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Some Observations on the Cultural Inventory of Izmir from the Tanzimat to the Constitutional Monarchy (1839 - 1876)

Abstract: During the period when the Ottoman Empire remained at the periphery of the capitalist world system, İzmir assumed the identity of a colonial port city which the Levantines, who transferred the rich products of Western Anatolia to the West, and their local collaborators made the center of the commercial diaspora. While İzmir, which lived through its brightest period from the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century, had the appearance of an ordinary “slightly bigger than a village” town of the Aegean at the western end of the Anatolian plateau, it begins to be seen as the “Pearl of the Levant” with its port, quay, municipal organization, railways, trams, banks, factories, modern schools, casinos, clubs, theaters and coffee houses. In the aforementioned period, İzmir became one of the early modern period cities of the Ottoman Empire with the changes and transformations it went through. This article tries to convey the episodes of the economic, social, and ideological structural transformations in the background of this positive leap that the city had experienced.

Key words: Tanzimat, Period of Autocracy, Levantines, Second Constitutional Monarchy, Unionists.

Apstrakt: U periodu kada je Osmansko carstvo ostalo na periferiji kapitalističkog svjetskog sistema, Izmir je preuzeo identitet kolonijalnog lučkog grada kojeg su Levantinci i njihovi lokalni saradnici, prenoseći bogate proizvode zapadne Anadolije na Zapad, učinili centrom komercijalne dijaspore. Dok je Izmir, koji je proživio svoj najsjajni period od 17. vijeka do početka 20. stoljeća, imao izgled običnog “malo većeg od sela” grada na Egejskom moru na zapadnom kraju Anadolske visoravni, počinje biti viđen kao “Biser Levanta” sa svojom lukom, kejem, opštinskom organizacijom, željeznicom, tramvajima, bankama, fabrikama, modernim školama, kockarnicama, klubovima, pozorištima i kafeima. U navedenom periodu, Izmir je postao jedan od gradova ranog modernog perioda Osmanskog carstva sa promjenama i transformacijama kroz koje je prošao. Ovaj članak pokušava dočarati

epizode ekonomskih, društvenih i ideoloških strukturnih transformacija u pozadini ovog pozitivnog skoka koji je grad doživio.

Ključne riječi: Tanzimat, period autokratije, Levantinci, Druga ustavna monarhija, unionisti.

Introduction

The Mediterranean and Mediterraneanism has a 3000-year-old historical reference. This means unlimited memory no matter which way you look at it. Because, with its inland sea, mild climate and flora located in the middle of the Mediterranean basin, it has embraced many civilizations throughout history. In this context, a Mediterranean identity formed over centuries can be mentioned.¹ While the Mediterranean phenomenon began to take shape with the city-states beginning to form in 1000 BC, within the determinants of the unique cultural codes of the Mediterranean, the Mediterranean became “Mare Nostrum” meaning “Our Mediterranean” during the Pax Roman period, which would last 200 years. With the emergence of monotheistic religions and their inherent sects, the Mediterranean, which lost its political integrity on the axis of religious beliefs, experienced a commercial revolution in the 13th century with the commercial networks formed by city-states such as Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, and started to form a world axis by overflowing its own basin. As a matter of fact, contrary to its relatively weak ties with the north of Europe, it has gone beyond the Mediterranean by connecting to Asia with transit passage routes which knotted on cities such as Venice, Genoa, Constantinople, Trabzon, Antioch, Aleppo, Baghdad, Tabriz, Basra, Cairo, and Alexandria, such as the Silk Road, Spice Road and the Indian Ocean. Thus, it has been able to reproduce itself with the commercial networks it has established and the city-states that have found growth in the basin. The Mediterranean, which was the center of Levant trade in the 14th century, whose face changed with

¹ This identity formed in the Mediterranean dish has its own cultural codes. To summarize the main axes of these cultural codes, first of all, it can be mentioned that multidimensional uncertainties such as earthquakes, volcanic movements and floods force the masses living in this basin, where land and sea are intertwined, to a constant harmony and creativity. Another feature of Mediterraneanism, which is dominated by factors such as wine production, olive cultivation, ovine breeding (pastoralism), and transhumance, is the extreme fragmentation of its lands. Lastly, It is possible to talk about an argument such as being more loose-flexible in the spiral of geography, climate and social interactions in the context of another feature that has been discussed a lot about the Mediterranean and Mediterraneanism. For more detailed information on this subject, see Tekeli, 2018, 7-29.

great steps such as the Renaissance, Enlightenment, and geographical discoveries, which reintegrated under the domination of great kingdoms, and whose eastern part was turned into an inland lake after the Ottomans took Rhodes in 1522, has preserved its character as a basin where the actors claiming dominance are constantly changing. As a matter of fact, since the 16th century, under the dominance of new political actors such as the Netherlands, France, and England, who replaced the avant-garde city-states such as Venice, Genoa, Ragusa and Catalans, the Mediterranean continued to produce its Mediterranean identity. However, since the 18th century where networks of imperial exploitation expanded with the formation of global commercial companies such as the Levant Company in 1592, industrial and technological revolutions took place and because of all these, capitalism became institutionalized, the Mediterranean had ceased to be a place that produced innovations and had become a place that adapted to innovations produced outside of itself.²

Undoubtedly, İzmir and its hinterland, which can be said to be one of the most open port cities of Western Anatolia to the west among the early modern Ottoman cities, were greatly affected by this fluctuating process of the Mediterranean and the Mediterraneanism. In the Ottoman Empire, where the Tanzimat and Constitutional Monarchy experiences were experienced, it was also a process in which important structural transformations were experienced... In this process, in which the sustainability of the institutional order is formulated with the concept of “ittihad-ı anasır (unity of elements)”, there will be a sociological leap from the “reaya (raia)” understanding of the classical period to the “community” of the Tanzimat, and from there to the “citizenship” of the Constitutional Monarchy. In this process where a new generation originating from the military, civil and medical professions, which took reference from the Tanzimat’s Translation Room and the Ottoman civil and military bureaucracy described as “kalemiyye (civil bureaucracy)”, was born, concepts such as “tevhid (oneness)”, “ittihat (unity)”, “ilm-i fen (sciences)” and “terakki (progress)” signifying the struggle against ignorance gained meaning and the need for enlightenment was pursued as an essential action under the guidance of knowledge and science. Indeed, in the story of this generation, “ittihad-ı anasır (unity of elements)”, that is, re-establishing an Ottoman unity with all non-Muslim communities, in order to prevent disintegration, and when this is not possible, “millet-i hakime (ruling nation)”, that is, the dominant nation theories based on Turkish ethnicity have an important place. Along with all this, social and political traumas and upheavals such as

²Tekel, *ibid.*, p. 7-29.

witnessing the establishment of Bulgaria and Greece as independent states with the Balkan nationalism, which declared the Ottoman Empire as the other and derived its legitimacy from it, and experiencing the plans of the *Düvel-i Muazzama* (Great Powers) to destroy the empire in the Balkans, North Africa and the Middle East have been influential in the epistemology and worldview of this generation.³

So, İzmir, which has become one of the most important centers of Levant trade at the western end of the Anatolian plateau with its rapid development adventure since the 17th century, has left behind which cities of the imperial geography and with what kind of political, social, and cultural transformations has it become the pearl of the Levant? Is it possible to talk about the conscious policies of the central government in this rapid growth of the city? During these transformations, how can the role of social groups of the city coming from different affiliations such as the local authorities, Levantines, Muslims and non-Muslims be evaluated? In the aforementioned period, what were the imperial dispositions of the Western states, which were described as “*düval-i muazzama*”, towards the city? How accurate is it to say that İzmir became the subject of a one-sided exploitation relationship in this period when the capitalist world system was institutionalized, and if it is possible otherwise, can it be said that it has also become a city that is a consumer of Western European trade? Does the cosmopolitan port bourgeoisie have a decisive role in the transfer of Western life forms to the city? In this process from the Tanzimat to the Constitutional Monarchy, what kind of transformations did the economic, social, cultural and mental world experience, as well as the spatial patterns of the city? How can the influence of Ottoman intellectuals on the development of the oppositional identity of the city be evaluated? In this article, the dominant reflexes that were effective in the development of İzmir, which became the second largest city of the Ottoman Empire after Istanbul, were traced on the main axis of which these and similar questions determined the boundaries.

İzmir, Pearl of the Mediterranean Basin

Evaluating the early modern Ottoman cities not only through the developments such as 19th century nationalism, Ottoman decline, periphery, and modernization in contrast with this, but also in the unique conditions that characterize them

³Kabakçı, 2008), 41-60; For a small analysis of the dominant attitudes and reflexes of the generation in question, who envisioned the enlightenment of large masses of people who were left to their fate in the aforementioned period, see also Arslan, 2020, 268-277.

constitutes one of the areas of awareness of urban history studies. In addition, it is an indisputable reality that the Weberian approach or the Ottoman city conceptions, which emerged through the typologies of “European city” or “Islamic city”, also carry similar problems with them because they deny the singularity of the cities in question. Therefore, when we try to look at the early modern Ottoman cities, such as Istanbul, Bursa, Trabzon, Antioch, Aleppo, Basra, Tabriz, Alexandria, and Cairo, from the perspective of our minds, while considering the dominant paradigms of the period and the models that evaluate these paradigms, the importance of finding and revealing the unique conditions that characterize the singularity or uniqueness of the cities in question emerges as an obvious reality.

In this context, when we look at the reasons for Izmir’s rise from the 17th century and onward, by pushing aside its sister ports and warehouses which were its rivals⁴ in Western Anatolia, such as Foça, Ayaslug which replaced Ephesus, Kuşadası and Urla in addition to Bursa and Aleppo, in a process where the Ottoman Empire abandoned its claim to be a world empire and remained on the edge of the developments taking place in the European continent, we come across a spiral that enriches and nourishes the city’s economic, social, political and cultural life. In the aforementioned period, this rise of Izmir, which started to function as a shipping point for goods going to Istanbul and the part of Europe under Ottoman rule, a gateway for goods from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, a funnel where the rich products of Western Anatolia were collected, or the main warehouse of the Levant trade, was undoubtedly the result of an organic growth despite the controlled inspection of the central government. Contrary to popular belief, the main actors of the said organic growth were not the Ottoman administration, which was trying to keep Western Anatolia as a region that provided food for Istanbul. The local authorities, who were the architects and engineers of the city’s modern appearance over time, were Christian-European guests, their partners and from time-to-time rivals Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Muslims. The cultural mix of these social groups with different religions, ethnic origins and languages around

⁴ Izmir had no apparent alternative in the aforementioned process. The ports of Chios and other islands were far from the main products of Western Anatolia and the caravan routes to the east. Mainland towns such as Foça and Kuşadası, on the other hand, did not have as large ports as Izmir. It was also difficult to reach the Anatolian hinterland from these places. Manisa and other inland urban towns had little chance of being protected from the sea by reinforced forces during possible rebellions and disturbances. More importantly, the Ottoman administration, which continued its subsistence policy, did not want another commercial center to form on the Western Anatolian coast. Eldem et al, 2003, 130.

common goals and troubles would shape the cosmopolitan “Levantine subculture” of the city in time. Thus, the Levantines, who established a kind of commercial diaspora in Izmir, located in the west of the Anatolian plateau, would turn the city into an outpost of Christian Western culture in time. In other words, Izmir, the center of the commercial diaspora, had become a colonial port of the Levantine world. So much so that Izmir, which owed its existence to international trade to a large extent, was dependent on this trade and the elite class of the city was constituted by the merchants fed by the trade in question. In the aforementioned period, İzmir which was integrated into the world capitalist system in a gradual way with the concessions granted to England and France, the completion of the İzmir-Torbali railway in 1860, İzmir-Aydın railway in 1866, Kasaba-Alaşehir railway in 1875, Manisa-Soma railway in 1890 and Alaşehir-Afyonkarahisar railways in 1897⁵, became a city that was also a consumer of Western European trade. Due to the developing international trade potential, physical and social transformations took place in this multicultural environment where European foreigners stood out as one of the dominant elements of the city. Becoming the topography of mosques, churches, and synagogues, Izmir also created its own intellectual climate with its newspapers appealing to its diversifying social mix, new schools being opened, and its literate, educated and up for debate population. In this context, it can be said that Izmir, which had become the intersection point of the Christian and Islamic worlds, grew by combining the lifestyles of both worlds. It achieved this growth as a virtually self-governing, independent, and even rebellious port city, which basically operated in a law-free manner during a period when the Ottoman administration was subjected to decentralization. In the sum of all these developments, Izmir, as Daniel Goffman stated, *“It moved from relative homogeneity to economic, ethnic, and religious diversity in a few decades in the 17th century, transitioning from provincialism to cosmopolitanism, becoming unique while it was similar to cities in Western Anatolia.”*⁶

⁵ While the activity areas of Western merchants in Western Anatolia were limited to the coastline until the 19th century, with the transition from commercial capitalism to industrial capitalism, the trade network in question could be extended to the inner parts of Anatolia. It can be said that the weakening of the central authority of the Ottoman Empire as well as the wide freedom of movement provided to foreign merchants by the Ottoman millet system’s division of the social structure into community compartments were also effective in this. For an analysis of the economic and social transformations of the city from the 17th to the 19th centuries, Eldem et al, *ibid.*, 2003; Goffman, 2000. For information on the details of the construction of the railways with the concessions granted to England and France in order to transfer the products of the Aegean region and its rich hinterland to the West via the İzmir port, and its reflection on the Western Anatolian trade, see Uzuntepe, 2000; Çolak, 2011, 455-469.

⁶ Goffman, *ibid.*, 129.

As a matter of fact, when talking about the city that lived its brightest period from the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century, descriptions such as “The Capital of the Levant”, “The brightest city of the Levant”, “The most important trade center of the Levant”, “Pearl of the Levant”, “Marseille of the Anatolian coasts”, “The Marseille on the coast of Asia Minor”, “Eye of the Levant”, “The Queen of Anatolian Cities, the Crown of the Ionia and the Jewel of Asia”, and “Petit Paris” emphasize this uniqueness of Izmir.⁷

However, evaluating the said originality only with the process that had developed since the 17th century is equivalent to turning away from the accumulation of the city that had been carried since the ancient period. Because, although it had been ravaged by the attacks of Persians, Roman Doleballa and some other societies since ancient times, Izmir, the city of dreams, which witnessed the legends of the Amazons, Alexander the Great, King Tantalus, Niobe, and the beautiful Diana, was Markus Aurelius, stood up again, as in the example of Agora built by Markus Aurelius in the 2nd century BC, and after changing hands under the rule of Rome, Byzantium, Tzachas, Aydinids and Rhodes Knights, finally entering the Ottoman rule in the first half of the 15th century, it has been able to determine its own path in the course of history.⁸ In this context, it can be said that during the aforementioned period, what made Izmir valuable⁹, evident in Homer’s “The most beautiful city under the Dome of the Sky” and Strabo’s “This is the most beautiful city in the world” expressions, for which Aristotle said to Alexander the Great, “If you don’t see it, you’re incomplete.”, for which Gordian and Gallienus had the words “the capital city of Asia Minor” written on their coins, which the famous French poet Victor Hugo likened to the “Princess”, was undoubtedly not only its beauty but also those who made this city a museum of otherworldly life, with what they said, wrote and did. From the Phrygian king Tantolos to the poet Homer, from Alexander the Great to Çaka Bey who built the first Turkish sovereignty in Izmir, and from there to the philosopher mathematicians Tales, Anaximenes, Anaximandros of Miletus, hundreds of statesmen, scholars, men of

⁷Şenocak, 2003, 13.

⁸On various myths and legends that are rumored to have originated in Izmir in the ancient period, see Pınar, 2002; Özmakas, 2018; For more detailed information on which societies have come under the domination of Izmir throughout history, see Aksoy, 2002, 85-109.

⁹Şenocak, *ibid.*, 11.

letters, artists and philosophers were again just some of the masters who gave their channels to the current of this memory.¹⁰

In this context, it was not surprising at all that Izmir has risen since the 17th century with the rich accumulation it inherited from its past. As a matter of fact, realizing this, Izmir was made the center of Aydın province in 1841-1843 by the Ottoman administration and after 1864 it was permanently positioned as the center of the province.¹¹

Some Notes on the Course of Economic Development

Izmir, which had the appearance of a village-like town for 15 centuries and most of the 16th century, had become a port city by the middle of the 17th century with its population reaching around 90,000, its 16 foreign state consulates and its exponentially increasing trade volume where, as expressed by Reşad Kasabalı, “*people whose heads are full of grapes and figs and whose hearts are surrounded by cotton and broadcloth*” think of nothing but commerce¹². In this context, factors such as the loss of the importance of the port of Alexandria during the Ottoman-Iranian Wars of 1588-1628 and the direction of the silk road route to Izmir, the shift of Bursa silk trade to here with the acquisition of Chios, the development of caravan routes connecting to the hinterland of Izmir through the Greater Menderes valleys, brought Izmir to the fore.

Likewise, factors such as leaving the city in the status of a district and causing the control mechanisms of the power to be felt less in the region, a wide range of movement for foreign traders provided by this situation, lower customs taxes and with all these advantages, the preference of this place as a base by the Western capitalists where they could transfer the valuable agricultural commodities of the Western Anatolian plateau with their companies with commercial monopolies were effective in the emergence of Izmir as an important trade center¹³. However, these developments have not only transformed Izmir, but also played a decisive role in

¹⁰ For different papers describing how the identity of being from İzmir was formed in the Mediterranean basin since ancient times, see, Being from İzmir, Symposium Proceedings, 2009.

¹¹ Çadırcı, 1993, 74.

¹² Kasaba, 1993, 387-410.

¹³ To evaluate some of the other factors that contributed to the emergence of Izmir as a port city, which became almost a warehouse of the Aegean Region over time, see Faroqhi, 2019, 84-90; Ülker, 1991, 327 cited by Özgün; 2014., 27-29; Faroqhi, 2004, 563-569; **Evliya Çelebi Travel Book**, 1985, 554 and Yapucu, 2007, cited by Özgün from p.30, ibid., 29-31.

the social-economic reshaping of the hinterland from where the city, which was connected to the world with its port and to the agricultural production centers of Anatolia with its railways, was fed over the years.¹⁴

Firstly, in this double-sided transformation process, the population of the city diversified and increased. As a matter of fact, its population, which was around 45,000 in the 1830s, reached 154,000 in 1885 and over 200,000 in the 20th century and the total number of non-Muslims and foreigners, who were indispensable elements of the city's multicultural, multi-religious and multilingual identity, continued to constitute more than half of the general population despite the 1908-1918 population policies of the Union and Progress.¹⁵ Secondly, the spatial appearance of the city has been transformed. After the railways connected the Menderes and Gediz plains to the port, the city expanded along the coast, the pier called Kordon, paved with Naples stones, was equipped with large shops, businesses, hotels and restaurants in the section starting from the Government House to Passport. Over time, the capital obtained from commercial capitalism was embodied in plantations such as carpet, cotton gin and paper mills, and water mills were replaced by steam-powered flour mills from the 1850s. By the middle of the 19th century, the number of consulates in the city had reached seventeen, and a new identity was given to the city with the construction of institutions of the Tanzimat period, such as junior high schools, hospitals, and reformatories. The revision of the city's infrastructure system was also handled in this period with developments such as the preparation of the city's plan and cadastre by the Italian engineer Luigi Storari in 1851, the establishment of the municipal organization in 1867, the lighting of the city with coalgas in 1874, the establishment of electricity and water companies with the privileges given to Belgian companies in 1892 and 1893.¹⁶ After the Izmir Commercial Bank, which was founded by the British in 1845, developments such as the establishment of some other banks like Credit Lyonise and Ottoman Bank in the 1860s, the creation of the Izmir-Istanbul and then Izmir-Menemen-Aydin telegraphy lines between 1865-66, the completion of the Izmir-Aydın railway lines in 1866, the completion of the Izmir port and dock in 1875, the establishment of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce in 1885 and launching of the Izmir Commodity Exchange in 1892 had made Izmir into a modern early period European city.¹⁷

¹⁴Tatlidil, 2009, 319-336.

¹⁵Kerimoğlu, 2011, 81.

¹⁶Çadırcı, *ibid.*, 74-79; Kerimoğlu, *ibid.*, 82-85.

¹⁷Özgün, *ibid.*, 31-39.

On the other hand, the factors that facilitated the meeting of the city with the capitalist world system were not limited to observable concrete and tangible breakthroughs. The legal regulations implemented by the Ottoman Empire since the Tanzimat period and the trade agreements that offered economic concessions to the Western states also increased the activities of foreign investors in the city. In fact, with the Baltalimanı Commercial Treaty signed with England in 1838, the Ottoman administration's removal of many obstacles in front of the foreign merchants and the granting of the right to buy real estate in the Ottoman country in 1867 made the region a center of attraction for foreigners. The capitalist world system, paved by the trade agreements and legal regulations, put an end to the money shortage and strengthened its economic presence in the region by its credit facilities with other banks and branches established such as the Banque d'Orient, Deutsche Orient Bank, Athens and Thessaloniki banks after the first cores such as the Ottoman Bank and Crédit Lyonnais. Depending on these conditions, the foreign trade volume of the city had also increased. In fact, it is recorded that the city of Izmir had realized 20% of the total import volume and 43% of exports of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 18th century.

However, the same data began to decline in the early 20th century. Apart from the boycott initiated against Austrian goods in Izmir upon the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908, application of the same boycott policy against Greece, the emerging cholera epidemic and the negative developments created by the Tripoli war were also effective.¹⁸ The efforts of the Unionists, who came to power with the 1908 revolution, to create a national bourgeoisie with the national economic policies put into effect especially during the General War years, were only partially successful. In this sense, during this process where the Ottoman Empire was rapidly advancing towards the end, even though the II. Constitutional Monarchy period represents an important turning point, it can be stated that the economic policies implemented by the Unionists only delayed the inevitable end for a while.

On the Basic Elements of Social Structure

The gradual integration of the Ottoman Empire into the capitalist world system transformed the traditional millet system along with the economic structure. However, this transformation was mostly concentrated in the western-oriented cities

¹⁸ Kütükoğlu, 1994, 31.

of the empire such as Istanbul, Thessaloniki, and Izmir. Izmir, which was seen as the second largest city of the empire after Istanbul, became a center of attraction due to its increasing commercial potential and this situation enriched the sociological structure. This enrichment was not only limited to the increase in the non-Muslim population, but also new social groups emerged. As a matter of fact, the working-class members, who were indispensable for the industrial plantations besides the merchant group, became the main actors of this change. Moreover, the transformation in question also increased the dialogue between the community compartments. So much so that in the classical period, while social groups were living in narrow spaces where the boundaries were determined by the community compartments, they started to open the door of dialogue, to create the actuality of the city and to develop the culture of living together with the influence of different formulations of the modernization process such as the increase in international trade, the diversification of the social structure, and the adoption of the dominant life forms of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the city, which started to find its true self, had become a *de facto* dead end for all kinds of dynamics fed by the metaphor of modernization.

When we look at the social groups of the city from different affiliations in general, it can be said that the Levantines, who jumped from commercial capitalism to wealth capitalism thanks to the companies they established and the commercial relations they developed with the support of the capitular privileges and consulates, had come a long way in a short time to transform the coast of Asia Minor into a British, French, German, or Italian colony. Levantines, who expanded their influence to the inner parts of Anatolia by not being limited to the coastline with the railway companies they established since the 1860s, were able to turn the economic, socio-cultural¹⁹ and judicial opportunities offered by the city to an advantage in order to maintain an easy life.²⁰

The Greeks, who lived quite comfortably with their privileged position among the Ottoman minorities, were in a position to compete with the Levantines. The lower-level Greeks living in the city worked in occupations such as masonry, winemaking, shoe repair and small shop management, those from the lower classes were seen in jobs that could be counted in service sector such as innkeepers, taverns,

¹⁹ For example, Levantines, who sought to establish a dialogue with people from different social layers thanks to English, French, Italian and especially Greek, as well as Turkish, they learned, thus mobilized the socio-cultural richness of the city and opened the doors of intercultural dialogue.

²⁰ Beyru, 2000, 66-76.

filmmakers, cabarets, grocers and boatmen, while the wealthier ones preferred to work as lawyers or doctors. The Greeks, who were able to create comfortable living spaces for themselves with the opportunities and privileges offered by the city, were the first minorities after the Levantines to adapt to the bourgeois life culture. In fact, one of the repercussions of this situation was the abolition of the “kaçgöç” (purdah) practice for women in the 19th century.

It can be stated that the Armenians, who led a quiet life in Izmir and did not get involved in events, were the closest communities to the Turks in terms of their lifestyles. As a matter of fact, it can be read in this context that they knew Turkish better than other minority groups, that a patriarchal family order came to the fore as a dominant element in daily life practices, that they kept their women away from the public space for a long time, that they resembled Muslims in their home life, clothing, and other characteristics. In economic life, it should be added that Armenians have historically specialized in tin smithing, locksmithing, goldsmithing, blacksmithing and construction work.²¹

It was not easy for a foreigner to enter among the Jews, who preferred to live a very disconnected and isolated life from other fractions of the society. The common concern of the Jews, who could only be found in trade areas outside the synagogues, was to hide their existence and life from foreign eyes. Even though the Jews, who dealt with both the disagreements within the community and their relations with the administration, with the Council of the Twelve and the clergy called Rabun within their own community organization always preferred to stay on the sidelines, in Izmir, at least, they were in good relations with the Turks, to whom they were neighbors within the settlement area, and to some extent with the Armenians.²² The Jews, who gave the impression that they existed almost everywhere in the eyes of foreigners depended on the local people for their commercial business, were mostly tax collectors, brokers, usurers, translators, traveling workers or peddlers.²³

On the other hand, despite the increase in the total weight of non-Muslim elements in the population in the aforementioned period, Turks always maintained a majority, varying between 60% and 80%. However, while there was no significant change in the Armenian population throughout the century, the Jewish population

²¹ Senocak, *ibid.*, 26-27; Beyru, *ibid.*, 77-85.

²² Rauf Beyru, *ibid.*, pp. 85-91.

²³ Bülent Şenocak, *ibid.*, 27, For a detailed study of the place and activities of the Jews of Izmir in the political, economic and social life of the city, see Bora, 1995.

doubled in the second half of the century, the Greek population almost tripled, and the Levantine population increased tenfold.²⁴ Of course, it wasn't just the demographics of the city that changed. Undoubtedly, it was inevitable that this enriching social structure would also transform the life codes of the city. As a matter of fact, it is seen that different dimensions of the urban life culture had begun to be exhibited with the disintegration of the millet system, which was based on ethnic and religious affiliations, and the increase in individualization. In this direction, it had been witnessed that the rapprochement between different ethnic or religious communities living in Izmir had increased, especially on various holidays or holy days.

In addition to the Ramadan and Eid-al-Adha celebrations, which the Turks started with artillery fire and during which all workplaces and shops were closed for eight days and everyone hugged each other with good wishes; Easter holidays of the Greeks who loved to give banquets, have fun and dance during the carnival, ball or hunting ceremonies organized by consulates, the gathering of the inhabitants of the city and presenting gifts to each other during ceremonies such as Christmas weeks and ascension ceremonies were among the forms of this changing sociological structure that reflected on daily life practices.

Besides the Greek women with dresses made of red brocade or gilded fabric, blouses with wide sleeves decorated with lace, and white skirts; Jewish women, who drew attention to themselves with their tightly-strung pearl necklaces around their necks, and also with the effect of gathering their hair in a pocket made of colored silk fabric at the back under their caps covered with white satin and embroidered with silver thread; The clothing and dressing styles of the Frankish women, each with their clothing varying according to their own tastes and fantasies, and the Armenian women, who were no different than the Turkish women, except that their faces were left a little more open, were some of the forms of this sociological richness reflected on the female bodies.²⁵

Considering these, it can be easily said that the social compartments in question exhibited some common life codes over time, even if the dialogue between them was limited. For example, it can be stated that the fact that many customs and behaviors of Armenians were not different from those of Turks confirms Moltke's

²⁴ Beyru, *ibid.*, 17-19.

²⁵ According to Le Bruyn, who gave detailed information about the city when he visited Izmir at the end of the 17th century, despite this diversity in the clothing of women, men's clothing was like Turks. Beyru, *ibid.*, 21-45.

claim that *“An Armenian is a baptized Turk”*. Likewise, the practice of the same style of offering, which usually consisted of jam, coffee and sweets, in Turkish houses, Greek or Armenian and Jewish houses, as well as in Levantine houses settled in the city, can be considered as one of the signs of cultural bridges established between different social structures despite limited dialogue. However, the culture of living together among the inhabitants of the city, who had different identities, belongings and affiliations, would continue until the first half of the 20th century, when the imagination of nationalism began to separate the masses from each other. Indeed, it can be said that the fire of 1922, which took place in the last days of the National Struggle, and the subsequent exchanges were the ultimate metaphors that irreversibly separated the communities in the city from each other.

Transformation of Cultural Form and Education

In the aforementioned period, economic relations were not the only factors that were effective in Izmir’s becoming a city open to the exploitation of the capitalist world system. Established local governments, trade agreements and legal arrangements that were made, established economic relations, increasingly diversified investments, capitalist monopolies developed over time, international companies that became the leading actors of the financial sector, banks, businesses, and some other institutions were the elements that fed this system economically. However, ensuring the sustainability of the system in question depended on the opening of modern educational institutions that would carry the knowledge and experience gained forward. In this context, the Ottoman education system in the aforementioned period presented a multi-structure consisting of community schools and private schools of Levantines or various groups, as well as traditional educational institutions. As a matter of fact, the Lazarists’ Saint Polycarpe Boys’ School, the Latins’ Sacré Coeur College, the French’s Saint Joseph’s College, the British’s English College, the Aghia Fotini Girls’ Central School, the Armenians’ Saint-Mesrop School, and the Jews’ Universal Union of Israelite [Alyans Israilit] school opened in the city in 1873 were just some of them. Muslims, on the other hand, had an increasing number of modern schools that taught in a new style apart from the madrasahs²⁶ that continued their education in the traditional sense.

²⁶ Evliya Çelebi, who visited Izmir in 1671, states that “There are forty madrasahs in this town”. Indeed, many madrasahs and classrooms were built with student cells around each mosque and

According to the Aydın Provincial Yearbook of 1892, there were 15 madrasas in which prominent scientists and artists of the city such as Mahmut Esat, Mansurizade Said, Müftü Mehmet Sait and Maraşlı Mustafa Kamil taught. Schools such as the first secondary school opened in 1859, the Hamidiye secondary school which started education and training in 1876, ten new primary schools built between 1833 and 1888, the high school established in 1886, the Hamidiye Industry School that opened its doors in 1892, and the Gendarmerie Regiment School which came into being in 1907, can be added to these. In addition to the private schools, the number of which increased after 1900, after the Second Constitutional Monarchy, schools such as Darülmualimin in 1909, İnas Highschool in 1911, and Darülmualimat in 1914 took their places in the education life of the city. Leading names of Izmir's intellectual and artistic life such as Mahmut Esat Efendi, Maraşlı M. Kamil, Halit Ziya, Tevfik Nevzad, Yusuf Ziyaeddin, Ömer Seyfettin, Baha Tevfik, Bıçakçızade Hakkı had served in the education staff of these schools for years. Although all these developments show that the education life in Izmir had made a significant leap especially since the reign of Abdülhamid II, it should be noted that the schools belonging to the Muslim public lagged behind the educational institutions of minorities and Levantines and could not achieve the desired development. As Ömer Faruk Huyugüzel, who is known for his works on the intellectual, cultural, and artistic life of Izmir, emphasizes, “... most of our writers who wrote their memoirs of these periods talk about the big difference with pain.”²⁷

Pioneers of the Izmir Press

H. Solomonidis states in his study “Journalism in Izmir 1821/1922” that 135 newspapers and magazines were published from the first half of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century²⁸. Seeing this work of Solomonidis, Efdal Sevinçli,

maşjid. It is possible to talk about the madrasahs that did not have a charter as well as the madrasahs in question could be built by the local notables with a charter. Kurşunlu, Kaptan Paşa, Ahmed Ağa, Hatuniye, Bölükbaşı, Hacı Hüseyin, Katıpzade, Kemeraltı, Faik Paşa, Darü'l-Kura madrasahs in the city can be mentioned among the prominent ones in this context. For more information about the madrasahs built in Izmir until the Tanzimat period, see Taş, 2020; see also on this subject, Aktepe, 2003, 110-126.

²⁷ Huyugüzel, 1992, 67-71.

²⁸ Solomonidis, 1959, cited by Sevinçli, 2019.

in his work titled “Izmir Press History Magazines and Newspapers”²⁹, mentions that from 1821 to 1922, more than a hundred newspapers in the languages spoken in Izmir were distributed and read on the streets of the city. Although the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire in the mentioned period was *Takvim-i Vakayi* and its French *Le Monitor Ottoman Newspaper*, the first known newspaper of Izmir was *Le Spectateur Oriental* and its first journalist was the French lawyer Alexandre Blacque. The newspaper in question was closed due to pressure because it was defending the Ottoman thesis against Western states during the Greek revolt. Instead, *Le Smyrnéen*, which was published in July 1824, was the second newspaper of Izmir and a total of 11 issues could be published. *Le Courier de Smyrne*, which was published as the third newspaper of the city on the 5th of January 1828, was published as *Le Journal de Smyrne* in 1832 when it was handed over to someone else after Alexander Balcque went to Istanbul.³⁰ *Le Journal de Smyrne* moved to Istanbul in 1846 with the newspaper *Echo de l’Orient*³¹. However, after that, many French press outlets sprouted in the city and colored the city’s press history. *L’Impartial*

²⁹ Sevinçli, *ibid.*, 17-37.

³⁰ The fact that Alexandre Blacque, who criticized the foreign policies of England, France and Russia who supported the Greek Revolution, continued to follow a publishing policy that defended the Ottoman policy, caused the Russian and British embassies to increase their pressure and domination mechanisms. In this respect, when Mahmut II invited Alexandre Blacque to Istanbul in order to solve the issue in a more appropriate way, he left Izmir and started to publish the French newspaper *Moniteur Ottoman* in 1828. However, his following the same editorial policy here causes the mentioned states to re-operate their oppression and domination mechanisms. A. Blacque, who could not find support from any side during the aforementioned period, set out to go to his hometown for an occasion. However, during this journey, he was poisoned and killed in Malta. Although this development is attributed to the Russians by the British and to the British by the Russians, it is remarkable in terms of showing what kind of dispositions Western states, whose interests are damaged, can make in the face of undesirable events and situations. It can be evaluated within the same framework that those who continued to issue the *Moniteur Ottoman* in Istanbul suffered the same fate. After that, although Lucien Rouet, the consul of France in Istanbul, resisted with the newspaper for a year or two, he could not hold out long. Considering all these, it can easily be said that it is not a coincidence that the British Embassy published the *Ceride-yi Havadis Newspaper* through William Churchill following these developments. For more detailed information on this, see Somar, 2001., 10-12.

³¹ These two newspapers were merged in the same year and published as *Journal de Constantinople et Echo de l’Orient*. In other words, the first newspaper of Izmir, *Le Spectateur Oriental*, had to be published under different names due to the pressures of the Western states, it could not hold on in the city after Alexandre Blacque moved to Istanbul, and finally they too were tried to be published again in *Dersaadet*. Somar, *ibid.*, 10-12.

de Smyrna/ L'Observateur Impartial, which means "Impartial/Impartial Observer" of Izmir, La Reforme, published under the name of "Innovation", Revue d'Orient, published as the "Magazine of the East", Le Levant, which defined itself as the "East", and L'Echo de France, which was included in this series of newspapers under the name "Voice of France" can be mentioned among these.³²

According to H. Solomonidis, the first of the Greek newspapers, which were observed to be published at an early date, in addition to the newspapers published in French in Izmir, was O Filos Ton Neon newspaper, which was published by Avramios G. Omirolis under the name of "Friend of the Youth", the director of the Evangelist Priest School, in September 1831. Apart from this, Astir Ti Anatoli (1832-1833) published under the name of "Eastern/Anatolian Star", Minimosini (1833-1835) published under the name of "Inspiration", Ionikos, "Ionian Observer" (1837- 1840) are the newspapers whose names can be mentioned in this context. Amalthiea Newspaper, named after Amalthiea in Greek mythology and published with the subtitle "The Oldest Newspaper in Anatolia", has interestingly been the longest-running publication of Izmir. Likewise, Elpis, or Umut Newspaper, which was published as the hope of the Greek community in Izmir, O Astir Tis Anatolis, namely the Star of the East-Anatolia, and I Efimers tis Smyrnis, which is known as the first newspaper to give supplements in our press history, take their places in the press of the city as a part of this process. Anatolikos Monitor, which means the Messenger of the East, and Mekteb-ül-Fünun-ı Meşriki, which was published as the School of Science of the East, were the first newspapers to be published in Karaman language with Greek letters.³³

³² Sevinçli, *ibid*, 22-37.

³³ Apart from these, Efseveia (Religion-Taqva-Respect) issued by Ignatios from the Metropolitan of Izmir, Smyrni (Izmir) / Nea Smyrni (New Izmir), where G Karidis brought the first linotype print to Izmir, and I Proodhos (Development) published by Minas Hamudopoulos, who was elected as the Izmir deputy, and the Ionian, which defines itself as a political, literary, and commercial newspaper, can be counted among other important examples of the Greek press. It can be mentioned that there are many Greek magazines apart from Armonia (Ahenk), which bears the same name as Ahenk Newspaper, which would be published by Tevfik Nevzad years later in 1895 and İmerisia, or Günbirlik Newspaper, in which the articles of E. Emmanuilidis of Karaman origin, who was elected as an Izmir-Aydın deputy, calling the Greeks to unite in the Ottoman ideology stood out. As a matter of fact, after Apothiki ton Ofelimon Gnoseon (Useful Knowledge Repository), the first magazine published in Greek in Izmir, it is observed that periodicals such as Mentor (Master), Omiris (Homeros), Vion (Life), Ioniki Melissa – L'aheille Ionien (Ionian Bee), Aktis (Coast/Beam) were actively involved in the Greek press. For more detailed information on this subject, see Sevinçli, *ibid*., 38-59.

Drawing attention with their relevance to trade and their high level of education, they were introduced to the printing press since the beginning of the 16th century and after that, they opened printing houses in many different countries and cities, published books and newspapers. Armenians first appeared in the Izmir press with the journal *Isdemeran Bidani Kidelyats*, which was published on 1 January 1839, with the initiative of American Protestant missionaries to spread Protestantism. The first Armenian newspaper published in Izmir after *Lro Kir* (1832) the Armenian edition of the first official newspaper *Takvimi-i Vakayi*, was *Archelius Araradian*, which was known as *Ararat* or *Ağrı Mountain's Dawn*. *Hayrenaser* (*Yurtsever*), the publication of the Izmir *Arakadzunyats Association*, *Arpi Araradian* (the Sun of Ararat-Ağrı Mountain) published by the *Dedenyan Brothers* for educational purposes, *Tutag Haygazyan* (*Armenian/Haygazyan Parrot*) published by the graduates of *Izmir Mesropyan School*, addressing the students, *Dzaghig* (*Flower*) published by *Kirkor Çilingiryan*, who has an important place in terms of our literary history as a translator, can be mentioned among the ones that later took place in the Armenian press.³⁴

In 1908, almost all of the periodicals published by Jews, who owned six of the 39 printing houses established in Izmir, were *Ladino*, which they also called “*Judeo Espagnol*” in *Rashi* letters, and a small part of each newspaper was devoted to Hebrew with Hebrew letters. The first newspaper published by the Jews in Izmir

³⁴ Likewise, *Haverjahars* (*Fairy/Goddess of Eternal Life*), published as a science, art and entertainment magazine, family magazine *Timag* (*Mask*) which was brought to the readers every fortnight as another publication of the *Dedenyan* brothers, *Karun Hayasani*, which was published on February 5, 1862 as the *Armenian Spring* and attracted attention with its articles on different subjects published in sections such as nature, philosophy and commerce, can be included in the Armenian press. *Arevelyan Mamul*, known as the *Eastern Press*, published by *M. Mamuryan*, one of the first to come to mind among Armenian writers and translators, and *Medeora* (*Meteor*), a scientific-literary journal, and *Arshaluys* (*Dawn*), drawing attention with its articles on women's education and Armenian independence, can be mentioned in the same way. Again, *Izmirli*, the first newspaper to contain Turkish pages with Armenian letters; *Tasink* (*Contract*), which was published as a continuation of the *Aravelyan Mamul* newspaper; *Illustrated humor magazine Mimos*, known as the *Jester*; *Literary, artistic and scientific journal Hay Kiraganutyun* which aimed to develop Armenian literature, as can be understood from its publication as *Armenian Literature*; *Badrasd* (*Get Ready!*), addressing young Armenian scouts from Izmir, and *Tapni*, the *Laurel Tree* magazine, which dealt with family religious issues, can be counted among this literature. In addition to all these, it is also possible to mention newspapers and magazines about which no information is available other than their names, such as *Iravunk*, *Munedig* (*Crier*), *Ashhadank* (*Labour*), *Petag* (*Hive*), *Knar* (*Lyre*), *Khiz-Piz*, *Adrushan* (*Altar*), *Koyamard* (*War*), *Horizon*, *Mozag* (*Mosquito*). For more detailed information on this subject, see *Mildanoğlu*, 2014, *Sevinçli*, *ibid.*, 60-69.

was La Buena Esperansa, which was published in 1842 and meant good hope, and we see that it was followed by other newspapers such as La Puetro del Oriente (Door of the East), Şarkıyye, Zeman, Ceride-i Erca(?)/Erceke(?), Ceride-i Lisan, La Esperanza (Hope), La Verdad (Truth), Ustad / El Oustad / El Maestro, El Nuvelista (Messenger) and El Meserret (Joy). In the liberal environment that emerged after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, new publications such as La Boz del Puevlo, a continuation of the Sada-yı Alem Newspaper under the name of Halkın Sesi, La Boz de Izmir (The Voice of Izmir), El Gion (Scenario), Ufuk (Horizon), El Lavorador (Worker), Les Annales (Historical Events) became the new voices of this period.³⁵

In the process of going from the Ottoman Empire to the republic, although the state language was Ottoman Turkish, each of the communities in the millet system kept their cultures alive by flavoring their cultures in their own compartments. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the 19th century, Greek and French newspapers were being published in Izmir before the official newspapers were published in Istanbul. However, the fact that these newspapers were published with the aim of serving commercial purposes and that they acted as a kind of spy between foreign states and their consulates prompted the Ottoman intellectuals to take a step in this direction, who thought that newspapers addressing Muslim citizens should also be published in Izmir.³⁶

After publications such as Takvim-i Vekayi (November 1, 1831), the first official Turkish newspaper in the Ottoman Empire, Ceride-i Havadis (July 3, 1840), the semi-official newspaper and the first private newspaper, Tercüman-ı Ahval (October 21, 1860) jointly published by Agah Efendi and Şinasi, various newspapers were published one after the other. In such a climate, the Ottoman press began to sprout locally, as a result of the Provincial Regulations dated 7 November 1864 necessitating the establishment of printing houses in almost every province, which was shaped by Mithat Pasha's Danube governorship example, who published the Tuna Newspaper also known as the first provincial newspaper. As an extension of this, the establishment of the Aydın Provincial Printing House in Izmir in 1868, and Aydın Provincial Yearbooks, in addition to Aydın Provincial Newspaper which had been published since 1869, also prioritize Izmir's position in the context of Turkish press activities until 1914, when the provincial printing houses were closed.

³⁵ Sevinçli, *ibid.*, 72-77; Bora, *ibid.*, 173-184.

³⁶ Somar, 2001, 3

Although it is possible to take the printing houses established by the Jews in the city to 1646 and the printing houses opened by the Christian communities to 1833, the firsts of the Muslim Turks in the Izmir press have diversified this picture. In this context, Nassif Mallouf's dictionary *Dictionnaire De Pche Français-Turc* in 1849, the first Turkish book that was published, Mehmet Salim Bey, the first Muslim-Turkish journalist, *Devir*, the first Turkish private newspaper, and Hafız Nuri Efendi, who founded the first Turkish printing house in 1847 and *Divan-ı Kuddusi*, known as the first book published here, and *Kara Sinan*, the first humor newspaper can be counted among the firsts of Muslim Turkish press. Following these, the publication of private newspapers such as *İntibah* (Rebirth), *Izmir*, *Hizmet* (Service), *Ahenk* (Harmony), *Weekly Izmir/Free Izmir* and *Ottoman Agriculture and Commerce Newspaper* created a rich press environment that dealt with the idea front of the Muslim-Turkish society. Although the pressure and censorship practices against the press³⁷, especially during the reign of Abdulhamid II, prevented the emergence of established practices and principles regarding the freedom of the press in the aforementioned period, the publishing life continued to develop. In fact, it is stated that the number of newspapers and periodicals published in the city was around 150 in the period from the publication of *Aydın Provincial Newspaper* in 1869 to the present, while the number of books published in the period from 1875 to the *Writing Revolution* was around 500.³⁸

Muslim-Turkish Journalists in the Izmir Press of the Period of Autocracy

The newspapers published after the *Devir* (Era), *İntibah* (Rebirth), *Kara Sinan* and *Izmir* newspapers, which were among the first voices of Izmir publications, and their authors continued their struggle to enrich the contemplative life of the city. Among them, in addition to writers such as Mehmet Salim Bey, Corci Bublî, Karîdî Efendi, Tevfik Nevzad, Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, İsmail Hakkı Bıçakçızade, İsmail Lütî Efendi, Mahmut Esat Efendi, Ruşuklu Mehmet Hayri Efendi, Tokadizade Şekip,

³⁷ Indeed, newspapers and magazines opened in this period were frequently censored and closed, when it was forbidden to talk about concepts and phenomena such as rebellion, anarchy, patriotism, public law, religion-religious men, Muhammad, Jesus and Moses, mosque and church, irreligion, abuse, harem, homeland, nationality-people, dynamite-bomb, Mithat Pasha, Kemal Bey, Sultan Murat, Macedonia, Eastern Provinces, socialism and reform and many others; the authors were exiled, pursued or imprisoned. For more detailed information on this subject, see Kaygusuz, 2002, 18.

³⁸ Sevinçli, *ibid.*, 78-79.

Taşlızade Ethem, Şair (Poet) Eşref, Mehmet Necip (Türkçü), Mehmet Şeref (Aykut), Bezmi Nusret, Ali İrfan (Eğribozu), Yenişehirizade Halid Eyüb, Hazım Ferid, Mardiros Yazıcıyan, Avram Galanti, M. Kamil, Ermenekli Han Rustu, Mahmud Nedim, Hüseyin Hilmi, Baha Tevfik, Ömer Seyfettin, Fikri, Tevfik, İsmail Subhi, Ahmed Nebil, Hüzeyin Avni, İlyas Macid, Hüseyin Refet, Şehabettin Süleyman, Enis Avni, Hakkı Tarık, Raif Necdet, Burhan Nuri, Salih Zeki (Ekinci), there were also women writers such as Belkıs Senihe, Süheyl Hanım, Evliyazade Makbule, Ref'iyye Münevver and Evliyazade Naciye.³⁹

Among them, Mehmet Salim Bey published *Devir* as the city's first private newspaper, considering that there is no Turkish newspaper in Izmir. However, after the closure of the newspaper in a short time due to his critical attitude towards the government, he continued to participate in the city's intellectual debates as the head writer of the *Intibah* (Rebirth) Newspaper, published by Corci Bubli in 1875 meanwhile Emin Bey, the editor of *Kara Sinan*, published by Karidi Efendi as the first humorous newspaper in the city, approached these discussions through humor.

In the mentioned period, Tevfik Nevzad, Halid Ziya and Bıçakçızade İsmail Hakkı, whom Ziya Somar defines as "hüda-yı nabit zekalar (natural intelligences)", were forming the first footprints of Turkish contemplative life in the city together with Nevruz, the first magazine of the city.⁴⁰ Together with Tevfik Nevzad who said "*The language of man is speech, the language of society is newspaper.*", and Halid Ziya, he started to publish the *Hizmet* (Service) Newspaper on 13 November 1886. Thus, in the mentioned period, they opened another strong front against the leading media organs that addressed the Muslim Turkish community. Hafız İsmail, who came from Istanbul leaving Musavver Terakki, took part in the writing staff and supported this front. Working almost like a typewriter for the same newspaper, Mahmud Esat stood out especially with his articles in the field of law, while Rusçuklu Mehmet Hayri did not hesitate to offer his support to his friends, both with his articles and by sharing the responsibility of the newspaper. Müstebizade İsmet, as the chief author of the newspaper, with his interpretations, books, and translations, Panayot Mümtaz with his translations and articles and poet Eşref

³⁹ For more detailed information about the intellectuals who left their mark on the history of thought in Izmir, especially poets, litterateurs, and writers, in the period from the Tanzimat to the Republic, see Huyugüzel, 2001; For a comprehensive balance sheet of Muslim-Turkish writers working in the Izmir press during the tyranny period, see Nusret, 3-25.

⁴⁰ Somar, 2-8.

and poet Samih Rifat with their poems colored the intellectual climate of the city. Moreover, Mehmet Necip and Mehmet Şeref (Aykut), who were included in the editorial staff of the newspaper at the request of Tevfik Nevzad, were carrying the “simplification of Turkish discussions” to a new medium with their articles under the title “Our Turkish Language”.⁴¹

Ahenk Newspaper, published by Tevfik Nevzad, who was thinking of publishing a new newspaper considering that the Hizmet (Service) Newspaper would not be enough for a large region like Aydın Province, together with Mehmed Necati on 21st of February 1895, began to appeal to the people of Izmir with a rich editorial staff. Intellectuals such as İsmail Sıtkı, Mehmet Şevki, Ali Nazmi, Cevriye İsmail, Ali İrfan Eğribozu, Yenişehirizade Halit Eyüp, İbn Hazım Ferid, Mardios Yazıcıyan, Mehmet Şeref and Mehmet Necip, who were in the staff of Ahenk (Harmony), were processing the ideas of the Muslim Turkish society with their pens. Thus, Ahenk (Harmony) Newspaper, which would be known as the city’s longest-running newspaper in the future, and Hizmet (Service) Newspaper, which had been functioning as a school for Ottoman intellectuals since the first day it was opened, was the flag bearer of the press organs that appealed to Muslim Turkish citizens in the press life of the city.⁴²

Izmir newspaper⁴³ published by İsmail Hakkı Bıçakçızade, one of the representatives of the oriental culture in Izmir press as it can be understood from his discourses

⁴¹ For Hizmet Newspaper, its editorial staff and its editorial policy, see Somar, 37-52.

⁴² For detailed information on how Hizmet and Ahenk newspapers were published in Izmir press and within the framework of which policies, see Somar, 17-61; For the emergence of Ahenk Newspaper, its editorial staff and its editorial policy, see also Somar, 108-129.

⁴³ Another issue that needs to be clarified at this point is that it is not a continuation of the Izmir Newspaper published by Karidi Efendi and the Izmir Newspaper published by İsmail Hakkı Bıçakçızade. The result I obtained from the consultation we made with Efdal Sevinçli, who draws attention with his work on Izmir Press History, is exactly in this context. As a matter of fact, the last issue of Karidi Efendi’s Izmir Newspaper bears the date 17 December 1878, according to the available information. We know that Karidi went to Istanbul in July 1881. The first issue of Bıçakçızade Hakkı Bey’s Izmir Newspaper is dated 1 June 1896. It should not be forgotten that the concession of the newspaper belonged to Hakkı Bey. It seems unlikely that Karidi would retain and transfer the naming rights for 15 years. Also, let’s not forget that many newspapers in Greek and Turkish were published under the name of Izmir. Again, we know that Hakkı Bey, while going to Kosovo as “ser-mustantik” in 1907, handed over his newspaper Izmir to young people such as Hüseyin Hilmi, Baha Tevfik. For the transfer of Izmir Newspaper, published by Bıçakçızade İsmail Hakkı, to its Associate Hüseyin Hilmi, see Gökçek, Izmir, 2016.

such as “We do not need anything but Islam” and who received a strong madrasa education, offered different perspectives on the Muslim-Turkish society with the writings of many intellectuals of the period, from Avram Galanti, until June 1907 when he would go to Kosovo as a coroner, to Şair Eşref, from Hazım Ferit to M. Kamil, from Mehmet Şeref, to Hüseyin Hilmi and Baha Tevfik.

Associate Hüseyin Hilmi, who published the weekly Izmir Newspaper under the name of Serbest Izmir (Free Izmir) Newspaper from the place where İsmail Hakkı Bıçakçızade had left it, was representing the oppositional side of Izmir with a large staff of writers including Baha Tevfik, Ermenekli Hasan Rüştü, Mahmud Nedim, Bezmi Nusret Kaygusuz and Ömer Seyfettin after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. Because, in the aforementioned period, while the newspaper was propagating the Ahrar Party, the only opposition party of the period, on the other hand, it was a medium for criticism against the Committee of Union and Progress. Fikri Tevfik, İsmail Subhi, Ahmed Nebil, Hüzeyin Avni, Enis Avni, İlyas Macid, Hüseyin Ref’et, Şahabettin Süleyman, Hakkı Tarık, Raif Necdet, Burhan Nuri, Necip Türkçü, Belkis Senihe, Hikmet, Süheyl Hanım, Evliyazade Makbule, Ref’iyye Münevver and Evliyazade Naciye, who were in the editorial staff of the newspaper, were feeding the opposition wing with their published poems, serialized works, and articles.⁴⁴

When the Izmir press, where newspapers were published in many languages, from newspapers published by non-Muslim subjects and Levantines such as *Le Spectateur Oriental*, *O Filos Ton Neon*, *Ararat*, *La Buena Esperansa*, to newspapers published by Muslim Turkish subjects such as *Aydın*, *Devir (Era)*, *İntibah (Rebirth)*, *Kara Sinan*, *Hizmet (Service)*, *Ahenk (Harmony)* and *Izmir*, passed to the Second Constitutional Period with all this accumulation, there would be an increase in the number of newspapers and magazines available. Because, after being realized with the slogan of “freedom, justice, unity, equality”, the world of the press had also taken its share from the environment of freedoms that started to be talked about such as the right of equality, freedom of person, freedom of public, freedom of thought, freedom of religion (belief), freedom of society, freedom of gathering, freedom of participation (organization) and freedom of education. Looking at the number of periodicals published from 1908 to 1909, it can be said that *Revue de*

⁴⁴ For a broad analysis of the emergence of the weekly Izmir Newspaper and its editorial policy, see Gökçek, 23-46; See also Eldem, 2012, for Free Izmir, which the associate Hüseyin Hilmi continued to publish together with Baha Tevfik.

Monde Musulman gave 739, Mehmet Seyyitdanlioglu 660 and Orhan Kolođlu 730. Whichever way you look at it, it is an explosion.⁴⁵ Some of the Turkish newspapers published in Izmir after the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, such as Ahenk (Harmony), Hizmet (Service), and Serbest Izmir (Free Izmir), were a continuation of the mainstream published during the period of autocracy -among which it should be said that Hizmet (Service) and Ahenk (Harmony) newspapers were close to the Young Turks- there were also those that came to life in the form of newspapers of the new era such as İttihad (Unity), Edeb Yahu (Decency), Istikbal (Future), Sedad (Truth), Köylü (Villager), Gencine-i Edeb (The Treasure of Decency), Maşrik-ı Hürriyet (Freedom of East), Mizan-ül Hukuk ve Mülhakat (Balance of Law and Supplement), Gave, Yeni Vatan (New Homeland), Muharrir (Author), Istikbal (Future), Yıldırım (Thunder), Teşhir (Exposure), İbret (Example) and Türk (Türk).⁴⁶ This explosion in the press resulted from a reaction that developed against the “devr-i sabık (the era of questioning)” along with the society’s desire to listen to the facts freely. In this context, it is not surprising that the press life in a multicultural, multilingual, and multi-ethnic cosmopolitan city of the empire such as Izmir diversified and enriched within this framework.⁴⁷

New Lecterns of Izmir Press: Magazines

Evaluating books as “*too serious*”, newspapers as “*too irresponsible*”, and magazines as “the bastion of free contemplation”, Cemil Meriç describes this situation as “*many times the work of one man, the echo of one thought*”; and relates that magazines are “*the testament, or rather the message, of a group of intelligences and a generation*”. Describing every closed magazine as “a lost war, defeat or suicide”, Meriç studies the long-term failure of the magazines in the period from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic with the following words: “*Magazines have a sad fate with us; Most live*

⁴⁵ In order to better observe the activity and revival in the Ottoman press with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, see Uygur Kocabaşođlu’s work, which is a summary of our press history from the Tanzimat to the Republic; Kocabaşođlu, 2010.

⁴⁶ For a general inventory of newspapers, books and magazines published in the early republican period from the Tanzimat in Izmir, Huyugüzel, 1996; Aldırmaz, 2020.

⁴⁷ For a comprehensive evaluation of all these newspapers, publishing policies and writers published by Muslim-Turkish writers in Izmir press before the Second Constitutional Revolution, see Sevinçli, *ibid.*, 78-114; For Turkish newspapers and magazines published in Izmir during the II Constitutional Period, see also Kolođlu, 1986, 89; Arıkan, 103-109; For an evaluation of the newspapers published in Aydın in the context of Izmir and its annexation, see also Güneş, 2007, 21-58.

*for one season, like flowers. The luckiest ones speak to a generation. Old magazines are a cemetery with no visitors. A drawer with a lost key. No one wonders what memories permeate its pages, what hopes, what emotions are hidden.*⁴⁸ After Mecmua-yı Fünun, the first magazine published by Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye which founded by Münif Pasha in the Ottoman Empire, we know that many magazines enriched the press of the period after the firsts such as the first children's magazine Mümeyyiz, the first women's magazine Terakki-yi Muhadderat, the first humor magazine Diyojen, and the first illustrated magazine Mir'at.

In the aforementioned period, it can be said that Nevruz, which was published in 1884, twenty-two years after Mecmua-yı Fünun by Halit Ziya⁴⁹, Bıçakçızade Hakkı and Tefvik Fikret, who Ziya Somar defined as "natural intelligences", had been one of the harbingers of the important intellectual transformations in Izmir's cultural inventory.⁵⁰ The second magazine of Izmir is Terakki Magazine, published by Ali Sacid Efendi from April 1896. The journal, of which Tokadizade Şekip was the chief author, tried to offer a rich content to its readers with the writings of many authors, from Agop Zakaryan to Maraşlı Kamil Efendi, from Nureddin Ferah to Doctor Edhem Bey, from Mehmed Remzi Bey to Samipaşazade Sezai Bey.⁵¹ Şule-i Edeb, published by Mehmet Necati Efendi from February 1897, became the third magazine of the city. Yenişehirizade Halid Eyüb, Ermenekli Hasan Rüştü, Mustafa Nedim, Selim Sırrı Bey, Bıçakçızade Hakkı Bey, and Mehmet Remzi contributed to the journal with their different types of articles. Likewise, Muktebes, which was published from January 1898, under the concessionaire of Mehmet Zihni Efendi, was published with a large cast of writers and poets such as Abdülhalim Memduh,

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^{Cemil} Meriç, who likens the magazines published during the Second Constitutional Era to a "lectern", states that the magazines of the period lost their old readership with the letter revolution: "*In the Second Constitutional Monarchy, it was a lectern, a lectern or a flag. Their golden age ended with the adoption of new letters. They lost their old readers and had to wait for help from the state until new generations of readers grew up. The most urgent task of the republican intelligentsia was to liquidate the past and reinforce the present. From the Law of Takrir-i Sükûn to the 1940s, our journals did not allow any "extreme thought", or rather thought.*" Meriç, 2000, 101-102.

⁴⁹ For more detailed information about how Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, together with Tefvik Nevzad and İsmail Hakkı Bıçakçızade, started Nevruz in his early youth and his other memories of the period, see, Uşaklıgil, 2005, 17-49.

⁵⁰ Ziya, pp. 2-8.

⁵¹ Sevinçli, ibid., 178-179

Ermenekli Hasan Rüştü, Şair Eşref, Hafız İsmail, Resmolu Abül Fevzi, and Mehmet Ferit.

Undoubtedly, in addition to the newspapers whose numbers increased during the Second Constitutional Era, magazines were also seen as lecterns for reaching the public. In this context, it is observed that magazines such as Kokorok, Edeb Yahu, Gencine-i Edeb, İbiş (Fool), İmtiyaz (Privilege), Neşter (Scalpel), Haftalık (Weekly) Musavver Emel, İğne (Needle), Çapkın (Casanova), Tokmak (Mallet), Gençlik (Youth), Talebe (Student), Tan (Dawn), Yeni Lisan Müdafî' Yeni Hayat (New Language Advocate' New Life), Türk Çocuğu (Turkish Child), Hıyaban, Muallim (Teacher), and Zeybek were included in the cultural inventory of the city.⁵²

With these studies, which were carried out in a period when the magazines were not yet read, an important gap in the Izmir press was intended to be filled by the aforementioned authors.⁵³ Although the arrest and exile of names such as Mehmet Necdet, Hüseyin Rifat, and Rethymnon Ahmet Mithat one by one created a discouraging climate from time to time, Izmir press, with the articles of intellectuals such as Baha Tevfik, Ömer Seyfettin, Süheyl Feridun, Şahabeddin Süleyman, Celal Sahir, Ali Süha and Türkçü Mehmet Necib, that appeared in the newspapers almost every day, was almost like a herald of the approaching end of the era of autocracy.⁵⁴

Libraries as the Perfect Carriers of Intellectual Accumulation

Considering the numerical values of the libraries, which have a thousand-year history in Anatolia and almost all of them were established as foundation institutions, it is observed that 14% of the 323 libraries were in Istanbul, 8% in the Balkan provinces, 53% in Anatolian provinces, 2% in island provinces and 23% in Middle Eastern and Arab provinces in the Ottoman Empire between 1895 and 1896. However, it is immediately noticed that the number of libraries and books is relatively high in important cities such as Kastamonu, Konya, Sivas, Bursa, Mosul, and Aleppo. It is possible to include Izmir among these cities.

Although the library with the first detached building known in the Ottoman Empire was the Köprülü Library, there were also separate libraries apart from the foundation libraries. As a matter of fact, since the classical period, apart from

⁵² Sevinçli, *ibid.*, 174-184.

⁵³ Kaygusuz, *ibid.*, 7-9.

⁵⁴ Kaygusuz, *ibid.*, 24-25.

the libraries of large foundations such as Fatih Complex, Süleymaniye Complex, II. Beyazıt Complex and Selimiye Complex, there were also libraries founded by statesmen such as Ragıp Paşa Library, Yusuf Ağa Library, and İskender Paşa Library.⁵⁵ In addition, in modern Ottoman educational institutions such as Hendesehane, Mühendislikhane-i Bahr-i Hümayun, Humbarahane, Mühendislikhane-i Berr-i Hümayun, Military Academy, Mızıka-i Hümayun, and Tıbhane-i Amire, it is possible to come across libraries with rich content that preserve books from different disciplines such as mathematics, astronomy, history, geography, pharmacy, and geology. Likewise, the libraries of scientific associations such as Encümen-i Daniş (1851), Istanbul Greek Society of Edebiyye (Ellinikos Fillopikos Sillogos) (1861), Translation Society (1866) and Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye (1862) can be included in this range.⁵⁶

In the light of this information, when we look at the libraries of Izmir, we can talk about the existence of libraries created within the body of madrasahs, mosques, and foundations in the city before libraries were established in the modern sense. As a matter of fact, the libraries of Şadırvan, Hisar, Kemeraltı, and Müftü mosques that were full of manuscripts, as well as the library Bezzaz Hacı Ali Ağa had built in the Hatuniye Mosque can be evaluated within this framework.⁵⁷

The first library established in a modern sense for the benefit of the Muslim-Turkish community in Izmir is the private library of Giritli Ali Efendi in Eşrefpaşa. Giritli Ali Efendi, who moved his library to Kadifekale when he could not pay his rent due to financial difficulties, thought that he would not be able to cope with this task alone, and transferred all his books to the Izmir National Library which would be established in 1912.⁵⁸ In addition to Giritli Ali Efendi, Hafız Ahmet Tatar

⁵⁵ Anameric, 2006, 17-25.

⁵⁶ For the development of Ottoman libraries from the Tanzimat to the Republic, see Çavdar, 1995.

⁵⁷ İpek, *Journal of Contemporary Turkish History Studies*, Vol. 226.

⁵⁸ However, it would be necessary to wait for the 1908 revolution and after for the establishment of city libraries with the phrase “national” in their names in Ottoman cities. Because, while the Ottoman Empire was experiencing the problem of survival, which started with the 93’ War from the last quarter of the 19th century, continued with the Tripoli War and the Balkan wars, and finally entered the beginning of the end with the World War, was experiencing the problem of survival, in the sense of mentality, it was also swept away from the Ottomanism and Pan-Islamist movements to the idea of Turkism, which was providing an intellectual initiative from an ontological aspect for the process it was currently in. Because the aforementioned period expressed a process in which national reflexes and uneasiness came to the fore. In the aforementioned period, every phenomenon identified with the concept of “national” such as “national family”, “national economy”, “national

Efendi on the Government Street, Hafız Sabri, which was a little further away, and Mahmut Celalettin and Keşişyan Efendi's library in the Odun Pazarı were the libraries that tried to keep the city's memory alive in the aforementioned period.

Izmir with Changing Daily Life Practices in the 19th Century

Starting from the Tanzimat period, the Ottoman administration⁵⁹, which entered the “western civilization circle” from the old style of administration, as Halil İnalçık emphasized, began to take the steps that heralded the transformation in social, economic, and political terms. In this period, in which many developments were recorded, from the principle of the rule of law to the establishment of the field of individual freedom, from institutionalization studies to the establishment of the method of consultation, western life codes also began to spread. In fact, it is noticed that daily life practices were transformed in this moderate emancipation process, where the bureaucracy was strengthened, a new layer of intellectuals had developed, and women had begun to express themselves more easily in social life.

Izmir, which had become one of the avant-garde port cities of the empire with its rising commercial potential, enriching demographic structure, and special location in the Mediterranean basin since the 19th century, became the subject of change in almost every sense. In the aforementioned period, the Levantine port bourgeoisie was the first bourgeoisie of the empire to develop independently of the state, while the Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities formed the complements of the economic structure in question through the path opened by them. The participation of the representatives of the local Muslim-Turkish merchant group such as the Evliyazades, Uşakizades, Katipzades, and Kapanizades in this process, enabled the development of a port bourgeoisie engaged in Levant trade in the city. However,

bourgeoisie”, “national agriculture”, “national capital”, “national production”, “national solidarity”, “national consumption”, “national industry”, “national education” appeared in order to ensure the integration of Turkish society with its own identity. In the aforementioned process, it is necessary to read the “national library” phenomenon, which was envisaged to be established in many parts of Anatolia, especially in Izmir, within the framework of the political and intellectual transformations that the Ottoman Empire went through in said period. As a matter of fact, the stipulation of establishing a national library in the programs and bylaws of the political parties of the period, especially the Union and Progress, pointed to this situation. To make sense of how the Izmir National Library was established in the period from January 1911 to June 23, 1912 within the framework of the aforementioned motives, see Şahin, 1995, 39-46.

⁵⁹ İnalçık, 2017, 31.

the activity of the port bourgeoisie in the city was not limited to the economy alone. They also became the catalysts of socio-cultural change with the schools they opened, the newspapers they published, their understanding of entertainment that permeated their daily life practices. While occupations such as tennis, golf, football, and horse races constituted the most refined examples of western life codes exhibited by the port bourgeoisie, cafes, restaurants, clubs, casinos, cinemas, and theaters were the manifestations of this lifestyle in the spatial appearance of the city. To put it more clearly, while this cosmopolitan bourgeoisie that emerged in port cities, was spreading Western values in an Eastern geography, it also triggered important changes in the Eastern life codes. After this, activities such as camel wrestling, hunting, halva conversations, holiday festivities and hammam entertainments that could be included in the traditional entertainment understanding began to be replaced by activities such as going to casinos, cafes, bars, and restaurants, attending balls and parties, watching theaters and plays, and organizing trips.

In fact, 19th century Izmir looked like an extension of Europe in Asia with the Frankish Quarter, Punta, Kordonboyu and with its stylish shops, Levantine mansions, cinemas, theaters, clubs, and casinos in the gas-lit areas known as Meyhane Boğazı (Tavern Strait) next to the famous Ayafotini Church. Western travelers who came to the city could not help but compare it to a European city. The city was developing in a cosmopolitan social mobility and this social mobilization was one of the main axes that determined its lifestyle. The city, which hosted different cultures and imaginations, was growing by feeding on these differences. Opponents of the regime, exiles, intellectuals who were worried about the survival of the empire, contributed to the development of a life form that was fed with tolerance for differences and opened the doors of intercultural dialogue with their articles in newspaper columns and their thoughts that they opened to discussion in every corner of the city. In short, the citizens who were integrated with the urban culture were liberalizing. For example, young girls and ladies attended the movies, theater, balls, and parties wearing their most beautiful gowns, while men wore their frock coats and accompanied them. Clubs and venues such as the Odeon Theater in Kordon, Paris, Pathe, Key and Gay cinemas, Café Bela Vista, Café Luca, Sporting Club, New Club, Concordia, Monaco were crowded almost every day. Those who showed up at the teas during the day and at the parties and balls at night gathered for hobbies and occupations such as football, tennis, cycling, swimming, rowing, cricket, and

hunting parties at weekends.⁶⁰ In the sum of all these, it can be said that the city was building its own memory with the citizens who witnessed its development.

Coffeeshouses-Teahouses as Conversational Gathering Places of the City

On the other hand, among the places where Ottoman intellectuals gathered, public spaces such as coffeeshouses⁶¹ and teahouses can be mentioned as some other social spaces, in addition to newspaper administration offices, that mobilize the society in the ideological atmosphere of the period. In this context, coffeeshouses continued to preserve their feature of being indispensable socialization areas for both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects in this period. From this point of view, just as there were coffeeshouses which were like a haunt for the city's intellectuals in Istanbul, like Abdullah Çavuş's Diyarbekir Coffeeshouse in Divanyolu, Syria

⁶⁰ Bulut, 2010, 65-74.

⁶¹ There are some other ideas regarding the origin of the word "kahve (coffee)", which is stated to come from the root "k-h-v/y", which means "repulsive" in Arabic, because etymologically it has an effect that blunts the desire to sleep when drunk. As a matter of fact, while the word coffee is identified with Kaffa in the context of the place where it was first grown in Ethiopia, there are also those who refer to the possibility that it is a word derived from "kuvve" meaning "power" or "might". Although the consumption of coffee or the fruit of the coffee plant was traced back as far as Ethiopia in the past, its association with the Near East geography takes us to different narratives through different stories that also contain mythical elements. For example, one of the oldest examples found in the Arabic chronicles on the subject was that when Prophet Suleiman, who saw that its inhabitants were afflicted with an unknown disease during his journey, and prepared a drink by roasting coffee beans from "Yemen" upon Gabriel's order, the drink he gave helped the patients to recover from the disease while another is tied to a shepherd who realizes that sheep grazing in a field of coffee plants in Ethiopia has gained an unusual vitality. There are also rumors claiming that it was discovered by the *sofi ez-Zebhani*, who met people who drank coffee when he went to Ethiopia, and when he got sick after returning to Aden, he realized that when he drank coffee, this plant actually had properties such as relieving fatigue and drowsiness, giving liveliness and vitality to the body. Likewise, it is possible to talk about another narrative that takes on the identity of *es-Shazili* from the Shazili sect, who is stated to have survived for a while in the desert without eating or drinking anything other than coffee. Although coffee, which had been associated with formations such as sects due to religious motifs or a drink that keeps people awake during night prayers since its starting point, has initially been defined as an indispensable commodity of Sufi rites, it quietly gained a place in society by going out of this framework over time. In this direction, the presence of a pleasant stimulating feature towards conversation and friendship in coffee created the birth of coffee houses. Regarding the starting point of coffee and coffee houses, which had become widespread in the daily life practices of the oriental world since the 15th century, see. Hattox, 1996, 3-24

Teahouse that was a little further ahead, Thessaloniki Coffeehouse operated by Sotiri in Sirkeci, and Safa Coffeehouse in Beyazıt, it is also possible to talk about some coffeehouses in İzmir that functioned almost as centers of wisdom in the city.⁶²

The coffeehouses, one of the first social non-religious places that entered our culture more than four hundred years ago, came to İstanbul in the 16th century. Apart from being places where folk tales, epics and poems were read; where Karagöz, juggler, middle game and meddah shows were exhibited; where various games such as chess, backgammon, dominoes, paper, and bingo were played; where chapters were arranged, coffee, tea and hookahs were smoked, coffeehouses could also be differentiated according to their functionality such as artisan coffeehouses as well as janissary, fire brigade, asik (minstrel), semai and meddah (storyteller) coffeehouses.⁶³

According to Evliya Çelebi, who came here in 1671, the number of İzmir coffeehouses that we can trace from the notes of travelers since the 17th century was about 40. However, data on the details of İzmir coffeehouse culture are mostly found in 19th century sources. According to official records, there were 496 coffeehouses in İzmir in 1891. In the aforementioned period, since the trade between the port and the interior parts flowed with caravans, the caravans coming from the inner parts of Anatolia passed over the Caravan Bridge and reached Kemeraltı, one of the oldest known open-air bazaars in the world.⁶⁴ There were many coffee houses shaded by rows of cypresses, sycamore, almond, lemon, and vine trees on this line, which followed the route of Tilkilik, Anafartalar, and Namazgah towards the Kemeraltı bazaar from the vicinity of the Caravan Bridge, the entrance point of the caravans to the city. While some of these coffeehouses looked like a labor market in places where warehouses and inns were concentrated, some of them were coffeehouses

⁶² For old İstanbul coffeehouses and their features, see Sökmen, 2019.

⁶³ For the importance of coffeehouses in this context, where Muslim-Turkish men come together outside of the places of worship and meet their need for socialization in the hustle and bustle of daily life, see, Gedikler/Tekin, 2019, 55-59.

⁶⁴ For example, Baycığit, a porter's coffeehouse that continues to exist as a cafe in Hisaronu today and dates back to 1905, is one of the oldest coffeehouses in Kemeraltı. For detailed information on the social functions and spatial appearances of the coffeehouses in Kemeraltı, see Alparslan, 24-27; For an article by Oktay Gökdemir in which he describes the general characteristics of the Kemeraltı bazaar, see also Gökdemir, 2011, 42-43. In addition to Kemeraltı, there are such coffeehouses in the commercial centers of many districts such as Bornova, Buca, Karşıyaka and Gaziemir. Virane-yi Şahane Coffeehouse in Bornova bazaar is a 120-year-old place. It has been serving as a coffee house for over 70 years. For other historical coffeehouses in İzmir, see Gedikler /Tekin, ibid. 59-61.

operated in the lower sections of hotels such as Hacı Ali Paşa, Meserret, Gaffarzade and Askeri (Military) Kırathane.⁶⁵ In addition to these coffee houses in the central areas, where the heart of the city beat, there were also coffee houses operated in peripheral districts such as Karşıyaka and Urla.

On the other hand, in the 19th century Ottoman Empire, where the winds of nationalism blew and wars were fought one after another, conflict axes between societies were also reflected in the coffeehouses. In the mentioned process, coffeehouses drew attention as places where religious and ethnic-based conflicts were organized, as well as places where people from certain political views gathered. In this sense, it can be said that coffee houses almost always became headquarters of antagonistic political and social formations. Moreover, in the 19th century, coffeehouses where books and newspapers were read, and various publications were followed also came to the fore as places where various conversations and discussions were held. For example, in the notes of travelers who visited Anatolia in the aforementioned period, it is stated that there were regulars who were fond of newspapers and books in coffeehouses and even pro-Constitutionalist people who were interested in European history.⁶⁶ Indeed, where were coffee shops in the autocracy period Izmir, which stood out with its libertarian and oppositional qualities compared to other cities of Anatolia, where Muslim-Turkish intellectuals opposing the regime came together, followed the newspapers and magazines of the period, exchanged books, and kept the pulse of social, political, and cultural developments together.

Bezmi Nusret Kaygusuz states that the coffeehouses frequented by Muslim-Turkish intellectuals of the period were concentrated in Konak, Tilkilik and Namazgah districts. According to him: *“All intellectuals would gather in these coffee houses and would not go to other places.”* The coffee houses in Tilkilik, a district where old-established families such as Evliyazade, Akosmanzade, Uşakîzade, Alemdarzade and İplikçizadeler lived, were places that housed larger communities. In addition, these coffeehouses, which were among alleyways in the neighborhoods and under the shadow of willow trees, and were quite full in the summer months, were places where they sat with their friends until late at night and had conversations on literary and scientific subjects.⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, Feyziye Coffeehouse founded by Mehmet and Emin Efendi and Halim Ağazade Bey, Ömer Lütfi Efendi’s Askeri

⁶⁵ Kayın, 2000, 22-23; Gedikler / Tekin, ibid., 55-62.

⁶⁶ Gedikler / Tekin, ibid., 62-64.

⁶⁷ Kaygusuz, 38-41; Gedikler / Tekin, ibid., 69-70.

Kıraathane (Military Coffeehouse) on Beyler Street, Ekmekçibaşı Coffeehouse operated by Mehmet Efendi at the entrance of Kemeraltı opposite the government, Giritlisi Hasan Efendi and Ali Ağa's coffee houses in Tilkilik had always been popular places in this way. Askeri Kıraathane (The Military Coffeehouse), where poets such as Tokadizade Şekip, Tevfik Nevzat, Uşakızade Süleyman Tevfik, Doctor Taşçıoğlu Ethem, and the Young Turks came and went, is known as the boiling point of politics and communism in Izmir in the early 1900s. While Ekmekçibaşı Coffeehouse was a coffeehouse where those inclined towards Mevleviyeh and Bektashism came together, the places where madrasah connoisseurs gathered were the coffeehouses in Tilkilik. Bıçakçızade Hakkı Bey, philosopher Baha Tevfik, Şahabettin Süleyman, one of the first victims of freedom in Izmir Tevfik Nevzat, the Poet Eşref who was well known for his war against sultan Hamid with his satires, the friend of the poor patients Doctor Ethem Bey, the Izmir Health Director Doctor Şükrü Osman who would later become the Kastamonu deputy, lawyer Müstecabizade İsmet, Ermenaklı Hasan Rüştü known as the Kel Şair, Mevlevi Sheikh Nurettin Efendi, Hafız İsmail who would be the chief editor of Musavat Newspaper years later, the organ of the ententees, the sensitive poet of Izmir Tokadizade Şekip, the author of Izmir Poets Anthology Hüseyin Avni Ozan, poet Nurettin Efendi, Maraşlı Kamil Efendi, one of the teachers of Izmir School of Arts, Kadıhanlı Emin Bey who taught Prince Sabahaddin, Mehmet Sait Efendi who was elected as a deputy after serving as mufti for twenty-five years in Izmir, Hamit Suphi, known for his journal Musavver Emel, and poet and writer Bezmi Nusret Kaygusuz, who wrote his memoirs in "Like a Novel", were always the regulars of these gatherings.⁶⁸

Theaters of the Cosmopolitan Port City of Izmir

Although the first stage activities in the Ottoman Empire started in the 17th century, Sultan Abdülmecit had a palace theater built next to the Dolmabahçe Palace, and after the Güllü Agop Theater founded in 1868, this was followed by theaters and ensembles such as the Ohannes Kasparyan Company, Gedik Pasha Theatre, Vaspuragan Ensemble, Asya Company, and the Ottoman Theater. In the aforementioned period, Şinasi Şair Evlenmesi (Wedding of a Poet), Yusuf Kamil Paşa Telemak (The adventures of Telemachus), Ali Haydar Bey Sergüzeşt-i Perviz (Perviz' Adventure), and İkinci Ersas were the standard-bearers of the literature

⁶⁸ Kaygusuz, 25-47; Gedikler/Tekin, ibid., 69-73

created in this field, both in translation and in their own works. Many writers such as Namık Kemal, Ahmet Vefik Pasha, Teodor Kasap, Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Şemseddin Sami, Ebuzziya Tevfik, Abdülhak Hamit followed them with their works in the field of theatre.

As Özlem Nemetlu states, “The theater life, which started with the representations of European theater groups such as French, Italian and Greek, for minorities in the Ottoman Empire, found the opportunity to become local with the contributions of non-Muslim Armenians.”⁶⁹ The Ottoman theater, which manifested itself with the works of Armenian theater actors such as Mınakyan, Benliyan, and Fasulyacıyan in the early periods, started to get richer with the Greek and Turkish actors who participated in them. Names such as Ahmet Necip, Ahmet Fehim, Reşit Rıza, İsmet Fahri, Hamdi, İsmail Hakkı Efendi, Küçük and Büyük İsmailler and Naşit who appeared on the stage became the first Turkish theater artists.

However, the bankruptcy of the Ottomanism movement, which gave its color to the last period of the empire, together with the Balkan wars, brought the Turkism movement to the forefront and this vision had reflections on the theater life as in almost everything else. In this process, where national reflexes and uneasiness became evident, communities, societies, and theaters with the word “national” in them were established. As a matter of fact, the National Ottoman Theater Heveskaran Society founded by Reşat Rıdvan, the National Ottoman Theater opened by Burhanettin Tepsi, the Millet Theater opened by Muhsin Ertuğrul, the Turkish Stage founded by Kemal Emir with Vahram Papazyan, and The National Ottoman Operetta founded by Raşit Rıza with Benliyan came into being as an extension of this understanding. The most significant event in the aforementioned process in the name of the development of the Ottoman theater, which was under the influence of classicism and romanticism movements, was the establishment of Darülbedayi in 1914.

Ömer Faruk Huyugüzel, who claims that the theater activities in Izmir may have started in a parallel process with Istanbul, maybe even before it, dates this process to the last quarter of the 17th century. In this context, plays were held for Levantines in the consulate buildings of countries such as France, Venice, Austria or in the Frankish Quarter, among which the oldest known representation is the Nicomede of Corneille, played in the French Consulate in 1657, and it is known that Muslim subjects as well as non-Muslims participated in these representations with interest.⁷⁰ Although the

⁶⁹ Nemetlu, 2011, 28.

⁷⁰ Huyugüzel, 2004, 64-78.

theatrical performances carried out by the non-Muslim community compartments in the city were at least as important as those of foreigners, it can be stated that Jews organized performances that were more self-oriented and had a religious character. Likewise, it can be said that the Greeks played an active role in the theater life in the city since the first half of the 19th century. In fact, Özlem Nemutlu claims that the first local theater committee in the city was the Amateur Actors Group, which was probably formed by the Greeks and had been giving performances since 1824, and states that this was followed by the Buca Amateurs Group, which is thought to belong to the Greeks. In time, Greek companies such as Aleksiasdis, Tavulari, Kar dö villi, Kaptopulis, Veronis-Gennadi were added to these, and they performed plays at Sporting Club alongside theater buildings in Kordon such as İzmir and Parteon. Armenians, who started to appear for the first time in the theatrical life of the city with an Italian performance of Goldoni's *La Locandiera* comedy by the Maropyan School students in 1836, started to draw attention with the performances of the Vasparugan theater committee in the city. Apart from this, Armenian theater actors such as Minakyan and Benliyan, who came from Istanbul and performed in the city, contributed to this diversity with their performances.

On the other hand, the point when the city got its first theater building is a bit ambiguous. For example, Ö. Faruk Huyugüzel, based on an almanac published in Paris in 1830, states that the first general theater building in Turkey was established in İzmir, while Özlem Nemutlu refers to another theater built by the Amateur Actors Group in 1775. The first important theater building of İzmir is Euterpe, which was founded in 1841. It was followed in 1861 by the masonry Italian Cammarano theater, adjacent to the British Embassy, which had three floors, seventeen lodges, and was gas-lit. Later, plays and theater performances were so appreciated that new ones were established in many districts of İzmir, from Kordon to Karataş, from Bornova to Karşıyaka, and from Çorakkapı to Salhane. As a matter of fact, venues such as the Theater de Smyrne (1860), Frenk Casino, Apollon Theatre, Concordia Theater (1888), Ottoman Theatre, Alami-ra (1887), Jardin d'Eden (Garden of Eden), (1888), Elhamra which was made suitable for the winter in 1891, Europe Club and Casino (1892), Kukuli's Theater (1893), Sporting Club (1894), Theater Variete (1895), Luka Casino (1895), Cirque Accelsieur (1895), Bornova (Havuz Theatre) (1900), Artin Efendi Theater and the Lamberi Coffeehouse are the most outstanding examples of the aforementioned theatres.⁷¹

⁷¹ For more detailed information on the activities of theater companies and groups in İzmir before the Second Constitutional Era, see Nemutlu, *ibid.*, 7-36; For more detailed information on the theater life in İzmir during the Second Constitutional Era, see Güneş, 2005, 151-170.

In the light of this information, the most important point to be emphasized regarding the development of the theatrical life of the city is that Izmir's liveliness and activity in its artistic life cannot be explained solely by the activities of minorities or by the advantages of being a port city. In fact, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's linking this situation to the fact that the city was "*to some extent freed from the pressure exerted against the theaters by the oppression government*" can be evaluated within this framework.⁷²

New Addresses for of Daily Life: Taverns, Cafes, Casinos, Patisseries and Clubs

Izmir, which was one of the most developed cities of the empire in the 19th century, also had a considerable variety in terms of entertainment venues. It can be said that Izmir, which had become a magnet city with its taverns, casinos, patisseries, clubs, cafes, and bars, was able to reconcile the characteristics of a cosmopolitan port city with its own identity.

In addition to Prokopp, which was founded in 1846, there were 266 taverns in 19th century Izmir, which ranked second in beer production in the imperial geography after Istanbul, with Aydın breweries in Halkapınar. Apart from places such as Kordon and Meyhane Boğazı (Tavern Strait), beer gardens and taverns scattered in various districts of the city drew attention with their unique drinking and entertainment cultures.

In the aforementioned period, casinos and clubs such as Frenk Casino, Kramer Casino, Sporting Club, New Club, Concordia, Monaco were among the socialization areas created by Levantines and non-Muslim subjects -by isolating themselves from other nations- only for their communities. In addition, places such as Bella Vista, Cafe Luca, Cafe Costi, Haylayf Patisserie became the indispensable addresses of the new consumption habits of the port bourgeoisie.

In the aforementioned period, these places were also areas where secret meetings and negotiations could be held for Ottoman intellectuals and libertarians who wanted to get rid of the period of autocracy. As a matter of fact, it is extremely interesting that Halil Menteşe, who had served as a deputy for ten years during the Second Constitutional Era, as the Chairman of the Committee of Union and Progress, Minister of Internal Affairs, Justice and Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Council of State, and Chairman of the Parliament three times and as an Izmir deputy

⁷² Uşaklıgil, 1969, 115-116.

for fifteen years during the republican era, while talking about Izmir, in which he states that he spends one or two months a year in his memoirs, stated that during the reign of Sultan Hamid, freedom-loving people found each other everywhere, set up corners and chatted with each other there. As a matter of fact, he gives the names of places such as Kramer Casino, Haylayf Patisserie and Sporting Club in Frankish Neighborhood, among the places where they met with freedom-loving people and had evening conversations.⁷³

Apart from Kramer, Luka, Cafe Kosti, or Sporting Club, Selatin Tavern was one of the other places that was preferred by the Young Turks in the mentioned period. In fact, this place was known as a friendly council where Şair Eşref, Tevfik Nevzad, and their friends came together, and heated arguments mixed with laughter took place.⁷⁴

Sport as a Bearer of Levantine Culture

In the 19th century Izmir, traditional ancestral sports such as camel wrestling, javelin, and hunting were replaced by new hobbies and activities such as football, tennis, horse races, athletics, cycling, swimming, and rowing that the Levantine culture transferred to the collective memory of the city. Izmir, the city of firsts, was also the city that brought the first horse races, football, golf, and athletics to the imperial geography. For example, athletics races were held in 1892, and boat and swimming races were held in the first years of the 1890s in Izmir. Likewise, horse races that started in the 1840s in places such as Bornova and Buca where the Levantines lived intensely became regular since the second half of the same century, a horse race was organized by the Levantines to impress Sultan Abdulaziz, who was visiting the city, and Refik Bey, one of the Evliyazades, and Ahmet Bekri Bey, an Egyptian Turkish, became the leading names of the horse races organized in the city by Muslim Turkish gentry.

During the reign of Abdulhamid II, football was primarily played by Levantine families and non-Muslim communities of the empire since it was forbidden for Muslim subjects to act collectively. Girauds in Izmir were the first to bring football to the city and the Ottoman geography. Other Levantine families of

⁷³ For the places where Halil Menteşe, who stated that freedom-loving people found each other everywhere during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid, met with the dissidents in the city during his stay in İzmir, see, Menteşe, 1996; Nusret, 118.

⁷⁴ Somar, 120-121.

Izmir, such as Rees, Forbes, and Petersons, followed them and held tournaments among themselves in Bornova meadow and Paradiso (Şirinyer). Later, the Greeks established football teams with names such as Panionios and Apollon. The period was the age of nationalism and the Greeks of Asia Minor, in accordance with the fashion, named the names of their football teams with the names of the Ionian League or Apollon, the god of Hellenic civilization. The Armenians of Izmir, on the other hand, appeared in the city's football arena with the teams of Vaspurayan and Hoy Varsatsas. Levantines of Italian origin and Italians established a football team in the name of their national hero Garibaldi and participated in the city's football competitions. Although it is claimed that the interest of Turks in football in Izmir started with the team founded by the youth of the Izmir sultani (higher education schools) in 1870, it would be necessary to wait for the Unionists who evaluated football as a tool in the national economy and nationalization attempts, to put an end to the period of autocracy to establish local football teams, which meant unity against minorities. Because, during the mentioned period, one of the fields where physical training and sports, in other words bio-politics, was applied most clearly in the nationalization of the capital accumulation in the hands of non-Muslims and in the construction of cultural nationalism throughout the country, was football.⁷⁵

Conclusion

In the period from the 19th century to the Republic, Izmir became the second most important city of the empire after Istanbul. While it served as a warehouse where the rich products of Anatolia were transferred to the West in economic terms, it also underwent significant changes in sociological terms. Cosmopolitan Levantine merchants and capitalists, who pursued the rich commodities of Anatolia in the aforementioned period, were able to expand their limited activities at the beginning of the century to the inner parts of Anatolia thanks to their non-Muslim local collaborators who followed the path opened by them. The inclusion of the Muslim-Turkish merchant group in this process brought about the birth of a multicultural port bourgeoisie independent of the state. This multicultural port bourgeoisie has been the skillful bearer of the forms of Western life infiltrating daily life practices in Izmir, one of the most open cities of the Eastern geography to the West. The modernization formulations of the Ottoman bureaucracy, which had

⁷⁵ Bulut, *ibid.*, 73-77.

been trying to push the empire into the western civilization field since the Tanzimat period, accelerated this process.

Undoubtedly, the peculiarities of the city, which has been a crossroads of civilizations since ancient times, formed the pillars of the same process. For example, the sociology of Izmir, which has assumed the identity of an immigrant city with the migrations from the Balkans, Crete, Aegean Islands, Greece, Crimea, and the Caucasus, has always rejected what was politically imposed on it by the central authorities. Likewise, one of the opposition areas organized by the Committee of Union and Progress before the Second Constitutional Monarchy revolution found a place in Izmir. In fact, the Committee of Union and Progress itself was organized in Izmir in Ottoman Anatolia against Abdulhamid II. Izmir is the place where Dr. Nazım, who came to Izmir after 1906 and dressed as Tütüncü Yakup in the tobacco shop he opened right across the Asmalı Mescit in İkiçeşmelik, connected his redif (reserve) battalions to the 1908 revolution. When these redif battalions organized by Dr. Nazım were sent to suppress the freedom movement in Thessaloniki, it would have been impossible for the freedom movement in Thessaloniki to succeed if they had not taken the side of the revolution. In this context, as one of the places that least felt the autocratic tendencies of the Abdulhamid II regime, Izmir, which hosted all opposition movements on the urban scale, protected and hid them and reinforced their revolutionism. In other words, it had become a city where libertarian thoughts, actions, and ideas flourished against the authoritarian Abdulhamid II regime. But more importantly, the attitude of rejecting all kinds of actions and thoughts that limit the freedom of Izmir has been inherited in the republican period as well.

In the light of this information, it can be said that the paradigms that are effective in the breathing of Izmir, which is marked with descriptions such as the city of the firsts, the city of democracy, the city of freedoms, the city of those who do not compromise on their lifestyle, as a republic city on the farthest coast of Anatolia facing the Mediterranean are hidden in the collective memory of this process that is yet to be clarified.

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Bahar Arslan

*Neka zapažanja o kulturnom inventaru Izmira od Tanzimata
do uspostavljanja Monarhije (1839-1876)*

Sažetak

U periodu od 19. vijeka do Republike, Izmir je postao drugi po važnosti grad carstva nakon Istanbula. Dok je u ekonomskom smislu služio kao skladište gdje su bogati proizvodi Anadolije prenošeni na Zapad, doživio je i značajne promjene u sociološkom smislu. Kozmopolitski levantski trgovci i kapitalisti, koji su tragali za bogatom robom Anadolije u navedenom periodu, mogli su početkom stoljeća proširiti svoje ograničene aktivnosti na unutrašnje dijelove Anadolije zahvaljujući svojim lokalnim nemuslimanskim saradnicima koji su slijedili otvoren put od njih. Uključivanje muslimansko-turske trgovačke grupe u ovaj proces dovelo je do rađanja multikulturalne lučke buržoazije nezavisne od države. Ova multikulturalna lučka buržoazija bila je vješti nosilac oblika zapadnog života koji se infiltrirao u svakodnevne životne prakse u Izmiru, jednom od najotvorenijih gradova istočne geografije prema Zapadu. Modernizacijske formulacije osmanske birokratije, koja je pokušavala gurnuti Carstvo u prostor zapadne civilizacije još od perioda Tanzimata, ubrzale su ovaj proces.

Nesumnjivo, posebnosti grada, koji je od antičkih vremena bio raskršće civilizacija, činile su stubove istog procesa. Na primjer, sociologija Izmira, koja je preuzela identitet imigrantskog grada sa migracijama sa Balkana, Krita, Egejskih ostrva, Grčke, Krima i Kavkaza, uvijek je odbacivala ono što su mu politički nametnule centralne vlasti. Isto tako, jedno od opozicionih područja koje je organizirao Komitet unije i napretka prije Druge ustavne monarhijske revolucije našlo je mjesto u Izmiru. U stvari, sam Komitet unije i napretka bio je organiziran u Izmiru u Osmanskoj Anadoliji protiv Abdulhamida II. Izmir je mjesto gdje je dr. Nazım, koji je došao u Izmir nakon 1906. i obukao se kao Tütüncü Yakup u prodavnici duhana koju je otvorio preko puta Asmalı Mescita u İkiçeşmeliku, povezao svoje redif (rezervne) bataljone sa revolucijom 1908. godine. Kada su ovi redif bataljoni koje je organizovao dr. Nazım poslani da suzbiju slobodarski pokret u Solunu, bilo bi nemoguće da pokret za slobodu u Solunu uspije da nisu stali na stranu revolucije. U tom kontekstu, kao jedno od mjesta koje je najmanje osjetilo autokratske tendencije režima Abdulhamida II, bio je Izmir, koji je ugostio sve opozicione pokrete na urbanom nivou,

štitio ih, skrivao i jačao njihov revolucionarni duh. Drugim riječima, postao je grad u kojem su libertarijanske misli, akcije i ideje cvjetale protiv autoritarnog režima Abdulhamida II. Ali što je još važnije, stav odbijanja svih vrsta radnji i razmišljanja koji ograničavaju slobodu Izmira naslijeđen je i u periodu Republike.

U svjetlu ovih informacija, može se reći da su paradigme djelotvorne u disanju Izmira, koji je označen opisima kao što su grad prvih, grad demokratije, grad sloboda, grad onih koji ne prave kompromise u svom načinu života, kao republički grad na najdaljoj obali Anadolije okrenut Mediteranu skriveni su u kolektivnom sjećanju na ovaj proces koji tek treba razjasniti.