was headed away from the more commercial part of town as wells as the historic center of the city, where the old bazaar lay.

Before arriving in Smyrna, I had looked at my tourist guide and noted a few hotels, such as "the naval hotel of Salvo, the Navy, with a beautiful view of the sea; or the Swiss pension of Marco, or that of Mrs. Maracem, which had a *table d'hote* at a moderate price."³⁵⁸ A week before my trip to the Levant, I had a coffee in the coffeehouse *Pasqua Rosèe* in London with a friend of mine, Gertrude Bell. She had visited Smyrna repeatedly, and suggested that I stay in *Hotel de la Ville*.³⁵⁹ She explained that the hotels mentioned in the guide were no longer located on the shore, but lay far from the sea. She recommended that I get a more recent guide! We laughed—the city was changing so quickly.

Hotel de la Ville was located on the Brindji Cordon which was the quay. I dropped my luggage off at my room, eager to continue my exploration of the city. It was not my first time in the Levant, but it was my first trip to Smyrna. As I stepped outside, I saw a theater, Lucas, right in front of the hotel. This part of the city was quite lovely. My plan for the afternoon was first to stroll along the quay, have a coffee, perhaps, and meet with the British Consul.

³⁵⁷ Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 213.

³⁵⁸ Quetin. *Guide en Orient: itinéraire scientifique, artistique et pittoresque,* 441.

³⁵⁹ A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, 10 March 1902, 1902, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed December 21, 2020. http://gertrudebell.ncl. ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=519.

5.3 Strolling on the Quay: Entertainment

I began to stroll, my mind busy with thoughts of East and West. "I can scarcely believe that I am in Asia Minor,"³⁶⁰ for my inn³⁶¹ was just like an English public-house.³⁶² Where was "the real Asia, as we dream of?" ³⁶³ The waterfront here, full of hotels and entertainment facilities, seems a sort of exhibition podium with its selection of European styled buildings. It reminds me of my homeland: the same neo-classic architecture style, French renaissance and Victorian elements. The waterfront of Smyrna is painted with pedimented windows, wonderful plasterworks, rusticated walls, detailed ornaments, and balconies with wrought-iron fences. These adorn hotels, cafés, and brasseries. These colorful buildings are "built on a strip of land that extends into the sea."³⁶⁴ Club des Casseurs and Kraemer Brasserie's stood on the left and right sides of the Hotel de la Ville.³⁶⁵ The cafés and brasseries ran all the way from the custom house to the residential quarter. Thus far, I have seen: *Café Poseidon, Brasseries Gratz and Budapest, Club Hellenique, Kraemer Brasserie, Café Loucas, Concert America...* Only the *Theater Turque*, near *Hotel Londrés*, reminded me that I was in the Turkish Empire.

³⁶⁰ Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 2.

³⁶¹ Charles Fellows noted down that he stayed at the Navy Hotel. In my story, I merged this experience with the Hotel de la Ville.

³⁶² Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 2.

³⁶³ Du Camp, Souvenirs et Paysages D'orient Smyrne. Ephése, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio, 34.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 36.

³⁶⁵ Charles E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna); Turquie: plan, index, 1905, Scale: 300 ft 1 inch. Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, the United States of America, accessed June 16, 2020, https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scanned-maps/44-990093754910203941.

Les Quais-Club des Chasseurs. Souvenir de Smyrne. 276 Bille in 2-3 Hen Hast, wofin Ffin et 25/6 901. Harten som Haiserbesuche in How alt Landsmann Doubbar frier winde. Mont Stoffingbern - Halles F. L. Dermond, Editeur, Smyrne, No. 18022.

FIG. 5.3 Club des Chasseurs-Hunters Club (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).



FIG. 5.4 Hotel Kraemer (courtesy of Tufan Atakişi).

I began to walk on the quay, *Birindji Cordon Djaddesi* (*tr. Birinci Kordon Caddesi*) towards the North. I had the constant rise and fall of the sea to my left and buildings to my right. "There were no less than nine cafés *chantants* of considerable size along the quay."³⁶⁶ I entered into *Café de Paris* to have a cup of coffee. Coffee was the drink that was sold in every town I visited. The cheapest I had was in Malta, but the best I had was in Smyrna.³⁶⁷ I met *two British Captains in the navy* while I was having a coffee and reading222 European newspapers.³⁶⁸ I was quite impressed with *their neat uniforms*, [and] *well-shaved chins*.³⁶⁹



FIG. 5.5 Café de Paris in 1910s (Courtesy of Mehmet Sunucu).

366 Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

367 Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, vi.

368 Du Camp, *Souvenirs et Paysages D'orient Smyrne. Ephése, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio,* 36.; Indeed, coffee houses have been playing important place in literary, social, political and even religious life of Smyrna.

369 Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 310-311.

We began to talk. I was curious about urban life here in Smyrna at different seasons of the year. I was lucky to have met them as it was not their first time in the city. They shared some memories of being in Smyrna during Christmas time. I learned that Christmas Eve was celebrated in jolly parties with people "from all parts of the world—Greek, Maltese, French, Italian, Dutch, German and English."³⁷⁰ I noted the manner these captains and their "naval fellow-countrymen have of making themselves at home wherever they may be."³⁷¹ They gladly took the chance to celebrate Christmas while they were away from their families. Captains also have "long enjoyed a deservedly high reputation in naval theatres" in Smyrna.³⁷² Smyrna provided everything they needed to feel at home. As we talked of the theaters of Smyrna, my eyes lit up at the sight of "a French theatrical affiche"³⁷³ hanging on the wall of the café. "My thoughts were filled with great remembrances."374 There were many open-air theatres along the waterfront of Smyrna.³⁷⁵ I asked the captains about these theaters and plays. They told me there were also some private theatricals.³⁷⁶ Goldoni's II Bugiardo, Love à la Mode, and Rasing the Wind were the some of the plays that had appeared in Smyrna.³⁷⁷

Spending my time in the coffeehouse, I realized that they were important places for Europeans who enjoyed walking along the quay. Promenading was, apparently, a substantial part of the daily life of the inhabitants.³⁷⁸ The resident elite families of Smyrna liked to visit Bellavista coffeehouses to complement their evening walks.³⁷⁹ As I could tell from the great number of theaters and cafés clustered at the pier, "the better class" spent its time here seeking to "have a general good time."³⁸⁰

373 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 214.

374 Ibid., 214.

375 Roeding, The Smyrna Fig at Home and Abroad: A Treatise on Practical Smyrna Fig Culture, Together with an Account of the Introduction of the Wild or Capri Fig, and the Establishment of the Fig Wasp (Blasiophaga Grossorum) in America, 13.

376 Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 311.

377 Ibid, 303.

378 Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

379 Du Camp, Souvenirs et Paysages D'orient Smyrne. Ephése, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio, 36.

380 Roeding, The Smyrna Fig at Home and Abroad: A Treatise on Practical Smyrna Fig Culture, Together with an Account of the Introduction of the Wild or Capri Fig, and the Establishment of the Fig Wasp (Blasiophaga Grossorum) in America, 13.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 307-308.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 307-308.

³⁷² Ibid., 311.



FIG. 5.6 A view from the Quay (Courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

Being located at this privileged site, the coffee houses allowed for a view of the ships approaching the city or anchored in the gulf.³⁸¹ The population of two hundred thousand was the busiest I have yet seen in Turkey. It was also the least Asiatic in appearance and habits.³⁸²

I left the café, and my attention was immediately drawn to a most eye-catching building in classical style. It was a sporting club. The monumental entrance stood with an impressive staircase. This club was, perhaps, the most prestigious address in town as a social place for foreigners and locals to meet. The sporting club and its adjacent building, where the theater was located, created a square. It reminded me of the local Turkish coffeehouse, *Kahve*, but then combined with a European club.

382 Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

³⁸¹ Du Camp, Souvenirs et Paysages D'orient Smyrne. Ephése, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio, 36.



FIG. 5.7 Sporting Club and the Quay of İzmir (Wikimedia Commons).

My friend Du Camp had described the *Kahve*s thus: "With its feet in the river, in the shade of an immense sycamore tree, a Turkish café, perched on stilts and sheltered by a reed roof, dominates the landscape; this was where the Muslims, the Greeks, the Armenians come, when the work of the day is finished."³⁸³ For each square table, there were four wooden chairs. A number of trees in large planters were located on the borders of this small square. This semi-public place, so Turkish in nature, was now located in the European quarter along the waterfront. It had clearly entered the daily life of European inhabitants here. I have been told that this very place shapes the social and cultural discussions in Smyrna. It fosters a social unity in the midst of such a diversity of nations.

383 Du Camp, Souvenirs et Paysages D'orient Smyrne. Ephése, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio, 36.

5.4 Strolling on the Quay: Residential Quarter on the North³⁸⁴

I left the hustle and bustle of the commerce and entertainment behind me. "A long street was extending along the bay, lined with [beautiful] houses."³⁸⁵ The elegant proportions of their façades create a continuous rhythm along the waterfront. The line of houses seems to emphasize the horizontal lines of Smyrna that exist along its shores. This shoreline has been extended to the sea each time the city prospered. "The consulates and many fine marble front residences were located in this quarter on the street facing the quay."³⁸⁶ The houses were quite different from each other, each possessing a unique character. I could see that what they shared in common (spatial organizations, proportions, balconies, doors and their relationship to the public street) created a pattern across Smyrna. The individual flavor was in the ornaments, decorations and size of houses, but they existed in harmony, creating an exquisitely beautiful urban landscape.

I was moving to the tranquil residential area where mostly European families resided. Up until now I had seen no wall between land and sea. The quay's end was flat and it was at the same level as the pavement. Here, in the Frank Quarter, I began to see a low parapet. In general, the quay was elevated 20 inches above the level of the sea. There was still a line between the sea and the low parapet: a space of the height of two people standing together. The wall was a good idea to prevent the children of the neighbourhood from falling into the sea. It was not so high—quite convenient as a bench to sit on and enjoy the environment. I did just that and found it perfect for my comfort! This time I turned my face to the city. This residential quarter was not like the strongly European leisure sector of the town—it was more unique. It wasn't entirely orientalist nor entirely European.

385 Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 391.

³⁸⁴ This subchapter has been presented and discussed within COST Action CA18126 Writing Urban Places Network. Fatma Tanış, "Port City Narratives: Cosmopolitan History of Izmir." Presentation at Webinar Fieldwork within Network: Mapping, Performing, Sharing, Porto, Portugal, 29 January 2021.

³⁸⁶ Roeding, The Smyrna Fig at Home and Abroad: A Treatise on Practical Smyrna Fig Culture, Together with an Account of the Introduction of the Wild or Capri Fig, and the Establishment of the Fig Wasp (Blasiophaga Grossorum) in America, 13.



FIG. 5.8 Residential Quarter (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

The elite traders of Smyrna have more privileges and advantages here than in any other city I have seen.³⁸⁷ This *distinct quarter of town*was inhabited entirely by merchant families.³⁸⁸ This late in the day, almost every family was sitting outside of their door. These doors were directly connected to the public pavement, so that they watched *beaux and belles strolling up and down*.³⁸⁹ As I sat, I look in the harmony that existing amongst the inhabitants, the elegant façades and the beautiful balconies of these houses. Suddenly, my attention was drawn to the clopping sound of approaching horses. A horse-drawn carriage, driven by a man with a fez, stopped in front of a fine white painted house. A lady with a hat, accompanied by an older gentleman, stepped out of the carriage and warmly greeted me. I felt so welcomed by the friendly and hospitable atmosphere of this place. "There was no traveler to the east, of any nation, who does not carry away with him from Smyrna, grateful recollections of one at least whose hospitality is as open as his gate."³⁹⁰ The lady invited me into her house for coffee. As I followed her, I considered myself fortunate for this opportunity to see the house in more in detail. What luck!

³⁸⁷ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 391.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 391.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 391.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 391.



FIG. 5.9 Guiffray House (courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).

It was a warm day, and the shutters were fast closed.³⁹¹ The house was fitted with four identical windows on each floor. Like the Grand Hotel Huck, the building had a symmetrical façade with a balcony above the main entrance, supported with consoles and added parapets. The windows on the ground floor had fences made of wrought iron, whereas the upper floor windows had only sun blinds made of wood. The delicate proportions of the four wings of the sun blinds made these elements more elegant. Around the windows, I saw plaster works with baroque and rococo elements. These were all fancy detailed ornaments, while those of the upper floor' were a little simplified. The building looked impressive—its corners were of fine work with rusticated stones on the ground floor, and the upper floor facade had columns on the corners that made the building look even more monumental. Judging from the rich architecture of the building, the Guiffray Family had a high social status. This was similar to the other merchants and upper-class migrants to Smyrna. The door with its decorated pediment welcomed me as a guest of the family.

³⁹¹ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 354.

I entered the building by passing through the main gate. The lady who had invited me was Jeanne Guiffray. She was the daughter of the well-known, local Giraud family. She was married with Elzéar Guiffray, the son of Elie Guiffray (1849-1926) who had come to build the tramline in Smyrna.³⁹² She explained that her family-in-law was related with the Dussaud brothers who built the port and quay.³⁹³ The Guiffray Family also built the sporting club. Wow, so many connections! While thinking of these intertwined relations, established through marriages, I heard some scuffling above us. Mrs. Guiffray explained that her children, Eliane and Yves, were playing in the house with her little niece, Ray. She said, their favorite activity was to climb the roof!³⁹⁴ I was puzzled with the idea of playing on the roof. She explained that balustrades ran along all the façades on the roof, so it was safe for the children. As she continued her gracious description of family life, we heard the sound of small feet coming down the stairs. Mrs. Guiffray excused herself and went to the kitchen to get something for the children. She returned with "a hunk of bread and a large piece of chocolate for them to eat while they were playing in the yard."³⁹⁵

While Mrs. Guiffray was busy in the kitchen, my eyes took in the details of the luxurious room. I could well imagine myself to be in France, sitting in the living room of a Parisian home. The interior lighting effects were sublime. The decorative details were magnificent. The house had large wooden doors that looked like two wings. Door cases were detailed with rococo carvings. The wall was partially covered by a wooden plate and many interior walls were covered with wallpaper. I noticed a fireplace in the living room, and hanging from the ceiling there was a chandelier. Lighting elements were clearly imported from Europe. In the other rooms, lamps were hanging on the walls. The ceiling of every room was filled with detailed work. The furniture, all coming from France, was perfectly suited to the house's style. There were, of course, also Smyrna rugs, and chandeliers, and some other Oriental items.

After a lovely chat, it was becoming late. I thanked her and departed. As the work day came to a close, the residents walked in their fine clothes along the sea in the glorious light that comes as the sun begins its downward descent.³⁹⁶ "In the evening the profuse

395 Ibid., 59.

³⁹² "No title," Levantine Heritage Foundation, accessed January 3, 2021, http://www.levantineheritage.com/guiffray.htm.

³⁹³ "Testimonium Baptismatis 1931, *Genealogical Magazine*, no. 204 (2001)," Levantine Heritage Foundation, accessed January 3, 2021, http://www.levantineheritage.com/guiffraycert.htm.

³⁹⁴ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 59.

³⁹⁶ Giles Milton, *Paradise Lost: Smyrna* 1922 - *The Destruction of Islam's City of Tolerance* (London: John Murray, 2008), 8.

gas illuminations of these institutions light up the quay and turn night into day."³⁹⁷ These lights create such a marvelous scenery; lanterns lining the border of the quay. Life seems so delightful on the shore of Smyrna!³⁹⁸ I could well see myself enjoying the delights of this place. Perhaps I should take up residence here in the future.

5.5 Strolling in the Parallel Streets

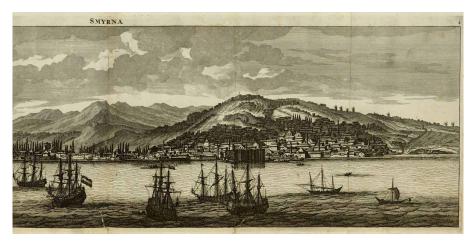


FIG. 5.10 İzmir in 1698, Cornelis de Bruijn (Wikicommons).

I finally headed back to my hotel. I chose to follow the parallel street called *Ikindji Cordon Djaddesi* (fr. *Rua Paralléle*) for my return route. The street name is literally "the Second Cordon Street," and it runs parallel to the quay. It is quite remarkable to think that the land between these streets was obtained by filling in the sea. I remembered Cornelis de Bruijn's (1652-1726) engraving, *Smyrna*. I remember seeing the houses of consuls and their private piers extending out into the sea. "The national flags of the different European factories along the shore used to

³⁹⁷ Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

³⁹⁸ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

attract the eye of a stranger."³⁹⁹ Now, I see that these traces of the past have been memorialized in the naming of the streets. Look! I have just passed by a street called *Nathali Iskellessi* which literally indicates a pier in the middle of the land!⁴⁰⁰ I was curious what had happened to the houses I remember from the painting. Did they get demolished? As I pondered this, I passed the *Ecole des Sœurs* and turned left.⁴⁰¹ After another block of buildings, I turned right and found myself on the *Quai Anglais or Inglich Iskellessi* (the English quay). If I had arrived to Smyrna in the previous century, I would have landed at this very place.⁴⁰² Now, to find traces of the houses that were formerly on the shoreline.



FIG. 5.11 The British Consulate and its relation to water in the previous decades. (photographed by E. Chardlyon in 1854-56, before the construction of the Quai, when it was still on the waterfront).

399 Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 195.

400 To see where the School *Ecole des Sœurs* was located, please have a look at the Plan No. 2 in Charles E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna); Turquie: plan, index, 1905, Scale: 300 ft 1 inch. Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, the United States of America, accessed June 16, 2020, https://id.lib.harvard. edu/curiosity/scanned-maps/44-990093754910203941.

401 Iskele in Turkish means pier. To see where it was located, please have a look at the Plan No. 2 in ibid.

402 Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, 262.

I first noticed that the street was paved with the same stones as the current quay. I could see that its curve followed the former, natural border of sea. The street was lined on both sides with buildings that looked nothing like the ones I was familiar with in London. They were quite long and connected to one another on parallel streets. I imagine these extensions had been made due to an increasing demand for space. Yet their façades were narrow in the typical ratio of the building imprint. There were numerous small warehouses, or depots, connected to factories. I could see one with a sign: Paterson & cie. It appeared to be a place for cotton, dried fruits, grains and flour.⁴⁰³ This part of town was clearly busy with the production and processing of goods being prepared for export. There were but a few exceptions to this: the consulate, the *Hotel Léonidas, Restaurant Grande Britagne*, and clubs, like *Cercle Européen*.

I followed the street towards the South. *Sakhlie Djaddesi (Ou Rue Eski Balouk Pazar)* took a sudden change of course and a was labeled with a new name: *Rue Des Maltais*. The area was marked by sharp turns. As I looked to the left, I saw many passages connecting to the Frank Street: *Passage Negre Point, Passage Ballouk Hane (ou Psarohano), Passage Sponti...*⁴⁰⁴ It felt as though each street further from the sea brought me to a different era in the history of this port city. Amazing!

As I continued South, more commercial buildings appeared. It looked as though the former homes of consuls had been turned into offices.⁴⁰⁵ On my left, I saw *Verhane* office buildings, and to my right were warehouses with the same name. As businesses prospered, traders clearly extended their capacity by adding buildings adjacent to existing ones. I saw interesting buildings that were connected, but physically cut by parallel streets. I deduced that some of these buildings were originally places for both storage and family residence. When they ceased to be on the waterfront, they had been abandoned by the family to be used solely for trade and office space. Lastly, large warehouses, called depots, were added.

403 Please see the Plan No. 2 in Charles E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna); Turquie: plan, index, 1905, Scale: 300 ft 1 inch. Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, the United States of America, accessed June 16, 2020, https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scanned-maps/44-990093754910203941.

⁴⁰⁴ Please see Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Pitton, Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du roi, contenant l'histoire ancienne & moderne de plusieurs isles de l'archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la mer noire, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontiers de Perse & de l'Asie Mineure. avec les plans des villes & des lieux considerables... enrichie de descriptions & de figures d'un grand nombre des plantes rares, de divers animaux; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle. par M. Pitton de Tournefort... Tome premier-[second] aux dépens de la compagnie, 194, 255.

This kind of adaptation was not limited to trade; I noticed the same phenomenon in the banking buildings. I saw two neighboring banks: The Bank Orient and the *Banque Imperiale Ottomane*. I entered The Bank Orient's passage, passed through the *Baltadji Verhane* and found myself in the Rua Frank.

5.6 Strolling in the Frank Street towards Local Residential Neighborhoods

I now found myself on the Parallel Street, also called Frank Street.⁴⁰⁶ The official name on the map was *Sultaniye Djaddesi*,⁴⁰⁷ but I did not hear anyone use this name. Its common name, *Rue Frank*, was what appeared on the postcards (as *Rua Frank*). This was clearly the main commercial artery of the city. Spread before me was a cornucopia of all things good, and all to be had at a small price here in Smyrna.⁴⁰⁸ "A scent of musk and myrrh streamed out of several of the shops; others were filled with fruit—Pomona's horn of plenty is not richer! Clothes from three parts of the world made the most varied show here."⁴⁰⁹ The street curved and jagged, organically bending and blending with its environment. I was struck with the "beautiful houses, [and] western style stores." ⁴¹⁰ Tucked in amongst all these I saw the company headquarters of C. Whittall & Co. It also seems to have been used in the past as a residential house.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁶ de Launay, La Turquie que l'on voit, 245.

⁴⁰⁷ Please see the Plan No. 4 in Charles E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna); Turquie: plan, index, 1905, Scale: 300 ft 1 inch. Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, the United States of America, accessed June 16, 2020, https://id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scanned-maps/44-990093754910203941.

⁴⁰⁸ de Thevenot, *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant. In three parts Viz. Into. I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East-Indies*, 92.

⁴⁰⁹ Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 214-215.

⁴¹⁰ de Launay, La Turquie que l'on voit, 245.

⁴¹¹ Turrell, Scrap-book 1809-1922, 185.



FIG. 5.12 Frank Street, edited by Padova Frères (courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).

"[As] the principal street of Smyrna, it was too narrow, and the crowd was too great."⁴¹² Except for the British Consulate, every building on the *Inglich Iskellessi* had a passage connecting to Frank Street. I eventually learned that in the 18th century it had been directly linked to the water. I saw a number of alleys which reminded me of my own lane back home.⁴¹³ Neighbors could "easily take a pinch out of his friend's box..., from his window."⁴¹⁴ Houses here were made of wood and brick; some of them entirely of planks.⁴¹⁵ The buildings were not very high. In the main street, open shops with all sorts of wares occupied most of the ground floors.⁴¹⁶ This chief street runs through the whole Smyrna.⁴¹⁷

412 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 214.

- 413 Ibid., 214.
- 414 Ibid., 214.
- 415 Ibid.
- 416 Ibid.
- 417 Ibid.

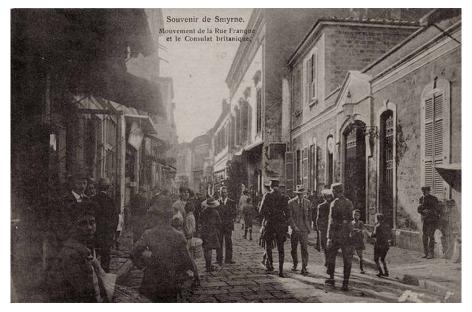


FIG. 5.13 British Consulate on the Inglich Iskelesi (courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).

When the original shoreline of Smyrna was extended towards the sea, the previous prominent street of the city became a center for international retail. At first glance, Frank Street has a singularly European atmosphere. Here, "Europeans live together,"⁴¹⁸ and it looks like a street from a European city.⁴¹⁹ But the more I move along the street, I sense a much bigger and more complicated picture here. It feels as though not just European, but "all the countries meet in the Rue Franque."⁴²⁰ "All tongues jangle amongst each other—Arabian, Turkish, Greek, Italian; it would look like a register, were I to enumerate them all."⁴²¹ I hear "the camels laden with the riches of Persia cross on the Caravan bridge with the European travelers."⁴²² This street is the meeting place for an extraordinary assortment of peoples, all of whom call Smyrna home.

⁴¹⁸ Marie-Gabriel-Auguest-Florent comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Empire ottoman, en Grèce, dans la Troade, les îles de l'Archipel et sur les côtes de l'Asie-mineure* (Paris: A la Librairie de J.-P. Aillaud, 1842).

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Charles Reynaud, D'Athenes a Baalbeck 1844 (Paris: Furne et Cie, Libraries-Editeurs, 1846).

⁴²¹ Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 215.

⁴²² Ibid., 50.



FIG. 5.14 Fasula (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

Smirnoits diffused to their quarters after they finished their shopping. There were carriages parked at the end of the street on a square called Fasula. I was told, the square was named after beans, *fasülye*, that used to grow at that very spot. It's fascinating how a name can connect you so immediately to the history of a place! As I walked, I thought of the places I had seen so far. The waterfront was a lively place. The guay and squares were full of diverse people coming together to work, enjoy leisure, make business deals, and walk along the shore before the sunset. I could see that this was also a place that connected different parts of the city. For instance, I passed by Konak Square to visit the traditional Bazaar and parallel streets of the quay were linked with small passages or streets that led me to arrive to the famous Frank Street. After seeing this diversity, both in people and in buildings, I became more curios and interested about the surrounding quarters. I directed my route towards these quarters with a few questions in my mind. What would I encounter? Would I find myself in exotic scenes? Or would I be surprised with the mingling of Orient and Occident, as I was in the downtown of the city? To what extent had living together with foreigners and trading with the outside world influenced the local inhabitants' buildings, streets and common areas. I was eager to continue...

First, I had based through the European quarter, located along the waterfront in the Northern part of the city. It was commonly known as Punta. Behind this, was the Greek quarter, and behind that was the Armenian Quarter. Moving towards the South, there were the Turkish, and Jewish quarters. As I entered the Greek quarter, I first saw a group of pretty young women, gathered round the doors of the houses. There was another group seated on benches within the cool porches.⁴²³ The houses were very low in the Greek and Armenian Quarters in comparison to the Frank Quarter.⁴²⁴ The blinds and shutters were fastened against the heat.⁴²⁵ Balconies were a kind of glazed gallery extruded to the street.⁴²⁶ The streets were so narrow. "While camels pass in long strings with their bulky bales of goods suspended from either side,"⁴²⁷ one could be expected to stand between carriers and the wall, or walk under the necks of camels.⁴²⁸ In their great migration, Sephardic Jews carried their culture with them to Smyrna. They brough with them the Spanish *Cortijo* typology. In this kind of dwelling there is a fountain at the center of an inner courtyard surrounded by rooms.⁴²⁹

During my walk I discovered that each quarter had its own spaces for worship and unique characteristics in terms of spatial construction. Building materials varied from wood to brick to stone. Street patterns and the relationship houses established with the web of streets also differed per quarter. There were a large number of Turkish baths and fountains for public use.⁴³⁰ "Muslims hold drinking water as sacred, and they employ immense sums to transport new springs, even to large rooms, and open new perennial sources to the public benefit."⁴³¹ Each quarter had its own hospital. "Smyrna has nine hospitals, which, although small, were nevertheless kept tidy and discreetly clean."⁴³² Schools were also an important part of the urban structure. The establishment of public education for Turkish, Greek, European, Jewish, and Armenians of both sexes in Smyrna, created an excellent opportunity for learning and speaking languages.⁴³³ There was no university in the city, but in a number of schools reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, history and all manner of handiwork was taught.⁴³⁴

425 Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 156.

426 Reynaud, D'Athènes à Baalbek, 52.

427 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 9-10.; Charles, D'Athènes à Baalbek, 52.

428 Reynaud, D'Athènes à Baalbek, 52.

429 "Jewish Sites," accessed September 17, 2018, http://www.izmirjewishheritage.com/other-jewish-sites.
430 Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Ouella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 27.

- 431 Ibid., 27.
- 432 Ibid., 28.
- 433 Ibid., 28.

⁴²³ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 155.

⁴²⁴ Reynaud, D'Athènes à Baalbek, 52.

⁴³⁴ Du Camp, Souvenirs et Paysages D'orient Smyrne. Ephése, Magnésie, Constantinople, Scio, 38.

5.7 Watching the Sunset from Mount Pagos

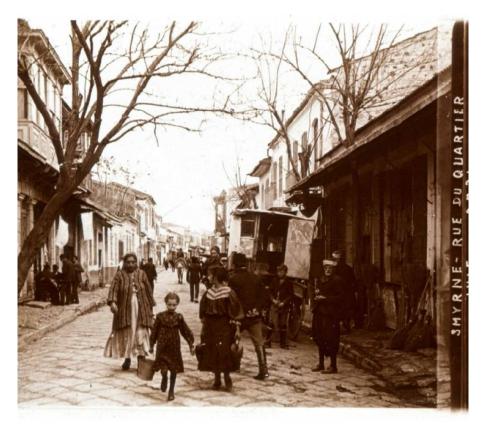


FIG. 5.15 A Street from Jewish Quarter early 20th century (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

After passing by the Jewish quarter in downtown,⁴³⁵ I decided to see "the ruined desolate castle of Smyrna, crowning the summit of Mount Pagus" ⁴³⁶ I was excited to climb to the fortress, where Alexander the Great once hunted.⁴³⁷ Legend has it, that "while he was sleeping under a plane tree near a spring, one of [the] goddesses appeared to him, and [told] him to build a city in this place to shelter the Smyrna in the long-time exiles and wanderers."⁴³⁸ Thus, the fortress has been here since then. I was told to not wander alone there,⁴³⁹ but I so desired to see it that I proceeded—with caution.

I passed through the Agora, and began to climb the mountain. I passed through a quarter in the upper part. Here, I recognized that many house walls were "formed out of the ruins of ancient Smyrna."⁴⁴⁰ I could easily recognize the "columns, busts, cornices, and entablatures" in walls, mixed "with the volcanic stone of the country."⁴⁴¹ Cornelis de Bruijn also wrote about the ancient architectural elements having been re-used in the mosque.⁴⁴² It looks like this has become a tradition here—to incorporate these ancient elements in building.

A garden wall caught my attention. It was loosely built of light-colored stone.⁴⁴³ The color was indeed lighter than the common stone of that quarter.⁴⁴⁴ I went for a closer inspection. The flat stones were about three inches thick.⁴⁴⁵ Beyond the wall was a house. Turkish houses were very different from the rest of the houses

438 Ibid., 14.

440 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 10.

441 Ibid, 10.

443 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 11.

444 Ibid., 11.

445 Ibid., 11.

⁴³⁵ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 199.

⁴³⁶ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 467.

⁴³⁷ Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 14.

⁴³⁹ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 199.

⁴⁴² de Bruyn, A voyage to the Levant: or, travels in the principal parts of Asia Minor, the islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c. With an Account of the most Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land. Enrich'd with above two hundred copper-plates, wherein are represented the most Noted Cities, Countries, Towns, and other remarkable Things, all Drawn to the Life. By M. Corneille le Bruyn, 23.

in Smyrna.⁴⁴⁶ The building materials were entirely of wood.⁴⁴⁷ The ceiling was "supported by many wooden columns or pillars."⁴⁴⁸ Looking from the outside, it gave me the idea of a monastery, while I knew that on the inside it was like a tent.⁴⁴⁹ Almost every house had Cypress trees that reminded me of our poplars.⁴⁵⁰ The houses were mostly isolated by an outer stone wall, like this one.⁴⁵¹ Whether they were positioned in the middle of a small garden,⁴⁵² or adjacent to the street, outer walls of the ground floors were almost completely without windows. The few windows that were there were located above eye level. Upper floor windows usually had a wooden fence on the bottom half. This was in line with the introverted lifestyle of Turks—in and out were firmly defined in buildings. Houses often had a rectangular shape.⁴⁵³ They consisted of a "room in the center of the rectangle, mostly octagonal."⁴⁵⁴ Four of the sides had no doors and were "facing the four cardinal points."⁴⁵⁵ The other four walls each had a door that led to a room.⁴⁵⁶ Internal and external walls had windows, so that every room could benefit from daylight and fresh air.

It has been a long stroll, but I feel I have learned so much. How amazing are the scenes my eyes have captured! "Smyrna was a façade of European regularity tacked on an Oriental confusion..." ⁴⁵⁷

- 447 Ibid., 26.
- 448 Ibid., 26.
- 449 Ibid., 26.
- 450 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 213.

451 Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 25.

- 452 Ibid., 26.
- 453 Ibid., 26.
- 454 Ibid., 26.
- 455 Ibid., 26.
- 456 Ibid., 26.
- 457 de Launay, La Turquie que l'on voit, 245.

⁴⁴⁶ Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 26.

I had almost reached the zenith. As I paused to catch my breath, I looked at how far I had climbed. What a breath-taking view met my gaze! I was utterly captivated by the "deep blue waters of the [gulf]"⁴⁵⁸ and the city, which was spread forth like a miniature model. On the left, "the valley [was] dotted with olive—trees, and a few cypresses [which were] occasionally visible."459 I was able to better see the quarters from where I was standing. I could see that "the Turks and Jews occupy the highest part in the south, the Christians the plain up to the Gulf of Bournabad."⁴⁶⁰ The hill was a "solid rock."⁴⁶¹ When I looked at the eastern side, I saw a deep valley.⁴⁶² I finally tore myself away from the enthralling view, and continued. "I entered the fortress through one of the old gates."⁴⁶³ I "climbed to the castle which overlooks Mount Pagus. They were now barely recognizable debris: only two pointed archways remain standing. Their large bays serve as a frame for the far-off landscape which begins with the sea of the inlet and ends with the mountains on the horizon. In the inner courtyard, there is a small mosque in the midst of the green grass. It made me think on some lines of prose that I had committed to memory.⁴⁶⁴ "Here was the most exact topographical description of this city in these two verses. Bella is Smyrna seen from the sea, even more beautiful seen from the ancient fortress at the top of the Pagus."465

462 Ibid., 200.

463 Flaubert, Oevres Completes Illustrees de Gustave Flaubert, Voyage en Orient 1849-1851, 238.

464 Ibid., 238.

⁴⁵⁸ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 467.

⁴⁵⁹ Charles Swan, Journal of a Voyage Up the Mediterranean: Principally Among the Islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor, Including Many Interesting Particulars Relative to the Greek Revolution, Vol. 2. (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1826), 45.

⁴⁶⁰ Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 24.

⁴⁶¹ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 199.

⁴⁶⁵ Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 23.

I stood and gazed out at the enchanted world awash in the colours and glow of the sinking sun.⁴⁶⁶ "I have never seen so variously beautiful, gulf and the mountain in a frame. Behind the mountain, I see dark slate blue, above the sky is purple, ruddy, on the side of Bornova, the mountains are fair in all possible blondes, then pink and red...⁴⁶⁷ The village of Bornova will by my destination next time. It rests amongst the villages of "Buca and Seydiköy, where the country houses of consuls and traders were located."⁴⁶⁸ It lies on a plain laid towards the East.⁴⁶⁹ "There is a balminess in the air, a stillness and calm tranquility at this hour of sunset, which produce a most pleasing effect upon the mind; and the varied colours of the landscape, with the soft mellow light spread over every object, give a singular charm to the surrounding scenery. The waters of the [gulf] are burnished with gold as the sun dips into them, the blue of the mountains." ⁴⁷⁰

468 Quetin. Guide en Orient: itinéraire scientifique, artistique et pittoresque, 442.

⁴⁶⁶ Flaubert, Oevres Completes Illustrees de Gustave Flaubert, Voyage en Orient 1849-1851, 238.

⁴⁶⁷ Original text:"Je n'en ai pas encore vu de si diversement beau, à cause des découpures de golfe et des montagnes : à gauche, derrière les montagnes des Deux-Frères, bleu ardoise sombre; au-dessus, le ciel est empourpré, vermeil; du côté de Bournabad, les montagnes sont blondes de tous les blonds possibles, puis roses, rouges... O mon Dieu ! mon Dieu !...!!..." in Flaubert, *Oevres Completes Illustrees de Gustave Flaubert, Voyage en Orient 1849-1851*, 238.

⁴⁶⁹ Storari, Guida Con Cenni Storici Di Smirne: Scritta Dall'ingegnere Luigi Storari, Nell'occasione in Cui Pubblicava La Pianta Di Quella Cittá Da Esso Rilevata Nell'anno 1854, 11.

⁴⁷⁰ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 467.

6 Urban Scenes of Socio-Spatial Engagement

Diffused Cosmopolitanism in Smyrna⁴⁷¹

For the family built and spread and extended the village: indeed, they created a good deal of it. The newer parts were almost entirely theirs: their stately houses and the gardens which surrounded them, their church, their clubs, the village water system; the road which led to the sea-port and the warehouses which financed all this splendor...⁴⁷²

Ray Turrell, 1987, 3

471 This chapter contains fragments from the article Fatma Tanış and Klaske Havik, "Spatial Stories of Izmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City," *IN_BO*, *Ricerche e progetti per il territorio, la città e l'architettura* 11, no. 15 (2020): 56-67.

472 Turrel, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 3.

6.1 Writing on the Deck

...that long summer voyage had stored my memory, and the thousand adventures and still more numerous kindness and courtesies, linked with these interesting scenes, crowded on my mind as the noble ship receded from my eye, with an emotion that I could not express.⁴⁷³

Nathaniel Parker Willis, 1853, 394.

Such a long yet splendid journey I have had! It was "one of the most delicious episodes in a long period of foreign travel."⁴⁷⁴ I first visited Lisbon, then Cadiz, Rome, Naples, Malta, thence to Constantinople. Finally, I arrived to beautiful Smyrna in the Turkish empire⁴⁷⁵ as my last stop before turning back home. I spent four weeks in Smyrna, and enjoyed every second of it. My stay "gave me an opportunity of correcting or confirming my former ideas of the place."⁴⁷⁶ "Smyrna was nothing like what I expected from a city of the Orient. It's Marseille on the coast of Asia Minor—a vast and elegant trading port where European consuls and merchants live their lives much as they would in Paris or London."⁴⁷⁷ I am so grateful for the privilege of having stayed with the merchant Whittall family in Bornova. Without them, I would not have known so much about Smyrna and Bornova or their lives and vast connections within the Turkish empire and Europe.

476 Ibid., 192.

477 Alphonse Marie Louise de Lamartine, Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées Et Paysages, Pendant Un Voyage En Orient (1832-1833), Ou Notes D'un Voyageur, vol. 2 (Brussels: Louis Hauman et Comp., Libraires, 1835).

⁴⁷³ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 394.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., v.

⁴⁷⁵ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 234.

It is mid-July.⁴⁷⁸ A dear friend once visited Smyrna in December. She told me that the weather was *grey and inclined to rain and pretty cold*.⁴⁷⁹ Upon her recommendation, I planned my trip for the summer, although I am not fond of hot and humid weather. I am now sailing back to Liverpool in England, my home of six years and the place of education.⁴⁸⁰ For the voyage, I have provided myself with *three small loaves of bread, of about a pound each, and a few raisins*.⁴⁸¹ Although the heat has sometimes been unbearable, I am now in the right mood for *writing upon deck*,⁴⁸² surrounded by the scent of the sea at sun-rise with a fine breeze. A little melancholic, though... Let me now commence writing my observations of Smyrna *on my passage to England*.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁸ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 226.

⁴⁷⁹ A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 6 December 1899, 1899, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed 21 December 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=1972.

⁴⁸⁰ Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, xii.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 184.

⁴⁸² Ibid., x.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., x.

6.2 Arriving in Smyrna

I sailed with a British steamer to Smyrna. The shoreline seemed quite long. When we got closer to the city, I looked at the quay and other ships accompanying the landscape. Right in front of us *lay a magnificent vessel*,⁴⁸⁴ with a waving flag!⁴⁸⁵ There were also small boats, called *kayıks*, in the gulf. To get to the pier, we got in a *kayık*. "Four sailors seized the oars; [one of them a strong] active, black-bearded man."⁴⁸⁶ After a short row, we landed on the quay, right in the center of trade activities. I was *on the beautiful majestic quay built by the French Company*.⁴⁸⁷ It was *a mile and a half long and fully sixty feet wide, built of granite in the most substantial fashion*.⁴⁸⁸ In the past, before the quay was built and the city was extended to the sea, *the usual landing-place for private individuals was, the quay in front of the British Consulate*.⁴⁸⁹ Now, however, it was not possible to see the British Consulate from the sea.

The quay, called *Birinci Kordon Caddesi*, was paved with large stones. It had been commissioned by traders of the city. I could tell it was a central place in the daily life of the inhabitants of Smyrna. I was immediately surrounded by the vibrant activities of the residents, merchants, sailors, tourists, and porters. The tide of commerce was in full swing. The bustle of life looked quite European to me.⁴⁹⁰ There was a good-natured jostling in many social and commercial interactions in the public space. I saw peddlers selling bagels. There were porters in traditional clothes waiting next to ships until all the goods were loaded. A horse-drawn tram was carrying children. To them, the city must look like a playground.⁴⁹¹ I also saw a touching scene.

484 Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 7.

485 Ibid., 7.

486 Ibid., 7.

487 de Launay, La Turquie que l'on voit, 245.

488 Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

489 Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, 262.

490 Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

491 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 59.



FIG. 6.1 Approaching to the Pasaport Building by a kayık (courtesy of Tufan Atakişi).



FIG. 6.2 Kayıks and Pasaport Building (courtesy of Tufan Atakişi).

First, there was *a young wife, with her sleeping child*.⁴⁹² Then I recognized one of the rowers from my small boat, and a few seconds later the woman was "in the arms of that black-haired, sunburnt man. That was a kiss! That was the bouquet of a long year's sweet longing: and the child awoke and cried, and the man kissed it, and took his wife around the waist; and the brown sailors nodded to each other."⁴⁹³ I had witnessed this same scene in every port city I had visited so far: the joy of being reunited with loved ones after a long time of waiting. In each scene, the people are different, the faces too, but the feelings remain the same in every port city across the globe.

The waterfront was so lively and animated with its people, trams, and boats. I was eager to observe the social interactions, and I wanted to see how the people fit in their environment along the waterfront. People were not in a rush; life has its own pace in Smyrna. I saw a string of camels wait for a horse-drawn tram to pass by. There were a few local Ottoman men, sitting to the right of the *Pasaport* building. They chatted as they looked out at the sea. A man with a long beard and a fez was selling a patisserie called *poğaça*.⁴⁹⁴ I noted "the dress of the inhabitants, their turbans, their flowing robes, their red, yellow, and green boots, and their expressive features, with long beards or mustachios; all form a contrast to the manners which [I have] hitherto been accustomed to observe. From their long and extensive intercourse with foreigners, or rather of foreigners with⁴⁹⁵ them, a man in the European dress was scarcely stared at in any quarter of the town."⁴⁹⁶ The Europeans were, however, readily distinguished by their clothing. I was fascinated to see the variation in the society: so many different people in various costumes, together creating a mosaic. So many different social groups and lands blending in harmony. Amidst all of these people, there was one I was excited to soon be meeting. He is one of the principal merchants of Smyrna, Mr. Whittall. I had never met him before, but the British consul in Constantinople, Mr. Cartwright, put us in contact.⁴⁹⁷ Since then, we have exchanged letters.

493 Ibid., 7.

494 It resembles to Italian focaccia.

495 Semple, Observations on a journey through Spain and Italy to Naples: and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople; comprising a description of the principal places in that route, and remarks on the present natural and political state of those countries, Vol. 2, 198.

496 Ibid., 199.

497 Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, ix.; "The consul-generalat Constantinople, Mr. Cartwright, had given me a letter of introduction to Mr. Whittall." in Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 309.

⁴⁹² Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 7.



FIG. 6.3 Social diversity in the Quay (Courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).



FIG. 6.4 Pasaport Building and inhabitants of İzmir (with the courtesy of Mehmet Sunucu).



FIG. 6.5 A view from the quay (courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).

As I awaited our meeting time, I took in the dynamic landscape, full of buildings and functions.⁴⁹⁸ There were cinemas, theaters, cafés, hotels, banks, and post offices. There were also warehouses in close proximity to the port—one of them belongs to Mr. Whittall. The Hotel Londres was on the same axis as the Pasaport building. Next door, there was a Turkish Theater, and following this, there was a series of two- and three-storey wood buildings, housing cafés, restaurants, and bars. I walked southward. Starting from the street called *Keussuk Sokak*, I began to see depot buildings between the hotels, cafés and restaurants. After the *Teskereli Sokak*, the leisure facilities became less present, as if they had given up their spots for offices, warehouses, and depots. These were filled with tobacco, grains, and dried fruits. I began to smell the exotic scent of tobacco. Suddenly, I found myself standing before one of the warehouses of the Whittall family, the Whittall *Han.* What a coincidence! But it was not there that I would meet Mr. Whittall. He had asked me to meet him in the Square where the clock tower was located.

⁴⁹⁸ Elhambra, Sporting Club, Hotel Kramer were along the quay. Bülent Şenocak, *Levant'ın Yıldızı İzmir: Levantenler, Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudiler* (İzmir: Şenocak Kültür Yayınları, 2003), 204.

6.3 Spaces of Trade: Casino as a Node of the Social Network

Before meeting with Mr. Whittall, I had an appointment with the British Consul at the casino. I could not have entered the casino as a total stranger,⁴⁹⁹ but, as luck would have it, I was invited in by *our kind and attentive Consul, Mr. Brant.*⁵⁰⁰ I heard that it was common for a traveler to Smyrna, upon arrival, to be introduced immediately to the casino by an inhabitant.⁵⁰¹ This was logical, given that *casinos were the place where European society meets.*⁵⁰² This very place was an important junction of commerce and the web of local and travelling society. I often heard from my friends that foreign merchants were all members of the casino.⁵⁰³ Any member could introduce a stranger.⁵⁰⁴ In this way, merchants could provide travelers with all the privileges of this amazing place during their stay in Smyrna.⁵⁰⁵ Members also included *French, Dutch, and American captains.*⁵⁰⁶ "Every traveler to the East passes by Smyrna, and there are always numbers at the Casino."⁵⁰⁷ I was quickly *admitted to the Casino*,⁵⁰⁸ and immediately enjoyed a most delicious mocha. *Whenever you enter* you are served coffee in the ball-room.⁵⁰⁹

The casino was a *large palace*,⁵¹⁰ containing: a ball room, a coffee room, card rooms and a reading room.⁵¹¹ The reading room, was *furnished with all the gazettes and reviews of Europe*.⁵¹² This was a direct linkage to Europe, providing a space for ideas

⁴⁹⁹ Casinos were used upon subscription of residents. Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

⁵⁰⁰ Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 4.

⁵⁰¹ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

⁵⁰² Reynaud, D'Athènes à Baalbek, 54.

⁵⁰³ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., 392.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 310.

⁵⁰⁷ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

⁵⁰⁸ Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 4.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁵¹⁰ Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 392.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 392.

⁵¹² Ibid.

of democracy and other developments to circulate and be discussed.⁵¹³ There were nearly seven hundred people present in the casino.⁵¹⁴ "My British Consul companion pointed to a gentleman in the midst of the crowd in a Frankish dress. 'That is the Danish Consul, Herr Jongh,' said he."⁵¹⁵ Amongst the consul, I was able to meet with *many Europeans here*.⁵¹⁶ "I have had much attention paid to me. I can heartily join with so many other visitors to Smyrna in acknowledging the hospitality of its inhabitants."⁵¹⁷ But it was time for me to leave, as Mr. Whittall would be waiting for me. I thanked our consul, and left the casino to meet Mr. Whittall.

6.4 Spaces of Trade: Warehouses, Depots, Production

Such a busy port! The customs house at the port was built perpendicular to the quay on wooden structures in the sea. The flat roof in the central axis of the building was elevated for lighting and ventilation. Fine irons were used in the construction of the building, which surely were a result of the industrial developments and cast-iron production on the shores of the Levant. Around the customs house, I saw different modes of transportation, the development of new structures, and new configurations for the city. "Carriages and carts were numerous."⁵¹⁸ As far as I could see, the common transportation vehicles were *kayıks*, horse drawn cars and the tram. *Kayıks*, like the one which brought me to the quay, are used for moving goods and people over short distances. I also saw them being employed for fishing. These small boats were clearly quite crucial for the port of Smyrna.

⁵¹³ Reynaud, D'Athènes à Baalbek, 54.

⁵¹⁴ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 310.

⁵¹⁵ Andersen, A Poet's Bazaar, 215.

⁵¹⁶ Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 4.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁵¹⁸ Geary, Through Asiatic Turkey, 298-300.

Tall ship masts and guy wires painted the blue sky. There was a continuous and busy pattern of ships that almost seemed to create a porous wall between city and sea: big vessels, small vessels, some with sails, and some with motors... All these ships, busily being loaded and unloaded of barrels and sacks, filled with figs and tobacco. created an energetic landscape connecting the land to the sea. "The multitude of little boats scudding about, have a striking and characteristic effect, the boats being gaily painted, the men all wearing turbans, and the women concealed in white drapery."⁵¹⁹ I saw a group of sailors smoking cigars and two children sat chatting and fishing.⁵²⁰ Their legs dangled, almost touching the water from the place where they sat. A porter carried a single, long, iron pillar.⁵²¹ It must have been very heavy because the man's body was bent under the weight of it. Meanwhile, another man was walking in fine clothes with an umbrella made of *double silk* held against the sun.⁵²² A steady background noise accompanied this mosaic of people from different classes and with different purposes: the staccato sound of iron horseshoes, the rhythmic crashing of the waves against the stony guay, and the multitude of different languages mingling in the air.

⁵¹⁹ Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 1-2.

⁵²⁰ A photograph by Sebah & Joaillier, n 13. Vue du Quai, Prise du Nord, Smyrne. accessed 20 December 2020, https://en.sebahjoaillier.com/izmir ; http://www.levantineheritage.com/smyrna.htm.

⁵²¹ A photograph by Sebah & Joaillier, 1890, n. 9. La Douane, Smyrne. accessed 20 December 2020, https://en.sebahjoaillier.com/izmir, http://www.levantineheritage.com/smyrna.htm.

⁵²² Murray, The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, vii.; A photograph by Sebah & Joaillier, 1890, n. 9. La Douane, Smyrne. accessed 20 December 2020, https://en.sebahjoaillier.com/izmir, http://www.levantineheritage.com/smyrna.htm.



FIG. 6.6 Port activities in the Pier (Sebah&Joaillier, 1890, N. 9. La Douane, Smyrne).



FIG. 6.7 A Part of the Quay (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).



FIG. 6.8 Warehouses on the quay and in close proximity with Konak Square, edited by Jean Walsberg, Constantinople (courtesy of Tufan Atakişi).

While walking towards the square, I passed by several warehouses on the quay. Some of them, in close proximity to the port, faced towards the sea. Others opened their doors to the *Konak* Square. The ground floor of most of these, housed retail establishments or a store-house on the lower floor, and the upper floor was the residence of a family.⁵²³ "I have been much surprised by finding really beautiful suites of rooms forming the houses of the gentry here; they consist of long corridors, opening into apartments generally of excellent proportions; all these are over the warehouses, and have no rooms above them."⁵²⁴ "This living over warehouses of opium, I am inclined to think, was healthy for the heart."⁵²⁵ Some of the warehouses were built of wood, a judicious measure against earthquakes.⁵²⁶ But most of them were built of stone and brick.⁵²⁷ It was hard to see any building that was more than one story above the ground-floor.⁵²⁸

- 524 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 5.
- 525 Willis, Summer cruise in the Mediterranean, 391.
- 526 Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 4.

⁵²³ Ibid., 4.

⁵²⁷ Charles E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna); Turquie: plan, index, 1905, Scale: 300 ft 1 inch. Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, the United States of America, accessed June 16, 2020, https:// id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scanned-maps/44-990093754910203941, Planchet No: 6 and 7.

⁵²⁸ Fellows, A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 4.



FIG. 6.9 Konak Square in 1910 (Courtesy of Tufan Atakişi).

After passing by warehouses, I arrived to *Konak* Square. To my right, there was a large building barrack. To my left, there was a wall—apparently, it was not possible to walk further along the waterfront in this southerly direction. The city seemed to me as if it finished at this point, but I know Smyrna has a very long waterfront in its Northern direction.⁵²⁹ I left the sea behind me, and walked towards the bazaar, where the old port used to be located. A few steps further, and I was at the main square of the city. This was the place where I had agreed to meet the renowned Mr. Whittall. There was a block of warehouses on my left, and in front of me, a small mosque with colorful tiles covering its walls. Directly behind it, there was a governor's office with a triangular pediment. The entrance of the government house had an elegant three-bay portico, suggestive of the classical revival. To my right I saw the façade of the military barrack's building. In the middle of the Square stood a clock tower built in 1901 for the 25th anniversary of the throne of the Sultan Abdülhamid II.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁹ Lieutenant Thomas Graves' map for Smyrna in 1836-7 shows the curvilinear shore of the city. A Survey Map, Thomas Graves, Gulf of Smyrna Surveyed by Captain R. Copeland and Lieut. T. Graves 1836-37, 1844, System number: 004866676, SEC.5. (1523.), Cartographic Items Maps SEC.5.(1523.), British Library Archives, London, The United Kingdom.

⁵³⁰ Charles E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna); Turquie: plan, index, 1905, Scale: 300 ft 1 inch. Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University, the United States of America, accessed June 16, 2020, https:// id.lib.harvard.edu/curiosity/scanned-maps/44-990093754910203941, Planchet 7, island 129.

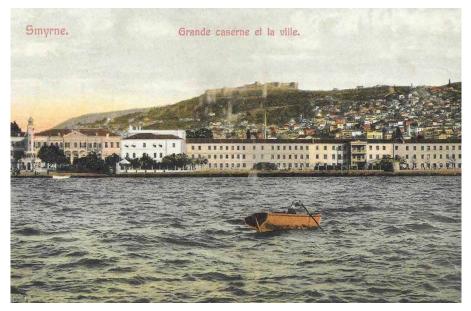


FIG. 6.10 Konak Square and Barrack (Courtesy of Tufan Atakişi).

6.5 Spaces of Trade: Whittall Warehouses in Downtown Smyrna

As I took in the charm of the variety of things I had just encountered in the city's social life and its architecture, someone tapped me upon my shoulder. There stood Mr. Whittall in his fine clothes, complete with hat and walking stick. We saluted each other in greeting. Before we began the commute to his home, where I was to be hosted during my stay in Smyrna, he proposed a showing of his warehouses, where he usually works until evening.⁵³¹ He pointed to the warehouse block on the left and indicated that one of them was his. I found it very smart to have a warehouse in such

⁵³¹ A letter written by Gertrude Bell to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, 18 March 1902, 1902, Gertrude Bell's letter to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed May 30th, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=120.

a strategic point in the city as *Konak* Square: on the Eastern side of the port, and on the route to the bazaar called *Kemeralti*. I could deduce that there were two reasons behind this precise location: the efficiency in transportation (by being close to the port), and the inherited customs of the society of traders here.

Warehouses (or *hans*) are the main source of wealth for the Whittall family. As we walked, Mr. Whittall pointed out the family's *hans*, where their goods are processed, stored, and traded. Indeed, they were all located in prominent locations in the city. They were built in the 19th century and located close to the port and to other important transportation methods, such as the horse-drawn tram. It was remarkable that the Whittall *hans* are often positioned next to Turkish ones.⁵³² Many of them, which were built in the early 20th century along *Hükümet* Street, extended the city southwards. At first, they mostly belonged to Turkish traders,⁵³³ but among them three are now the property of the Whittall family. *Hans* had a rectangular form, framing a plot of land, whilst having a large courtyard inside. The Whittalls have removed the courtyards in order to use the space most efficiently for the prospering of trade. Besides their *hans* in downtown Smyrna, the Whittalls have continued building new ones with different features. *Hans* were often used as guest houses for visitors in Smyrna. These were the places in "which all the nations mingle and merge, where all the languages speak, where all the costumes are elbowed."⁵³⁴

I saw images of the Whittall warehouses for the first time, long ago, in a trade catalogue in the Great Exhibition in London held in 1851.⁵³⁵ I still recall the delicious Smyrna figs I tasted in the pavilion decorated with Smyrna carpets *of the richest colours, and most beautiful pattern*.⁵³⁶ If I remember well, Charles La Fontaine, a relative of Mr. Whittall, was responsible for the 1851 World Fair's Turkish Section.⁵³⁷

- 533 Atay, Kapanan Kapılar:İzmir Hanları, 233.
- 534 Reynaud, D'Athenes a Baalbeck 1844.

⁵³² A letter written by Gertrude Bell to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, 11 March 1902, 1902, Gertrude Bell's letter to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed May 29, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1294.

⁵³⁵ Robert Ellis, Great Exhibition and Commissioners for the Exhibition 1851, *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the works of industry of all nations, 1851* (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851).

⁵³⁶ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 1, 142.

⁵³⁷ Journal De Constantinople, March 9, 1851. cited in Turan, "Turkey in the Great Exhibition of 1851," 67.; more about the family tree can be read in Giraud, A Record of the Origin and the History of the Giraud and the Whittall Families of Turkey, 131.



FIG. 6.11 Turkish Section in the Great Exhibition in 1851, painted by Joseph Nash and commissioned by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

What a family network—everyone seems connected in one way or another here!⁵³⁸ They really are the backbone of trade and drivers of relations between the Turkish Empire and Europe.

At the fair, I saw images of these warehouses, and some 40 years later I saw these city streets with tramlines in a company trade catalogue.⁵³⁹ One of the photographs showed a building with a balcony on the top of the main entrance. It drew my attention, because it was built with iron in a European style. It seemed in such contrast to the typical, local wooden constructions. I asked Mr. Whittall about this particular warehouse, and when we arrived at an intersection he stretched out his arm and pointed to where the building lay in the distance. We, then carried on to our modern building, another warehouse, that was located behind the governance building.

⁵³⁸ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 4.

⁵³⁹ The catalogue and the building on the tram street can be seen: http://www.levantineheritage.com/ giraud.htm#0. The building is registered to the Goad map as the Whittall Han. The company belongs to Girauds, who were intermarried to the Whittall Family. "C.J. Giraud & Co. Smyrna, Türkei." C.J. Giraud & Co., accessed February 19th, 2021, http://www.levantineheritage.com/giraud.htm#0.



FIG. 6.12 A photograph depicts the interior of a fig warehouse (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

The Whittall fig warehouse we visited lay in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar and was called: *Salepçioğlu Han.* Upon entering, I saw Turks, Armenians and Greeks all busily working. Women and girls sat on the ground, working with their fingers to sort the figs. We then went to the packing room, which was rather small and narrow in comparison to the sorting and grading space.⁵⁴⁰ There, I saw men sitting on the benches to pack the figs. Each of them had a small cup filled with sea water. The reason, I soon learned, was to wash away the sticky residue of the figs.⁵⁴¹ It was quite intriguing to recall the figs I had tasted in London and realize I was seeing their place of origin and their preparation process for export. We were in a hurry to arrive at the Whittall residence in a timely manner, thus we had to depart from the Bazaar without lengthy exploration. The short tour which we did make, however, would remain in my mind for a long time: "Next to a hotel franc, there is a khan; next to the mosque, a church; near the temple, a synagogue; the smoke of the European cigar mixes with the perfumes that cling to the narghile."⁵⁴²

541 Ibid., 35.

542 Reynaud, D'Athenes a Baalbeck 1844, 50.

⁵⁴⁰ Roeding, The Smyrna Fig at Home and Abroad: A Treatise on Practical Smyrna Fig Culture, Together with an Account of the Introduction of the Wild or Capri Fig, and the Establishment of the Fig Wasp (Blasiophaga Grossorum) in America, 35.

6.6 Spaces of Transport: Approaching Bornova

The village hardly existed before the family adopted it. After that it became theirs as surely if they had created every inch of ground.⁵⁴³

Ray Turrell, 1987: 2.

Mr. Whittall and his entire family had their dwelling in a village called Bornova (figure). This is located some 6 miles away from the port of Smyrna, along an ancient Persian caravan route which departs the city in an eastward direction.⁵⁴⁴ Mr. Whittall described it as a small village at the foot of the mountain where the country houses of the Levantines were located.⁵⁴⁵ I could see that the picturesque village was largely affected by the arrival of the trading families. *The descent from the mountains led into an extensive valley, covered with evergreens, abounding in gardens, and decked throughout*⁵⁴⁶ with beautiful villas and picturesque villages.⁵⁴⁷

But, wait, I'm getting ahead of myself. To get to Bornova after our tour of the warehouses and Bazaar, Mr. Whittall and I began to walk towards the Basmane Train Station. During our walk, he explained to me how the men of his family used to commute from work to home in the past. They would take a boat from the pier in front of *Konak* Square and sail to Bornova Pier, which was two miles away. They would then continue along the route with donkeys.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴³ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 2.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 147.

⁵⁴⁵ Flaubert, Oevres Completes Illustrees de Gustave Flaubert, Voyage en Orient 1849-1851.

⁵⁴⁶ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 301.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 302.

⁵⁴⁸ The notes were written in July, 5th, 1835. Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East*, vol. 2, 2.; William John Hamiltion and Hugh Edwin Strickland, "On the Geology of the Western Part of Asia Minor," in *Transactions of the Geological Society of London* 2, Volume VI, no. 1 (1841): 1-40.



FIG. 6.13 Bornova General view (postcard published by Editor S. Sarantopuolos).

In the early days, donkeys were the primary means of transportation on land.⁵⁴⁹ Nowadays, since the arrival of the train, this mode of travelling has become obsolete for elite traders.⁵⁵⁰ Indeed, there have been two train stations built in Smyrna. Station-Aydin lies in the Northern part of the city center, marked by the clock tower next to it; Station-Basmane, the one we used, is located on the east side of the city center. The Station-Aydin serves as a direct link from the developing industrial area around the station to the sea. The Station-Basmane serves as a connecting line to villages like Bornova in the outskirts.

⁵⁴⁹ "...In the evening we took a boat and sailed to the low spit of land about two miles below the town, where we found donkeys ready bridled and saddled, and mounting them we proceeded along a pleasant lane bordered with hedges and trees, through corn-fields, rich vineyards, and groves of olives, to the village of Bournabat..." Charles Addison wrote in July 5th, 1835. Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East*, vol. 2, 2.

⁵⁵⁰ A glimpse of what a visitor could have seen in the late nineteenth century can be grasped by watching Jean Baptiste Camille Corot's oil painting (1873). The painting depicts the arrival of the boat and the donkey for further connections. Jean Baptiste Camille Corot, "Smyrna Bournabat," Painting, 1873, accessed in June 16, 2020, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jean-BaptisteCamilleCorot_1873_SmyrneBournabat.jpg.



FIG. 6.14 Station-Basmane (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

Mr. Whittall and I arrived at the Basmane train station and I immediately noticed a wide pavement of the same stones as those on the quay. It was broad enough for four people to walk abreast. Mulberry trees were planted in front of the station building, providing shadow to pedestrians. Apparently, the warm climate of the city was important in designing this building. There were also window shutters made of wood. Every window of the two storey tall building had these shutters. The windows had arcs, and the ratio between width and height was 1:2. The building was composed of stone and brick. As there was no plaster, I was able to see the pattern. As we approached the entrance of the station, I saw above it three windows on the upper floor. The ground floor gave access to the building and was covered by copper to protect us from the rain, should it come.

The station was the starting point of the Kasaba-Smyrna Railway. Mr. Whittall explained to me the important role the family played in the realisation of this railway. Mr. James Whittall (1819–1883) stated the urgency of the railway construction for oversea trade to the traveler Nassau William Senior during his visit to Bornova in November 1854.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵¹ Nassau William Senior, A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859), 206-207.

Construction of the Basmane Kasaba started a decade later, in 1864, and was completed in 1866.⁵⁵² The railway reached to *Uşak*, a city located in the hinterland. There it collected handmade carpets and raw materials in the region. As Mr. Whittall was telling me this story, we passed through the main hall, and he bought the tickets.

When we sat on the train, I presented a gift that I brought with me. This was following the advice of my friend, writer and publisher John Murray. The gift was a copy of the Murray's Magazine.⁵⁵³ Mr. Whittall was very happy upon receiving this periodical. He was even more delighted when he saw his own freshly printed article inside.⁵⁵⁴ Mr. Whittall continued to explain developments of sea and land transportation. The first ferry connection was established between the English Pier⁵⁵⁵ in downtown and the Bornova Pier in the mid-19th century.⁵⁵⁶ Now, this pier stood far from the waterfront because the land towards the sea had been filled in. The land connection between downtown Smyrna and Bornova had been refined after this. Mr. Whittall said a merchant of French origins, Mr. Charnaud, granted the rights for building and controlling the road. Thus, the first toll road was initiated in Smyrna in 1860.⁵⁵⁷ In 1861, a road covered with asphalt was completed.⁵⁵⁸ With the emergence of factories in *Darağacı* and *Halkapınar*, this road, called *Mersinli*, became a prominent land route for the daily commute of traders.

We passed through the villages of Hilal, Mersinli, Halkapinar and approached Bornova. It was a lovely route, especially the beautiful Diana's Baths in Halkapinar. The Bornova station was one of the stops on this route of the Kasaba-Smyrna Railway. It was specifically built for the trading families living in the village. The station, a rectangular, one-storied building, covered with a gable roof, marked the entrance of the family quarter. Along the longitudinal façade of the station there was a porch. A single pitched roof, carried by twelve wooden pillars in the front, and two pillars adjacent to the wall of the building, covered the porch of the train station to

- 554 Whittall, "A Week among Brigands," 769.
- 555 The name often appears on the maps as Quai Anglais or Inglich Iskelesi.
- 556 Beyru, 19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti, 264.

558 Ibid. 39.

⁵⁵² Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 265.; Nurdoğan Taçalan, *Ege'de Kurtuluş Savaşı Başlarken* (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1970), 86.

⁵⁵³ Murray, *The Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta; with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, ix.*

⁵⁵⁷ Hasan Mert, *Geçmişten Günümüze Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova* (İzmir: Bornova Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 39.

protect the passengers against rain and sun. The roof was not steep, which was very appropriate for the climate as well as to the local building styles. The train whistle blew,⁵⁵⁹ and we arrived in Bornova.

We began our walk to his house. Since Bornova was on this trade route between the port and the land beyond the city, we were privileged to see on the street a silently passing⁵⁶⁰ camel string "with its tiny donkey leading."⁵⁶¹ Mr. Whittall told me that his family had commissioned the road for a further connection which cut through the quarter and led to the church Magdalene,⁵⁶² which James Whittall had built in 1867. Mr. Whittall continued to explain the building projects that made for easier travel to the village. The Glasgow based *Laidloux and Sons* company built the Smyrna Gas Company and provided the first electricity to Smyrna on June, 25, 1864.⁵⁶³ The company distributed gas lighting to Bornova.⁵⁶⁴ Another service to the neighbourhood initiated by the Whittall Family was the water system and reservoir on top of the hill of Bornova.⁵⁶⁵ If I understood well, the system was based on the rainfall and mountain streams.⁵⁶⁶ Clean water for drinking was coming from the wells that every house had in their gardens.⁵⁶⁷

562 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 147.

566 Ibid., 149.

⁵⁵⁹ Socrates Prokopiou, Sergiani in Old Smyrna (Athens, 1949), in Bornova Köşkleri Gezginleri ve Anılar ed. by Hasan Arıcan, 22-30 (İzmir: Tepekule Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2003), 22.

⁵⁶⁰ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 151.

⁵⁶¹ A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 6 December 1899, 1899, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed 21 December 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=1972.

⁵⁶³ Sadık Kurt, İzmir'de Kamusal Hizmetler 1850-1950 (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2012); Sadık Kurt, "İzmir'de Kamu Hizmeti Gören Kuruluşlar 1850-1950," PhD diss, Dokuz Eylül University, 1996.

Sadık Kurt, "Bornova'da Havagazı," in *Bornova Tarihinden Yapraklar*, ed. Hasan Arıcan (İzmir: Tepekule Kitaplığı Yayınları, 2009), 105.

⁵⁶⁴ The company distributed gas lighting to Bornova in 1884. Kurt, "Bornova'da Havagazı," 105.

⁵⁶⁵ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 149.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 149.



FIG. 6.15 Bornova Train Station, 19th century (Courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).



FIG. 6.16 Station-Bornova (courtesy Mehmet Sunucu).

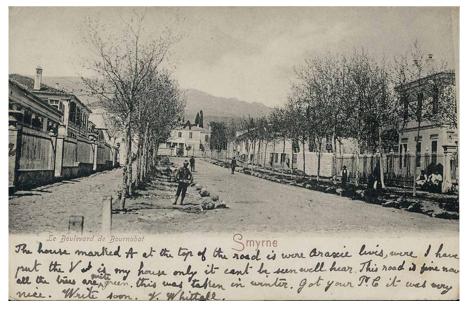


FIG. 6.17 A postcard shows the road that connects the train station and the Church Magdalene (courtesy Levantine Heritage Foundation).

6.7 Spaces of Domestic Life: The House

I had been looking forward to seeing Mr. Whittall's garden ever since reading an article on it in the journal. I had also seen a postcard of it which captured a lake with a swan under the splendid trees. The British consul also told me that the garden was an extraordinary example of the hidden heaven that the mansion gardens of Bornova offered. I could not see the gardens immediately when we walked through the village, as high walls surrounded them. Most of the entrances to the houses from the garden gates were paved with mosaics of black and white pebbles. After taking a few steps from the main gate, I was welcomed by young, green bushes, but I could not yet see the house or any of its inhabitants. A few steps further, and I could see the Whittall house to the right, an old, two-storey house with a rectangular form. It looked as though the center part had been built before the 18th century, with more recently added symmetrical spaces on the right and on the left, and a verandah at the front of the house (and one on the back, I would later learn).⁵⁶⁸ There was a beautiful little girl standing on the verandah. She was looking very fancy in her red and white striped dress.⁵⁶⁹ She gazed at us with welcoming and curious eyes. Mr. Whittall asked me to wait on the verandah, as he went to shut off the irrigation system in the garden. After a few moments, I began to get acquainted with the little girl "talking broken English. Very curious about me!"⁵⁷⁰ Her name was Ray, and she was related to Mr. Whittall. I told her about my day first, and she then told me about hers.

Within a short time, Ray wanted to show me the house. The verandah was connected to the living room, also known as the drawing room, and dining room. Victorian watercolors and portraits of family ancestors decorated the walls of this space.⁵⁷¹ Ray showed me the table with coffee glasses—obviously, there had been guests before me. "My grandmother...", she said, "sat here on an afternoon with her visitors in a circle of chairs around her."⁵⁷² As we passed through the dining room, Ray introduced me to her great-grandfather and great-grandmother, whose large paintings were hanging on the wall. "In the dining room here are all the family

571 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 51.

572 Ibid., 34.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 146.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 36.

⁵⁷⁰ A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 6 December 1899, 1899, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed 21 December 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=1972.

portraits, bad as pictures, but most interesting as types."⁵⁷³ I told her that I was particularly impressed with the teak furniture in the dining room. She replied: "They are from France. My grandfather ordered them." Indeed, there were many European style pieces of furniture in the house,⁵⁷⁴ but they coexisted with the Oriental motives. The chimney, for instance, was surrounded with a frame of blue, floral-patterned china which included the motif of a splendid cypress tree.

As was the tradition in every house in Smyrna, "coffee and sweetmeats, were handed round by the young ladies of the family."⁵⁷⁵ I had a lovely, warm afternoon with the Whittall household. In the evening, Ray preferred to stay with her grandparents, the ones hosting me. The weather became a little chilly, and we had our conversations mostly around the *tandır*, a small heater, that kept us warm.⁵⁷⁶

Our dinner was quite Eastern,⁵⁷⁷ which stood in contrast to the European furniture of the dining room. Before we began dining, Mr. Whittall explained the choice for the Eastern dishes. "In all parts of the Ottoman Empire,"⁵⁷⁸ he said, "the traveler will meet with eating houses called *Kafagees*. In these houses parties are served at small low tables of wood or block tin." For our dinner we feasted on kebab made of mutton, which "was a dish in high repute."⁵⁷⁹ Along with our meal we enjoyed a house wine. European merchants often make wine in their houses. I have never tasted better than Smyrna wine, when it is right.⁵⁸⁰

576 Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 162.

577 John Murray, A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East (London: John Murray, 1840), VIII.

578 Ibid., VIII.

580 de Thévenot, The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant." Three Parts. Viz. Into I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East-Indies, 92.

⁵⁷³ A letter written by Gertrude Bell to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, 11 March 1902, Gertrude Bell's letter to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell, Gertrude Bell Archive, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed December 21, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1294.

⁵⁷⁴ Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East, vol. 2, 219.

⁵⁷⁵ Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 313.

⁵⁷⁹ Murray, A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East, VIII.; It is difficult to find the equivalent word for Kafagees in the present-day use in Turkish. Looking from the contemporary time, the closest to this function might be "meyhane", which is literally winehouse where people drink alcohol and have good meals.



FIG. 6.18 Bank Imperiale Ottomane, Nuri Hamza Rüstem (courtesy Salt Research).

After dinner, while I was sitting in the living room, I happened to see the trade registry catalogue titled, *Indicateur Commercial of the Smyrna*. The red cover had the title in French along with some Ottoman letters. As I saw from the cover, Jacos de Andria published the catalogue. An important catalogue with information about which companies were active in the business world of Smyrna. Such a variation! I saw Sydney La Fontaine, the brother-in-law of Mr. Whittall, in this registration as the Manufacturer of Turkish Carpets. There were banks, such as *Banque Imperiale Ottomane*, insurance companies for oversea shipping, like *La Finciere-Transports* and *Compainge Lyonnoise d'Assurances Maritimes*.⁵⁸¹ I saw a representative for import and export matters who spoke French, German, English and Turkish. I could see that being multi-lingual was very important in Smyrna. *Rice Frères*, successors *de S. H. Papps*, were active in maritime, hydraulics and general engineering, and presented themselves with factory and hydraulic works. A true representation of the industrial development which contributed to the extension of the industrial revolution and the power of steam.

⁵⁸¹ French word Frères means brothers in English. There were also Franz Schlosser the flourist, a photographer Pierre I. D'andria who had offices both in Smyrna and Crete, an island in the Mediterranean. de Andria, *Indicateur Commercial of 1898-1899*.

This steam power was not limited to the boat, as per my trip, but rather, they provided service for boiler and "all purposes where steam is used."⁵⁸² The trade catalogue revealed the network of Europeans in the city and their role in the emerging developments. Wow, I was offered such a review of trade relations in Smyrna, by simply sitting on a couch of a trading family and reading the trade registration catalogue. It gave me an extensive understanding of the trade pattern and its network in the city. It also revealed who occupied the spaces and buildings in the commercial center where I had been today.

6.8 Spaces of Domestic Life: The Garden of Edward Whittall

We went out in the rain to see the garden. He grows quantities of bulbs for England, propagating them here, either foreign or native. A beautiful pale double daffodil was in flower and three tulips, saxatile (pale pink) gesnaria (a tall red one with black marks inside) and elurium, (I think, a red and white with a very pointed flower).⁵⁸³

Gertrude Bell, 1907.

In the morning, after our tea, Mr. Whittall and I visited the garden with the first light of the day. The botanic garden, full of a rich array of species, was first owned by a French botanist who planted a four-acre garden.⁵⁸⁴ After the landownership passed to Edward Whittall,⁵⁸⁵ the quantity of species in the garden increased further with imported trees from India, the Far East and South America.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸² Jacos de Andria, Indicateur Commercial of 1898-1899, Smyrne, 1899.

⁵⁸³ A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 7 April 1907, 1907, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University. Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed December 21, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=519.

⁵⁸⁴ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 146.

⁵⁸⁵ Until 1867, foreigners were not able to buy any land in the Ottoman Empire, the landownership was whether on the name of any other Ottoman individuals, or foreigners registered themselves as an Ottoman subject. İnci Kuyulu, "Bornova Levanten Köşklerine Mimari Açıdan Bir Bakış," in *Bornova Köşkleri Gezginler ve Anılar*, ed. Hasan Arıcan, 35-47.

⁵⁸⁶ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 147.

The garden had been designed with various levels by terracing the terrain.⁵⁸⁷ The lower terrace was filled with numerous species, along with a cottage for the gardener and a barn. A paved path went through the garden. I saw the well which supplies water for the family.⁵⁸⁸ A local irrigation system, fed by the lake, is used for watering the plants.⁵⁸⁹ The garden-keeper is responsible to oversee that the water goes evenly to the houses.⁵⁹⁰ In addition to the water system, there are water wells at every house. Homeowners use their wells to cool food. For example, watermelons hung down in the well are cooled in a very short time.⁵⁹¹

The garden was a private space, but for special occasions and yearly gatherings it becomes a social place. Mr. Whittall explained that beginning August 15 every year, inhabitants of Bornova have fancy balls and fairs that last for two weeks. In these fairs, lace works and scarves made by young local girls are sold.⁵⁹² These handmade works decorate the environs, and long stands and buffets are set up in the gardens.⁵⁹³ In the houses, large rooms are emptied of their furniture and turned into ball rooms.⁵⁹⁴ Young people dance,⁵⁹⁵ while violins play late into the night. I wish I were here in August! Alas, next time... For tomorrow, we plan to have "a cheerful drive up to the farm"⁵⁹⁶ and to the "Tumulus where we would have tea and play Bridge till dinner."⁵⁹⁷

589 Ibid., 98.

590 Prokopiou, Sergiani in Old Smyrna. in Arıcan, Bornova Köşkleri Gezginler ve Anılar, 26.

- 591 Ibid., 26.
- 592 Ibid., 27.
- 593 Ibid., 27.
- 594 Ibid., 27.
- 595 Ibid., 27.

596 A Diary Entry by Gertrude Bell, 6 December 1899, 1899, A Collection of Gertrude's Diary Entries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle, the United Kingdom, accessed 21 December 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/diary_details.php?diary_id=1972.

597 Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 32.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 149.

After the visit to the garden, I joined the Whittall Family in going to the church. During our walk, they spoke amongst themselves in a mixture of English, French, Turkish, and Greek.⁵⁹⁸ Ray wore a red velvet dress and bonnet.⁵⁹⁹ Visiting the church was an important part of their social life.⁶⁰⁰ Ray showed me the way, and the rest of the household followed us. She chose to take us through the garden. We could also have gone by way of the main boulevard, but this path that cuts through the Whittall property is her favorite.

Before arriving at the church, we passed by another grandiose house (fig 3). This was the oldest Whittall House, and was known as the "Big House" in Bornova. The Big House was purchased by the Whittall family in 1820. Their friend, Gertrude Bell, stayed at this property during her multiple visits to Smyrna. Among its many important guests, it has hosted: King Otho of Greece in 1833, the Ottoman Sultan in 1863, and Prince Andrew of Greece. Ray told me of the "high enormous rooms" that the Big House has,⁶⁰¹ and about the Christmas dinners that took place in the ball room. Her grandmother prepared large dinners for more than a hundred members of the Whittall clan every year.⁶⁰²

The Big House was situated in a spacious garden like the other traders' houses. The garden had multiple purposes. Before the church was completed, religious rituals used to take place there.⁶⁰³ It was also a place for picnics, and a playground for the children. The artificial *belvedere*, for instance, was the perfect climbing place. Ray told me that most of the time, the Edward Whittall Garden was the playground for her and the other children of the family. On some occasions, she explained, they had played in the Big House' garden, too. Here, they had played hop-scotch.⁶⁰⁴

600 Ibid., 4.

602 Ibid., 16.

603 Addison, Damascus and Palmyra: A Journey to the East 2, 186.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 4.

⁶⁰¹ Gertrude Bell, "Gertrude Bell's letter to her stepmother Dame Florence Bell," letter, 11 March 1902, in Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle: University of Newcastle, Gertrude Bell Archive, accessed December 21, 2020, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=1294.

⁶⁰⁴ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 117.

6.10 Spaces of Social Life: Bornova Square and Church Magdalene

We arrived at the Saint Mary Magdalene Church. I saw at once that it is a central social space of the family quarter. It is the place for the weekly ceremony as well as for wedding ceremonies of the families.⁶⁰⁵ Gathered in the churchyard and on the steps of the church, everyone could be seen in their finest clothing. The church itself was built in the neo-classical style. Ornamented columns stand on the façade (rather than external columns) supporting the monumental building. Window pediments complement the neo-classical look. A gabled roof with Marseille roof tiles crowns the rectangular building. As we entered the church, I noticed that the interior ceiling differs from the external roof—the barrel vault, filled with ornaments, matches the conventional structure of a church. The ceremony began with the clang of a bell.

After the ceremony, Mr. Whittall suggested a walk along Bornova's main boulevard. So, we began our walk back to the Edward Whittall House. Along the way, he showed me the other houses that belong to the associated families of the Whittalls: Richard Whittall's house directly next to the Church, La Fontaine House to the right, and after that there was the Sir Edwards' House. The houses seemed to define the entire boulevard. Soon, we arrived at Bornova Square. The gates of the Big House, Mrs. Hortense Wood's House, Mr. Ernst House and that of the English Club all face the square. Each house has a characteristic front gate, with streets intersecting in front of them. I could see that at night the square was lighted with a lamp-post.⁶⁰⁶ Mr. Whittall mentioned to me that the square seemed to have a magnetic power to bring these neighbors together to discuss their business.⁶⁰⁷ The gathered gates also allowed the families to share their leisure life. I saw loggias in front of the houses, filled with stone benches, facing the square. There was a smooth transition from the private domestic space to the public space. On summer afternoons and on the warm days of winter, members of the households could sit on those benches. The square was clearly a significant meeting center for the social life in Bornova.

605 Senior, A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858, 220.
606 Hugh Whittall, The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973 (1973),142.
607 Ibid., 143.



FIG. 6.19 Bornova Square (courtesy of Levantine Heritage Foundation).

The Whittall family's social life was very active in the village. Evening parties were common amongst the society. Mr. Whittall informed me that the Dutch Consul Mr. Van Lennep, a relative of the Whittall Family, had hosted an evening party last week. How unfortunate that I missed it! It seems he is well known for his evening parties. I remember reading in a memoir of George Thomas Keppel (dated, January 3rd, 1831) that he was invited to one these parties and was there introduced to Monsieur de Ribaupierre, the Russian ambassador.⁶⁰⁸ During my stay, there was no evening party, but I could imagine that some of the ladies would be "dressed in the Parisian mode,"⁶⁰⁹ while others would come garbed in Levantine costumes: "an embroidered handkerchief interwoven with the hair, and a small open jacket richly worked in gold."⁶¹⁰

608 Keppel, Narrative of a Journey Across the Balcan, by the Two Passes of Selimno and Pravadi, Also of a Visit to Azani, and Other Newly Discovered Ruins in Asia Minor: In the Years 1829-30, Vol. 1, 314.
609 Ibid., 314.
610 Ibid., 315.

7 Urban Scenes of Spatio-Temporal Engagement

Perpetual Cosmopolitanism in İzmir

İzmir has a very rich and multi-layered history. İzmir is the East for the West, West for the East. East's virtues and goods have been transferred to the West through İzmir, similarly, West's virtues and goods have been travelled to the East, again, through İzmir. Because it is an intersection between two, French, Italian, Greek and all have lived together in peace for many centuries. This heritage proves that it is possible to reconstruct the common future again.⁶¹¹

Tunç Soyer, the Mayor of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality

611 Haydar Koçak, "Soyer havalimanında açıkladı: 'İzmir'de iki şey yapacağım'", İzgazete, January 28, 2019, https://www.izgazete.net/politika/soyer-havalimaninda-acikladi-izmir-de-iki-sey-yapacagim-h32321.html, February 2, 2019. Translated by author.

7.1 Redefinition of Cosmopolitanism in the turn of the 20th Century: Repurposing the Domestic Place as a Microcosm for Education⁶¹²

September, 13, 2004 was the first day of high school. I had just moved to İzmir to study, and I was excited to begin. Besides the school's history full of successes, I had always heard it was a special place. It was a privilege to study at this place which had always had an emphasis on its environment. I had many thoughts: What kind of place was it? What made it so special? I was curious. My thoughts were crowded, just like the road, full of cars and school buses. Huge, intersecting motorways marked the latest infrastructural developments. I was in a car together with my parents. We were waiting at the traffic light, under the viaduct road. We left the central borough, Bornova, behind us.

As we passed by the Bornova subway station, the traffic jam gave me a chance to get to know my surroundings. I saw two buildings—a new station building, and the old train station. The old one looked abandoned. People ran to and from the new building in a rush, catching busses, putting their pass on the reader of the toll gates to catch the trains. I bet some of them have never even noticed the old station. The loneliness of the abandoned station drew my attention.

The old station was very humble. The one-storied building had a rectangular form, and was covered with a gable roof. There was a porch along the longitudinal façade of the station. A single pitched roof was supported by twelve wooden pillars in the front and two pillars adjacent to the wall of the building. It covered the porch to protect the passengers from rain and sun. The roof was not steep, which was very appropriate for the climate. It was never very cold in this part of the region. The weather was mild in Bornova. The station had done what it was designed to do—it was purely functional without any ornaments on the façades. I wondered— when was it used for the last time? Who used it?

⁶¹² A part of this subchapter is published as Tanış, Fatma."İzmir'de Kozmopolitan Bir Mikro-Evren: Bornova Anadolu Lisesi/ A Microcosm in İzmir: Bornova Anadolu Lisesi." In Görünmeyenlerin Keşfi/ Gizli Kalmiş Hazineler/ Unutulanlar/ Underdog/Invisible/ Oversights: invisible/forgotten resonates/stories of Izmir, ed. by Güzden Varınlıoğlu, *Izmir University of Economics Creative Economy Research and Application Journal*, 2021.

Traffic lights turned to green. Now we could move towards the school.

After the hectic metropolitan road, we moved on to a peaceful, well-kept road with a single line of trees down the middle, separating the lanes going in opposite directions. I later learned that this road was connected to the oldest road of İzmir. The road was called Ağaclı Yol, which literally refers to an alley, directly translating as "a road with trees." This road connected Bornova and İzmir's city center in the 19th century. Back then, "victorias, coupés, and cabs"⁶¹³ were present on the road. Due to the emergence of factories in Darağacı and Halkapınar in the industrial site of downtown, this road had become a prominent land route between Bornova and the city center in the 19th century. It was initiated in 1860 and was the first toll road in İzmir.⁶¹⁴ In 1861, the road was improved by being covered with asphalt.⁶¹⁵ A merchant of French origins, Mr. Charnaud, granted the rights for building and controlling the road. He owned a house in Bornova, which was now renovated as a hotel with a nice restaurant.⁶¹⁶ It was not only an important road back then, but continues to be very important in the minds of Smyrnoits (inhabitants of Smyrna/ İzmir). This is particularly true for those who drive along the road every school day, commuting from Bornova to İzmir's downtown. It was said that the trees were planted in honour of the Sultan Abdulaziz.617

⁶¹³ United States Bureau of Manufactures, *Consular Monthly Trade Reports. July 1906* (Washington: Gov. Printing Office, 1906), 150.

⁶¹⁴ Altan Altın, "Memleketin ilk paralı yolu," accessed January 30, 2020, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ altan-altin/memleketin-ilk-parali-yolu-2548566.; Mert, *Geçmişten Günümüze Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova*, 39.

⁶¹⁵ Mert, Geçmişten Günümüze Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova, 39.

⁶¹⁶ İzmir'den Burunabad'a kadar inşa olunacak şose imtiyazının İngiliz tebeasından Şarno'ya şartlı ve mukaveleli olarak verilmesinin tasdikine dair emr-i ali sureti. Box 12, File 232, H-29-04-1277, A., Presidency of Republic of Turkey Directorate of state Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

⁶¹⁷ Cemal Saran, Bornova (İzmir: Karınca Matbaacılık, 1970), 114-115.



FIG. 7.1 The plan shows both railway and road connections between Bornova and İzmir (Original title: Burunabad-İzmir demiryolu planı).⁶¹⁸

We signaled to turn left. The entrance of the school welcomed me with its name "Bornova Anadolu Lisesi" written on a Bordeaux-coloured iron plate. Behind the plate, I saw trees, like a little forest. I had never, in my entire life, seen such a big parking lot as the one belonging to the school. The lot was evenly divided into sections, each having their own number. In this way, students knew where to find their transportation service. The large size of the parking lot gave me the impression that there was a whole other world behind the iron bars that surrounded the school.

There really was such a world. Students entered the school from the gate at the end of the school bus parking lot. The school principal and vice-managers were all there to greet us. They were dressed in fine clothing—trousers, ironed with one straight line, colours dark and serious. I learned the names of these people, whose voices would echo in my memories. They would be responsible for my education for the coming four years.

Before entering the school, I think it is useful to provide some background information. The school was founded in 1950 by fifty businessmen⁶¹⁹ who aimed to connect İzmir to the world by means of education in foreign languages. The school, therefore, had English, German and French sections. It is located at the 220 decares farm which used to belong to the Giraud Family (whose importance for İzmir and its urban cultures, I have extensively discussed both in Chapter 4 and in Chapter 6). Edmund Giraud sold his farm with its mansion and dovecote on March 26th, 1953.⁶²⁰ The additional buildings for education and accommodation for the students began to be built rapidly.

⁶¹⁸ Burunabad-İzmir Railway Plan. (Fr.), Box 3967, File-, H-01-03-1301, PLK.p, Presidency of Republic of Turkey Directorate of state Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

^{619 &}quot;Tarihçe," BALEV Bornova Anadolu Lisesi, accessed May 13, 2020, https://www.balev.org.tr/tarihce.620 Ibid.

Now, back to my first day. Right after the entrance, the ground pattern changed from concrete to grey pavement stones. They were the same kind that you could see in pretty much every street of İzmir. They reminded me of these streets, so I called it "the main boulevard." I recognized in that very moment that the farm had been transformed into a city. Here was our microcosm. It would become a very important place of our everyday lives for the forthcoming four years. At the end of the journey, the cosmopolitan legacy of İzmir would transform us into cosmopolitan individuals. We would be provided with the required education and language skills, and in the spaces here we could sense the 19th century cosmopolitan practices. In the past, Europeans had migrated to İzmir and experienced the cosmopolitan practices. Today, this very place prepared us, as cosmopolitan individuals, to travel to Europe. As many of us have experienced, it was indeed the paramount place for such a reverse route of cosmopolitan society. All of these practices of cosmopolitanism are in front of me, in this research. I could not have known all of this at my first step into the garden of the school in September, 2004. But today, I know.

7.1.1 The Parade Ground: The Space of Power

My parents left me at the school, and I waved goodbye. As they continued their drive to work, I was moved along with the crowd of students to the parade ground. It was a very big area in a rectangular shape. From this day onwards, this was the place where we would sing the national anthem every Monday morning at the start of the week, and at the close of the week on Friday evening. This space was very similar to the republican plaza⁶²¹ of the city. The statue of the republic's founder, Atatürk, stood in the elevated area at the front. Every class of students had a clear view of the statue. Here was the place where the government's power was displayed. On Mondays, Fridays and at special national celebrations and memorial days, this place collected the public, including students as they were the transitory inhabitants of this property. This designated area also defined social behaviors. It was a place of deep respect and discipline. Every student was required to stand still in the two rows of their unit. Then, they were obliged to file out, with discipline.

Beside its strictly defined function, the parade ground was used for other festive events from time to time and became a part of our social life. For example, the main concerts of the spring festivals were held in this large gathering place. During these

⁶²¹ The Republican Plaza was built in 1932, in the early Republican Era.

events, clothing and behavior were pretty much free. A very exceptional use of the place was when we hosted German exchange students from Frankfurt, and it became a place of sun bathing. Even though we were not on the waterfront, it was not an obstacle for the experience.

7.1.2 Diffusing to Classes: The Space of Education

I remember the rest of my first day at the school very clearly. After the initial assembly, we moved to the blocks. There were seven blocks that served for the school classes, and one additional block for sports. There were also ateliers for music and painting. Mine would be the G Block for the first two years. It was located on the far end of the left side of the entrance.

To reach my block, I walked along one of the streets which were lined with cypress trees. The D Block was on my left. I looked to my right and saw volleyball and basketball courts. I passed by the service building that houses the heating system. The mechanical noise of its machine workings would remain in my ears. After this block, I saw the F Block, which would be the block for the last two years of my high school education. It was a two-storied building, with classrooms lining both sides of the corridor. Wide windows offered a view of the street and the gardens. Actually, I'm not sure if we could call it a garden. Since the whole school was located on a former farm, every void in the plot became a garden. Across from the building, there was a square area filled with pebbles. It was bordered with keystone pavements, the same as on the boulevard. There was also a telephone booth.

I continued to walk on the street. The pattern on the ground changed, and the next part of the path was covered with grey-black-white cast pebbles. I saw on the right a fountain and an arbor. They represented the continuity of regional characteristics. The fountains that provide free and clean water for the inhabitants were historically a very important part of the built environment in İzmir and its region, both in the urban and rural areas. It was a part of the culture. The arbor, also known as a *Çardak*, was traditionally covered with grapevines. These were often a part of the front porch of vernacular houses and a place where the household would gather in nice weather. Here in the school, it was a place for socializing. On my left, there was a football court. This school was very active in sports, I thought at that moment. Now, I had reached the gate of the G Block.



FIG. 7.2 Çardak (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

This building was three stories high. All the school blocks were built in the second half of the 20th century with concrete and re-enforced iron. All blocks were pure modernist buildings, which served for the functions of education. Classrooms were designed all the same, each for thirty students. All had fifteen wooden desks which allowed two students to sit next to each other, and there was a desk for the teacher. The blackboard was on the right wall. The repeated cell-like classes each had a view onto the space where the arbor was. The arbor echoed the vernacular typology of the *Çardak*, which could still be seen many places in the former lands of the Ottoman Empire that stretched from the Balkans to the Middle East. The word is derived from the Persian word *çartak* which meant four arcs. The structure was covered with a simple roof. In the Mediterranean, those spaces were not covered with an architectural building material, but with grapevines. It was pleasant to be in such a light structure that defined a space between heaven and earth.⁶²² There were also pine trees surrounding this social place. The classrooms were lined up on one side

⁶²² Please see for further reading: Judith Bing, *Chardak Between Heaven and Earth: Tracing Vernacular* Space in Balkan Architecture /Cardak izmedu neba i zemlje: Tragovima vernakularnih prostora u arhitekturi Balkana (Maine: Procyon Lotor Press, 2018).

of the corridor. The other side of the corridor had continuous windows that allowed fresh air and daylight to the building. When I looked from the window, I saw an earthen pathway that bordered the entire property and led to the forest. I had been very curious about the forest since first seeing it at the time of my entrance.

The bell rang for the first break. This was the first time that I sat in the arbor. Many such times would follow. Given that the breaks were ten minutes long, it was very convenient to sit there. If you ventured further away, you might not make it back in time. This arbor became the place for the start of many friendships—it was a place of fond memories. It was also a place for observing and forming behaviors. The education of the school was certainly not limited to the classes and forty-minute-long courses. Its spaces created a microcosm in which we could experience urban and cosmopolitan life. In a way, it mirrored the neighbourhood of Bornova. The sound of young people, filled with joy and laughter, mingled with the wind that whispered through the pine trees.

There was still much of the school to discover. I had seen less than a quarter of it. This time, I left the building from its symmetrical entrance that was connected to the parallel street. As I walked, the arbor was on my right. I passed by the H Block on the left, which was used for the health center and printer facility functions. It was the oldest one amongst the other buildings. It had been used as an accommodation for students in the past. This was the only building with balconies. Right after that, I came to the intersection of streets. I had to make a decision: which one should I follow? When I looked to the left, I saw the forest. It was beautiful, and I was most curious about it. There are not many schools that have a forest! I considered it as a dessert to be kept for the end of my discovery. I chose to continue straight along the path, for the main course. The street crossed the main boulevard perpendicularly. The wide boulevard was paved carefully with sharp-cut andesite stones and was lined with tall palm trees. Small vegetation bordered both lines of this privileged axes.

Soon after, I saw the A Block. This building had three stories, the same as the other buildings of the school. After I entered through a door, there was a staircase to walk to the upper floor. The long corridor ran parallel to the street, and wide windows allowed me to look outside. On my left, there were rooms with closed doors, painted grey. I saw a paper hung on one of those doors: "*Deutsche Abteilung*." The room was indeed the German Department of the school. I spent a lot of time behind this door during my studies. This was my first encounter with the exclusive spaces within the high school. This situation was created with the selection of the students. I now recognize and associate in my mind the 19th century cosmopolitan society of İzmir. The same setting that was created with international trade in the 19th century had emerged in another form at this school. It had established an international network

of culture and knowledge. In this engagement, learning a foreign language played the key role. The German department had many study aides and cultural artifacts related to the language. These materials represent a connection to the outside world. After the first year of education, students were selected to be educated in the private classes, based on their grades. I was one of the selected students, thus I had access to the privileged education in exclusive spaces. Being in this class was the first step to studying abroad.



FIG. 7.3 A Block (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

I walked along the corridor and arrived at another staircase. There was a sign for the library and a meeting room. I would visit these places quite frequently in the following four years. I walked downstairs and found myself at the main entrance of the building. It was a large space, surrounded with medals and cups. Nearby, was the school principal's office. Indeed, this building was mostly an administrative building, giving off a sense of importance and authority amidst the other buildings. It also had chemistry and physics labs, a computer lab, and a language department for the purpose of education. When I left the building, I found myself at the intersection of the street and the boulevard. I turned to the left, and walked along the keystone pavement towards the forest. I saw two, simple, small, yet long buildings on the right.

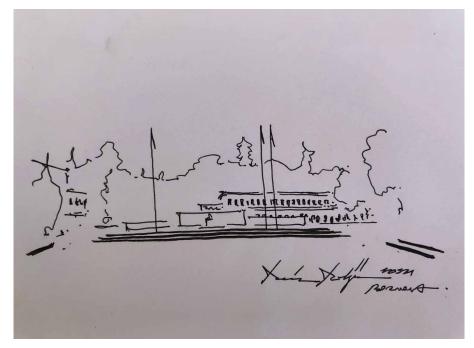


FIG. 7.4 The barracks behind the parade area (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

These barracks were located right behind the parade area, where the Atatürk statue stood. Classrooms were located on the left side of a long corridor. I rarely entered these buildings during my studies here.

On the left, behind Block A, there was another canteen. This canteen was often preferred for lunch, as it had more variety in foods. If the weather was nice, it was just a transitory stop on the way to the beautiful outdoors. The benches, spread across the school campus, were the best seats for having lunch, chatting and sharing news with one another. But that first day, I skipped lunch and continued on my walk. The road was becoming steep and I soon found myself climbing a small hill. Where had this sudden elevation come from? The rest of the school was located on a plain—an unlikely place for a hill! It was very interesting. With this question in mind, I came to a level place where the paved road turned into a dirt road. The road first turned to the left, where it separated two levels of the hill, and then entered the woods. I walked along the tranquil path to the sound of chirping birds. Soon, I saw a mansion to the right, on top of the hill. Wow! It was perfectly woven into the nature, appearing in between the splendid old pine trees. A wide staircase reached from the road level to the entrance of the house, in three levels. Platforms functioned as landings for the wide stairs. It gave the house a monumental look.



FIG. 7.5 The entrance of the Mansion (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

On both sides of the stairs, there were big concrete pots for large plants. These reinforced the monumental feeling of the entrance. The mansion had modernist lines—it had a flat roof, contrary to the traditional pitched roofs. Apparently, it was built in the 20th century. Who built it? And, where was I? A neatly terraced garden surrounded the house. The terraces were filled with earth. Their structure was supported with walls built by stone in traditional techniques. There were also stairs behind the house that connected the upper level to the path of the forest. The same manner of terracing the earth continued around the house.



FIG. 7.6 Mansion (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

I later learned that this house was built on the tumulus called *İpeklikuyu Höyüğü* dating back to 3500-2500 BC.⁶²³ A tumulus is an artificial hill, that was often used as a grave site in ancient times.⁶²⁴ I also learned that the former owners of the house were the French descent trading family Giraud, the owners of the land.⁶²⁵ They were very important in the cosmopolitan history of İzmir. The tumulus was a reminder of being located in Anatolia, while being connected to the outside world through cosmopolitan practices in the 20th century. This very place was a node of the global and local intersecting, just as many other places and spaces of 19th century İzmir.

⁶²³ Zafer Derin, "Yeşilova Höyüğü," in *Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem Yeni Kazılar, Yenin Bulgular*, ed. Mehmet Özdoğan (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2007).

⁶²⁴ Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "tumulus," accessed January 9, 2021, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tumulus.

⁶²⁵ The owner of the property was J. B. Giraud who passed away in 1821. He owned the summer house in this property. "Giraud Ailesi ve Bornova/ The Giraud Family and Bornova," accessed February 9, 2021, https://www.balev.org.tr/blog/giraud-ailesi-ve-bornova-11.



FIG. 7.7 Dovecote (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

The correlation of local and global characteristics has created a unique culture and left a tangible and intangible heritage that is still alive in the form of education that takes its roots from the cosmopolitan past. The location of the pioneer school of this type (education in foreign languages in the axis of the modern education) was certainly not a coincidence. The role of the trading family in creating a bridge between the cosmopolitan past and the present was also intentional. They noted that the property could only be used for educational purposes.⁶²⁶

626 Interview by Fatma Tanış with Brian Giraud. 8 November 2018, İzmir.

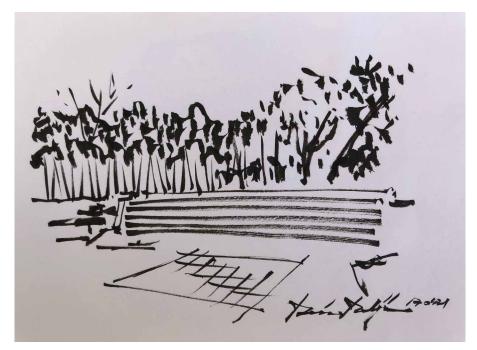


FIG. 7.8 Amphitheater of the school (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

The mansion hosted exhibitions in the entrance hall. Other rooms are used as offices for officers of the BAL⁶²⁷ Foundation work. After exploring the site and its current function, I departed by the same staircase by which I had entered.

I kept walking on the road in the direction that I had decided on before visiting the house. A few steps beyond the end point of the garden, a dovecot, approximately 5 meters tall, appeared on the right. It was built of local stone and bricks on a square plan. The bottom rows, up to eye level, were built solely of stone. The cornerstones were sharply cut, showing evidence of neat craftmanship. There was no plaster on the walls. The natural building materials and the patina were knitting my contemporary reality to the history. The dovecot was also a part of the existing buildings that belonged to the Giraud Family. The building was complemented by small green bushes and marked the starting point of the earthen path that cuts through the forest.

⁶²⁷ Abbreviation for Bornova Anadolu Lisesi, the official name of the high school.

While approaching the path, I saw a small amphitheater on the left. It started from the elevated level that I was on, and ended on the ground level. It was adjacent to Block A. It had a large chess ground on the stage. This place hosted talks, concerts and performances during the Spring Fest.

After passing by some bushes, I turned to the right. Wow! It was like I was in a heaven! No wonder, the Hortus Botanicus⁶²⁸ was a favorite place of Einstein. It was a beautiful and ingenious way of merging nature with education. Sometimes, what we all need is fresh air and the sound of silence—a place in which we can hear ourselves. This school is special, not only in its location in the cosmopolitan place, but also because of its masterly crafted re-use of space. Being in nature is a great impetus to thinking, allowing one to take time to reflect on life. Thus, the students of the school were not isolated from life by single-mindedly focusing on the lectures and the requirements of the education system. Rather, they had space for developing further understanding by having encounters with nature and with history, space to build their own perception.

The bell rang for the last time that school day.

I filled my backpack carefully, and left the class on the second floor of the G Block. I turned to the left, after a short walk on the corridor, and found a U-shaped staircase. It was a monolithic terrazzo stair that had huge windows on its landing, letting the daylight flood in. I walked slowly, together with the crowd, until Block F, and then turned right. I found another path leading to the parking lot. Everyone was moving to the services buses in the parking area, without any rush. After we filed onto the bus, the driver checked that we were all there. He turned on the radio. Almost everyone in the bus listened to the same station. Most of the students grew up with the same music, which brought back memories belonging to this transitional era. The music is a very strong reminder when we look back. The music in the 2000s could easily connect us with our memories as alumni, just as the rebetiko and fado of the 19th and the early 20th century could connect port cities located far from one another. The busses all followed the same route, up until the junction where the Bornova Train Station was. Then, one by one, they diffused to different parts of the city.

⁶²⁸ Hortus Botanicus is one of the oldest botanical gardens in the world. The botanical garden is located in Leiden, the Netherlands.



FIG. 7.9 Yeşil Köşk (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

We passed by the Ege University—another educational institution founded on a farm. Right before the red lights of the Bornova Train Station, a green mansion attracted my attention. Because I was on the right side of the road, I had a chance to see the parts that I was not able to see in the morning. This mansion is known today as the Green Mansion (tr. *Yeşil Köşk*). The building had the symmetrical plan (tr. *karnıyarık plan*) that was typical of the Ottoman Guilds' building practices. In this type of plan, there were four rooms divided into two sides of the central axes. It was a very common plan, which exists in vernacular architecture. The mansion had a symmetrical and ornate façade. The façade organization had both local and European references. On the ground floor level, there were two *cumbas* (a special form of balcony). It was an extension from the rooms to the outer façade. In general, a *cumba* has windows on three sides to let in the most daylight and fresh air. This type of balcony was in line with the values of the introverted and conservative local Ottoman, particularly Turks, while connecting them to the street life behind the windows.

There were slight differences in the application of the elements in this grandiose house. First, the *cumba*, as an element of the façade, was generally used on the upper floor in the Ottoman architecture tradition. This was an important element in the 19th century İzmir house. Second, the corners chamfered. In this way, the orientation of the user and their relation with the environs have been extended, while the new form of the balcony with five sides enhanced the elegant look of the house. The trading mansions, the flexibility of use and combinations of Occidental forms (e.g., ornaments, steep roofs) and elements were more visible in the traders' houses in Bornova.

The entrance to the house was positioned in the central axis, located between the two balconies. Accentuating the entrance was a triangle pediment, ornamented with wood carvings and a consoled balcony right above the door. The plan also supported this attempt with a very short play on this frontal façade by extending the continuous line to the front. The upper floor had four windows, spread symmetrically to the right and left sides of the balcony door. I did not know it then, but this mansion would become one of the places for my social life.

As I presented here in my memories, the spaces of the cosmopolitan past of İzmir (the trader family's property) had been transformed into a place for experiencing contemporary forms of cosmopolitan practices: social spaces, public spaces, promenading in the streets and boulevards of the school, knowing that you were actually on the stage... After all, these are not so different from promenading on the quay. The same experience, only diffused to the outskirts, had maintained the cosmopolitan practices. Another important observation was the transformation of the private lands and buildings of cosmopolitan Smyrna into public and semipublic places. In mid-20th century, the Ege University was built on the elite traders' properties. Most of the traders' houses were repurposed for education.

7.1.3 The Engagement with the Cosmopolitan Past in Social Spaces: Approaching the Teras Café in Bornova

My daily life as a high school student basically followed the same pattern as this first day. There were also some days that we had exciting activities as an extension of the school life. We seldom spent time outside of the campus during school time. But we did occasionally find a hole to escape, given the main entrance was protected with a guard. When we did, we found ourselves in the cafés of Bornova. Teras Café was the most popular one. It was full of students all the time during the week days from Monday to Friday. This was not just a personal memory, but also an integral part of cultural memories of many other inhabitants of İzmir. On one of these days, my friends and I left the school behind, and passed under the highway viaduct. We passed the old train station on the left, in the western side. We carefully looked at the motorway. This route connects the hinterland to the current container port which was built in 1956 in the North end of downtown İzmir. Having the container port in the city creates terrible traffic jam, given that the container port terminal is still located in the city center. Until we reached *Mahvel* Street, I was always wary of the huge trucks.

We approached *Mahvel* Street of Bornova, the route that connects Bornova Station to the family quarter of the Whittall and Giraud families and their relatives. Today, the street is covered with asphalt. It has two lines of traffic that go in two directions. The road also has two lines of trees. The pattern of the trees is a repetition of palm tree and plane tree. I always felt safer on the pavements at the side of this beautiful street. On the left, I saw 19th century one story houses. The first two were used as a dentist and American Culture Language School respectively. After these buildings, I saw the Teras Café, written on the signboard in neon lights.

The café was one of the twin buildings. There was no plaster on the outer walls, which allowed us to see the building techniques and materials. The mixture of the stone and brick layering technique (tr. *almasik örgü*) was maintained. It is known from the archival material that Italian laborers came to work on the Kasaba Railway construction.⁶²⁹ The current owner of the café explained that the former function of the building was an accommodation for the tobacco workers.⁶³⁰ The building, with its functional transformation, cut through history. First, it served as an accommodation for the Kasaba-İzmir Railway construction workers. Second, it became a residential building for the workers of the tobacco factory in the early republican era. Today, it generates narratives for the inhabitants by engaging the contemporary realities with history.

⁶²⁹ İzmir-Kasaba hattı köprü ve tünelleri tamiratı müteahhidlerinden İtalyan Francesco Fabiani ve maiyyetindeki İtalyan amelelerin İzmir'e gitmelerine müsaade olunması, (Fr.-Osm.), M-22-05-1923, Box 29, File 38, HR.İM., Presidency of Republic of Turkey Directorate of state Archives, İstanbul, Turkey.

⁶³⁰ Interview by Fatma Tanış with Mustafa İnan. 14 November 2018, İzmir. Mustafa İnan is the owner of Teras Café.



FIG. 7.10 Teras Café (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

The building had a wide corridor that connected the main door to the backyard. The same *karniyarik* plan type was visible here, except that its proportion extorted longitudinally. It must have been related to the land use. Traditionally, this typology was meant for square land use. Another difference was the emergence of rowbuildings. Both sides of the building were therefore blind. The wide windows of the rooms on the corridor side were a way of allowing sunlight through the backyard and front door. This also explained the choice for the large windows on the front façade, as well as the iron door with wide glass sections on the upper half.

While I was passing by the corridor, I could hear the laughter of many young people filled with joy in these rooms of history. The rooms were transformed for the purpose of the café with tables for eating and playing games. My friends and I chose to go to the backyard. The tables were in different shapes for different sizes of groups. They were not alike. The yard had fresh air, and its atmosphere was enriched with the plants and trees. It had some elevated surfaces, which made it a playful place. The floor was covered with unevenly and amorphously cut slate (tr. *Kayrak taşı*). The atmosphere was complemented with the songs of birds.

7.2 Two Routes, Multiple Scenes from the Cosmopolitan Era: Abandoned, Re-purposed and Re-lived Domestic, Industrial and Diplomatic Spaces

7.2.1 Route 1 From Bornova to Kıbrıs Şehitleri-Alsancak: Approaching the Waterfront

Besides the places where our youthful memories in Bornova were formed, there was *Kıbrıs Şehitleri* Street in downtown İzmir. This was a very common place to go, particularly on the weekends. This memory goes back to one of these weekends, in the fall of 2007.

I was heading downtown, starting from Bornova. To be more precise, my observation started from the Osman Kibar Square in Bornova, another junction of roads and viaducts. I chose to walk. I entered the route which would take me first to the city center. I looked at the school on my left. *Suphi Koyuncuoğlu* was the name of the high school. I had always known that there was a school there, but this time I paid more attention. In the garden of the school, there was a fascinating house with an Italianate tower, which was no longer in use. It seemed abandoned. I learned that the house was built by Richard Whittall in the mid-19th century.⁶³¹ In 1949, the building's landownership rights were handed over to the Turkish Republic Ministry of Treasury and Finance.⁶³² The building had contemporary iron columns to support its balconies. In addition to its functional role, the use of the iron was an expression of social status.⁶³³ The ground floor, with its ornaments on the ceiling molds and its woodcarvings, was a place of contemporary social life.

⁶³¹ Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 134.

⁶³² Ibid., 134.

⁶³³ İnci Kuyulu Ersoy, "Cultural Contributions of the Levantines in Izmir," in *Mersin and the Mediterranean* and Modernity, Colloquium, Heritage of the Long Nineteenth Century (Mersin: Mersin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002), 76. As cited in: Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 134.



FIG. 7.11 Abandoned Richard Whittall Mansion located in the property of a high school (Fatma Tanış).

It raised many questions in my mind. First, I had seen many similar examples, such as in the cafés I had been to, or the building on the corner, the former La Fontaine House. The public university that bought the building did so from the owner, Ruby Gladys Whittall, in 1963. Let me introduce this building briefly. Usually, the houses in Bornova were located in very large gardens. They were surrounded with tall walls— often so tall that we pedestrians could only see the roofs or some other glimpse of buildings. The La Fontaine building was, contrary to the general building practices, located on the corner of the plot. It was directly linked to the street and urban life. It was not hiding, and it allowed the inhabitants to easily interact with it. The building was two storied, its floor level highlighted with a molding. The roof reflected the local characteristics, unlike its steep peers. The only reflection of social status was on the balcony, with its floral cast iron samples attached underneath. It was in use as a part of the university, serving the research department and a museum.⁶³⁴ There are many such buildings which have been transformed for public use from houses to cafés, hotels, museums, libraries.

⁶³⁴ The museum called "Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi ve Müzesi" in Turkish.

I continued on my way and saw the Magdeleine Church. It was in good condition and seemed well protected. I then continued and reached the corner marked by the La Fontaine House. I turned right, following the route of the one-way traffic. While going with the flow, I saw another grandiose building on the left, in a garden. However, in this case the garden walls were transparent, aiming to attract the gaze of strangers. This gesture was in line with the intention of its current function—the building and its garden were used as a restaurant nowadays.⁶³⁵ The building was renovated as a collaboration of the state university, Dokuz Eylül University, in İzmir. The restoration project preserved the building with its original features and spatial organization. The building belonged to the municipality of İzmir, and served as a social space for students by being re-purposed as a café. This place was more for the adults. We, as adolescents, did not often come here. The scene consisted of elderly or middle aged Smyrnoits enjoying their lunch or dinner before sunset. But, in our daily lives, while we walked on the pedestrian path or drove along the road, all of us captured this building well in the visual museums in our mind.

The mansion was the domestic extension of the technological emergence in the industrial area of İzmir. The owner, Sir Edwards, migrated to İzmir for the industrial engagement. He established the gas factory in İzmir in 1859, and was the commissioner of the Edwards Mansion in Bornova. In 1862, he founded a London based Ottoman gas company. The main headquarter of the company was in London. He was granted lighting of the Frank Quarter for 40 years.⁶³⁶ He was also granted the operational rights of the Kasaba-İzmir Railway.⁶³⁷ The mansion was later used by the Bari and Murat Families, respectively.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ As of May 2020, it is an official office of the directorate of surveying and monuments, thus no longer a place for the social gatherings.

⁶³⁶ F. Cânâ Bilsel, "Vers une métropole moderne de la Mediterranée," in *Smyrne 1830-1930 De la fortune* à *l oubli, Editions Autrement, ed.* Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2006). F. Cânâ Bilsel, "Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru," in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 159. Cited in Gençer, "1840-1912 Yılları Arasında İzmir ve Selanik'teki Kentsel ve Mimari Değişim/ Urban and architectural *transformation in İzmir and Thessaloniki between 1840-1912*," 205.

⁶³⁷ Bilsel, "Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru," 159.

⁶³⁸ Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 144.

The building had a symmetrical façade order.⁶³⁹ The main reception hall and living rooms were positioned on the elevated ground floor.⁶⁴⁰ Living rooms were connected to the wide balcony, which constituted the monumental façade of the building. This balcony was also connected to the large garden with a double-return stairway. The choice for the front façade order and its elements was not a coincidence. It faces towards the main artery of the quarter, that connects the church, which is right across the street, and the train station. The Edwards Mansion was located in a large garden which hosted social events. It became a part of the social life of elites in the late 19th century.⁶⁴¹

The ground floor was connected to the first floor with a grandiose wooden staircase. The staircase, which had no stair landing, reached to a large space which provided circulation to the bedrooms. The bedroom doors on the façade opened to a spacious balcony. Although balconies in the upper/first floor were often built as an ornament when the British style of house was imported, this was not the case in the Edwards' house. It has been purposed for sun bathing,⁶⁴² taking advantage of the fine climate conditions of İzmir. The ceiling paintings, depicting ships, seas and flowers, indicate the lifestyle of the elite family. And service spaces, located in the basement, confirm the luxurious lifestyle with a spatial correspondence in their house.

Nowadays, Bornova is full of 8-9 storied, concrete-reinforced, iron beam construction apartments. They surround the cosmopolitan history of the city. Until 1954, 80% of Bornova was dominated with low height buildings, usually of a single story.⁶⁴³ Following the foundation of the university in the city, internal migration increased rapidly. The consequence of the increasing population was visible in the apartment buildings between 1975-1979.⁶⁴⁴ After the 1950s, the labour class also increased, due to the increasing building activities. Their arrival in the city led to the building of haphazard shantytowns (tr. *gecekondu*) which

639 Calças, Gateways to the Past: Houses and Gardens of Old Bornova, 54-55. cited in Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 144.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ (A. Giraud, D. Aliberti). cited in Birol Akkurt, *"19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 144.*

⁶⁴² Calças, *Gateways to the Past: Houses and Gardens of Old Bornova*, 54-55. cited in Birol Akkurt, "19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi," 144.

⁶⁴³ -, Belediyelerimiz I, "Bornova" (Ankara, 1956), 108. As cited in Mert, *Geçmişten Günümüze Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova*, 84.

⁶⁴⁴ Mert, Geçmişten Günümüze Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova, 84.

changed the appearance of the city radically.⁶⁴⁵ The introduction of concrete as a construction material to the building market, and subsequent increasing building activities, led to a rapid transformation of Bornova. Apartment buildings became dominant in the urban pattern.

The historic scene remained behind me as I turned to the left after the *Murat Köşkü*. I continued in this direction. This part of the town pulled me back into the contemporary reality that is a legacy of the modern movement. This modern scene stands as a testimony to the lack of understanding of the context of history and of financial interests taking the lead in concealing the traces of cosmopolitan history. It is known that starting in the 1970s, Bornova went through a series of developments based on a demolish-construct-sell model. A handful of development companies monopolized housing in Bornova. There were eighty 19th-century mansions in the borough before; that number has been reduced to only a few today. Developers negotiated with the owners of the property, bought the land (including the house), and built residential apartment buildings. Although this agreement was financially advantageous for both sides, it was not beneficial for cosmopolitan İzmir.

I quickly passed through this main boulevard of present day Bornova. While I was moving towards downtown, I saw another abandoned building on the right. It was known as the Patterson Mansion. This one was even larger than the others that I had seen so far! Indeed, it was the largest 19th century mansion in İzmir. The Scottish trader, John Paterson, built the large mansion with 38 rooms in the 1850s. The house had been used as a NATO office and housing, and then a carpet factory after 1960. It caught fire in 1986,⁶⁴⁶ and since then, it has been left alone to crumble. Some people are sitting in front of the house on the benches in the park, but there is no sense of connection with the house itself.

I was slowly approaching the downtown, Alsancak. I could see the container port on the right. It was full of colourful containers, huge trucks and operating cranes. On the left, I could see the electricity factory established by a Belgian Company, *Société d'Électricité et de Traction*.⁶⁴⁷ Its windows were broken. This would be a perfect setting for a video clip of a sad song or a scary plot for a horror movie.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Birol Akkurt, *"19. Yüzyıl Batılılaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi,"* 166. For more on the structural changes in the house and damage reports, please read the entire thesis.

⁶⁴⁷ "Tarihi Elektrik Fabrikası satışa çıkarıldı," DHA, accessed May 23, 2018, https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ tarihi-elektrik-fabrikasi-satisa-cikarildi-40748967.

The electricity factory on the left and the container port area on the right was thought-provoking. On the left, the history was falling down in pieces, on the right, huge walls, fences and roads separated the port from the city. It was not only that. The primacy given to the infrastructure and protection of the free zone of the port cuts the continuity of the shore. Whilst having these thoughts, I was moving forward on *Liman* Street, literally meaning Port Street. I left the factory behind, and saw another historic building complex. This one seemed alive! It brought back my hopes for reconnecting with the past, in spite of all the confusion existing in the current urban fabric.

Social Life in Downtown

As a counter example of the electricity factory, the gas factory was an inviting place. It was being renovated and would be opened next year, in 2008. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality had commissioned the restoration project. The aim was to refunction this property for cultural activities of the city. It is publicly available today, and hosts workshops, concerts and social gatherings. Its mission is to re-connect the citizens to the industrial past of the city within culture engagements.

The gas factory was an important place in the technologic engagement of the city. Bornova began to use gas lighting on November 10, 1863 when the gas factory was established. The Glasgow based company built the İzmir Gas Company and provided electricity to İzmir.⁶⁴⁸ However, at this time it was limited to the use of elite trader families and street lighting.⁶⁴⁹ In 1891, Bornova benefitted from the lighting technology at the same time as the neighborhoods in the downtowns of Karataş, Karantina and Göztepe.⁶⁵⁰ This was an important part of modernity. Implementation of the contemporary developments in Europe's prominent cities, such as Paris and Vienna, was important for the upper class and elite families.

⁶⁴⁸ Sadık Kurt, İzmir'de Kamusal Hizmetler 1850-1950 (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2012).
649 Salname-i vilayet-I Aydin, 1307 (1891), Cilt:2 s. 558. Found the original document in Mert, *Geçmişten Günümüze Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova*, 138.

⁶⁵⁰ Salname-i vilayet-i Aydın, 1307 (1891), Cilt:2 s. 558. The original document is found in Ibid., 138.



FIG. 7.12 A view from the 19th century residential quarter (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

I was going to walk from here onwards. I turned to the right, passing by the old police station on the right. There was a huge parking area on the left end of the street. I walked on the 1476/1 Street and turned to the left from the first street. Now, I was on Kıbrıs Şehitleri Street. I was walking towards the South. This part of the city had traces from the 19th century housing. Today, there were many cafés, bars and restaurants which had replaced the residential function of the buildings. It was a vibrant street and meeting point for Smirnoits. The perpendicular street connecting to the Kıbrıs Şehitleri had a particular character reflecting 19th century İzmir. The Muzaffer İzgü Street was one of them. The street was full of young people. It was one of the streets that we liked to be. We often preferred to be out on the street given the nice climate and the weather. Now, though, it was fall and the air was chilly. I also wanted to be in the houses, hearing the creak of wooden floors which would connect me to the cosmopolitan history of my city. I was particularly interested in a café whose outer wall was covered with bossed stone. There were

two windows and a door on the façade. The windows were on the left. This building was an asymmetrical type of housing. The windows had 15-centimeter-wide frames. In the middle of the upper line, an ornament was attached. The windows also had wooden sunshades on the outside. I was very interested in engaging with the 19th century household's domestic practices by walking on the worn, wooden stairsteps.

Continuous Functions in the Port City Spaces

The traces of the cosmopolitan past still appeared in the urban fabric. For instance, the İzmir French Lycee, or High School, was built in 1880 and still exists in the city. The school was called St Joseph Lycee. Its function did not change and the high school had a high reputation. Another important school was the Italian School with its impressive building that has appeared on diverse postcards. The Italian School for Girls was built in 1904.⁶⁵¹ The Italian engineer Indicien Molie was the architect of the school.⁶⁵² However, the building was torn down in order to build a road. Although the school is not in its original place anymore, the plot maintains its function with the university rectorate building that belongs to Dokuz Eylül University. The Italian school was a proud symbol for İzmir. Another Italian school, dated from 1892, has served as a kindergarten since its establishment, and today still maintains its function.

7.2.2 Route 2 From Bornova to the Waterfront of İzmir

It is November 2018, and I do not live in Bornova any longer. I lived as a nomad and a cosmopolitan individual since my graduation from BAL. I came to visit occasionally. This time, I came visiting these places as an informed person. The plane took off from Amsterdam and landed in İzmir. My parents picked me up from the Adnan Menderes Airport, located in Seydiköy, Gaziemir, a former Dutch village from the 17th century. While we were driving home, they helped me to form my visiting route by asking: "Have you ever visited the Arkas Maritime History Center in Bornova?" Indeed, I had not visited the museum yet. The museum opened in 2012. International Trade Company Arkas Holding established the Arkas Maritime History Center in May 2012.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵¹ Rıza Uygunlar, İzmir Ayyıldız Kız İtalyan Okulu>nda (İstanbul: İstanbul Resimli Ay, 1937), 60.

⁶⁵² Ibid., 60.

^{653 &}quot;Arkas Art Center," Arkas Art Center, accessed May 27, 2019, http://www.arkassanatmerkezi.com/En/ article.aspx?pageID=64.

I decided to visit the museum first thing the next day. It was in our quarter, perfectly interwoven in our daily lives.

The following morning, I woke up to a fresh, sunny day. I walked to Bornova, and on the way I passed by a grandiose mansion called Murat Köşkü. It was nice to be on foot, as there was no restriction from the traffic. I could continue to walk straight. I was coming to the square, which had a very important role in trade in the past. I crossed the street, reached the pedestrian path and walked along 80th street. Why were these streets numbered, by the way? It would make much more sense to name them after the inhabitants, like the Whittall Family, as a testimony to the history. Anyways... I would have time to think about that later. The Arkas Maritime History Center was here, the second house on my left. I passed through the gate and entered the garden.

Formerly a house, the present-day museum is a three-storey building. The choice for the building was not random. The house was built in the 1880s, and the Arkas Family had lived here for some time.⁶⁵⁴ On the ground floor there were ship models, spanning from 1,000 BC to the 17th century. The exhibition was complemented with paintings that depict Turkish and global maritime history.⁶⁵⁵ On the second floor, the ship models displayed came from between the 17th and 20th century. The collection of ship models and paintings is the personal collection of Lucien Arkas, which he has been collecting for over 30 years.⁶⁵⁶ His collections include 112 model ships, 127 nautical antiques, and 123 paintings. The stated aim of the museum is to help visitors grasp the maritime history by bringing pieces together from 1,000 BC to the 20th century. ⁶⁵⁷ Although it was noted in a newspaper article, published in 2015 in the Turkish and international newspaper, that the history center is purely a reflection of the passion of Lucien Arkas, it has a further mission of shedding light on naval history. Consciously or unconsciously, Lucien Arkas is contributing to the port city culture formation by repurposing the building and also by displaying the maritime history and artworks to visitors and inhabitants of contemporary İzmir.

⁶⁵⁴ "Maritime history of the world returns to the Aegean region," Daily Sabah, accessed May, 2019, https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2015/12/28/maritime-history-of-the-world-returns-to-the-aegean-region.

⁶⁵⁵ https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2015/12/28/maritime-history-of-the-world-returns-to-the-aegean-region, retrieved date: 27 May 2019.

^{656 &}quot;Arkas Art Center," Arkas Art Center, accessed May 27, 2019, http://www.arkassanatmerkezi.com/En/ article.aspx?pageID=64.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

In many port cities, maritime museums are essential places to connect citizens to their place. Often, they are located downtown. So far, I have lived in or near the port cities of Porto, Hamburg, and Rotterdam and visited numerous others, such as Istanbul, Sydney, Rio de Janeiro, Barcelona, and London. The maritime museum in each of these was located either directly on the waterfront (in the cases of Barcelona, Rio de Janeiro, Hamburg, Sydney and Istanbul), or 500 meters away from the historic city center (like in London). However, I have never come across any maritime museum that is located 12 kms away from the water! Even with this odd characteristic, the idea of having the museum in Bornova is exciting me.

In the construction of the museums, their location had been considered within their context. The Maritime History Center of Arkas is more of a personal initiation of the trading family. There is also another naval museum in İzmir, that is 10 km away from the historic city center. It is located in Inciralti, disconnected from the historic port city of İzmir. It is not historically a place where the port city has expanded to. The naval museum provides knowledge, but the Arkas Museum revives the cosmopolitan past by inviting visitors into the gardens of a historic traders' house which had been an exclusive place. As such, the Arkas Art Centre plays a very important role in reconstructing the past, engaging the past and present of the city in the very space of the cosmopolitan past.

Cultural Engagement: Visiting Port City Cultures in Arkas Art Center

The day was not over yet. I still had time to visit other places. The next place I wished to visit was the Arkas Art Center, located on the shore. I chose to take the *dolmush*, a local bus, to go downtown. The Arkas family, again, re-represented the port city culture in the Arkas Art Center, one of the prominent art centers in İzmir. The French government granted the use of the French consulate building, located on the waterfront, to Arkas Holding for 20 years, beginning from November 2011.⁶⁵⁸ Lucien Arkas blends his personal interest and professional approach to share with visitors. The building since 1875. It consists of 10 exhibition rooms over two floors. The Arkas Art Center reflects a wide western gaze through a collection of diverse types of documents (e.g., paintings, engravings, photographs, etc.)

658 Ibid.

The exhibition is also available as a publication which includes "Smyrna In The 18th And 19th Centuries: A Western Perspective," "This Side of The Aegean From A Westerner's Brush," and "Anatolian Travels."⁶⁵⁹

The French Consulate Building was initially directly linked to the water. It was located between the waterfront and Mecidiye Street, located in a large garden. The consulate complex consisted of two buildings. When the earthquake of 1852 struck, the building was damaged. After this event, the French architect Edmond Renaud built a new building. This one was damaged by the great fire of 1866 and the earthquake of 1880. The French governance commissioned Emmanual Pontremoli to design a new building. Pontremoli completed the building in 1906. This is the one that is in use today. The building survived the great fire of 1922, since it was constructed of stone. However, the wooden parts were damaged. French Raymond Pere was in charge of the renovation of the wooden structures, like the stairs built in 1929. The building was multifunctional in accommodating the consular office. It had residential spaces, reception halls, and offices for consulate work.⁶⁶⁰ Until September 1983, the building was used as a consulate-general. After 1984, it served as an honorary consulate. In 2010, the Arkas Holding commissioned Niko Filidis and Altera Architecture for the transformation of the building's function from office-residential to a museum. The building was in restoration for eight months in 2011, under the supervision and confirmation of High Commission of Protecting Cultural Property and Monuments.661

Today, the building has a public promenade in front of it. Its façade is also a great screen for promoting the art exhibitions. As it was described in their mission, they "aim to contribute to the art and culture life of our country, especially İzmir, and to share the cultural identity of İzmir with international art media and to ensure that everyone, young and old alike, grows to love art."⁶⁶² Following the intention of cultural identity construction, the center hosts various exhibitions. How fitting that the former consulate building could be transformed into an art center, exhibiting the flourishing of the cosmopolitan era and presenting the port city culture in a genuine way.

⁶⁵⁹ "Publications," Arkas Art Center, accessed May 27, 2019, http://www.arkassanatmerkezi.com/En/article. aspx?pageID=166.

^{660 &}quot;Color, Light, Vibration Turkish Impressionists," Arkas Holding S. A., Accessed May 27, 2019, http:// www.arkassanatmerkezi.com/Contents/files/rit.pdf.

^{661 &}quot;Restoration," Arkas Art Center, accessed May 27, 2019, http://www.arkassanatmerkezi.com/En/article. aspx?pageID=74.

^{662 &}quot;Our Mission," accessed February 7, 2021. http://www.arkassanatmerkezi.com/En/article. aspx?pageID=72.

Temporal Engagement

The public promenade was full of people. Many friend groups and families sat and chatted on the grass, while having their snacks or drinks. I walked along the seaside, enjoying the breeze in the evening. Fishermen were lined along the land where it touches the sea. The sunlight glinted off the nylon fishing lines. The sunset was amazing along the waterfront. After some time, I arrived to Konak Square. There was the "M" sign indicating the subway. I took the subway, as it was the quickest way to reach Bornova. I had one more place to visit that day. Among the public and semi-public 19th century houses that I have described so far, there are still many 19th century houses that are private property. Now, I was heading to a meeting with Brian Giraud, the grandson of Edward Whittall, who took care of the Edward Whittall garden, as well as the cosmopolitan history.

I left the Bornova subway station behind, crossed the highway and walked along the street. This was the same street I walked in my high-school days. I turned to the right, and the curvy street took me slowly to the family quarter where the Giraud and Whittall Families used to live. Some of the descendants still live here. I finally reached the place of my appointment. The house's entrance was in front of *Büyük* Park, whose gate was remarkable. The house was on the corner of the main axis of the 19th century family quarter. Beside the house, there was also a botanical garden.

I stood before a green gate. It was surrounded by high walls. From outside, it was impossible to guess what kind of environment awaited me. The gate was closed when I arrived, so rang and waited for Brian Giraud to open it. At that moment, I did not know that the gate was about to welcome me to 19th century İzmir! The green gate was opened. There was a security person on the right-hand side of the entrance. After passing through the main gate, I saw a beautiful pond covered with lilies. The two-storey house that I had seen in Ray Turrell's sketches was on my right. The frontier verandah had two symmetrical stairs that reached from the garden level to the house with three steps made of stone. The four pillars rose from the verandah and carried the balcony of the upper floor. The fences were wrought iron in art deco style, painted white. In the winter time, the ground floor verandahs are closed by glass panes so that it can be used as a winter balcony.

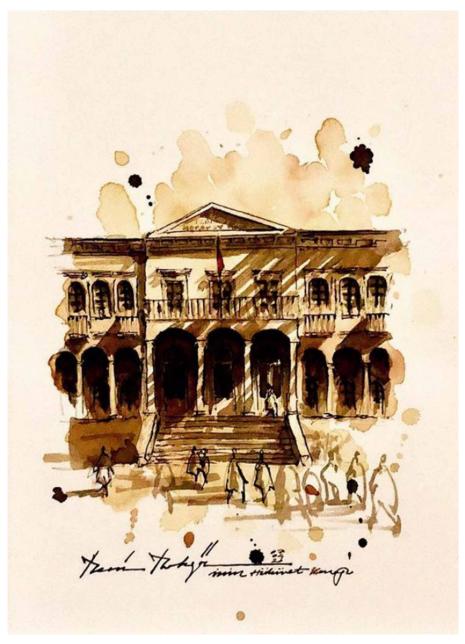


FIG. 7.13 Government House in the Konak Square, located on the left-hand side of the subway entrance (courtesy Deniz Dokgöz).

The mansion was well located in the garden, and surrounded with plants. When the flowers bloomed, someone sitting on the verandah would consider the garden as a colorful carpet.⁶⁶³ Standing on the front verandah looking at the pond, I could see the glass house for plants and a small outbuilding at the far-left corner. A narrow path, starting from the main gate, follows along the garden's high wall that separates the property from the street. It gradually rises and comes to the small outbuilding. This building was used for washing clothes. The greenhouse could be seen from the path, located on the right-hand side on another small terrace that remains below.

There were several terraces on this land surrounded by walls. The house, greenhouse and wash-house are each located on one of the terraces of the garden. The path continues to a staircase guarded by lion sculptures. The lower terrace was filled with an array of plants. There was a cottage for the gardener and a barn. I curiously followed Brian Giraud to the small building which was formerly the wash-house. I was surprised to find that it had been repurposed as a receiving room for guests. It was furnished as a living room and includes a kitchen. Here, I had the interview with Brian Giraud, and his son Mark. The building materials, such as brick and iron, have been important. The family played a crucial role in building a vital part of the city.

The property of the Giraud Family, the house and the Edward Whittall Garden, had a particular function in awakening an awareness to the cosmopolitan past of the port city of İzmir. Its representation, as it appeared in various accounts, and the intensive effort of Brian Giraud has maintained spatial continuity. Spatial narratives were therefore crucial in taking care of the garden physically.⁶⁶⁴

The garden stands as a unique testimony to the cosmopolitan era and to the urban history. It has orchestrated the time, fitting in with its natural, physical environment (remarkable tall and splendid twin cypresses stood in the garden) and perfectly calling attention to the history. It is in an enclosed space, surrounded by bold and long stone walls. Once I passed through the gate, all of a sudden, the garden invited me to leave the metropolitan realities—the air full of the sound of car motors and honking horns behind. The gate of the garden becomes a portal to the history in which one can learn from the family members, the house, and the garden. It is a place to ponder.

⁶⁶³ Turrell, Scrap-Book 1809-1922, 32.

⁶⁶⁴ Please see: Tanış and Havik, "Spatial Stories of Izmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City."

Visiting the garden separated with high walls thus made me realize the tension between the rushing of the contemporary metropolitan realities and the historical perception of time. On one hand, it was a place to spend some time within its tranquility, on the other hand, it allowed me to travel into the past as I walked along the paths between the splendid trees.

Not only the space that I was in, but the stories I was told, had a great impact on me in connecting the present with history. Indeed, this very place was one of the most important nodes of the past and present day of İzmir. Urban designer Han Meyer once told me of the *Verhalenhuis* in Rotterdam—a place where people tell port stories. This house in Bornova perfectly embodies that concept. Such places bring people together and allow them to share port city narratives. No doubt, İzmir has a great potential for this.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

This research has as its point of departure the vanishing traces of cross-cultural exchanges in the built environment. This is a common, yet seldom addressed, contemporary problem for port cities. Furthermore, when studying the complex nature of the city as a whole, the lack of a comprehensive understanding of port cities in diverse disciplines (e.g., architecture, urban planning, and cultural heritage conservation) is problematic. In my research, the specific case of İzmir has been a great laboratory to explore relationships among art, architecture, and history in relation to port cities. İzmir is geographically at the intersection of East and West, with a cultural construction which has benefited from this distinctive orientation. The city became a cosmopolitan center in the long 19th century. With its geographical conditions and vast cultural interactions, owing to oversea-trade, İzmir has provided an opportunity to contribute to mainstream studies focused on going beyond Western perspectives in global history writing. The research question: "How did cosmopolitanism manifest in İzmir?", allowed me to explore the complexity of cosmopolitan İzmir, and in doing so, provide insights for studies of the built environment.

Situating the research within diverse disciplines poses challenges. However, I consider my engagement with the discourse from these disciplines as stimulating opportunities to develop methodological and theoretical insights. These insights functioned as the backbone of my manuscript, while the narrative approach to the case study allowed me to establish organic relationships among the many different aspects that constituted cosmopolitan İzmir, particularly within its built environment. While addressing the main research question throughout the dissertation, I aimed to weave my ideas into an overarching narrative. This was facilitated by building up a construction of developed insights. I now share the findings, contributions, directions for further research, and implications of my dissertation.

8.1 Cosmopolitan Practices as İzmir's Way of Engagement with the Outside World

My research has shown that the port city of İzmir gained its particular character through the agency of cosmopolitan individuals and the revealed spatial realities. Cosmopolites and cosmopolitan practices reinforced İzmir's engagement with the outside world. This engagement started with a change in the governance of the city that united the waterfront to the hinterland under the Ottoman rule in the 15th century. The research has shown that until the 20th century, cross-cultural developments in the city centered around oversea trade activities and created spatial imprints on the city. The development of İzmir as a port city has been through channels created by these engagements which linked İzmir and Europe. allowing for an exchange of knowledge, materials, techniques, and cultures. In these engagements, particularly the cultural engagements, a set of visual and written accounts were created that depicted the city and its inhabitants. Elite and upperclass long-term migrants were at the center of the engagement mechanism that cosmopolitanism established. Short-term migrants, such as travelers, writers, and painters, were another equally important part of the engagement. Spatially, their presence led to construction of facilities for accommodation and entertainment that targeted European clientele. They created a cultural representation of the city, which became an important part of this mechanism. The engagements also revealed the importance of the society's values and norms in building the port city. These values and norms are, to some extent, site specific.

Being at the convergence of East and West, İzmir has been a space in which diverse social groups have encountered one another and experienced reciprocal influences on their daily life practices. In particular, during the 19th century, İzmir gained its genuine character. The increasing cosmopolitan character of the city, with the presence of long-term residents and short-term visitors who arrived from Europe, has influenced the articulation of new functions and spatial figures in the city. With this changing character there has gradually emerged new building techniques, materials, and building typologies. The exchange of knowledge and ideas between diverse communities has been manifested in port cities at various scales, from large infrastructures down to the smallest details on individual buildings. In exchange, these new spaces and urban figures have shaped the behaviors of diverse social groups. Consequently, their daily life practices, notably in public spaces, have further influenced the urban life of cities.

I wrote the background information for the history of İzmir in changing conditions by taking into account the intertwined histories in this region of the globe. There were multiple mechanisms related to oversea trade which allowed for cosmopolitanism to be manifest in the city. In Chapter 4, (Re)Setting the Stage for Cosmopolitanism, I identified through historic research two cross-cultural situations as examples. As described in Chapter 2, *Theoretical Framework*, these situations can be seen as results of contact zones, namely social spaces in which social interactions took place. In the thesis, I have shown how such contact zones existed in the city by explaining its urban context, and by showing how it has been developed through social and commercial relations and their subsequent representations in texts and images. In each situation selected individuals and social groups were brought to the stage to offer a deeper understanding on how the city has gained its uniqueness as a place of global and local interactions. I had taken this particular focus by accepting the meaning of cosmopolitanism as "having a wide and refined knowledge of the world especially from personal experience."⁶⁶⁵ No doubt, such personal experiences were possible in the provided conditions of the cosmopolitan era. The selected situations that I presented in Chapter 4, (Re)Setting the Stage for Cosmopolitanism, have therefore exemplified how the urban context has been enhanced by site specific and unique developments and in this way extended the port city cultures of İzmir.

I limited my inquiry to two cross-cultural situations, given that my interest in port city development was to understand the influence of port activities especially seen in the engagement of İzmir with the outside world. The first situation exhibits how port activities influenced spatial developments further in the city, particularly along the waterfront and in the downtown. Therefore, the first cross-cultural situation presented is the 19th century İzmir house. These houses reveal the complexity of building residential blocks which sprung from port activities and the encounters of East and West. The second situation tied representation, trade, and the presence of elite traders in the city to the urban development. Here, the spatial situation is seen not in the travelling society itself, but in the mechanism that commerce established with representation. The second situation, 4.3.2 The Role of the Trade and Representation in Building the City from the Waterfront to the Outskirts, showed how the city was represented in trade catalogues. In İzmir, the family affairs of European-descended migrants fostered trade through shipping, producing overlapping commercial and social networks that were inscribed in the physical spaces and social practices of the port over a period of several hundred years. Trading families depended on their European roots, knowledge of an imagined

⁶⁶⁵ Merriam-Webster.com Thesaurus, s.v. "cosmopolitan," accessed February 19, 2021, https://www. merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/cosmopolitan.

Orient, and connections with Turkish governors. Their economic and social power shaped development within and beyond İzmir. Partnerships entrenched the socioeconomic power of these families, integrating the city into broader patterns of industrialization.⁶⁶⁶

In Chapter 4.3.1, Building waterfronts of İzmir: Building 19th Century İzmir House, in which I introduced the emergence of 19th century housing, one of the identifications of the encounters, and how they shaped the architecture with respect between social groups. In the construction of the windows and the ratios on the facade we can see that the city has been built from multiple cultures. Their encounters have led to negotiation and respect. Another point in the contact zone was related to societies and their experts. The understanding between experts and the encounters they shared led to the defining of a new type of housing. Situation 2 exemplified the cultural feedback loop and how it extended through the city to the outskirts. Cultural productions—visuals and written materials—based on the representation of trader elites' lives in different segments and sequences, became part of the manifold spatial narratives. Although narrative creation was complementary, such that they reinforced each other, they also reflected the city's competing identities: Oriental vs European. These are an integral part of the city's larger history and contribute to the promotion of their commercial activities. Human actors (local and international family connections, intermarriage, etc.) and non-human actants (buildings, infrastructures, trade books, diaries etc.) have shaped and promoted the entangled structures that guarantee the longevity of port cities. The two situations have showcased how personal experiences influence the urban pattern. In this light, I arrive at one of my conclusions: that cosmopolitan practices occur in microcosms, taking personal experiences as their roots. Their impact could be transitory, as well as long-lasting, as I have presented in this work.

⁶⁶⁶ 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of *Baltalimanı* opened up opportunities for industrial developments by foreign capital in İzmir. For further information about the industrialization period in the city, see the PhD Dissertation: Eylem Şimşek, "Endüstri yapılarının kültürel miras olarak irdelenmesi ve değerlendirilmesi: İzmir Liman Arkası örneği" (PhD diss., DEÜ Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2006).

Each of these two situations demonstrate that there is a strong relationship between oversea trade and narratives, artworks, and spatial development. In these mechanisms of cross-cultural situations, stories were told, notes were written and visuals were made, which appeared in Europe. Such accounts of the city led to individual decisions to move into the city and maintain trade activities between İzmir and Europe while closely engaging İzmir with Europe, and vice versa. Images promoted the city and its products while producing an image of İzmir in the mind of the clientele, which, in turn, manifested in the urban development. Moreover, in one way or the other, it made the city attractive to upper-class migrants and opened up further development in the city. The waterfront of İzmir, with its 19th century houses, has appeared widely in postcards and memoirs. The spatial developments (i.e., the construction of trainlines and the building of new residential neighborhoods), their representation in various channels (e.g., story-telling, visual narratives of carpet production in trade catalogues, in postcards) and in turn the economic flourishment that manifested in the spatial development in the city has demonstrated that the port activities in the cosmopolitan era of İzmir have created a cultural feedback-loop.⁶⁶⁷

After setting the stage and explaining its construction over these cross-cultural situations, I wrote three narratives wherein I trace multiple engagements between the city and its trade relations under three main themes: socio-cultural engagement, socio-spatial engagement, and spatio-temporal engagement. To investigate the underlying patterns of the engagements in relation to cosmopolitan practices, in Chapter 5, *Urban Scenes of Socio-Cultural Engagement: Through the Eyes of a Traveler: Cosmopolitanism along the Waterfront of İzmir,* and in Chapter 6, *Urban Scenes of Socio-Spatial Engagement: Diffused Cosmopolitanism in İzmir,* I revisit cosmopolitan history in the 19th century. The goal in this revisiting is to understand the construction of a port city under the influence of cosmopolitan practices. In the following chapter, Chapter 7, *Urban Scenes of Spatio-Temporal Engagement: Perpetual Cosmopolitanism in İzmir,* I visit the cosmopolitan spaces in İzmir to emphasize their spatial continuity in the contemporary city.

In these engagements, the elite traders are at the center, being located at the intersection of İzmir and abroad connecting local networks to the global networks. Following the prominent trading families, such as the Whittalls and Girauds among others, the upper-class society's migrancy became the reason for a number of spatial developments (i.e., the 19th century housing), and was directly involved in the developments (e.g., port and railway constructions). Therefore, I limited my research

⁶⁶⁷ For the concept, please look at Chapter 1 Introduction.

to the elite traders and upper-class migrants whose impact were largely embedded in the city. I traced cross-cultural practices by focusing on the cosmopolitan society and their agencies in the urban development in İzmir.

The influence of these cosmopolitan practices on the city are on different scales and take different forms. Cosmopolitanism in İzmir was deeply embedded in three main domains: in the physical environment, in urban cultures, and in cultural products. The creation of İzmir's port city culture was strongly related to the spatial and representative construction of cosmopolitan İzmir. To study this spatial and representational construction, I focused on the spatial and narrative traces of international trading families in İzmir. From this investigation into their professional and domestic practices, I concluded that cosmopolitanism was a way to engage İzmir with the outside world, and that the engagements of cosmopolitan society have provided an optimum canvas for cross-cultural developments that reinforced the engagement of İzmir to the outside world, to Europe mostly. The agency of the cosmopolitan social groups has manifested in spatial elements in the city (buildings, squares, infrastructures), as well as in the lifestyle that has been inherited by the inhabitants of the city. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the conclusions under the multiple levels of engagements of İzmir's cosmopolitan history that I found through my research.

Port cities are places where diverse societies live together. In my research, I limited my inquiry to elite traders, who acted as channels to start the engagement between İzmir and its allied cities in trade and their networks. There is a need to investigate other perspectives on the everyday practices of the inhabitants of İzmir to illustrate the role of cosmopolitan society in the city. Relations amongst elite trading family members characterized a unique type of socio-spatial practice in İzmir. This study shows how that presence has influenced the development of the city gradually in different segments: spaces of productive life, such as warehouses on the waterfront, domestic spaces, such as gardens, and spaces of residential and social life on the outskirts of the city. There was a tangle of migration trajectories that existed in İzmir. There are many other migrant groups, and their contribution to port city culture could be further studied. Besides the international migrancy, there is also an internal migrancy (e.g., seasonal labor, seasonal master- builders). Each pattern is waiting to be investigated.

Overall, this doctoral research also reveals the merits of cosmopolitanism in development of architecture and urbanism. The future of our cities in the turn of the changes in the global politics, definition of the new economic systems and world order and environmental challenges lies in making rational choices. The reason for exploring cosmopolitans and their actions is key for making the right decisions for

more socially and environmentally sustainable cities. Rational thinking is essential and cosmopolitan individuals are coming to the front by being rational thinkers, as the study shows. The cosmopolitan condition secured rational thinking through its nature providing better channels for reaching out to more complete knowledge patterns. Elite trading families' language skills and intermarriage between Europeans and Ottoman social groups opened up the opportunity to have a wider understanding of knowledge that is embedded in cultures. Intermarriage was essential for securing the economic network in the past, but at the turn of the 20th century, this was no longer necessary. Rational thinking is most benefitted by language skills, the state of being "in-between". In the 20th century, the prestigious high schools, like Bornova Anadolu Highschool, played the most important role in securing rational thinking by providing cosmopolitan conditions to their students. This was in addition to the curriculum based on the sciences and supported with foreign language education that was an integral part of the education. Moreover, Bornova Anadolu High School has provided opportunities to its students by establishing collaborations with foreign high schools, particularly in Germany. Knowledge exchange through culture exchange programs between Turkey and Europe continued in this manner, providing freshness, another important requirement of the cosmopolitan conditions, by mobility of students. I located this research in the body of scholarship for writing global history, that is mostly concerned with post-war modernism and revisions of architecture history in this era, although my research has not paid particular attention to post-war modernism.⁶⁶⁸ Through revealing the importance of the cosmopolitans, who are not necessarily architects, in architecture, urbanism and urban cultures in İzmir, I wish to invite scholars working in this field to explore the spatial developments, architectural culture, etc. to bring their attention to the roles of cosmopolitans⁶⁶⁹ in the post-war era, not only to the architects.

⁶⁶⁸ For further elaboration, please see: Fatma Tanış, "Building the East Mediterranean Port City of Izmir After the Fall of Cosmopolitanism: Dutch Architect Dudok's Contribution to the Turkish Architecture Culture," in *EAHN 6*th *International Meeting Conference Abstracts* eds. Richard Anderson and Richard Williams (Edinburgh, 2021), 147-148.

⁶⁶⁹ For further elaboration, please see: Fatma Tanış, "Sedad Hakkı Eldem as a Cosmopolitan Individual: Research, Writing, and Practice in the formation of Turkish Modernism," The Practice of Architectural Research / Session 1A, October 8th, 2020, Conference Presentation, 00:49:54-01:05:28, https://youtu. be/avN54N2LAKk.; Fatma Tanış, "Sedad Hakkı Eldem as a Cosmopolitan Individual: Research, Writing, and Practice in the formation of Turkish Modernism," in *Proceedings - The Practice of Architectural Research: Perspectives on Design and its Relation to History and Theory* ed. Caroline Voet (Leuven, Belgium: KU Leuven, 2021), 26-27.

8.2 The Patterns of the Engagements of İzmir with the Outside World

8.2.1 The Port City as a Contact Zone

The three identified spaces developed by Tom Avermaete and Cathelijne Nuijsink are also visible in İzmir's urban formation. The first one, cultural spaces, corresponds to the creation of the cultural capital that is specific to port cities. Chapter 5 *Urban Scenes of Socio-Cultural Engagement* particularly reveals this character of the contact zone: the outsiders and the city and their productive relations that manifested themselves in cultural productions. Through these interactions and discourses, İzmir's cultural connections to the outside world (mostly Europe) have been reinforced. Evidence from the travelers' depictions and association with the European correspondence of the spatial qualities of İzmir were seen in Chapter 5.1 *Approaching the City* (the reference to a Swiss Chalet) and in Chapter 5.2 *Landing on the Quay* (the expression of surprise at the familiarity with Paris, the accentuated appearance of cafés, brasseries, hotel names that were mostly in English and French, and occasionally in German.) Familiarity was created through these productions.

The second is social spaces. Personal relations secured the development of İzmir's special character. Networks were secured at two levels: international, and local. Within the trade network, mostly based on family relations, there resulted: further migration of families (such as the Guiffray Family), diplomatic relations with responsible consuls, and travelers arriving who were writers and artists. At the local level family relations intensified with intermarriages, mostly within the European circle for the selected elite traders who appear in this dissertation. Chapter 5.4 Strolling on the Quay: Residential Blocks on the North unravels the extended family networks (i.e., Guiffray and Dussauds Families) which were important in the spatial development of the city, such as building the guay and tramline. The interactions in this network were also influential in the development of a residential quarter for a larger community in İzmir. Particularly, the yearly festivals, such as Christmas gatherings, clubs, and theaters frequently brought the upper-class of İzmir from different cultures (Greek, Maltese, French, Italian, Dutch, German and English) together and allowed them to be further engaged. Further, public spaces extended the encounters between diverse societies. Public spaces like the quay,

the grand bazaar, and particularly Rue Franque have been the very place of social encounters. It could be speculated that, although not all the social groups of the city have mingled with one another directly, the establishment of certain schools have been influential for the emergence and acceptance of foreign language curriculums in the 20th century. An example of one of these schools, *Bornova Anadolu Lisesi*, appeared in the Chapter 7.

Chapter 5 approached the downtown social spaces with a wider spectrum in the social context. Chapter 6 focused on the exclusive spaces and relations based on personal interactions of families, particularly with foreign visitors and local dignitaries. The visit of the Sultan to the Whittall Family stands as a testimony to the mutual trust between the family and the governors of the city and the empire. Chapter 6 is concerned with the socio-spatial aspect of the cosmopolitans' encounters. Through tracing the intertwined family dynasty's stories and success in trade, which in turn built the city further, exclusive relations have been greatly influential in the constitution of the image of İzmir. Particularly in the times in which the Orientalist narratives portrayed a general expectation towards a city of the Orient, the city and also the social relations were different than the expectations, as Gertrude Bell's surprise clearly indicates.

The third space is the spaces of ideas. As I have touched upon the multi-cultural character of the Ottoman building guilds in Chapter 4.3.1 Building Waterfronts of *İzmir: Building 19th Century İzmir House*, the row house development for the upperclass inhabitants is a concrete example of the spaces of ideas. Cosmopolitanism in İzmir has an enduring legacy, continuing to exist in the city and lifestyles of the inhabitants. It appears in different forms today than formerly, but is strongly embedded in spatial traces, urban patterns, and literary and visual productions and memories. This research therefore extends the proposed conception for architectural cultures to urban cultures with the fourth space: spaces of memories. The contact zone is essentially about the social spaces that belong to a particular moment of the co-existence of the society in a particular space. Chapter 7 Urban Scenes of Spatio-*Temporal Engagement: Perpetual Cosmopolitanism in İzmir* presented the perpetual. I, as the author of this research as well as one of the cosmopolitan individuals and characters included in Chapter 7, experienced the encounters with Gertrude Bell and Ray Turrell around a century later in the very place of their memories, for example, by being the visitor of Brian Giraud, who is the grandson of Edward Whittall, in Bornova. This was the very place where Gertrude Bell and Ray Turrell experienced and wrote their memories in scrapbooks, letters and diaries. Spaces of memories are the spaces where we come in contact with observers of those places at another time. Cultural productions, oral history, spaces and the spatial traces play a key role in reaching and creating this space.

8.2.2 Commercial Engagement

In the commercial engagement of İzmir with its global trade network, international traders⁶⁷⁰ were essential. In the primitive port era, as defined in Chapter 4, in which the actors in the cosmopolitan practices are introduced, consuls also acted as traders. These consul-traders settled down along the shore, close to local dignitaries in the city, while the outskirts of the city were used for their leisure activities. This engagement was the starting point of increasing commercial activities and the precursor of several 19th century developments in the city (e.g., trade-related spaces). The earliest spatial response to commercial engagement was the construction of buildings along the waterfront of İzmir, including a private pier, a house, and an office. These buildings served for loading and unloading activities, as accommodations for a household, and as an office.

As I explained in Chapter 4.2, *Unfolding The Urban Context within Cosmopolitan History of İzmir*, the functions of domestic and business lives split gradually, starting with the transition from the sailboat port era (also known as "the primitive port era") to the steamboat era (also known as "the industrial port era") which existed from the 1840s onwards. During this transition, traders began to settle on the outskirts of the city. There were underlying reasons for this decision: safety (plagues were carried by ships to the waterfront), increasing wealth (a desire for a luxurious lifestyle), and infrastructural developments. All of these caused an increasing tendency to commute between the hinterland and port. In this way, due to functional separation, the city extended from downtown to the villages located further from the sea. Commercial developments became more prominent in the city. Meanwhile, the primitive spatial construction was left to become houses with summer sea baths, something specific to İzmir's shores. Thus, the city has produced itself spatially by maintaining the previous traces in different uses.

Retail offices and production spaces related to trade have been a part of the urban fabric in the old commercial area. This organic construction was mainly related to the local Ottoman trade guild system. Gradually, existing warehouses in the city became transformed by European traders in line with the desire to use the maximum capacity for space. Accordingly, retail offices in European styles emerged on the waterfront. The increasing need for trading spaces has extended the commercial building developments from the historic commercial core of the city (Kemeraltı) to the north, along the quay. Following the European traders' interventions and investments,

⁶⁷⁰ The international traders were either free merchants who acted as independent traders or affiliated ones who were factors of international trade companies such as the British and Dutch East India Company.

factories that were established for the processing and production of goods began to scatter in other locations such as in *Halkapınar*, *Darağacı* and to the industrial area in the north of the city.

8.2.3 Social Engagement

Another engagement, closely related to commercial activities, is social engagement. Building a social network was essential for business purposes, and therefore it was in exclusive social places that trade flourished. The growth of trading society, in line with increasing international commerce, created exclusive spaces such as *Club des Chasseurs* (a hunting club), sporting clubs, and youth clubs. Although some of these required a special membership, thus creating exclusive spaces, there were also inclusive social clubs which provided a space for cultural exchanges among different social groups in İzmir. This helped to create cultural cohesion. These social initiatives took place both in the city and its villages. Not only did such spaces appear along the shore, but traders' houses and their splendid gardens also became a place for social and diplomatic encounters.

Social spaces, their characteristics, and the degree to which they contributed to urban life varied in İzmir. The traders' houses surrounded by high walls were places for social gatherings among elites and sultans; these spaces were exclusive and did not directly become influential in modern urban life in the outskirts of İzmir. Nevertheless, indirectly, these exclusive social gatherings contributed to the increasing building activities in İzmir.⁶⁷¹ Social spaces along the waterfront were more influential in the urban life of İzmir than the secluded spaces of the traders on the outskirts of the city.

Social engagement within the city increased during the 19th century. İzmir's fame spread through the promotion of its products, as well as through publications. Besides traders, visitors arrived to the city. The redefinition of accommodation spaces and the subsequent emergence of hotels made traditional *han*s lodgings obsolete. The choice of the hotels' location and their European architectural styles were chiefly defined by the clientele's expectation regarding comfort and their financial power. The position of the "grand hotels" (e.g., Grand Hotel Huck, Hotel de Londres) on the quay was not a coincidence. The proximity to the port made it a

⁶⁷¹ When land ownership rights were given to foreigners after the visit of the Sultan to the Whittall Family, for instance.

privileged location and met the expectations of the client. The quay became an urban element serving hotels. Their exclusive spaces on the ground floors became another locus for the social practices of modernity.

Social and cultural facilities, such as theaters and cinemas, allowed for the direct engagement of the cosmopolitan society of İzmir with Europe. These theaters and cinemas belonged to the waterfront and became an essential part of the daily life of long-term European residents. The emergence of these facilities on the waterfront was directly related to the quay as the first place at which travelers entered and diffused into buildings for entertainment and accommodation. On the one hand, along the waterfront, social spaces were places where the upper-class of İzmir met each other. On the other hand, they were the place in which upper-class and shortterm visitors of İzmir encountered one another. The new quay provided a public promenade along the waterfront and thus enhanced the liveliness of the city. Leisure activities have been another way of reflecting the lifestyle of the upper class and trading elites in İzmir and reinforcing the relations between their homelands, mostly in Europe.

8.2.4 Technological and Functional Engagements

During the long 19th century the transition toward the steamboat era brought global industrial developments to the city. With the term "technological engagement," I therefore refer to the process of importing engineering knowledge to İzmir. The increasing demand in trade and the quest for efficiency in this era led to the rapid application of technological developments in the industrial area of İzmir and its hinterland. This knowledge was manifested in infrastructures (e.g., building the port, quay, horse-drawn tram, train stations, and railway), establishing factories in the industrial area and hinterland, and allowing for the emergence of new functions (e.g., banks and the telegraph with its office in the city center). Following the developments in Europe, international experts (some of whom became long-term residents in the city) played a role in the technological engagement. In Chapter 4, I discussed in more detail how technological advancements influenced the development of İzmir at different scales and spatial figures that included a new form of public space on the quay and residential blocks.

The continuous transformation and relocation of the port was a result of international knowledge, technological advancements, and encounters between elite traders and the governance of the city. Changes were not only limited to the port facilities, but extended to manifold changes in the city as well. These changes include

the introduction of contemporary building developments in terms of new ways of production that manifested in factories, spatial arrangement and compositions in the city. For instance, time and communication between port cities needed to be in sync and adjusted to one another for the maintenance of global trade. For this reason, new functions and buildings like post offices emerged in the city. Port adjustments therefore indicated alignment with the outside world.

Building practices began to expand in İzmir during the transition from the sailboat era to the steamboat era. I elaborated on building functions and typologies in the transition from the sail-boat era to the steam-boat era in Chapter 4.2, in which I unfolded İzmir's cosmopolitan history. I further explored in Chapters 5 and 6 typological and functional pluralism by showing that this multiplicity of functions was particularly present at the waterfront and downtown, but also diffused to the outskirts of the city. In the 19th century there were insurance companies, post offices and postal services, brokerage firms, dry goods stores, hotels, theatres, cafes, printing houses and similar types of modern establishments manifested in the urban imprint.⁶⁷²

8.2.5 Conceptual Engagement

Another engagement that I came across through my research was conceptual engagement. Travelling concepts of urban planning and urban design landed in İzmir and influenced the city. The city began to be shaped in line with urban planning and urban spaces originating in European discourse and practices. The public space, in the European sense, found its form on the quay, in Konak Square, and the Square in the family neighborhood in Bornova. Modern town planning principles began to emerge by the application of the grid plan by Italian Engineer Luigi Storari in Basmane, followed by the Frank Neighborhood in İzmir. The application of the plan in several locations in İzmir changed the organic urban pattern that had been developed over the centuries based on dead-end streets. The latter point also stands as the emergence of a new lifestyle. The application of the grid plan can be recognized as the acceptance of how its changing street pattern transformed conservative and introverted lifestyles of locals.

⁶⁷² Zandi-Sayek, Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880, 1.

Following public space and town planning, the modern housing development in the Frank neighborhood is a great example of the materialization of modernity in İzmir, therefore illustrating how concepts from Europe (i.e., the idea of modernity) were engaged with in İzmir. The 19th century approach to housing was no longer about finding a solution for accommodation; instead, it became a laboratory to redefine a neighborhood in İzmir to make it suitable for emerging upper-class European society. A reflection of the class issues can be seen in the ornaments which replaced the functionality of the wooden supporting construction. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 4.3.1, housing in this period reconsidered the relation between the private and the public. The immediate relation between the house and the public quay or streets in any other neighborhood had been supported by a particular type of balcony that had three facades and windows. Not only was the relation established by the public, but it also took into consideration the norms of neighborhood relations. In this way, the site-specific modern housing stands as an example of how flows of knowledge related to port activities have worked together with local materials, cultures, knowledge, and experiences. Existing codes from both local and foreign building culture have been altered in certain architectural elements (e.g., cast iron ornaments in the facades and under the balconies, flat roofs, and row housing) to emphasize class differences. The resulting architectural styles reinforced the economic power of the upper class of the city. Meanwhile the new buildings created a new face and increased the value of the city as a brand that promoted and fostered the economic power of the city. Moreover, it stands as a crucial example to show how the values of society have shaped the buildings, and the buildings have shaped the society in return.

An analysis of the façades of hotels, cafes, and entertainment places bring us to İzmir's symbolic engagement with Europe. European style façades decorated the face of the city in the 19th century. The hotels appeared in various visual depictions, including postcards and tourist flyers. Targeting the same clientele as in Europe, the retail offices and headquarters reflected the European architecture style in their façades. Another symbolic engagement is evident in the clock tower that was built for the 25th anniversary of Abdulhamid II ascending to the throne. The synchronization of the time was fundamental for trade. The clock tower of the train station and a clock that was built on Frank Street stand as examples of this engagement. Being located in Konak Square, the clock tower was visible by the approaching ships, thus directly relating to the visitors of the city. It represents the adopted notions and their reproduction in the monumental urban figure.

8.2.6 Cultural Engagement

Throughout their long history, port cities have been built not only physically, but also mentally as images and stories in the minds of people. In each era, their built environment, urban cultures, and exclusive lifestyles have attracted the gaze of foreign visitors. Various writings and images worked together to form a conception of port cities, which, in this study, we will consider as Cultural engagement. This mental construction, or depiction of the city, was often complemented with port-related activities such as sailing, loading and unloading, and impressions of cosmopolitan spaces and lifestyles of the inhabitants of İzmir. Besides being attractive and inspiring for many writers and artists, there was a sense of longing which created cultural products. The longing of the sailors, for instance, resulted in music, that nestled in social spaces such as taverns in the city. Inquiries of urban figures in port cities show that the intertwined cross-cultural exchanges and networks were planted and facilitated in such spaces like social clubs, theatres, cinemas, and squares. In the historical analysis of these spaces and the composition of the frames there is also reflect the selection of the components of the port city. What the port city meant to a painter gives us an idea of the figures that constituted the expectation for outsiders who based their understanding of the city on its representations.

The cultural representation of İzmir to the outside world was multifaceted. On the one hand, the Levantine families, including the Whittall and Giraud families on whose influence I focused in these investigations, played a crucial role in changing the representation of the city, both in their self-representations and in narratives in which they played a leading role. These representations included their daily life practices and their spatial productions in the city. These were seen through various channels (e.g., engravings, scrapbooks, letters, and photographs) and were used as a marketing strategy. Their company brochures combined Oriental images of the city, including camels, local peasants in traditional costumes, depictions of the trader families' personal and business lives, and trader men in European styles. The elite traders' and consuls' representation in oil paintings have appeared in numerous museums in Europe. Circulation of these narratives consolidated the cultural engagement among İzmir, Mediterranean, and European port cities.

8.2.7 Historical Engagement

My research has shown that through the turn of the regime, from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, there have been guite a few changes in the cosmopolitan practices and the way the society used their spaces. The change in ideology also had an impact on trade activities. The new policies focused on the national economy, which, in effect, diminished the connections between İzmir and the outside world. This led to several changes in the city practices as well. I showed in Chapters 5 and 6 that the cosmopolitan practices related to port activities contributed to building developments in the city, ranging from the waterfront to the villages. These spaces were mostly exclusive spaces, limited to the domestic lives of the trading elite, and only partially used by the rest of society. However, in the 20th century, some of these large mansions with spacious gardens, often enclosed by walls, have been given new functions. These functional transformations include spaces for education (e.g., schools, universities and public libraries) as well as social spaces (e.g., public squares, semi-public restaurants, hotels, cafes and museums for cosmopolitan and maritime history of the city.) They were organized in line with public use, public good or semi-public functions. In this way, the exclusive spaces of port city heritage (e.g., the large houses in spacious gardens) have become a part of the everyday life of İzmir's inhabitants. As I explained in the last part of Chapter 4.4 the Ege University in Bornova was founded in the 1950s, and in the same period, the Bornova Anadolu Lisesi high school was built on the grounds of the same trading families, the Giraud and the Whittalls. The form of cosmopolitan practices has, thus, changed with the turn from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic.

In the 19th and early 20th century Europeans largely immigrated to İzmir. In the contemporary era, cosmopolitan individuals have followed the reverse route. They migrated back to Europe, or elsewhere in the world, following the channels of information and knowledge. Secondly, contemporary inhabitants practice their daily life and live in their ancestors' cosmopolitan memories of the city in the repurposed cosmopolitan spaces. The collective memory related to these spaces was constructed in the course of the 20th and 21st century. Moreover, due to lacking resources and for reasons of feasibility, large houses began to be turned into hotels. These hotels are used for accommodation purposes, but also for celebrating important events, such as weddings. In this way, these large gardens have become part of the everyday life of İzmir's inhabitants. The last category may be the most important re-use of cosmopolitan spaces. Some of these buildings have been publicly or privately transformed into museums or libraries. Nowhere else in the world, in no other port city, is there a maritime museum 10 km away from the water. In most port cities, maritime museums are located right next to the body of water. In İzmir, the Arkas family, who is still active in oversea trade, founded a maritime museum in Bornova, in a former family house.

These engagements, as presented above, have contributed to the building of the 19th century port city of İzmir, spatially, socially, and culturally. Cosmopolitan society, families, and commercial affairs expanded the urban life from the waterfronts to the outskirts. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, this cosmopolitan structure weakened; however, it did not disappear. Through presenting these engagements, I have brought to the fore the spatial outcomes of the notion of cosmopolitanism, while demonstrating its societal relevance in the spatial and cultural development of port cities. The influence of the cosmopolitan practices that originated from port activities includes both tangible and intangible aspects. The cosmopolitan construction is embedded today in the urban fabric, in the artworks, and in the life styles of the inhabitants.

8.3 Narrative Approach

8.3.1 A Reflection on the Method

Investigating socio-spatial interactions throughout the long history of a port city (İzmir in this case) in order to understand the present-day challenges in architecture, conservation and planning approaches requires a particular attitude towards writing architecture history. Dealing with this complexity allows me to draw from my background in architecture and bring the perspective of a designer to my writing. The narrative approach that I followed in the *Urban Scenes*, Chapters 5, 6 and 7, allowed me to capture the impact of oversea trade in a more complete sense. In the first two stories, I chose particular perspectives to form the urban narratives of historical İzmir. In the third story, I wrote my own narrative, allowing my personal perspective to have a voice. By using perspective as a notion here, I refer to defining the engagement of İzmir through its cosmopolitan practices. I allowed my own narrative to show its potential to reflect the power of the narratives and narrative approach itself.

The narrative shows that there can be further studies conducted with the same method, focusing on very personal stories that will allow researchers and inhabitants to better understand their own built environment.⁶⁷³

Before reflecting on the role of writing in this research, I wish to reflect on the act of writing as a key for unlocking knowledge. As a writer and the author of this research, following up the steps of the method that I introduced, I recognized the significance of being put in a direct contact with texts and images that encapsulate enormous knowledge regarding the social, spatial and cultural context of the city beyond their nature for depiction. There are three main assets that I consulted for writings: historic texts and images, memories, and the city itself. Rather than interpreting images and texts according to the politics of their era or with a political intent of the present-day, I focused on the elements that compose those images and texts. It is true that the representations do not reflect everything or capture every reality. Perhaps they do not capture the reality at all since they bear traces of manipulation. During the research, I have come across distorted images that I was able to detect through cross-checking the photos and the paintings. Paintings leave more room for such manipulation. Regardless, there is a fact that within those representations there is still a selection of knowledge; they insert or hide some elements. Through careful reading I aimed to lay hold of the spatial and cultural knowledge embedded in those depictions. Those elements became a catalyst to produce further narratives. By developing a writing style, I used writing as a medium to exhibit the selected phrases while conveying the research to the reader.

Working with memories allows for the surveying of present-day port city conditions. It documents the built environment's situation in a certain era. My memories written here belong to a specific time period, from 2004 to the present. Since these memories can be seen as resources of the city, reproductions of the city's own immaterial resources, I turned them into new narratives. To invoke the atmosphere,

⁶⁷³ Towards the end of the Ph.D. trajectory, MSc Students at Yaşar University worked with the writing method developed in this research within the framework of the course "INAR 5566 Architectural Culture and Interiors in İzmir" led by Assoc. Prof. dr. Gülnur Ballice. New urban narratives that are produced by students are: "Social Life at Frank Street of Smyrna in 1900-1920s" by Seçil Beygirci, "The Bridge Between Levantines and İzmir: Alsancak-Buca Railway" by Ece Kişioğlu, "Spatial Stories of Kemeraltı, İzmir: A Narrative Study on the Abacıoğlu Inn" by Yaren Kurt, "Reflections of the Memories: A Microhistory on Konak Atatürk Square, İzmir, 1960-70s" by Bengi Şentürk, "Spatial Stories of the Ancient Agora of Smyrna: A Narrative on the Relationship between the City Square-Agora and the Urban Identity" by Weins Yıldırım, "Spatial Stories of İzmir: The urban transformation in Alsancak since the 19th century" by Wam Ammad, "The History and Evolution of Başdurak Mosque, Anafartalar Street, Kemeraltı, İzmir" by Kenza Chiga, "Frank Neighborhood in the 19th century: A European District in the Heart of Smyrna" by Kawtar Lbaz, "Spatial Stories on Basmane Gar Region, İzmir" by Ahmed Nadeem.

my vivid memories have been very helpful. They also bring to attention how inhabitants perceive their environment. Lastly, the city tells its own complaints, if you hear well what spatial traces tell. The loss of heritage and the massive construction of asphalt roads and concrete apartments indicate the problem, as well as pointing to how the city can strive for a solution for a better future.

Precisely for this reason, the writing method developed in this manuscript is critical to the application of post-war modernism in Turkey. It also offers a solution to the problem. I wrote narratives through the eyes of both a traveler and myself, bringing the attention to eye-level. In essence, this is to bring the attention to the human, to the social dimension as a counterpoint to modernism's special interest in cars (that went hand in hand with oil industries), which created another face for port cities. The traveler in the first two narratives strolls through the city. In fact, there were cars in the early 20th century. The first car was brought by the selected trader family members to Turkey. However, I brought the attention to the human scale because of my interest in creating a better future for the city in line with learning from the history. Except for the transportation for a distance that cannot be walked, the traveler always strolled in the city and experienced spaces in such a way. Particularly for the environmental challenges that we are facing today, we need to focus on the human scale and reduce the industries based on harmful use. The Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg's strategies could be an example. Hamburg aims to remove cars from the city within the next few decades.⁶⁷⁴ The third and last narrative inserts the car as a contrast to the human scale. Then, when the storyline moves into the cosmopolitan spheres—the Whittall's house and garden and the school's garden—the storyteller, myself, touches feet to the ground, quite literally.

Another important aspect of telling the story through the travelers and myself is that it allows us to connect multiple scales of the built environment, architectural interiors, to urban planning in a singular narrative. The narratives in Chapters 5 and 6 are based on the theoretical explorations as explained in Chapter 4 through two cases. Through following the trading family connections and their extended networks, the narratives show that it is possible to trace spatial networks—varying from the infrastructure to the living room of a house—diffused in the city in relation to political, economic and technological realities of the era. The method can be also applied to spatial networks that were developed by other

⁶⁷⁴ Please see: Antony Ingram, "Hamburg, Germany Plans to Ban Cars From its City Center in 20 Years," January 9th, 2014, https://www.businessinsider.com/hamburg-germany-plans-to-eliminate-cars-in-20-years-2014-1?international=true&r=US&IR=T.

families who have been key in the oversea trade⁶⁷⁵ and will reveal spatial qualities further, while reproducing present day İzmir from its own narratives. Taking the focus off of a single building and connecting it to the larger context is also a critique of the architecture discipline that has gradually split into many branches that have sometimes not collaborated well, particularly in the post-war era in Turkey. Understanding the city as a whole with its history in relation to its material and immaterial resources and to the global and environmental challenges is key for the future development of a city. The social relations between multiple actors incorporated and produced the city historically.

8.3.2 A Narrative Method to Study Cross-cultural Developments in Port Cities

For exploring cosmopolitan İzmir, I made use of a compilation of different narratives in different forms, such as travel manuscripts, novels, poems, and diaries. By revisiting many historical narratives written by different travelers, elite family members, and writers, as well as studying visual material produced by travelers, Orientalist writers and painters, and local artists, I created a series of semi-fictional narratives, that allowed me to tell how trading families contributed to an essential part of İzmir's cosmopolitan past. To combine these different narrative layers into one semi-fictional narrative that describes a series of historical scenes, an important phase was the cross-checking of different sources to reach the best possible proximity to the realities of the past. Writers wrote each narrative from a subjective perspective, depending on their cultural backgrounds, expectations, and intentions. For these reasons, in this academic work, it has been crucial to carefully check the facts to reconstruct the cosmopolitan history as objectively as possible. Cross-checking between multiple narratives allowed me to verify the information that appeared in written and visual accounts of cosmopolitan İzmir. By bringing different narratives together, I found common denominators of differentiated representations and interpretations. I also compared the multiple perspectives that appeared in the studied scholarly sources.

⁶⁷⁵ Trading family names could be traced starting by the 1905 Goad Insurance Maps. Warehouses are often named after the active trading families whose stories can be traced as I have traced for the Whittalls and Girauds. Let me name a few: Aliotti, Paterson, Papazoglou, La Fontaine, Spartali, Mirkelamoğlu, Karaosmanoğlu Families.

Applying this method, I took my reader on a mental journey, scene by scene, focusing on a slice of the port city development of İzmir during the peak of its cosmopolitan trading decades. The developed narrative approach allowed me to work with diverse materials to reconstruct these scenes. This method created a way to go beyond the physical boundaries set by the local and central governments. The case of intertwined families showed how social-spatial practices ensured the spatial continuity from the waterfronts, to the outskirts, and to the hinterland. The cohesion of the overlapping family and business relations established relations between İzmir and Europe. This narrative method allowed me to shine a light on the reciprocal relationship between trade, social and spatial practices, and the representation of inhabitants, and to show in detail how their professional and domestic interventions in the city simultaneously influenced the development of urban spaces and buildings.

8.3.3 Autobiography and Autoethnography: Methods to Connect Multiple Disciplines

In Chapter 7, Urban Scenes of Spatio-Temporal Engagement: Perpetual *Cosmopolitanism in İzmir*, I explored autoethnography as a particular method of academic research and writing in an unconventional way. With the help of this method, I aimed to reach the citizens (inhabitants) of İzmir, allowing them to empathize with my story to raise awareness of the vanishing traces in the urban fabric. As one of the participants in the event "The Critical Visitor" in *Het Nieuwe Institute*, ⁶⁷⁶ stated, information goes to the mind, but stories go to the heart. This view on the importance of narratives to reach out to the audience and awaken their awareness has stimulated my desire to write Chapter 7 from the perspective of empathy. I aimed to draw my reader into the cosmopolitan spaces that still exist in the city by sharing my own story that goes through a considerable part of the spaces that the inhabitants of cosmopolitan İzmir may have experienced in their daily lives more than a century ago. As an author, I employed myself as an observer of my own life, retrospectively, and I particularly paid attention to those spaces that connected to the spaces of cosmopolitan İzmir described in this thesis. It was one of the strongest ways of dealing with the complexity of this study, and a way of writing that hopefully enables me to reach readers from different audiences—inhabitants, decision-makers, academics, and anyone interested in the stories of the city.

⁶⁷⁶ "The Critical Visitor" in *Het Nieuwe Institute* hosted by Assoc. Prof. dr. Dirk van den Heuvel on January 17, 2020. Notes from the panel discussion.

Combining my narrative method with autoethnography allowed me to add my emotional and personal connections with spaces. In this way, the readers might also associate themselves with the port city context embedded in the urban fabric since these spaces are still present in the built environment and part of the everyday lives of the present-day users. With this narrative method, I was able to touch upon multiple disciplines, including conservation of cultural heritage, architecture, urban history, and social sciences. In this personal story, I continued to explain the functional transformation in the Republican era, after the fall of cosmopolitanism. With this hybrid method, it was possible to address the question of the conservation of these spatial imprints of cross-cultural practices, enhancing awareness of the built environment. In the next step, I hope my work contributes to build firmly on the established foundation for the inclusive and participatory process in the decision making for the future of the port city of İzmir, that can be exemplary for the forthcoming projects in any other port cities.

8.3.4 The Port City Culture of İzmir: A Specific Heritage of the Spatial and Representational Construction of a Port City⁶⁷⁷

In this research, through developing a writing method that brings the specific character of the city in focus, I brought a fresh view to contribute to the perception and appreciation of port city heritage and its components in İzmir. I elaborated on the port city heritage of İzmir that is embedded in the city's waterfronts, downtown and surrounding villages, which have become central boroughs of the present-day. In Chapter 7, *Urban Scenes of Spatio-Temporal Engagement*, I revisited today's spaces of the port city heritage to show that port city heritage is now partially protected. Governmental attempts, as well as private use of some of the buildings, have protected the heritage. However, there are also lost, and soon to be lost, traces. There is an urgent need to define frameworks in line with the port city culture to find solutions for protecting the heritage of cross-cultural exchanges of the cosmopolitan history of the city.

The cosmopolitan families are still one of the important groups who protect their own history. However, the port city heritage is not an individual heritage, it is a universal heritage which has a universal value. Accordingly, the heritage

⁶⁷⁷ This subchapter has been discussed with ICOMOS members, academics, conservation expert architects and participants of Barcamp in Berlin. Fatma. Tanış, "Port City Culture", Barcamp Claiming Heritage! ICOMOS AG 2020 Barcamp, Berlin, Germany 5 October 2019.

assessments and values have been defined in such a way as to protect these spaces in an inclusive manner. Besides their private initiatives, such as those located in mansions of İzmir's borough Bornova, the same Arkas family owns a museum, an art gallery along the waterfront. The building was built for the French consulate in the 19th century, and today, it is used as an art gallery hosting Orientalist artworks. It is evident from the use of the buildings that the Arkas family was strongly related to the port, and has extensive knowledge of the port activities' impact and value. As I showed in this dissertation, representation was the main strategy in the 19th century as a part of the marketing strategy in trade activities. The Arkas holding still uses the inherited knowledge and understanding of their city. In this way, on one hand they are protecting the port city heritage by using those buildings, which is fundamental for keeping heritage alive, and on the other hand they cherish the port city heritage. These are great examples of how the port city heritage is protected, and by whom. The city belongs to both the locals and to the outside world. Port cities are, indeed, at the center of the engagements that I presented above.

The lack of awareness of İzmir's strong social and cultural identity as a port city has consequences in the city's planning and architecture and in the conservation of the built environment.⁶⁷⁸ As I explained in Chapter 4, the heritage of the port city of İzmir needs more attention. The loss of this heritage is not only due to a lack of substantial resources for its conservation or the lack of action in the field. The sectoral protection of this particular heritage could not preserve the traces of the cross-cultural exchanges. Currently, cosmopolitan practices have been recognized as separate entities under the themes of industrial heritage and Levantine heritage in the city. By writing this dissertation, I have shown that the present-day port city includes a heritage of the cosmopolitan past, which is a testimony to a significant era. Industrial heritage and Levantine Heritage.

Understanding İzmir's history and its relation to the port city culture can solve these two major problems regarding the built environment. At this point, the notion of port city culture helps to provide an umbrella notion for scattered notions that create the loss of heritage. First, it is useful to reflect on the notion in detail. The port city culture is a composition of social and spatial developments which occurred in a contact zone, in the sense that M. L. Pratt uses the term, through influences and

⁶⁷⁸ I discussed my views preliminarily at the IPHS Conference in 2017 and published in the proceeding Fatma Tanış, "The Lost Identity of İzmir," in Carola Hein (ed.) International Planning History Society Proceedings, 17th IPHS Conference, History- Urbanism- Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016, V.01, 381-389, TU Delft Open, 2016.

impacts of encounters between diverse cultures. These cultures include architecture and urban figures, the relation between various users and the built environment, as well as the related narratives which describe İzmir as a port city and also its port city culture. On one hand, these narratives are the representations of encounters of foreign tourists and travelers with İzmir, on the other hand they were a way of promoting the city for further visitors or traders.⁶⁷⁹ I consulted such scripts and visuals in my research, and in Chapters 5 and 6 I displayed them as a part of the construction of the chapter. The presented materials show that the port city conditions have created a vast amount of artwork. The port activities have greatly increased the amount of visual and written productions in the city. Fire insurance plans, for instance, have been produced for port cities, including Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Manchester, British Isles, İzmir and Istanbul. The production of those plans began with the protection of the fundamental port facilities, such as warehouses, railways, ports and canals.⁶⁸⁰ This production of necessary visual and written material shows that the port city's fundamental function was an important reason for the material culture production. A more abstract part of the port city culture was constituted by the particular lifestyle, which included common feelings regarding nostalgia, belonging and familiarity.

My research has shown that the port city culture is both generic and unique. The generality, which points to the common character of port cities around the world, is related to their shared cultures of cosmopolitan society, particularly amongst elites. Trade unions, public or commercial entities, and social networks of the representatives of international trade companies created a common international trade culture. Similarly, spatial developments which occurred again in parallel to the technological developments, created generic results in the city. Port city culture has generic features that create resemblances amongst port cities. Each port city culture is also specific, and has its own local character. Its specificity is related to local features and interests and the influence of migrant social groups. This is why every port city will present a unique result when research is conducted on its culture. It is constructive to note that the problems facing a port city tend to be mirrored by similar problems in other port cities. However, the solutions are heavily dependent on local conditions. The re-use of port city heritage, governance at the local and national levels, and their capacity to collaborate with international organizations will define the specificity of each port city.

⁶⁷⁹ Fatma Tanış, "Spatial Representation in Trade and Port City Culture: The role of the Carpet and Fig Trade in İzmir's Urban Promotion during the long 19th century", EAUH 2020 Conference, Antwerp, September 1-4, 2021 (forthcoming).

⁶⁸⁰ Gwyn Rowley, British Fire Insurance Plans (Old Hatfield, Hertfordshire: Charles E. Goad Ltd, 1984).

To have an inclusive port city network, there is a need for further investigation on port city cultures in other port cities. This is important for the development of shared values that port cities hold and for the establishment of better collaboration which could provide solutions for common problems that often face port cities. It is important for cities that share a common culture to have a common understanding. This strengthens the alliances, which have been crucial for oversea trade. These networks can be built upon with a better understanding of their shared values. These strengthened networks are not only related to economic relationships, but also to flourishing research that could address theories and practices to develop better cities for the future.

Alongside the physical developments, cultural products have taken their sources from common feelings and experiences of cosmopolitans. Because the context is one of being at the intersection between local and global, there is a particular resulting flavor. Short-term migrants and visitors often had feelings associated with melancholy. The *rebetiko*, a kind of urban Geek music, was born in İzmir in this way. Its similarity with Portuguese Fado, a type of music characterized by mournful tunes and lyrics, cannot be missed. Many port cities have been reflected upon in the same way from the experiences and observation of travelers, writers, poets, and painters. While the precise content differed for each port city, these representations captured a common theme of port cities in their time. Under the influence of Orientalism, artworks often included a duality contrasting cosmopolitan society and the locals. This intangible heritage has created both a common material culture which connects different port cities, as well as certain unique traits based on its specific social and spatial interactions. In this regard, the elite trader families played a considerable role in creating a unique culture in the city and contributing to its dissemination with its power and network in global trade.

The tangible heritage in İzmir has evolved in line with technological, material, and commercial engagement. Some of this tangible heritage was imported and applied directly, while other parts represented the negotiated knowledge of the diverse societies of İzmir. There exists an obvious connection with the regional characteristics, such as climate, ecology, topography, building materials, local construction techniques, and craftsmanship. The unique character of İzmir's intangible and tangible heritage is closely related to the relationship of cosmopolitan and local social groups. The limits and conditions of these exchanges were defined by differing levels of tolerance, acceptance, and resistance and by the nature of the groups' customs and beliefs. This study looked at the cosmopolitan society in the local context by reflecting on the co-existence and interactions of different social groups in the city and by showing how this co-existence influenced the city's architectural and urban forms. These interactions and their outcomes stand as a testimony to a specific era.

These unique, tangible and intangible heritage must be taken into consideration in decision-making for urban and regional planning and architectural and urban design. There is ample potential in these rich narratives to work with in contemporary architectural practice in the port city. Port city culture is the heritage of the backbone of contemporary port cities. As seen in the Arkas Family interventions in İzmir today, port city culture can be reproduced and cherished in cosmopolitan spaces. The re-use of the existing cosmopolitan spaces and buildings and the display of Oriental painters in the very appropriate place of their origin represent the potential to build a strong bridge between past and present, preserving and building on an integral part of the city for its future.

8.4 Directions for Further Research: Practical Applications / Implications of the Study

8.4.1 Adding the Focus "Port City" to on-going Project "İzmir Tarih Projesi" (İzmir History Project)⁶⁸¹

By providing the insights I have developed through this dissertation, I would like to contribute to the ongoing "İzmir history project." My intention is to extend the project by emphasizing İzmir as a port city.⁶⁸² The İzmir history project was initiated by the metropolitan municipality in 2013.⁶⁸³ It is a multidisciplinary project which focuses on the multilayered history of İzmir.⁶⁸⁴ The scope of the project is to protect, re-use, rehabilitate and revitalize the historic bazaar *Kemeraltı* and its surroundings

⁶⁸¹ For further elaboration, please see Tanış and Havik. "Spatial Stories of İzmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City", 56-67.

⁶⁸² For further elaboration, please see Tanış and Havik. "Spatial Stories of İzmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City", 56-67.

⁶⁸³ "İzmir Tarih Projesi" (*trans.* İzmir History Project), İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi (*trans.* İzmir Metropolitan Municipality), accessed June 23, 2020, http://www.İzmirtarih.com.tr/proje-hakkinda/.

⁶⁸⁴ İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi (*trans.* İzmir Metropolitan Municipality), "İzmir Tarih" (*trans.* İzmir History Project).

and the archeological site. The project area is limited to physical boundaries and proposes a work on multiple historic layers that include the ancient Agora, *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, amongst others.

I begin with the specifics of İzmir that are emphasized in the promotional video in the website.⁶⁸⁵ As I have emphasized throughout my research, İzmir and port cities in general are very specific cities. In my research, I focused on the constructed understanding of the port city culture and its narratives that are still influential on the inhabitants of the city. İzmir is commonly known as Beautiful İzmir. İzmir's beauty is embedded in the city, inch by inch. It starts from the waterfronts, goes to its villages and reaches far into the hinterland. I fully agree that İzmir is a specific city, and I argue that its specificity is not limited to the defined area of the historic city. Instead, the specificity of İzmir is embedded in the urban fabric that stretches from its waterfronts to its outskirts.

I would recommend that there be further research on the oral history of İzmir based on the experiences of inhabitants of the cosmopolitan spaces. I tried to exemplify the writing styles and methods in each chapter. These can be starting points for writing, and can be used in writing workshops or to contribute to ongoing projects by being samples for writers. Narrating is a common human activity. To tell a story, it is not necessary to be a scientist.

During my site visits in Bornova, I met a few local writers who are very interested in the cosmopolitan past of İzmir and curious about the built environment that they live in. They also publish books by revisiting İzmir's stories and primary sources. This energy and potential can be turned into a very important production of port city narratives. I also would encourage the local decision makers and stakeholders who are involved in urban processes to produce more narratives on the city. Retelling stories of İzmir has a vast potential to raise awareness on how the built environment was shaped by cosmopolitan societies. These inclusive projects carried out in İzmir would allow the participation of citizens. The starting point would be creating narratives for different audiences. For example, tourist routes can be revised and formed with alternative narratives tied to the city's cosmopolitan history.

⁶⁸⁵ "İzmir Tarih Projesi" (*trans.* İzmir History Project), Facebook Videoclip, 2:15, posted by "İzmir History Project" accessed June 23rd, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2524441734446979.

This may also include (and even require) a collaboration with national and international institutions and academics to form such narratives.⁶⁸⁶ Besides the written works, the production of the narrative cartography can contribute to narratives of cosmopolitan İzmir. I would invite the collaboration again between the municipality, architecture schools of İzmir and the Chamber of Architects to produce and exhibit their works widely.

Providing this social-spatial perspective on the port city of İzmir through a narrative approach is particularly important to reach present-day inhabitants and local actors in decision-making.⁶⁸⁷ The spaces produced in the 19th century are coextensive with contemporary uses. In addition to the spatial development, stories form the cultural assets of the port city heritage of İzmir. I would like to make two suggestions to the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO: first to revise the definition within the scope of the port city; second, in addition to the targeted criteria, to take into consideration the criterion 6 of UNESCO "*to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance*"⁶⁸⁸.

8.4.2 Developing a Common Agenda for İzmir as a Port City

There is also an urgent need to develop a common agenda for port cities. Port cities have gained their form and culture owing to the coexistence of a diversity of cultures. In the post-war era, there has been a failure of port cities to establish a strong relation with their environments and cultural roots. In the course of the 20th century, successive urban developments in İzmir were fundamentally determined by the central government under the guidance of the "transnational" actors in the post-war era. Interventions for urban development in İzmir have been heavily influenced by the modernist approach. This tendency was similar in many port cities and it was followed by waterfront regeneration projects. Except for a few successful examples (e.g., the Hafencity Project in Hamburg) that rebuilt a strong

⁶⁸⁶ Please see such an example: "CA18126 - Writing Urban Places. New Narratives of the European City," Cost European Cooperation in Science & Technology, accessed February 16, 2021, https://www.cost.eu/ actions/CA18126/#tabs|Name:overview.

⁶⁸⁷ For further elaboration, please see: Tanış and Havik, "Spatial Stories of Izmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City," 56-67.

^{688 &}quot;The Criterion for Selection: Selection criteria", Unesco, accessed June 16th, 2020, https://whc.unesco. org/en/criteria/.

connection with the existing port heritage, many interventions undertaken in port cities reveal an unestablished relationship between the port city's history and the present with contemporary architecture, urban design, urban planning, and conservation approaches.

The scenes that I constructed in Chapters 5 and 6 also mark the attraction points of the city, and the way that one could experience it. It may inform tourist guides and routes for discovering the city thematically rather than reading all the layers in the city. In İzmir, the waterfront, as well the boroughs that are far from the waterfront, play a key role in the mental construction of the inhabitants. It is evident from several accounts, as well as from the social media, that the feeling for nostalgia is very strong in İzmir.

Another project could be developed to map the postcards and visuals, locating them in an interactive website. During the research, I came across numerous postcards that are owned by *facebook* page admins. These visuals and their circulation construct cosmopolitan İzmir in the minds of the present-day inhabitants. This could be important in clearing up any misinformation regarding dates, owners of the materials, and location of the visuals. The website can be developed in line with the users' contributions. There are many archivists and collectors attempting to create their own database. An official website could be initiated to have a visual history of İzmir.

8.4.3 The Quest for Site-specific Architecture in Port Cities: The Use of Narratives in Architectural and Urban Design⁶⁸⁹

In my research, I have extensively consulted the literature and art works on İzmir to do research and create my storyline. Visual and written sources left today are very important references for the design process in İzmir, but also for many port cities. In the last decades, port cities in general have been through similar process. First, waterfronts became derelict and abandoned for some decades, particularly after World War II. Second, these derelict areas became important sites for developers and decision makers, as well as being great opportunities for architects and urban designers to use as a laboratory for contemporary projects. The developments have

⁶⁸⁹ Please see Fatma Tanış, "Port City Architectures: The Role of the Port City Narratives and Depictions in the Contemporary Design," in Port Cities - Historical Urban Narratives and Contemporary Design Approaches, eds. Tanış, F., van der Hoeven, F., Schrijver, L. SPOOL, *vol.* 8, no. 1 (2021): 139-153.

been implemented as part of waterfront regeneration projects. Third, the projects often resulted in generic architectures that are not strongly connected to the context of the city.

Port cities have been a broad source of inspiration for artists, and the artworks have inspired port city architecture in return. The remedy for the generic results seen in port cities today can be found in the spatial and cultural productions of port cities. Reestablishing a connection to their rich histories can be possible with attention to the spatial continuity. In other words, the references from the cosmopolitan past can re-establish the weakened relation of the past and the present of port cities. This does not mean that a repetition or replica of the past is desirable. On the contrary, the artworks and narratives carry vast potential to help us understand the references of the port city and its changing perception.

To avoid generic results, to establish a sense of place in port cities, and to bring a carefully developed attitude towards site-specific architecture and urban design, literary sources and visual depictions of the city are a treasure for contemporary design. Representation of port cities and paintings from the past have a great potential to inform designers today. This, again, hits upon the idea that "history projects the futures of port cities." Given the value that the port cities carry, designing the waterfronts must go beyond mere generic results, and the "site" needs to become a "place." In this matter, establishing relations between architecture, urban narratives and artwork can play a crucial role in contemporary design approaches in port cities to achieve a site-specific architecture that I would call "port city architectures."⁶⁹⁰ This approach also provides a critical response to the 20th century architecture developments that have been developed during the post-war era. In terms of the current concerns about climate change, it is clear that the 20th century developments which focused on density, the idea of tower and the park, were not very climate friendly.⁶⁹¹ These insights may be crucial for the development of the city. In this perspective, the cosmopolitan practices in the previous century may provide an example for future development strategies.

⁶⁹⁰ Fatma Tanış, "Port City Architectures: The Role of the Port City Narratives and Depictions in the Contemporary Design," in *Port Cities – Historical Urban Narratives and Contemporary Design Approaches*, eds. Tanış, F., van der Hoeven, F., Schrijver, L. SPOOL, *vol.* 8, no. 1 (2021): 139-153.

⁶⁹¹ Richard Sennet, "Webinar Euro-Mediterranean Cities in the Post-pandemic Era", Webinar on July 15, 2020.

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Summary

Taking the port city of İzmir in Turkey as a case study, this dissertation aims to uncover and elucidate information that helps us understand what makes a city specific. In İzmir, East and West met, exchanged, and mingled, thereby producing an invaluable heritage that is still largely present today. Former and presentday inhabitants of the city İzmir frame their longing for the past with the idea of "cosmopolitan history," which is associated with the idea of "Beautiful İzmir." This longing for the cosmopolitan era also suggests that the developments in the 20th century failed to establish emotional relations the inhabitants and their urban environment –it is a problem that has occurred in other port cities as well, that suffer from the split between port activities and urban life. This dissertation focuses on such relations between port cities, their inhabitants and their unique material and immaterial contexts.

This dissertation investigates how this era of "cosmopolitanism" allowed for a specific kind of cross-cultural knowledge creation and how this played a role in the production of the city, in social and spatial terms. The work investigates observes the social dimension in the process of urban formation, and studies the social-spatial characteristics of the port city İzmir. It does so by reading the city's spatial reality, locating the protagonists from the cosmopolitan society, such as the European trading families who settled in İzmir, in the core of port city developments and production of urban cultures. By tracing their narratives, the dissertation studies how these protagonists, through their initiatives and capital power, have contributed to the emergence of spatial and socio-cultural patterns, that speak of entangled histories of space and migration.

By acknowledging the important role of narratives in building an image of the city, this doctoral research proposes that developing a particular narrative writing method may help to re-establish emotional connections between present-day inhabitants of port cities and their environments. It offers an alternative way of writing and an unconventional reading of the urban and architectural history of İzmir to revive socio-spatial practices by writing narratives of Beautiful İzmir. In the new narratives here presented, – situated both in historic Smyrna (the former name for İzmir) and contemporary İzmir – , particular importance is given to knowledge derived from historical texts and images related to activities and annual events and carefully traced memories and emotions related to places that make port cities both

unique and generic. Through working with existing narratives and artworks and writing new semi-fictional narratives the research brings into focus tangible and intangible cross-cultural traces as a consequence of particular interactions in the city of İzmir.

The first narrative, with the theme socio-cultural engagement, presents İzmir's most known places that have been repeatedly appeared in postcards and writings, exploring how the culture of port cities is intrinsically related to the special condition of cross-cultural exchange. The second, socio-spatial, narrative focuses on the professional and private spaces of the 19th century trading families, such as their meeting places, warehouses, residential quarter, large mansions and gardens; spaces, where port-related social relations with foreign visitors and local dignitaries have been established. The last narrative looks into the socio-temporal engagements of İzmir by highlighting the cosmopolitan practices that coexist with the present-day's multi-layered city pattern.

This narrative inquiry has brought to the fore how agency of the cosmopolitan social groups has manifested in spatial elements in the city (buildings, squares, infrastructures); as well as in the lifestyle that has been inherited by the inhabitants of the city. By bringing to the fore such engagements, the work hopes to provide perspectives for future developments that can take into account its valuable heritage, tangible and intangible assets, and systems of thought. A valuation will be possible by means of the establishment of a working relationship between diverse disciplines (including architecture and urban history), the preservation of the historic built environment, and the participation of connected citizens and decisionmakers. On the scale of the case study itself, the work hopes contribute to the appreciation of the specific port city heritage and to provide insights for urban planners, architects, and decisionmakers who are responsible for İzmir's future.

Samenvatting

Met de havenstad İzmir in Turkije als casestudy, heeft dit proefschrift als doel te begrijpen wat een stad specifiek maakt. In İzmir ontmoetten Oost en West elkaar, vonden uitwisselingen plaats en vermengden culturen zich, waardoor een erfgoed ontstond dat vandaag de dag nog steeds grotendeels aanwezig is. Voormalige en huidige inwoners van de stad Izmir associëren hun verlangen naar het verleden met het idee van "Mooi İzmir," dat verband houdt met de kosmopolitische geschiedenis van de stad. Dit verlangen naar het kosmopolitische tijdperk suggereert ook dat de ontwikkelingen in de 20e eeuw er niet in zijn geslaagd om emotionele relaties tussen de inwoners en hun stedelijke omgeving tot stand te brengen. Dit probleem heeft zich ook in andere havensteden voorgedaan, ten gevolge van de splitsing tussen havenactiviteiten en stedelijk leven. Deze dissertatie richt zich op dergelijke relaties tussen havensteden, hun inwoners en hun unieke materiële en immateriële contexten.

In dit proefschrift wordt onderzocht hoe dit tijdperk van "kosmopolitisme" de periode rond de 19e eeuw een specifiek soort interculturele kenniscreatie mogelijk maakte en hoe dit een rol speelde in de productie van de stad, in sociale en ruimtelijke zin. Dit proefschrift bestudeert de sociale dimensie in het proces van stedelijke ontwikkeling in de havenstad İzmir. Het doet dit door de ruimtelijke realiteit van de stad te lezen en de hoofdrolspelers uit de kosmopolitische samenleving, zoals de Europese handelsfamilies die zich in İzmir vestigden, te lokaliseren in het hart van de havenstadontwikkelingen en de productie van stedelijke culturen. Door hun verhalen te traceren, bestudeert het proefschrift hoe deze protagonisten, door hun initiatieven en kapitaalkracht, hebben bijgedragen aan het ontstaan van ruimtelijke en sociaalculturele patronen, die spreken van verstrengelde geschiedenissen van ruimte en migratie.

Door de belangrijke rol van verhalen bij het opbouwen van een beeld van de stad te erkennen, stelt dit doctoraatsonderzoek voor dat het ontwikkelen van een bepaalde narratieve schrijfmethode kan helpen bij het herstellen van emotionele verbindingen tussen hedendaagse bewoners van havensteden en hun omgeving. Door het schrijven van verhalen over "Mooi İzmir," biedt dit werk een alternatieve manier van schrijven en een onconventionele lezing van de stedelijke en architectonische geschiedenis van İzmir om sociaal-ruimtelijke praktijken nieuw leven in te blazen. In de nieuwe verhalen die hier worden gepresenteerd – gesitueerd in zowel het historische Smyrna (de voormalige naam voor İzmir) als het hedendaagse İzmir – wordt bijzonder belang

gehecht aan kennis afkomstig uit historische teksten en beelden met betrekking tot activiteiten en jaarlijkse evenementen. Daarnaast wordt gebruik gemaakt van zorgvuldig getraceerde herinneringen en emoties met betrekking tot plaatsen die havensteden zowel uniek als generiek maken. Door te werken met bestaande verhalen en kunstwerken en door het schrijven van nieuwe semi-fictieve verhalen brengt het onderzoek tastbare en ontastbare interculturele sporen in beeld als gevolg van bepaalde interacties in de stad İzmir.

Het eerste verhaal, met als thema sociaal-cultureel engagement, presenteert bekende plaatsen van İzmir die herhaaldelijk zijn verschenen op ansichtkaarten en in geschriften. In dit verhaal wordt onderzocht hoe de cultuur van havensteden intrinsiek is verbonden met de speciale conditie van interculturele uitwisseling. Het tweede verhaal richt zich op het sociaal-ruimtelijke engagement via de professionele en privé-ruimten van de 19e-eeuwse handelsfamilies, zoals hun ontmoetingsplaatsen, pakhuizen, woonwijken, grote herenhuizen en tuinen: ruimten waar havengerelateerde sociale relaties met buitenlandse bezoekers en lokale hoogwaardigheidsbekleders tot stand zijn gekomen. Het laatste verhaal kijkt naar de sociaal-temporele betrokkenheid van İzmir door het benadrukken van de kosmopolitische praktijken die coëxisteren met het hedendaagse veelgelaagde stadspatroon.

Dit narratieve onderzoek heeft naar voren gebracht hoe het engagement van de kosmopolitische sociale groepen zich heeft gemanifesteerd in ruimtelijke elementen in de stad (gebouwen, pleinen, infrastructuren), evenals in de levensstijl die is geërfd door de inwoners van de stad. Door dergelijke engagementen naar voren te brengen, hoopt het werk perspectieven te bieden voor toekomstige ontwikkelingen die rekening kunnen houden met het waardevolle erfgoed, de materiële en immateriële activa en de denksystemen van de stad. Een waardering zal mogelijk zijn door middel van het tot stand brengen van een werkrelatie tussen diverse disciplines (waaronder architectuur en stadsgeschiedenis), het behoud van de historische gebouwde omgeving, en de participatie van betrokken burgers en besluitvormers. Op de schaal van de casestudy zelf hoopt het werk bij te dragen aan de waardering van het specifieke erfgoed van de havenstad en inzichten te verschaffen voor stedenbouwkundigen, architecten, en beleidsmakers die verantwoordelijk zijn voor de toekomst van İzmir.

Biography

Fatma Tanış has been a Ph.D. candidate and tutor at TU Delft and the coordinator of Jaap Bakema Study Center / Het Nieuwe Instituut Rotterdam. Prior to moving to Delft, Tanış studied Business Administration and Architecture together; and trained as an architect in İstanbul and Stuttgart. She holds Master's degrees in Architectural History (İTÜ), and Restoration-Evaluation of Historic Urban Sites (MSGSÜ). After living in Bodrum, İzmir, Porto, and Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, where she deepened her interest in port cities, she has started her doctoral research on port city culture in İzmir at the Department of Architecture at the Delft University of Technology.

Her deep interest in architecture research dates back to her bachelor's degree. She conducted an external research project, parallel to her training in architecture at the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Her research on "Modernism and Oscar Niemeyer" was awarded competitively in 2012 by İstanbul, New York, and London based firm Emre Arolat Architecture. The grant was outsourced from the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture.

After her graduation project, focused on İzmir, she followed two master's programs simultaneously. Tanış completed the studies with her theses on port city research, which were complementary to one another: "The Waterfront Regeneration Projects and Contemporary Design Approaches of European Port Cities" and "Waterfront Regeneration Projects: Development Strategies and Conservation Approaches." In her doctoral project, she combined her personal interest in literary writing with her interdisciplinary background to explore İzmir from a cross-cultural perspective.

Amongst her academic works, she has been involved in lectures. She was a teaching assistant in "Building Green" with Prof. dr. -ing. Carola Hein (TU Delft), and in "The Global Turn: Modern Architectures and Movements since 1851" with Prof. dr. Tom Avermaete (ETH) & Prof. dr. Michelangelo Sabatino (IIT), in the Department of Architecture at TU Delft. She lectured to master students in the Diploma Studio of Methods & Analysis with Prof. dr. ir. Klaske Havik (TU Delft) regarding "The Port City İzmir as a Cross-Cultural Construct". She has tutored MSc 1 students for the course "Architectural Positions: Delft Lectures on Architectural Design and Research Methods" addressing contemporary positions in architectural discourse and practice. Final presentations formed an exhibition titled "Portraits of a Port City: Rotterdam."

In 2018, she was awarded a tuition grant by the Department of Architecture at TU Delft. She was selected by a committee, consisting of several research group leaders, based on academic potential, motivation, scientific output (both achieved and underway), and her active contribution to the department's research community. Since 2019, she has been a guest editor of Spool, the journal for Architecture and the Built Environment, indexed in Google Scholar, the DOAJ, and Scopus. As of 2021, Tanış has become the coordinator of Jaap Bakema Study Centre led by Associate Professor dr. ir. Dirk van den Heuvel, in Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

Activities

Session Chair & Moderator

- 26/03/2017 BNA Next Step, Delft, the Netherlands
- 12/07/2017 AESOP Annual Conference '17, Lisbon, Portugal, 11-17 July 2017
- 05/11/2019 ICOMOS Barcamp, Berlin, Germany
- 24/11/2021 8th Annual Jaap Bakema Study Centre Conference | The Observers Observed: Architectural Uses of Ethnography, Delft-Rotterdam, the Netherlands, 24-25 November 2021

Participating in or organizing an event

- **2016** 17th IPHS Conference History-Urbanism-Resilience (local organizing committee)
- **2016** Workshop: PhD Networking, Gathering, and Talk / Round table during IPHS Conference
- **2017** BNA Next Step, Delft, the Netherlands (organizer w/ Carola Hein)
- **2017-2018** Lunch Meetings for Research Community of the Department of Architecture, TU Delft, Delft, the Netherlands
 - 2021 8th Annual Jaap Bakema Study Centre Conference | The Observers Observed: Architectural Uses of Ethnography, Delft-Rotterdam, the Netherlands, 24-25 November 2021

Lectures given as an invited speaker

- 5/2012 Modernism and Oscar Niemeyer, Presentation in Emre Arolat Architecture
- 1/2013 Modernism & Oscar Niemeyer: After the Excursion (Berlin, Frankfurt, Avignon, Barcelona, São Paulo, Niteroi, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia), Presentation in Emre Arolat Architecture Office

3/2014	Excursion Presentation and Promotion of Emre Arolat Architecture Research Scholarship, Presentation in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University
13/10/2017	<i>"The Image of</i> İzmir <i>from the Aegean Sea"</i> Symposium 'From Dudok to the 21 st Century: Redesigning the City', İzmir, Turkey, 13-14 October 2017 (International Symposium), İzmir, Turkey
23/11/2017	<i>"Migration, Narratives, and Identity Creation in</i> İzmir <i>since the 19th century</i> ", CERGU Conference on Port Cities and Migration in The Modern Era, (Int. Conference), Gothenburg, Sweden
05/10/2017	" <i>The Port City</i> İzmir <i>as a Cross-Cultural Construct</i> " (to MSc. Students, Diploma Studio, Methods & Analysis, Delft University of Technology), Delft, the Netherlands
20/10/2021	<i>"Narratives and the Port City of İzmir"</i> (to MSc. Students, within the framework of the MSc course 'Architectural Culture and Interiors in İzmir', Associate Professor Dr. Gülnur Ballice), İzmir, Turkey
30/10/2021	" <i>Limitations of the Timeline</i> " (on the occasion of the exhibition Mimarlık, 1963-1979: An Architectural Journal by Burcu Köken, lunch meeting organized by Form, Space & Type), Delft, the Netherlands
30/11/2021	İzmir: Through the Eyes of a Traveler (to MSc. Students, MSGSU), İstanbul, Turkey
28/02/2022	Seyyah Mimarlar: Fatma Tanış ve Oscar Niemeyer ile Yolculuğu (Dokuz Eylül

28/02/2022 Seyyah Mimarlar: Fatma Tanış ve Oscar Niemeyer ile Yolculuğu (Dokuz University), İzmir, Turkey

Research Output

Dissertations (Master's Degrees)

- **2015** The Waterfront Regeneration Projects and Contemporary Design Approaches of European Port Cities, Dissertation, İstanbul Technical University. 200 p.
- **2018** *Kıyı Yenileme Projelerinin Dünü, Bugünü ve Yarını Gelecek Nesil Projelerin Geliştirme Stratejileri ve Koruma Yaklaşımlari (Waterfront regeneration projects: Development strategies and conservation approaches),* Dissertation, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 165 p.

Research Projects

- 2013-2014 An inquiry for the housing typology in İstanbul in early 20th century (w/ Derin Öncel, MSFAU, funded by Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University)
 - **2017** Global Petroleumscape (w/ Carola Hein *et al.*)
- **2017-2018** The culture of planning and the role of the manual: Past, present and future (w/ Carola Hein, Herman van Bergeijk, Cor Wagenaar & PhD Candidates of the History of Architecture and Urban Planning Chair, funded by Van Eesteren-Fluck & Van Lohuizen Stichting)

Report

Tanış Fatma. (2017). Port City Cultures of İzmir as a Cross-Cultural Construct, First Year Research Report, Delft. 99p.

Tanış, F., Lu, L., Liu, M., Luo, S., & Song, Y. (2018). Workshop on the epistemes of the urban landscape: How do we as designers see, think and represent urban landscapes? 33p.

Conference Presentations

Tanış, Fatma and Fatma Erkök. "Learning from Waterfront Regeneration Projects and Contemporary Design Approaches of European Port Cities", 17th IPHS Conference, History Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016.

Tanış, Fatma. "The Lost Identity of İzmir", 17th IPHS Conference, History-Urbanism-Resilience, TU Delft 17-21 July 2016.

Tanış, Fatma. "Transregional Urbanism in İzmir", AIARG Conference, Sixth Annual Conference, WIT, Waterford, 27th-28th January 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. "The Importance of the Representation of Waterfronts: Narratives as a Planning Tool for the Conservation of Port City", AESOP Annual Conference'17, Lisbon, Portugal, 11-17 July 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. "Re-Thinking İstanbul's Waterfronts", AESOP Annual Conference'17, Lisbon, Portugal, 11-17 July 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. "Narratives and Identity Creation in İzmir since the 18th century: A case study of port city culture formation", International Conference: Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana, Naples, Italy, 7-8-9 September 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. "An Introduction to Research Methodology: Narrative Analysis", Launch OASE #98 at Faculty of Architecture, Campus Sint-Lucas, KU Leuven, Ghent, Belgium, 19 October 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. "Network of Oil Currents in Germany", Petroleumscapes from Hamburg to Dunkerque, Leiden, 8 November 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. Carola Hein, Herman van Bergeijk. "Planning Manuals as Tools for Modernization and Nation Building: The circulation of ideas through Germanspeaking architects and urban planners in Turkey, 1923-1950", The Tools of the Architects, 22 November 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. "Port City Culture", Barcamp Claiming Heritage! ICOMOS AG 2020 Barcamp, Berlin, Germany 5 October 2019.

Tanış, Fatma. "Sedad Hakkı Eldem as a Cosmopolitan Individual: Research, Writing, and Practice in the formation of Turkish Modernism", Symposium The Practice of Architectural Research: Perspectives on design and its relation to history and theory, Ghent, Belgium, 7-9 October 2020.

Tanış, Fatma. "Port City Narratives: Cosmopolitan History of İzmir." Presentation at Webinar Fieldwork within Network: Mapping, Performing, Sharing. COST Action Writing Urban Places Network. Porto, Portugal, 29 January 2021.

Tanış, Fatma. "Building the East Mediterranean Port City of İzmir After the Fall of Cosmopolitanism: Dutch Architect Dudok's Contribution to the Turkish Architecture Culture". 2020. EAHN 2020: 6th European Architectural History Network International Meeting (postponed), Edinburgh, United Kingdom, 2-5 June 2021.

Tanış, Fatma. "Spatial Representation in Trade and Port City Culture: The Role of the Carpet Trade in İzmir's Urban Promotion during the long 19th century", EUAH 2020: European Urban History Association Conference (postponed).

Tanış, Fatma. "Beautiful İzmir." Presentation at Online Seminar: Integration through Discourse: How do we Communicate, and Why? COST Action Writing Urban Places Network. 12 May 2021.

Conference Proceedings Papers in Edited Volumes (peer reviewed)

Architectures of the Intertwined East and West: Contact Zones of the 19th Century İzmir House

Tanis, F., 2021, *Digital Proceedings critic*/*all International Conference on Architectural Design & Criticism, São Paulo 25-26 March 2021: #dual-ectics.* Colmenares, S. & Medrano, L. (eds.). Madrid, São Paulo: critic/all PRESS, p. 574-582 9 p

Sedad Hakkı Eldem as a Cosmopolitan Individual: Research, Writing, and Practice in the formation of Turkish Modernism

Tanis, F., 2020, *Proceedings - The Practice of Architectural Research: Perspectives on Design and its Relation to History and Theory.* Leuven, Belgium: KU Leuven, p. 26-27 2 p.

The Lost Identity of İzmir

Tanis, F., 2016, *History Urbanism Resilience: Ideas on the Move and Modernisation.* Hein, C. (ed.). TU Delft Open, p. 371-380 (International Planning History Society Proceedings; vol. 17, no. 1). *Learning From Waterfront Regeneration Projects and Contemporary Design Approaches of European Port Cities* Tanis, F. & Erkok, F., 2016, *History Urbanism Resilience: Change and Response*

Planning. Hein, C. (ed.). TU Delft Open, p. 151-162 (International Planning History Society Proceedings; vol. 17, no. 3).

Conference Contributions (abstracts in proceedings)

Tanış, Fatma. *Transnational Urbanism in* İzmir. Abstract from 6th Annual AIARG Conference, Waterford, Ireland, 2017.

Tanış, Fatma. *Narrative as a tool for dialogue between past and future of a port city*. Abstract from 30th Annual Aesop Congress 2017, Lisbon, Portugal, 2017: 328-329.

Tanış, Fatma. *Re-thinking Istanbul's waterfronts: Haliçport and Galataport projects.* Abstract from 30th Annual Aesop Congress 2017, Lisbon, Portugal, 2017: 328.

Tanış, Fatma, Hein, C., & van Bergeijk, H. *Planning Manuals as Tools for Modernization and Nation Building: The circulation of ideas through Germanspeaking architects and urban planners in Turkey, 1923-1950.* Abstract from EAHN 2017 Conference "The Tools of the Architect", Delft and Rotterdam, Netherlands, 2017: 56-57.

Tanış, Fatma. Building the East Mediterranean Port City of İzmir After the Fall of Cosmopolitanism: Dutch Architect Dudok's Contribution to the Turkish Architecture Culture. Abstract from EAHN 2020: 6th European Architectural History Network International Meeting, Edinburgh, United Kingdom, 2020.

Book Chapters (peer-reviewed)

Tanış, Fatma, and Carola Hein. *"Space, Representation, and Practice in the Formation of* İzmir *during the Long Nineteenth Century."* in Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, C. 1570–1940, ed. Christina Reimann and Martin Öhman (New York: Routledge, 2020): 44-61.

Tanış, Fatma. "Port City Narratives: Cosmopolitan History of İzmir" in Fieldwork Within Network: Mapping, Performing, Sharing, 2021. 26-31.

Articles (peer-reviewed)

Tanış, Fatma, and Frank van der Hoeven. "Architecture Culture Formation in Turkey". project baikal 61 (2019): 162-171.

Tanış, Fatma, and Klaske Havik. "Spatial Stories of İzmir: A Narrative Study on the Influence of Trader Families on the Spatial Development of the Port City." *IN_BO. Ricerche e progetti per il territorio, la città e l'architettura 11*, no. 15 (2020): 56-67.

Tanış, Fatma. "*Port City Architecture: Reading Paintings as an Architectural Design Method*," in Tanis, F., van der Hoeven, F., Schrijver, L. Narratives #1 Eastern Mediterranean and Atlantic Cities. SPOOL, (2021).

Tanış, Fatma. "İzmir'de Kozmopolitan Bir Mikro-Evren: Bornova Anadolu Lisesi Translated title of the contribution: A Cosmopolitan Micro-cosm in İzmir: Bornova Anadolu High School," (IEU+KREA) İzmir University of Economics Creative Economy Research and Application Journal, 2021, 8-16.

Articles in Professional and Popular Journals

- Tanış, F. London. Güneyege. 2015 Jun 17;22(492).
- Tanış, F. Destination Canberra. Güneyege. 2015 Apr 15;22(483).
- Tanış, F. Hamburg. Güneyege. 2015 Aug 19;22(501).
- Tanış, F. Bremen. Güneyege. 2015 Jul 22;22(497).
- Tanış, F. Australia. Güneyege. 2015 May 27;22(489).
- Tanış, F. Rotterdam. Güneyege. 2016 Mar 2;23(529).
- Tanış, F. Porto. Güneyege. 2016 Feb 3;23(525).
- Tanış, F. Lissabon. Güneyege. 2016 Dec 14;23(569).
- Tanış, F. Storks are leaving Okçular. Güneyege. 2016 Jul 6;23(547).
- Tanış, F. Delft. Güneyege. 2016 Mar 16;23(531).
- Tanış, F. Citta-Slow. Güneyege. 2016 Nov 2;23(563).
- Tanış, F. Amsterdam'ın Düşündürdükleri. Güneyege. 2016 May 4;23(538).
- Tanış, F. İrlanda. Güneyege. 2017 Apr 5;24(585).
- Tanış, F. Tulip Season in the Netherlands. Güneyege. 2017 Mar 29;24(584).
- Tanış, F. Cuba. Güneyege. 2018 Feb 8.
- Tanış, F. Kamu yararını gözeten bir Ortacalı. Güneyege. 2018 Jul 6;25(361).

Proceedings

van den Heuvel, D. (ed.), Tanış, F. (ed.) & Hwang, S. A. (ed.). *The Observers Observed: Architectural Uses of Ethnography: Proceedings of the 8th Annual Conference of the Jaap Bakema Study Centre*. Rotterdam: TU Delft and Het Nieuwe Instituut, 2021. 266 p.

Special Issue (indexed in Scopus)

Tanış, F. (ed.), van der Hoeven, F (ed.)., Schrijver, L (ed.). Vol. 8 No. 1: Narratives#1 Eastern Mediterranean and Atlantic European Cities. SPOOL, TU Delft Open, 2021. 153 pages.

Editorial

Tanış, F., van der Hoeven F.D., Schrijver L. Narratives of Eastern Mediterranean and Atlantic European cities. Spool. Journal of Architecture and the Built Environment. 2021;8(1):3-4. https://doi.org/10.7480/spool.2021.1

Exhibition

Tanış, F. Portraits of a Port City: Rotterdam. 18 November 2021, Expo of MSc 1 Students Final Presentations, Department of Architecture, TU Delft, the Netherlands.

Acknowledgments

First, I accumulate experiences; then, I try to give back to life what life has given me.

Adalet Ağaoğlu, 1993, BBC Radio Talk

"Architecture is a slow profession; building takes time." said architect and Professor Dirk van Gameren, the dean of our faculty. "So does writing architecture." I wish to add to his statement. Writing in general takes time, it seems, if I listen to writers well. On a rainy summer day in Delft, I began writing this acknowledgment in June, 2020 and completed it only in the Spring of 2022. I began to pen these words on the day when Turkish novelist and poet Adalet Ağaoğlu (1929-2020) passed away. It was the day when I noticed my deeper connection to my work and to literary writing -which seemingly requires a certain level of sensitivity, accumulation of events, lived experiences, and observations. I consider writing this dissertation as being close to my heart and acknowledge what life has given me.

Having started to explore port cities during my master's studies. I embarked on my doctoral project with great curiosity and high hopes. Upon my arrival at the Faculty of Architecture at TU Delft, I worked at the mezzanine on the East Wing for many years together with my colleagues and peers of the Chair of History of Architecture and Urban Planning, led by Carola Hein. It has been a great place for cementing beautiful friendships, full of learning on-the-job activities and fruitful knowledge exchanges. Thank you Carola, no doubt, I learned the most from you during my doctoral process. At the Northern corner of this in-between floor, one would see historian Herman van Bergeijk sitting at his desk. Prior to TU Delft, Herman worked in Germany and the US and lived in Italy for ten years, studying architecture and architectural history with Francesco Dal Co, Manfredo Tafuri, Aldo Rossi, and Carlo Scarpa. Beyond his great knowledge of history, his lived experiences in Venice, his keen understanding of port cities. Orientalist travelers and their accounts, and his reflections on my narratives have provided a deeper insight into my research and consolidated my approach. Herman, I am grateful to you for being so engaged with my project as well as for accepting to be one of the promotors of this manuscript.

Together with Herman, I have been invited to İzmir for the Dudok Symposium in 2017. As part of this event, an exhibition was held in the Konak Square with the participation of the Dutch Consulate in İzmir, professors from Yasar University, and the Konak Square's designer Ersen Gürsel, one of my professors from the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. Ersen Gürsel is the first person who connected the literature to the architecture in my mind when I visited his office in Moda, İstanbul, in 2012, and explained to me he had read more than 30 books written on İzmir to design the Konak Square. I contacted Ersen Gürsel in the Spring of 2020 again. His openness to having a conversation and sharing his experiences in the design process was amazing. He explained how he and his partner Haluk Erar started the project for the square: they observed people, routes they followed, and how they interacted with the surrounding buildings. Ersen Gürsel's interests, seeking the *genius loci*, focusing on society, observation and literature are aligned greatly with my own line of thinking that manifested in this manuscript. His approach was rather unconventional to my limited knowledge during the years spent at my architecture school, where we were repeatedly told: "The pen/ pencil is the tool of an architect." There are more tools of an architect, it seems. However, back then. I was not in an academic environment where I could have fully embedded them into what I had been learning based on the fixed curriculum.

Since then, my conversation with Ersen Gürsel has remained in the back of my mind for thinking about the relationship between narratives and urban design. On one of the research days at TU Delft, London-based architect and professor of architecture Daniel Rosbottom presented his architectural design process for their cultural complex in Bodø, Norway in relation to a painting. In my PhD trajectory, I had a chance to explore further the influence of artworks on architecture; and to reveal paired relationships between artists and artworks; architects and buildings. Beyond exploring this tight relationship through Rosbottom's inspiring design, our conversations made me look at my own lived experiences and led me to realize my self's relation to the realities of the world: for example, a conversation on the state of being in-between made me realize that I have been creating the in-between condition for myself through different studies. This was an attempt to build on my background: I was born in Dalyan, at the intersection of the Aegean and Mediterranean Regions of Turkey, grew up between the traces of Caria and Lycia cultures of Anatolia, the cradle of civilizations on the micro-scale; lived in İzmir, at the intersection of the East and West in the macro scale; complemented with life experiences mostly between Europe and Turkey.

Through such encounters, TU Delft's structure for research has greatly helped me enhance my knowledge. Another critical moment belongs to one of these research meetings where I pitched my research to the Situated Architecture Research Group. I remember Mark Pimlott, Saskia de Wit, and Klaske Havik, next to Daniel, in one of the rooms in the attic. In this unforgettable meeting, our in-house philosopher, as Heidi Sohn would call him, Patrick Healy's comment on my presentation made me aware of the significance of the city that I am working on, by explaining the crucial difference between Constantinople and Smyrna. His expression and intonation in those two words allowed me to establish a web of connections in a second – and this web of connections became the backbone of my research.

Writing is the most common way of communication among scholars. But how important it is to communicate with great minds in person! I have been aware of the connection based on the circulation of images and told stories, as I have worked on this very mechanism between French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort and a British family who resided and built the first botanical garden in Seydiköy, in the first stage of my PhD research. I only became confident to focus on the connection between the artworks and the special development of port cities when I heard Patrick's intonation of the word "Smyrna." Obviously, Beautiful Smyrna is still strongly present in the minds of Europeans!

Historically, İzmir had been a place of multiple cultures living side by side. From an early age, I have pleasantly experienced the coexistence of multiple cultures. In addition to Dalyan's hospitable character for tourists and long-term residents, including my grandparents' neighbors, mostly from Western Europe; my school in Bodrum was exemplary for this international nature that enriched our exchanges and our understanding of the world. A special word of appreciation is therefore to Ömer Cekmeceligil for his greater understanding of the education of the next generations. My curiosity about different cultures aroused around the same years. Right after my graduation in 2004, I had my first trip abroad together with our history teacher Hülya Cantürk Ünal. The journey started from Bodrum to Cesme and we took a cruise boat to Chios, then from Chios to the Pireus; and from Igoumenitsa to Bari. Greece felt familiar in many ways; Italy stood differently. Pieces of information about reformations and the renaissance in Europe came immediately together when we arrived in Rome. Apart from that, sailing was an amazing experience that marks an important place in my personal trajectory that led to the creation of this manuscript. I was not aware at that time, that I was following the reverse route of Orientalist travelers when I was 14; but now, I do.

Speaking of those years in the early 2000s, the first time I penned a poem, to the best of my collection, was upon a funny event. I had been following a dense academic program. There was not so much time to deepen my interest in studying literature or writing and crafting texts. There was a higher level of math, physics, chemistry, and biology in the curriculum, and we were taking exams very frequently; university years are another story. Thus, I sat down and occasionally wrote. One of these moments

was in early January 2015, when I was away from my beloved hometown İztuzu, and there was an attempt to harm nature with building activities, which pushed me to write an essay based on my memories while I was sitting alone in my room in another country. I did not really think about the role and readership of the text. I just wrote it for my own sake and shared it with my parents and later published it on my personal Facebook page. They circulated to their friends, to locals. My words were read out loud during the time of the resistance and were published in the newspaper. Although I enjoyed people appreciating what I have written, I did not also understand very well why was that. To me, what I did was nothing special. Back then, I thought everyone could write about anything. "We only need a pen and a paper," I used to think.

Many years later, in the early 20ies, my very close friend Nalan Çebi, who together with Durul Şan Yüzgeç is the first-hand witness of my journey since my bachelor's, recognized my interest in literature. We were being trained as an architect with Rapido drawing pens and ink at the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University –could be also called as *École Sedad Hakkı Eldem*– in those years. She gave me the first signal that perhaps not everyone was writing when she said: "I think you should be transferred to the Faculty of Literature, Fatma!" I was quite busy then and did not give a second thought to her suggestion. However, my interest in writing has been of great help in developing this manuscript. I first wrote narratives for this doctoral project, then I read my own text through the lens of literature theories. Maybe it was ok not to attend the literature school in the end. But your words stayed with me, Nalan, and I hope reading this manuscript will make you happy. My apologies that this took me so long to recognize that I have been deeply into literature.

As the pandemic hit the entire world, it also had a big impact on this study. Staying at home had a very bright side for developing my manuscript. In this way in which I enjoyed writing immensely. It was, of course, challenging at first. Up until March 2020, I have always divided tasks into spaces. This means the city has often housed the different functions: I often wrote and studied in the study centers (i.e., Salt Galata in İstanbul, the Central Library of Delft, other offices, or cafés). While having a long practice in working on different tasks in different places, I suddenly found myself at my place where I was obliged to do everything, including studying, working, attending meetings, and writing. It was not an easy transition, but once I began to stay longer in my room, I began to pay attention to my own place. On one of the days in Spring 2020, my eyes were scanning my room, and I saw my black hard covered notebook, a *Leuchtturm*1917 agenda. On the first page, I saw André Malraux's words that I noted down while working on Oscar Niemeyer in September 2012: "I keep inside myself, in my private museum, everything I have seen and loved in my life." This was when I turned my full attention to my memories, observations, and

experiences, recognizing the value of my own resources. I decided to open up this private museum partially to the public.

One thing put me in a little bit of hesitancy; would this qualify as academic writing? I would not have known the importance and value of my approach to a scholarly work at that time. I found in my small library a recent issue of the Journal *Writingplace*, edited by Klaske Havik where I read, "is the author an insider, participant or an external observer? And is it possible, at times, for the positions of researcher, author, and experiencing subject to merge?" With architect and writer Klaske Havik as supervisor, I was in the right place and context to flourish my interest in literature, given the fact that Klaske has been exploring the relationships between literature and architecture and has been developing unconventional ways of academic writing. Thank you Klaske, for reading carefully my countless drafts and versions of the manuscript. Beyond, many thanks for following this remarkable process with a great sensitivity at various levels and layers since the day first, together with Herman. I wish to thank you both particularly for this.

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In the meantime, I continued to test my writing method. First, I presented a fragment from my narratives at the COST Action *Writing Urban Places* meeting on January 29th, 2021. It was a great laboratory not only for testing the method, but also to reflect on my research. I remember very warm reactions from colleagues and peers on the Zoom Webinar's chatbox. In the next online seminar moderated by Jorge Mejía Hernández within the same group, I had a conversation with Ramona Mihaila and Onorina Botezat on "Beautiful İzmir" in the Spring of 2021. It is the moment that established a greater understanding of the importance of my high school located in the woods and showed that it is neither pure nostalgia nor my mere personal taste that I chose to describe this school in one of the new narratives. On Sefer Aktaş's behalf, I extend my gratitude to every teacher of BAL. They built a culture in a cosmopolitan microcosm among the students, graduates, and past and present teachers. Complemented with higher education in Turkey and abroad, I know very well that BAL alumni do their best to contribute to humanity with their knowledge, skills, and common sense by working in diverse fields.

I am completing this acknowledgment today with great joy sitting on the Enric Miralles' *Ines*-table in the Department of Architecture in Delft, where I found my habitat, it has become home over the years. The Department of Architecture has been the node of exchanges and collaborations. Together with The *Berlage* Postmaster Public Programs directed by Salomon Frausto, conferences, colloquiums and collaborations extended to the allied institutions including *Het Nieuwe Instituut* via *Jaap Bakema* Study Centre led by Dirk van den Heuvel have fertilized my thinking over years. The growing constellation of scholars and thinkers has accompanied this journey in which I have been pursuing the love of wisdom. It is the very place where I met great people, great minds and beautiful hearts, who shared my enthusiasm and I found mutual interests with them, in a celestial intellectual sphere. I am, therefore, much obliged to the Department and to the Faculty for all support, programs and equipment provided by TU Delft. I am grateful for all opportunities that allowed me to nourish my skills, thoughts and ideas; and execute my initiatives. Beyond, I thank everyone who has been woven into my story; my friends, my brilliant colleagues both at TU Delft -for many years- and at *Het Nieuwe Instituut* -recently-, and amazing students both in İzmir and Delft; who did an incredible work exhibiting the *Portraits of the Port City: Rotterdam* as a continuity of my doctoral research.

My happiness is blended with my pride in stepping into contributing to humanity. When I set this sail, my childhood spent in the tekne (boat in Turkish) has been essential to follow a meandering trajectory that started on a delta on the Mediterranean, in the South-West of Turkey and let me arrive now at another delta in the North Sea, in the Netherlands. It has been a long journey, not an easy one too. The sea comes with its challenges, with extreme conditions from time to time. The course of the voyage might be put in peril. It is tough, but what matters is arriving at the destination safe and sound; getting closer to realities, having a clear vision and acting with common sense. Memories made during this journey remain at hand in the end. Having the right people, who are committed to doing right things, onboard is the real treasure of this journey. Such a journey would only be possible with the unconditional support of my loving family; particularly my grandparents and parents; and the ones who became a family en route. It is not easy to write all names here due to remain in a reasonable number of pages -I know this still feels quite a long text in comparison to conventional ones; but I really put effort to reduce this acknowledgment from almost 30 pages to 7 pages; but I wish to at least name my paranymphs although only two of them will be officially standing next to me during the defense; Elli Papachristopoulou and Marica Castigliano; Kaiyi Zhu and Sitong Luo. I am beyond grateful to you all: to your warmth, the comfort you bring to my life and your encouragement in many ways.

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22#08 Urban Scenes of a Port City

Exploring Beautiful İzmir through Narratives of Cosmopolitan Practices

Fatma Tanış

This dissertation is an invitation to the reader to explore Güzel İzmir / Beautiful İzmir in Turkey. Through three different semi-fictional narratives, it aims to draw attention to specific and singular spaces as they were recorded and remembered through old postcards, black and white photographs, stories, and written travelogues in the past centuries and decades. Thus, it wants to discuss the specificity of an eastern Mediterranean port city by addressing it on eye-level through the experiences of a wanderer. By acknowledging the important role of narratives in building an image of the city, this doctoral research proposes that developing a particular narrative writing method may help to re-establish emotional connections between present-day inhabitants of port cities and their environments. It offers an alternative way of writing and an unconventional reading of the urban and architectural history of İzmir to revive socio-spatial practices by writing narratives of Beautiful İzmir.

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