A TALE OF TWO CITIES
IN SEARCH OF A NEW IDENTITY

The Politics of Heritage and Modernisation in early 20th-century Izmir and Thessaloniki

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I, Kalliopi Amygdalou, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT

Recent research on multiple modernities and hybridity has brought under fruitful criticism earlier Eurocentric accounts that constructed non-Western countries as passive receivers of European modernism. It has revealed the complexity of interactions across geographies and brought into focus processes of cross-pollination and interpretation, and the dimension of power and agency. However the majority of studies examine the relationship between a 'Western' and a 'non-Western' context, hence missing issues of influence and antagonism among the neighbouring 'peripheral' actors themselves.

Building on this stream of scholarship and in response to this vacuum, my research examines the multi-directional flow of ideas and people between Western Europe, Turkey and Greece in the early 20th century, within the framework of modernisation and nation-building. Through this 'triangulation', it aims to contribute to the critique of constructed categories such as East-West bipolarities, to uncover unexplored interactions, and to address the complexity of drawing geographical and temporal borders.

The window through which this exploration takes place is the transition of two cities, Thessaloniki and Izmir, from the Ottoman context to two separate nation-states. Having lost their minority communities and having been devastated by fire in 1917 and 1922 respectively, they were redesigned by French and English architects. Drawing from reader theory and critical studies on nation-building and modernisation, and based on extensive archival research in Greece, Turkey and France, I explore the urbanist and architectural activity in these two cities during a period when identities were debated and (trans)formed as the Ottoman Empire was dissolved. The relevance of this research lies in its offering a new approach to the modern architectural history of Izmir and Thessaloniki, with wider implications in terms of historical analysis, in its uncovering of unvoiced aspects of the region's encounters with its past and with the deemed West, and in its contribution to a critical re-reading of our past and present today.

Η Ιθάκη σ' έδωσε τ' ωραίο ταξίδι.
Χωρίς αυτήν δεν θα 'βγαινες στον δρόμο.

Καβάφης, *Ιθάκη* (1911)

Ithaka gave you the beautiful journey.
Without her you would have not set out on the road.

Cavafy, *Ithaka* (1911)

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INTRODUCTION

Figure 1.   Works inside the Izmir Culture Park, 1936. Source : APIKAM, Izmir.

A photo taken in 1936 inside the site of the Izmir Culture Park (*Kültürpark*) depicts the construction of the new centre of Izmir (Figure 1). Piles of rubble in the foreground and middleground, the literal and symbolic ruins of the Ottoman period, form a

diagonal axis which leads the gaze to the middle-right part of the picture, where workers are collecting them and loading them onto trucks. The ruins of the Armenian and Greek neighbourhoods, which were burnt in the Great Fire of 1922 following the reannexation of the city by the Turkish army, are giving way to create the clean plane on which the new 'beautiful, civilized and hygienic'[1] Izmir will be built; a city paramount to a new Turkey, one that should be secular, modern, liberated from the backwardness of the Ottoman past and belonging to Western civilization. In what seems to be a site-visit by the municipal authorities, they supervise the progress of the works from the top of other piles of earth and rubble, while carefully also posing for the photographer. Some of the workers are also looking towards the camera as if also posing, but even the ones that are not – or maybe more so – are important parts of the setting, showing the Republican worker in action,[2] and the determination of the new nation to build its present and future.

Yet there is one unmissable presence in the photo, which complicates the narrative of destruction and rebirth;[3] that is the building of the Evangelical School of Smyrna at the rear right, which survived the fire and is today the Namik Kemal High School. Built in what is unmistakably the Greek Revival style, it alludes to a different

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[1] Hamdi Nüzhet, 'Izmir'i imar etmek icin hangi yollardan yürümeliyiz?' (In order to build Izmir, which roads should we take?), *Anadolu* 2 Augustos 1929.

[2] Workers in action (working in industries but mainly working in the fields) were often depicted in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, the propaganda magazine of the Turkish Republic (published in French, tri-monthly, between 1933 and 1949). For example the cover of issues 7 to 12, depicts figures of farmers working the land manually as well as with machinery, framed by industrial buildings in the background. The cover of issues 19-20 and 23-26 depicts the figures of two men planting seeds in the soil, with dozens of other workers of various crafts forming a stylized background. Photos of actual workers can be found most notably in No.3 (Oct 1934), pp.16-17 and No.5 (Fev 1935), pp.12-23, but they are less prominent than figurative representations. In issue No.8 (Aug 1935, pp.22-25), the Security Monument (*Güven Anıtı*) in front of the Government Sector in Ankara is depicted, featuring workers on one of its main reliefs. They, together with family life, are depicted as the centre of Turkish society, deserving protection from the police and the army (see Batuman, Bülent, 'Identity, Monumentality, Security: Building a Monument in Early Republican Ankara', *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol.59, No.1 (Sep. 2005), pp.34-45).

[3] A narrative of rupture from the past was, as we will see, put forward by the official historiography of both countries, but also reflected in the titles of contemporary publications on Izmir. For example, see Serçe, Erkan, Yetkin, Sabri and Yılmaz, Fikret *Küllerinden Doğan Şehir: The City Which Rose From the Ashes* (Izmir: Izmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2004) and Köylü, Murat *Küllerinden Doğan Şehir İzmir 1922* (Ankara: Kripto, 2010). In Greek, see the 2012 exhibition at Athens Benaki Museum accompanied by a documentary, both titled *Smyrna: The Destruction of A Cosmopolitan City, 1900-1922*, by director and curator Maria Iliou.

national claim to the city – and to the 'Western World'[4], this time by Greece, a claim that came to a definite end in 1922 with the end of the Greco-Turkish war. The building, which would have accommodated part of the expanding school[5], was almost complete in August 1922, and following the re-annexation of the city by the Kemalist troops, came under the jurisdiction of the new Turkish authorities and opened as a boys school.

This co-presence of the construction of Republican Izmir in the foreground and the reminder of Greek presence in the city in the background brings up a series of questions. To start, is this the only built footprint of the 1919-1922 Greek administration, an intermedium between the Ottoman and Republican periods of the city? Furthermore, following the 1922 change of borders, how has the image of this – and possibly other buildings- changed meaning together with the change of users? These barely researched questions bring Greek nation-building into focus in the study of Izmir's architectural history, and suggest a need to complicate our geographical scope by examining Greek modernisation and nation-building efforts at the time.

Such a widening of scope will immediately prove fruitful by bringing into our attention a parallel story. During the same period that Izmir was being reconstructed according to the plans of the urban planners René and Raymond Danger and the Beaux-Arts architect Henri Prost, and physically at a closer distance than the capital Ankara, another Beaux-Art architect, Ernest Hébrard, was supervising the reconstruction of Thessaloniki. Until 1912 part of the Ottoman Empire and since then belonging to the Greek Kingdom, Thessaloniki had been burnt down only five years before Izmir, in 1917.

Positioning these events in the same story, as this thesis sets out to do, brings forward another set of questions: what difference did the newly established border,

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[4] Throughout the thesis, the words West and East, Western, Eastern etc., when used as an ideologically charged or constructed category, are capitalized (e.g. Western civilization). In instances where they have only a geographical use (e.g. western Greece, western Turkey) they are written in lowercase.
[5] The Evangelical school was a Greek school under the protection of the English embassy, and was first founded in the early 18th century. The Greek community started raising money in 1906 by establishing an extra commission fee for its members and by fund-raising. They received additional support from Ioannis Pesmazoglu, a banker with origins from Anatolia, who had himself studied at the Evangelical School and owned the Bank of Athens. Construction started on 21 December 1909 and only finished in the summer of 1922. After the exchange of populations it re-opened in the area of Nea Smyrni in Athens. See Solomonidis, Hristos, *I paideia tis Smyrnis,* (Athens: University of Crete Press, 1962) pp.118-145.

which left two very similar cities on opposite sides, make to processes of modernisation as those were now taken up by the nation-states? As both Greece and Turkey turned towards a deemed 'West' but simultaneously turned away from each other, how can the study of one inform the understanding of the other? Moreover, was there any interaction or connection between them?

The presence of European architects in the Near and Middle East, and the modernisation projects taken up by colonial or national governments have been at the focus of scholarly research for some time. While in earlier studies, such as Gwendolyn Wright's landmark book *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*[6], the colonies were looked at as a special category, more recently, edited books have addressed modernisation and the employment of architecture and urbanism in the consolidation of state power by bringing together research on a variety of colonial, post-colonial, and post-imperial contexts.[7] Other research has especially focused on cross-cultural exchange between geographies, such as Esra Akcan's recent publication *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House*.[8] Such literature – which will be discussed in more detail throughout the thesis – has brought under fruitful criticism earlier Eurocentric accounts that constructed 'non-Western' countries as passive receivers of European modernism. It has revealed the complexity of interactions across geographies and brought into focus transformations and mutations of 'Western' ideas, the dimension of power and agency, and processes of cross-pollination and interpretation.

However the majority of studies examine the relationship between a 'Western' and a 'non-Western' context, hence missing issues of influence, antagonism and otherising[9] among different yet neighbouring 'non-Western' contexts and how these

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[6] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[7] See for example Isenstadt, Sandy and Rizvi, Kishwar *Modernism and the Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). Also Nasr, Joe and Volait, Mercedes (eds.), *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?* (UK: John Wiley and Sons, 2003).
[8] (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2012).
[9] The word originates from Said's work *Orientalism* (Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978) pp.1-9), who uses it in relation to Western conceptualisations of, in particular, the Middle East, according to Western agendas. In my research I use it in a broader sense, as a process also occurring between neighbouring states, or by the authorities towards their subjects, or by non-Westerners towards Westerners: 'Otherisation can be defined as the process whereby the 'foreign' is reduced to a simplistic, easily digestible, exotic or degrading stereotype [...] Otherisation is not however restricted to 'our' view of 'overseas territories'. It is deeply intertwined with racism, sexism, and other '-isms'

influenced conceptions of the West itself. The increase in the number of publications which feature studies from different geographical areas has partially counterbalanced this gap, but has also exposed the need to research 'non-Western' modernisations in terms of their interrelations, rather than separately from each other.

In the case of Greece and Turkey, examined here, the drawing of national borders has been reflected in a split in post-Ottoman historiography, whereby the histories of the two countries have been written in isolation. This isolation owes of course to their development, as objects of study, within different socio-political contexts but also to nationalist barriers and to practical difficulties of language and dispersed archives, and has only started to be reversed in the last two decades.[10] In the field of architecture and urban studies, only recently have scholars tried to look at them side by side, in the form of a comparison or a parallel study.[11]

Building on the above stream of scholarship and in response to this vacuum, this thesis aims to examine a case of multi-directional flow of ideas and people between Western Europe, Turkey and Greece during the period 1912-1940. Through this 'triangulation', it aims to contribute to the critique of bipolar categories such as East-West by exploring a new way of studying questions of modernisation and nation-building, through which it uncovers unvoiced interactions, neglected architectures and fluidity of meaning as we shift slightly in geographical location.

Being aware of the complexity of historical events that shaped my case studies, at this point I will briefly present the historical background of my research topic before further analysing the methodology and theoretical framework of the thesis. How did Thessaloniki and Izmir become part of separate states in the first place, and how did they burn?

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everywhere.' Holliday, Adrian, 'Exploring other worlds – Escaping linguistic parochialism', in *Issues in English Teaching,* ed. by Davison, Jon and Moss, John (New York: Routledge, 2000) pp.141-142.

[10] For such research in the fields of history, political science and literature, see Özkirimli, Umut and Sofos, Spyros A., *Tormented by History; Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (London: Hurst and Company, 2008) and Millas, Hercules *The Imagined 'Other' as National Identity: Greeks & Turks* (Ankara: Civil Society Development Program (CSDP), 2004). Also, by the same author, *Eikones Ellinon kai Tourkon-Sholika Vivlia, Istoriografia, Logotehnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa* (Images of Greeks and Turks – Textbooks, Historiography, Literature and National Stereotypes) (Athens: Alexandreia, 2001).

[11] See for example Bastea, Eleni 'Dimitris Pikionis and Sedad Eldem: Parallel Reflections of Vernacular and National Architecture', in *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*, ed. by Brown, Keith S. and Hamilakis, Yannis (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003) pp.147-170. Also, Tsilenis, Savvas E. and Marmaras, Emmanuel V., 'Parallel Routes: Proposals for large scale projects in the centres of Athens and Istanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century', *ITU A/Z*, Vol.8, No.1 (2011) pp.68-84.

Historical Background: Drawing and crossing borders

The rise of nationalism and separatist movements defined the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, together with important modernisation reforms in an effort to secure the survival of a weakening empire and the submission of the economy to the capitalist forces led by the European markets.[12]

Starting in the Balkans in the late 18th and 19th centuries, various ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire started uprisings, which, with the involvement of the Great powers and in combination with the First World War, led to the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of several new nation-states.[13] These uprisings, which were ideologically based on the ideas of the French Revolution and were fuelled by the economic and political demands of non-Muslim groups, aspired to establish independent states along the model of the Western nation-state and to dispense with what they considered to be the negative influence of the 'Oriental' Ottoman Empire.[14] Historian Feroz Ahmad mentions that

> for the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, until their empire was destroyed, the Turks tried to suppress one national movement after another. In the end they too adopted nationalism, waged their own struggle and set up a national state of their own.[15]

Indeed this series of conflicts ended with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 after the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922), led by the army officer and later proclaimed founder of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Atatürk, subverting the partitioning of the remaining Ottoman lands and securing Anatolia under Turkish control.

The resulting redrawing of borders left Thessaloniki and Izmir, two wealthy multicultural ports of the Ottoman Empire, in two separate nation-states (Figure 2). First, as a result of the 1912-13 Balkan Wars, Thessaloniki was incorporated into the

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[12] See Zürcher, Erik, *Turkey: A Modern History,* (London: IB Tauris, 2004), Chapter 5 The Era of the Tanzimat 1839-1871, p.50. Also, Inalçik, Halil, and Quataert, Donald, *An economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire,* Volume II 1600-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[13] For example the Greek Kingdom was established in 1830, Serbia in 1815, Bulgaria in 1878, etc.
[14] Özkirimli & Sofos, *Tormented by History*, p.17
[15] Ahmad, Feroz, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.24.

Greek Kingdom (1912). Its loss by the Ottoman Empire, during which around 400,000 Muslim refugees fled to Anatolia with the retreating Ottoman army, was a final blow to the already weak ideological stream of Ottomanism[16] and further fuelled the rise of Turkish nationalism.
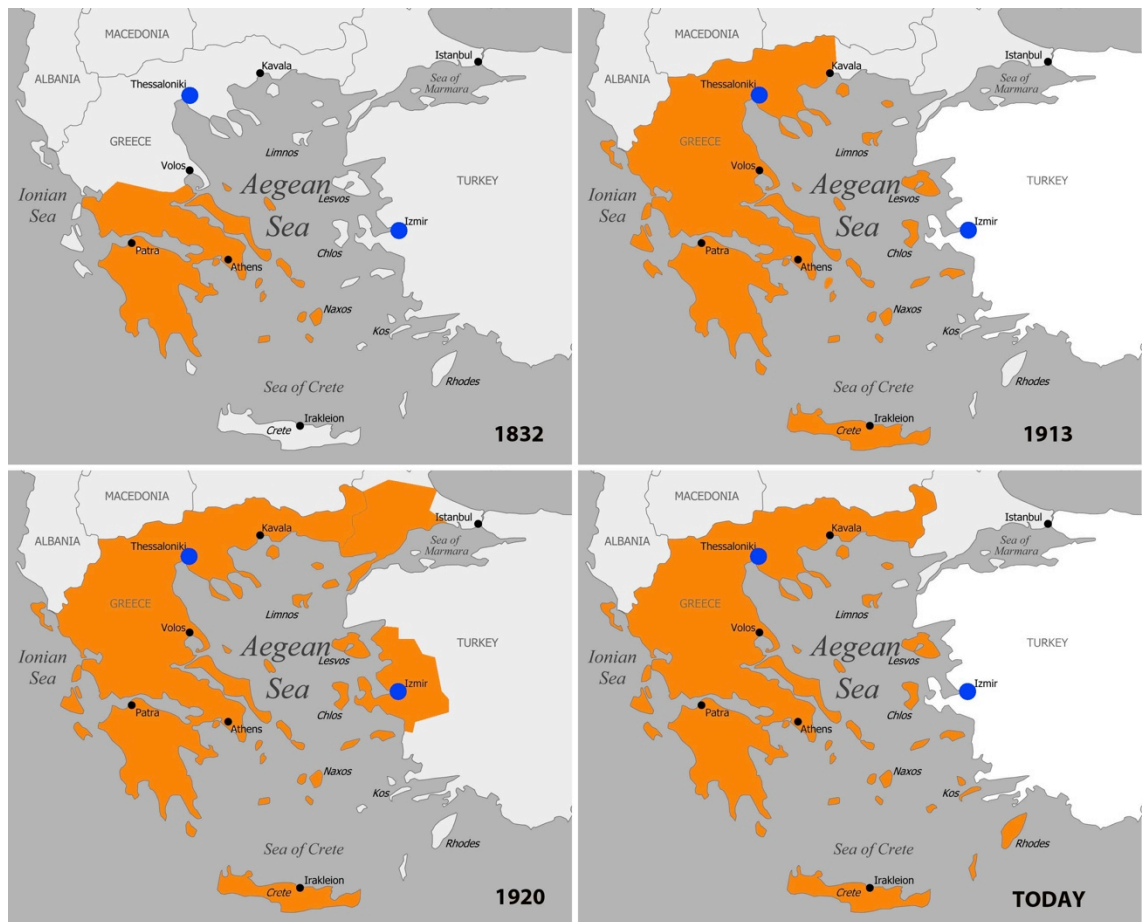
Figure 2.   Maps (colouring and markings by the author) depicting the constant change of borders until 1923, which resulted in the incorporation of Thessaloniki and Izmir by Greece and Turkey, respectively.

The end of the First World War brought further desirable border changes for Greece, and under the Treaty of Sèvres Izmir was annexed. Greece's expansion was ideologically fuelled by the vision of the Great Idea (*Megali Idea),* formulated around

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[16] Ottomanism was a movement aiming to create an Ottoman identity beyond ethnic or religious affiliations in order 'to bring the disintegration of the empire to a halt by instilling loyalty to an Ottoman fatherland [...] Its roots are generally traced back to a secret meeting of a group of six, one of whom was the famous poet Namık Kemal, in 1865'. See Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History,* pp.27-32. Islamism gradually replaced Ottomanism after 1878 and became an official policy under Abdulhamid II. Turkism was the third and last political project in the Ottoman times, enhanced by European studies on Turks and by the refugees flowing into Turkey from Crimea at the end of the 19th century.

the end of the 19th century, an aspiration of the Greeks to create a state that would incorporate all the lands with historical Greek presence.[17] During the period 1919-1922 the Greek troops penetrated into the interior of Anatolia, but were ultimately halted by the Turkish army and forced to retreat. The Lausanne Treaty, signed in July 1923, recognized the whole of Anatolia including Izmir as part of the new-born Turkish Republic.[18] Turkish nationalism as well as the leadership of Kemal Atatürk were ratified and sanctified through the reannexation of Izmir, and the year 1922, marking its 'liberation' and its demographic and physical transformation, is also Izmir's birth certificate for Turkish mainstream historiography.

Figure 3.   Thessaloniki burning on 18 August 1917, a photo by the French Military Photographic Service. Source: Mitos, Vyronas, *I Thessaloniki kai to Makedoniko Metopo*, (Athens: Potamos, 2009).

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[17] This expansionist vision aimed to revive the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire, and include former Byzantine lands from the Ionian Sea to the West, to Asia Minor and the Black Sea in the East within a Greater Greece.

[18] The Turkish Republic was officially proclaimed on 29 October 1923. For a more detailed analysis of the historical events of the time, see Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, Chapter 11 'The Kemalist One-Party State 1925 -45', pp.176-205. See also Koliopoulos, John S. and Veremis, Thanos, *Greece: The Modern Sequel* (London: C Hurst and Co Publishers, 2007), and Clogg, Richard, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

During this period of armed conflict both cities were devastated by fire. In Thessaloniki, an accidental fire that started in the northern neighbourhoods, on 18th August 1917[19] destroyed a vast part of the historical centre (Figure 3). It went on for 32 hours and burnt 120 hectares of the central historical city area, mainly the Jewish neighbourhoods, as well as financial, administrative, religious, educational, recreational and residential functions[20] (Figure 4). The fire left around 70,000 homeless out of a population of 278.749.[21]

Although the British and French troops stationed in the city within the context of the First World War were not successful in helping with the extinguishing of the fire, they contributed to the temporary relief and accommodation of the homeless, and, as we will see, the architect who would connect his name with the new city was serving in the French troops. It is worth noting that the most widely known photographs of the devastated city – some of which will be used in this thesis – were taken by the French Military Photographic Service (Figure 3, Figure 7, Figure 45).

On the other side of the Aegean, Izmir surrendered to a huge fire in September 1922, a few days after it was annexed by Turkey and the retreating Greek troops had left the city.[22] The fire burned down the biggest part of the Armenian district and large parts of the Greek and European districts (Figure 5). The fleeing of hundreds of thousands of non-Muslims followed the destruction of the city. According to the 1931-1941 mayor of the city Behcet Uz:

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[19] In some archival documents the Julian Calendar date is used, August 5th.

[20] 'The Jewish community was worst affected for the fire had consumed its historic quarters: most of its 37 synagogues were gone, its libraries, schools, club buildings and offices. Many mosques were also burned, as were most of the great hans [han a caravanserai, a type of inn with an interior court]; Ismail Pasha, Eski Youmbrouk, the Pasha Oriental – which had housed travellers through the centuries.' Mazower, Mark, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*, (London: Vintage, 2004), p. 320.

[21] The population data are based on the 25.8.1917 census. See Yerolympos, Alexandra, *I Anoikodomisi tis Thessalonikis Meta tin Pyrkagia tou 1917* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1995), p.86.

[22] There is a huge controversy about who burnt the city, especially since it was an act of war accompanied by violence, many casualties and fleeing of refugees. Although all sides agree it was arson, there is disagreement about who is to blame. Various scholars have claimed it was the Turkish troops or irregular forces, whereas official Turkish historiography has claimed that the arsonists were the Greek Army, and more recently that it was Greek or Armenian irregulars. I consider the discussion of this tragic event necessary in order to critically engage with our common past; however the fire is not the focus of my research. For more information see: Georgelin, Hervé, *La Fin de Smyrne, Du cosmopolitisme aux nationalismes* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2005). Also, Kırlı- Kolluoğlu, Biray, 'Forgetting the Smyrna Fire'*, History Workshop Journal,* Vol.60, No.1, pp.25-44 and Giles Milton *Paradise Lost – Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of Islam's City of Tolerance* (London: Sceptre, 2009).

The area where Kultur Park is situated today was known as Neighbourhood of the Franks and there were Greeks and Armenians living there. In this neighbourhood, on the 13th of September, fires started. Also the neighbourhoods behind the first and second Kordon were burning. The sounds of the bombs were increasing fear and tension. This fire unfortunately continued for 3-4 days. At the end, the best neighbourhoods in Izmir were burned down to ashes and ruined.[23]

Figure 4.   Map of the historic centre of Thessaloniki, showing the areas burnt by the 1917 fire. Source: National Centre for Maps and Cartographic Heritage, Thessaloniki.

[23] Uz, Behçet, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Doğusu* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007) p.39.

Izmir's physical destruction was accompanied by a drastic loss of its minority populations, who in fact all together composed a majority in the city.[24] This is important because the inhabitants of the new city would not be the multiconfessional, multilingual population of the Ottoman city, but a religiously homogeneous one. In Thessaloniki, in which Greeks were a minority in 1912,[25] the Bulgarian population found itself in a hostile environment especially since Bulgaria had unsuccessfully claimed the city in the Second Balkan War in 1913, and an outflow towards Bulgaria started.[26] The city did not lose its non-Christian populations straight away, but very quickly; its Muslim population departed with the mutual and compulsory exchange of populations in 1923,[27] whereas its Jewish population was tragically eliminated during the German occupation in the Second World War.

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[24] Izmir's demographic data varied a lot and were heavily dependent on national alliances, but according to the majority of sources related to the city itself (and not to the whole of the province), at the beginning of World War I the city's population was around 250,000, and the non-Muslim population (Greek-Orthodox, Jewish and Armenian Ottoman subjects, Levantines and other residents holding foreign passports, such as Greek citizens) had surpassed the Muslim population, which explains why the city was nicknamed *gavur Izmir*, meaning 'infidel Izmir'. Just to site an example, according to Raif Nezihi (*Izmir'in Tarihi* (Izmir: Yeşilyurt Kitabevi, 1969) pp.7-8), after the Balkan Wars the population increased to 225,000 because of the incoming refugees, and consisted of 100,000 Turks, 50,000 Rum (Greek Orthodox Ottoman Subjects), 25,000 Greek citizens, 16,000 Jews, 6,000 Armenians, 8,000 Italians, 1000 French, 1000 English). For more see Barran, Tülay Alim, *Bir kentin yeniden yapılanması – Izmir 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: Arma, 2003) pp. 24-25. See also Pentzopoulos, Dimitris, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its impact on Greece* (London: Hurst & Co., 2002) pp.29-30. Some Turkish sources separate Greek Ottoman subjects from Greek citizens, whereas Greek sources mention them as one group, in which case Greeks emerge as the biggest ethnic group in the city. This has major implications since the demographic data is of crucial importance and it was used in order to support Greek or Turkish claims over the city.

[25] In the 1913 census of Thessaloniki, just one year after its annexation by Greece, it counted a majority of Jews (around 60,000), 45,000 Turks, 40,000 Greeks and 6,000 Bulgarians (Hastaoglu-Martinidis, Vilma, 'A Mediterranean City in Transition: Thessaloniki between the Two World Wars', *Facta Universitatis,* Vol.1, No 4., (1997), p.502. The Jewish community had a centuries-old historical presence and consisted mostly of Sephardi Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1492 and were subsequently granted protection by the Ottoman Empire. See Veinstein, Gilles (ed.), *Salonique 1850-1918, la "ville des Juifs" et le réveil des Balkans* (Paris: Autrement, 1992).

[26] 'After the loss of the Inter-Allies War (the Second Balkan War), as well as of the defeat of the Central Powers, which Bulgaria joined in World War I, refugees from Macedonia, Thrace, and Dobruja headed towards the country. Over the period 1912-1929, Bulgaria received more than 55 thousand families, totalling about 250 thousand people.' See Mintchev, Vesselin, 'External Migration and External Migration Policies in Bulgaria', *SEER-South-East Europe Review of Labour and Social Affairs*, Issue 03 (1999), p.124 Part of this outflow of Bulgarians was regulated by two mutual exchanges of populations between Greece and Bulgaria (according to the Mollov-Kafandaris and Kalfov-Polits agreements).

[27] According to the Lausanne Treaty around 1,200,000 Greek Orthodox people were forced to leave Turkey and move to Greece, while 500,000 Muslims were forced to move from Greece to Turkey.

In parallel to the exodus of ethnic minorities, both Thessaloniki and Izmir received big numbers of refugees that reinforced their desired national character,[28] however causing new divisions among their societies, this time between 'locals' and 'refugees'. Nevertheless, the wound of a 'lost homeland' is still imprinted in the two cities' strong refugee identity, and reflected in their inhabitants' strong nationalist views, in the old toponyms they gave to their new neighbourhoods,[29] the songs, the music, the food, etc.

Figure 5.   Part of a 1925 map showing the burnt zone. Source: Atay, Çınar, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* (Ankara: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, 1998), p31.

Overall, in addition to the change of borders, national affiliations, and human fabrics, these two cities experienced a drastic destruction of their urban fabric very

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[28] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities,* p.137.
[29] For example Menemen district in Thessaloniki refers to Menemen near Izmir, Neo Kordelio (New Kordelio) neighbourhood refers to Karşıyaka, Nea Magnisia refers to Manisa etc. There is also a Saint Photeini church referring to the old Saint Photeini of in Izmir, which was burnt in the 1922 fire.

early in their post-imperial history, which marked even deeper their transition from the imperial framework to the nation-state. After the minorities had departed, what still remained was a diverse population, far away from the imagined national citizen. As we will see in the following chapters, architecture and urbanism became fields of negotiation and reconfiguration of these populations' national and modern identities.

Methodology and theoretical approach

Like in many other cities in the area, such as Sarajevo (annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1908), Alexandria in the 1920s and 1930s, and Sofia after the independence of Bulgaria in 1878, the respective authorities invited foreign architects to rebuild Izmir and Thessaloniki after the war. Hastaoglu's and Yerolympos's work on post-imperial Balkan cities[30] has highlighted how transition from Empire to nation-state was manifested in the urban fabric, especially in cities that were very multicultural before the nationalist wave, did not have a 'clear' national character, and were located in contentious territories.

As will be demonstrated in this research too, destructions and reconstructions of the urban fabric, restorations and demolitions, expansions and excavations were not accidental events or undiscriminating, unprejudiced actions, but were linked to the ideological and political debates on the 'national identity' of the city. The past, in the form of built heritage, lies at the centre of these debates and lends itself to instrumental use by the present.[31] Obvious though this remark might seem, in the following chapters I will explore the complexities of and deviations from the official reconfiguration of the past as they were reflected in city space and architectural form.

The formation of a national genealogy was closely related to the envisioning of a modern future, which was presented as a national destiny. Commitment to

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[30] Yerolympos, Alexandra 'A new city for a new state. City planning and the formation of national identity in the Balkans (1820s-1920s)', *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.8, No.3 (1993) pp.233-257 and Hastaoglu-Martinidis, Vilma, 'Urban aesthetics and national identity: the refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean cities between 1900 and 1940', *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.26, No.2, pp.153-182.

[31] The study of handling of past heritage here relates to the work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O.Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Allan Megill, 'History, memory, Identity', *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol.11, No.3 (August 1998), pp.37-62; and others.

modernisation and to the construction of a 'Western identity' was very compatible both with the economic and political interests of the two countries and with their ideological detachment from the Ottoman legacy.[32] The investment in the modernising power of urbanism characterizes their post-imperial history.

These two dimensions, the quest for a *modern* and *national* identity, are the main concepts that this thesis addresses. As will become obvious, the meaning of these terms is not crystallized. The term 'modernity' will be used in reference to the desired result of the processes of modernisation, to the 'condition of living imposed upon individuals by the socioeconomic process of modernisation'.[33] Hence I am not assigning to modernity a priori specific content (or form) – rather, I am looking at how it was understood by the different actors in my case studies.

Similarly, the definition of 'Greekness' and 'Turkishness', as well as 'Frenchness', will fluctuate during the course of the examination of the case studies. The 'modern', and the 'past', as the latter is employed by nation-building in order to reflect an identity, emerge as 'floating signifiers',[34] as fluid categories whose content and value are determined by the relevant context.

While engaging with the abovementioned fluid ideological landscape in terms of form and meaning, I will be looking at the question of agency. Insofar as the priorities of the nation-state at the time were modernisation (as defined by its multiple participants) and the consolidation of a national identity, this thesis aims to examine the state-led urban interventions as products and generators of the modern and

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[32] Yerolympos, Alexandra, 'Urbanism as Social Engineering in the Balkans (1820–1920): Reform Prospects and Implementation Problems in Thessaloniki', in *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?* ed. by Nasr, Joe and Volait, Mercedes (UK: John Wiley and Sons, 2003) p.110. In the case of Turkey, the work of Sibel Bozdoğan *Modernism and Nation Building – Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: Washington University Press, 2001), has been a major contribution in the critical studies of the employment of architecture and urbanism in the service of nationalism and Westernisation.
[33] Heynen, Hilde, *Architecture and Modernity; A Critique,* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p.3.
[34] The term 'floating signifier', coined by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *Introduction to Marcel Mauss* (London: Routledge, 1987), refers to concepts with a fluid meaning, both in terms of content as well as value. Hence signifiers with vague, multiple or even non-existent signifieds, have no crystallized meaning and acquire their signification depending on the context. Stuart Hall has used the term used in analysing categories such as race and gender. See also Mehlman, Jeffrey, 'The "Floating Signifier": From Lévi-Strauss to Lacan', *Yale French Studies,* No.48 (1972), p.23.

national conditions, considering architecture both as 'evidence of the world of phenomena exceeding architecture itself and a player in that world.'[35]

If however the built environment is approached as a spatial discourse that shapes and is shaped by its users, not all spatial actors have the same power in decision-making and milieu-shaping. Rather, central and local political actors together with local and foreign professionals, intellectuals, interest groups, journalists and inhabitants, had different amounts of agency in co-authoring the new shape of the city. The question of authorship and negotiation, in the shaping and transformation of the discourse – or multiple discourses – will be one of the main topics addressed in the examination of the architectural transformations of the two cities.

What about the addressees, or readers of these discourses? The thesis does not go as far as examining the perception and experience of the spatial products by their final users, something that would lead me into a different topic, that of examining diaries, oral history archives, and other relevant data of the time. However, it employs Wolfgang Iser's term of the 'implied reader'[36] – which refers to the image of the recipient that the author had while writing. I use it in order to talk about the imagined user and recipient of the new architectural and urban landscapes of the city, as they were conceived by the agents of spatial interventions.

Apart from involving different spatial actors, these urban interventions were the outcome of different interpretations and readings of the 'modern' and the 'national', owing to multilateral flows of ideas and conceptual constructions of the 'East', 'West' and of national pasts both by foreign and local actors. As Iser has pointed out, however, the forms that interpretation takes do not come naturally, nor are they limitless, but they have their own repertoire, conditioned by the socio-political context of the time.[37] The study of these processes brings forward variations and deviations from the canon, which can contribute to restoring the multiple voices of the time, and, I very much hope, to enhancing critical thought today.

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[35] Leach, Andrew, *What is architectural history?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010) p.72. This also relates to Henri Lefebvre's theory of space (*The Production of Space* (USA: Blackwell, 1991), p.11).
[36] Iser, Wolfgang, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978) pp.27-38.
[37] Iser, Wolfgang, *The Range of Interpretation,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p.ix

The third side of the triangle; A relational approach

As already mentioned, this thesis will use the above concepts in order to address the topics of modernisation and nationhood within a geographical triangulation – hence it will look at Thessaloniki's turn to the West and Izmir's turn to the West in the relation to each other. By introducing the third side of the triangle, connecting Izmir to Thessaloniki, I argue that we will benefit in three ways:

First, this method will highlight the constitutive role of Otherisation. If the relationship that the nation-states were in the process of establishing with the West was one of alliance and magnetic attraction, the one between Greece and Turkey resembled magnetic repulsion.

Borders, emerging as important embodiments of difference, obviously predated nation-states, but it is with the advent of nationalism that they came to embody the physical limits of the 'nation'. The latter has been defined by Benedict Anderson[38] as 'an imagined political community, – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. Its limits are an essential element of its existence; they embody and safeguard its difference from other nations.[39] More than that, differentiation from others is crucial in order to define the self. In Armstrong's words, 'groups tend to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion, that is, by comparison to "strangers"'.[40]

Hence in combination with and as part of the exploration of the two countries' relations to the deemed West, this thesis will address the process of otherising, of thus drawing lines, and creating borders. These can be physical lines, or virtual lines, for example geographical borders but also temporal borders, which are the outcome of a process of otherising not only the neighbour, but also parts of the past.

The Greco-Turkish border is an especially interesting case because it is not only the outcome of Greek and Turkish nation-building and the embodiment of a

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[38] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, (London:Verso, 1983) p. 6

[39] Furthermore for Anderson, 'imagining' does not imply 'falsity', in contrast to Gellner's understanding of 'invention' as 'fabrication'. Özkirimli, Umut, *Theories of Nationalism*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 [2000]), p.144.

[40] Armstrong, John Alexander, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p.5. Hence identity is not defined by essential characteristics of the group; on the contrary, the boundaries of identities 'vary according to the perceptions of the individuals forming the group. Thus, it makes more sense to focus on the boundary mechanisms that distinguish a particular group from others instead of objective group characteristics.' Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism,* p. 171

geographically local opposition. But also, in the prevailing political discourse, it represents, especially nowadays, the border between Europe and Islam, East and West, and it is widely used not only in the interior politics of the two countries, but on the international scene and in the interior politics of Western European countries, particularly when debating immigration and the possibilities of the European Union's expansion. Depending on the ideology of the bearer, this border is presented with various levels of perforation – for some it is solid and non-negotiable, whereas for others it is flexible or transcendable.[41]

The two countries examined have narrated and supported their identities in relation to this border. Greece, along with the rest of the Balkans, emphasized their detachment from the 'East' and aspired to a modernisation that was synonymous with Westernisation, which would reinstate them in the 'European family' where they 'naturally' belonged. Turkey, on the other hand, under the Kemalist regime, tried to downplay the importance of this border and include itself in the Western world, adopting a discriminatory mentality against its Eastern neighbours and directing its nation-building to the westernization of society.

Second, looking at the two cities and their relationship helps position them in a wider context, one that does not get caught in the specificities of one national context. Scholarship in Greece and Turkey tends to overemphasise the Eurocentric hegemonic discourses and the Orientalist gaze, which construct these countries as inferior to the West, hence ignoring their own discriminatory attitude and hegemonic discourse towards each other or third neighbours.[42]

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[41] It is important, I believe, to take under consideration the fact that this part of the world (the Balkans and Near East) had successively and for centuries been unified culturally and administratively. For the first time in the 20th century the Greco-Turkish border was established, dividing a geographical area that seemed naturally bounded. The Greco-Turkish border came to signify (and still is used as such by many political camps today) a division between Europe and Asia, between Christianity and Islam, East and West. During the Cold War it lost its importance compared to the Greco-Bulgarian and Turco-Russian borders, but in the last decades, especially with the rise of Islamophobia, illegal immigration, the EU aspirations of Turkey and the continuing Middle East crisis, it has returned to the centre of the – especially EU – agenda.

[42] As Zachary Lockman also mentions in his research on the relations between Arab and Jewish railway workers in the British mandate period on the outskirts of Haifa: 'I would also argue that many, if not most, of the historians, sociologists, and others who have contributed to this literature have worked from within (and implicitly accepted the premises of) either Zionist or Arab/ Palestinian nationalist historical narratives. As a result, much of the published research, while often valuable and important in its own right, nonetheless fails to adopt a sufficiently critical stance toward the categories of historical

The similarities that these two cities present allow a deeper understanding of the factors that produce them, the larger processes by which both are affected (capitalist economy, nationalism, colonial policies and competition of the Great Powers in the region), and, more importantly, of the factors that cause their – undoubtedly existing – differences.

This approach hence also draws from Perry Anderson's *relational history*, as he defined it in *Agendas for Radical History*:

> It is the transitive impact of one society on another that poses the most demanding, and often least ventilated, questions of a true international history. By this I do not mean comparative history, which has a wide welcome and is much on the increase today. What I have in mind is a relational history that studies the incidence – reciprocal or asymmetrical – of different national or territorial units and cultures on each other. This I believe is – at least in post-medieval, or non-colonial, historiography – still fairly rare. The overwhelming bulk of our history writing, be it radical, liberal or conservative, remains national in focus. These national histories can be compared or even set within some larger global complex, as world-system theory does. What is less often either attempted or achieved, however, is a reconstruction of their dynamic interrelationships over time.[43]

Third, examining the two cities' influence on each other will uncover unvoiced interactions and unexplored spatial interventions. Could it be that by following the national categories, which the period we are critically looking into enforces on our geography, we are reproducing them? Could it be that by looking into these modernisation efforts as singular stories, we are missing the points were they intersect and interact?

For example, the Greek administration of Izmir during the period 1919-1922 can only be understood within the context of Greek nation-building, into which the case of Thessaloniki gives us invaluable insight.[44] Despite the fact that Izmir's architectural historiography has benefited from important contributions in recent

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analysis which it deploys.' Lockman, Zachary, 'Railway Workers and Relational History: Arabs and Jews in British-ruled Palestine', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, No.3 (July 1993), p.602.

[43] Anderson, Perry, 'Agendas for Radical History', *Radical History Review,* No.36 (1986) pp.35-36.

[44] Although historians and political scientists have looked into the period of the Greek administration of Smyrna, its architectural aspects remain largely unresearched.

years,[45] the period of the Greek annexation has been neglected both because of the aforementioned difficulties of archival research as well as because of the normative categorisation of historiography into Ottoman and Republican, leaving the period 1919-1922 in limbo. On the Greek side, additionally, the historiographical emphasis on the 'Greek Smyrna' of the Ottoman period, rather than on the bloody years of the failed military campaign, have left such questions completely unresearched.

To conclude this description of the main theoretical and methodological tools of the study, this 'tale of two cities in search for a new identity' is a story of drawing conceptual and literal borders within the above-stated triangulation, involving processes of interpretation, authorship, re-reading and rewriting of the past and the modern, which will be the topical and theoretical focuses of the thesis. Thus, the wider question that leads the research could be formulated as follows: in what ways was the meaning and content of modernisation, national heritage and national identity rearticulated as the actors intervening in the urban and architectural reality of the two cities claimed legitimacy over space and redefined their relationship to the West and to their neighbours?

Positionality

Growing up in Chios, the Greek island across from the province of Izmir, I remember looking to the other shore with fear and distrust. I never crossed the waters as a child or as a university student. Western Europe felt closer to most of us than the land three miles to the East. It took years until, almost finding myself by coincidence in Istanbul as an Erasmus student, I started studying Turkey and Turkish, re-learning my history, the region's history, challenging my stereotypes and coming face to face with the stereotypes of the society I grew up in.

While staying in Izmir for field work, one day in April 2012, I found myself with some Turkish friends in the village of Urla (Vourla), only some miles away from my home island, a village which was Greek-populated before the exchange of populations

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[45] Works such as Zandi-Sayek, Sibel, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011) or Smyrnelis, Marie-Carmen (ed.) *Smyrne, la ville oubliée,* (Paris: Autrement, 2006).

in 1923. As we wandered around the centre of the village, we noticed a marble column with some Ottoman scripture engraved on it. Having just started learning Ottoman Turkish, I tried to decipher it with excitement. An old man walked to us and asked us with a challenging voice 'Do you know how to read this?' My Turkish friends responded negatively and pointed towards my direction and after studying the scripture I clumsily spelled out: 'Ya-şa-sun Türki-ya' (Long live Turkey). The old man shook my hand to congratulate me – before finding out, with astonishment, that I am Greek.

On the way back to the city, I found it difficult to sort out my thoughts. There I had stood, in front of a column in commemoration to the Turkification of the area, in praise of nationalism, in the absence of Urla's old inhabitants, and yet I, the 'other', was the only person in my company who could read the message. In a strange way, I thought, it was worth taking this long academic – and life – journey from Chios to Urla through Istanbul, London and Izmir, just in order to live this paradox, just to read that message, defying its purpose in my capacity as the 'wrong' recipient. The border between Greece and Turkey but also between Turkey and its Ottoman past, the latter represented here by the Arabic letters, were both present, but both transcendable.

This research holds a processual approach to identity, considering it to some extent 'imagined' without however considering it fake. It assumes that it is a selective and deliberate interpretation of specific cultural elements, which is reproduced and used within a specific socio-political context. By recognising, however, national identity and self-identification as a product of societal mechanisms, this does not mean that I have become immune to them. Far for claiming an objective view or a utopian liberation from all the vectors that formulate our identities, I am however striving towards a historical approach that challenges many of our stereotypes, and find myself inspired by many scholars who have already been doing this in our geographical region.[46]

Searching the architectural history of the city in many ways allows us to unpack the visual systems of signification through which we are formed as citizens, through which we assign value and meaning to particular buildings. It also allows us to realise

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[46] Such as Ozkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History*; Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios, *To Vyzantion meta to Ethnos,* (Athens: Alexandreia, 2009); Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building*; and others.

how the evolution of the city, like the formation of our self-consciousness, is not a 'natural' organic development but a product of intervention and negotiation, which asks for critical thought and reflexivity that will give us voice and agency in a never-ending process.

In the words of Giorgos Seferis, a Greek poet and Nobel laureate who had been born in that same village of Urla and who was among the early refugees to Greece,

And the soul, if it is to know itself

It is into a soul that it must look:

The stranger and the enemy, we saw him in the mirror.[47]

Thesis Outline

One of the important challenges I faced was how to handle and structure very diverse materials relating to two different cities as well as to French urbanism; a series of photographs from Izmir, reports about the restoration of a Byzantine church in Thessaloniki, plans and personal notes of the French architects involved, newspaper articles are some of the primary sources which cannot be – neither need to be – strictly grouped. On the one hand, I intended to study one city through and in relation to the other. On the other hand, this is not a sterile comparison nor can the two cities fit into pre-specified sub-categories; different elements and questions emerge during the addressing of the two main themes: the politics of modernisation and the handling of the past.

Although the concepts of the modern and the national are by no means antithetical, and are indeed closely intertwined, for reasons of structure I have decided to bring them into the centre of focus in different chapters. First, since the process of modernisation has a history that predates the fires and the nation-state, I start by posing the question of 'continuity or rupture', and I briefly examine the late Ottoman framework of urban intervention, mainly through a specific case study in Izmir (Chapter 1). This provides an introduction to the spatial dynamics of the two cities.

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[47] *Mythistorema*, Giorgos Seferis, 1933.

Chapter 2 questions the discourse of 'rupture' and explores the transformation of the goal of modernisation from the imperial to the post-imperial context. Subsequently, through the analysis of maps, newspaper articles, the architects' writings, plans and photographs, it examines the reconstruction of Izmir (2.1) and Thessaloniki (2.2). Along this analysis I address issues of 'authorship', detecting instances of agency and of a rewriting of modernity. In relation to that, I look into the question of the audience, or readership of the new modern cities through the concept of the 'implied reader', as theorised by Iser.

Their study opens up the dimension of international flows of ideas and networks that intersect in the two case studies. In Chapter 3, I look at the background of the French planners involved in the two case studies and their understanding of modern urbanism. Through their writings and drawings, I explore points of convergence and divergence of Izmir and Thessaloniki with colonial urbanism (3.2). Moreover, I look into the French architects' own national formation in relation to the Orient (3.3).

One of the main areas of diverse interpretations and negotiations among different actors was the handling of heritage. National historiographies proposed different readings of the past and incorporated the built heritage in selective ways. Chapter 4 examines both the urban plans of the two cities as well as the restoration of Saint Demetrius church in Thessaloniki in order to open 'questions of representation, for how buildings and monuments – or in some cases, the lack of them – acquire meaning, harden conviction, and set the spatial infrastructure for subsequent generations'.[48]

The national past did not only condition the treatment of heritage but also the design of new architecture. Chapter 5 explores the constantly changing relationship between forms and meanings through the competition and succession of Revival Styles,[49] revealing different interpretations of the local past. The hardly researched case of the University of Ionia opens a window unto the architectural and urban

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[48] Isenstadt, Sandy & Rizvi, Kishwar ed., *Modernism and the Middle East,* p.3
[49] As we will see, both in the reconstruction of Izmir and Thessaloniki, Ottoman and Byzantine Revival were chosen as appropriate architectural styles before losing their place to the Modern Movement in the 1930s.

activity of the Greek administration of Izmir during the period 1919-1922 and emerges as an alternative narrator of both nationalisms.

Through the study of Izmir and Thessaloniki, this thesis offers a critical reading of modernisation and nation-building, which, by moving between the shores of the Aegean, enriches our understanding of the multilateral encounters with modernity and history and of the changing architectural and urban landscapes that defined and redefined them.

1

CONTINUITY OR RUPTURE?

> The topic under study is how to establish a new and civilized city, in better words how to bring into being a construction revolution on the shores of the Mediterranean.
>
> Haydar Rüştü, 'Let's do it at last', *Anadolu*, 5 October 1925

> I will not exaggerate, if I tell you, that I am as proud of this project as I am of my exterior politics, because we will contribute so that a city unmatched in the Mediterranean will arise from these debris, from its ashes.
>
> Venizelos's talk in the Parliament, 13th session, 6.12.1919

The transition from imperial to post-imperial city has often been seen (at the time and in the literature) as a violent rupture, when focusing on the major political and ideological changes and the reversals of power. Fuelled by the protagonists of the new regimes, a discourse of rupture that emphasises the dawn of a new era, the messianic status of liberation or the teleology of a revolution, strengthens such a view. The word

inkilap[50] used for 'revolution' and referring to the built environment in the above quote by Haydar Rüştü, the director of one of the most important newspapers of Izmir at the time, echoes a wider discourse that connects the city's construction to the over-arching Kemalist, or Turkish Revolution, (*Türk Inkilabı*)[51] as it was called.

And indeed the series of reforms carried out by the new nationalist regime headed by 'the father of the nation' Kemal Atatürk that followed the proclamation of the new Turkish Republic on October 29th 1923 brought about a drastic and immediate change in a wide range of social, political and economic realms, and positioned culture at the heart of politics. These reforms cut through every aspect of the society, and aimed to create a new modern Turkish nation-state in the place of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire; they aimed for a clear detachment from the 'backward' past and the Arabic and Persian influence, the restoration of the 'authentic' Turkish identity and the redirection of the nation towards a modern (*muasır*) and civilized future, as part of the West. They included the abolition of the Caliphate and the Islamic Sharia law in 1924, the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, the outlawing of fezzes and turbans in 1925 and the adoption of Western-style dress, the replacement of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin one in 1928, and a language reform.[52]

This proclaimed rupture incorporated architecture and urbanism in its foundations and defined the ideological framework, which would determine theory and practice in the 1920s and 1930s, as we will see in the following chapters. Culminating with the construction of the capital, Ankara, whose master plan was designed by Hermann Jansen after he won an international competition in 1927, new

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[50] *Inkilap* is a word of Arabic origin, meaning 'a being turned back or around, a reversion, a changing, a revolution,', Redhouse, Sir James W., *A Turkish and English Lexicon,* (Constantinople: American Mission, 1890). It was later replaced by the word *devrim,* within the context of the language reform, which aimed to set the Turkish language free of Arabic and Persian reforms.

[51] Such a discourse was consolidated in the 1930s, linking the word 'inkilap' specifically to modernist architecture, as Bozdoğan has shown (see Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building,* Chapter 2: Architecture of Revolution, pp.56-61). As she explains, Modernism was selected in the 1930s as the appropriate style for Republican Turkey, overshadowing the Ottoman Revival style that was employed until then. Presented as Revolutionary Architecture, Modernism was hence the only suitable style for the Architecture of the [Turkish] Revolution. In the above quote regarding the reconstruction of Izmir however, we find an early use of the term *inkilap* by a non-architect, at a time when the modern movement has not yet taken hold of the architectural reality of Izmir. This is some evidence to the fluidity of the content assigned to concepts such as 'construction revolution', hence to the fluidity of meaning and value assigned to different styles in the early years of the Republic.

[52] *Revolutionism* became one of the six official principles of the Kemalist party –the other five being Republicanism, Populism, Nationalism, Secularism and Statism. For more on the Kemalist ideology and early Republican history see Zürcher, *Turkey – a Modern History*, pp.175-205.

public buildings and infrastructure, the reconstruction of war-torn cities and the design of new villages became the physical embodiment and the reflection of new Turkey.[53]

Figure 6.   Foundation ceremony of the Children's Hospital. Sadi Iplikçi Municipality Album, Source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Another photograph from the burnt zone, this time from the foundation ceremony of the Children's Hospital (Figure 6), represents the synergy of architecture and politics. The major actors of the Revolution, politicians in their Western style suits, military officers in their uniforms, the workers standing at the back (on the right) in their plain clothes with one of them having visibly taken off his hat in respect, a crowd of citizens, a woman at the far left corner, are joined together in the launching of this new health infrastructure project. They stand in a circle, on the cleaned, prepared ground, while a child is wandering in the middle. In fact, it is the presence of the child that gives additional, if not fundamental, meaning to the photograph. The new

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[53] See Holod, Renata, Evin, Ahmet, and Özkan, Suha, *Modern Turkish Architecture 1900-1980* (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005) pp.53-96 and Bozdoğan, Sibel and Akcan, Esra, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012) pp.17-80.

generation, embodying the future of Turkey, was at the centre of the reformist discourse – the focus point of a modernity looking forward.[54] The new city would take shape the same way that the nation's children would grow into modern, Turkish citizens, worthy of the sacrifices of the war and of the sweeping changes of the Revolution. The photographer might have seen this allegory in an otherwise unconventional shot; the officers and the workers have their backs turned to the lens and the politicians are at the far back. The spatial actors, or 'authors' of the city, and their intended readership are present in the same picture – later on we will see that these two categories overlap with the authors and audience of the photograph itself as a visual document (Ch. 2.1).

Thessaloniki too, in October 1912, found itself overnight under a very different administration. The change of authorities, from the Imperial Ottoman State to the new Greek Kingdom, which was politically divided between liberals and conservatives, the replacement of Muslims by Christians in positions of power, the inflow of Greek bureaucrats from Athens and the encounter with a different political and legal system constituted a drastic change in the social and urban life of the city. The city was suddenly detached from its vast Balkan hinterland with which it had vital economic ties, and was instead incorporated into a limited national market.

The dominant ideology in most of the 1920s and 1930s was defined with another important leader figure in the region, Eleftherios Venizelos.[55] Venizelism pushed forward the consolidation of a national identity and promoted urban modernisation, initially in the period 1910-1920 and then during Venizelos's last term in power, from 1928 to 1932.[56] For the Greek bureaucrats, citizens of a Kingdom with already 80 years of life and a consolidated historiography largely based on the

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[54] This relates also to what Kolluoğlu-Kırlı comments as a 'qualitative shift in the orientation of modernity from the present to the future', in the 1930s. Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, Biray, 'Cityscapes and Modernity: Smyrna Morphing into Izmir, in Frangoudaki, Anna and Keyder, Çağlar (eds.) *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950,* (London: Tauris & Co, 2007), p.229.

[55] However, contrary to early Republican Turkey, in Greece this ideology was contested by strong oppositional forces within a multi-party political system.

[56] Maurogordatos argues that Venizelism can be divided into two periods, from 1910-1920, when modernisation was combined with irredentism, and from 1922-1932, after the defeat in the Greco-Turkish war, when modernisation was interlinked with the integration of the new lands and the refugees. Maurogordatos, Giorgos 'Venizelismos kai Astikos Eksughronismos', in Maurogordatos, Giorgos and Hatziiosif, Hristos (eds.), *Venizelismos Kai Astikos Eksughronismos* (Irakleion: Crete University Press, 1988) p.10.

restoration of the Ancient Greek identity, the annexation of a lively Ottoman port where Greeks were a minority and the most important Byzantine churches had been converted to mosques, must have appeared very problematic. The many minarets of the city, even more visible amidst the rubble (Figure 7), were seen as a distortion of the true identity of the city.

Figure 7. Thessaloniki after the fire, a photo by the French Military Photographic Service. Source: Mitos, Vyronas, *I Thessaloniki kai to Makedoniko Metopo*, (Athens: Potamos, 2009), p222

When Thessaloniki was annexed by the Greek Kingdom, it joined a different line of continuity – it became a stage in the evolution of Greek urbanism, whose starting point was the 1820s. German architects, and more recently the English Thomas Mawson, had been carrying out plans for Greek cities – most notably for the Greek capital of Athens, made out of a small village in the 1830s – and for Greek villages, whether built anew or reconstructed after devastation. Within the framework of Greek nation-building, the discourse of detachment from the Ottoman past and of restoration of Greece's place in the Western world was equally strong, if not stronger, than in the case of Turkey.

Apart from the journalistic and political discourses of the time, the theme of rupture is strongly reflected in contemporary historiography. The year 1912, when the city was annexed by Greece, traditionally serves as a starting point for its historical study (or as a final point for researchers working on the Ottoman period) just like 1922 serves for Izmir.[57] It is significant that throughout the year 2012 there were many exhibitions and commemorative events in Greece about the 100-year history of Thessaloniki and the 90-year commemoration of the loss of Smyrna.

Undoubtedly, the major changes in the political and ideological realms, together with the devastating impacts of the fire and the tragic demographic changes, which were presented in the Introduction, led to drastic transformations of the two cities. A quick look at the new plans of the two cities, traced on – and against – their old urban fabrics (Figures 14 and 27), will intensify the impression of rupture. However, stressing solely the breach with the past and treating the transition only as a turning point would entail neglecting crucial lines of continuity that stretched through the Ottoman and post-Ottoman eras.

In fact, it is well documented that modernisation efforts started already in the late 18th century, as a result of the Ottoman Empire's desire to reverse Western European military success and regain its power.[58] Hence the first modernisation attempts became synonymous with Westernisation. Starting militarily, with warfare and soldier training, the process then affected bureaucracy and the lifestyle of the Ottoman elite, as well as architecture, since the new infrastructures, especially barracks, were constructed in styles encountered in Western Europe (classicism, baroque, rococo).[59] The turn to the West as a model was pushed forward with the announcement of the *Tanzimat* (Reorganization) reforms in 1839, which aimed for a

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[57] It is worth adding that May 15th, 1919, the day that the Greek troops landed on Izmir, has also taken the role of a turning point in Turkish historiography, albeit less than the year 1922, as the date of the end of cosmopolitan Izmir: 'The idyllic life of Izmir was terminated as if with a knife with the Greek occupation.' Barran, Tülay Alım, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Yapılanması – Izmir 1923-1938* (Istanbul: Arma, 2003), p.6.

[58] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, pp.21-29.

[59] When Selim III (1789-1807) established a new army of corps organized along French lines and called the New Order (Nizam-i Cedid), a new type of building, that of the military barracks, was also introduced. The Neo-classical Style came along with the new building typologies. See Holod, Evin, & Özkan, *Modern Turkish Architecture,* pp.39-40. See also Tsilenis & Marmaras, 'Parallel Routes: Proposals for large scale...', p.68 and Ardaman, Emel, 'Perspective and Istanbul, the Capital of the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 20 No. 2 (2007), p.4.

decisive reconfiguration of the Ottoman society. The *Tanzimat* tried to establish a centralized administration, partially imposed secular law, the granting of equality under the law and of property rights for all its subjects (non-Muslims included),[60] and led to the founding of secondary and professional schools with European curricula.[61]

By the end of the 19th century, Western-educated intellectuals such as the Young Ottomans[62] debated on many topics including language and constitutional monarchy. Just four years before Thessaloniki's annexation by Greece, another 'Revolution' was launched there that spread to the rest of the Ottoman Empire: the Young Turk Revolution[63] of 1908, which restored constitutional monarchy. Many later Kemalist ideological positions and reforms, such as the change of alphabet in 1928, and most importantly nationalism itself, had their roots in debates and efforts dating back to the Young Turk era and even earlier.

As identitarian ideologies (such as Ottomanism, Islamism, and Nationalism) succeeded one another but also overlapped, 1923 cannot easily serve as the finishing point of one and the start of another. Hence, although for example Kolluoglu sees a clear division between the two periods and argues that pre-Republican Izmir did not experience the nationalist modernity of Republican times, she conveniently ignores the Young Turk period.[64]

In the architectural landscape of the two cities too, as we will see, it is impossible to miss the stylistic continuities (Eclecticism, Byzantine and Ottoman

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[60] In 1869 ownership rights were also granted to foreign citizens.

[61] The School of Fine Arts (*Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise*) was established in 1882, modelled after the École Nationale des Beaux Arts of Paris, and had a majority of French-speaking instructors, like Alexandre Vallaury. On the other hand, the School of Civil Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi*), established in 1884 as an extension of the Imperial College of Military Engineering (Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun) was under German influence, with notable instructors such as Pr.Jachmund. See Yavuz, Yıldırım and Özkan, Suha, 'The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire', in *Modern Turkish Architecture,* pp. 39-52

[62] The Young Ottomans, as they were called, were progressive Ottoman intellectuals, familiar with Western ideas but who disagreed with the Tanzimat reforms, arguing that the latter were submissive to the West. Through writings and journalist articles they spread their ideas and argued for modernisation without compromising the Ottoman and Islamic values or the independence and sovereignty of the Empire. They argued for constitutional monarchy and developed the ideology of Ottomanism, mentioned in the Introduction. See Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History*, pp.69 -70.

[63] The revolution restored the Parliament and the Ottoman Constitution of 1876, which had been suspended by the Sultan Abdulhamid II. The Young Turks, like the Young Ottomans before them, emerged from secret societies oppositional to the Ottoman State, like the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti)*. The latter then became the official political party in power during 1913-1918.

[64] Kolluoğlu- Kırlı, 'Cityscapes and Modernity', p.226.

Revivals), which stretch from the late Ottoman times to the late 1920s. Architects like Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey, the first Western-trained Turkish architects in the Empire, developed well before 1923 a distinct Ottoman Revival style in reaction to the uncritical use of European architectural styles and Oriental Eclecticism. This style, which progressively acquired nationalist connotations, continued into the Republican era until the late 1920s, until it was marginalised by the Modern movement.

Hence we can trace both the origins of movements that dominated the Republican era back to the Ottoman era, as well as the continuation of movements that flourished in the pre-Republican times (like Ottoman Revival) well into Republican times.[65]

Thus, whether we embrace this stated rupture or question it, the issue of rearticulation of Turkey and Greece's relationship with Western Europe and with modernity in the post-imperial context can only be addressed in relationship to the earlier period – that is, the imperial condition. In exploring the urban and spatial transformations of the two cities, one has to ask whether modernity was 'installed' or whether it was already there. How clear-cut was the division between the Ottoman city and the modern one?

Examining these continuities in the urban and architectural realm will allow us to understand the genealogy and origins of the spatial transformations in the two cities beyond the self-defining discourses of the actors involved as well as their changes of purpose and meaning. In this first chapter I will hence briefly outline earlier modernisation projects of the Ottoman period in Izmir and Thessaloniki and the dynamics that both produced and resulted from them, primarily through the presentation of new archival material relating to the opening of the Basmane Boulevard in Izmir.

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[65] Many scholars have in fact preferred to emphasize the continuities of political culture, socio-cultural or even institutional structures and their persistence well into the nation-state era and they have also traced the important dynamics of modernisation back into the late Ottoman period. For example, see Ortaylı, Ilber, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği*, (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985). Also Cerasi, Maurice, 'The Urban Perspective of Ottoman Monuments from Sinan to Mehmet Tahir- Change and Continuity', in *Aptullah Kuran için Yazılar – Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran,* ed. by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999). Also, Metin Heper positions the Kemalist Revolution within a long struggle between Westernising reformers and Islamist traditionalists from the 18th century onwards. Heper, Metin, 'The Ottoman Legacy and Turkish Democracy', *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.54, (Fall 2000), pp.63-82.

1.1 Development of the urban infrastructure
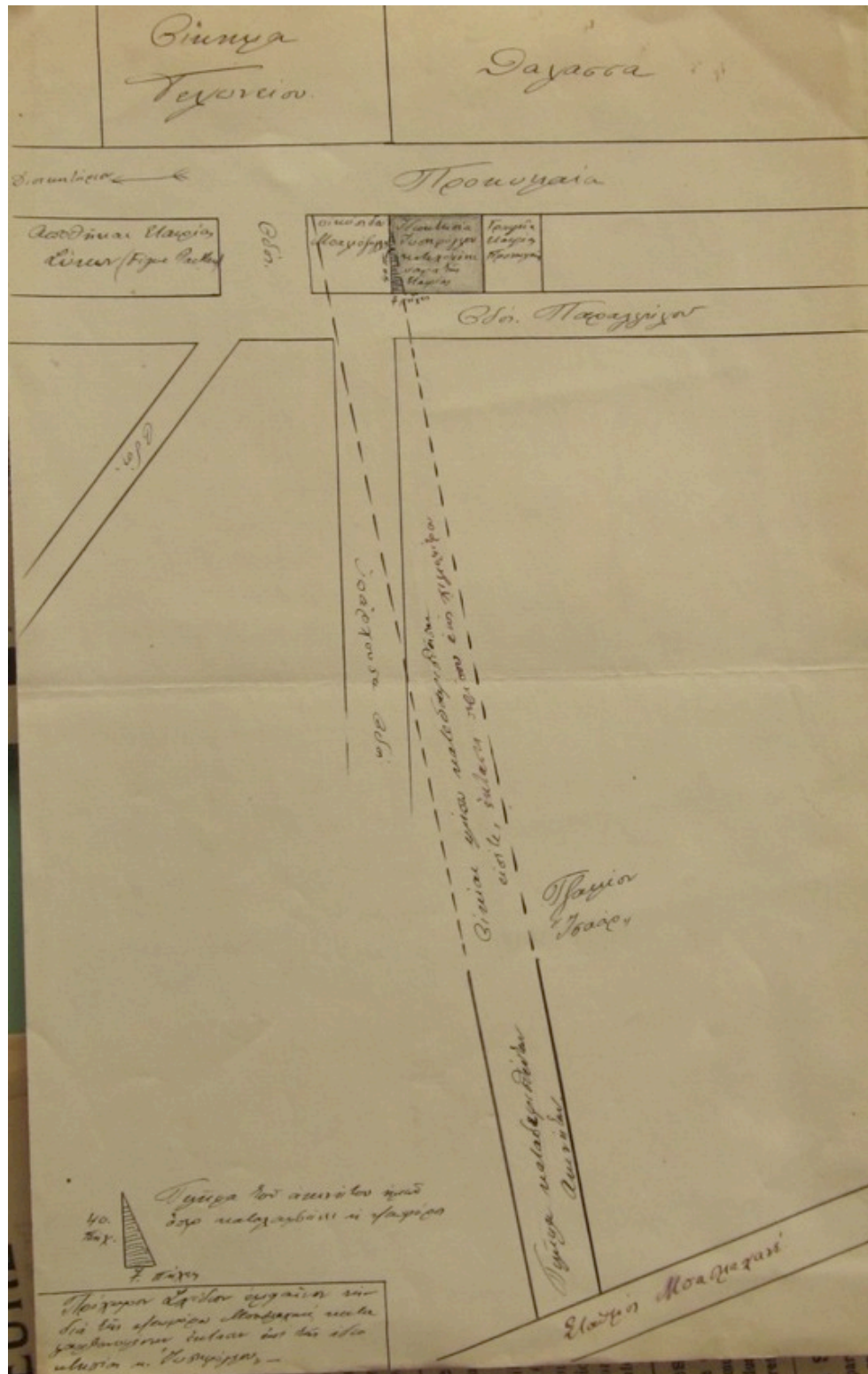
Figure 8. Map attached to the letter to the Greek Prime Minister by Haralambos Iosifoğlu. On the upper part the Customs Office and the sea are shown, as well as the lots affected by the opening of the boulevard, which is marked in dashed line. Iosifoglu's property is marked in grey. On the lower right corner, the boulevard reaches Basmane Station. Source: Greek State Archives, Athens, Fonds Ypati Armosteia Smyrnis.

In a letter I found at the Greek State Archives, dated 28 September 1920 and addressed to no less than the Greek Prime Minister himself, the Iosifoglu family, owners of a large plot very close to the Customs Office of the port of Smyrna are asking for 'justice' from him and the Greek –at the time – Administration of Smyrna:[66]

> Regarding the design of the boulevard in question, thirty years ago the Governor of Izmir at the time Midhat Paşa, had carried out a plan, which had been approved by the Ministry of Interior, which however was never executed. However, Rahmi Paşa, in this well-known arbitrariness and pressure on the Christian population, founded the [Boulevards] company whose Statute wasn't approved by an Imperial Edict for other reasons but mainly because it didn't have the approval of the Izmir Municipality. With this illegal company he started demolishing various buildings opening the boulevard from Basmane Station upwards [towards the Customs Office], managed to open one third of it and could not complete it because of the armistice.*[67]*

According to the letter, the former governor Rahmi Bey,[68] in an effort to open a controversial boulevard (see Figure 10, marked in red) that would connect the Basmane train station with the Customs Office at the port, had founded a company (referred to as *La Société des Boulevards*) and had proceeded to demolish appropriated properties, managing to complete one third of the boulevard by the time of the Turkish armistice of Moudros in 1918. Based on the planned route of the boulevard, shown on the map attached to the application (Figure 8), only part of the Iosifoglu property would have been affected. However, according to the complainant, Rahmi Bey appropriated and demolished the whole of the Haralambo Iosifoglu Han,[69] which as seen in the Goad insurance map[70] (Figure 9) contained shops with grains

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[66] This event is taking place during the period when Izmir was annexed by Greece, 1919-1922. Haralampos Iosifoglu, a rich banker and businessman, would later build an orphanage in the refugee neighbourhood of Nea Smyrni in Athens.
[67] Greek State Archives, Athens, Fonds: Ypati Armosteia Smyrnis.
[68] Rahmi Arslan (Evrenoszade Rahmi Bey), was governor (*Vali*) of the Aydın Prefecture, in which Izmir was included at the time, from 29 September 1913 to 12 October 1917. Born in Thessaloniki in 1874, he was part of the Young Turks movement.
[69] *Han* is a caravanserai, a type of inn with a distinct typology. In the centre of Izmir there were buildings which contained offices and commercial and entertainment functions which were also labelled as 'hans'.
[70] Charles Goad and his successors prepared insurance maps for many cities around the world, most notably in Canada, the UK, Chile, Denmark, France, and Turkey among others. Their firm was based in London.

(owned by the Aliotti Brothers), dry fruit (owned by V. Kokinidis) and a café named Bubeaux among other businesses.
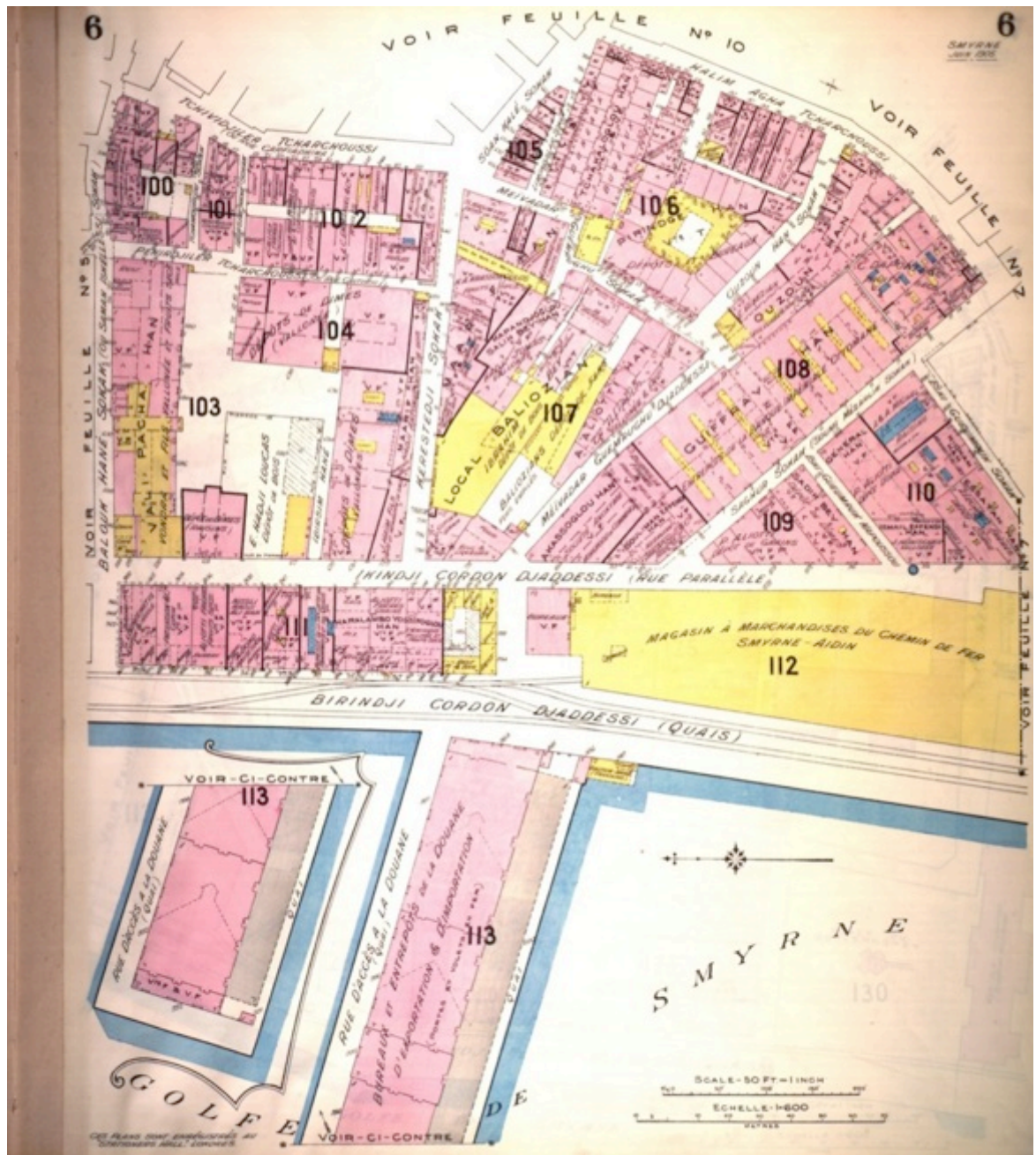
Figure 9. Map conducted by the Goad firm in 1905. Drawn in the opposite direction from the sketch in Figure 8, it depicts the Customs office at the lower part of the map (*Bureaux et Entrepôts de la Douane*). Just opposite the building of the customs office we can find the lot named Haralambo Yossifoglu Han, next to a corner building coloured in yellow (yellow signifies wooden constructions to distinguish them from the stone constructions coloured in pink). Source: APIKAM, Izmir.

Apart from the lively insight this letter gives us into the conflicts of interest, intercommunal strains and the public debates of early 20th century Izmir, it bears witness to the undertaking of important modernisation projects in the late Ottoman Izmir. Even the Iossifoglus indirectly recognized the inevitability of opening the boulevard: the complainant proceeded to make an offer to the effect that, in case the Greek Administration wanted to complete the boulevard 'for the embellishment of the city', they were willing to concede the needed part of the plot but were asking for the return of the rest of the property.

The boulevard in question, which was eventually completed and is today's Fevzi Paşa Boulevard, was an important infrastructural project to facilitate the transport of goods from the French-owned train-station of Basmane to the port and to enhance the city's striving commerce (Figure 10). It had a long story: opening such an avenue had been a topic of discussion since the 1880s, and a permanent request of the French, but it always met the fierce opposition of the English company that owned the other train station of the city, the Aydın train station (also called Punta Station, today's Alsancak Station), a fact that reveals the competition between various foreign interests in the city.[71] Midhat Paşa, governor of Izmir between 1880-1881, had also underlined the importance of the project[72] and attempted its undertaking by a company of Ottoman interests (Compagnie Ottomane de Tramway) but the government withdrew its support.

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[71] Bilsel, Cana, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'Évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la Ville d'İzmir aux XIXe et début du Xxe siècles,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Paris X Nanterre, Paris, 1996), p.210. Having special privileges and rights (called capitulations) to live and do business in the Ottoman Empire already since the 17th century, foreigners (French, British, Italians, Germans etc.) collaborated with local merchants (mainly non-Muslim Ottoman subjects) who acted as intermediaries in the import and export of goods.

[72] 'This great city which has close connections with Europe needs to be very 'orderly'. [...] The transport of the goods from one place to another, especially between the railway stations and the port, takes place on the backs of camels and other animals. For a long time no one has realised the inconvenience of this practice, which the people of the country, not having known anything else, have been used to. [...] It is necessary to open a large straight avenue from the Kasaba railway station, lying in the middle of the city, to the barracks [...] From the two ends of the avenue, other branches will be opened towards the interior of the Muslim and Jewish neighbourhoods. This will allow for the development of these neighbourhoods'. Letter by Midhat Pasha, addressed to the Prime Minister, dated 26 September 1880 (Rumi Calendar: 13 September 1296), quoted in Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités, p.298.

Figure 10. The red line shows the position of the boulevard that is shown in the Iossifolgu application in 1920. The underlying map is an Izmir Map of the end of the 19th century, by Joseph Meyer. Source: *Smyrna in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. by Jean Luc Maeso and Marie-Valeri Lesvigne, (Izmir: Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2013), Exhibition Catalogue, p.105.

In 1909, the prefecture prepared a new project, assigned to the *Compagnie Générale d'Entreprises* and designed by the architect-engineer Polycarpe Vitali, which proposed the opening of three 'boulevards', as they were specified (Figure 11). A comparison between the maps will immediately make obvious that the first boulevard, 22,50m wide, provided the long desired connection between Basmane station and the port. The second boulevard, splitting from the previous one at the location of Çakmak Fırın, would be 18m wide and would reach Konak square and the city prisons. The third one would start again from Basmane station and, having a width of 15m would reach the Levantine neighbourhood Bella vista through Saint Catherine and Saint Demetrius. As Vassilis Kolonas has written, they would be asphalt-paved and the pavements would be from marble, furnished with electric illumination and with 'elegant' buildings, with reference to Boulevards in Madrid and Paris and in an effort to transfer to Izmir the 'glory of Baron Haussmann'.[73] Hence, apart from being a project that aimed to solve specific problems of circulation and functionality in the city, it aspired to create a new visual and aesthetic experience of the city, with direct reference to Western Europe. Again this project was halted in the face of problems of financing and the difficulties of expropriation.[74]

In 1914, the Municipality and the mayor, Evliyazade Refik Bey, decided to revive the project, and open an avenue connecting the station with the Customs Office. In the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul, I found the official permission according to which the project would be undertaken by a company with foreign capital called 'Izmir Public Development and Constructions Company' (*İzmir İmarat ve İnşaat-ı Umumiye Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi*), and owned by Ahmet Havasapaşazade Zeki Bey.[75] This is the company that, as Iossifoglu also complained, managed to acquire the right to expropriate all the lands in the way of the boulevard. The works were halted at the location of Çukurhanı because of the First World War, and the boulevard remained

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[73] Kolonas, Vassilis, *Ellines Arhitektones stin Othomaniki Autokratoria,* (Athens: Olkos, 2005), p.98, note 13. The journal *Kosmos* ('Me tin aksinin kai me ton hrison', *Kosmos,* 1.6.1910, p 209-210) invited its readers to imagine the new city with the boulevards and beautiful buildings, and included an image of the Gran Via in Madrid, as designed by the Spanish architect José Lopez Sallaburry.

[74] Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités...', p.310.

[75] According to archival documents, there were complaints that the project was given to the company without an auction. Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul, Fonds DH.UHVM, Folder 102:54 and 92:79.

half-opened during the Greek administration as well. It was only completed in the 1930s under the Behçet Üz local administration.
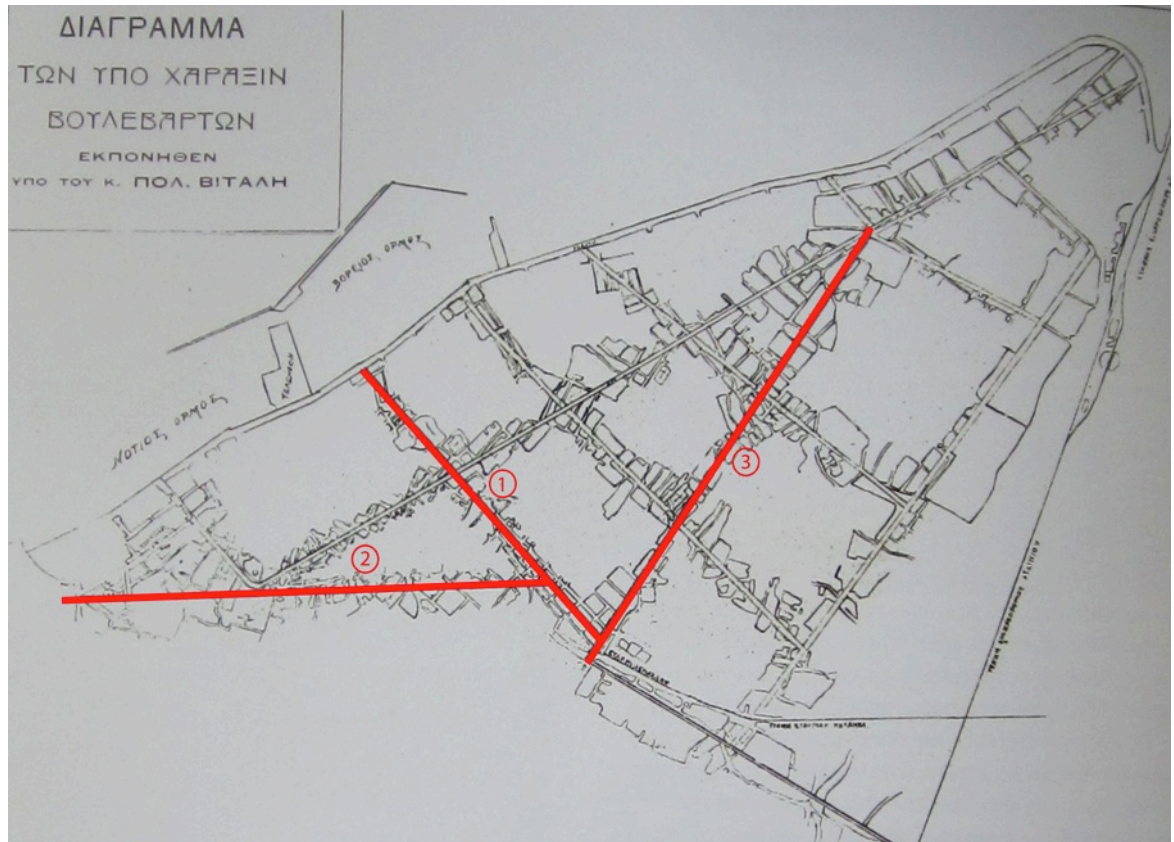
Figure 11. Boulevard number 1 proposed the much-desired connection between the train station and the port. Boulevard number 2, splitting from number 1 at a location called Çakmak Fırın, continued to Konak. Boulevard Number 3 started again from Basmane station towards the neighbourhood of Bella Vista (Alsancak). The other boulevards depicted in the above map are not mentioned by other scholars or in the sources, and their presence is a question to be further researched. Source Kolonas, *Ellines Arhitektones,* p.9

The Basmane Boulevard, which emerged through a series of failed or partial attempts, embodies a modernisation project that transcends the 1922 turning point. Having emerged as a necessity already in the late 19th century, it was repeatedly attempted in 1880, 1909, and in the 1910s, and finally completed in the 1930s, after finding its place in the Danger-Prost plan that directed the reconstruction of the city.[76]

The boulevards were certainly not the only Ottoman-period modernisation projects in the city. Izmir's importance as a port of the Levant and as a business and

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[76] The connection proposed by the third boulevard (No. 3 in Figure 11) was also realised in the Danger-Prost plan, as we will see.

commercial centre rose throughout the 18th and 19th centuries and incited, as well as depended on the development of its infrastructure and the ethnoreligious diversity of its social fabric.[77]

In 1856 and 1865 the British, dissatisfied with the limitations of camel caravan transportation, inaugurated the construction of their own railway networks, the Izmir to Aydın line and Izmir to Kasaba lines, which spread, each with several branches, to the interior. The Izmir to Kasaba line came under French control in 1894.[78] This is how Izmir acquired its two separate railway stations (Punta and Basmane stations), the first owned by the British, and the second owned by the French. In addition, in the area around the Aydın station the British developed in the mid-19th century what was the first planned urban area in Izmir, the neighbourhood of Punta.[79]

The port, itself only completed in 1875 together with a huge new quay (completed by the Dussaud company), allowed big ships to transport the goods to and from the West, making Izmir a welcoming market for European goods.[80] It also created an additional row of development plots, on which businesses, hotels and consulates were built, and on which Iossifoğlu's property also lies. Hence, we observe that most major infrastructural projects, ranging from the rail stations and the quay to new lots and neighbourhoods like Punta, and to the opening of boulevards like the Basmane Boulevard, were the result of mostly foreign, profit-driven investments, backed by the Ottoman State, which wanted to preserve the city's economic power.

The Iosifoglu family is only one example of the mostly non-Muslim Ottoman families who made huge fortunes out of banking and commerce. Ironically, whether because of a personal conflict with the governor Rahmi Bey, or because they had aligned themselves with the Allied Powers in the First World War, a project of

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[77] By the late 19th century the city was deeply integrated into international commerce and by the early 20th century it was one of the most important ports of the Eastern Mediterranean, becoming known as *Paris of the Levant,* and boasting newspapers in Greek, Turkish, Hebrew and French among other languages, schools and religious buildings for all its communities, separate post offices for the French (1837), English (1872) and Germans (1890) among other facilities. Insurance companies conducted surveys of the commercial region, which, like the Goad map above (Figure 9), give us insight into the types of businesses and the identity of their owners, along with information about the urban layout and the materials of the buildings.

[78] Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités', pp.287-290

[79] Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités' pp.271-276. The regular layout redevelopment of the Armenian neighbourhood after the 1845 fire is also notable

[80] See Zandi-Sayek, Sivel, 'Struggles Over the Shore: Building the Quay of Izmir, 1867-1875', *City and Society,* Vol.XII, no.1, pp.55-74.

infrastructure designed to facilitate commercial activities in which they were involved became the reason – or pretext – for the loss of one of their big properties at the port of Izmir.

1.2 New approaches to urban management

Although economic initiative drove the development of the infrastructure, these infrastructural projects were not exceptional acts of intervention on the urban fabric. Rather, they were part of, and made possible by, a new approach to urban matters which was institutionalised at the local administration level and consciously sought its references in the West. Initiated by the *Tanzimat* reforms for centralization of power through a hierarchy of governmental officers, and modelled along the French *arrondissements*, a new administrative regulation was promulgated in 1864, by which municipalities were formed and given responsibility and authority for the urban management of their areas of jurisdiction.[81]

Already in 1836, following his visit to London, the chief reformer of the Tanzimat Ottoman statesman Mustafa Reşit Paşa

> determined the principles for urban planning, based on a scientific approach and the geometrical order'. […] Following Haussmann's Paris redevelopment in the second half of the century, the Ottoman urban reforms became mostly based on the example of Paris.[82]

Thus, after Izmir became the prefecture of the province (*vilayet)* of Aydın and was assigned a General Governor (*vali*)[83] in 1864, and the municipality was created in 1871, it witnessed the construction of important public buildings[84] and the creation of

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[81] See Bilsel 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités', pp.259-270 and Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği*, pp.129-42.
[82] Ardaman, 'Perspective and Istanbul, the Capital of the Ottoman Empire', p.2.
[83] See Frédérick Hitzel 'Ottoman Izmir: Jewel of the Mediterranean' in *Smyrna in the 18th and 19th centuries: A Western Perspective*, ed. by Jean Luc Maeso and Marie-Valerie Lesvigne, (Izmir: Arkas Sanat Merkezi, 2013), p.79.
[84]Military barracks, an Imperial hospital, two large schools and administrative buildings (such as customs office and passport services etc.) were constructed. See Eyüce, Özen 'Konak From Past to Present in Pictures', *Ege Mimarlık*, Special Issue on Izmir, 2005, pp.4-10.

public spaces, for example by removing the cemeteries that were inside the city,[85] a practice that would be continued in the Republican times.

In Thessaloniki too, the establishment of the municipal administration in 1869 was a key factor in the realisation and promotion of urban interventions in the city. The sea walls were demolished in 1869 by the Governor Sabrı Paşa, and the debris was used to build the quay.[86] In fact, the Thessaloniki Quay was constructed by the same engineer as the Izmir one, Polukarpos Vitalis.[87] Five main circulation arteries were created or widened (Figure 12): the quay road and the first road parallel to it were created (1870, No1 in Figure 12), Sabrı Paşa Road (today's Venizelou Street) was widened from the Governor's building (Konak) to the sea (1870, No2 in Figure 12), Midhat Paşa Street (today's Agiou Dimitriou) was widened from Konak up to the Municipal Hospital (1875, No3 in Figure 12), Agiou Vardariou Street was straightened (No4 in Figure 12) and Hamidie Street (today's Ethnikis Aminis, No5 in Figure 12) was created after the demolition of the south-eastern Wall (1879-1889). Moreover the north-western wall was gradually demolished after 1870, and the railway stations were built after 1871. Part of the port was transferred further to the west after 1902. Meanwhile Thessaloniki acquired public tramways in 1893, a water supply in 1892 and gas and sewage systems in 1890.

The 1882 Building Regulation (*Ebniye Kanunu*) introduced a road hierarchy, while grid – and sometimes radial – plan schemes were promoted. Building control was introduced to prevent unauthorized appropriations of public space for private use. Most importantly, it allowed the definition of burnt areas as 'empty land' so that they could be again divided into plots.[88]

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[85] This happened especially during the governorship of Rahmi Bey, when the mayor was Evliyazade Refik Bey (1913-1918).

[86] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* p.23.

[87] Kolonas, *Ellines Arhitektones*, p.95.

[88] Still, there was no provision for a master plan, and post-fire redevelopment was the only way to modernise limited areas in the urban fabric.

Figure 12. Map of Thessaloniki by Achileas Kabanakis, 1888, National Archives, Kew, FO 925/3429.

This latter point deserves further examination, since it is a precedent for the reconstructions of Izmir and Thessaloniki, which we will look into in the next Chapter. While, in the past, burnt areas had usually been rebuilt in the same way they were before and with the same layout, by their old inhabitants, in the last fire Thessaloniki experienced in 1890 some effort was for the first time made to better regulate the area layout[89] (in Figure 4 one can recognize an area with a regular grid on the lower side of the map, near the quay, and compare it to the same area in Figure 12). The public spaces (roads) were calculated and the reductions caused to the plot surfaces were divided equally among all properties. If the reduction was less than 25% it was considered that the damage was counterbalanced by the increased value of the property by the new plan, hence no compensation was given. New roads and regular plots were designed, the width of the streets was determined and *cul-de-sacs* were

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[89] This also happened in Izmir's Armenian neighbourhood after the 1845 fire.

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avoided. Unfortunately this regular layout did not protect it from burning again in 1917.

Overall, the *Tanzimat* and succeeding reforms resulted in a deeper connection of the Empire to the West, the release of the financial power of the minorities by guaranteeing their property rights and equality with Muslim citizens, and the empowerment of peripheral administrations. These factors boosted the economies of urban centres, resulting in rapid urbanization.[90] Especially Thessaloniki, which was under serious decline in the beginning of the 19th century, was rejuvenated and tripled its population between 1850 and 1895 from 40,000 to 120,000,[91] while Izmir increased from 130,000 in 1837 to 207.000 in 1891.[92]

From the above analysis, we realise that modernisation efforts in the two cities, both in terms of infrastructure and institutional reforms date back to at least the mid-19th century, and do not suddenly appear in the post-imperial context. How can we assess this continuity in the process of modernisation from the imperial to the post-imperial eras? Does it subvert the claim to rupture put forward by the nation-states that inherited the two cities? It seems that from the above analysis we can make to three different observations.

First, the infrastructural modernisation of Izmir and Thessaloniki is largely a product of their partaking in the international commercial networks and distinguishes them from cities in the interior, even from the two capitals, Ankara and Athens. This is a distinction that should not be ignored when looking at their post-imperial history. In fact, the modernisation of the urban fabric was in fact much slower than the social and economic dynamics that demanded it. The Basmane Boulevard, for example, took more than 50 years to build, while the rest of the city preserved to a large extent its morphology, a reality that was considered problematic by local and international actors.

The discrepancy between, on the one hand, the socio-economic dynamics that drove modernisation and, on the other, the urban reality of the two cities, combined with the fact that the population of Thessaloniki did not criticise the drastic changes in

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[90] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi*, pp.21-23.
[91] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* pp.14-19.
[92] Beyru, Rauf, *Izmir Şehri Üzerinde Bir İnceleme,* (Ankara:ODTÜ, 1969), pp.51-52

the urban layout brought about by the reconstruction of the city after the fire of 1917, led Yerolympos to say:

> The destruction of the material space of Thessaloniki in 1917 acted as a catalyst, allowing the emergence and consolidation of ideas that were already incubating and were looking for an opportunity to emerge; the destruction, despite contributing to a morphological discontinuity, functioned however as an accelerating phase of a historical continuity.[93]

Is it true, however, that the new cities arising from the ashes corresponded or served the same kind of modernity that existed before their destruction, allowing us to talk of 'historical continuity'? Were their modernisation and the socio-political reality of the nation-state a continuation of the Ottoman period?

This brings us to the second observation. Late Ottoman modernisations were put forward by a disempowered bureaucratic Ottoman state, and shaped by a capitalist economy, Western imperialist visions and antagonisms in the region, and rapid urbanisation. Fuelled by close contact with cities of the West as well as by internal pragmatic problems of the city (lack of infrastructure, hygiene problems, a need for expansion, a lack of legal framework to regulate the capitalist exploitation of property and urban land), the modernisation projects and reforms were intended to enhance the productivity of the city on the one hand, and to secure the survival of the Ottoman state on the other.

However, the nation-state era of the two cities coincided with a change that was taking place worldwide, which changed the very goal of modernisation, giving it an ideological content, a social dimension that did not exist before and a conscious mission to create citizens. In addition, one of the most important changes was the increase in the authority of the state to intervene, regulate and control the urban and architectural environment. This type of centralized state was not just a characteristic of post-Ottoman Greece and Turkey at the time, but an international tendency. The 1917 October Revolution and the world crisis of 1929-1932 dramatically changed the

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[93] Yerolympos, *I Anoikodomisi,* p.126

balance between market and politics, in favour of the latter, and created the conditions for extensive state intervention.[94]

Hence, in the Ottoman period, because the Westernizing reforms were dictated by foreign powers' economic race in the Ottoman lands and their political power, modernisation became a symbol of submission to the West. In contrast, the 1923 Economic Congress, which took place in Izmir, put forward the need to set up a national and independent economy.[95]

Nevertheless, coming to the third and final observation, the legislative and institutional reforms, the connections established with western Europe (reflected also in the invitation of architects and engineers from Europe,[96] and the sending of Ottoman students to study there, as well as in the new educational establishments), and the technical experience gained from the projects carried out, were undeniably a precedent, an experience on which the nation-states would build. Legislation allowing the first attempts for regulated post-fire development and determining the responsibilities of municipal administration provided the foundations on which Republican modernisation efforts, although different in their underlying goals and ideology, would stand.

To sum up this first chapter, I argue that post-Ottoman modern condition in Izmir and Thessaloniki was neither created from scratch nor a smooth continuation of a previous situation; rather, through its change of content, meaning and purpose, it was reconfigured. This will become clearer in the next chapter, in which I will analyse how the new designs and the urban interventions that took place after the fire were

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[94] The October Revolution advocated for the complete control of the state over the economy while the World crisis of 1929-1932 *'challenged the orthodoxy of market automatism'*, and forced politicians to promote economic and social policies in order to handle the financial problems and the social crisis that resulted from it and in order to secure the international commerce and the institutions of the capitalist economy. Zaharias Demathas, 'Diadikasies Astikopoiisis kata to proto trito tou 20ou aiona', in *Eleftherios Venizelos kai Elliniki Poli: Poleodomikes politikes kai koinonikopolitikes anakatataxeis,* Conference Proceedings, Chania, 24-27 October 2002 (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon kai Meleton 'Eleutherios Venizeolos, TEEE and NTUA, 2005), pp.37-38.

[95] The choice of Izmir wasn't coincidental; being the biggest export port of the Empire, an important economic centre from which foreign capital controlled a vast hinterland and market, it became the symbol of another type of liberation, this time from economic submission. At the Congress Atatürk stressed that the military victories would be of no use without economic success. See Dirik, Doğan K., *Vali Paşa Kâzım Dirik: Bandırma Vapuru'ndan Halkın Kalbine,* (Istanbul: Gürer Yayınları, 2008), p.215.

[96] Helmuth von Moltke was invited in 1839 in order to reform the street pattern in Istanbul and Bouvard, the chief architect of Paris at the time, was invited in order to design projects in 1902. See Tsilenis & Marmaras, 'Parallel Routes'.

defined by new priorities, multilateral exchanges and negotiations, and how discourses of rupture and modernity were shaped. The writings of different agents involved in the reconstruction of Thessaloniki and Izmir and the examination of a photographic municipality album, which I collected in Paris, Izmir and Thessaloniki, will be the primary materials that will lead this analysis, opening a window unto the discourses of the spatial actors involved.

2

BECOMING MODERN

2.1 Designing the 'future, beautiful, civilized and hygienic Izmir'

> …this city, possessing a long past, has been founded on its own and has taken its current shape without relying on any scientific principle. […] When examining the conditions in this inhabited area from the point of view of urbanism, we have to remember that apart from the bad quality of the streets, because the houses were entangled they did not allow for the flow of air and sunlight.
>
> Kami Refet (Izmir Municipality Scientific Committee) Arkitekt
> 1931 No: 7 pp.228-230

The words of Kami Refet from the Izmir Municipality Scientific Committee[97], quoted above, underline the irrationality of old Izmir's neighbourhoods and bring us back to the discourse of rupture and change, echoed also in Haydar Rüştu's article (which opened Chapter 1). Although pre-1922 Izmir boasted modern infrastructure

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[97] Scientific committees in charge of urban management were formed in all municipalities after 1923.

and a Western-looking lifestyle that earned it its title *Paris of the Levant*, the rest of the urban layout and its housing were typical of centuries-long unplanned growth and unregulated construction. This was a result of what we saw as a fragmentary and targeted modernisation in the service of specific needs. Crooked streets, sometimes forming *cul-de sacs*, 5-7 metres in width, created an urban tissue like 'a spider net', as Kami Refet mentions in the same article that was published in the newly founded architectural journal Arkitekt in 1931.

This was typical of most cities in the Ottoman Empire. As also we saw in the previous chapter, only fires gave opportunities for a more regular development after the Construction Law of 1881 was passed. Even in those cases, the redevelopment plans of the burnt areas did not challenge the property status of the plots, they were not part of a vision for the overall development of the city, and the building regulations did not determine the height levels or the land uses. Their regular pattern and wider streets were limited to the burnt area, hence forming urban patches of new and old urban fabric.

The journalists, politicians and intellectuals who aligned themselves with the principles of the Republic fiercely criticized these conditions, otherising the immediate past of Izmir as something irrational, unhealthy and backward; the new Izmir should and would become modern, in harmony with the nation's new Western profile. Referring to the Municipality's project for 'a scientific drainage system', Kami Refet adds in the same article that after its completion, 'Izmir will have a scientific infrastructure like any contemporary European city standards.'[98]

Urbanism, which was newly emerging in Europe as an autonomous and increasingly institutionalized discipline based on scientific criteria, was entrusted – to an extent unprecedented in the Ottoman period – with curing the ills of the city and of guaranteeing its harmonious growth. It was combined with the necessary prerequisites: extensive political power and legislative reforms.

The fact that the members of the Society for the Reconstruction of Smyrna,[99] instead of commissioning a local architect,[100] travelled to Europe and approached

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[98] Kami Refet, 'İzmirin İmari hakkında', *Arkitekt,* No:7 (1931), pp.228-230.
[99] in Turkish*: Izmir'in Yeniden Imar ve Inşaasının Teknik Şirketi.* According to Karl Klinghardt, quoted in Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités', p.330, the governor of Izmir made a journey to large European cities

Henri Prost, a Beaux Arts architect who had worked extensively as a colonial architect in Morocco, is indicative of this synergy of political will and the belief in urbanism. Prost, who was in charge of the Paris plan at the time, could not fully commit to the project at the time and referred them to the technical office of René and Raymond Danger[101] who were surveyors-urban planners, and with whom he collaborated on a project on the French Riviera (*Côte Varoise*).[102] Prost himself remained as a consultant in the project (the backgrounds of the French architects will be further examined on Chapter 3). The Danger office, which also included the children of René Danger, Paul (a Beaux-Arts architect) and Theresa (an engineer), was eventually assigned the project by the Mayor of Izmir Uşakizade Muammer Bey and signed a contract in 1924.[103]

The employment of foreign urban planners to redesign a city from scratch might have been the first such instance in the new-born Republic,[104] but would by no means prove to be an exception. As has been researched, most recently by Akcan,[105] in addition to the design of the capital Ankara by Hermann Jansen, the turn of Turkey towards the West was combined with the invitation of hundreds of European – mainly but not exclusively from German speaking countries – professors, engineers, architects and other professionals to staff Turkey's new institutions, to map and design new cities and buildings.[106] Just to refer to some of the architects that left their mark, Robert Oerley, Clemens Holzmeister and Ernst Egli designed projects in Turkey already in the mid-1920s, while after the National Socialist takeover in Germany in 1933, many

in 1924 in order to study appropriate urban models for Izmir. See Klinghardt, Karl, *Angora-Konstantinopel Ringende Gewalten* (Frankfurt am Main, 1924).

[100] Giulio Mongeri, one of the most successful Revival Style architects in the 1910-1930 period and professor at the School of Fine Arts, apparently tried to get the project unsuccessfully. Perhaps this was due to his inexperience with large urban scale projects. Berkant, Cenk 'The presence of Italian Architects in Mediterranean Countries', in the proceedings of the First International Conference, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Alexandria 15th-16th November 2007, (Florence: Maschietto Editore, 2008), pp.329-339.

[101] René Danger was a member of the *Section d' Hygiène Urbaine et Rurale* of the *Musée Social*.

[102] See Danger, René, *Cours d'Urbanisme,* (Paris: Editions Eyrolles, 1947 [1939]), p.126.

[103] Danger and Prost also carried out a plan for the reconstruction of Uşak and Manisa.

[104] According to Bilsel ('Cultures et Fonctionnalités', p.324), in western Anatolia the very first planning projects were assigned to Turkish army surveyors and engineers, Izmir, Uşak and Manisa being hence the first examples of hiring foreign urban planners.

[105] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation,* especially Chapter 1, pp.27-99. See also Akpinar, Ipek, 'The Rebuilding of Istanbul After the Plan of Henri Prost 1937-1960: From Secularization to Turkish Modernization' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2003), p.47.

[106] I mentioned previously that invitations to foreigners for individual projects are sporadically found in the Ottoman period as well, but there is no comparison in terms of numbers and range of jurisdiction given to these professionals, except perhaps in the area of the military, which was at some point reorganized by German officers.

Jewish and socialist architects fled to Turkey, including Bruno Taut,[107] Martin Wagner, Ernst Reuter, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and Wilhelm Schütte.

So, how did the main spatial actors examined in this chapter, namely the architects, the scientific committee, the municipal authorities and a contributor to a newspaper, Hamdi Nüzhet, approach the project for a 'modern' city? Although the Izmir plan has been analysed before, points of convergence and divergence between the various actors have often been equated to success and failure, respectively.[108] Through the analysis of some of the protagonists own writings, and visual materials, I will look at the discrepancy between the plan and its implementation not as a failure, but as a negotiated outcome, and I will focus on the process of participation in the project of 'modernity'. Moreover, references to Thessaloniki's plan will inform the wider implications of design decisions, and references to the projects of the previous period will better document the transformation of the goals and range of modernisation.

In the case of Izmir, the Danger office and Henri Prost collaborated with a committee consisting of two Turkish medical experts, the engineer Galip Bey, and the municipality architect Tahsin Bey, who was a graduate of the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul.[109] The presence of two medical experts testifies to the importance given to issues of hygiene, a priority in any case shared by the Danger office. In a draft of his teaching book, which I found at the 20th-century Architectural Archives in Paris, Paul Danger would refer to Urbanism as the science of medicine of cities, and add:

> Sufficient energy and normal growth means that the individual, the family, the city, and the region have no need to consult the Doctor, or the Urbanist who is, in fact, the doctor for cities in their regions. Conversely, as soon as the city becomes anaemic or feverish, as soon as excessive growth produces a formation

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[107] Bruno Taut also designed the Republican Girls' High School in Izmir in 1937-8.

[108] For example Kolluoğlu-Kırli ('Cityscapes of Modernity', p.227) mentions that the plan was never implemented, and Hastaoğlu-Martinidis analyses the plan and its implementation as oppositional; hence the plan was authored by the French, and subverted by the local administration. 'Urban Aesthetics and national identity: the refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean cities between 1900 and 1940', *Planning Perspectives,* Vol.26, No:2 (2011), pp.173-174.

[109] The committee consisted of Memduh Bey, director of the Health Service, Esad Bey, surgeon and director of a health clinic (both of them graduated from German Universities), Galib Bey, public works engineer (graduate of Lausanne University), and Tahsin Bey, architect of the municipality. Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités', p.333.

of inorganic elements, then becomes indispensable the presences of the skilled specialist, the Urbanist.[110]

Hygiene as a scientific justification becomes a criterion to determine the form of the city. This priority echoes in the words of Hamdi Nüzhet,[111] a frequent writer in *Anadolu.* In one of his articles in 1929, referring to the geomorphology of the city and to the northern orientation of the neighbourhoods in front of the hill of Kadifekale (Mount Pagus), which deprive them of sun and air, he writes:

> When thinking of the future, hygienic, civilized and beautiful Izmir, it is always necessary to stand away from the front of Kadifekale. Kadifekale stands on a dividing line that splits the contemporary city into two parts. On one part we find Ikiçeşmelik, Tilkilik and other areas, and as I presented above it is not possible to establish a new city in these areas. The second half, which extends mildly from Eşrefpaşa towards Kokaryali and further, has all the conditions for health and civility for the development of a city. The aforementioned beautiful, civilized and hygienic Izmir can only be founded here. With the roads you will open, the spaces you will construct, you will offer plenty of air and light to all our compatriots.[112]

Indeed, as one can see in the implementation plan of 1930 (Figure 13), the northern slope of Mount Pagus (or Kadifekale) is intended for afforestation.[113] Two parallel peripheral roads are shown with green areas on their sides; these parks often replace old cemeteries, which are transferred further away from the city, a practice we also saw in the Young Turk period. The old Turkish neighbourhoods on the slope (*Vieux Quartier*) are left untouched, in a very similar way to Thessaloniki's Upper Town (see the northern part of the historic centre in Figure 26). This choice, which was also seen in Hermann Jansen's Ankara and resulted in a certain morphological affinity of the plans in terms of the division between old and new, testifies to similar, but not identical understandings of the city; interesting subtle differences appear.

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[110] Danger, Paul, *Mémento D'Aménagement Urbain*, draft, p.3, Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle, Fonds Danger, Paris. Translation from French. Date unknown.

[111] Hamdi Nüzhet (Çançar), was also apparently a Great Master of the Izmir Lodge of Free Masons from 1955 to 1956. See the database of the Grand Lodge of Liberal Freemasons in Turkey at <http://www.mason-mahfili.org.tr/sozluk/kelime/cancar-hamdi-nuzhet.html>

[112] Hamdi Nüzhet, *Anadol*, 2 Augustos 1929 'In order to build Izmir, which roads should we take?' Translation by the author from Turkish.

[113] In fact, in the same article of Hamdi Nüzhet, he proposes the discouragement of inhabitation of the northern slope, the encouragement of the inhabitants of the old neighbourhoods to move out and the turning of the area into a zoo and a park.

Figure 13. The Implementation plan of Izmir in 1930, after initial alterations. Kadifekale (Mount Pagus) can be seen in the lower middle, encircled by an afforestation zone (*zone à boiser*). The neighbourhoods on its slopes (*Vieux Quartier*) are left untouched, whereas extensions are provisioned towards the south, where the hill does not obstruct the sunlight (*Nouveau Quartier d'Habitation*). The reconstructed city takes the form of an U-shape. Source: APIKAM, Izmir.

In Thessaloniki it was more a matter of exoticisation of the Old City,[114] of a preservationist attitude which reflected a joint decision of the local administration and the architectural committee (See Chapter 2.2). In Izmir, although Henri Prost might have shared such a preservationist view (as will be seen in Chapter 3), it was not in the municipality's interests to preserve the image of the old city; rather, the old neighbourhoods were considered unworthy of inhabitation due to their orientation, and the new settlements were designed elsewhere.[115] Moreover, in the case of Kemeraltı, which had been also left untouched by the Danger-Prost plan, the municipality in fact invited Le Corbusier in the late 1930s to completely transform it.[116] Ankara's lack of intervention in the Old City can also be understood as a disinterest in face of their main preoccupation with building the new city, rather than a belief in the value of its preservation, independently of Jansen's personal views.

Returning to the burnt zone, the reconstructed city centre opens in a U-shape form toward the sea, northeast of the old port (*Vieux Port*). In fact, it seems that Danger went as far as claiming that the burnt zone, because of its low altitude would not be appropriate for inhabitation,[117] a suggestion rejected by the municipality. This can explain however why significant space in the plan was given to a medium-size park at the heart of the U-shape (60 hectares), houses of 2-3 floors with gardens were provided, and the main streets were directed towards the sea, to take into consideration the circulation of air and the ventilation of the city.[118]

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[114] Historian Pierre Lavedan called it the 'most charming part of the city' [...] 'Althought it had nothing modern, Hébrard, from the start, advocated for respecting its fancyness'. (Lavedan, Pierre, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', *Urbanisme,* No.14 (May 1933), pp.151-2.

[115] Indeed, from the Eşrefpaşa neighbourhood towards the West, as Hamdi Nüzhet also suggests, one can see new suburbs being provisioned (see on the map *'nouveau quartier d'habitation'*).

[116] Based on his work on *La ville verte*, he proposed to completely replace the old city. Because of the start of the Second World War, the plan was never executed, and after the war, in the new political and ideological context of the time (multiparty era, Menderes government), the plan was rejected. In 1951 a new competition was launched and won by Turkish urbanists K.A. Aru, E.Canpolat and G. Özdeş.

[117] According to Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, this was actually the outcome of the investigation by a municipality commission in 1923 (in which Danger participated), which suggested that the area would be left for manufacture and industry and not for residence. Kolluoğlu-Kirli, Biray, 'The Play of Memory, Counter-Memory: Building Izmir of Smyrna's Ashes', *New Perspectives on Turkey,* No. 26 (Spring 2002), pp.9-10.

[118] Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités', p.44.
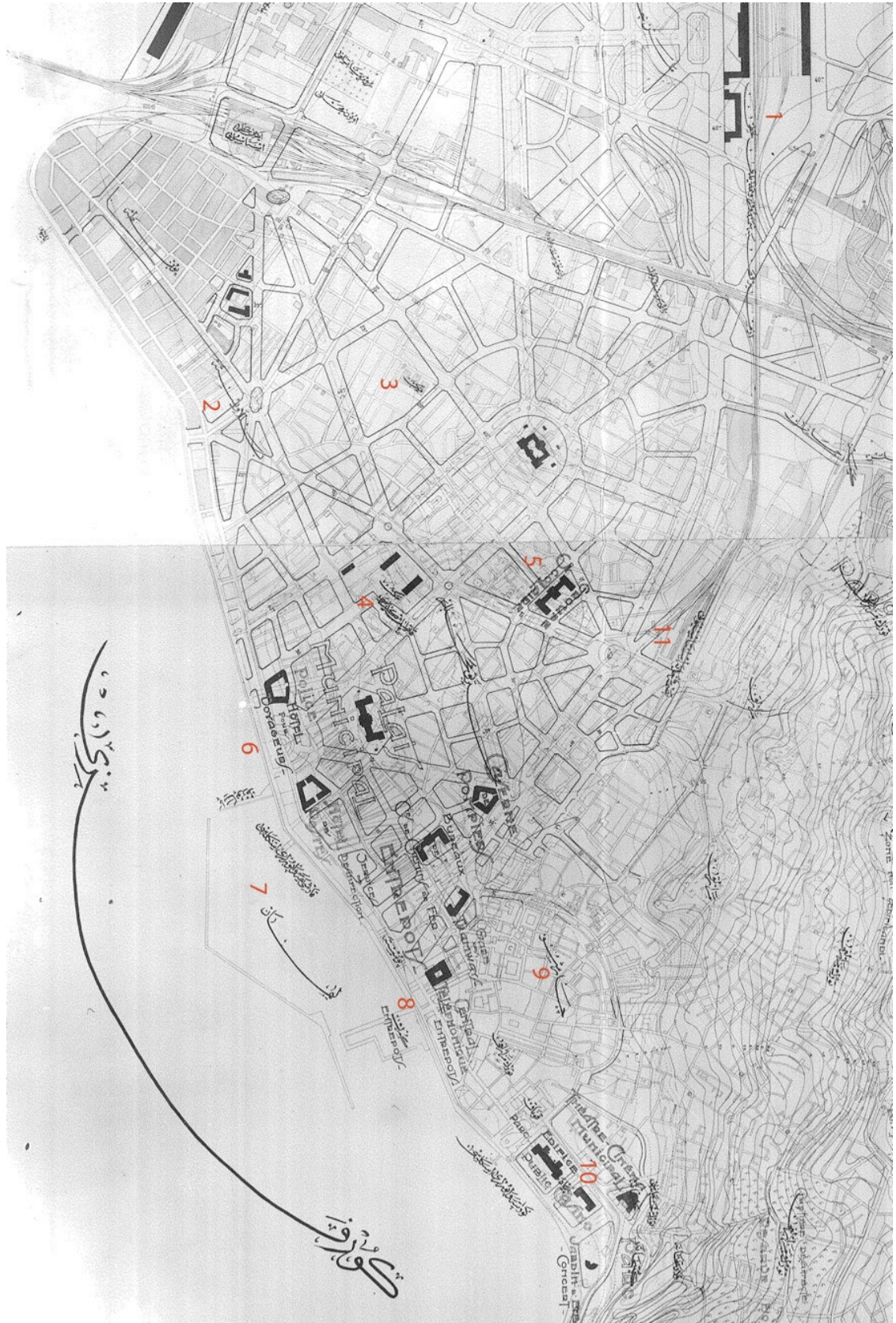
Figure 14. Master Plan for Izmir, by Henri Prost – date unknown. Source: Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris, Fonds Prost.

At one end of the horse-shoe layout was located the Municipal Building, on a 75m radius semi-circular square, which would be the high-point of the entire plan (see Figure 13 '*Palais Municipal*', and in more detail in Figure 14).[119] Around this square, the Square of the Republic, would be situated the police station and a *Hotel de Ville*. Some plots were also allocated for banks and consulate buildings.[120] This square was envisioned as the main entrance to the city from the sea, just next to the old port (No 6 and 7 in Figure 14). Such a solution was carried out in Thessaloniki too, as we will see (FIgure 28); a central axis, concentrating the administrative functions of the city, leads to a grand waterfront square which would host the statue of Alexander the Great, who had been born near Thessaloniki, in Pella.

Another important characteristic, characterising both city plans, is the clear zoning approach. In Izmir, the old port – which as we saw earlier had been completed only in 1880 – was declared insufficient for the anticipated growth of the economy, and a new port was designed in the unexploited swamp-land further east (top of the map in Fig 13). It is connected by a rail line to the new station at Halkapınar (*Nouvelle Gare*), the latter replacing the two older train stations in the centre of the city.

Following the same zoning approach, a group of educational facilities was positioned in the area of Punta (see *Groupe Scolaire* in Figure 13). In Figure 14, the education zone has moved around the park: we see the title *Groupe Scolaire* written next to the building number 5, while numbers 3 and 4 have the note *mektep* (school), in Ottoman Turkish. In fact, Number 4 is the former Greek Girls School and Number 3 is no other than the Evangelical School that survived the fire, as we saw in the Introduction; their role in the design will be further analysed in Chapter 4.

Industrial functions were located between the new port and the train station. On the other side of the train line one can see the working class neighbourhoods (*Cité Ouvrière* in Figure 13), which, according to Çinar Atay, were inspired by Tony Garnier's *Cité Industrielle*, albeit lacking a clear geometry in order to preserve parts of the underlying neighbourhood of Mersinli.[121] They also included a sports area, a park, and

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[119] Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* p.184
[120] Kami Refet, 'İzmirin İmari hakkında', pp. 228-230.
[121] Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* p.181

a municipal tree nursery, again testifying to the prioritization of issues of hygiene over housing and heritage, as was the case in Thessaloniki.

Before closing the presentation of the plan as the first stage of designing the new city, and moving onto looking at its implementation, it is worth noting that the new layout reconfirmed the opening of Basmane Boulevard (today's Fevzi Paşa Boulevard). It is noted as *Boulevard de Basma Hane* (Figure 13), but ironically the rail station and the port have now been moved by the architects to a different location! In the plan, this much debated boulevard has lost its critical function, becoming merely one of the many circulation axes of the city. The roundabout pictured at number 11 (Figure 14) probably indicates the entrance to the city centre from the south, hence it is given a distributive role.

Another previously suggested connection is also provided, albeit in a broken line, that of the (now redundant) rail station to Bellavista (Number 11 to Number 2 in Figure 14), which first appeared in Polycarpe Vitali's three boulevards plan. It passes through Montro and Lozan Squares on the two edges of Atatürk Lisesi (Number 4 in Figure 14).

The final plan was examined and approved by the Municipality in July 1925, becoming the first city-scale, comprehensive urban plan in Turkey. To replace of the huge urban gap of the socially and materially devastated city, the Danger-Prost plan envisioned a city based on a classical approach to aesthetics and hygiene. The side-lining of the old quarters, the employment of dispassionate criteria of hygiene and zoning and the choice of a central axis for the city, were very consistent with the *École des Beaux Arts* urbanist tradition as well as with the concerns of the Paris-based *Société des Urbanistes*, concerns shared by architects such as Eugène Hénard, Léon Jaussely, and also Ernest Hébrard, the leading architect of the Thessaloniki project. As we saw from the study of local actors own writings, such as the scientific committee of the Municipality and important figures such as Hamdi Nüzhet, they shared these concerns – but as we will see next, they did not hesitate to intervene when their priorities were different, claiming an equal role as authors of modernity.

2.1.1 The implementation of the plan: The Sadi İplikçi Album

For a start, the lack of funds and of strong political will, delayed the implementation of the plan until the beginning of the 1930s. During the 1920s, the only thing to be completed was part of Gazi Boulevard (connecting numbers 11 and 8 in Figure 14); the reconstruction of the city would accelerate after 1931, when a rising local politician, Behçet Uz, became city mayor.[122] A doctor by profession, he sealed the transformation of the city, and emerged as the strongest personality in its redesign.

In order to examine the reconstruction of the city, I turn to a photographic album commissioned by the Municipality as a record of this transformation (Figure 15). I discovered this album by the photographer Hamza Rustem (1872-1971) in Izmir, in the hands of his grandson, Mert Rüstem, who is also a photographer as well as a collector.[123] Its photos have been used as a basis for the analysis of Izmir throughout this thesis, and, based on their similarity in content and style with Figure 1, we can assume that the latter is also a work of the same photographer.

Hamza Rustem was one of the first Muslim photographers of Izmir,[124] and himself an exchangee from Crete. This photo-album was dedicated to one of the Municipality assembly's members, Sadı Iplikci. However, during my search in Mert Rüstem's archive, I spotted another album (in a bad condition and with no cover), realising that probably all the members of the Assembly received one. Very interestingly these two hand-made albums were not identical.[125]

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[122] See Seymen, Ülker B., 'Tek Parti Dönemi Belediyeciliğinde Behçet Uz örneği', in *Üç İzmir*, ed.by Şahin Beygu, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Bankası Yayınları), 1992, pp.297-321.

[123] I owe special thanks to Dr. Aren Kurtgözu, at the time assistant professor at Izmir University of Economics and a collector himself, for introducing me to Mert Rüstem. I met Mr. Rüstem at his photographic studio in Kemeraltı area, and started examining hundreds of photographs taken by his grandfather. Most of the photographs unfortunately had no citations or dates. In contrast, when I spotted the album I chose it as a coherent ensemble of photos which introduced an unknown story to my thesis and allowed me to examine them as a narrative.

[124] In the late Ottoman period there were only two Muslim photographers in Izmir, compared to dozens of non-Muslim ones.

[125] The two albums had many photos in common, but not all of them. This could suggest practical reasons – a desire to use all available photos the photographer had produced and not leave things to waste. But it could also suggest that the municipality tailored the albums a bit according to the individual members, or maybe according to *some* important members.

Figure 15. The cover of the album, which reads Mr Sadi Iplikci, Member of the Izmir City Assembly, Commemorative of the 1934-1938 period, Izmir Municipality. Source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

The horizontal, A4 sized and leather-bound album is composed of 39 pages (Figure 15). The cover reads 'Mr Sadi Iplikci, Member of the Izmir City Assembly, Commemorative of the 1934-1938 period, Izmir Municipality.' On the first page is a photo of the recipient, Sadi Iplikci, with a dedication by the mayor Behçet Uz, dated 1.9.1938. After that are 38 pages, each one with two pictures affixed to it, with protective sheets of tracing paper between, as is common in photographic albums. Some of the photos have captions, typed on white paper, cut and glued between the photos.

Although I discovered some of these photos in other places too, such as the Izmir Ahmet Pırıştına City Archive and Museum (APIKAM), they have never been examined as a complete set and there seems to be no awareness of their original purpose. They depict municipality meetings (Figure 16) and site visits (Figure 21, 36), and the major projects completed or under construction in the period 1934-1938: the drying of swamps, building of quays (Figure 17), opening of boulevards (Figure 42), of the construction of new hospitals, new houses (Figure 75) and fountains for the

neighbourhoods that were suffering from lack of water, of inauguration and foundation ceremonies (Figures 6, 20) and of the construction of Culture Park (Figures 21, 22, 23, 37, 73).

Figure 16. The Municipality Council at work, with Behçet Uz at the head of the table. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

The images in the album reveal a different view of the reconstruction of the city than the plans we saw earlier (Figures 13 and 14). For a start, they give an account of the works realised and the priorities set by the Municipality. Along with the opening of grand boulevards, other urgent projects were put forward, causing alterations to the plan. Hence, while the Republic Square and the boulevards leading to it were constructed according to the plan, instead of erecting a new Municipality building, in the resulting adjacent triangular open space, the International Fair of Izmir was accommodated[126] (Figures 18 and 19). Instead of adopting the classic schema of a grand square coupled by a monumental building reflecting authority, the municipality prioritise the economy of the city, to which this Fair made a big contribution.[127]

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[126] The Municipality remained at Konak Square.
[127] Uz, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Doğusu*, p.57.

Figure 17. Drying the Bostanli swamps and constructing the quay. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Figure 18. The Square of the Republic with Atatürk's statue at the centre, and the Izmir International Fair at the back, in the plot where the Municipality Building would have been situated. Album No.2, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Figure 19. Prime Minister Ismet Inönu examining the model of the First International Fair. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Other alterations of the plan took place too. For example, the two separate rail stations were not replaced by a single train station at Halkapinar. Moreover, in 1932 Hermann Jansen, at the time in charge of the new plan of Ankara, was invited to Izmir to offer his advice on the on-going reconstruction. Having different priorities than the French School planners, he made some harsh critiques of the new plan, the most important being the width of the streets. By narrowing the streets, as he suggested, the Municipality would spend less on road materials and gain more from the price increase of the enlarged adjacent plots. The Municipality indeed proceeded to revise the plan and narrow the roads. Jansen also found that the buildings to be constructed were too tall and suggested that the new residential buildings should not exceed two floors.[128]

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[128] Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* p.188. His proposal would be very quickly proven futile given the need for housing and the rise of population in the following decades.

In addition, Jansen disagreed with the positioning of Atatürk's monument in the Square of the Republic (*Cumhuriyet Meydanı*), in front of the planned Municipality.[129] However, like in other central squares of Republican cities, the monument was finally erected (Figure 20), constructed by the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica,[130] and revealing once again not only the determination of the Izmir Municipality to pick and choose from different styles and schools of the West (in our case the French School represented by Prost and Danger, the German garden cities' model represented by Jansen, and sculpture from Italy), but also their refusal to abide by everything the foreign architects proposed. The monument was inaugurated in 28 July 1932 by the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü.[131]

Atatürk's statue fulfils the vacuum in symbolic power and representation of authority caused by the cancellation of the Municipality building project; the square was still turned into a ceremonial space, but surrounding the figure of the leader of the nation instead of facing the building of Municipal authority. Figure 20, depicting the Municipality Assembly standing like soldiers and guardians of his values[132] in front of the statue, represents this very efficiently. In this transformation of the Republican Square from paper to reality, we see exactly the understanding of modernity not as having a pre-assigned meaning and symbolic function, but as acquiring a meaning necessitated by the national context. In that sense, both the city space and the 'modern' are rearticulated. Rather than a replacement or distortion, we witness the reconfiguration of a fluid concept (this will be further analysed in Chapter 2.3.).

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[129] In his memories, mayor Behçet Uz mentions that because of the municipality's pressing financial problems the monument's erection had been delayed for years and the sculptor had complained for not receiving any payment for his work. Uz, *Bir kentin yeniden doğusu*, p.52

[130] Canonica also sculpted one statue of Atatürk outside the Museum of Ethnography in Ankara (1927), another one on Zafer Square, again in Ankara (1927), and a Monument of the Republic (*Cumhuriyet Anıtı)* at Taksim Square, Istanbul (1928).

[131] Addressing İsmet İnönü, Behçet Üz said in 1932: 'This is not an opening that we can do ourselves, it is not a neighbourhood event. He is a man that saved Izmir, and ta the same time one who through his personality represents the national struggle. For that reason there is a meaning in you inaugurating this sculpture'. Uz, *Bir kentin yeniden doğusu,* p.54. He later mentioned 'We inaugurated the monument with the participation of 3-4 military commanders, governors, 8-10 members of parliament and the local administrators, and a glorious ceremony.' Uz, *Bir kentin yeniden doğusu*, p.55.

[132] The Western dress and the presence of a woman in the Assembly are unmissable in the photograph.

Figure 20. Republic Square, Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

The most prominent project, at the same time being the greatest alteration of the Prost-Danger plan, was the construction of the Izmir Culture Park (*Kültürpark*), to also accommodate the International Fair mentioned above. The new educational facility erected symmetrically to the Evangelical School was not realized (No 5 and 3 in Figure 14); rather, the park designed in the centre of the U-shape was enlarged (from 60 to 360 hectares), reaching almost the doorstep of the school, as we saw in the photo that opened the Introduction chapter. The resulting massive green space became the signature project of Izmir and Behçet Uz (Figures 21, 22, 23, 24, 37, 73), and was officially opened on January 1st 1936. Six photos in the album depict its foundation ceremony, and sixteen photos depict the process of its construction.

Behçet Uz had a special interest in parks, which he saw as prerequisites for a hygienic and modern life, though its enlargement to such an extent was possibly also decided because of lack of funds for the construction of the neighbourhoods.[133]

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[133] Atay mentions that the Municipality did not manage to reconstruct these areas (*Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* p.185). Given that they were expropriated, this might suggest that they

Kültürpark, initiated in 1935 and completed in 1936, was explicitly inspired by the Moscow Gorky Park. A first visit to Moscow by Suat Yurtkoru, the then head of the Izmir Soccer Association and later deputy mayor,[134] inspired Behçet Uz greatly and he started supporting the project despite opposition within the municipality.[135]

Behçet Uz went to Moscow himself to meet with officials to discuss the park project. In his memoirs he would say:

> Especially as a result of the fair and culture-park works, which were being carried out with inspiration, and which I saw and learnt from in Moscow, to which the Prime Minister of the time İsmet İnönü sent me for this job, [the site of the fair] became a place from which our youth, old people and children can benefit in every way, including health, sport and entertainment. Both from an aesthetic point of view and with its botanic gardens, which, exactly like in foreign countries, are almost like a university for the people [*halk üniversitesi*], it provides both educational services as well as catering for aesthetic sentiments by its beauty.[136]

Kültürpark, which he called 'the little brother of the Culture Park that Moscow City Soviet created for its people', would include a ceremonial square for 5,000 people, an open-air amphitheatre, an open swimming pool, restaurants, a theatre and a cinema for children, five museums[137] and sports centres, aiming to form the new society that the Kemalist regime dreamt of. Together with the botanical garden, the zoo and the International Fair it was committed to exhibiting, safeguarding and reproducing all elements of human civilization.

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could not find buyers for the land. On the other hand, Kolluoğlu-Kırli ('The Play of Memory', p.6) mentions that the attribution of such a large area to the park instead of to taking advantage of it in a commercially beneficial way, testifies to the political weight of the project. It seems that further research needs to be done in order to uncover the reasons behind this decision.

[134] Kılrı Kolluoğlu, 'The Play of Memory', p.17. His impressions were published in the newspaper Yeni Asır, between 30 July and 24 August 1933.

[135] Uz, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Doğusu*, p 57-58.

[136] Uz, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Doğusu,* p 69.

[137] An Museum of Atatürk, a Military Museum, a Museum of the Turkish Revolution, a Museum of Geology and Anthropology, and a Health Museum.

Figure 21. Works inside *Kültürpark*. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Figure 22. Works inside *Kültürpark*. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Kültürpark undeniably has also important similarities with Ankara's Youth Park, which was initially designed under Jansen's 1934 plan.[138] Although in his memoirs Behçet Uz claims that the idea of the island in the lake emerged coincidentally during the construction process, the same idea of an island within an artificial lake and a casino on top, accessible by footbridges, arose in the design of the Ankara Youth Park. Moreover, a 48m parachute tower was erected in the centre of Kültürpark (Figure 23), planned identical with one near the Ankara Youth Park and, as Bozdoğan mentions, [139] testifies to the new Republic's intense interest in aviation as a signifier of modern achievement.

Figure 23. The parachute tower inside Kültürpark, during and after construction. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

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[138] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* p.75. The casino in Ankara was not built in the end, but was moved to another location (Çubuk Dam), and there are some similarities in the architectural design of the two buildings. It is also worth noting that the capital's Youth Park had a surface of 280,000m2, whereas Kültürpark surpassed it, being 360,000 m2 (later on 420,000m2).
[139] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* pp.129-130.

In 1938 the International Fair of Izmir, called 'September 9th Fair' in commemoration of the reannexation of the city in September 9th 1922, moved for the first time from its earlier location to Kültürpark, where it is still hosted today.[140] It was accommodated in both permanent and temporary pavilions, the vast majority of which were designed in a modernist style. The Open Air Theatre and its five gates, named after significant national dates or concepts, were designed in 1937 by the French architect Bachillet.[141] Photos from the gates and the Fair featured in post-cards in day and night views (Figure 24 was also circulated as a postcard), showcasing *Kültürpark* as the most prominent modern project of the city for years to come.

Figure 24. Photo from the International Fair, night view, Sadi Iplikci Album, source: Mert Rüstem.

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[140] One could study its similarities with the International Fair of Thessaloniki, which was also not part of its reconstruction plan – it was a later alteration, situated next to the University on what used to be Jewish and Muslim cemeteries. Such a parallel study (of two International Fairs) is beyond the limits of this thesis.

[141] His first name does not appear in the memoirs of Behçet Uz or other literature.

Apart from giving us an account of the actual works and priorities of the municipal authorities, as mentioned earlier, how does the album change or add to the way we understand the reconstruction of the city? I argue that it does so in two additional ways. First, by shifting the focus from the end result to the process of modernisation, and second – closely interlinked with the first – by introducing all the spatial actors and participants in modernity. Modernity is not an abstract discourse any more – it is a reality, evidenced equally by the projects under construction and by the people populating these images.

A careful look at the album brings to our attention that, contrary to the plans and drawings, human presence was very prominent in these visual materials. In 51 out of 76 photos, people are present, celebrating, building, inaugurating or using the new facilities. The vast majority are politicians and officials in action (like in Figure 16); 33 images were taken in the Assembly Hall, on visits, or in opening and foundation ceremonies. Then, special focus is given to the new generation; children are posing in front of a new fountain, or playing in the playgrounds. Around 10 photos show workers in construction sites (like in Figure 21 and 22). A couple of photographs are mixed – in two, the officials are at a site visit, posing for a photograph together with the workers (like in Figure 21).

Moreover, many projects are shown during and after completion: for example, the first International Fair on the Republic Square is depicted as a model, examined by Prime Minister Inönü (Figure 19), and then completed in Figure 18. The Culture Park is shown in 6 photos during its foundation ceremony, 13 during its construction (like in Figures 21, 22, 37, 73), and in a couple more as a completed project (like in Figure 24). The photos of the parachute tower, during construction and in use (Figure 23), are presented side by side.

The presence of all the photos in the album give each one of them an additional meaning. I argue that the unpolished image of the city, the presentation of the reconstruction as a step-by-step effort, as well as the focus on the process of decision-making emphasises Turkey's active and empowered participation in the project of modernity. Despite the fact that, as a Municipality Album, some photos are commemorative of specific members of the Assembly, they also commemorate the act

of assembling, the ceremonies, and the process of deciding the future of the city. The spatial actors (politicians, workers, citizens) are not just importing, consuming or presenting the 'modern'. They are participating in democratic procedures, voting, preparing models, and taking into consideration the needs of the city and its actual users, which are also represented in the album. Moreover, the presence of groups of citizens in the foundation ceremonies as well as using the new facilities, the posing of officials next to workers, showcases unity of all the people in the goal of rebuilding Republican Izmir. The Municipality, in commissioning this album, put the human factor at the centre of its narration.

The presentation of workers working with the scarce technologies available, using horse carriages and constructing the city without modern machines but with simple axes, juxtaposed with photos of the completed projects, of grateful patients using the hospital rooms, of children posing next to a fountain, etc., constitutes another layer of narration, that of the heroic and proud effort for reconstruction.

In fact, sometimes the function of the photo as a representation of the heroic reconstruction of the city is more important that what it depicts. For example, photos 21 and 22, which were part of a single page, have different captions in the two different albums that I found. In the first album, the caption (correctly) reads 'Constructing the artificial lake and island in Kültürpark 1938' for Figure 21 and 'Constructing the cycling path in Kültürpark 1938' for Figure 22. In contrast, in the second album (the one which was in a bad condition) they have a joint caption 'Activity in the burnt zone: Opening Voroşilof and Celal Bayar avenues'[142]. However Voroşilof and Celal Bayar avenues are in a different part of the burnt zone, and it is impossible that the photos were taken there. But the 'truth' of the photograph does not lie in the accuracy of the location; it lies in the actuality of the collective reconstruction of a Izmir from its ashes into a modern city.

Until now, I have examined how the new city of Izmir became the negotiated outcome of multiple agencies, as the different sides redefined the meaning and shape of the 'modern' condition. The functionalist approach to urban form, advocated by

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[142] The naming of an avenue after the Soviet General Voroshilov is just another indication of Turkey's close relationship to the Soviet Union at the time. The avenue is today's Plevne Boulevard. Celal Bayar avenue is today's Talat Paşa Street.

different European urbanist schools and discussed in the journal *Arkitekt* by the new, European-educated architects of the Republic like Burhan Arif and Sebahattin Bey, served the goals of the young nation-state which wanted to otherise its own immediate past, to frame it as backward and 'oriental' and to legitimize its own alignment with the West. In that venture, the local actors involved in the reconstruction did not passively accept the design proposed by the Danger office, but consciously emerged and engaged as equally effective designers and implementers of the 'modern' future of Republican Izmir. This is reflected both in their writings, as well as in the Municipality album.

After touching upon the issue of authorship and negotiation in the process of rewriting the city and the 'modern', one of the fundamental questions that frames the thesis and which will be analysed further in the next chapters, I will now address the issue of the recipients of both the visual image of the new city (the album included) and its new spatial form.

2.1.2   Creating (for) the Intended Audience – the Implied Reader

Who are the intended users of the new city? Examining the actual use of the projects (in both cities) by different social groups and the way they perceived or were influenced by the projects, is beyond the scope of this thesis. What I am interested in, however, is the 'citizen', the user of the new city as imagined by the diverse spatial actors examined.

Here Iser's concept of the 'implied reader' becomes useful. The term 'designates the image of the recipient that the author had while writing, or more accurately, the author's image of the recipient that is fixed and objectified in the text by specific indexical signs'.[143] In Iser's own words, 'the term incorporates both the prestructuring of the potential meaning by the text, and the reader's actualization of this potential through the reading process'.[144] This can help us better analyse the question of the user of the new cities; the agents of modernisation in Izmir (and in Thessaloniki) did not have the real existing inhabitants of the two cities in mind when

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[143] See Schmid, Wolf, *Implied Reader,*<http://wikis.sub.uni-hamburg.de/lhn/index.php/Implied_Reader>
[144] Iser, *The Implied Reader,* p.xii.

designing the new city, but the ones that would be produced by this city and by other societal institutions as part of the nation-building process: the 'modern citizens'.

The reference of Behçet Uz to the park as a 'university of the people', and the name of the park itself (Culture Park), testify to its role as an agent of enculturation, education and transformation, both through its spatial qualities and facilities as well as through its representational values. In this observation I relate to the scholarship that has explored Republican space as a 'container' as well as a 'statement' of modernity.[145]

This can be expanded to the whole of the city. Its urban layout and its new buildings, initially in Ottoman revival and very quickly in a modernist language (as we will see in Chapter 4), were understood as generator, evidence and guarantor of the modern and national identity. They would create the socio-spatial context which would help form and reproduce the new overruling identity. In its new built environment, tailored to the requirements of a modern city, the citizens would learn how to live in a modern way too, under the guidance of new institutions, by assembling in parks and stadiums, by visiting the museums and by participating in national parades on its main squares and boulevards.

In this sense, we realise that the visual and spatial functions of the city are closely interlinked. Space and its image are both coscripted in the vision for a new city. A photograph from the opening of the 9th International Fair (Figure 25) in the 1940s, can be used as a metaphor as well as evidence to this observation; it depicts the 'classless', 'united mass'[146] flooding an open space in front of one of the gates of the Culture Park, and the new buildings of Izmir at the background, all subject to the cameraman's lens. The exalted position from which he is recording the 'undeniable' success of the project of modernity, can be seen as a symbolism of the protagonistic

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[145] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* p.196. In the same publication (p.78) she writes that such projects 'were powerful expressions of the republican vision of a thoroughly Westernized, mixed-gender public, dining in style, listening to jazz bands, and dancing without inhibition'. In their research on other cases in the Middle East, Isenstadt and Rizvi have also observed that, 'whether providing housing for immigrants streaming into cities, or a monumental government centre, new buildings were both the means and the very symbol of participation in Western ideals of progress and development, promoted to foreign investors and aggressive neighbours.' *Modernism and the Middle East*, p.22

[146] One of the important slogans of the time was *'imtiyazsız sinifsiz kaynaşmış bir kitleyiz'* (we are mass which is classless, without privileges and coalesced).

role of visual image. He is no other Hamza Rüştem, the photographer and composer of the Municipality Albums.[147]

Figure 25. 20-8-1949, the Opening of the International Fair. Source: Mert Rüstem

In their role as recordings of modernity, the photographic albums can be included in what Bozdoğan analyses as the distinctly Republican visual culture of modernity.[148] Some of the photos – the ones showing completed projects – were used as postcards, aiming to condense visitors' experience in iconic images and circulate them to a wider public. Furthermore, being ensembles dedicated to each member of the assembly, these albums were comissioned and carried out as a proof and

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[147] The photo was taken probably by one of his colleagues, also covering the event.
[148] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* p.6 and p.58. The alignment of photography and politics has been referred to also by Liz Wells: 'Modern photography, in the first half of the twentieth century, embodies a particular *way of seeing.* To some extent this idea is as old as the medium itself. But it took on a particular form in the 1920s and 1930s when both the putative political power of photography and its status as the most important modern form of communication were at their height.' Wells, Liz (ed.), *Photography- A critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.26.

dissemination of the authorities' work at a municipality level. In addition to designing the new city, the municipality is ensuring the recording of its role in its legacy.

The new visual image of the city was not addressed only to a local audience only; it also aimed to transform Western perceptions of Turkey. For a start, the annual Fair was aimed from the start to be international, both in terms of participants and audiences; *La Turquie Kemaliste*, the official magazine of the Turkish Republic (mentioned in the Introduction), featured the Fair in its 15th issue:

> The International Fair of Izmir, conceived with the aim to make known the economic and professional progress constantly created by the regime of Atatürk and by the Republican Government, both in the interior of the country as well as abroad on a yearly basis, opened its doors for the 6th time. [149]

In addition to that however, the new buildings of Izmir, the National Library, the People's House, and especially the School of Agriculture (Ziraat Mektebi) were presented to local and foreign representatives during official visits; not only Kemal Atatürk, but international figures like General Kliment Voroshilov (chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the USSR)[150] the Iranian Şah Riza Pehlevi,[151] and the Swedish Prince Gustave Adolf[152] were all shown these buildings. This recalls Haydar Rüştü's early statement in the newspaper *Anadolu*, at a time when all these projects were still on paper:

> We have the obligation to bring Izmir again to life in a more beautiful and elegant form than before. This is because Izmir is a valuable gate to Anatolia for the West. People who want to see us, who want to understand us will look at this gate and the sights they will see here will create the first impression that they will entertain about us.[153]

In the light of the up-to-now examination of Izmir's plan and of its complex implementation, and having discussed the questions of the 'modern city', its multiple authorship and its intended audience, I will now look at the case of Thessaloniki (2.2), before they are both approached together again (in 2.3) to draw some conclusions.

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[149] *La Turquie Kemaliste,* No:15 (Fev. 1935), pp.15-19
[150] Who was visiting Turkey in 1933 for the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Republic.
[151] in 1934. See Dirik, *Vali Paşa Kâzım Dirik,* pp.204-215.
[152] in 1934.
[153] Haydar Rüştü, 'Let's do it at last', *Anadolu* 5 October 1925.

2.2 A site of pioneering reforms: Thessaloniki

> You all know the old city with the old streets of Thessaloniki, and you must have recognized that that plan would be impossible to keep. [...] I actually tell you…that even if Thessaloniki had not been burnt, there should have been a thought about reforming its urban fabric. But the fire provided us with an opportunity to conduct a new plan.
>
> Eleftherios Venizelos, Parliament Discussions 1919[154]

Similar to the case of Izmir, the old layout of Thessaloniki was targeted as unsuitable for the needs of the times. Despite its cosmopolitan character, commercial importance and the urban transformations mentioned earlier, it preserved an 'Oriental' townscape, formed by numerous white minarets, tangled streets which were subverting the old Hellenistic grid, introverted neighbourhoods, wooden houses and a scarcity of stone construction (save for temples and public baths), and the presence of the remaining old fortifications, now lying unused. On top of problems of hygiene, there was an ineffective use of land because of the irregular layout of the lots. Yerolympos's examination of the parliamentary discussions revealed that Venizelos was enthusiastic about the potential for transforming Thessaloniki into a modern city, a city equivalent to its great location, and its role as an administrative centre for Macedonia.[155]

Given the replanning of Izmir examined previously, it is ironic that John Mawson, son of the British architect Thomas Mawson who participated in the Design Committee, wrote in 1921:

> Had the town remained under Turkish control with its policy of *laissez faire* and its recognition of the divine right of the individual, it is certain that no effort would have been made to take advantage of the opportunity and that, as on previous occasions, the whole town would have been reconstructed

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[154] Minutes of Parliamentary Assemblies, Digitalised at the Website of the Hellenic Parliament <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/I-Bibliothiki/Psifiaki-Bibliothiki/>, Year 1919.

[155] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* p.81.

street by street and house by house, exactly in the form in which it had existed for the previous thousand years.[156]

On the one hand, this quote adds to the observations we made in the first Chapter in relation to late Ottoman modernisation; on the other, it shows how John Mawson had aligned himself with the Otherisation of Turkey – as well as the Ottoman past of Greece – as a backward environment.

The Greek state had had its own previous experience with urban planning during its 80 years of historical existence, based on an effort to respond to pragmatic problems as well as to ideological concerns similar to the ones that appeared in early Republican Turkey. The period up to 1914 was characterized mainly by laws[157] directing the creation and expansion of settlements in a regulated manner, prioritizing hygiene and orientation issues, at the same time otherising the Ottoman city:

> The design of cities, [...] has already been introduced since the National Liberation and the Kapodistrias government with an ideological and strategic role: the projection and establishment of a national identity, modernised and Western, that will resemble the European urban models, in contradiction to 'Ottoman darkness'.[158]

However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, these projects lacked the efficiency brought about by the rise of state interventionism and the consolidation of urbanism as a city-wide regulating discipline. In this direction, the early 20th century there was for the first time an effort to tackle an additional and important urban problem: the regulation of the relationship between old owners and the state in cases of post-fire redevelopment, zone expropriation or urban land redistribution. For example the reconstruction of Serres, which was burnt in 1914, was accompanied by revolutionary legislation[159] by which the burnt zone was expropriated and, after the area provisioned for new public spaces was calculated and subtracted, the rest was redistributed to the old owners according to the surface of their old properties. However, the surface

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[156] Mawson, John, 'The Salonika Town Planning Act', *The Town Planning Review*, Vol.9, No.3 (Dec 1921), p.147.
[157] More specifically, the regulations of 1835 and 1842.
[158] Mantouvalou, Maria and Kalatzopoulou, Maria, 'Poleodomia kai politikokoinonika diakuveumanta stin Ellada tou Mesopolemou', in *Eleftherios Venizelos kai Elliniki Poli: Poleodomikes politikes kai koinonikopolitikes anakatataxeis,* Conference Proceedings, Chania, 24-27 October 2002 (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon kai Meleton 'Eleutherios Venizelos, TEE and NTUA, 2005), p.87.
[159] Law 455 (7.12.1914). For a detailed overview of the evolution of the legislation leading to the case of Thessaloniki, see Yerolumpos, *I anoikodomisi,* pp. 59-60.

necessary for the widening of the streets and for the new public spaces would be subtracted from the already public lands of the burnt zone, hence diminishing public property. Only if the public land was not enough, would the old owners equally contribute part of their properties for the creation of public spaces. Moreover the future increase in value of the new properties was not taken into account when redistributing the land, and the old owners had a stronger voice than the state.

These problems, of international interest at the time, would be taken into account when creating the legal framework for the reconstruction of Thessaloniki, the Law 1394/1918. Thessaloniki would become a space for a new type of relationship between state and individual, which distinguished it from the previous period and also drew from and contributed to international developments in the field. In contrast to the case of Izmir, the major and most fruitful debates and negotiations appeared at the stages of law-making and of the design of the plan, rather than during its implementation.

2.2.1   Legislation as a key to urban planning

The Venizelos government and especially the Minister of Transport Alexandros Papanastasiou did not hesitate to take bold decisions that changed not only the city layout but also property status. In order to avoid any uncontrolled construction, immediately after the fire the Greek Government banned any kind of building in the burnt area. Instead of expropriating the area, which would entail huge costs, a Property Owners' Association was founded, incorporating all landowners within the burnt zone. The entire area was then appropriated in the Association's favour, and the old proprietors became shareholders in the total building land available in proportion to the value of the land they owned before the fire.[160] They received share certificates in the form of a Title Deed, which was non-transferable in order to prevent speculation and the concentration of deeds in few hands[161]. After the reconstruction, the available plots where sold in a regulated auction, which prioritised the old owners.

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[160] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* pp.225-6
[161] The Title Deeds in hands of Muslims who were exchanged in 1923, passed to the National Bank of Greece.

This sheds a different light on the case of Izmir. Benefiting from the Change of the 1882 Buildings Regulation (*Ebniye Kanunu*) in 1924, the Municipality declared the burnt zone to be an 'agricultural field' (*arsa*), which would acquire a new plan, and they also banned any kind of construction within its limits. Similar to Thessaloniki, those who had owned properties in such areas were to be given bonds whose values were to be determined by a commission, and the property owners would be able to use these bonds as cash to buy new parcels in the auction.[162] However because of the declaration of the zone as an agricultural field, these bonds were of greatly reduced value. Another crucial factor, the fact that most of the old owners were Greeks and Armenians who were now gone, facilitated the imposition of this change[163] as well as relieved the authorities of the burden of expropriation compensations.

But the most important difference from Thessaloniki is that the zone was expropriated in the name of the Municipality rather than in the owners' name. There was no association between the owners and their financial and spatial interests were not represented in the design process. Only the Municipality benefited from the subsequent sales of plots, whereas in Thessaloniki the earnings from the sale of the plots were used to cover the Municipality's construction costs and then distributed between the shareholders of the Property Owners Association.[164] At this point, the positioning of the two cities side by side benefits the research not just by allowing us to understand each one of them better, but it brings to surface a question that otherwise might have been overlooked – and in fact, it has largely been: how does legislation regulate the extent of agency and participation of different actors in the project of modernisation? Before answering this question, let me explain the exact conditions that Thessaloniki's legislation imposed, as well as its origins.

Yerolympos, in her landmark work on this topic, traced the multiple origins of Thessaloniki's legal framework.[165] The idea of area expropriation was used in France in

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[162] Serçe, Erkan, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Izmir'de Belediye (1868-1945)*, (Izmir: Dokuz Eylul Yayınları, 1998), p.172.

[163] Kami Refet, from the Izmir Municipality Scientific Committee, would mention in the same article examined in 2.1: 'In reality because this area was safe from various obstacles and the choice of unnecessary expropriation costs, it is possible to work with less sacrifices and to see more work done.' Refet, 'İzmirin İmari hakkında', p 228-230.

[164] A detailed comparison of the two legal frameworks, yet to be done, was left out of the scope of this research.

[165] See Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* Chapter 5, pp.98-123.

order to carry out major urban interventions (like in the Haussmann case). This also happened in Belgium, England and elsewhere, but it entailed huge costs for the state. As an alternative, the idea of urban land reallotment, in which land was not bought by the state but was redistributed to the old owners after the area was redesigned, had been developed in Germany (*Umlegung*). However, it was not used in order to create additional public spaces (like schools etc.). Moreover, in both cases, and despite the existence of oppositional voices, there was no social control of the production of land surplus value. The surplus value created was fully claimed by the owners.

Both these legislative tools (zone expropriation and urban land redistribution), of crucial importance in order to make regulated urban change possible, were used in the colonies in combination with a new element: Owners Associations. Having the legal status of a public entity, this body, which had extensive jurisdiction in terms of defining the limits of the construction zone, plot reallotment, demolitions and purchases, consisted of the old owners, who could receive a new plot after the redesign of the area or a refund instead. Henri Prost and the Musée Social contributed to the formation of such a legislature in Morocco between 1914 and 1917. My own archival research also brought up the role of Prost[166] and the importance given to the possibilities opened by these legislative tools. They were presented and debated in conferences and important urban planning publications relating to the colonies.[167] In such publications, I also observed how the field of urban legislation was one of the issues for which the colonies became fields of experimentation and innovation:[168]

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[166] According to M.E.Joyant, who wrote an article titled 'Urbanism in Morocco', in the journal 'La Technique Sanitaire et Municipale (Hygiène, Services Techniques, Travaux Publics), April 1922, Year 17, No 4, pp.88-89, this legislation was established almost completely by Prost, with the help of the General Secretary of the Protectorate, Paul Tirard, and was directly inspired by studies and projects prepared at the Musée Social.

[167] The proceedings of the 1931 *Congrès International de l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays de Latitude Intertropicale* were published in 1932 in two volumes by Jean Royer. See Royer, Jean, (ed.) *L'urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux,* editor details unknown. In the second Volume, René Danger talks about the relevant legislation in the Mandate of Syria and Lebanon: 'La législation de l'Urbanisme dans les États du Levant sous mandat français', pp.109-112. Another relevant publication is Joyant, M.E., 'L'Urbanisme au Maroc', *La Technique Sanitaire et Municipale (Hygiène, Services Techniques, Travaux Publics)*, (April 1922), Year 17, No 4 pp.88-103.

[168] A topic addressed in detail in Wright's work, *The Politics of Design.*

The Moroccan urban legislation is hence conceived in the same spirit as the French, but [...] it is on many points more modern and more complete.[169]

Just to give some additional insight to a topic largely ignored but of crucial importance for carrying out urban intervention, in the same publication of *La Technique Sanitaire et Municipale,* the 1914 law, complemented by another law on 12 November 1917 on the property owners' syndicates (*syndicats de propriétaires urbains*),

...introduces a very interesting procedure, that does not exist yet in France but for rural areas: it is the process of reallotment (rememberement). An area is redesigned after uniting all the lots of the property owners involved, and after allocating the necessary public spaces, the rest is redistributed. This redistribution of lots, which are more or less in the same positions as the old ones but reduced in size, is approved by the syndicate and by a decree by the sultan. Hence 30% is offered free to the city, whereas the new, better quality spaces compensate the old owners for their loss.[170]

Thessaloniki brought forward a combination and progressive development of these ideas.[171] While, on the one hand, property owners in the colonies had more rights in intervening in the design, and, on the other hand, property owners in Izmir were absent or disempowered in determining the urban form, Thessaloniki stood in the middle; the owners were given a voice, though it was carefully limited in order to leave the full authorship of the new design to the design committee and the government. Moreover, contrary to Izmir and to the previous urban planning examples in Greece, this time the surplus value which would result from the improvement of the area was shared between the owners and the local authorities. In addition, by setting the rules of use of the share certificates, the state took control of private initiative and land speculation. Although some changes – as we will see – were made after the 1920 elections, this innovative legislation became a contribution not only to Greek urbanism

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[169] Joyant, 'L'Urbanisme au Maroc', p.89.

[170] Joyant, 'L'Urbanisme au Maroc', p.89. Moreover the August 1914 law permits zone expropriation like in France, and stated that the value of the expropriated lots would be calculated on the date that the plan would be declared, rather than later, avoiding hence land speculation.

[171] According to John Mawson, the law-makers studied town planning and expropriation legislations of England, America, France and Germany, and consulted the architects involved, the Municipality and the Property Owners (Mawson, 'The Salonika Town Planning Act', p.147).

but to its international developments. John Mawson, quoted earlier, published an article specifically on the legislation in 1921. Referring to the financial problems that restrict necessary urban interventions, he stated that

> ...the method of overcoming this difficulty is most ingenious and well worth the consideration by of our own Ministry of Health and Town Planning Institute in connection with the clearance of slum areas or other reconstruction schemes which are necessary in the public interest. [172]

These multilateral influences, which connect the non-colonial Near East with the French Musée Social and the colonies, demand careful assessment (without falling into the trap of claiming a presence of colonial urbanism in our case studies) and will be further analysed in Chapter 3. Although Hébrard (as we will see) was aware of these developments in Paris and in the colonies, he never claimed the paternity of the legal framework. He certainly was familiar with its vision and attempts and was prepared to support it – in fact he was also influenced by it when working in his next destination, French Indochina.[173] Alexandros Papanastasiou, the Minister of Transport, seems to be the most likely author of the legislation, after examining different legislations abroad and building on the Serres experience.

Hence the reconstruction of Thessaloniki became the very space for trying out new spatial and legal ideas that changed urbanism in Greece and abroad. For the first time in the country's history urbanism grew out of its limited role in merely settling differences, and regulating relationships among private owners, to become a strong institutionalized discipline that could determine the form, content and life of the city, control its current and future shape and its economic, commercial and socio-political function.[174]

Having examined the legal framework that defined the reconstruction, I will now turn to the plan as a product of a variety of different positions and understandings of the 'modern city'.

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[172] Mawson, 'The Salonika Town Planning Act', p.149.

[173] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* pp. 107-112

[174] Moreover, as part of the legal framework introduced for the reconstruction, the first official Construction Regulation (GOK) was created, determining every aspect of construction including heights, the construction capacity of plots, block layouts etc.

2.2.2 The Plan

As the Greek Government was deciding on the establishment of a design committee to conduct the new plan, the presence of the French and British troops stationed in Thessaloniki within the context of the First World War became very influential. They included teams of engineers, architects, photographers and archaeologists, who not only offered invaluable documentation of the fire as we saw earlier (Figure 3 and 7) but also immediately claimed a role in the reconstruction of the city. Prime Minister Venizelos invited Ernest Hébrard, a French architect who had studied at the École des Beaux Arts and was a director of the Archaeological Service of the French troops, and civil engineer Joseph Pleyber, who was also serving the military in Thessaloniki, to be part of the Committee for the Reconstrcion of the city. Thomas Mawson, a British architect who was preparing a plan for Athens, was invited to come from London where he was at that moment. According to historian (and director of the Institut d'Urbanisme in Paris) Pierre Lavedan, this probably was a move aimed at keeping a balance between the English and the French but also a desire of the Greek government to give wider publicity to the new project.[175] Although German architects were excluded because of the state of war, the two Greek architects who were also included in the committee were German-educated: Aristotelis Zahos, who had also prepared a plan for Thessaloniki in 1914, and Constantine Kitsikis.[176]

The formation of a committee consisting of different schools, with no less than four architects, all of whom claimed a role in the design, is a very interesting feature that differentiates Thessaloniki from other examples; negotiations and competition started from the very beginning. In fact, although the committee started working already on the 12th August 1917, Mawson delayed his arrival and only arrived on 24.10.1917 together with his son. By that time the rest of the group had already taken critical decisions, and Hébrard had established himself as leader of the team, to the disappointment of the English contingent.[177]

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[175] Lavedan, Pierre, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', *Urbanisme,* No.14 (May 1933), p.150.
[176] Aggelos Gkinis, a civil engineer and Constantine Aggelakis, the Mayor of Thessaloniki also became members of the committee.
[177] Lavedan, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.151.

Figure 26. The approved plan for the Reconstruction of Thessaloniki in 1919. Number 1 is the port with its extensions, number 2 the railway station, number 3 is the University and number 4 the White Tower. Source: *Thessalonikis anadeiksis Harton anamniseis*, ed.by Savvaidis, Paris, (Thessaloniki: Ethniki Hartothiki, 2008).

In the case of Thessaloniki, the availability of the designers' own writings in relation to the reconstruction allow us to better understand their underlying rationale and their disagreements in shaping the modern city. Two French publications, *Urbanisme's* May 1933 Special Issue[178] dedicated to Hébrard (after his early death) and a 1927 presentation of the plan by Raphael Dreyfus (member of the the French School of Athens) introduced by a short article by Hébrard himself,[179] as well as the plans of the historical centre and the central axis of the city, will be the main primary material used.

Thomas Mawson presented his own proposal in 1918, based on the work he found when he arrived in Thessaloniki. His proposal was clearly influenced by the Garden City model in terms of the suburbs; it provisioned a finite expansion for the city, ignoring existing tendencies, and was criticized for allocating excessive widths to streets, and excessive surfaces to parks and open spaces.[180] He was critical of the axial alignments in the urban layout (seen in the final plan, Figure 26) of the "academic" plans of Hébrard.[181] But as Mawson himself also noted, Papanastasiou showed a 'clear predisposition and likeness to the French models rather than the English'.[182] He then left in 1918, leaving his son in his place.

His contribution to the background analysis and to the preparation of the main principles (connecting to the hinterland, conducting civic surveys, positioning the infrastructure) are however undeniable.[183] He ended up contributing more to the future expansions of the city and to the design of parks and gardens.[184] Yerolympos aptly underlines that despite their origins, these measures were not a response to the needs of an overcrowded city in an effort to restore its relationship to nature, but as a

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[178] *Urbanisme,* No.14 (May 1933).

[179] Hébrard, Ernest and Dreyfus, Raphael, La Reconstruction de Salonique, *L'Architecture,* (1923, 1927).

[180] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* pp.139-145. We can also trace City beautiful and Garden City effects in the garden suburbs and the existence of a green belt.

[181] Thomas Mawson presented the planning of Boston and Chicago at the 1910 RIBA International conference in London. He also wrote an article on Vancouver in 1913, 'Vancouver, a city of Optimist', *Town Planning Review,* vol.4, no.9-10. From 1909 onwards he taught together with Patrick Abercrombie at the School of Civic Design at Liverpool University.

[182] Mawson, Thomas.H., The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect, (London: Richards, 1927).p.275.

[183] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* p.46

[184] Lavedan, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', pp. 149-51.

part of the design from scratch, of an undeveloped city.[185] This brings forward again the difference in role and meaning that new forms acquire in their new settings, despite their reference to the West. More than a response to the needs of the city, they are a reflection of progress and provision for the future, in fact enhancing and promoting urbanisation and industrialisation.

In the Hébrard-Dreyfus article, four driving principles of the design are mentioned, which echo Hébrard's other writings. These principles, shared by Danger and Prost too, propose taking into account local climate, social characteristics and traditions:

> 1. The geographical conditions, natural characteristics, orientation, climate, etc., must be taken into consideration.

> 2. The economic necessities must be faced: we must not neglect the importance of the city as an intermediate storage point and commercial outlet of the Balkans and the port requirements. We must provision its future expansions, and at the same time we must design a realizable plan, adjusted to the present circumstances.

> 3. The practical needs must be prioritized: we must build a city hygienic and comfortable, with buildings that are spacious and sun-lit, with wide avenues for fast and safe circulation, with suitable spaces for the contemporary commerce. And at the same time we must not distort the habits of a population that is used to conditions and modes of life often imposed by tradition and climate.

> 4. While at the same time creating a contemporary, beautiful and inhabitant – and traveller-friendly city, we must protect its historic character: the Ancient, Byzantine and Islamic monuments that survived the fire must be protected and highlighted, and the ones that were damaged should be protected from total destruction.[186]

Indeed, in accordance with the above priorities, the plan was a mixture of classical layout with monumental axes and a functionalist zoning approach with a concern for 'local conditions' and 'cultural identity'.

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[185] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* p.132
[186] Hébrard Ernest, and Dreyfus, Raphael, 'Le nouveau plan de Salonique', p.1 translated from French by the author.

Figure 27. Draft of the new plan of Thessaloniki, detail. Source: Ethniki Hartothiki, Thessaloniki

In terms of urban fabric, the plan consisted of a regular grid with diagonal routes in order to facilitate circulation (Figure 26). The grid (Figure 27 in detail) covered the burnt zone but also connected with, and partially extended into, the unburnt areas in order to adjust the two different types of urban fabric. The unburnt Upper Town was preserved as historical site, while the plan regulated existing and future expansions of the suburbs, based on a projected population of 350,000. Like in Izmir, climate emerged as an important factor – it was used as a justification for smaller squares (larger open spaces would be difficult to traverse in the sunny summers and the windy winters) and for the design of covered arcades to protect pedestrians from the sun (this will be touched upon again in Chapter 3).

The city is organized symmetrically in relation to its central axis, today's Aristotelous Street. This mononuclear organization of the city – whereby the centre accommodates the administrative and financial functions – is a characteristic found in Hébrard's other works too (in Athens, Dalat, Hanoi as well as in his project for the *Centre Mondial de Communication*). Like in Izmir, this central axis carried the main

administrative functions and led to the most important square on the water front, the Square of Alexander the Great (Figure 28). It connected the old town and the church of St Demetrius (the cathedral of the city), to the sea through a *Place Civique*,[187] and aimed to provide a desired visual perspective – 'and what a viewpoint, not just monumental at the human scale, but virtually supernatural: Mount Olympus itself, home to the Gods.'[188] The city hence is assigned both a 'modern' and a 'historical' identity, as these were understood at the École des Beaux Arts.

However the fire had devastated the city cathedral. Initially Hébrard proposed to replace Saint Demetrius with a new church on the axis of Aristotelous street. But the idea was abandoned in 1918, probably due to the reaction of Aristotelis Zahos and the government, an intimation already about the level of symbolism that the church was going to bear. Its restoration will be analysed in Chapter 4.

Another disagreement in relation to this central axis appeared between, on the one hand, Kitsikis and Mawson, who suggested a large-scale monumental Municipality building as the culmination of the axis, and, on the other hand, Hébrard, who proposed an arch, 'most natural on this classical land of triumphal arches'.[189] The arch was selected in the end, but it was never constructed since, when the work started in the 1960s, the ancient agora was discovered underneath. These convergences and divergences of the urban schools over the different aspects of the plan of Thessaloniki lead us to another observation; although there are clear ideological differences between the schools, due to the fact that their tools are applied outside the contexts that necessitated them (colonies, industrialised and over-populated cities of Western Europe, etc.) they more easily combined, acquiring different connotations and functions.

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[187] In the Place civique Hébrard situated the Palace of Justice and the Hotel de Ville.
[188] Lavedan, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.154.
[189] Lavedan, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.154.
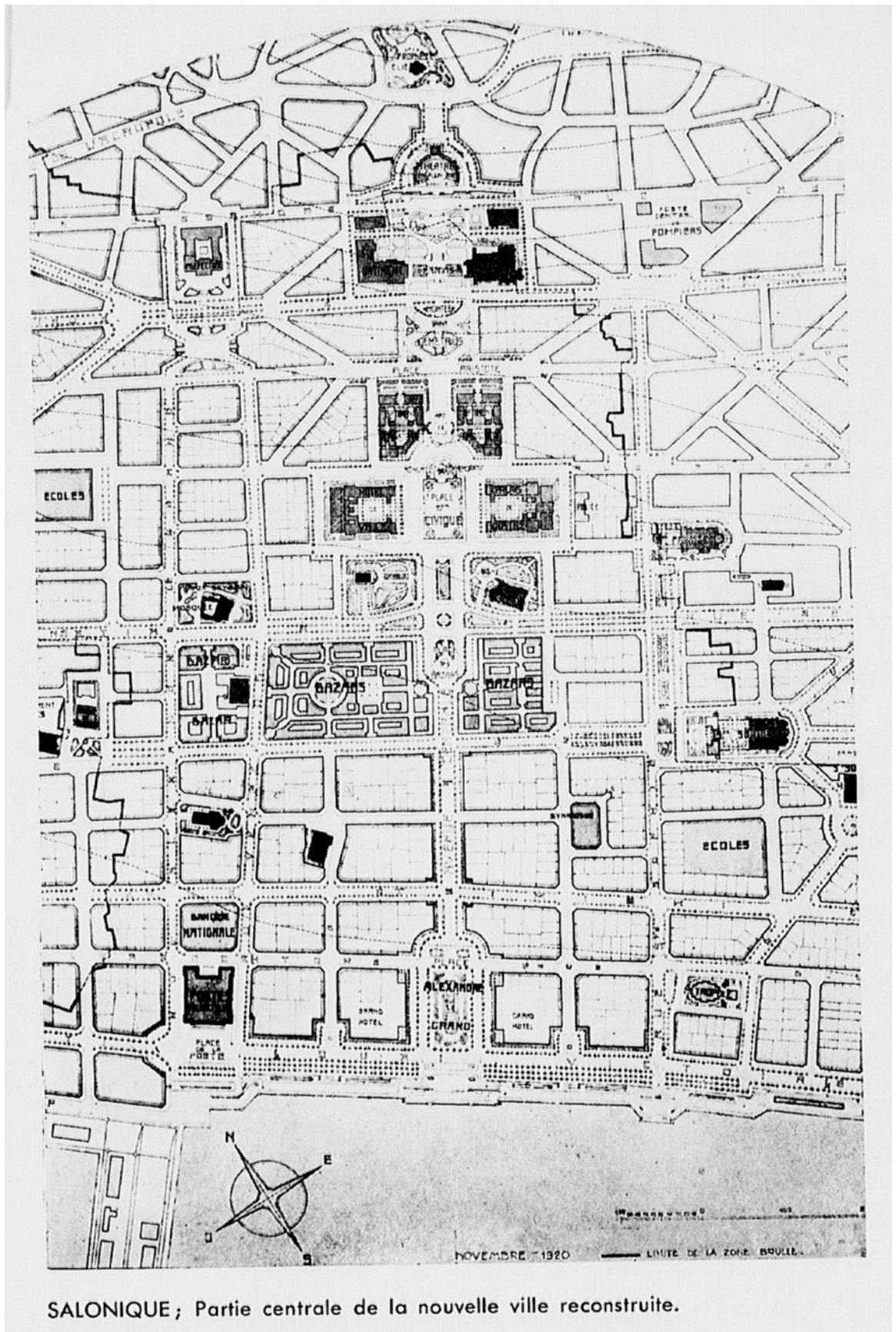
SALONIQUE; Partie centrale de la nouvelle ville reconstruite.

Figure 28. The main axis of the city, leading from the Upper Town to the waterfront, and the 'place civique' in the middle. Source: Lavedan 'L'Oeuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', p. 141.

An issue, however, on which all the planners agreed was the importance of a zoning approach. The industrial areas and the extension of the port (number 1 in Figure 26) were situated in the western parts of the city, together with a railway station (number 2 in Figure 26) and workers' housing. The administration – as we just saw – was situated in the centre, and the educational facilities (University- number 3 in Figure 26) to the east of the centre. Further east, from the White Tower (Number 4 in Figure 26) to Kalamaria was residential and recreational.[190]

Thus, both in Izmir and Thessaloniki, together with the mononuclear organization of the city, an element that acts as a symbol of centralized power, the zoning approach subverted the traditional organization of the city[191] into autonomous neighbourhoods and was addressed to a specific kind of 'implied reader'.

The space of the Ottoman city had been largely divided along ethnoreligious lines. Although the latest suburbs had started to concentrate the rich of all religions and languages, in the historical centre of both cities one could in general distinguish the Greek, Armenian, Levantine, Turkish and Jewish neighbourhoods (Figure 29). What replaced these old neighbourhoods was a 'modern' city, with wide boulevards and open spaces like parks and ceremonial squares, sports areas and museums, and apartment buildings with reception desks and central heating.

Although all the ethnoreligious communities were still there following the fire, the new layout of the city eliminated their spatial clustering. The residential areas were organized in a uniform style, with small parks, schools and centres of worship, in which people from all backgrounds bought or rented residences. The communities were not autonomous anymore and had to address the commercial and administrative centre of the city for their needs. The new city was predicated upon class rather than ethnoreligious neighbourhoods. In fact, the clearly class-defined neighbourhoods in Thessaloniki had different building restrictions (in terms of surface and volume), which determined their value and hence ensured the preservation of their class identity.

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[190] Lavedan, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.151.
[191] Lavedan would say: 'In the whole of Greece, and especially in Thessaloniki, the scattering of the administrative services was shocking', 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.153

Hence the impact of social class on the urban space, which had already started being visible in the early 20th century, was accelerated through the destruction and reconstruction of the city centre.

Figure 29. The neighbourhoods of Thessaloniki before the fire. The Muslim neighbourhoods are marked in pink, the Greek in green and the Jewish in yellow. The red line, showing the extent of the fire, reveals how the fire eliminated the core and biggest part of the Jewish neighbourhoods. From a total of 34 synagogues that existed in the centre, only three were rebuilt in the area. Source: *Thessalonikis anadeiksis Harton anamniseis*, ed.by Savvaidis, Paris, (Thessaloniki: Ethniki Hartothiki, 2008).

Although the plan was approved on March 24th 1919, further concessions were made because of the change of government in the 1920 elections. The old owners and especially the Jewish population had reacted both to the legislative side of the

reconstruction, as well as, to a lesser extent, to the city's new spatial structure. Their main complaint was that they were not getting the maximum profit out of the reconstruction (due to the limitations the government imposed to prevent speculation). The debate became heavily politicized, and after the Venizelos government lost the elections in 1920, the legislation was changed in 1921.[192] The plan kept its basic characteristics but allowed for a more liberal use of the title deeds – which led to the uncontrolled increase of the prices, reduced the amount of public spaces from 50% to 42% and allowed for two additional floors.

The changes were made by Hébrard himself and the changed plan was approved on 24 September 1921. After the inflow of refugees in 1923, the areas outside the historic centre were changed in order to accommodate the inflowing population.[193] At the end of 1924 more than 1000 buildings were finished or under construction, by 1928 the number had risen to 1500.[194] However the eastern parts of the centre were only completed in the 1960s and 1970s. Thessaloniki still owes its fundamental formal elements to this post-fire reconstruction plan, through which the Greek government consolidated its presence in the space and economy of the city.

2.3 Encounters with modernity

After looking at how modernisation was redefined in the transition from imperial to post-imperial context in Chapter 1, I examined in Chapter 2 how the quest for modernisation took shape in the post-imperial contexts of the two cities by needs put forward by the nation-states. In this examination, I traced instances of continuity and rupture, of similarity and difference, and I examined issues of agency and authorship.

Constructing the city was a process simultaneous with constructing the new 'self', and in opposition to an Eastern 'Other'. This 'Other' was 'Eastern', both geographically – by transferring the 'West-East division' further east and including

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[192] The new law was the 2633/1921.
[193] Other less important changes happened like the positioning of the railway station – it is moved further northeast.
[194] Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* p.196.

oneself in the Western World, and also temporally – by performing a rupture from the Ottoman past of the city.

In the reconstruction of the two cities, foreign and local actors came forward with a plurality of ideas and visions of the 'modern', which cannot be assigned to the simplified and overriding categories 'West' and 'local'. For a start, even the main protagonists, Hébrard, Prost, and Mawson did not belong to inward looking urbanist schools, with no connections to each other. Especially after the First Town Planning Conference in London, in 1910, communication and fermentation between urban planners in England, Germany, France and elsewhere had intensified. Henri Prost in Morocco used elements from German urban regulations and the zoning approach that is so strong and visible in both Izmir and Thessaloniki had its origins in German planning.

More importantly, the plans were not composed by one single architect. In the case of Thessaloniki, the presence of three more architects, Thomas Mawson with his Garden City approach, and the German-educated Aristotelis Zahos and Konstantinos Kitsikis, provoked disagreements and negotiations from the very start and led to a synthesis of ideas. In Izmir, although there is no known disagreement between Prost and Danger, Jansen emerged in the 1932 and left his own mark on the plan. Moreover, Behçet Uz adjusted the plan in order to accommodate his own projects, for which he took inspiration from Moscow.

Hence in the case of Thessaloniki, an established axial layout was preferred while the suburbs were influenced by Mawson's Garden City preferences, yet still, for the working class neighbourhoods, Kitsikis chose the 'English or Belgian model of 2-4 units per building'.[195] In Izmir, the geometric visual image of the Beaux Arts was desired, but Kültürpark was an addition inspired by the Soviet Union.

This *a priori* undermining of a single authorship owes its existence to the fact that, in face of this plurality of available approaches to the 'modern', local actors were not passive receivers, unlike colonial examples. They were knowledgeable about developments in European urbanism, they travelled in order to see examples, and they

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[195] 'In the working class neighbourhoods instead of 20-apartment blocks, the English or Belgian model of 2-4 units per building was preferred, and more so the small detached house. Row housing was not preferred because front and rear gardens should communicate' Kitsikis, Konstantinos, *I ktiriologiki apopsis tou Neou Shediou Thessalonikis* (Athens: Blazoudaki, 1919) p.22.

consciously selected diverse elements and tailored them to their own needs. The study of the Municipality Album in Izmir and of the innovative legislation in Thessaloniki testified to this powerful discourse of participation in modernity on equal terms. Hence the reconstruction of both cities became a negotiated product of these diverse positions.

This observation relates to Bozdoğan and Akcan's position that there exists a 'plurality, heterogeneity and difference of modern architectures across the globe', rejecting the idea of a canonical modernism or 'a European master narrative'.[196] On top of this plurality, which is shaped by local socio-political contexts, we also notice that these multiple modern architectures are not necessarily nationally defined, as different cities within the same country were shaped by actors with completely different backgrounds and followed different itineraries of modernisation, sometimes bringing them closer to cities of other countries (in our case, Izmir to Thessaloniki).

Thus, the presence of foreign architects and the desire by the new nation-states for modernisation did not lead to a direct implantation of an uncompromised 'Western modernity' upon a receptive local context. The interactions between different national contexts, whose study challenges geographical and cultural categorisations, have been also studied as cross-cultural exchanges, or, more recently 'translations'. Akcan, for example, uses the term translation in order to analyse the processes of change that result from 'bi– and multilateral international transportation of people, ideas, technology, information and images'. Translation, she continues, 'takes place under any condition where there is a cultural flow from one place to another. It is the process of transformation during the act of transportation'.[197]

Although this term certainly highlights some important aspects of multilateral flows of ideas and opens a fruitful discussion by addressing questions such as perceived 'translatability' and 'untranslatability', 'foreignizing' and 'domesticating' translations, I believe that this metaphor has its own limitations. It overstresses (and thus presupposes) *cultural* difference as the underlying reason for geographical variations of modernity, hence preserving geographical categorizations. For example,

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[196] Bozdoğan, Sibel and Akcan, Esra, Turkey: Modern Architectures in History (London: Reaktion Books: 2012).
[197] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation,* pp.3-4.

according to Akcan, influences from Ebenezer Howard's garden cities on Bruno Taut's *Stadtkrone* are an act of translation;[198] however she avoids naming as acts of translation changes and fermentations within the same country (Germany). By attributing domestic transformations of ideas to ideological disagreements of their bearers but cross-border transformations to 'cultural' difference, it seems that the term translation is based exactly on geographic categories, against which my research takes a critical stance.

In fact, Akcan gives a very broad definition to translation (whereby any sort of change brought upon a transported idea is an act of translation)'[199] in order to account not only for cultural difference as the main reason behind the transformation of ideas, but also for all the outside factors that shape its meaning, such as the desire of local spatial actors – and users – to selectively appropriate, interpret, change, resist or reuse aspects of Western modernity.[200] Nevertheless, in order to assess these processes, I have preferred to use terms such as authorship, perception and interpretation, which do not imply truthfulness to the original or cultural difference.

In their interaction with Western European modernity, modernisation projects which were applied in the Ottoman Empire as well as in the nation-states that succeeded it, were products of a specific understanding of Western modernity, filtered through the local system of cultural, social and political relations and adjusted to the specific context. Such diverse interpretations relate to Reception Theory in the sense that they suggest a 'general shift in concern from the author to the text and the

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[198] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation,* p.149

[199] However if we take a look at the word's definition, translation means transportation, transfer of a message, of a specific meaning. Because of the change of medium or context, it goes, the preservation of one dimension of the text (for example its content) might necessitate the transformation of other dimensions (like the grammar, the induced emotions, or the syntax). Hence transformation is in fact a *side effect* of translation, not its goal. However, in our cases, the reconfiguration of the content, form or meaning of modernity is not happening in order to 'save' the authenticity of one of its parts.

[200] Maybe the distinction that Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar made in the field of translation studies, between *tercüme* or *çevirme*, on the one hand and *nakil* on the other, would be useful in that sense. In her work The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey, 1923 -1960, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar studies the ideology of the Official Translation Bureau that was established in the early 1940s. The Translation Bureau expected translators to observe the principle of *sadakat*, a word of Arabic origin meaning truthfulness to the original texts' content and tone. By contrast the field of popular literature was governed by an entirely different poetics. Private publishers dismissed the idea of fidelity in translation. Classic texts were ruthlessly transformed, sometimes almost rewritten for the Turkish audience. (p. 196). In some cases, the nominal translator is introduced as the *nakil* , another word of Arabic origin meaning "agent of transfer". See Gürçağlar, *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey,* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), p.127.

reader',[201] where the text is modernity itself and the readers and interpreters of the multiple forms of European modernity became authors themselves, transforming its meaning and form and transferring them to their own local audiences.

In order to examine this further, however, we need to look into the way the examined French architects engaged with the Near East (Chapter 3), as well as how Greek and Turkish nationalism projected a national image upon the two cities (Chapter 4). In terms of the former issue, we have already traced international connections, influences and references, but these now demand further examination.

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[201] Holub, Robert C., *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*, (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), p.xii.

3

FRENCH ARCHITECTS IN THE NEAR EAST

3.1 Mobility and international networks

Until now we have seen how spatial actors in the two cities understood and negotiated the question of the 'modern city', how they embraced modernity as an 'identity', as a marker of 'Westernness' – though in their own terms –, and how they projected this identity to their audiences. This was carried out with the participation of foreign experts, mainly French architects who were invited by the local authorities. At the opposite ends from the forced mobility of the refugees was the privileged mobility of a significant group of European architects who worked all over the world, primarily but not exclusively in colonies, consolidating the sphere of influence of their respective urbanistic schools.

An exploration of the background of the French architects involved in Izmir and Thessaloniki's reconstruction, primarily based on archival documents I located at the École des Beaux Arts and the Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle, will bring to the surface important connections, which not only explain some of the similarities

of the new plans, but also situate the two cities within an international network of flows and mobility, in which these cities are not just passive recipients, but nodes, exemplary stages in the development of the field, points of return and departure. A letter (Figure 30) dated 28 July 1921 sent from Hébrard to Prost while he was in Thessaloniki, can serve as a starting point to look into these connections:

> Dear friend,
>
> I waited for the definitive decision for the Indochina mission in order to write to you. Now that I have accepted, I proceed to announce it to you and to thank you for all you have done for me. It is your opinion that was decisive for my selection despite certain pressures always ready to act whenever there is an affair to solve. [...]
>
> The new plan of Salonique is more than ready. [...] It is just a question of application and I can certainly be absent [during its implementation]. There are still the public monuments – the Post Office is ready but there is no money. It is the same for the plan of Athens – the war absorbs everything. [...]
>
> So everything has been arranged for the best and on September 6th I will take the boat for the Far East. As you know it is about drawing a city in Dalat. It will be a pleasant city in a beautiful country where the climate is ideal. According to what I have been told, you have created very interesting things along these kinds of ideas in Rabat. [...]. I had the intention to come and see you in Morocco, but I still have a lot to do here in order to prepare for my absence and there is not enough time.
>
> I much regret this because your projects interested me very much, especially seeing them on site. [...]
>
> Once again thank you, dear friend, and please accept my most devoted feelings.
>
> Ernest Hébrard[202]

Henri Prost, in contact with the French Governor General in Indochina, Maurice Long, had proposed Hébrard (based in Thessaloniki at the time) for a six-month job to create an important station in Dalat. At the same time he had also written to Léon

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[202] Fonds Prost, Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

[203] Also a Beaux-Arts architect and urban planner, who designed the Barcelona master plan.

[204] The 1931 *Congrès International de l'Urbanisme Aux Colonies et Dans le Pays de Latitude*

Jaussely,[203] explaining that he did not propose him for the job as he knew how busy he was in Paris, and asking him to find a replacement if Hébrard did not accept. Hébrard accepted and moved to Hanoi in 1921, where he ended up spending 10 years planning several towns in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (See Figure 31, lower graph).
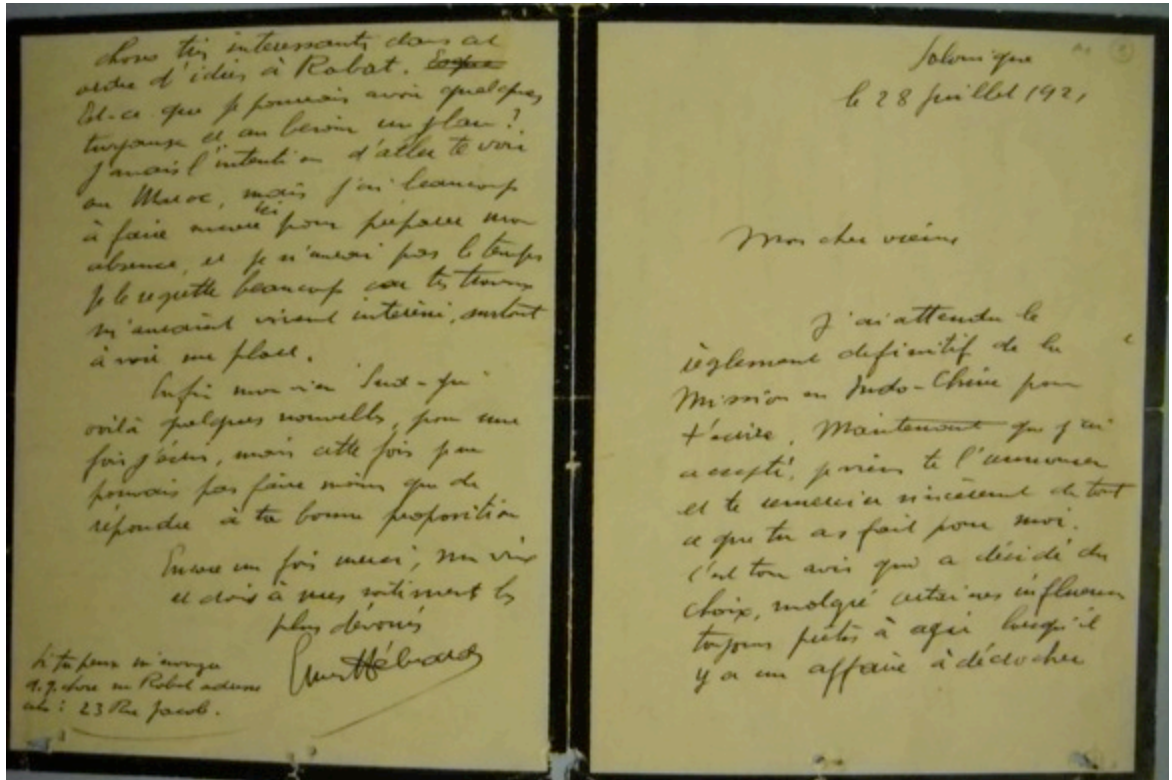
Figure 30. Letter from Ernest Hébrard to Henri Prost, 1921, Fonds Prost, Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

Prost himself could not take the job in Indochina because, at the time, he was in Morocco, where he stayed for a total of 10 years (1913-1923), following Maréchal Lyautey, then governor of the French colony, to design the cities of Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, and others. After returning to France he would work on the Western French Riviera (Côte Varoise) and this was the reason that he could not fully commit himself, as we saw, to the project in Izmir. Both Prost and Hébrard would acquire a position of authority in the respective colonies where they practiced, and their work would be

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[203] Also a Beaux-Arts architect and urban planner, who designed the Barcelona master plan.

presented in conferences and exhibitions, along with the work of other colonial architects.[204]
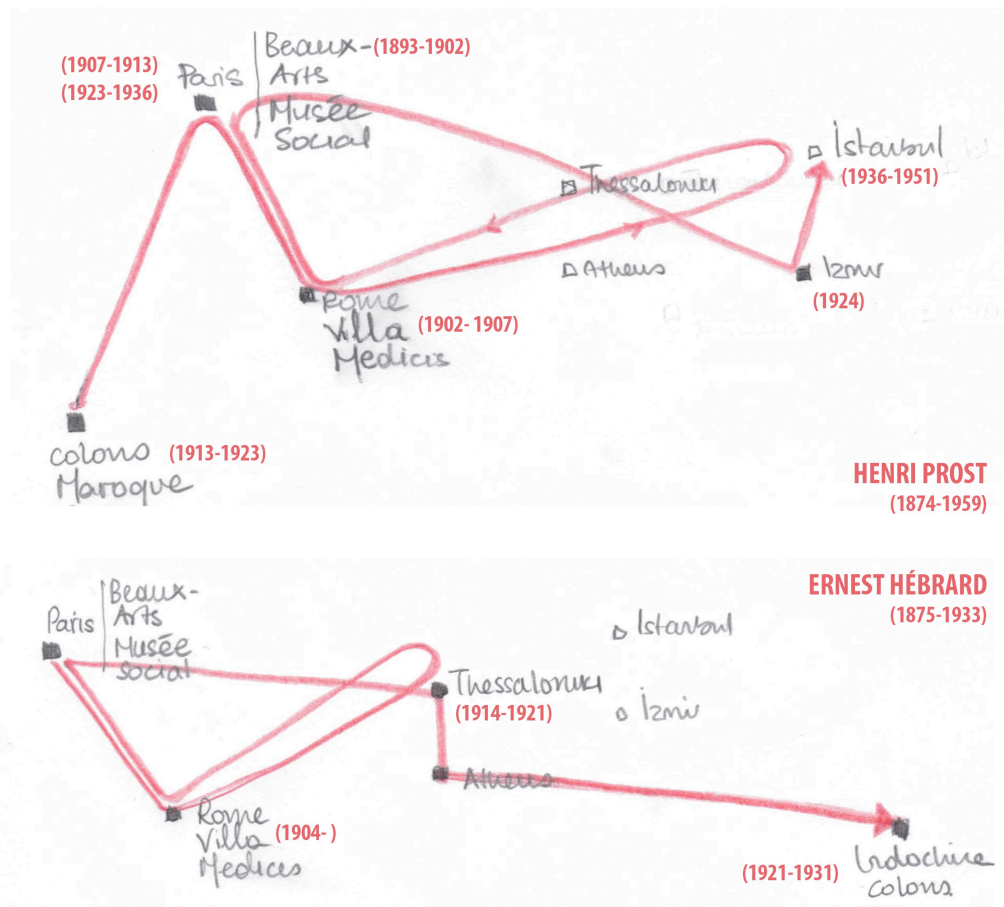
Figure 31. Diagram (by the author) depicting the professional/academic journeys of Henri Prost (up) and Érnest Hébrard (below). Some dates are unknown, for example the exact year Hébrard left Rome.

But what were the foundations of these strong relations between Ernest Hébrard and Henri Prost? What lies behind the words 'My dear friend' *(Mon vieux)*? First, both studied at the École des Beaux Arts where both won the Grand Prix de

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[204] The 1931 *Congrès International de l'Urbanisme Aux Colonies et Dans le Pays de Latitude Intertropicale*, mentioned also in 2.2.1 (footnote 167), had mostly French speakers but presented also works in English, Dutch and American colonies, as well as from Latin America, drawing ideas from tropical climate contexts. In the proceedings there are presentations by Ernest Hébrard on the Far East, Indochina, the Philippines, Siam, China and the English Indies. Henri Prost gave a General Report and presented on topics relating to Morocco. René Danger presented on Aleppo, and the legislation in the French mandate of Syria, his brother Raymond Danger talked about Martinique and Algeria, while René's daughter, Therese Danger, gave a lecture relating to the methodological tools such as questionnaries and surveys. See Royer, *L'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux*.

Rome and moved to the Villa Medicis, where the Académie de France in Rome is located. Prost won this prestigious award in 1902. In Rome, he found Tony Garnier, already in his 3rd year, working on the *Cité Industrielle*, and Paul Bigot, in his 2nd year, modelling a section of 4th century Rome. Just one year ahead of him, Jean Hulot was working on the reconstruction of Selinunte. The shift from working on individual monuments or buildings to exploring the urban dimension had already taken place when Prost arrived in Rome.[205] Prost's recorded memories give us additional insight into this:

> When I arrived at the Academy of France in Rome, at the end of 1902, the ateliers of the architects presented important projects of an unforeseen character, which had not been addressed until then. […] As for me, I arrived in Rome at the end of 1902, having in my luggage a photograph of the interior of Saint-Sophie...and a summary of what could be the Imperial Palace whose large Basilica in some way was the Hall of Ambassadors. When I saw the Bigot's model with the Imperial Palace of the Palatine Hill surrounded by infamous streets, it was a revelation; I understood one of the fundamental reasons of the displacement of the Capital of the Empire to the shores of the Bosphorus, at a marvellous site.[206]

Influenced by this interest in urbanism, Prost travelled to Istanbul during his stay and studied not only the church itself of Hagia Sophia, but also the whole urban complex surrounding it. During the following year, Léon Jaussely was added to the group, having won the Grand Prix de Rome 1903. He started working on the city of Pompei and shortly afterwards won the competition for the master plan of Barcelona and moved there. In 1904, Ernest Hébrard was the latest addition to this elite group of architects, and chose to study the palace complex of Diocletian in Spalato, in today's Croatia.

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[205] Hautecœur, Louis, 'Henri Prost à la Villa Médicis, 1902-1907', *'L' Œuvre de Henri Prost - Architecture et Urbanisme,* (Paris: Académie d'Architecture, 1960), pp.11-30.

[206] 'Communication à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts – La Villa Médicis et L'Urbanisme', taped on January 18th 1959, Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle, Paris. Interest in Byzantine Heritage and in the Church of St Sophia started flourishing in the early 20th century. Prost was one of the first French to study the building, before Jean Ebersolt's important publication *Sainte Sophie de Constantinople: Étude topographique d'après les cérémonies,* (Paris: Leroux, 1910). On the emergence of Byzantium as a field of study, see Ousterhout, Robert, 'The Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginning of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographical Survey', in *Scramble for the past: A story of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914,* ed.by Bahrani, Zainab, Çelik, Zeynep, and Eldem, Edhem (Istanbul: Salt, 2011), pp.181-211.

Moreover, they were all involved in the Musée Social, which, 'with its principles in modern planning (functional zoning and hygiene) might be interpreted as an initial step in the formation of CIAM in the 1930s.[207] It was a reformist establishment, which was founded in France in 1895 and counted politicians, industrialists, employers, state officers, representatives of charities, and increasingly technocrats among its members. The most active members of the Musée Social, namely Donat Alfred Agache, Henri Prost, Leon Jaussely, Eugène Hénard, André Bérard, Ernest Hébrard and Marcel Auburtin (Prix de Rome 1898), along with others, founded the Société Française des Urbanistes in 1913, adopting the neologism 'urbanisme' (which first appeared in 1910) in order to specify their field.[208]

In his 1921 letter, Hébrard informed Prost that his position had not changed despite the change of government in Greece in November 1920, and that the plan of Thessaloniki was almost ready – it was now a question of application in space, something that could happen during his absence. In addition to their common educational and ideological background and their belonging to the same professional circles, we see that Prost knew about Hébrard's work in Thessaloniki. Meanwhile he expressed his appreciation of Prost's own work in Morocco and referred to the similarity of ideas that would underlie the Dalat and Rabat projects. This evidence indicates only parts of the extensive network of architects and political actors and how they related, competed, and divided the jobs worldwide.

We can thus observe that Prost and Hébrard were neither unique, exceptional cases, nor – at the other end – anonymous bearers of an urbanistic school. They belonged to a specific, pioneering group that emerged in early 20th-century French urbanism, and left a lasting impact on it, an impact that would later be taken over by modernism.

René Danger (1872-1954), although not a graduate of the Beaux Arts or a Villa Medicis scholar, became affiliated with this group. He was a practicing geometrician-urbanist since 1912. He founded the Association of Geometricians, and like his brother

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[207] Akpinar, Ipek, 'The Rebuilding of Istanbul After the Plan of Henri Prost 1937-1960: From Secularization to Turkish Modernization' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2003), p.59.

[208] See Yerolympos, *I anoikodomisi,* p.41, Prost also co-edited the journal *Urbanisme* together with Jean Royer.

Raymond, taught topometry and urbanism in the École Spéciale de Travaux Publics. He also worked and taught in Casablanca (1918-19), during the same period that Henri Prost was there. Together with his brother they established their practice in 1919, called the Société des Plans Régulateurs, in which René's son Paul[209] (1900- 1965) and his daughter Thérèse, engineer from the École Centrale, also joined. After Izmir, they carried out the plan of Antakya, and then worked on the plans of Aleppo (1931), Beirut (1932) and Damascus (1936).[210] René Danger became member of the Superior Commission for the Planning of Cities (*Aménagement des Villes*) in 1924 and a member of the Société Française des Urbanistes.

Prost, Hébrard, Danger, and even Jaussely, who unsuccessfully tried to win the project of Ankara, represented this group's activity in the Near Orient. In the following pages, I will examine, first, whether their colonial experience is relevant in better understanding Izmir and Thessaloniki, and how the projects in these two cities inform their own work. Moreover, after having examined local spatial actors' understanding of the new modern cities in Chapter 2, it is also time to ask: how did the French architects see the local context and their presence within it? To what extent are theoretical terms like 'Orientalism' relevant to our study?

3.2 Between the metropolis and the colonial city?

It is interesting that Turkey, and Istanbul in particular, was Prost's first encounter with large scale urban projects and later became his last major work. As we saw above, while at the Villa Medicis, he had studied Hagia Sophia as part of the urban scale. That decision of Prost to live in Istanbul for two years seems to have determined his future career, earning him an experience with 'Muslim customs', as they are referred to below. In his recorded memories we see that in March 1912 he was told by Georges Risler (president of the Musée Social) in a casual encounter:

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[209] Paul Danger was the only architect in the Danger office, having studied at the Beaux-Arts and at the Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris. They employed 60 people. Fonds Danger, Archive d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.
[210] René Danger worked also on Oran, Constantine, Alger, Tripole, as well as in France, in the project of the Cote Varoise, together with Henri Prost.

> Prost! You have to leave for Morocco! I saw General Lyautey...HE IS AN EXTRAORDINARY MAN; He wants to create new cities – you, a person that knows well Muslim customs [*mœurs musulmanes*], you will be able to work there without hindrances – go![211]

His Moroccan experience and connections apparently made him Atatürk's choice for Istanbul in the 1930s (and probably for Izmir); it has been suggested that Maréchal Lyautey was the one who introduced Prost to Atatürk. It is known that Lyautey was in contact[212] with Mustafa Kemal through a French journalist, Berthe G. Gaulis, who was a supporter of the Turkish side and the Ankara government during and after the Turkish Independence War.[213]

The newspaper *Le Figaro*, in an article published in August 1938 on Prost's employment for the Istanbul plan, presents him as having

> a deep knowledge of Constantinople, where, during his training at the Villa Medicis, he stayed for two years, working in Hagia Sophia...and the experience of cities where two civilizations compete against other, tolerate each other or are in harmony, an experience acquired next to Maréchal Lyautey.[214]

Le Figaro seems to project the same civilizational division that appears in the colonies in the context of Turkey's modernisation process; Prost, it goes, having mastered urban planning in these contexts, is therefore an appropriate person to deal with Istanbul. Is it indeed possible that Prost's colonial experience was relevant for the Turkish government, and, second, is there evidence that Prost drew from that experience when working in Turkey?

There is no straightforward answer. Indeed the Turkish government preserved a patronising attitude and applied methods of social engineering towards its own citizens, and in the literature of the time, sometimes terms such as 'interior

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[211]'Communication à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts – La Villa Médicis et L'Urbanisme.' –taped on January 18th 1959 (the formatting of the text is the original), Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XX Siècle, Paris, translation by the author.

[212] The letter of Mustafa Kemal to Maréchal Lyautey, dated 23 December 1921, is mentioned in Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités', p.332. This suggests that the Society for the Reconstruction of Izmir might have got directions from Ankara when contacting Prost.

[213] Güven, C. 'Milli Mücadele Döneminde Fransiz Gazeteci ve Yazar Berthe Georges Gaulis'in Mustafa Kemal Paşa ile Temas ve Görüşmeleri', *SÜ Sosyal Bilimler Ensitüsü Dergisi*, No.16, pp.353-365. See also Pekin, Fuat, *Ataturk et le Maréchal Lyautey*, (Paris: Publication de la Fondation Lyautey, 1962).

[214] *Le Figaro*, Monday 19 August 1938, Centre d' Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

colonisation' were used, which did not have clearly negative connotations at the time.[215] Such an interior colonisation, or *mission civilisatrice,* was taken up by the Greek state too; the founding of new villages and settling of refugees, the 'rationalisation' of production, the enhancement of productivity, the extension of central administration to the provinces, the promotion of modern citizenship, the establishment of schools and other institutions all over the country and most importantly, the interior homogenisation of the country by the imposition of a uniform national and linguistic identity, can be seen in this light.[216]

However, Turkey and Greece were not colonial contexts, and the synergy between architects and politicians was defined by different priorities, which have been analysed in Chapter 2. As has been evident up to now, the Turkish government was not interested in the late associationist policies of French colonial urbanism (and the preservation of an indigenous civilization or culture), but in a civilizational shift, a transformation of the whole of the society, which can perhaps only be compared to earlier assimilationist policies of the French.[217] That is why, unsatisfied with Danger-Prost's plan for the preservation of the Kemeraltı area, the municipality invited Le Corbusier in the late 1930s to make a new plan.[218]

Moreover, while parallels can be drawn with regards to spatial politics of dominance and hegemony between Turkey – or Greece – and the colonies, such parallels can be drawn to an equal extent with the attitudes of Western governments towards their own citizens in the metropolises, for example in the case of East

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[215] See Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* pp. 97-105.

[216] Kalogirou, Nikos, 'I Geografia tou Eksughronismou: Oi metashimatismoi tou Boreioelladikou Horou sto Mesopolemo', in Maurogordatos and Hatziiosif, *Venizelismos Kai Astikos Eksyhronismos*, p.87.

[217] Wright talks about the differences between politics of assimilation and association, and how these relate to 'two contemporaneous variations of modernism in architecture and urban design- a more avant-garde or universalist version and a more traditionalist or cultural-relativist approach'. Wright, Gwendolyn, 'Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Architecture and Urbanism in French Colonial Policy, 1900-1930', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.59, No.2 (June 1987), p.298.

[218] Ironically, Le Corbusier had been invited in the 1920s to conduct a plan for Istanbul, and his proposal was rejected because he argued for the preservation of the Old City; Henri Prost was assigned the project in the end. In Izmir, the reverse happened – Prost's plan was found insufficient with regards to the Old City, and Le Corbusier was invited. Once again being unlucky, he proposed a completely radical transformation of the area, which was rejected within the new political climate of the 1950s.

London.[219] We saw already that Mawson suggested that the legislation developed in Thessaloniki be used in the slums of England.[220]

Cutting across these different contexts, which were shaped by different political and historical parameters, is a belief in spatial determinism and in the instrumentality of urbanism in shaping societies, whether they are 'Others' in the sense that *Le Figaro* implies, or the urban poor in the slums, or the citizens of Izmir and Thessaloniki. Thus, tools developed in the colonies and architects with experience of the colonies, might also have been attractive to non-colonial governments.

Hence in looking at the colonial experience of the French architects as an element with some weight in the urban transformation of Izmir and Thessaloniki, I am far from suggesting that the latter were examples of colonial urbanism. Rather, I am asking the question: how clear is the division between the colonial, the non-Western non-colonial city and the metropolis? A look into the way that these architects encountered the local context, and perceived themselves within it, can give us further answers.

3.2.1 Urbanist operations in 'the Orient'

> Notice, nevertheless, that some cities, for example in the Orient, saw fires destroying entire neighbourhoods and that often this provided an opportunity for excellent urbanist operations.

> Danger 1947:65[221]

In his teaching book *Cours d'Urbanisme*, which he used in his courses at the École des Travaux Publics in the 1930s and 1940s, Danger included Izmir and Thessaloniki as examples of post-fire urban modernization. They are included in a chapter devoted to migration and settlement. The Turkish cities of Uşak and Manisa also appear, in a book that brings together examples from all over the world in order

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[219] Jacobs, Jane, 'Eastern trading: diasporas, dwelling and place', in J.M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: postcolonialism and the city* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.70-102.

[220] See p.93 footnote 172.

[221] Danger, *Cours d'Urbanisme,* p.65, (translation by the author). The book was used as teaching material for a course on urbanism taught by René Danger at the École Spéciale de Travaux Publics in Paris. The examples of Uşak and Manisa appear on pages 102-106.

to explain the evolution and principles of urbanism through historical examples. In the third part of the book, titled 'Some Examples of Composition', Danger presents Prost's works in Casablanca, Jaussely's in Barcelona, Agache's in Rio de Janeiro, Hébrard's in Thessaloniki, Greber's in Philadelphia, and his own work in Izmir, Algeria and Syria.

It is known colonial urbanism did not just entail the employment of urbanism for the effective control and exploitation of the colonies – as Gwendolyn Wright has written, the later were equally arenas for experimentation, laboratories for the advancement of what was often seen as universal principles of urban planning.[222] The legislation developed in Morocco with regards to Owners Associations and area expropriations provides such an example. Hence tools and solutions developed in the colonies, important sites of urban planning innovation, become relevant for non-colonial contexts.

Izmir and Thessaloniki too were seen by the urban planners as opportunities to try out the new urban design methods under development. John Mawson also stated in his 1921 article:

> Salonika was totally destroyed by fire for the fifth time in its chequered career on August 18th, 19th and 20th of 1917, thus creating an almost unique opportunity for the town planner to put into practice the principles which are now universally recognised as the fundamental basis of the civic, social and industrial progress of a modern city'.[223]

The design tools, policies, methods of analysis and composition and the legislative reforms that they had developed both in the colonies, and at home, were available to them to use in new contexts. For example, Hébrard's ideas on the aesthetic aspects of the urban grid, which he had developed in his *Centre Mondial de Communication* and had the chance to realise for the first time in Thessaloniki, appear in his works in Indochina. Talking of his work there, he would argue that a pure uniform orthogonal grid has important disadvantages; the reality of a city, with its

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[222] In the 1931 *Congrès International de l'Urbanisme Aux Colonies et Dans le Pays de Latitude Intertropicale*, Léandre Vaillat (1878-1952), an art critic who collaborated for 20 years with the Encyclopaedia *L'Illustration*, concluded in his presentation on the possible exchanges between local and French art: 'It would so be then that the colonies, while being the conservatories of Oriental life, would also become the laboratories of Occidental life'. See Vaillat, Léandre, 'L'Esthétique aux Colonies, in Royer (ed.), *L'urbanisme aux Colonies,* Volume 2, pp. 21-23.
[223] Mawson, 'The Salonika Town Planning Act', p.147.

different elements, different scales of habitation, its areas of wholesale and retail commerce, its monuments, theatres, gardens, stations and factories cannot conform to uniform blocks. A uniform grid would be, in addition, monotonous from an aesthetic perspective, because it would not allow the architect to highlight a public building, and last, it would make circulation more difficult.[224] This echoes exactly the design of Thessaloniki. These ideas were, according to Hébrard, universal aesthetic and urbanist values.

The cities also contributed to the development of urbanism through publications, and their use as teaching material, as seen above. Especially the case of Thessaloniki received considerable publicity in international journals and books in the 1920s, probably because of its pioneering legislation and the fact that there were fewer alterations in its implementation. Thomas Mawson wrote about it in the *Balkan News* in 1918 ('The New Salonica', 29-30-31 January); his son John Mawson published an article 'The Salonica Town Planning Act' in the *Town Planning Review* (December 1921); Hébrard and Dreyfus wrote the article 'La reconstruction de Salonique' in *L'Architecture* (1923 and 1927), whereas the established urban historian at the time, Pierre Lavedan, wrote two articles, 'Un Problème d'Urbanisme: La Reconstruction de Salonique' in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* (Sept-Oct 1921) and 'L' Œuvre d Ernest Hébrard en Grèce' in *Urbanisme* (May 1933).[225]

We notice that the two cities contribute to the development of urbanism by being sites for trying out ideas, whether legislative or design ideas. Hence, apart from presenting agency in the sense seen in Chapter 2, whereby local actors claimed their role in defining the modern identity of the city, these cities also emerge as stages in the professional development of the French architects involved, and as examples of solutions that were subsequently applied elsewhere. They were far from just recipients of knowledge produced elsewhere.

Combined with the fact that Thessaloniki was one of the first largely implemented plans of the French school, even before many colonial examples, it led Lavedan to say:

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[224] Hébrard, L'urbanisme en Indochine', in Royer (ed.), *L'urbanisme aux Colonies,* Volume 2, p.279.

[225] There were also publications by also Jacques Ancel, *La Macedoine, son evolution contemporaine,* (Paris: Delagrave, 1930) and by Johannes Saias, *Salonique en reconstruction,* (Athens: L'Opinion,1920).

> The houses are being rebuilt on the alignments that our friend assigned them and this allows us to say that the reconstruction of Thessaloniki by Ernest Hébrard is the truly first major work of European urbanism. [226]

This analysis leads to further observations: these urban planning examples do not enjoy publicity simply as successful cases of urban planning. It is their capacity to contribute to the building of a generalised art of the city (with all its political and social implications) and to exemplify urbanism as a distinctly *Western* – or even *French*, as we will see – scientific discipline that makes them especially important. In that sense, an analogy with the publicity of the projects generated by the Greek and Turkish governments, aiming at a local and foreign audience, can be drawn. While the latter was promoted as a proof of the countries' qualification as Westernised countries, Western publications of Izmir and Thessaloniki functioned as a proof of the efficiency of the scientific discipline of urbanism as developed in the West. The visual dissemination of the new modern city is important for both sides, for different reasons. Danger's exclusive reference to urban planners of the French School, and specifically of the planners involved in the Société des Urbanistes, in his teaching material, reconfirmed and promoted the authority of this specific group of urban planners.

3.2.2 Between universalism and 'tradition'

These architects, judging from their own writings, were very comfortable about moving from Paris to Morocco, from Thessaloniki to Indochina and back to Athens. Their confidence lay in the belief in the universal applicability of their urbanist model, a model that nevertheless emphasises its consideration for local conditions, climate, needs and the local culture (as we saw in Hébrard's principles for the new design of Thessaloniki, and in Prost's experience with 'Muslim customs'). Climate and geography dominate all the discussions, both in terms of the layout (for example the width of

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[226] Lavedan, 'L' Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.159.

streets and squares) and in terms of adopting local architectural solutions and typologies.[227] In one of his articles, Hébrard wrote:

> Without a visit to the site, we would end with one of those passe-partout plans which recall the geometric layouts of Renaissance architects.[228]

In Danger's *Cours d'Urbanisme*, detailed questionnaires to find out historical, cultural, socioeconomic and geographical characteristics are combined with universal objective principles like how many students a school should have, the width of streets, the rationality of orthogonal plots and the importance of ventilation, public order and public spaces.

Based on their consideration for local cultural characteristics, does their universalism therefore include an essentialist feature? Which population did Hébrard have in mind? 'An aggregate of races which maintain their traditions and their nationality markers', would be the reply found in Lavedan's account of Hébrard's life and work.[229] In the same account, referring to the streets of Thessaloniki, Lavedan adds:

> Some, like Venizelos Street and Alexander the Great Street, bordered by arcades under which luxury shops were opened, had a restricted width: the pedestrians should be able to stroll [*flâner*] and move easily from one pavement to the other. Do not forget that in the Orient even the least of purchases can be the object of very long discussions and that time has little value.[230]

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[227] Hébrard mentions that, after an initial period where metropolitan architecture was applied in the colonies, 'in Morocco, the architecture has gladly been softened towards traditional forms of the country, without sacrificing the conditions imposed by our modern life.' Hébrard, 'L'architecture locale et les questions d'esthétique en Indochine', in Royer, *L'urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les Pays Tropicaux,* p.32.

[228] Hébrard, L'urbanisme en Indochine', in *L'urbanisme aux Colonies et Dans les Pays Tropicaux*, p.279.

[229] Lavedan, 'L'Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', p.158.

[230] Lavedan, 'L'Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', pp.152-3.

Une des maisons de l'Avenue Centrale selon le type d'architecture imposé.

Une autre maison à portiques de l'Avenue Centrale.

Figure 32. Buildings on today's Aristotelous Street, featuring the imposed facades. Source: Lavedan, 'L'Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', p.161.

Thessaloniki's plan, as we will see in the next chapter, imposed specific facades on the buildings of the main arteries of the city (Figure 32). Designed in Byzantine Revival style, they included arcades, which, 'in the countries of the Mediterranean, are at the same time a necessity and a tradition.'[231] While Hastaoglu traces their similarity to North African colonial architecture and the Byzantine heritage of the city, [232] Kolonas argues that they also draw from Paris (Rue de Rivoli, Place Vendôme and Haussmann's imposed facades).[233]

Similarly, in Prost's sketches for the new city of Izmir (Figure 33), can we perhaps trace the arched colonnades of the colonial city combined with the rationalist approach to street design? Is it the metropolis or the colonial city that Prost has in mind when designing?[234]

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[231] Lavedan, 'L'Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Gréce', p.160

[232] Hastaoglu-Martinidis, 'Urban Aesthetics and national identity', p.164.

[233] Kolonas, Vassilis *Thessaloniki 1912-2012- I Arhitektoniki Mias ekatontaetias*, (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2012), p.22.

[234] That is, despite the unquestionable relation between the two, mentioned earlier, and the importance of the colonial cities as 'laboratories'.
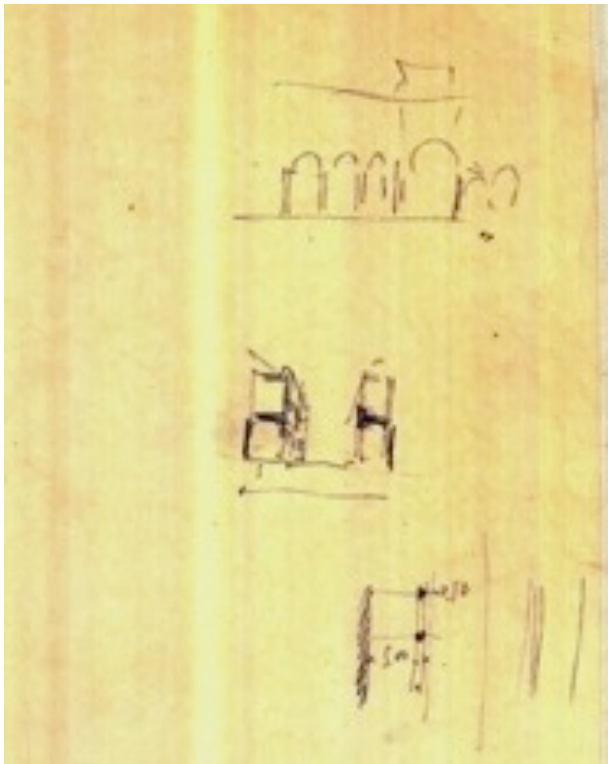
Figure 33. Prost's sketches for Izmir, detail from a larger drawing (Figure 40), source: Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

The answer would be: both. We can see that the architects are employing both tools that were developed in their own metropolises, or in theoretical projects such as Hébrard's *Centre Mondial de Communication*, but also tools and design methods that were developed in the colonies. But an additional observation is that the same forms (the Byzantine arcades of Thessaloniki), perceived by the Greeks as markers of nationality and history, are perceived by the French historian Lavedan as features dictated by tradition and climate, in a discourse similar to the one in the colonies. This discrepancy between the interpretations of the space by the local authorities and the foreign architects can be attributed to their imagination of different *implied readers.* While in the minds of the French architects, the local customs might be something to be respected, the Turkish and Greek politicians are imagining a national and modern society.

Thus the same form lends itself to different interpretations, and the function or meaning of design tools is not firmly embedded in their form. We saw this already in the case of the Republic Square in Izmir, where the original idea of a grand square with

a Municipality building crowning it, became a space of international exposition and ceremonial nature.

As Izmir is talked of as a gate to Anatolia for the West (see Hayrar Rüştü's quote in 2.1.2), the photographic Municipality Album can also now be understood as response to such perceptions of Turkey. However, it is still reproducing the Eurocentric dichotomy between a progressive 'modernity' and a backward 'tradition', only this time it includes itself in the former group. In Exertzoglou's words:

> The appropriation of western discourses in the East was a major outcome of the East-West encounter. The East was not mute and not represented only by the West. This discursive condition not only shaped agency and the imagination, it also established Western domination, because local agents appropriated and internalized fundamental polarities of the western discourse of modernity such as East vs. West, civilization vs. barbarity, modernity vs. tradition, old vs. new etc.[235]

Having touched upon such complex overlappings of universal values and localized concerns, another important dimension that should be added is the idea of 'Frenchness'. In the catalogue of the 1933 *Exposition d'Architecture Française*, which I also found at the Centre d'Archives d'Architecture, Thessaloniki features among the works of French architects at home and abroad (in France, Southeast Asia, Greece, Morocco, Britain, Israel). The author of the catalogue, Louis Hautecœur, remarks that

> the visitors...will acquire a double impression: they will note that French architecture is as modern as many others, but they will observe also that it retains its traditional qualities. [236]

It is modern because of its new programmes (hospitals, sanatoria, garden cities, train stations, etc.), responding to the building needs of a 20th century civilization; because of its 'ingenious solutions and initiative', when reconstructing devastated regions, 'acquiring an experience which was appealed to by Greece, Turkey and South America'; because of its new materials, like reinforced concrete, which 'was born here,

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[235] Exertzoglou, Haris, 'Metaphors of Change: "Tradition" and the East/West Discourse in the late Ottoman Empire', in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey- Encounters with Europe 1850-1950,* ed. by Frangoudakis, Anna and Keyder, Çaglar (London: Tauris & Co, 2007), p.45.

[236] *Exposition d'Architecture Française,* n.p. The exhibition was organized by the Society of Licensed Architects (Société des Architectes diplômés par le Gouvernement) and supported by the Association Française d'expansion et d'échanges artistiques. Archives du XXé siecle, Paris.

during the Second Empire'; and because of its modern forms. However, French architecture

> remains subject to tradition; a tradition that does not mean imitation nor routine. Tradition is the ensemble of the qualities imposed by the spirit, the climate, the social habits of a country. Here, this tradition is constituted by classicism. Classicism is not the observation of stereotypical forms, Corinthian or Ionic capitals; [...] it is the rational and harmonic employment of materials and forms... We know in France that certain forms, imposed by certain materials, cannot be different in Japan and in France. Exactly like the jacket, which won the whole world – whether it is regretted or not – certain architectural forms are widespread in both hemispheres. So we do not believe that the employment of this or that form can constitute a national architecture. But we think that the way a form is designed, implemented, reveals personality, the personality of the nation, the personality of the individual. Behind the form, which is material, there is the spirit and this spirit is manifested by the proportions, which are rational, and by certain qualities that can be sensed. [237]

Here Hautecœur is not referring to the local architectural style of the countries in which French architects build, but to the classical tradition embedded in French urbanism in contrast to the 'puritanism', as he calls it, of the International Style.

3.3 A quest for identity

The question of Frenchness, and of French cultural hegemony abroad just after the First World War, brings up another dimension that has been also largely underresearched in relationship to the urban history of the two cities. It is the fact that the French had a unique relationship to the Near Orient since they traced an important part of their own cultural origins back to the Greco-Roman lands, in competition with local nationalisms as well as with German and English nationalisms. [238] European museums, documentations and descriptions by travellers, whole-scale architectural

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[237] *Exposition d'Architecture Française*, n.p., Paris, December 1933.

[238] On the relationship specifically of Germany with Greek antiquity see Saw, Wendy, 'From Mausoleum to Museum', in *Scramble for the Past,* pp. 430-431.

publications,[239] travel guides and exhibitions heavily contributed to the conceptual construction of the 'Orient's' past and present.

In addition to their encounter with such texts, architects received an architectural education which considered its roots to be in the ancient Greco-Roman lands and was reflected both in the classical aesthetics of design projects as well as in history classes. Among Henri Prost's notes, photographs and teaching material, I found his student notebook (Figure 34) for the course on Aesthetics at the Beaux Arts. The introduction already made it clear that the origins of architecture should be searched for neither in China, nor in India nor in Mexico. Rather, it was implied, they should be traced to the Middle and Near East. The notebook proceeded to feature the main architectural styles in history and their characteristics: Egyptian, Greek, Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance Italy, Arab and a couple of lines on Persian Art.
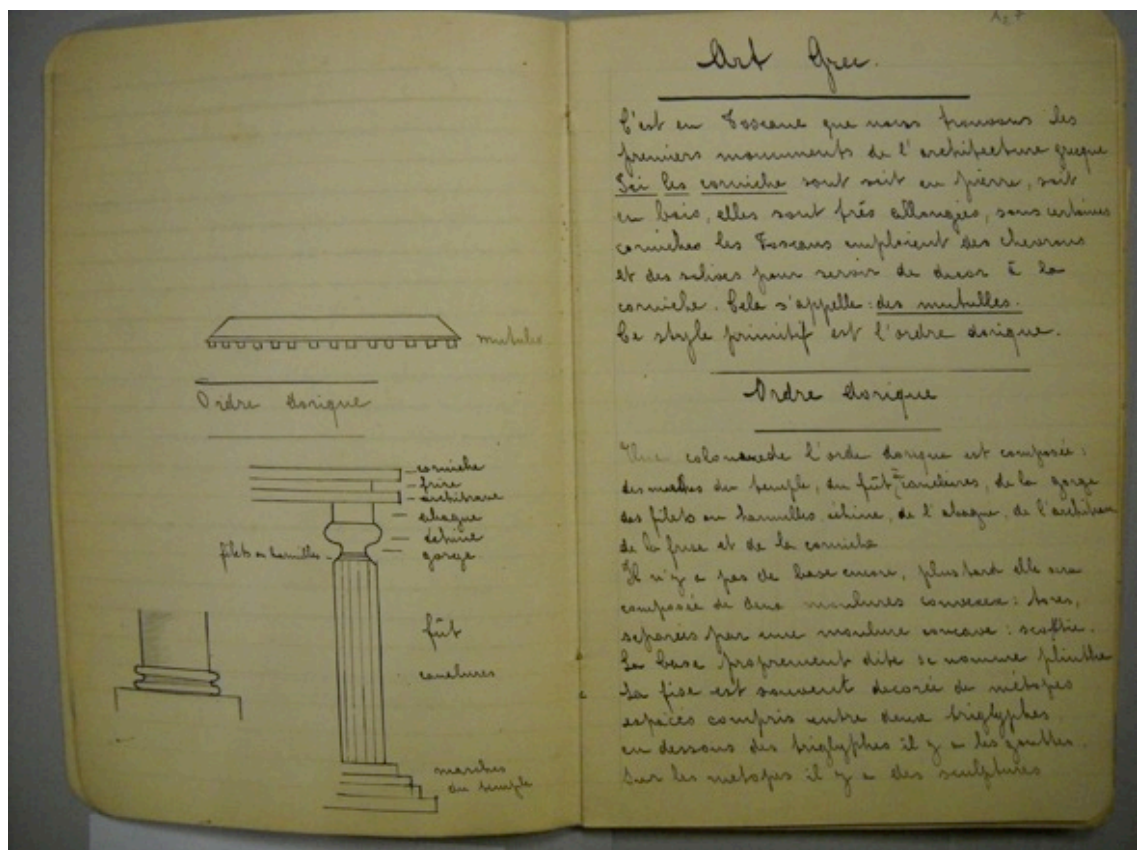
Figure 34. Henri Prost's notebook for the class 'Cours d' Esthétique de l'École des Beaux-Arts' by Suzanne Vent - 1896. Source: Fonds Prost, Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

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[239] Such as Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur, Being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period* (1896).

Of all these styles, the Byzantine and Arabic (Islamic) styles were presented as having a tendency towards extravagance.[240] This can be linked to an earlier tendency among nineteenth-century critics, who 'established a link between the decadence of Byzantium and that of the Ottomans'.[241] The lack of appreciation for Byzantium was only reversed at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as we will further see in the next chapter, and was closely linked to Western imperial aspirations in the Ottoman lands.

The classical orientation of the Beaux Arts is further obvious in the nature of the Prix de Rome and the residence of French Beaux-Arts graduates at the Villa Medicis, where they were expected to make detailed studies of ancient Greco-Roman antiquities. During their stay they often travelled to Greece and to the Ottoman Empire. Hébrard travelled with Prost to Istanbul in his first year, while Prost also travelled to Konya and to Greece with Hulot.

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[240] The Temple of Artemis (Diane) in Ephesus was mentioned as the most important example of Ionic Order, whereas Hagia Sophia was referred to as the most important example of Byzantine Art, the latter described as 'a mixture of the composite order and oriental decoration'. The notes continue: 'that which characterizes the Orient is the dome- the arcade is Roman. Moreover, what also characterizes [the Byzantine] style is the excessive ornamentation'. The notebook then devotes the longest sections to Gothic and Renaissance architecture, before proceeding to the only section that relates to Islamic Architecture: 'the Arabic Art' (L'art Arabe). In this section emotion substitutes for a rational explanation: 'The Arab artists are terrified of flat surfaces; they break them down, carve, dig and re-dig them. Their ideal: extravagance (*fantaisie*)'. Then the notes explain in detail the architecture of a mosque. The only examples cited are in Spain and Oman. In a way, 'Arab' and 'Byzantine' art meet in their excessiveness. Fonds Prost, Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle.

[241] Basch, Sophie, 'Archaeological Travels in Greece and Asia Minor: On the Good Use of Ruins in Nineteenth-Century France', in *Scramble for the Past: A story of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914,* ed.by Bahrani, Zainab, Çelik, Zeynep, and Eldem, Edhem (Istanbul: Salt, 2011), p. 164.

Figure 35. Drawing of the Palace of Diocletian in Split, by Ernest Hébrard. Source: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris.

As we already saw, Prost worked on Hagia Sophia in Istanbul while Hébrard worked on the archaeological site of Diocletian's Palace in Split together with Jacques Zeiller. They all sent back to the Beaux Arts drawings of extraordinary detail (Figure 35). However, what is most important for us, is that these architects, by reversing their relationship to these antiquities by shifting the focus to the urban scale, developed a different line of continuity to ancient Greece, finding there the roots of urbanism. Talking of Jean Hulot's work at the Villa Medicis on the ancient city of Selinunte, Prost said:

> the new city constructed at the end of the 5th century (BC), with its straight roads and the regularly aligned houses, demonstrates to us the oldest known application of the principles of the geometrical administration applied in honour of Hippodamos of Miletus.[242]

[242] 'La Villa Médicis et L'Urbanisme', Communication à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, taped on January 18th 1959. Fonds Prost, Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle, Paris.

In one of his later talks on Greek architecture, as a Director of the École Spéciale d'Architecture, dated 25 January 1932, Henri Prost takes this one step further and proceeds to a synthesis of the classical aspects of the French Beaux Arts school, his interest in urbanism and colonial practice:

> Greek cities were developed like our old cities, randomly. However, around the 6th century [BC], a great urbanist movement was created, there were urbanists at that time, the word might be new but there were urbanists, even great movements in favour of hygiene. Hippocrates, whose name has arrived to you, was very occupied with the hygiene of cities, and certain architects, certain technicians of the time left reputations of which Aristotle talks in length, and which have arrived to our day. There was, in the 5th century, at the time of Pericles, a certain Hippodamos, who was born in Asia Minor, he was a remarkable man and left a reputation. At that exact moment, the theory became the theory of the straight line; no more tortuous streets, no more cities expanding in random.
>
> [...] Starting from the 5th century, there was a search to realise new, beautiful lines, but in Greece itself, composed of old cities, they could not excercise these methods. In contrast, in the colonies, and in Asia which was an immense Greek colony, like Asia Minor, they made plans according to new concepts, those of Selinunte.'

Echoing his student notes on the Arabs but referring to his more concrete experience in Morocco, he proceeds to say that, contrary to the ancient Greeks and Egyptians, the contemporary inhabitants of Morocco

> ...have habits which are close to antiquity in terms of costume, traditions, they are peoples who live on the earth, almost without shelter, but in contrast to the ancient peoples, there is no trace of mechanics among the Arabs, it is always minimum work for the minimum effort, and their architecture reflects that, they have a remarkable architecture, made from small elements, whereas the Greek did not hesitate a moment to employ big elements, to raise enormous weights when necessary'.[243]

First, Prost realizes a shift in focus: Greece remains the source of knowledge and inspiration, but instead of the orders and the style, it is its discovery of urbanism that can nourish contemporary practice. Second, Prost proceeds to make, in my view,

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[243] Fonds Prost, translation by the author from French.

a clear parallel; ancient Greek cities of mainland Greece, like those of mainland France, could not apply the newly developed achievements of urbanism; it was the colonies that provided that opportunity. Contemporary France, as an heir and continuator of this civilization, disseminates it in its contemporary colonies, which are inhabited by people who have lost their connection to antiquity.

I would further argue that the latter are not necessarily only the Arabs – in the views of many travellers to Greece in the 19th century and even the early 20th, the contemporary inhabitants of Greece were at best 'noble savages'.[244] The discovery of ancient Greece had already started taking place in the early 18th century,[245] taking over the predominance of Rome.[246] However the 'Greece' they were referring to had nothing to do with the contemporary inhabitants of those lands, whether Greeks or others.[247] Europeans were extremely disappointed to find what they saw as ignorant and backward populations with no connections to their 'glorious ancestors'. In fact, some historians like Fallmerayer tried to prove that there were no genetic connections between the ancient and contemporary Greeks. This disconnection of modern with ancient Greeks had important ideological and political implications – a process of dispossession took place; European intellectuals saw themselves as more legitimate heirs of the Greek heritage.[248]

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[244] See Todorova, Maria, *Imagining the Balkans,* (New York: Oxford university Press, 2009), pp.92-93.

[245] The Grand Tour of the Continent, that 'every well-bred young Englishman was expected to make [...] began as a European itinerary but later extended to include Ottoman lands, particularly Greece and the Holy Land'. *Scramble for the Past*, Introduction, p 17. Such travels lead to a flourishing of publications relating to Greek antiquities, such as the French archaeologist Julien-David Le Roy's *Les Ruines de plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758), and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's study *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762-1816, 1830).

[246] 'Parisian thinkers presented Greece as a counterweight to Rome. It was an *older* antiquity, a model with deeper roots from which Rome itself had drawn, an advanced society upon which rested 2,000 years of Western culture.' Leach, Andrew, *What is architectural history?* p.29.

[247] 'The appropriation of the cultural inheritance of a largely deterritorialized and utopian classical Greece occupied a not negligible position in modern European attempts of self-definition, as ancient Greece had been incorporated, together with ancient Rome and Renaissance Italy, into the 'memory' and 'heritage' of the European intelligentsias and bourgeoisie. The rediscovery of the actual *topos* and the inhabitants of Greece happened as Europeans started travelling to Greece as part of the 'Grand Tour' or other explorations.' O and S p 23

[248] Tolias, George, '"An Inconsiderate Love of the Arts": The Spoils of Greek Antiquities, 1780-1820', in Scramble for the Past, pp.71-72. Also, specifically for the French case, see Basch, Sophie, 'Archaeological Travels in Greece and Asia Minor: On the Good Use of Ruins in Nineteenth Century France', in Scramble for the Past, p.157: 'The founding of the École Française d'Athènes in 1846 solidified France's conviction that it was descended from Greece'. It was 'patterned after the Villa Médicis in Rome and providing a base from which residents could fan out across Greece and Asia Minor on journeys of exploration.'

These ideological positions went hand in hand with the quest of legitimacy of the French presence in the area.[249] Stamatopoulos[250] has demonstrated in his book *Byzantium after the Nation* how the Greek irredentionist *Megali Idea* was a reaction to French interventionism in the Ottoman Empire and to the aspiration of France to set foot on those lands. One of the examples he sites it historian and journalist Jean-Joseph Francois Poujoulat, who in his pamphlet 'La France et la Russie à Constantinople' already in the mid-19th century had advocated that the

> peoples of the Ottoman Empire can move towards the West only if the French nation (and the Catholic Church instead of Russian or Greek Orthodoxy) not only mediate but install themselves in the East.[251]

The above sheds new light to Hébrard's presence in Thessaloniki at the time of the fire.[252] He was conscripted into the French troops that arrived in Thessaloniki in late 1916, as part of the military Archaeological Service. In Lavedan's words,

> The Army of the Orient, of which he was part, resuming the traditions of Bonaparte in Egypt in desiring that its passage is not just marked by military victory, but by scientific work, had constituted an Archaeological Service.[253]

The competing British Archaeological Service was also there. The archaeological service that was set up had identified by 1919 more than 70 protohistoric sites in the area, conducted numerous excavations, collected the findings and displayed them to the troops. Many of the findings were shipped to the West,[254] a practice that was widespread in the Middle East.[255]

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[249] In fact, following a tradition dating from the mid-1700s, archaeology in the Ottoman lands was linked to 'a scientific pursuit of the origins of European civilization', became 'a means of asserting ownership of the past as the exclusive and lawful property of the West and its civilization', and overlapped with 'an imperial project of conquest' Bahrani, Çelik, and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, p.16.

[250] *To Vyzantion meta to Ethnos*, p.68.

[251] Stamatopoulos, *To Vyzantion meta to Ethnos,* p.68. In the treaty of Sevres, France was given Syria and the neighbouring parts of south-eastern Anatolia, while large areas up to Sivas and Tokat were declared a zone of French influence.

[252] Hébrard was studying the Byzantine and Roman monuments of the city when the fire happened.

[253] Lavedan, L'Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', p.148.

[254] Mazower 2004: 317 '...strict orders came from London that holdings in British hands were to be shipped back to England. The Greeks were outraged but could do nothing about it as they were hoping to tap the British and French for loans and long-term investment funds to rebuild their new territories.'

[255] This was a general trend in the Near and Middle East. 'Europeans saw proof of their superior stewardship of cultural artefacts when they compared their own concern for national treasures to the relative lack of interest in and disrepair of historic sites in the Middle East. Not only were viewpoints

It is also worth noting that around a decade after the Thessaloniki plan, in 1930, Hébrard's close connection and cooperation with Venizelos would come to an end, when the latter supported the construction of a huge Palace of Justice at the foot of the Acropolis. Hébrard tried to change Venizelos's decision and, facing his strong refusal, started an international campaign by writing to an English Journal (*The Architect and Building News*) and to the École des Beaux Arts, condemning the project. He stated:

> one does not have the right to spoil landscape like this one, which belong to humanity – I do not ignore the necessary development of Athens, but being an urban planner, I can ensure you that the Palace of Justice would be better situated elsewhere. Tell that to Paris – explain them my reasons.[256]

The French and English Academies of Fine Arts, as well as the German Architects' Association responded by condemning the project, which was abandoned in the end. However Hébrard and Venizelos's relationship permanently collapsed.[257]

Considering all the above, I would argue that when they were invited to redesign Izmir and Thessaloniki, these architects carried with them both the presuppositions shaped by their formation and by their experience in the colonies, but also had a different perspective to local architectural heritage than when building in Morocco or Indochina; they consider it to be part of their heritage as well, as part of the heritage of the West.

And it is exactly this ideological position that Greek and Turkish Politicians attempted to use to their advantage. Building on the appreciation of the West for classical Greece, the Greeks worked hard to naturalise their relationship to their 'glorious past'. Together with claiming their classical era ancestors, who enjoyed the appreciation of the European intelligentsia, the Greeks hence automatically claimed a 'cultural superiority' against the 'oriental' character of the Ottoman Empire.

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about the art and architectural history of the region skewed to European preoccupations, but the very artefacts under study were often removed and sometimes destroyed in the process of radical decontextualization'. Isenstadt and Rizvi, *Modernism and the Middle East*, p.8.

[256] Lavedan, Pierre, *Dictionnaire illustré de la mythologie et des antiquités grecques et romaines,* (Paris: Hachette, 1931). p. 143.

[257] Filippidis, Dimitris 'Eksughronismos stin Architektoniki kai Poleodomia tou Mesopolemou', in *Venizelismos kai Astikos Eksughronismos,* p.142.

> The association of classical Greece with European modernity effectively provided the emerging Greek nation with 'European' credentials and legitimized modernising forces whether within the insurgent populations or in the diaspora.[258]

Moreover, as we will see in the next chapter, the Turkish History Thesis also attempted to establish links with Anatolian civilizations that preceded the Greeks and the Romans, and to secure its claim for legitimacy in the area. Archaeology, which was institutionalised in the Empire in the 19th century and accompanied by a legal framework that reacted to Western removal of antiquities,[259] acquired an instrumental role in the nation-state era, that of providing proof of the Turkish legitimate presence in the area.

Furthermore, while increasingly fighting to keep antiquities within their borders – a change of policy that in the Turkish case dated from the late Ottoman period,[260] led by the scholar, painter and founder of the Archaeological Museum and the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, Osman Hamdi Bey – Greece and Turkey also saw foreign excavations as an activity of diplomatic and political importance and were very eager to include Westerners in them.[261] As Jack Davis[262] has demonstrated, archaeological excavations in the newly acquired territories with the crucial participation of Westerners were a matter of gaining legitimy over the land.[263] The

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[258] Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormeted by History,* p.23.

[259] For more about this topic see Çelik, Zeynep, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, in *Scramble for the Past,* p 443 and Eldem, Edhem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869, p 281,

[260] The Imperial Museum was established in 1846, but it was in 1869 that 'a procedural and legal structure to regulate the search, extraction, possession and preservation of antiquities' appeared. Eldem, Edhem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern', p.314. In 1884, a bylaw introduced by Osman Hamdi Bey, a huge step in order to protect antiquities from being removed from the Ottoman Lands

[261] When the Greeks annexed Izmir in the 1919-1922 period, they carried out many excavations in Greco-Roman sites. In the case of Turkey, in the Second Historical Congress of 1937, sixty papers were presented relating to the archaeological excavations of the mid 1930s in Anatolia, which aimed to unearth 'scientific' evidence for the Turkish origins of Anatolian civilizations. This would also denounce and Greek or Armenian claims of Anatolia, as well as shift the weight from the Ottoman past to the pre-Islamic past, proving that Turks founded the Hittite civilization some four thousand years before the Christian era.

[262] Davis, Jack L., 'Warriors for the Fatherland: National Consciousness and Archaeology in 'Barbarian' Epirus and 'Verdant' Ionia 1912-1922', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol.13, No.1 (2000), pp. 76-98. and Davis, Jack L., 'A Foreign School of Archaeology and the Politics of Archaeological Practice: Anatolia, 1922'*, Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology,* Vol.16, No.2 (2003), pp.145-172.

[263] This reflects the double-sided relationship of Greece and Turkey to the West – their need to carefully frame their claims of Westerness in a way that affiliates them to Europe but does not subsume them.

presence of Western archaeologists, representatives of powerful institutions and with links to their governments, signing papers of permission and hence recognizing authority over a land, was a matter of tactics.

I argue that we can introduce this dimension to our study of the reconstruction of the two cities; the invitation of foreign architects from all over the world is not just a way to introduce modernisation into Greece and Turkey – it is equally, or more so, a way to make these cities known as signature projects of specific governments and nations. The undertaking of the reconstruction of the cities by Western-renowned architects confirms the authority of their new owners, like another peace treaty.

3.4 Multilateral flows

This Chapter has allowed us to position Izmir and Thessaloniki within the broader landscape of multilateral flows of ideas and people, and to trace their points of convergence and divergence both with colonial cities as well as with the European metropolises. On the one hand, the experimental character of the cities, the Orientalist perceptions,[264] the opportunity for large scale interventions, and the alliance of political will with the architectural profession in order to shape society, link Izmir and Thessaloniki to colonies. On the other hand, we see that the tools developed in the colonies do not carry with them the functions and power dynamics they had in these contexts.

Maria Todorova's critique of the term 'Orientalism' in the analysis of relationships of dominance and subordination between the West and the Balkans[265] can help us in further assessing this Chapter's findings. She raises the issue not only the lack of official colonial status of post-Ottoman countries – to which Orientalism as

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[264] We saw that even though Greece had claims to its classical past and its Christian religion, that did not save it from similar prejudices, because these are tied to a quest for power rather to the objects they define.

[265] She questions whether 'the methodological contribution of subaltern and postcolonial studies (as developed for India and expanded and refined for Africa and Latin America) can be meaningfully applied to the Balkans'. Todorova, Maria, *Imagining the Balkans,* (New York: Oxford university Press, 2009), pp.16-17

theoretical critique is largely connected – but also the issue of self-perception[266] and historicity.[267]

I would add that the geographical nature of the word 'Orientalism' and its connection with colonialism overshadows different yet equally asymmetrical power relationships: of the state towards its minorities, towards its other citizens, towards its neighbours, as well as the massive importance of tactical alliances. [268] Hence, Orientalism is just one of the practices of cultural or political subordination involved in this thesis.

As these two cities were embedded in international networks, they became arenas for innovation and stages in the development of the discipline of urbanism, receiving, developing and transmitting ideas. Defining this process, were the different agendas of all the actors involved. Their publicity was not only seen as beneficial to the nation-states that incorporated them, but also to the French School that left their mark on them.

This chapter has also given us insight into the multiplicity and complexity of perceptions; the quest for the 'modern city' is interpreted differently by the various actors involved, and this overlaps with claims for Frenchness. The latter are fuelled both by a centuries-old search for origins by Westerners in the Near East, but also by the tracing of the roots of urbanism back to ancient Greek cities and Byzantine heritage, performed by this pioneering group of architects. In the next chapter we will see how these different perceptions that shaped the cities – and their historiography –

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[266] Did the populations themselves feel colonised? This is a question, which, as already mentioned earlier, is out of the scope of the thesis.

[267] East and West as derogatory categories succeeded one another and changed over time. The Byzantines before 1453 and the Ottomans until the late 17th century considered the West as barbarous. Only after the 18th century, when the military, economic, and intellectual production of the West changed the power balance, did the Western discourse of the East become the hegemonic one. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* p.11.

[268] Western powers had tactical relationships with non-Western countries, playing one against the other irrespective of their 'Oriental' status. For example, the Ottoman Empire was used as a barrier against further Russian expansion and later Turkey as a barrier against communism. Moreover, Todorova adds, 'despite the overall anti-Islamic, often righteous fundamentalist Christian rhetoric, for the vast majority of the ruling elites in Europe, even quite apart from considerations of balance of power, it was easier to identify (and they, in fact, did) with the Ottoman rulers, rather than with the Balkan upstarts....It was the essentially prejudicial but also protective patronizing of the aristocrat toward the peasant.' Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* p.108.

were complicated by projections of Greekness and Turkishness, which were also not monolithic categories.

We examined Izmir and Thessaloniki from the point of view of the 'modern' city and the 'colonial city' and with regards to its spatial authors. One dimension however has been until now left untouched – the historical credentials of the 'national city'. In the next two chapters, I will be examining, first, how heritage was employed and treated in the new city plans and how it informed contemporary Revivalist Architecture (Chapter 4). I will also bring Greek and Turkish nation-building together in Izmir, through the examination of the University of Ionia, a project of the Greek Administration of Smyrna (1919-1922) (Chapter 5).

4

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

In the previous chapters we saw how the two nation-states reoriented themselves towards the West and redefined the terms of their relationship with modernity. The term 'reorient' has both the meaning of recurrence, of renewal, since modernisation was not something new but had happened already in the Ottoman period, but also the meaning of reform, of reconfiguration – since the terms of this relationship are changed to meet new needs that are closely linked to nation-building.

We also saw how this process was largely defined by multilateral vectors of influences and multifaceted interpretations, and circumscribed in the framework of nationalism. Nation-building entailed a relationship to the West, which is almost paradoxical – on the one hand, the allegiance with the West should be consolidated and justified; on the other, national sovereignty, uniqueness, and distinctiveness should be protected, and the relationship to the West should be one between equals.[269] Returning to the triangulation, in a sense, it is all about constructing (and

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[269] Hence on the one hand nationalism was fuelled by modernisation processes of previous periods (as already mentioned in the Introduction), by the contact with Europe and the influence of the French Revolution, by the support of a bourgeoisie who saw its interests as better served by a national rather than the imperial context, but on the other hand it also took the form of 'a response to perceptions of urban life or even modernity as decadent or too artificial, and the perceived need to look for forms of cultural authenticity'. Ozkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History,* p.10-17.

negotiating) the right distance between the *topos* and the 'West', while at the same time defining the relationship with neighbouring nations.

The ideological foundations of the national discourse and the tools of nation-building were themselves largely drawn from Western Europe. By employing institutionalised disciplines, such as archaeology, architecture, and ethnography, the states set forward to form a national identity, scientifically definable,[270] which would culturally homogenise the inhabitants included within the new borders, legitimise the decisions and the status of the authorities and equally important, serve to justify the very processes of modernisation and Westernization analysed in the second chapter.[271]

Reconciling the modern and national identities was a way to push forward modernisation projects without losing the power of tradition (understood as 'a set of indigenous values, religious, national and moral, necessary for a meaningful social life'[272]) to create stability and solidarity, and at the same time by fostering an encompassing identity loyal to the new state.[273] In Allan Megill's words,

> ...the less rooted the community is in extant and well-functioning practices- that is, the more problematic its identity- the more constitutive for it is its 'remembered' past.[274]

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[270] The institutions that emerged as guardians of this tradition were explicitly modern, and based on scientific methods of observation and recording. In Henry Laurens's words, 'As Europe industrialized, its societies and institutions were reconceived, oriented toward a future whose concrete achievements would embody progress and endowed with a past that extended back several millennia – a past until then had been largely unknown. The linking element between the present circumstances and the orientation both towards the past and the future, toward genealogy and a glowing tomorrow, was science'. Laurens, Henry, 'Ernest Renan's Expedition to Phoenicia', in *Scramble for the Past,* p 213.

[271] As modernisation becomes a destiny and national sovereignty becomes a fulfilment, previous periods have to be incorporated into a linear historical evolution. In Mead's words, 'we are engaged in spreading backward what is going on so that the steps we are taking will be a continuity in the advance to the goals of our conduct'. Mead, George Herbert, 'The Nature of the Past', in John Coss (ed.), *Essays in Honour of John Dewey*, (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), p.237.

[272] Exertzoglou, 'Metaphors of Change', p.46.

[273] Gwendolyn Wright mentions that in the colonies, 'Traditionalism and modernism thus formed a unified urban policy [...] the traditional forms were utilized in an effort to downplay resistance while mitigating the more disruptive aspects of modernization'. She proceeds to say that 'in fact, the colonial policies even reveal efforts to develop policies that could work in France itself, promoting modern improvements without disrupting national traditions or destroying the charm of French towns'. Wright, *The Politics of Design,* p.315. This reveals how closely interwoven nationalism and modernisation are.

[274] Megill, Allan, 'History, memory, Identity' p.45, in *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol.11, No.3 (August 1998), pp.37-62.

In this process existing traditions are incorporated within a canon, and others are invented, in response to 'novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi obligatory repetition'.[275] The past, in our case the built heritage, is then conscripted in the service of modernity,[276] but also of the nation. Starting already from the mid-19th century, especially in Germany, architecture is seen as evidence of culture, and the buildings as documents that were 'understood alongside other kinds of documents'.[277] This change in perception is also witnessed in Greece and Turkey, both in terms of newly constructed architecture as well as in terms of antiquities, as we saw in the previous chapter.[278]

This understanding has clear implications both with regards to the treatment of heritage and to the architectural language of new buildings. Despite the discourse of restoration and uncovering of the true inner identity (Turkish or Greek) of the people, of the primordial connections of Greeks and Turks with Europeans, the formation of a national identity was by no means a natural process – in reality politicians saw it very much as a state-led project.[279] Which monuments are to be protected? To what depth does one excavate? To what age and form does one restore? Not only need we see the variety of answers given to these questions, but we need also to examine the conditions which determine their range of variation, the limits of available interpretations. Conservation, excavation, restoration, and visual enhancement are

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[275] '"Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past...' Hobsbawm, Eric, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in *The invention of Tradition* ed. by Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.1-14.

[276] I am here echoing Gwendolyn Wrights title 'Tradition in the Service of Modernity'.

[277] 'The nascent germanophone academic field of cultural history from the mid-19th century regarded architecture as evidence of culture, a resource equivalent to the history and 'science' of the visual and plastic arts. In this setting, architecture, as readily as printmaking, could help historians to understand the workings of culture and civilization. Buildings were documents that were best understood alongside other kinds of documents'. Leach, *What is Architectural History?*, p.10.

[278] See also note 306.

[279] An interesting quote, although referring to pre-1912 but still very relevant, by Harilaos Trikoupis in 1880 testifies to this: 'When the great war comes, Macedonia will become Greek or Bulgarian depending on who wins. If the Bulgarians prevail, I have no doubt that they can turn into Slavs the whole population up to the borders with Thessaly. If we prevail, we will render everyone Greek up to the depths of Eastern Rumelia.' Quoted in Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormeted by History,* p.106.

closely linked to the building of national identity, but still they are not straightforward processes; as we will see there are disagreements and negotiations.

The aim of this chapter is to explore how the urban transformations and the treatment of architectural heritage that took place in the two cities and the views of the main actors fitted into, engaged with or deviated from the respective national historiographical canons of the two countries.[280] In the next chapter (Chapter 5), we will see how this canonized heritage defined the forms of new architecture.

4.1 Tabula Rasa? Izmir

In the 1934-1938 Municipality Album examined in Chapter 2, only 2 out of 76 photos depict a historical structure. It is the castle of Kadifekale, founded in the Hellenistic period, with additions dating from the Byzantine and Ottoman times, and whose walls lay largely in ruins (Figure 36).

The rest of the photo album, whether depicting the down-town city or its outskirts, is dominated rather by a discourse of building anew. Vast empty lands with debris and swamps are the physical *tabula rasa* on which the municipality constructs the new city (Figure 1, 6, 37). In the photos of the album, the memories of the old city, which must have been recent, are completely absent. Looking at Figure 37, with its very strong presence of rubble in the foreground and its focus on the new pool of *Kültürpark* in the middle ground, it is hard to imagine that this was a densely populated neighbourhood.

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[280] I use here the term 'national historiographical canon' in the same way that Stamatopoulos defined it in his book *Byzantium after the nation,* pp.15-16: 'By the term 'national historiographical canon' we mean the dominant type of resolution of the basic, "ethnogenetic" and particularly political problems, with which each national narration was faced in the Balkans. We could define it as an ensemble of complementary narrations, which progressively impose a dominant hermeneutical approach to the national past.'

Figure 36. Site visit to Kadifekale Castle, Sadı İplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

Figure 37. Photo taken inside *Kültürpark*, during construction. We can see the Greek Girls' School at the far back, and one of the gates of the park on the right. Sadi İplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

In fact this presentation of the burnt zone as an empty field has been reflected even in the contemporary literature. There is no mention of the buildings that survived and whether they played any role in the new design. Atay mentions that 'according to what is known a big part of Izmir was uninhabitable after the fire. The city texture was lost in those areas'.[281] When old remains are mentioned, they are pictured in a negative light, as obstacles in the road to modernity:

> The Municipality, in order for the plan to be carried out, removed all the obstacles, new roads were opened among the rubble. They were tearing down and dispersing ruins, old houses that hadn't completely collapsed, and arches. This Grand Road [Gazi Boulevard], who was dedicated to Mustafa Kemal because of this vision of regeneration, like a river erased and swept everything on its way and reached the sea, as if demonstrating the city's opening to the outside and its regeneration.[282]

However, we do know that some buildings, including buildings that could be considered monuments, survived the fire. We saw in Chapter 2 that one of those buildings was the Evangelical School (Number 3 in Figure 14). In the same map, Number 4 is the Greek Girls' School.[283] Other such buildings, which were not archaeological sites or monuments but functioning buildings, were three Catholic churches (that were not shut down, since the Levantine community remained in the city), the Lazarist School and two hospitals (one French, one British).

The Lazarist School and two churches, on the one hand, and the Greek Girls' School (today's Atatürk Lisesi) on the other, define the angle of the boulevards leading to Republic Square (Figure 38). More importantly, the positioning of Atatürk Lisesi in a central way, with the petal-shaped layout of the city symmetrical to it, and the intention of the architects to design a school symmetrical to the Evangelical School (as was seen in Figure 14), cannot be missed.

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[281] Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* p.180.

[282] Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları,* p.184.

[283] Like the Evangelical school, the Greek Girls' school was a new addition to the facilities of an older institution, and was constructed thanks to fundraising. Its construction started at 1909 according to designs by the Athenian architect Karathanasopoulos and was completed in 1912. Solomonidis, *I Paideia Sti Smyrni,* p.242.

Figure 38. The implementation plan for the reconstruction of Izmir, as approved by the Municipality in 1925, marked with the locations of the surviving buildings and with their relation to main axes. The three buildings marked in red at the lower part are the Lazarist School and two Catholic churches, St. Polycarpe and St. Maria. In the middle (plot numbered 42) are the Greek Girls' School and the Catholic cathedral dedicated to St. John. These two groups of buildings define the positioning of the boulevards leading to Republic Square, on the water front. Further up (plot 74) is the Evangelical School. Together with the Greek Girls School it defined the limits of *Kültürpark.* The only marked building on the waterfront is the French consulate, and the buildings on top of the map are the British hospital and the Anglican church. Source: APIKAM, Izmir.

This reveals an intention by the planners to anchor the plan on surviving buildings in the city. Despite the fact that the construction of the third school and the grouping of the buildings into a 'Groupe Scolaire', which would lead to an enhancement of their role, were not realised, still the Evangelical and Greek Girls' Schools remained and affected the final plan by defining the outline of Kültürpark. Hence, based on the analysis of their positioning in the new city, I argue that these buildings did influence the design of the city and they deserve to be looked at. By ignoring them – even when overall approaching nation-building critically – we would be repeating their status as obliterated objects.

It might be that Henri Prost was intending to keep more such buildings in the new design. Indeed, one of the first steps he took after being appointed was to document in detail the burnt area. Prost believed in the preservation of important architectural heritage and was eager to include any saved or repairable buildings in the new plan.[284] Unwilling to consider the devastated area as an empty space without memory, when visiting the site Prost also recorded the condition of the built stock, including churches and other important public buildings, noting on his plan which ones could be repaired and preserved in the new city. In a draft map, which I had the opportunity to study at the Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle (Figure 39) we can see the notable surviving public buildings in red, for example 'Hôpital Français – réparable', 'Ecole', etc., and the religious monuments in purple: 'cathédrale solide' (cathedral, solid), 'Chapelle Protestante – réparable', 'Ecole St Joseph-incendiée' (School St Joseph-burnt), 'Eglise réparable' (repairable church), etc. Notable parks, the Italian school and the French consulate are also noted.

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[284] Ten years later, when composing the plan of Istanbul, his biggest work, he would manifest even more his appreciation to historical sites, which he thought of as 'a universal cultural heritage'. Akpinar, 'The Rebuilding of Istanbul, p.83.

Figure 39. Map (detail) prepared in by Prost showing the surviving, repairable and unrepairable buildings. Source: Centre d' Archives d' Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

These surviving buildings can also be seen in Prost's first draft proposal for the burnt zone (Figure 40). In fact, something that has also been entirely missed in the literature is that Prost also proposed the preservation of the trace of the famous Frenk Sokağı (the French street), or Rue de Franque, the main commercial artery of the centre at the heart of the Frank district, a street of about 2.4 km, as a reminiscence of old Izmir (see the crooked line parallel to the sea in Figure 40).

Figure 40. Prost's draft plan for Izmir. The red marks designate existing buildings. We can see the *Rue Franche* as a crooked line running parallel to the shore, crossing Republic Square (the building of the Municipality is marked there). Also, on the top right part of the drawing we can see the sketches which have been presented in Chapter 3 (Figure 33). Source: Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle, Paris.

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The preservation of the trace of a street on which he had marked no surviving buildings apart from the 17th-century Catholic church of St. Polycarpe, the oldest church in the city (see Figure 39), can be understood as an effort to infuse historical character into a city centre which had been massively destroyed and had a lack of Turkish or Islamic monuments. However this approach did not please the mayor of the city, Behcet Uz. Later on, in combination with his disagreement of Prost's lack of intervention in the Kemeraltı area, he would say:

> The points of view of Prost are not realisable for Izmir in some aspects. The city of Izmir is absolutely not accordant with the preservation of whatever monuments as decoration in the middle of the streets. But it is ready to value a work of Architect Sinan, if it finds one, by creating parks around it. In any case there are monuments that we have saved by this way. By doing this plan, we are advancing while thinking of the comfort of the generation of the next 50 years.[285]

It has been evident already that the admiration of French urbanism and the invitation of Henri Prost and the Danger office to design the city did not imply their uncontested acceptance. The concepts of memory and monument, so established and respected in the French School, was irrelevant to the municipality of Izmir, who aspired to new modern city according to the new principles of Turkishness.[286] The multicultural past of Izmir was in any case to be forgotten, so even if there *were* something to be remembered, this would be 'a work of Architect Sinan', one of the most prominent architects of the classical Ottoman period. Memory is barely acceptable, and even if so, it is selective. But in the end, in contrast to the example of Thessaloniki, it is amnesia that prevails, more than selective memory.

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[285] Quoted by Ulvi Olgac, in *Güzel Izmir ne idi? Ne oldu?* (Izmir: Meşher Basımevi, 1939), p.60.

[286] This is very different already from the late 19th-century imperial politics of heritage, which were influenced by Western appreciation of Roman and Byzantine art: '...city planning in the historic centre of Istanbul in the late 1860s showed a new sensitivity to the valorisation of the pre-Ottoman fabric. Inspired by the rebuilding of Paris at the time, the city aimed to modernise by creating a well-communicating road network and large public spaces: a square was opened in front of Hagia Sophia, the entrance to the Hippodrome was cleared, the housing fabric around Constantine's Column was demolished to expose it fully, and the Divanyolu, the city's main artery, was widened; not coincidentally, these operations revealed and revived the Byzantine structure of the city, with the Mese, the Byzantine "middle street", connecting the fora.' See Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, pp. 32-44. Also Thessaloniki's Saint Demetrius and Saint Sophia, both mosques at the time, witnessed repairs which cleaned and exposed some of their mosaics.

This attitude is the reflection of the complex and fluid relationship of Turkey with its immediate past and the question of the latter's capacity to justify a connection to the West. In the late Ottoman period and in the first years of the Republic, inclusive approaches to a Turkish identity existed, like those of Şemsettin Sami,[287] Namık Kemal[288] and Ziya Gökalp[289] who did not see Islamic identity as incompatible with modern civilization. The Ottoman Revival style (which will be further looked at in the next Chapter), an architectural style which drew on the classical Ottoman tradition and combined it with modern materials and layouts similar to Western European Revivalist styles, has been studied as reflection of the succession and fluidity of such ideas.[290] Initially developed as a reaction to foreign influences such as Neoclassicism and Baroque,[291] as well as to Oriental-style buildings designed by foreigners,[292] it then became an exploration for a unique Turkish style, responding to the rise of nationalism, and exemplifying once again the fluidity of meaning attached to forms. An example of this style is shown in Figure 41, behind the bus stop on the left.

In Izmir, it had started appearing before the Greek occupation, for example in the building of the National Library and Cinema by Tahsin Sermet, two buildings that

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[287] Sami published a book in 1885 with the title 'Islamic Civilization' (*Medeniyyet-i Islamiyye*) in which he supported that civilization is a human achievement that is not time- and space-bound. Hence in the ancient times it could be located in Mesopotamia, Greece, and Egypt, while Western Europe was left behind. Then it was guarded and developed by the Arabs and Islam, before moving to the West. See Stamatopoulos, *To Vyzantion meta to ethnos,* pp.296-307.

[288] Namik Kemal was one of the Young Ottomans - see notes 16 and 63 in this thesis.

[289] Gökalp, a sociologist, writer, and poet, considered also one of the fathers of Turkish nationalism, differentiated between 'Europeanism' (*Avrupalılık)* and 'Modernity' (*Modernlik)*, arguing that the latter was not exclusive to Western societies. He distinguished between culture (*hars*) and civilisation (*medeniyet)* arguing that the first was unique to every nation, whereas the second was a universal achievement. For more see Parla, Taha *The social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924,* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp.25-56.

[290] See Bozdoğan, Sibel, 'Turkish Architecture between Ottomanism and Modernism 1873-1931', in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey*, *Encounters with Europe*, *1850-1950,* ed. by Frangoudaki, Anna and Keyder, Çağlar (London: Tauris & Co, 2007), p.115 . Also, see Ilhan Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey', in Holod, Renata, Evin, Ahmet and Özkan, Suha (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture* 1900-1980 (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005) pp. 15-36.

[291] A prominent example is the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, designed by Alexandre Vallaury, which, although erected as a counterpart and resistance to Western appropriation of local antiquities, with its classical Greek and Revival forms echoed Western museums and their cultural hegemony.

[292] Such an example is the Sirkeci Railroad Terminal designed by Jachmund, Professor at the School of Civil Engineering in Istanbul. See Yavuz, Yıldırım and Özkan, Suha, 'The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire' in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, pp.39-52.

were only completed after the Greco-Turkish war.[293] Other important examples are the Turkish Hearth (then used as a People's House, or *Halkevi*) and the *Milli Emlak and Eytam Bankasi* by Necmettin Emre, the *Büyük Kardıçalı Han* (1928) by Mehmet Feşci, the Stock Exchange building again by Tahsin Sermet (1926-28), the Ottoman Bank by Guilio Mongeri (1926), the Bank and Directorate of Pious Foundations (*Vakıflar Bankası ve Müdürlüğü*, Figure 42) by Ahmet Kemal (1932) and the *Silahçioğlu Işhanı* by Cemal Şardağ and Cemal Kalfa (1926).[294]

Figure 41. This photograph, depicting a modern-style bus stop in front of a Revival Style building was taken on Fevzi Pasha Boulevard, opposite the customs office (just opposite to what was Iossifoglu's property). The building used to be the Bank of Rome and then became the Vakıflar Bank Headquarters. Architect: Ahmet Kemal, 1932. Sadi Iplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem.

However Ottoman Revival was ultimately rejected by the Kemalist Revolution in favour of the Modern Movement. This corresponded to a shift in Turkish

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[293] Aslanoğlu, Inci, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001), pp. 202-203 and pp.232-233.
[294] For a more detailed study, see Eyüce, Özen, 'Izmir'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlık Mirasi ve Ulusal Mimarlık Yaklaşımları', *Ege Mimarlık*, October 2009, pp. 18-23.

historiography; in the 1930s the determination of Kemalists to undermine religion[295] and to impose a complete detachment from the Ottoman Past led to the articulation of a new theory, the Turkish History Thesis.[296] The Thesis was based on a shift to the pre-Islamic past of Turkey – but as the Greek and Roman past of Izmir was already appropriated by competing nationalisms, the Hittite civilisation which had flourished within the geography of Anatolia was appropriated.[297] In fact in 1933 a Hittite collection was sent from Ankara to be exhibited in the Izmir Archaeological museum, which opened in 1927 in what was previously the Greek Orthodox church of Agios Voukolos (Ayavukla in Turkish).

In order to establish a historical link with the West, the Turkish History Thesis claimed that the Turks had created a glorious civilisation in Central Asia, and, when forced to migrate to various parts of the world due to climate change and drought, they spread the seeds of all the major civilizations of the World (China, India, Mesopotamia, North Africa and Europe). They were the first to settle in Anatolia hence the forefathers of all peoples that dwelt there, Hittites, Greeks and Romans included. This claim, however unfounded it might seem today, backed by archaeological excavations, ethnographic analysis and folklore studies, provided a – however weak – justification that the Turkish nation and its way of life were already Western, hence there was no incompatibility in adjusting to the Western way of life.[298]

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[295] The survival of the new nation-state was based on the absolute commitment to one identity, the Turkish identity, above any other self-identifying characteristic/element, including religion.

[296] It was introduced in 1932 and followed in 1936 by the Sun language theory, which was proposed by the Türk Dil Kurumu and claimed that Turkish was the primordial language from which all other languages derived.

[297] While in the late 19th century, Hellenistic findings were unproblematically exhibited at the Imperial Museum in Istanbul part of the Ottoman Empires cultural wealth, the rise of nationalism prompted a competition for an exlusive appropriation of every layer of the past by different states, and did not allow for such inclusiveness. For the perception of antiquities in the late Ottoman Empire see Shaw, Wendy, 'From Mausoleum to Muesum: Resurrecting Antiquity for Ottoman Modernity', *Scramble for the Past,* p.423. Analogous to the nationalisation of a pre-Turkish civilisation such as the Hittites, in Turkey, is the appropriation of Minoic and Cycladic civilizations in Greece.

[298] In the late 1930s, after Hasan Ali Yücel became minister of education, there was a shift in the historiographical approach, whereby the idea of Anatolianism (*Anadoluculuk)* came forward. This argued that the all the civilizations that prospered on Anatolian soil, whether Turkish or not, as part of the same cultural continuum, and were the cultural ancestors of Turks. See Savino, Melania, 'Narrating the "New" History: Museums in the Construction of the Turkish Republic', in *Great Narratives of the Past, Traditions and Revisions in National Museums,* Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 19 June - 1 July and 25-26 November 2011, ed. by Poulot, Dominique, Bodenstein, Felicity, and Lanzarote, José Maria, EuNaMus Report.4, Linköping University Electronic Press. pp.256-257.

These temporal divisions – the focus on Hittite and the rejection of Ottoman heritage – although bold, were not inflexible. For example, *La Turquie Kemaliste,* when presenting Izmir's Fair (in its 15th issue, as we saw in Chapter 2), presented the city as 'one of the most ancient cities of the world', having played an economic role in 'all the periods of history', of which nevertheless it mentions only the Hittite period by name.[299]

Another similar example is the articles published in *Arkitekt.* Although architecture in the 1930s is almost exclusively in a Modern Style, there are still articles referring to Ottoman architecture. In a review of Ahmet Refik's book on Turkish architects that I studied, the Izmirian architect Necmettin Emre does not question the importance of the Ottoman period.[300] However, he criticises Refik for only including Ottoman architects in Istanbul, and not including Turkish architects of the pre-Islamic period, as well as the works spanning from Africa to Europe and Asia. There is an effort to reconcile with the Ottoman past, yet by re-interpreting it in a way compatible with the new historiography, as well as with the secular values and modernist aesthetics of the Republic.[301] In the words of Yıldız, 'Kemalist nationalism secularized the "past" in order to secularize the "present".'[302]

In the newly built environment of Izmir there is no such ambivalence however. After the fire, the immediate Ottoman heritage of Izmir, whether Christian or Muslim, was left unvoiced, and in the 1930s Ottoman Revival was overshadowed by Modernism. Figure 41, with the modernist bus stop in the forward and this time an Ottoman Revival building at the background, echoes the photograph of the Kültürpark and the Evangelical School seen in the introduction (Figure 1). Like the Evangelical School, the Pious Foundations Headquarters is now side-lined, and has changed role and meaning, despite its form remaining the same.

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[299] *La Turquie Kemaliste,* No:15 (Fev. 1935), p.15-19.

[300] Necmettin Emre, 'Ahmet Refik'in Türk Mimarları adlı eseri hakkında', *Arkitekt,* No: 01 (73), 1937, pp.11-13.

[301] This relates to a topic addressed in detail in Bozdoğan's research on the ways Kemalist architects' re-conceptualised Ottoman architecture as a rational architecture, hence inherently compatible with Modernism. See 'Reading Ottoman Architecture through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the "New Architecture" in the Early Republic', *Muqarnas,* Vol.24, History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of the Rum" (2007), pp.199-221.

[302] Yıldız, Ahmet, *'Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene': Turk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938),* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001), p.212.

As the available heritage could not be inscribed within this historiographical canon, it did not become a prominent feature in the Anatolian cities. The new squares of Izmir were empty of monuments – neither did a new mosque, nor an old landmark acquire any symbolic value. Rather, sculptures of leaders and names relating to the recent War of Independent created a new collective memory.[303]

Figure 42. Plevne Boulevard. At the far left we can see the new Gazi Primary School, designed by Necmettin Emre in a Modern Style. Sadi Iplikçi Album, Source: Mert Rüstem, Izmir.

The radial boulevards, which led to squares, became themselves the bearers of symbolic weight (Figures 18, 42). Their clear, visible geometry *per se* would be the proof and means of the attainment of a modernized city. Returning again to Kami Refet's article on the reconstruction of the city:

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[303] While legitimately questioning the Municipalities grounds on which they rejected the preservation of the immediate cosmopolitan past of Izmir, is it also not appropriate to ask, what are the implications of Prost's efforts to preserve it? Considering the findings of Chapter 3, is he trying to protect a universal heritage, or what he sees as the remains of the city's Western identity?

> In this city that will emerge with numerous triangle, rectangle and rhomb shapes formed by roads of maximum width 38m and minimum width 15 meters, the wide roads, the streets perpendicular to the sea and the main streets cutting across them through and through, will present tomorrow's Izmir with a clean face.[304]

As *Kültürpark* emerged in the heart of new Izmir, one can then ask, which culture (*Kültür*) was it to contain? And what kind of memory was exhibited in its museums? It was neither the memory of the Ottoman Period, nor the memory of the urban fabric that existed on that very site just a couple of years before.[305] Rather, it was the abstract institutionalized memory that fitted into the official narrative of Turkish history. This will be better understood if we look at the way heritage was treated in Thessaloniki.

4.2 Selective memory and the Revival of Byzantium: Thessaloniki

> With its monuments reflecting the evolution of Byzantine art over the centuries, Thessaloniki today is a kind of open-air museum of Byzantine history and art, operating in conjunction with the new Museum of Byzantine Culture.[306]

Rather than an attitude resembling complete amnesia in the case of Izmir, it was more of a selective memory approach that prevailed in Thessaloniki. According to Mazower, the Greek government asked the new planners to treat the city as a blank sheet.[307] But was that really the case? Kostantinos Kitsikis, the Greek architect in the committee, specifically mentions that:

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[304] Kami Refet, 'İzmirin İmari hakkında', pp. 228-230

[305] It is interesting to note however that the rubble of the fire, forming pits and mounds, was used in the landscaping of the park (Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, 'The Play of Memory', p.19).

[306] Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, Eftychia, 'The restoration of Thessaloniki's Byzantine monuments and their place in the modern city, in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity,* ed.by Ricks, David and Magdalino, Paul, (London: Ashgate, 1998), p.155.

[307] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts,* p.324.

The Committee used [...] the churches as a starting point for the new layout. Hence we succeeded first in highlighting them by suitably positioning them in contrast to their old hidden nature, and second in allowing the city to acquire characteristic 'points de vue', enough in order to give it an appropriate character.[308]

Indeed, Thessaloniki's main boulevards direct the gaze towards its Byzantine monuments (Figure 43). Especially in the eastern part of the centre, which is more abundant in churches, a small visual network is created, as boulevards provide multiple perspectives. The positioning of churches on prominent squares can also be reflecting an influence from Berlin's urban layout; Kitsikis had worked in Germany under the supervision of Ludwig Hoffmann, the director of urban planning and construction of Berlin, and acknowledges the importance of his teachings in the introduction of his book on the new built environment of Thessaloniki.
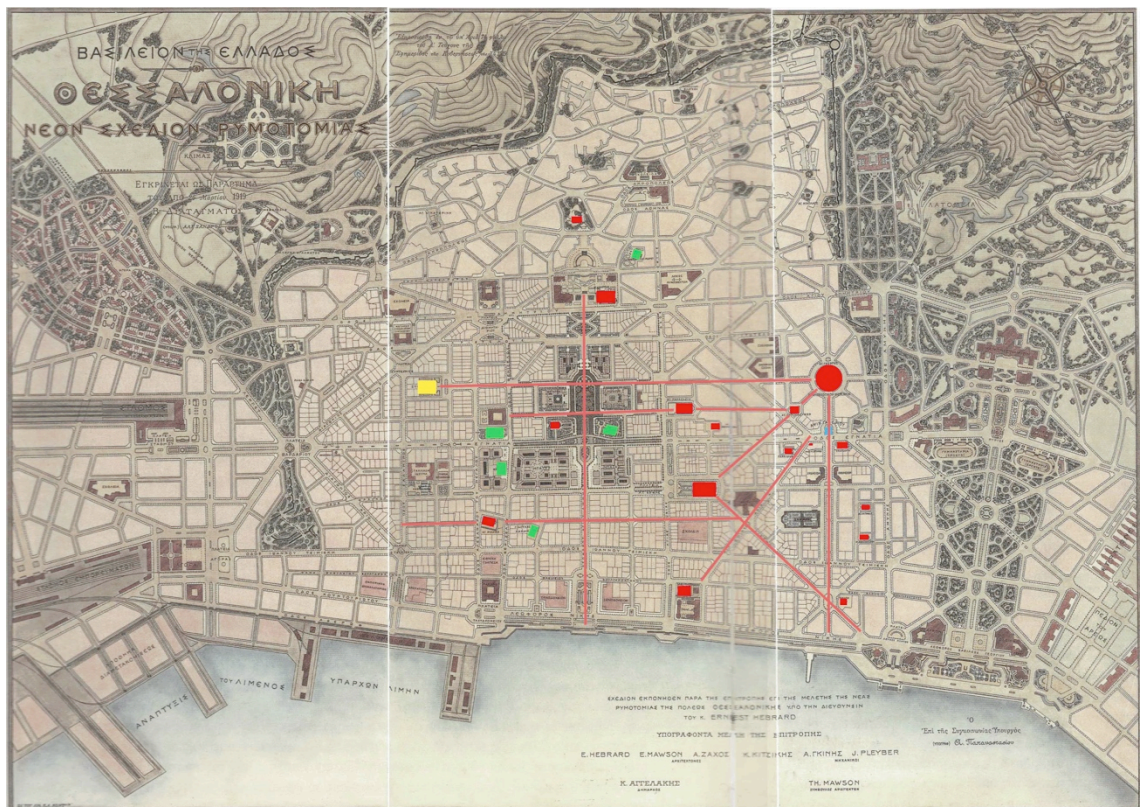

Figure 43. The positioning of the most important monuments in the city in relation to the boulevards, marked on the plan of the new city (see Figure 26). Red: byzantine churches, light green: ottoman buildings (mosques, hamams, bazaars) yellow: synagogue.

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[308] Kostantinos, Kitsikis, I ktiriologiki apopsis tou Neou Shediou Thessalonikis, Athens: Blazoudakis, 1919, p.12.

As a matter of fact, a look at Hébrard's own writings would show that he contributed in saving some of the Ottoman buildings, without questioning the Greek character of the new city:

> On the drawing of the new plan, the ancient monuments are included. These, numerous and very beautiful, have been disengaged discretely. Special avenues, squares, gardens, aiming to frame them appropriately, give them value. There is nothing left from [ancient] Greek Thessaloniki, but the Arch of Galerius and the Roman Rotunda of Saint-George, the Byzantine basilicas of Saint Paraskevi, Saint Sophie, Saint Demitrus – the latter unfortunately badly damaged by the fire-, testify to the importance and the richness of the city from the 4th-6th century to our time, when she was rivaling Constantinople.
>
> It is important to add that all constructions having an aesthetic or historical interest have been preserved- even the Turkish mosques and hamams- in order to remember the past of Salonica, a city often conquered.[309]

However, on the whole the historic heritage of the city is not treated in the same way. Taking into consideration interventions that happened before or after Hébrard's plan, when we look at the proportion of Byzantine and Hellenistic monuments preserved in comparison to the Ottoman buildings it can be understood that there is a selective restoration and a privileged treatment of the former. The churches that were damaged by the fire were carefully restored, or in the case of the fire-ravaged Saint Demetrius, literally rebuilt, in a way that cleansed them of the accretion of centuries and brought out what the architects regarded as their highest value.

Moreover, after the departure of the last Muslims in 1924, the municipality decided almost immediately to demolish the city's minarets, which had been the defining feature of Salonica's skyline. Today only the hundred-foot high minaret of the Rotunda survives out of the dozens that existed before.[310] This did not please the former Minister of Transport, Alexander Papanastasiou, a fact that highlights important interior ideological conflicts in the society:

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[309] Hébrard and Dreyfus, 'La Reconstruction de Salonique' (Translation by author), *L'Architecture,* (1923, 1927) p.2.

[310] Dimitriades, Vassilis, *Topografia tis Thessalonikis kata tin epohi tis Tourkokratias, 1430-1912*, (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1983), pp.62-63.

I accept as correct and logical the demolition of the minarets of former Christian churches which had been turned into mosques. But the demolition of the minarets of other mosques is a coarse act stemming from mindless chauvinism. Those issuing the decree imagined that they could thus make the traces of Turkish occupation disappear. But history is not written with the destruction of innocent monuments which beautified the city' [...] The disappearance of the traces of the occupation should come about only through the elevation of our own civilization[311]

The demolition of the minarets in 1924, the excavation of the Greco-Roman layer at the Hippodrome and the Agora, the restoration of Byzantine churches rather that Ottoman monuments, all highlight a selective reconstruction of a past narrative, and the relationship between politics of memory and urban planning in the construction of the city profile. This spatial, built historiography is in harmony with Constantine Paparrigopoulos's *Theory of Continuity* of the Green nation throughout history. Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891) is considered the founder of modern Greek historiography, and the national historian of modern Greece. In his multi-volume *History of the Greek Nation,*[312] he presented five successive stages of Hellenism: ancient, Macedonian, Christian, medieval and modern Hellenism. The restoration of the importance of the Byzantine era, which had been underestimated by Greek historians until then,[313] and the demonstration of its Greek character, would allow this Byzantine era to function as the intermediate bonding element between the ancient Greek civilization and modern Greece.[314]

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[311] Quoted in Hastaoglu, Vilma and Yerolympos, Alexandra, 'Thessaloniki, 1900-1940: apo tis antifaseis tou kosmopolitismou stin omoiogeneia tis neoellinikis polis', in *I Thessaloniki meta to 1912*, Conference Proceedings, (Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki History Centre, 1986), p.465.

[312] It was written during the period 1860-77. For a modern edition see Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos, *Istoria tou Elinikou Ethnous: Apo arhaiotaton hronon mehri simera*, (Athens: Alexandros, 2001)

[313] Initially the Neohellenic Enlightenment, as the intellectual movement charged with recovering Hellenic antiquity as well as sreading European intellectual and scientific progress was called, rejected the Byzantine Middle Ages. Özkirimli and Sofos, *Tormented by History,* p.23.

[314] The theory of continuity, aiming to demonstrate the inextricable link of modern Hellenism with its glorious past, was a 'counter-attack' to Austrian historian Fallmerayer's theory that modern Greeks had no racial relation with the ancient Greeks.

The Hellenisation of Byzantium also served incorporate as elements of the national identity both the classical past as well as the Christian Orthodox Identity, combining them into the concept of a Hellenochristian Civilization:[315]

> It provided a comforting matrix for the self-understanding of Greek identity and supplied psychological and moral reassurance for a society whose national aspirations far exceeded not only its capabilities, but also – and more seriously – the moral calibre of its political life.[316]

In the case of Thessaloniki who did not have as prominent examples of ancient Greek Architecture as Athens did and who was claimed by other competing nationalisms (such as Bulgaria), the nationalisation of Byzantium helped underline its Greek identity and allow its buildings as visual cultural signs to contribute to the projection of this cultural identity.

In both national historiographies, the Greek and the Turkish, as well as in the national historiographies of all the nation-states that succeeded the Ottoman Empire, the handling of the Byzantine and Ottoman Middle Ages became a crucial question in their effort to construct schemas of historical continuity. This approach that advocated a linear evolution of the nation echoed the fundamental shift in Western historiography in which, under the influence of the ideals of German Romanticism, the evaluation of the European Middle Ages changed.[317] However in the case of Turkey, as we saw, although the references to the Ottoman past and the Islamic identity continued until the early 1930s, the Ottoman heritage was not canonized like the Byzantine was in Greece.

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[315] a term coined by the folklorist and historian Spyros Zampelios in 1852.

[316] Kitromilides, Paschalis M. 'On the intellectual content of Greek nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea', in Ricks, David & Magdalino, Paul *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, (London: Ashgate, 1998), pp.25-33.

[317] Stamatopoulos, *To Vyzantion meta to Ethnos,* p.16. See also Ousterhout, Robert 'The Rediscovery of Constantinople', p.181

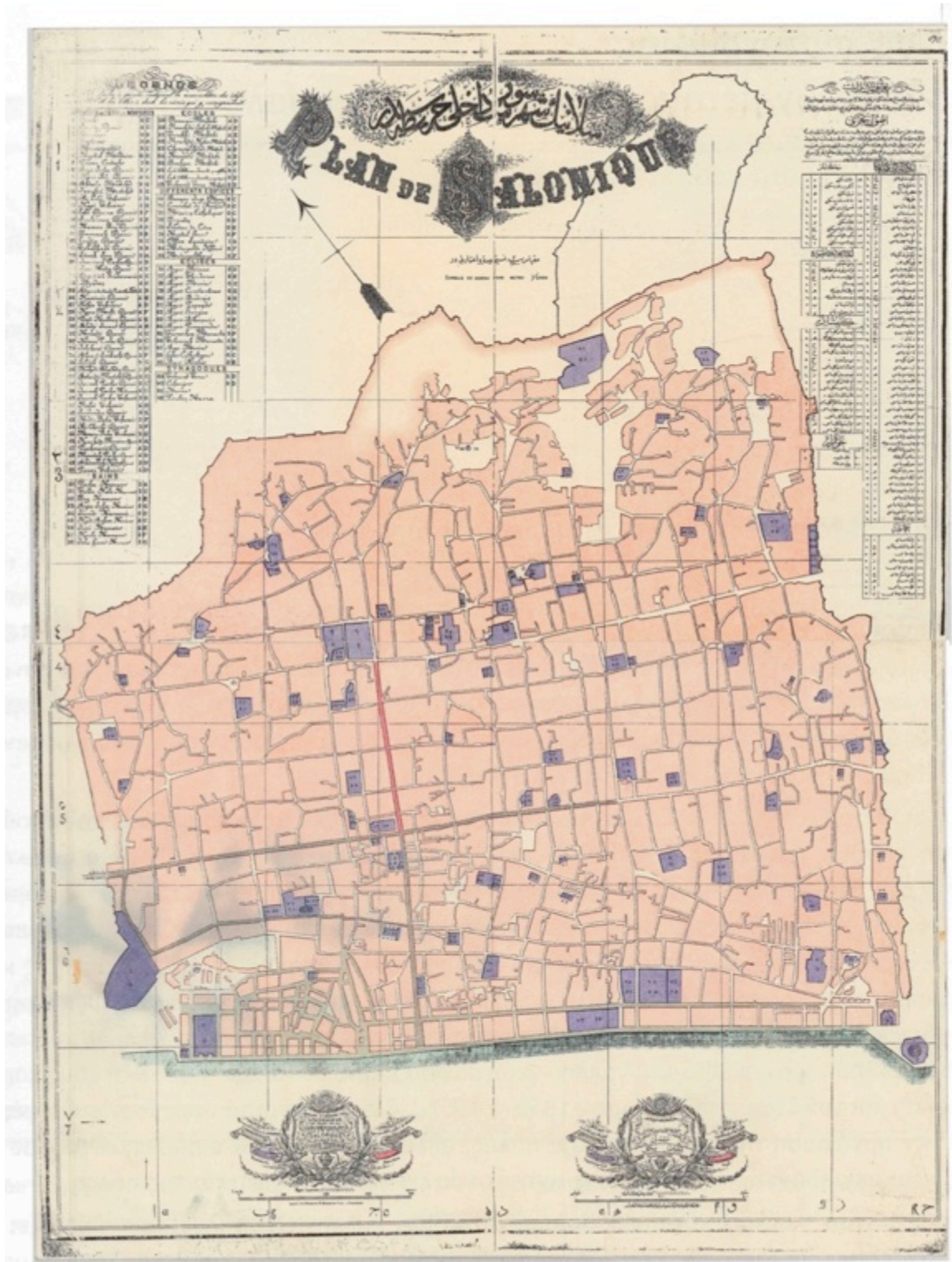Figure 44. Map of Thessaloniki by Antoine Wernieski, 1880-82, Source: National Centre for Maps and Cartographic Heritage, Thessaloniki (code E4671 and E4672, in two parts).

Returning to Thessaloniki, the street-layout of the new city also acquires a protagonistic role. In the ancient Greek and Roman periods the city was laid out according to a grid of streets forming big square plots (Hippodamian system). As can

be seen in the Wernieski map drawn in 1880-82 (Figure 44), this survived through the presence of Egnatia street (Via Egnatia, or Via Regia, or Wide road, or Zante Giol) and Agiou Dımitriou Street (Midhat Pasa), both parallel to the coast. However in the early-Christian and Byzantine periods, the construction of big Christian temples, which did not follow the grid, had transformed this plan. In the Ottoman period this building anarchy continued, since anybody could build wherever they wanted by appropriating part of the road.

The planners chose to restore this ancient grid of the city and applied a 'Haussmann style' plan, with diagonal routes directing the gaze to the most prominent monuments. This brings together the Prost's references to the origins of the rational urbanism, analysed in the previous chapter, with Hébrard's realized project in Thessaloniki. The dominance of the Hippodamian grid, the application of diagonal axes leading to prominent squares on which national monuments were placed, and even more importantly, the idea of institutionalizing memory and highlighting monuments in the city demonstrate the extent of the influence of Western ideas.

The orthogonal grid plan was also being used at the time in the new Balkan states (Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania) and within the Ottoman Empire itself. What distinguishes the Greek case is the belief that the imported model, this product of the European neoclassical tradition, actually originated in Greece and was therefore a loan in reverse; in this sense, it was considered a means to restore the nation's historical continuity and to re-establish Greece's role as a 'civilising' force in the Orient.[318]

As is already evident from this schema of continuity, it is carefully selective, omitting the Ottoman period as one of oppression, and downplaying the Roman period. This schema nevertheless served both to legitimize a continuous presence of the Greeks in the territories they had managed to secure, legitimised irredentist calls for further expansions in the Ottoman lands, claims that ended once and for all in 1922, and most important, secured the connection of modern Greeks to ancient Greeks which, having been appropriated by the West too, composed a common denominator, a common root with the West.

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[318] Hastaoglu- Martinidis, Vilma, 'City Form and National Identity: Urban Designs in Nineteenth-Century Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (May 1995), p.104.

The selective construction of the past according to the needs of the present has been brought to focus by many scholars.[319] In our case, these needs were linked to aspirations for westernization and to claims for a pure cultural character of these cities, one that legitimizes every time its new owners. According to Hobsbawm 'the nation' and its associated phenomena are the most pervasive of invented traditions, securing continuity with a suitable past and legitimizing present actions.[320] Both construction and oblivion are crucial parts of it: 'forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation.'[321]

As we saw both architects, Prost and Hébrard came from the same tradition and tried to stress the importance of preserving monuments. But the difference in the historiographical canons put forward by the two states, and the power relations between architects and politicians, resulted to one becoming an 'open-air museum' of Byzantine and Roman history while the other focused on its very recent Republican history.

The citizens are invited to inhabit their city in a totally different way, a city where wide boulevards and big square blocks organize circulation and guide the gaze, and where ancient ruins are evidence of the city's identity. As the power was shifted from the religious authorities to the central administration and the society begun to be divided along class rather than ethnic lines, people were invited to look at their churches not as centres of daily life and administrative units of their neighbourhoods, but as symbols of their identity, at the same time celebrated as and reduced to exhibits.

I would like to take further the two most important dimensions traced in this subchapter, namely the prioritisation of Byzantium and its simultaneous museumification by examining the largely unresearched case of St Demetrius. I will look at its restoration by analysing the archival documents at the Historical Archive of Thessaloniki and a technical publication by the archaeologist in charge of the building,

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[319] For example Mead, George Herbert, 'The Nature of the Past', and Renan, Ernest, 'What is a Nation?', trans. M. Thom, in *Nation and Narration,* ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990 [1882]), pp.8-22. Also, Tournikiotis, Panayotis, *H arhitektoniki sti sighroni epohi,* (Athens: Futura, 2006), pp.67-75.

[320] Quoted in Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, p.16-17.

[321] Renan, 'What is a Nation?', pp.8-22.

Georgios Sotiriou. Although architectural historians have mentioned the unsuccessful attempt to replace the badly damaged church by a new one, the complexity of the restoration of the original church has been largely ignored in studies of the city. The case of Saint Demetrius reveals the shift of the role of the church in the new city from the religious to the symbolic, and important debates that emerged during this process, which will enrich our understanding of the politics of heritage. It will also set the background for an unexpected connection that will take us back to the city of Izmir in Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Between church and monument: the restoration of Saint Demetrius

> As it is known to you the work executed on this Byzantine monument of greatest importance for the city of Thessaloniki and for medieval Greek History has been decided by the archaeological council [...] after the necessary funds, out of the surplus of the Property Owners Association, were considered secure...[322]

The next day after the fire found one of Thessaloniki's most important churches greatly devastated, its exterior walls and central colonnades being the only standing architectural elements (Figure 45). Dedicated to the city's protector, the loss of Saint Demitrius, whose tomb on the North-Western corner of the building survived the fire, was considered an 'irreparable disaster for the city'.[323]

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[322] Correspondence between the Minister of Education K. Gontikas and the General Governor of Thessaloniki on 13 August 1928, Historical Archive of Thessaloniki.

[323] Report by the Directorate of Fire Victims – 1/14 February 1919, Chapter A 'The causes of the fire-Material Losses', Thessaloniki Historical Archive.

Figure 45. St Demetrius after the fire, 1917, photo by the French Military Photographic Service. Source: Mitos, Vyronas, *I Thessaloniki kai to Makedoniko Metopo*, (Athens: Potamos, 2009).

It had only been five years that the building had been returned to the Orthodox Christian community. Before the annexation of the city by Greece in 1912 and ever since the city's conquest in 1430 by the Ottomans, it had been used as a mosque, its mosaics and murals plastered, and a minaret added on the south-western corner.

After the fire was extinguished, two important issues came into question: first, the detailed study of the building in order to determine its original form, and second, its restoration, two processes very strongly linked to each other and to the city's urban identity. Far from being a straightforward process, the restoration revealed ideological differences between the actors in terms of how the past is handled by the present.

The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs assigned the monument to the supervision of the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities Georgios Sotiriou,[324] and hired the architect Aristotelis Zahos, who as we saw was also a member of the Design

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[324] Sotiriou also directed excavations in Ephesus, aiming to discover the Byzantine temple of St John Theologus, in which pieces from the ancient temple of Artemis had been used as construction material. Georgiadou, Maria, *Konstantinos Karatheodory,* (Irakleio: Crete University Press, 2007), p 371.

Committee for the plan of the city, to be in charge of its restoration.[325] The St Demetrius project became the most important work done on the city's Byzantine monuments in the interwar period.[326]

As testified to by the correspondence between the Ministry of Education, the Committee for the Reconstruction of Saint Demetrius and the Governor of Thessaloniki,[327] and owing to initiatives taken by the Metropolite of Thessaloniki Gennadios and Sotiriou in 1926, a fund of 8 million drachma[328] was secured from the Property Owners Association of Thessaloniki, which, as we saw in Chapter 2, was constituted after the fire. The restoration of the monument, 'rightfully designated' as falling within the Association's objectives,[329] was hence not funded by the state itself but by the citizens of the centre, who through their representatives decided that the historical and religious importance of the monument rendered it a valuable common good, which, along with the other public assets of the reconstructed zone – like squares and wider streets – would upgrade their quality of life, the value of their properties, and would materialize the restored identity of the city.[330] Similar to their giving up to 25% of their property for the improvement of public spaces and the achievement of a modern city, they collectively secured part of their surplus to conserve an important landmark, important because of its symbolic capital as a representation of collective identity.[331]

As, additionally, marble pieces founded all over the burnt zone were donated or directed by the municipality to the Committee for the Reconstruction of Saint

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[325] Sotiriou, Georgios, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis* (Athens: I En Athinais Arheologiki Etairia, 1952), Foreword, p.viii.

[326] Kourkoutidou - Nikolaidou, 'The restoration of Thessaloniki's Byzantine monuments ', p 157.

[327] Historical Archive of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Folder 26

[328] In the period 1926-1928, when the fund was secured, the drachma rate was: in 1926, 1 sterling = 460 drachma and 1 dollar = 78.65 drachma. In 1927 1 dollar was 75.75 drachmas and 1 pound = 375 drachmas. In May 1928, a legislative decree stabilized the drachma value at 375 to the pound sterling or 77 to the dollar. See Mears, Eliot Grinnel, *Greece today- the Aftermath of the Refugee Impact,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. ix and 205.

[329] Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* p.249.

[330] The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs approved of this funding solution for the monuments restoration, but kept full control over the process and operated as an intermediary for the execution of the payments. Correspondence of the Ministry of Education to the Governor of Thessaloniki, 6 July 1928, Thessaloniki Historical Archive).

[331] It is important to note that the Muslim members of the Property Owners Association had already left and there is no information about any disagreement on this issue between the Christian and Jewish landowners.

Demetrius,[332] it could be said that its reconstruction embodied, materially as well as symbolically, the 'rebirth' of the city. The valuable material remains of the old city and the newly acquired value (the surplus) of the new one, met in the reconstruction of St Demetrius. The act of funding, apart from being made possible thanks to the increased value of the modern city, at the same time performed a collective national identity, hence bringing together the modern and the national under a common goal.

The 1952 publication of Sotiriou himself, who was the archaeologist assigned by the Greek State to supervise the whole process, reveals that the archaeological survey of Saint Demetrius was by no means an easy project. Built in the 5th century on the ruins of a stadium and Roman baths, parts of which were incorporated in the structure, it was badly damaged by fire and rebuilt in the 7th century. Walls and columns belonged to both the 5th and 7th centuries. Later, in the 12th century, flooring was added on top of the old one, as was revealed in the excavation. Further alterations followed in the Ottoman period, in which the building was turned into a mosque. This long history of the monument made it remarkably difficult to determine the spatial limits and architectural elements of each phase. The archaeological survey set as a goal

> on the one hand to release the walls from the buttresses and the Turkish filling ups of the openings in order to reveal the ancient form of the facades, and on the other hand to conduct excavations at the floor of the monument and outside it, in order to solve the question of the original form of the 5th century basilica, the determination of the limits of the space where it was founded, the alterations it went through in the 7th century, and the later repairs and additions.[333]

During the restoration process, the architect (Zahos) and the archaeologists had the choice either to restore it as it was in the 20th century, either to 'take it back' to the 7th or 5th centuries. But the analysis of the different phases of the building guided the restoration of the monument, as the goal of the restoration was to bring it as close

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[332] 'For the masonry of the facades, as well as of various pillars, we intend to use, in time, the marbles found during excavations of various sewage systems and the foundations of houses, which were given to us by the Thessaloniki Municipality, and whose transfer to the court of the temple to be crafted has already started following an agreement with the Technical Service of the Municipality'. Letter by Aristotelis Zahos to the Archaeology department of the Ministry of Education, dated 3 March 1929, Historical Archive of Macedonia.

[333] Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* p.67

as possible to its 'original' form. Different phases were evaluated differently, and alterations that happened within the Byzantine period were tolerated more than alterations that happened in the Ottoman period. For example, it was found that in the 7th century, the temple was reconstructed 1,5m shorter than the original and with the roof extending above the narthex (on the Western facade), hence eliminating the latter's original lower roofing (see Figures 46 and 47). The Ottoman alterations brought back the narthex roof (see Figures 46 and 48), however retaining the lower height of the temple. In the restoration, the Western facade for example became morphologically closer to the 7th century building rather than the early 20th century building, however in height it regained the one it had in the 5th century, hence 1.5m taller (see Figures 47 and 49).

Εἰκ. 21. Ἀναπαράστασις τοῦ κεντρικοῦ μέρους τῆς δυτικῆς προσόψεως κατὰ τὸν 5ον αἰ.
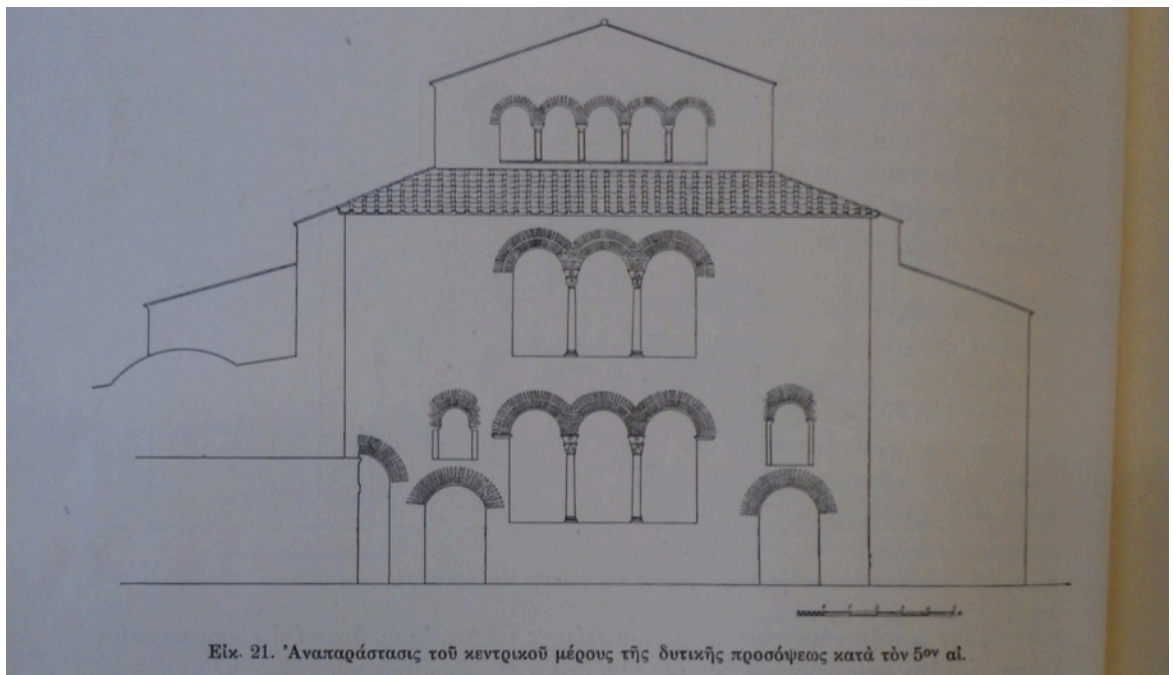
Figure 46. Representation of the Western facade as it was in the 5th century Source: Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* p.76.

Εἰκ. 20. Ἀναπαράστασις τοῦ κεντρικοῦ μέρους τῆς δυτικῆς προσόψεως τῆς βασιλικῆς κατὰ τὸν 7ον αἰ.
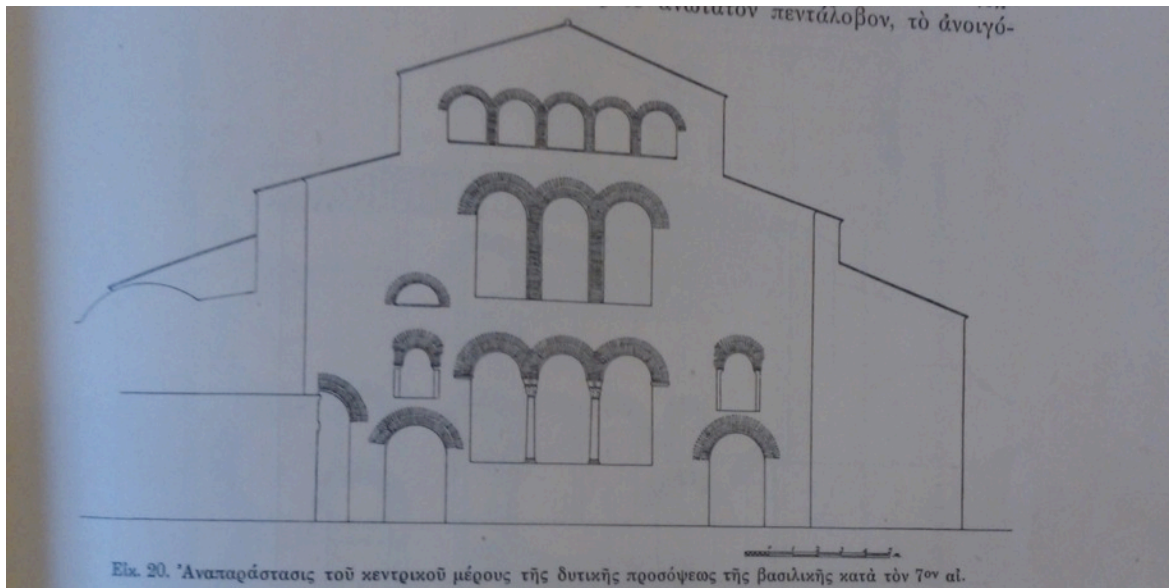
Figure 47. Representation of the Western facade as it was in the 7th century Source: Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis*, p.75.

α. Τὸ ἐξωτερικὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης πρὸ τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς τοῦ ἔτους 1917 (δυτικὴ καὶ νοτία ἄποψις). (σ. 65, 73)

Figure 48. Source: Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* Photographic album accompanying the main publication, Table 1.

Figure 49. The western facade of the church. Photo by the author, 2014.

The Turkish interventions where to be completely reversed, whereas the Byzantine period repairs and restoration were treated differently, appreciated as an archaeological layering of the monument. The walls were cleansed of the plastering added in the process of its conversion to a mosque; original openings that had been closed by the Ottomans were reopened.[334] The minaret, largely surviving the fire (Figure 50), was demolished.

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[334] Sotiriou, , *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* Foreword.

Figure 50. The church after the fire, exterior view with the minaret visible. Source: Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* Photographic album accompanying the main publication.

During the process of the restoration, an important disagreement emerged between the architect Zahos and the archaeologists, which is mentioned in the official reports. The issue in question was whether the project was a *restoration* or a *reconstruction* of the monument. In Zahos's view,

> ...a reconstruction is necessary under the condition of preserving everything that is technically possible, since due to its construction technique (stone and bricks) and the climatological conditions of Thessaloniki, its conservation necessitates its complete covering. Partial roofing would completely alter its aesthetic impression and the viewer would not be able to conceive the magnificence of its interior space.[335]

In Zahos's view, a reconstruction was necessary in order to simultaneously preserve the old parts but serve the new needs of the building. He saw it both as a monument and as a functioning church. In his proposal (Figure 51) a bell tower was designed as well as a staircase tower, while the Western court of the church was

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[335] Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* p.250.

redesigned to include a Byzantine museum with an arcade which would exhibit the archaeological findings of the city.
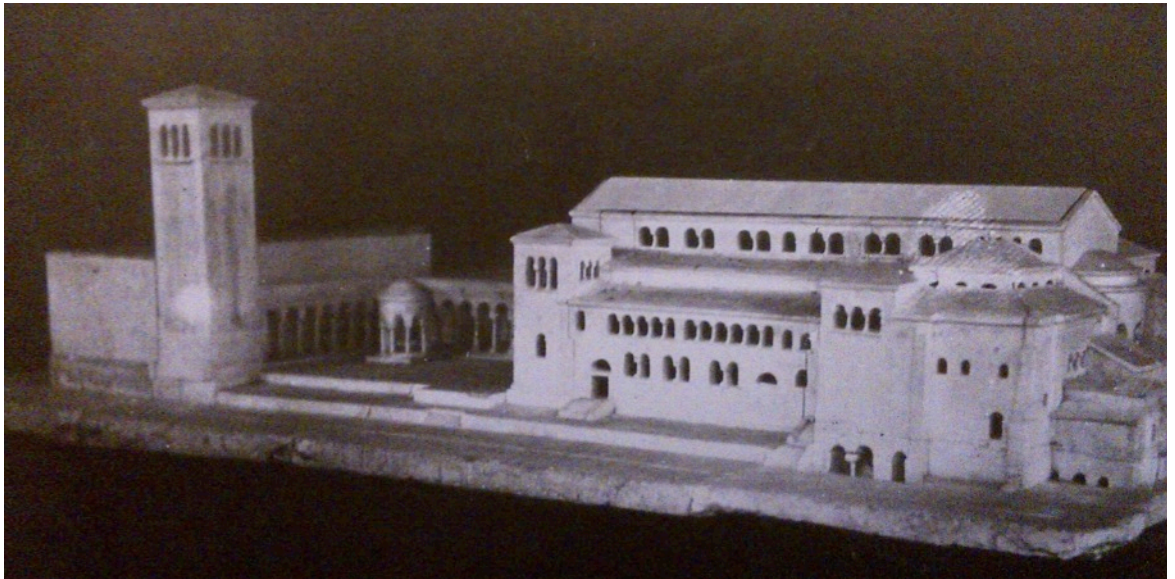
Figure 51. Proposal by Zahos for the courtyard and the bell tower. The staircase tower attached to the south western corner of the building, near where the minaret used to stand. A free standing bell tower is proposed on the southwestern end of the court (left of the picture). Behind it, we can se that the court is surrounded by an arcade which would be the museum. In the middle the Phiale (ablution fountain) is preserved. Fessas-Emmanouil, Helen, *12 Greek Architects of the Interwar Period,* (Irakleio: Crete University Press, 2005), p 20.

Moreover Zahos advocated for a sincerity in restoration (Figure 52):

> The existing walling composed of bricks, or interchanging zones of stone and brick. In order to avoid confusion between old and new masonry and for better endurance, in the restoration of continuous walls, semi-rusticated stones interchanged with bricks were used, a method still pertaining to Byzantine masonry.

Figure 52. Photo (by the author) showing the connection between the old masonry and the one used by Zahos, 2014.

With regards to the columns, Zahos wanted to replace the interior marble columns and the capitals that had been calcinated from the fire. They were not strong enough to carry the floors above them. For that reason, under his supervision casts were taken from the old capitals, and copies were carved by hand. Furthermore, in his proposal, the roof would be wooden and only the floors of the galleries would be from concrete.

After Zahos early death in 1938, the archaeologists changed completely his policy. Whereas Zahos's double masonry system was being implemented while he was alive (we can see the difference between the old and the new in Figure 52), after his death the remaining areas were constructed in a way that imitated the original masonry.

Moreover, the archaeologists decided to keep the original calcinated columns and capitals. Since they did not have stability however, after a proposal of Leonidas Paraskeuopoulos, professor at the National Technical University of Athens, metal

beams were inserted in the brick masonry of the arches so that their weight would only charge the new columns and the pillars, whose foundation was reinforced. Moreover, according to his guidelines, the walls over the colonnades were constructed with hollow brickwork in order to have put less load on the columns underneath, while vertical reinforced concrete elements were introduced for earthquake protection.

The roof, after a proposal by Anastasios Orlandos (Professor at the University of Athens), was constructed by concrete in order to be inflammable, imitating the wooden roof trusses and joists.[336]

We see that there are important ideological differences between the two parts. Zahos wants the church to adapt to the new needs as a functional space, however exposing and celebrating the (selected) layers of continuity as discrete contributions to the history of the building (and of Greekness). He prefers to retain the structural function of the columns rather than using them as an exhibit, as part of a stage set. Zahos's new marble capitals and new wooden roof, reflect an approach to the church as a living organism, where dead parts are replaced by new ones, and where necessary additions (such as a staircase or a bell tower, or a museum) are made. His use of 'traditional' materials like marble and stone but with a deep interest in craftsmanship, reflects an effort to keep the church alive, engaging with old techniques but without pretending that the new additions are old.

However the archaeologists, wanted to preserve us much as possible the ancient form and materials of the building. In their view, any use of new technologies and materials would be in order to imitate or support the old structure. They kept the old material (the marble capital), but not its function (to support the load above it). The columns were not structural elements; together with the wood-looking concrete roof, they created a stage, just like the Byzantine arcades on the street seen in Figure 33.

Marble, concrete and stone in the hands of these designers are used in completely different ways. A marble element that carries weight, and one that does not, are identical yet completely different; a concrete roof imitating a wooden one and a concrete arch (on the streets of Thessaloniki), although different in form, are similar

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[336] Sotiriou, *I Vassiliki tou Agiou Dimitriou Thessalonikis,* pp.251-3.

in their function. Stone, marble and concrete enter an ideological conflict which reveals important differentiations within the same national project.

Contrary to the remarks of Tzonis and Rodi, who see Zahos as having a 'superficial and patronising' understanding of folk and medieval architecture for the reason that he added a bell tower, 'an alien element to the architecture of the period',[337] Zahos saw Saint Demetrius as a functional church, not as an exhibit that only had symbolic capital as an embodiment of collective identity and memory.[338] However the predominance of the symbolic function of the building was already secured through its positioning in the new urban layout of the city, as we saw earlier, together with all the other churches in the city. Lying in the centre of a wide urban space, its role determined by the post-imperial context of central administration and uniform citizenship, St Demetrius lost its imperial function as a cluster of administrative and religious life of its immediate surroundings and became an urban exhibit.

The archaeologists' ideological position in terms of the conservation of the monument meet the understanding of Hébrard and Kitsikis in terms of the Byzantine heritage of the city. The monument acquires the 'original' form but is reduced to an exhibit, completely in harmony with its new spatial positioning. St Demetrius was deprived of its frame, of its microcosm. Similar to the exhibits of a museum, the city did not touch on the monument, and reserved for it the carefully directed modern gaze.

In the words of the novelist and essayist Louis Bertrand:

> ...Romanticism came along, the offspring of archaeology, which broke with this charming conception of the past living on into the present. Nostalgia for earlier times led men of the last century to value only the part of the past which had ceased living, to seek in death the secret of some mysterious beauty. The ruin [...] was cut off from the life around it and enclosed

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[337] Tzonis, Alexander and Rodi, Alcestis *Greece -Modern Architectures in History* (Glasgow: Reaktion Books, 2013), p.72.

[338] Zahos's disagreement with the superficial appropriation of Hébrard's Neobyzantinism can be paralleled to the disagreement between the historians and intellectuals Emmanuil Gedeon and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. The first argued for a literal restoration of Christian Orthodox hegemony in the Ottoman Empire and for the priority of Orthodox Ecumenicity, whereas the second embraced the idea of the nation-state separatism from the Ottoman Empire and the selective appropriation of Byzantium mostly as a heritage rather as a living reality.

behind gates, to become the subject of scholarly research and aesthetic meditation.[339]

This relates not only to the way the monument is detached from its surroundings, but also to how it is 'cleaning up' down to one single layer, the 'original', not unlike the Parthenon in Athens, in which its Byzantine, Latin[340] and Ottoman interventions were overturned. It is not that Zahos was completely against this understanding- he was also active in the archaeological survey and recognized the archaeological value of the monument, using contrast materials in order to distinguish the old from the new. However, I argue, he tried to reconcile the two roles of St Demetrius, the symbolic/national and the religious one, and understood tradition as evolving rather than having the crystallised form that the new nation-state attributed to it.

It is very interesting to see that, although the 'disengagement' of churches and their transformation to monuments is very widespread in French urbanism, in his description of Hébrard's treatment of the Byzantine churches, Lavedan finds the Byzantine churches problematic:

> The disengagement of the Byzantine buildings poses a delicate problem, as those who know Ravenna, if not Thessaloniki, might have a clear idea of. The Byzantine construction of the 6th century, with its visible brick masonry, maintains a poor aspect in the exterior in contrast with the interior luxury and which surprised those who are used to the decorative exploration of the churches of the Occident. Today, if you construct in brick, it is rare to leave the material visible per se, at least in France. It is the opposite in Holland. The Byzantines had chosen already the side that became that of the Dutch. Hébrard's plan provisions the disengagement of the two most important Byzantine edifices still standing, Saint Sophia and Saint Paraskevi, both linked by a vast space planted with trees and traversing the Egnatia road. But he does not isolate them on the open squares. Hébrard's designs – and many of them are delightful- show them surrounded by gardens and cypresses and desire an adapting spirit for the neighbouring houses, a

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[339] Bertrand, Louis, *La fin du classicisme et le retour à l'antique dans la seconde moitié du 18ème siècle et les premières années du 19ème, en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1897) quoted in Basch, 'Archaeological Travels in Greece and Asia Minor', p161.
[340] I am referring here to the Latin Empire, which was established by the founders of the Fourth Crusade in the 13th century, and during which the Parthenon was turned into a catholic church.

spirit which, while making Thessaloniki a modern city, will not make it loose its character as an oriental city.[341]

Their 'poor' exterior is partially compensated by surrounding them with gardens and cypresses, and by adapting the surrounding buildings to their style. Indeed, the committee determined the architectural character of specific selected areas. Within the context of the 1919 building regulation, detailed plans of important public buildings were carried out in a neo-Byzantine style, specific facade regulations were enforced in spaces that constituted architectural ensembles, and the creation of a controlled environment around important Byzantine monuments was decided (Figure 33).[342]

Hence although Saint Demetrius lost its Byzantine identity in terms of its institutional role and its spatial relation to the city, it lent its forms to the urban landscape, however with distorted proportions.[343] The main characteristic of the street facades were symmetry, an emphasis on a central axis and a tripartite division. The tall arcades on the ground floor corresponded to the first and mezzanine floors and were supported by columns with capitals alluding to Byzantine forms. The facades often also had arched windows in the upper floors. Treated more as a 'dress', than as an architectural style, this architecture does not have the elaborateness of Zahos's engagement with the Byzantine tradition.

This, however, is not simply a matter of local versus foreign architect. Hébrard had a good knowledge of Byzantine archaeology too, and was engaged with studying St Paraskeui and the Rotunda at the time of the fire. Rather, it would seem, the ideological differences stem from the two men's architectural backgrounds. While Hébrard, as we saw, came from the classical Beaux Arts school, Zahos was influenced by Jugendstil and the Arts and Crafts Movement.

The emergence of Byzantium as an essential component of Greek identity emerged in parallel and in relation to a re-appreciation for the Middle Ages all over Europe as a non-academic source of aesthetic form, which could give new life to the fine and decorative arts. This new perspective was shared by different movements

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[341] Lavedan, 'L'Œuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce', p.155.

[342] Yerolympos, *I Anoikodomisi,* pp.169-174.

[343] Kolonas, *I arhitektoniki mias ekatontaetias* p.23.

such as the French Symbolists, the Arts and Crafts Movement and the Bloomsbury group, and the German Romantics.[344]

Zahos shared the concern of these movements. He studied architecture in Munich, Stuttgart and Karlsruhe,[345] and it was at the latter academic environment that his main intellectual influences are found: Joseph Durm, the established historicist professor, state architect and admirer of the Greco-Roman antiquity, and Carl Schafer, 'the anti-doctrinaire historicist who argued the ageless value of medieval guild traditions'.[346] He was influenced by the flourishing of movements for the protection of folk tradition in Germany, as well as by the German Romanticism.[347]

Zahos was a great admirer of vernacular architecture and the Byzantine tradition. His underlying rationale was the same as that of the Ottoman Revival – that an authentic, genuine modernization of the national architecture would be not achieved through Western formalism but through an exploration of the vernacular traditions and the country's heritage, which carried the essence of the nation, the *Volkgeist.*[348] Zahos is the earliest modern architect to foster an appreciation for Byzantine architecture and its employment in the creation of a modern Greek identity.[349] In his appreciation of Byzantine and vernacular heritage in the search for an authentic Greekness, he is also related to the intellectual heritage of Periklis

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[344] Bullen, J.Barrie, 'Byzantinism and Modernism 1900-1914', *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 141, No.1160 (Nov. 1999), p.665.

[345] Munich Technical University (1889-1895, among his professors was Friedrich von Thiersch), the Technological College of Stuttgart (1896) and the Technical University of Karlsruhe (1899-1901). He never graduated, a fact not uncommon at the time and that didn't become an obstacle for his registration as an architect at the Technical Chamber of Greece. See Fessa-Emmanouil, Eleni, *Aristotelis Zahos and Josef Durm: I allilografia enos protoporou arhitektona me ton mentora tou 1905-1914,* (Athens: Potamos, 2013), p.44.

[346] Fessa- Emmanouil and Marmaras, *12 Greek Architects ,* p.5.

[347] such as the German Union for the Protection of the Folk Tradition (Deutschen Bundes Heimatschutz) in 1904 and the pioneering movement Protection of Folk Art – Free Union of Artists and Art Lovers of Karlsruhe *(Heimatliche Kunstpflege- Freie Vereinigung Karlsruher Künstler und Kunstfreunde*). Fessa-Emmanouil and Marmaras, *12 Greek Architects ,* p.7.

[348] 'He was the first to dispute the Greekness of neoclassicism and the Western formalism of urban architecture including superficial neo-Byzantinism. Rejecting as well the sterile reproduction or imitation of the traditional style, he fought passionately for the authentic modernisation of Greek architecture.' Fessa-Emmanouil and Marmaras, *12 Greek Architects*, pp. 9.

[349] Kourelis, Kostis, 'Byzantium and the Avant-Garde: Excavations at Corinth, 1920s-1930s', *The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at* Athens Vol.76, No.2 (Apr -June 2007), p.409. Also Philippidis, Dimitris, *Neoelliniki Arhitektoniki* (Athens: Melissa, 1984), pp.175-8 and pp.205-8. During his architectural career, he experimented 'in the spirit of a mildly archaic and Byzantine Jugendstil', went on to original stylistic parochialism and concluded by 'reconciling himself with the victorious Modern Movement' Fessa-Emmanouil and Marmaras, *12 Greek Architects,* p.13.

Giannopoulos[350] and Ion Dragoumis,[351] the efforts of folklorist Angeliki Hatzimihali to record and preserve folk arts, as well as to the works of Aggelos Sikelianos and Eva Palmer, who tried to revive the Delphic Festivals (in 1927 and 1930), combining ancient Greek tragedies with folk music and costumes, and modernist set design.[352]

Hence although both Zahos Hébrard, Kitsikis, meet each other in the selection of the Byzantine identity as the determining one for the city, they have a different understanding of the role of history within modernity.

Were Zahos to have designed new architecture, how would it be different from the Neobyzantine facades of Thessaloniki? This question, together with a marble capital from the church of St Demetrius, will take us back to Izmir, this time to the Greek Izmir of the 1919-1922 period, and now put us in position to unlock the mystery of a very unique building: the University of Ionia.

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[350] Giannopoulos, a radical writer and poet of the 1900s, rejected any foreign influence and celebrated the 'Greek line' of the hills, the male and female bodies, and the ancient column. He joined the landscape, the classical heritage, with the Byzantine and the vernacular, the body of the ancient sculpture with that of the peasant, and praised the Greek colour and light, arguing for a continuity of the Greek nation and its connection to its given earth, and its reflection in its art, whether ancient or modern.

[351] Dragoumis, a Greek intellectual and diplomat, also argued for the appreciation of vernacular and Byzantine tradition, yet he was a supporter of a more inclusive nationalism, based on the coexistence of different ethnic groups under an enlarged Greece.

[352] These intellectual flows would later nourish more creative interactions between foreign influences and the quest for a Greek modernism, like the work of Aris Konstantinidis and Dimitris Pikionis. For more, see Tzonis and Rodi, *Greece,* p.87.

5

'EX ORIENTE LUX'

5.1 The University of Ionia

In a letter draft I located in Athens, dated 6/19 March 1921[353] and addressed to the Police Directorate of Smyrna, the Organizer of the University of Ionia Constantine Karatheodori writes:

> I have the honour to report that ~~the Police Station of Kokaryali did not permit yesterday to~~ the Supervisor of Public Works Lambros Hatzimichail will be receiving some of the marbles accumulated in front of the public half-constructed building at the Upper Karantina, for the University ~~buildings~~ construction site. These marbles, coming from old Jewish tombs, were carried there by the previous Turkish Administration in order to be used for the above-mentioned abandoned construction, and are now under the jurisdiction of the Greek state. Please inform as soon as possible the Police Station of Kokaryali, in whose juristicdion the unfinished building lies, so that we can allow the above-mentioned

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[353] Both calenders, Julian and Gregorian, are used.

supervisor to receive the marbles, which the Public Works
Service needs for their work at the University building site.[354]

On the site of a Jewish cemetery on the Bahri Baba hill in the centre of Smyrna, in May 1919, the Greek administration of Smyrna[355] found a half-completed building that had been initiated by the Union and Progress Party to become a School of Commerce (*ticaret mektebi)*. This structure would become the physical basis for the realization of the University of Ionia, Venizelos and Stergiadis's vision for a university open to all ethnic groups of Smyrna and equal to the best universities of the West. The discussion about opening a second University, this time in the New Lands of the Greek Kingdom, had been going on since 1911. After a meeting of the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos with the renowned Professor Konstantinos Karatheodori, Izmir was chosen over Thessaloniki as the host city for the new institution and the building on the Bahri Baba hill as the most suitable site. None other than Aristotelis Zahos was invited to supervise the architectural project, while the latest furniture, machinery and hundreds of books were ordered and shipped in from Europe.[356]

Possibly the position of the university was also reinforced by the existence, nearby, of the ancient temple of Değirmentepe, now lost under blocks of houses.[357] Marble pieces from the temple had apparently been used in the cemetery, as well as for the city barracks, and there is a high possibility that they had been used in the construction of the School of Commerce as well.

The University never opened. It was almost complete on the day the Turkish troops entered the city of Izmir on September 9th 1922, marking the end of an ill-fated expansionist Greek campaign into the centre of Anatolia. The building eventually became a Girls School (Kız Lisesi) and retains this function today[358] (Figure 53).

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[354] Correspondence between Karatheodory and the Police Directorate, University Museum, Athens.

[355] The administration of the Sancak of Izmir had been assigned to Greece after the First World War, following the Treaty of Sevres, and the Greek army landed there in May 1919.

[356] The whole project cost 110,000 Turkish liras (Georgiadou, *Konstantinos Karatheodori,* p.348).

[357] For the Değirmentepe temple see Kılıç, Murat and Gulbay, Onur 'The Değirmentepe Temple at Smyrba', TÜBA-AR No. 13 (2010), pp.113-126. According to their research, the 1st century AD temple today is circumscribed by the streets 391, 400, 397 and was dedicated to Zeus Acraeus and then to Hadrian. A number of the building stones of the temple were used in the Jewish Cemetery, whereas materials were used more extensively in the construction of the barracks and the prison. The area was settled by Balkan immigrants in the 19th century. In 1924 only a single column fragment was visible on the temple site.

[358] First, in 1923 the school opened as a Male Teachers School and later on in 1936 it became the Girls High School (Kız Lisesi). In 1958 the restaurant and classrooms were added, followed by a pavilion with

In this chapter I will examine the architectural forms of the building as a participant in competing systems of signification aiming to reflect a desired national identity. I aim to explore how the architectural language of the building was contested, negotiated and transformed by its successive owners and to uncover the exact way these interventions happened.

In 1914 the Governor of Izmir Rahmi Bey, in line with the general trends in urban modernization at the time,[359] had abolished the use of the Jewish and Turkish cemeteries in the area of Bahri Baba and moved on to construct there the Public Library and a School of Commerce.[360] The Jewish community contested the decision to no avail and the tombs were carried to a new cemetery outside the growing centre of Izmir.[361]

According to the literature and the available accounts dating from that time, the Greek Administration found the building of the School of Commerce unfinished when they landed in Izmir in May 1919, and completed it.[362] However, although we know the building was completed in phases by different authorities, it is difficult to draw the lines between these different layers of intervention.

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14 classrooms in 1968. In June 1985 the building suffered from a big fire and went through restoration work. See Ürük, Yaşar, 'Izmir Kız Lisesi', in *Izmir, Tarih ve Toplum* No:3 December 2008, Şenocak publications.

[359] Which were especially pushed forward by the Committee of Union and Progress, the military and political organization of the Young Turk movement.

[360] Solomonides, *I paideia sti Smirni*, pp. 406-8

[361] Later, when the Greek administration took over and turned the site into the University campus, they reacted again but the Greeks did not accept the complaint on the grounds of its ownership by the Ottoman state.

[362] They also added an amphitheatre and a tower. Neslihan Onat Ege (*Mimarlik* No:2 (1992) 'Izmir'de Cumhuriyet Donemi Yapıları', pp.63-66) mistakenly attributes the tower to the Republican period, but the correspondence at the University Museum Archives in Athens refers to the construction of the tower. Generally, there are many confused accounts of the building both in the Greek and Turkish literature.

Figure 53. Photo of the building in the early Republican period. Source: Levantine Heritage Foundation
website.

Figure 54. The entrance of the University of Ionia, today's Kız Lisesi, photo by the author, 2013.

At a first glance one can recognize the symmetrical layout of the orthogonal building (Figure 53), inspired by the Beaux-Arts tradition and typical of the revivalist styles that were popular in both countries at the time. The entrance (Figure 54) clearly belongs to Ottoman Revival, consisting of a marble porch with pointed arches. The column capitals, the marble screens on the balcony and the triangular carvings with a reference to muqarnas are all very typical of the Ottoman Revival style. These are accompanied by other fundamental elements of the building, such as the wide roof overhangs with the wooden panels underneath and the supporting brackets, which are based on stone extrusions on the wall.

The elaborate elements raise the question – who could have been the architect of this apparently very important building, in 1914? After research at the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul, I located a letter dated 3rd September 1919 and directed to the Ottoman state, with the signature of Mimar Tahsin (Architect Tahsin), asking for his due payments for his work at this building. This is a strong clue that the architect was Tahsin Sermet, one of the most important architects of Izmir at the time, who as we saw designed the National Library and the Stock Exchange building.[363]

Returning to the analysis of the building, one will notice that when looking at the areas between the extruded pillars, the architectural language changes (Figure 55). The intermediary parts of the wall which contain the windows are built with visible masonry and local limestone[364] and include extensive decorative zones made of brick, typical of the Byzantine *cloisonné* masonry system. The double semi-circular arches above the windows also allude to Byzantine churches, making the front marble porch entrance look foreign to the wall behind it.

Meanwhile, in parts of the building that are not very prominent, the pointed arches return (Figure 56). Could these as well as the front entrance be later additions, after the reannexation of the city by the Turkish troops in 1922? Or did the Greeks find the exterior of the building complete and proceeded to change parts of it?

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[363] If this is confirmed by future research, it will be an important addition to the architectural historiography on Izmir.
[364] Fessa-Emmanouil, Eleni & Marmaras, Emmanouil, 2005 *Greek Architects of the Interwar Period*, Crete University Press, Athens, p 25

Figure 55. Detail of the front facade. Photo by the author, 2013.

Figure 56. Windows on the northeastern facade. Photo by the author, 2013.

A photograph from the time of the Greek Administration (Figure 57) answers the first question; the entrance was already there when the Greek troops arrived in Izmir. Meanwhile, in his article titled 'Izmir Kiz Lisesi', based on newspapers of the time, Yaşar Ürük mentions.[365]

> In the chaos created right after the Izmir occupation, the Jewish minority staying at the Karatas region tried to appropriate the [unfinished building of the] school, and the Greek administration, who decided to create a 'Hellenic University' there, drove the Jews out of the area and in order to destroy the Turkish architectural style they almost completely changed the windows and the doors and added columns to the building. Additionally they added an amphitheatre, which did not exist until then.

Figure 57.   Karatheodori, on the far right, among a group of people, standing at the entrance of the University. Source: Georgiadou, *Konstantinos Karatheodori,* p.349.

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[365] Izmir Kız Lisesi, in *Izmir, Tarih ve Toplum* No:3 December 2008, Şenocak publications, p 90.

Also, in her book on the reconstruction of Izmir, Tülat Alim Baran mentions on a more general note that during the Greek Occupation, as it is known in Turkish historiography, some unfinished buildings had been completed by the Greeks in 'a Greek architectural style' which was severely criticised. 'Their restoration to Turkish architecture as soon as possible was desirable.'[366]

The above statements, in combination with the analysis of the building itself, show that the extruded pillars that carry the roof and the main entrance were left as they were, while the parts among the pillars were reconstructed by the Greek administration under the guidance of Aristotelis Zahos to reflect a language of Byzantine Revival.[367]

Zahos designed a proposal for the entrance to be replaced – the pointed arches would become semi-circular, and the column capitals where replaced with Theodosian-style ones[368] (Figure 58). The similarity between the portico proposed by Zahos and the existing one is striking – very few elements change, such as the arches from pointed to semi-circular, and the capitals. If it were not for Figure 57, which depicts Karatheodori in front of the portico with Ottoman details, we wouldn't have documentation proving that the Turkish one was constructed before the Greek one. In fact, Theodoridou and Sotiriou, despite their very apt analysis, mistakenly mention that Zahos's proposal for the portico was realised.[369]

The affinities, common references and goals of the two revivals are perfectly expressed in their intersection in this building. They are the product of a quest for identity, both national and modern, an effort to produce an architectural alternative to Western cultural hegemony without however escaping its aesthetic and ideological tradition. Considering these principles then, they are not much different than the Modern movement that replaced them in the 1930s.[370] It is an irony that these so

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[366] Baran, *Bir kentin yeniden yapilmasi,* p.56.

[367] A careful examination of the correspondence regarding the amounts of hewn stone ordered by the Greek administration could also possibly provide us with additional insight.

[368] These two drawings, on Figures 58 and 59, have been published once in a very small scale in Theodoridou, Lila and Sotiriou, Zoi 'I Vivliothiki tou Ionikou Panepistimiou Smirnis - To Meteoro Vima (1921-1922)', paper presented in a conference, 17th PSAB, University of Ioannina, 24-27/09/2008. I traced them at the Vovolini Archive in Athens (Gennadios library) in order to study them closely.

[369] Theodoridou and Sotiriou, 'I Vivliothiki tou Ionikou Panepistimiou Smirnis'.

[370] Bozdoğan makes this argument with regards to Ottoman Revival in 'Turkish Architecture between Ottomanism and Modernism, p.115.

apparent similarities allude to historiographies which are largely based on respective otherising.

Figure 58.   Zahos's drawing for the portico and main entrance, Vovolini Archive, Gennadeios Library, Athens.

In the case of Zahos's interventions however, we can see an effort to represent not only Byzantium (and the vernacular tradition, which he must have seen in the overhanging roofs, an architectural element very common in his homeland of Macedonia), but also an intension to introduce classical elements. In the outdoor space of the building (Figure 59) we notice a proposal for a street-level portico with Doric columns, as well as two monumental free standing Ionic columns in front of the building entrance. These carry the statues of Apollo and Athena, just like Theophil

Hansen's Neoclassical Academy of Athens. It seems that the landscaping of the hill was also a work of Zahos, judging from a letter sent to him by Karatheodori on 10 February 1921, asking for a study for the layout of the hill.[371]
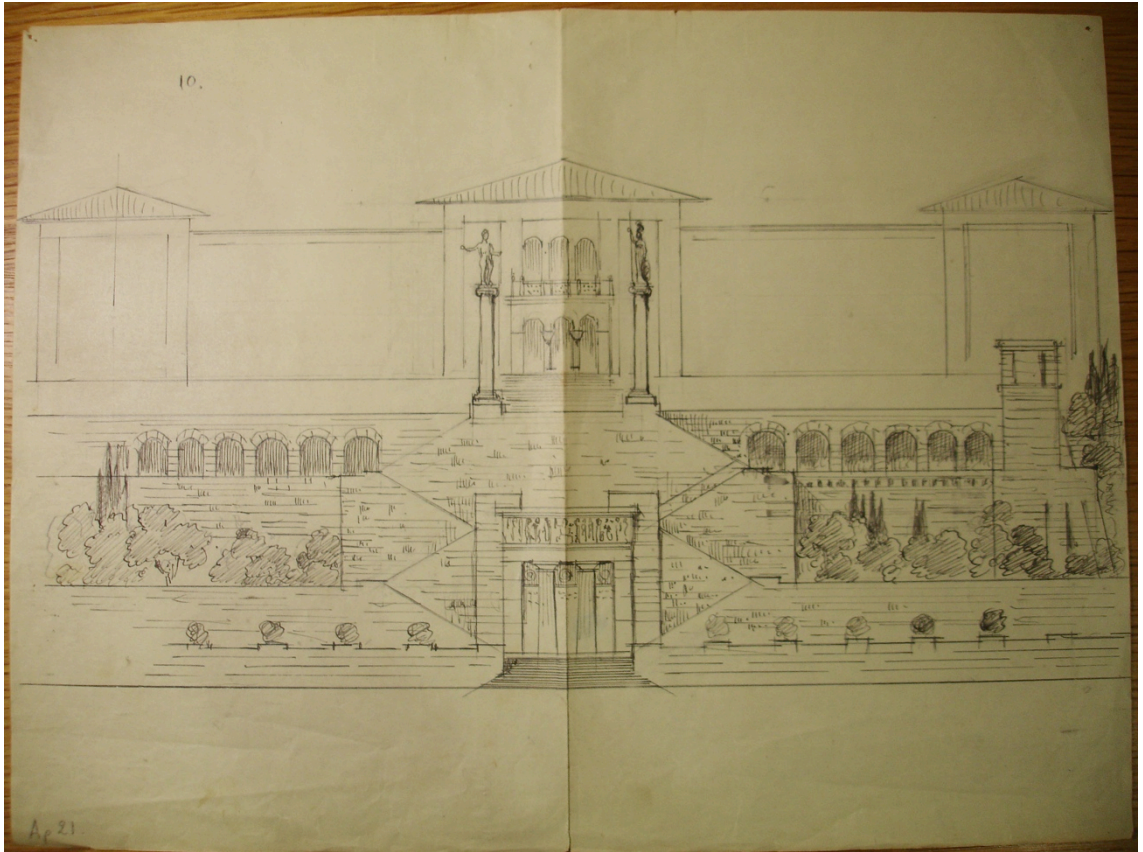
Figure 59. Drawings by Zahos for the portico and landscaping of the hill. Source, Vovolini Archive, Gennadeios Library, Athens.

Byzantine references continue in the interior of the building, which can be safely attributed to the Greeks. The most prominent space, the entrance with the marble staircase, directly alludes to Byzantine style (Figure 60). But most importantly, the column capitals here are almost identical to the ones Zahos drew for the church of Ayios Dimitrios in Thessaloniki (Figure 61). As he was working on the two projects at the same time, he probably used the measurement drawings for the church capitals that were being replaced for the University of Ionia. St Demetrius did not only lend his arched section to the city of Thessaloniki; it also gave its marble capitals to a built palimpsest of identities that is today's Kız Lisesi.

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[371] Vovolini Archive, Gennadeios Library, Athens.

Figure 60. Entrance of the school today. Photos by the author, 2013
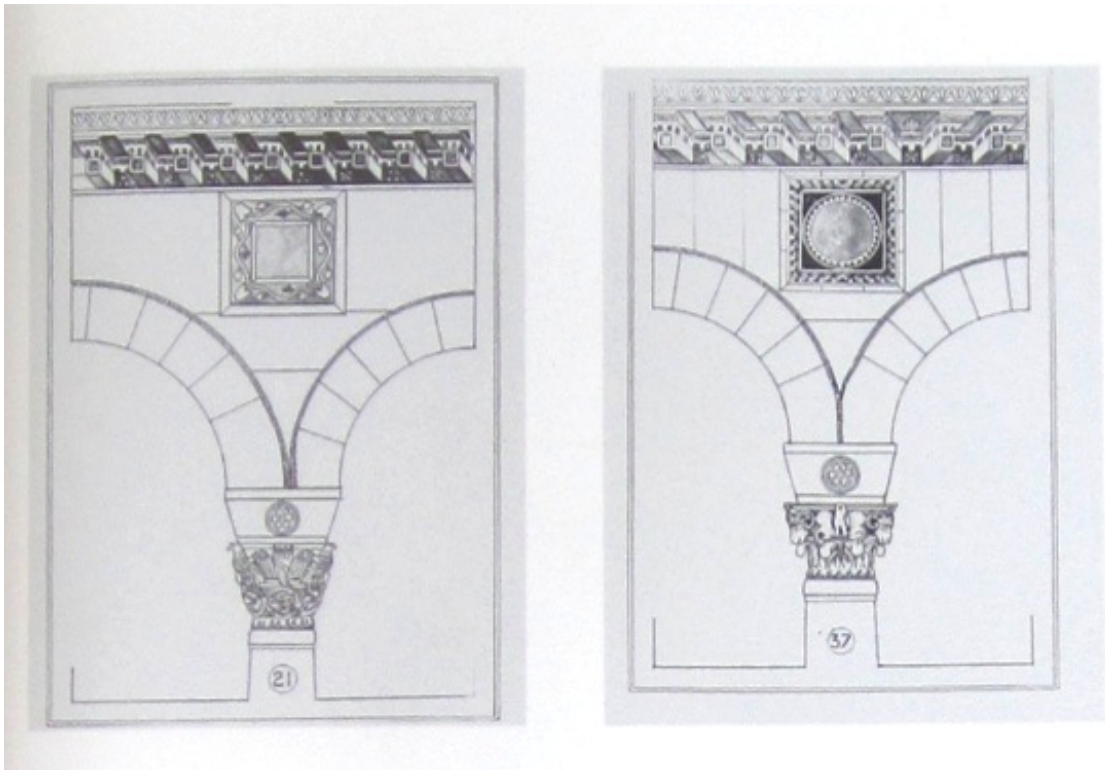
Figure 61. Drawings of Zahos for the capitals of St Demetrius, Fessa- Emmanouil and Marmaras, *12 Greek Architects,* p.21.

5.1.1 *'Ex Oriente Lux'*

The mixture of Byzantine and Islamic language in the architectural morphology of the University was very well aligned with its stated purpose and ideology. Karatheodori believed that the establishment of the University would serve the preparation of the new generations who would contribute to the economic development of the country, as well as the familiarization of Greeks with the 'Slavic' and 'Eastern' languages and hence with the variety of ethnic groups under Greek administration. Moreover, it would push forward the familiarization of the minorities with the Greek language, which would ultimately allow their successful integration into the Greek Kingdom.

Accordingly, the first faculties that were provisioned were an Engineering School, a School of Agriculture, a School of Commerce and School of Ethnology of Eastern Europe. Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Arabic, and Jewish language classes, History of Art and Archaeology, Comparative Linguistics and Islamic Law would be

included in the curriculum. Later on, a Medical School and a School of Islamic Law would be added.

According to Karatheodori, this University would not be a mimesis of German or British universities, or a copy of the Athens Capodistrian University which was focused on Classical Antiquity.[372] Rather, it was aimed as a counterbalance, to be an institution which would be complementary to the Classical Schools and would voice the New Lands of Greece and their importance as contributors and recipients of Greek culture.

Moreover, this familiarization with the 'Slavic and Islamic' element, would guarantee a 'peaceful coexistence' between the various ethnic groups of the Greek Kingdom. According to Solomonidis, the Greek Government knew that the politics of 'peaceful coexistence' where the only way to gain legitimacy for the Greek annexation of the Sancak of Aydin. Within that context Aristeidis Stergiadis was chosen as the Governor of Smyrna, being a 'strong supporter of Dragoumis's and Souliotis Nikolaidis's positions with regards to the peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Turks' but combined them with the nationalist territorial claims. 'Coexistence' would provide the legitimacy for the enlarged borders. He aimed to create a new 'Eastern Civilization' as 'a response to the efforts of the West to intrude into the Near Orient',[373] something that we talked about in Chapter 3.3.

However, as Georgiadou[374] has pointed out, this familiarisation with the newly acquired 'Other' was not a cultural exchange between equals. The presence of Greece in Smyrna was coloured by a 'civilizing mission' and depended on her capacity to guarantee impartiality in the treatment of all ethnic groups and peace. As the Minister of Exterior Alexandros Diomidis wrote to the General Leonidas Paraskeuopoulos, 'if Greece behaves to the minorities as a bearer of a superior civilization, then and only

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[372] Solomonidis, Victoria G., 'The Smyrna University of Ionia- Contribution to a peaceful Coexistence', in *University: Ideology and Education- The historical Dimension and Potentials*, Conference Proceedings, 21-25 September 1987, (Athens: Istoriko Arheio Ellinikis Neolaias, 1989), p. 391. Also, Georgiadou, *Konstantinos Karatheodori,* p. 330.

[373] Solomonidis bases her analysis on an interview of Stergiadis at the Greek newspaper *Eleftheros Typos*, 7.4.29.

[374] Georgiadou, *Konstantinos Karatheodori,* pp.331-2.

then can she hope for a favourable treatment of her territorial claims'.[375] Venizelos, but also American, French and British political actors and journalists like Lewis Sergeant, François Lenorman, and George Horton joined this understanding of Greece's role as a civilizing actor.[376]

In this context, the emblem chosen for the University, 'Ex Oriente Lux', does not mean that the enlightenment comes from a non-Western civilization, but rather that the new, extended Greece, now having incorporated the historical Byzantine and Greco-Roman lands, has established its presence in the Near East and spreads the 'lights of civilization' in a paramount way to the European West. The Light comes from this specific institution that is based in the East of Europe, and in the East of Athens, but which is paramount to and affiliated with the West.

An inclusive but still clearly nationalist understanding of identity, a diversion from the classical hegemony of Athens and a counterbalance to European hegemony in the area are hence the main ideas embodied in the building's revivalist forms.

5.1.2 Looking West

Karatheodori may have refused to copy European institutions in a sterile way, yet the ideological foundations of the institution and its civilizing mission were profoundly Western. As we have seen in the previous chapters, nationalism was both a product of and a catalyst for modernization, and the commitment to modernity coexisted, sometimes paradoxically, with the quest to demonstrate the uniqueness and superiority of the nation. In the case of the University of Ionia, the tools for the enhancement of the nation were Western: the Library was full of German books, European professors and Greek scholars trained in the West were hired, and the equipment was shipped in from Europe. Similarly, Zahos's Byzantine Revival was combined with modern technologies such as reinforced concrete, and was compatible with the principles of symmetry and axiality that the Beaux-Arts tradition dictated.

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[375] Quoted in Solomonidis, 'The Smyrna University of Ionia', p.389. The letter is published translated in the work of Petsalis, N., *Greece at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1978, p.210.

[376] Jean Gout, member of the French mission at the Paris Peace summit, argued for the Hellenization of Asia Minor in order to 'guarantee a natural development of civilization'. Georgiadou, *Konstantinos Karatheodori,* p.332.

This vision of modernity is explicit in the furniture of the new university. Karatheodori personally participated in the furnishing of the University, buying the necessary furniture from the Berlin Company Zelder und Platen, as is obvious from the numerous receipts and drawings located at the University Museum Archives. It is ironic to see the amount of detail in the drawings that were sent back and forth to Germany in order to determine the exact shape and type of all the furniture (Figures 62 - 64), less than a year before the whole project would come to an end.
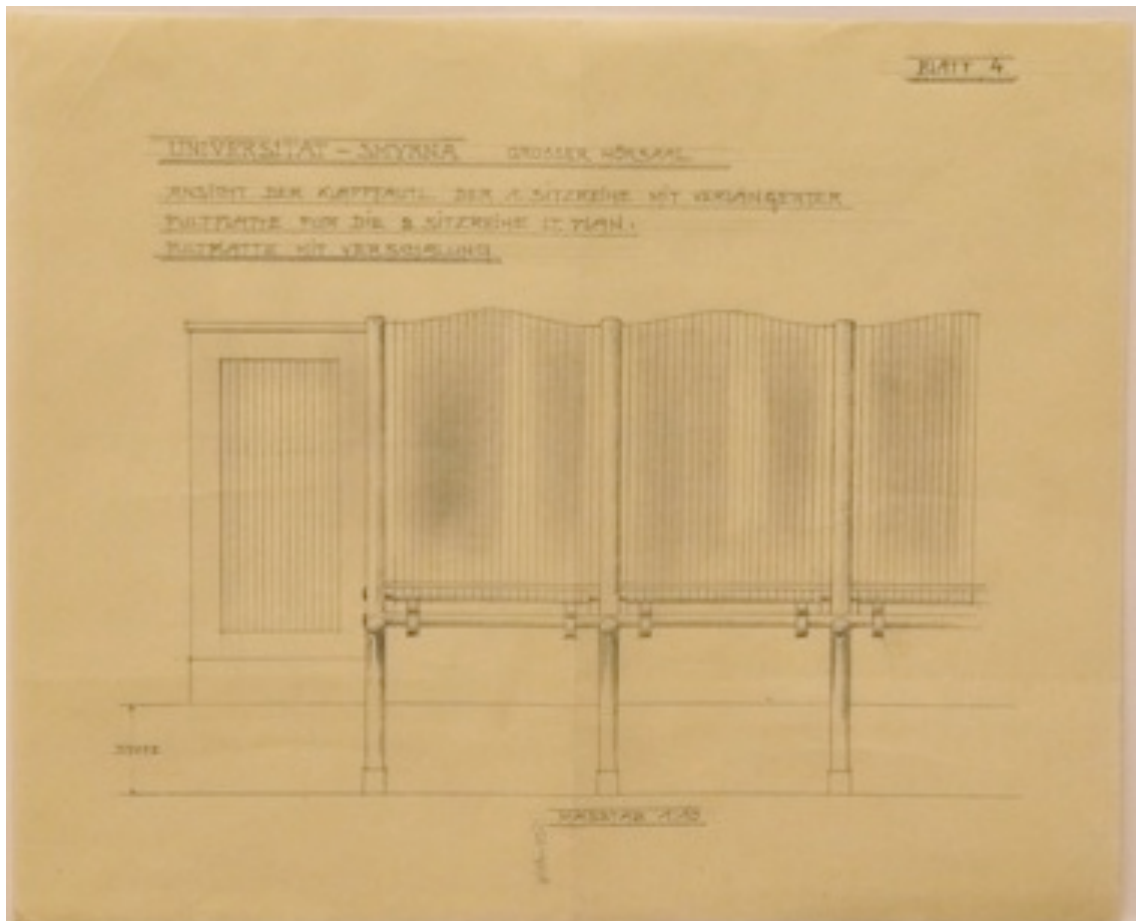
Figure 62. Drawing for a bench by the German company Zelder und Platen, Mouseio Panepistimiou, Athens.

Figure 63. Drawings for the university furniture by the Germany company Zelder und Platen, Mouseio Panepistimiou, Athens.
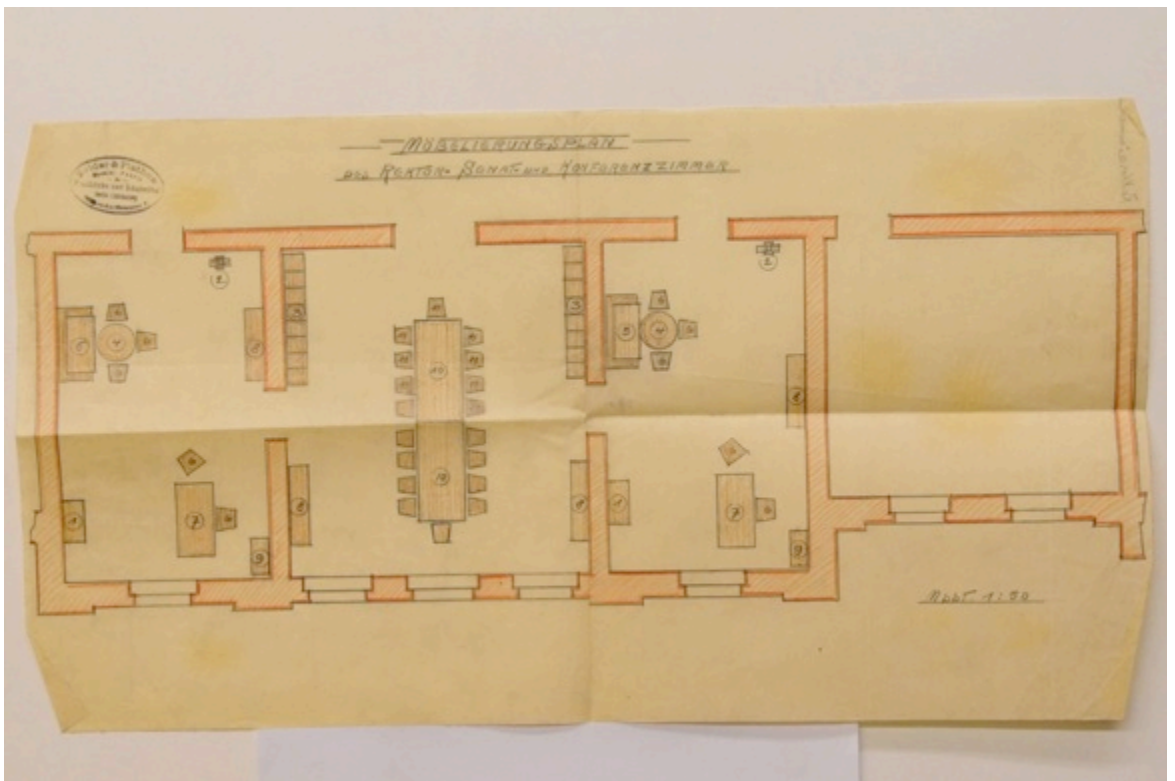
Figure 64. Plan of the building depicting the positioning of the furniture, by the company Zelden und Platen, Mouseio Panepistimiou, Athens.

5.1.3 The professors' residences

During my archival research, I looked in vain for master plans of the campus. Moreover, in the correspondence there were many references to the residences of the University professors, but there were no plans, no photographs, and I could not understand which building they were referring to. There was just one partial expropriation plan related to the professors' residences (Figure 65), which initially I did not give a lot of importance to. The complete lack of literature related to such a building discouraged me from looking into it.

Figure 65.   Drawing showing the expropriated plots – four small buildings in the upper part – and part of the Professors' Residences. Source: University Museum Archives, Athens.

The plan showed the outline of four small structures that were expropriated by the Greek administration on a street called Damlacik Yokusu, in order to situate the

new building of the professors' residences. It was accompanied by forms signed by the owners, in which they agreed on the proposed value and accepted the expropriation. On the lower part of the plan, part of the professors' residences building was depicted.

Without any other information at hand, I had to leave this plan aside, until the building of the Izmir Ethnography Museum, situated near Konak square and close to the Kız Lisesi, caught my attention, and I decided to look again at my notes relating to that building.

Figure 66.   Izmir Ethnography Museum, photo by the author, 2013.

This building has been known as the 19th-century Saint Roch hospital (1831), which was then turned into an orphanage during early Republican Period. But during a discussion with Pr. Erkan Serce at Dokuz Eylül University, in Izmir, he showed me postcards in which the building does not appear in the late 19th century.

Figure 67. Postcards dating from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the one (above) without the Ethnography museum, the second (below) showing it during construction. Although the exact dates of the postcards are not known, the fact that the Imperial Hospital is depicted (the large building in the middle in the postcard where the Ethnography Museum is missing, shows that the building did not exist in the late 19th century.

Could this building have been constructed not in 1831, but instead in the period 1919-1921, by the Greek Administration, and designed by Aristotelis Zahos? The expropriation plan suddenly became important evidence. Is there a street called Damlacik (pronounced Damlatzik) near the Ethnography Museum? Contemporary maps of the area do not show this name on the street behind the Ethnography museum – most street names were changed to numbers and the street under question is named 426 Street. However a mosque called Damlacık Camii appears.
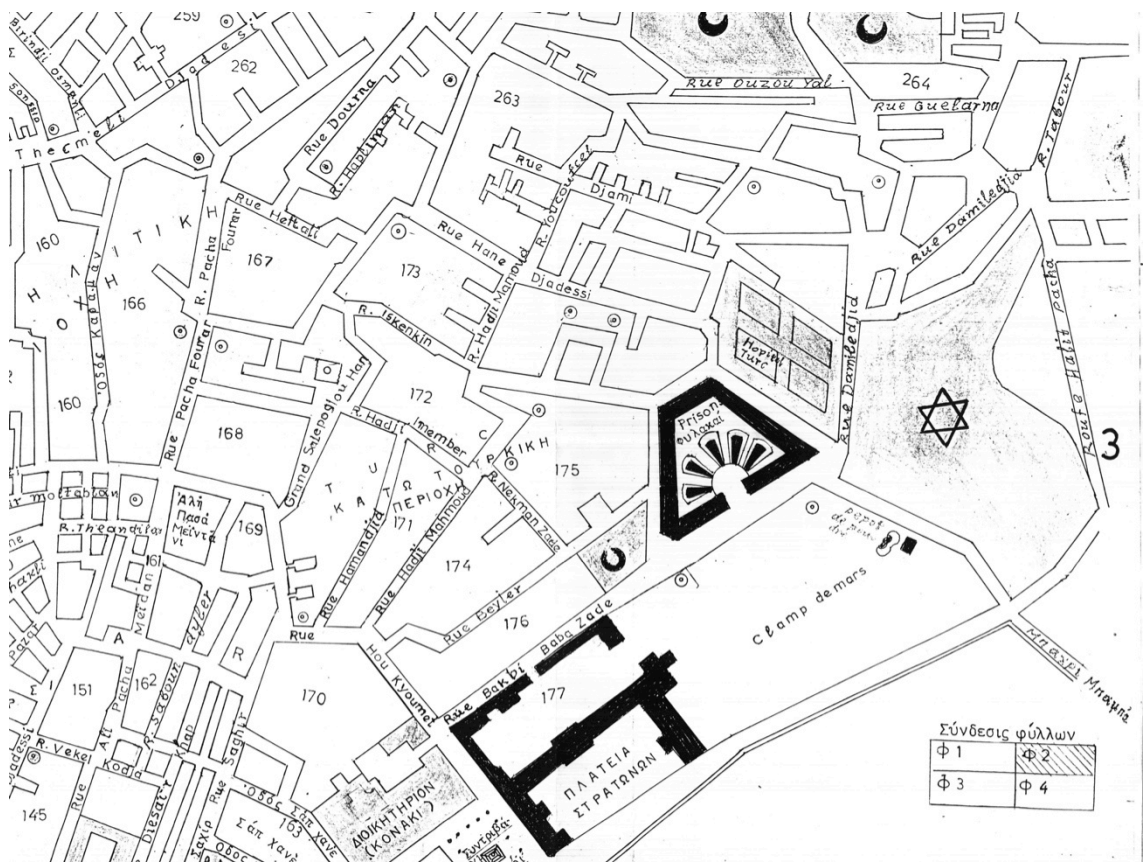
Figure 68. Map based on the 1913 Ernest Bon map of Izmir, source: Enosis Smyrnaion. On the right side, above the Jewish cemetery, we can read *Rue Damiledjid.* The hospital shown in the postcards also appears, see *Hôpital Turc.*

A Greek version of the 1913 Ernest Bon map of Izmir, (1:1800 scale), found at the Museum of Estia Neas Smyrnis and at the Archive of the Izmirians' Union (Enosis Smyrnaion) in Athens,[377] shows a street called Damiletzid exactly behind the location of the examined building (Figure 68). Given that the word Damiletzid does not have a

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[377] To which I was directed by Dr Savvas Tsilenis.

meaning in Turkish, it is probably a corruption of the word *damlatzik* (little drop). Any remaining doubts were eliminated when, visiting the area, I asked local residents for Dalmacık Yokusu and they directed me exactly to 426 street.

The 1913 plan also does not show any building at the location of Ethnography Museum; it just shows the existence of the Jewish Cemetery, strengthening the evidence that it was constructed by the Greek Administration in 1921.

Figure 69. The entrance of the Ethnography Museum, photo by the author, Izmir 2013.

The architecture of the building itself provides further evidence. It is an example of Zahos's Byzantine Revival, influenced by Jugendstil. What is striking is the clear geometry, reflected both in the volumes of the building – it consists of a cubic

main mass and a corner cylindrical tower, which is the entrance and staircase – and also in the abstraction of forms; a stylized marble band unifies all the windows, following their arched shapes and climbing around the cylindrical tower (staircase) as the windows change altitude (Figure 66). In Figure 66 we also notice the clear distinction of mass and openings – vertical zones unify the windows, creating a rhythm on its facade. Zahos's understanding of Byzantine tradition is not at all superficial – he shows a deep knowledge of its structure, proportions, and forms, albeit he uses them in a creative way, indeed trying to create modern forms embedded in tradition.

Some of the elements of the building refer to the main University Building; such are the overhanging roof and the Theodosian-style capitals. Moreover, the row of bricks, arranged at an angle in order to create a rhythm of light and shadow, and forming a thin second arch above the marble arches, (seen partially on the top of Figure 69 and in the arches of Figure 71), can be found in Zahos's unrealised proposal for the portico of the main University building (Figure 58).

Figure 70. One of the capitals at the entrance of the building. Photograph by the author, 2013.

Figure 71.   Portico on the left of the entrance, photograph by the author, 2013.

Was the University of Ionia an explicitly nationalist project, or can its vision of 'peaceful coexistence' render it a deviation? Compared to the violent ethnic cleansing that the region witnessed from all sides in that period and in the following decades, Karatheodori's vision for a University open to all ethnic groups, can indeed be understood as a deviation from the norm. It attempts to reconcile irredenticism with coexistence having in mind the example of *empire*, whether the Ottoman or the Byzantine. Moreover, Zahos's persistence with the importance of vernacular and Byzantine forms indeed reflects an effort to resist both the Classical approach to Greek identity and Western hegemony. Nevertheless, the 'civilizing' character of the project, and the incorporation of these forms within a historiographical canon that prioritizes Greek identity, is indicative of the relationship of subordination it envisions for its 'Other' identities. This mirrors the symbolism put forward the Ottoman Revival elements of the building, which, when constructed, were also a reflection of Turkish superiority within an Empire of many identities.

That said, the layered character of the two buildings, and their polyphony, their carefully crafted details, the problematization of the Western canon and the deep exploration behind the design of the forms, render them latent narrators, which can and should be voiced. Re-visiting the University of Ionia allows to better understand the history of Greek and Turkish identity formation, maybe in a much richer way than the Greek Girls' School or the Culture Park, whose architectural language is more 'purified' through the quest to belong to the West.

As we have seen in this research the turn to the past within the framework of nation-building has led to many different ideological positions, architectural styles, and pairings of form and meaning. In the last subchapter I will briefly consider the plurality of architectural answers to the question of a modern and national form.

5.2 Different paths to the national image

> ...new words enter the vocabulary, old words suddenly take on new meaning. Or they retain their meaning but their position changes: the peripheral becomes central, the walk-on becomes the hero of the play [378]

Our journey through the architectural history of the two cities in their transition from the Ottoman to the post-Ottoman period revealed a plurality of architectural styles employed in order to reflect the 'national' identity in a modern, Westernized state. The Greek Revival Style of the Evangelical School and the Girls' School, the Byzantine Revival of the facades of Thessaloniki and the University of Ionia, the Ottoman Revival Style of early 20th century Izmir, are some of numerous examples of Revivalist architecture, through which, one can explore not only the critical questions of how the 'past' (whether Byzantine, Ancient Greek, Ottoman or other) can be interpreted, selected as a constituent of the identity of the 'nation' and appropriated us such, but also how it can be used as a guide in order to create new architecture.

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[378] Suleiman, Susan R. and Crosman, Inge, (eds.), *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p.3.

While in Thessaloniki, after 1912, private houses continued to be designed in eclectic styles (Neoclassical, Renaissance, Neo-baroque, etc.), and gradually, in the 1910s and 1920s, they were influenced by Secession and Art Nouveau, Neoclassicism [379] and Neobyzantinism were promoted in public buildings and educational buildings of religious character.[380] However, this type of Byzantine Revival is closer to the facades of Thessaloniki and the Hébrard School rather than the Jugendstil of Zahos. One bold experimentation with Byzantine heritage, testifying to the significant variations that came about in the modern encounters with Byzantium, came from Mitsakis, who designed the Saint Sophia School complex in a clear Modernist line, using stylized motives of Byzantine tradition (Figure 72).

Figure 72.   The Saint Sophia School complex, by Nikos Mitsakis, 1931. Source: Kolonas, *Thessaloniki 1913-2013,* p.14

These experimentations with the byzantine architectural tradition reflected, as already seen, a conscious differentiation from Neoclassicism, to which the Evangelical and Greek Girls' Schools belong. Through their forms, used in most schools throughout

[379] In Thessaloniki, neoclassicism was also promoted for public buildings, due to its reference to classical Greece.
[380] Such as the Ionian-People's Bank and the Bank of Greece. For the Bank of Greece, the competition rules demanded that the building should be designed in a Greek or Byzantine order. See Kolonas, *Thessaloniki 1912-2012,* pp.39-47. Byzantine Revival also appeared in private houses and educational buildings of religious character. See Kolonas, *Thessaloniki 1912-2012,* pp.103-109.

the country at the time,[381] they embody the essence of what Greek education was perceived to be throughout the 19th and up to the early 20th centuries: a classical education, alluding to Athens and to the *status quo* that Karatheordori wanted to overturn. But what is most interesting is that Greek Revival, although originating from Western Europe, acquired deep roots in Greece since it had direct references to the local context and was understood as a loan in reverse – as a purely Greek architecture 'returning home'.[382]

We saw that Byzantine Revival emerged at a moment when Greece needed an ideological justification of its irredentist claims, an evidence of the Greekness of Ottoman provinces, and a medieval civilization equivalent but different from the Western Middle Ages. Further to that, we saw that Byzantine Revival was not a uniform style – important differences in perception, architectural formation and aesthetic positions marked Zahos's and Hébrard's works. Hence Revivalist styles, to the extent that this thesis has managed to demonstrate, should not be light-heartedly grouped into one category, since they present deep complexity and reveal important ideological variations. Their emergence, flourishing and expiration, mark important shifts in the understanding of history, and they also present interior variations.

All these styles were overshadowed by the dominance of Modernism in the 1930s, for the justification of which different arguments were made. Notably, the re-interpretation of vernacular architecture (like the cubic island houses of Greece or the house of Macedonia and Safranbolu, or the Turkish minarets) as rational architecture was used to justify the functionalist Modern Movement as a necessary and inevitable continuation of architectural practice.[383] Le Corbusier's visits to Greece[384] and Turkey, local architects' educational and professional formation abroad, as well as foreign architects' work in the two countries enhanced its consolidation. Although in Greece it

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[381] For example the Kallias Schools. The first systematic effort of constructing schools across the country was initiated in 1894, based on plans of the engineer Dimitris Kallias. Until 1906, 400 schools had been constructed in a classical style, transmitting the official presence of the state in a monumental form across the country. See Filipidis, Dimitris, *Neoelliniki Arhitektoniki,* (Athens: Melissa, 1984), p.132. Similarly, schools in an Ottoman Revival Style were built all around Turkey in the 1920s. Notable examples are the Gazi and Latife schools in Ankara and the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Primary School in Konya. See Aslanoğlu, pp.162-163.
[382] Fillipidis, *Neoelliniki Arhitektoniki,* pp.69-70.
[383] See Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* pp.110-111.
[384] Both in his early travels as well as for the 4th CIAM in Athens

was not adopted and imposed as an official style, it did gain popularity, and the nationwide state-led Schools Programme (1928-1932), which constructed many schools in a modern style all over the country, gave modernism some official credentials.[385] Between 1928 and 1932, no less than 3,176 schools were constructed across the country. In the case of Turkey, the domination of the Modern Movement swept architectural production and was uncontested for a long time. All the official new buildings were designed in the International Style, setting the tone for private construction as well. Hence it is no surprise that all but two of Kültürpark's new buildings, which were constructed in the late 1930s, were in a modernist style (Figure 73).

Figure 73. One of the pavilions in the International Fair. The Parachute tower can be seen under construction at the background. Sadi İplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem.

Many architects were caught in this succession of styles, which is perhaps another evidence for their ideological affinity. Necmettin Emre, who designed in

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[385] It is no coincidence that education again is conscripted to the cause. Similarly, in Turkey, after the Ottoman Revivalist Schools of the 1920s, Modernist schools and People's Houses (*Halkevleri)* were constructed all over the country in the 1930s.

Ottoman Revival in the 1920s (as mentioned in 4.1), now designed Izmir's Gazi Elementary School in a modernist line (Figure 74), with a rounded corner, which would become characteristic of many buildings across the country. Zahos followed a similar professional itinerary, adopting Modernism at the end of his career. Tahsin Sermet however, remains silent. The architect of some of Izmir's most important Ottoman Revival buildings such as the Borsa building, the National Library, and perhaps the School of Commerce that became the University of Ionia, left architectural practice early, according to his family.[386]

Figure 74.   The Gazi Primary School, designed by Necmettin Emre. Source: Arkitekt, 1934 No:7

Although Modernism was presented in both countries as emancipation from the backward looking forms of Revivalism, the latter too has been more recently examined as an encounter with modernity. In Bozdoğan's words, if modernity is understood as a condition that 'involves, among other things, a clear self-consciousness, on the part of nations as well as individuals, of history and change and of one's own position with respect to change – a claiming of one's subjectivity and a recognition of one's need for self-representation and self-transformation,' then

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[386] I have not managed to uncover the exact reasons for his early retirement, so any connection of this with the change in the architectural landscape would be a speculation. However I aim to research this further.

Ottoman Revival can be considered as a modern discourse.[387] This argument can be extended to Neoclassicism and Byzantine Revival.

However, in its direct morphological affinity to Western architecture, in the similarity of form, Greek Revival was closer to Modernism, than to the other two Revivals. In both Greek Revival and Modernism, despite fruitful fermentations especially in later periods, the form was largely kept as in Western Europe, while its use was justified by tailoring it to the national canon. Contrary to that, Byzantine and Ottoman Revival, despite being inspired by Western Revivalisms, were not a direct mimesis; they were a creation of a counterpart. Rather than self-inclusion in the Western world through equivalence, Greek Revival and Modernism promote self-inclusion through sameness. In that sense, Byzantine and Ottoman Revival could be considered a stronger response to Western Orientalism than the other two styles.

Figure 75. A house in the new reconstructed city, Sadi İplikçi Album, source: Mert Rüstem.

The succession of architectural styles is only one dimension of the complexity of the architectural landscape; the same architectural form acquired different meaning

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[387] Bozdoğan 2001, p22

as the setting changed. Apart from Ottoman Revival, which started as an architectural reflection of Ottomanism and was gradually Turkified in the 1910s and 1920s, the unproblematized appropriation of the Evangelical School as Namik Kemal Lisesi and the Greek Girls' School as Atatürk Lisesi, despite their explicit Greek Revival Style is another typical example. As the code of interpretation as well as the intended audience changed after the city changed hands, their forms were not any more a reflection of Greek classical civilization, but they became just another Eclectic, European style, among many in the Empire (Neo-gothic, Baroque, Renaissance, etc). In a similar way, the Byzantine language of Kiz Lisesi was derived from its meaning; it was silenced, as the intended audience was not there anymore.

As Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı has written, silence is indeed an important factor in building a new unproblematic identity.[388] In the Greek and Turkish historiographies, the University of Ionia features in very contradictory ways. In the Turkish context, the major participation of the Greeks in the completion of the building and in its current form is hardly voiced and the users of the school do not know the history of the building. On the Greek side, the pre-1919 state of the building as well as its later use are unvoiced, while the University is mostly celebrated as a visionary humanist project which was tragically and unfairly interrupted. Similarly, the institutions accommodated in the Evangelical School and the Girls School until recently did not acknowledge the buildings' former use as Greek schools.

Silence does not only pertain to historiography – as we saw, it resides also in material absence. In direct analogy and opposition to the untouched but unvoiced forms of the Evangelical School, the Kültürpark in front of it, is established on an erased urban fabric (Figure 1). On top of it, new forms will be constructed, bearing no memory of the ones they replaced.

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[388] Kolluoğlu Kırlı, Biray , 2005, 'Forgetting the Smyrna Fire', in History Workshop Journal, Issue 60, Oxford University Press, p. 25-44

CONCLUSION

As the Ottoman Empire dissolved, Izmir and Thessaloniki experienced a very violent transition to the post imperial era, one that left deep marks in their physical and human fabric. Their respective governments claimed a unique, exclusive and undeniable connection to the West, embarking on paths of modernisation and nation-building while otherising each other. The borders drawn between them defined not only the historiographical discourse of the time, but also the discourse today; these countries' relationships to the West have been largely looked individually, as parallel monologues.

This thesis set out to bring these two stories of modernisation and nation-building into dialogue; to see how they intersected, how they related and how one helps understand the other. Hence it drew as its geographical area of study a triangulation between Western Europe, Izmir and Thessaloniki, arguing that such an attempt is necessary in order not only to understand the two cities' grand master plans, but also to uncover the mysteries of single buildings.

The present became the point of action in order to secure the linear progress of the nation from its glorious past to a promising future. In that sense, although the past and the future where presented as dictating present action, in reality it was the other way round; the present was constructing both the national past and the modern future. These two dimensions, the modernisation and the treatment of heritage,

testifying to the 'politicization' of culture and the 'culturalization' of politics' became the focuses of the study.

Chapter 1 performed a temporal shift, by looking at how the content and purpose of modernisation was redefined during the transition from Ottoman period to nation-state. Although monopoly capitalism, the strong presence of foreign companies and the legislative and institutional reforms incited major modernisation projects (of similar scale to the ones in the Republican period), these had limited benefits for the biggest part of the population and for the Ottoman state. In contrast, in the nation-state era, the international rise of state intervention and the consolidation of the discipline of urbanism as mechanism that shapes space and society were combined with the need for nation-building, integration of newly acquired lands, economic development, the creation of modern and national citizens, and the securement of sovereignty and legitimacy over territory, and resulted to an extensive mobilisation of architecture and urbanism to these goals.

In this process, foreign architects became important actors, both because of their technical knowledge, experience and authority in their fields, but also because they sealed the city projects with international credentials. Nevertheless, as we saw in Chapter 2, during the reconstruction of the two cities, all the spatial actors played a role in deciding the form of the city, holding a variety positions on how the relationship to the West and to the nation's past should be articulated and making it a result of negotiation and co-authorship. What connected the various urbanist schools, despite their important differences, and the authorities was a belief in the possibilities of social engineering through the control of urban space, which they conceived as a means of production and reproduction of identity and of citizenship.

In Izmir, the Municipality Album became a strong voice in the narration of modernisation; apart from presenting the way the local authorities understood their legacy, it underlined the importance of participation of the whole nation, represented by politicians, workers, users and children, in every step of the reconstruction of the city ; in that process they verified and confirmed their command over both the city and their modern identity. Further research into the history and use of other Municipality Albums, would shed much more light into this topic.

Although in the case of Izmir the main alterations and transformations of the plan occurred at the stage of implementation, which made the municipality the crucial spatial author of the city, in Thessaloniki fermentations took place at the stage of design and of drafting the legislation. These resulted in the city becoming an important space of experimentation and innovation, which set an example for other cities. Both cities, to different extents, became examples and precedents, as we saw in Chapter 3; through the experience they provided and the publicity they gained, they were part of the evolution of urbanism on an international level, not just its recipients.

The two cities became spaces of multiple projections and imaginations; of the modern identities, of different national pasts, of the Other, of different implied readers. While the French architects traced links of Frenchness and international urbanism with ancient Greece, and saw local residents as part of the Orient, the Greek government was eager to include the country in the Western World and was determined to preserve only those elements of their identity which served a linear understanding of the nation's progress towards a modern future. Turkeys' approach to history was conditioned both by the turn to the West as well as by the Otherisation of Greece; the latter defined the layers of the past available to them for appropriation. The same territory was read and rewritten by the three endpoints of the triangulation in different ways.

Hence, both the 'modern' and the 'national' were not pre-defined categories; they were floating signifiers, their content determined by the need to simultaneously belong to the Western World and establish legitimacy over the land. The force of Orientalism became a defining, but not exclusive, parameter in their shaping; interior deviations stemming from different reasons came forward, as seen in the cases of Zahos's restoration of Saint Demetrius and his project for the University, and Hébrard's street facades.

The analysis of the two cities brought forward connections and questions, which shed more light on to each one of them. Thessaloniki's innovative legislation brought forward connections with the colonies and with Henri Prost's work at the Musée Social, and raised questions about the legislative framework of Izmir; the latter is another topic that deserves further research. Prost's sketch of the arcaded street facades of Izmir acquired more meaning when seen next to Hébrard's similar design

for Thessaloniki. Whether these arcades were inspired by the colonies, Paris, or Byzantine heritage, it was exactly that fluidity and their capacity to allow for meaningful interpretations by all sides that made them possible. This was also the case for other design solutions used, such as the circular Republic Square. Thus, the limits of categories such as West and East, colonial and non-colonial, traditional and modern, although claimed as clear oppositions in the discourse of the time, became blured in practice.

Equally important, the study of the connections between the two architects and their belonging to a small but powerful pioneer group that came out of the Villa Médicis, helped situate the two cities within a specific ideological framework. The 'tale of two cities' became a window into studying this group, but also showed that their urban development was not just subject to the national context, however important; their inherited built environment and their belonging to international networks brought them closer to each other than to the respective capitals, Ankara and Athens.

Last, the study of the two nation-building projects together helped uncover the story of an under-researched building, Kız Lisesi (the University of Ionia), and discover the architectural history of another: the Ethnography Museum, both of which, together with the reconstructed church of Saint Demetrius, strongly connect these two cities.

Aleida Assman distinguishes between the 'institutions of active memory' which 'preserve the *past as present'* from the institutions of passive memory which 'preserve the *past as past.'*:

> These two modes of cultural memory may be illustrated by different rooms of the museum. The museum presents its prestigious objects to the viewers in representative shows, which are arranged to catch attention and make a lasting impression. The same museum also houses storerooms stuffed with other paintings and objects in peripheral spaces such as cellars or attics, which are not publicly presented. [..] I will refer to the actively circulated memory that keeps the *past* present as the *canon* and the passively stored memory that preserves the *past* past as the *archive...*[389]

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[389] Assmann, Aleida, 'Canon and Archive', in Erll, Astrid and Nünning, Ansgar, (eds.) *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies,* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), p.97.

I argue that many elements in our society have escaped elimination, destruction and have found themselves 'otherised' or 'neglected' in the attics of history, in the archive – 'a space that is located on the border between forgetting and remembering'.[390] These are latent narrators that can now be reactivated, brought forward and voiced, in order to highlight different facets of our identities and the process of their formation. As this thesis has highlighted – among other issues – the power of interpretation and agency in the shaping of the history of the city, this can be a suggestion for a new way to read our buildings today.

The modernisation and nationalization of the urban spaces of Thessaloniki and Izmir involve many different pairings of forms and meanings. On some occations the form is untouched but the meaning is changed. On others, intervention transforms both the form and the meaning of a building (University of Ionia, St Demetrius). In other instances yet, forms are erased, and replaced by new ones (*Kültürpark*). Their change of meaning together with their change of addressees, is evidence that even if the assignment of meanings become political projects, forms have an afterlife which cannot be controlled.

In the walls of the Ethnography Museum, Kız Lisesi, Atatürk Lisesi, Saint Demetrius, Namık Kemal Lisesi, and in the boulevards of Thessaloniki and Izmir, in the squares dedicated to Aristotle and Kemal Atatürk, we can read a different history, multivoiced and complicated, reflecting the ideological fermentations, idealist visions as well as the nationalist enterprises that defined it.

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[390] Assman, *Canon and Archive,* p.97

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