

The Transition of Urban Toponymy of Smyrna/Izmir: Impacts of Modernism and Nationalism on The Street Names

Street names are one of the most important indicators of urban identity and memory as they can manifest different parts of urban life. However, after the emergence of modernity and nationality, street naming process has become a subject for political agendas to disseminate their influences over urban places by favoring some names over the others and this process has some inevitable impacts on urban memory. Therefore, this article aims to evaluate this process by examining the history of the street names and street naming in Smyrna/Izmir as it provides an appropriate case in this regard due to the transformations it went through. While analyzing it, the paper will not only focus on the basic categorization of the street names but also the political mentality behind them.

Keywords: toponymy, street naming, urban memory, urban identity, Izmir.

Introduction: Collective and Urban Memory

The relationship between place and memory was discussed at length in the course of history especially since Cicero who invented a method to remember things by imagining them in some basic spaces such as houses, arcs and the like on mind (Perlman, 1988: 49-50). This approach underpinned the role of basic spatial elements in the process of remembering by bounding the concepts of memory and place together. Centuries later the same approach can be followed in Halbwachs' renowned work 'The Collective Memory' in which he argues that people are deeply attached to their nearest surroundings (Houses, streets, neighborhoods etc.) or their 'material aspect'. Residents find stability and comfort in their surroundings which basically remind them that life simply continues whatever a major detrimental breakdown occurs outside of their places. Depending on their nearest places people can access to some comfort and therefore, they tend to resist the intervenes aimed at changing their places. According to Halbwachs, the level of the resistance against policies aimed to change their place is closely related to the level of dependence of their collective memory on place. That is the main reason that people do not alter their built environment so easily such as demolishing and rebuilding. Social groups' attachment to their places impedes it (Halbwachs, 1992: 3-5). Attachment of social groups in a defined place of their closest environment such as houses, streets and neighborhoods is also the main reason explaining why collective memory depends on place. Also the features of this attached place simply contribute to the formation of collective memory. In this sense, urban places provide a unique environment for this formulation as their role is to be 'the theater of our memories' even though cities are constantly being changed due to social realities. In the course of urban transformations, memories are being buried down in the physical environment (Boyer, 1996:

31). But the relationship between urban place and memory cannot be explained simply by physical places, it is also about the social groups who handle their daily interactions in these places. The term 'group' is particularly of importance here as collective memory is more than a total sum of individual memories; it also encompasses group trends and characteristics to which it belongs (Green, 2011: 99). Therefore, it can be assumed that the spatial nature of collective memory has both material and social backgrounds. Some discuss that modern societies try to intervene this connection in order to create 'a memorial background' in accordance with their 'histories' combined with their political mentalities. The examples of this process can be traced especially in urban places. French scholar Pierre Nora evaluates this phenomenon by the concepts of 'milieu de memoire' and 'lieu de memoire'.

According to Nora, modern societies try to design a cure to cope with the seemingly inevitable incident of losing their memories so, they transform milieu de memoire to lieu de memoire. This transformation also marks the dominance of history over memory as while milieu de memoire contains the vivid and continuing parts of collective memory based on its habitants' doings in their most mundane and daily lives, lieu de memoire is the manifest of designed and politically corrected place of memory. In order to create lieu de memoire, history captures memory by using some modern archiving methods. Hence, history creates a designed representation of the past in the form of lieu de memoire at the expense of losing living remnants of the past found in the form of milieu de memoire (Nora, 1996). In other words, milieu de memoire is created in an organic way in the course of history of social groups and expresses the real features of collective social memory but, lieu de memoire is an artificial place excluding the real features of collective memory while including only a fixed 'favorable' part of it.

These assumptions above can shed light when it comes to define the urban memory and urban places of memory and trace the transformation of milieu de memoire to lieu de memoire in urban areas. In his context, street names are the perfect examples imbued with collective urban memory and the role of street naming process (i.e. how streets are named) can provide some observations about the intervenes of political/ideological mentality on the (re)formulation of urban memory. Hence, this paper will try to discuss the role of street names and the process of street naming by evaluating their characteristics and their meanings for urban memory in the case of Izmir, Turkey. As a city having been changed completely in the beginning of 20th Century, it will be worthwhile considering the role street names in urban memory of Izmir in the course of near history. In this context, this article will discuss relevant literature and theories at first. Then, it will evaluate the process of street naming and street names in Izmir based on the pre-Republican (Smyrna) and Republican (Izmir) periods of the city. The relationship between the urban memory of the city and the street names will be discussed by the experiences found in these periods.

Street Names and Street Naming

In order to evaluate relationship between street names and urban memory, “a critical reading of toponyms for wider social context” (Yeoh, 1996: 298) is needed. Rose-Redwood et al. trace the toponymic studies back to their foundations in their study. In the first three quarters of 20th Century, toponymic studies was confined to the categorization of names with their cultural backgrounds. After 1980s, three main critical toponymic approaches emerged: City-text approach which is based on the use of semiotics particularly in the process of commemoration and practices of renaming street names according to the political mentality; cultural arena approach which deals with the interaction between street names and socially marginalized groups in urban landscape and performative space approach which is more deeply concerned with the use of street names in daily lives of their users and goes beyond the representative nature of names in its analysis (Rose-Redwood et al, 2017: 24-25). Bearing their differences between each other in mind, it should be stated that these three approaches cannot be separated completely as all of them consider power relations and political mentality behind the creation of street names at a certain degree and in order to achieve their goals they do a lot more than just a basic categorization of street naming process does. This paper will mainly rely on the assumptions of city-text approach as it is aimed to evaluate the semiotics about the official street (re)naming process with actual street names located on the maps from different time periods considering their commemorative functions and roles in shaping urban memory and lieu de memoires as discussed below particularly in Azaryahu’s assumptions.

Street names can basically serve two main functions: Firstly, they mark the streets for spatial orientation so use they function as a way of navigation method. Secondly, they are a manifestation of symbolic values and political order in their commemorative use as they link ‘national past’ to urban geography. They attach meanings of urban landscapes to the past by shaping urban memory with these symbolic values (Neethling, 2016: 145-147; Light, 2004: 168; Azaryahu and Kook, 2002: 210; Alderman, 2003: 171-172). Azaryahu defines the first function as the primary function by definition that the main function of street names (odonyms) are to organize spaces in a settlement for the sake of orientation by referring to spaces with defined markers. Neethling argues that in this use, their initial meanings which was attributed to them by their first users become less important since people start using them to navigate and their names simply become markers. But this process needs to be evaluated deeply considering the second effect of street names which Azaryahu defines as commemorative function. In that use, street names are constantly being used to create historical memory of city dwellers (Azaryahu, 1996: 312; Neethling, 2016: 145). The commemorative power of street names comes from the fact that streetscapes are the places where the formulation of social production of urban spaces within collective identity and memory takes place. (Rose-Redwood et al.: 2017: 24). “*Collective identity is*

constructed by and experienced through shared symbols and presentations” and it is defined and maintained in people’s attachment to these symbols and representations (Azaryahu and Kook, 2002: 198-199). These can be found embodied in street names therefore they can infiltrate into the mundane lives of city dwellers as people use streets in almost every aspect of their daily lives. The interaction between street names and daily lives even can be explained by the frequency of their use in the spoken language as some discuss that “*the way the name is pronounced reflects, and contributes to, the constitution of an imagined community*” (Kearns and Berg, 2002: 284). This process provides a perfect opportunity for political regimes and ideologies to spread their influences. Therefore (re)naming street names is a very powerful political instrument in the urban politics.

Before the 18th Century, street naming had not been an ‘official’ process; it had been created by local topography and history but, since the 18th Century it has come under the jurisdiction of administration. What this meant for street names is that the interferences of administration on street names diminished the effects of locally lived history on street names in favor of the (nationalist) political agendas of administrations as administrations started deciding which names are suitable and appropriate to commemorate as a street name. In other words, this ‘official’ process have had detrimental effects on the continuity of urban memory. But at the same time, new ‘historical’ street names became an example of lieu de memoire as they introduce an authorized version of history while molding the symbolic values into the urban spaces (Azaryahu, 1996: 312-313). In this process, street names are being chosen and renamed in par with desired nationalist political order because the new political order needs a new historical narrative to be imbued in the urban geography in order for nationalist mentality to manifest itself through its indicators on urban areas by symbolic values which constitute collective identity and memory (Light, 2004: 155). This is not a linear procedure as there are many candidates to be commemorated in urban spaces so, street naming indicates power relations in shaping urban memory (Azaryahu, 2011: 28). When street names are defined, they also demonstrate a hierarchy of historical memory Azaryahu and Kook, 2002: 199) in which some forms of commemorations have won the struggle against the others over urban spaces. As indicated above, these authorized version of history is being disseminated into mundane lives by the use of street names imbued with politically authorized commemorations.

Another way of naming streets, especially in the United States, is to use numbers and letters. This alphanumerical street naming system is mainly based on the primary function of street naming; to address and distinguish streets in order “to regulate administrative control” over cities (Azaryahu, 1996: 312). This is also an implementation of Cartesian system on city landscapes as these signs provide measurement in terms of locations of street between each based on the logic of mathematical techniques (Rose-Redwood and Kadonaga, 2016) therefore it basically makes rational Cartesian paradigm predominant in urban geopolitics for ‘ordered’ cities. At first glance using alphanumerical street

naming system seems politically neutral as numbers do not seem related with political values but, if these numbers take place the previous actual names by removing old street names consisted full of actual words, it can be assumed that alphanumeric names erase the traces of urban memory and fill them with the modernist Cartesian logic instead. This decision also constitutes another politically biased decision about urban spaces: to erase the non-desired past and replace it with seemingly value free rational categorization. As Rose-Redwood et al. (Rose-Redwood et al, 2017: 31) put it into words, both words and numbers are important elements in the formulation of approved narrative of urban memory.

An Overview of Urban Identity and Memory of Smyrna/Izmir

According to Mansel (2014: 221), there are eight basic characteristic features distinguishing the Levantine port cities from the others; ‘geography, diplomacy, polyglottism, hybridity, trade, pleasure, modernity and vulnerability’. Having been the largest external trade port city of Ottoman Empire (Tasci, et al, 2014: 62), Izmir –or back then, Smyrna- was no exception in this regard. Therefore, the foundations of the urban memory of Smyrna¹ lay down on these elements which are interrelated between each other. Therefore, it is worthwhile considering how these elements formed the near history of the city and its urban memory.

The rise of Smyrna in the course of near-history started in the beginning of the 17th Century when its trade incomes surpassed the trade income of the rival port town of Chios. The European consuls started moving in Smyrna following the success of the city in its trade performance. The presence of these newcomer Europeans who were generally The English, the Venetian, the French, and the Dutch became visible in the geopolitics of the city. An international community was being formed whilst the importance of the city in the international commerce between the Ottoman Empire and the West was rising (Mansel, 2011: 17-20). Smyrna could gain an important role in the trade networks against its rivals thanks to the its strategic position between the East and the West and therefore it could attract so many populations from the different parts of the world who were gathering there (Özveren, 2010: 120) In other words, its geography –the city is located at the very end of a very sheltered gulf of Izmir- helped the city became a trade center and the trade brought a plural society consisting of different communities and polyglottism. Smyrnelis (2009a: 17-22) also points outs these elements whilst defining the main patterns of urban history of Smyrna; a main trade port city and connecting

¹From now on, the word ‘Smyrna’ will be used when referring to the city in the Ottoman period. On the other hand, ‘Izmir’ will be used to refer the post-Ottoman, contemporary city of the Republic. This duality is followed because of the fact that ‘two cities’ differ in so many subjects one of which are street names. The Republic made the name Izmir official for the city. However, interestingly enough, the name Izmir is derived from the name Smyrna.

point not just for trade goods but also for ideas and cultures, a host city presenting an earlier version of ‘Modernity’ for a plural cosmopolitan society consisting of many non-Muslim populations in a Muslim Empire and a cultural and intellectual center in the Mediterranean.

The different neighborhoods for the different communities emerged in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Mansel, 2011: 24) and the urban settlement patterns in Smyrna were formed according to the different communities (Serçe, 2010: 26). Amongst the neighborhoods of these communities, different languages (Turkish, Dutch, English, French, Italian, Provençal, Greek, Armenian, Ladino) were spoken and different religions (Islam, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Anglican, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Gregorian, Judaism) had their believers. Even though the city hosted a plural and cosmopolitan society, their neighborhoods were separated and this separation between the neighborhoods was a reflection of relevant roles of different communities in the logic of trade system of the city (Bilsel, 2009a: 145). The settlement patterns between the 16th Century and at the beginning of the 20th Century therefore can be roughly summarized as follows: Whilst Europeans (Franks, Levantines) settled in the coastal part of the city that was very close the port, Muslims remained in the inner parts and the neighborhoods of local Non-Muslims (Greeks, Armenians and Jews) were located between European and Muslim quarters reflecting local non-Muslims’ commissioner role between Muslims and Europeans in the commerce system of the city.

This separation between different communities in the urban geography of the city led some researchers to assert that ‘even though these communities could manage to live together, the contact amongst them was limited and they were alienated each other’ (Kayın, 2010: 360). This assumption also implies that the urban identity of Smyrna was consisted of the identities of ‘fragmented communities’ and each neighborhood had different set of memories regarding their attachment to their communities. However, while different communities perceived the city from their own perspectives, these perspectives were being formed relating to each other. So, both the similarities and differences were seen in the ground of ‘common of interests’ (Smyrnelis, 2009a: 19-20). Hence, the identity of cosmopolitan Smyrna presented both singularity and plurality consisting of elements that were created interdependently.

The formulation of urban identity of Smyrna should be evaluated in a broader context that includes the impacts of some political and social movements happened throughout the Ottoman Empire on the Ottoman port cities where affluent Non-Muslim communities were being flourished and culminating power (Köksal, 2018: 53-54). Both nationalist and new Ottoman citizenship movements had some profound impacts on these communities. Whilst nationalism strengthened the national identity of the communities at the expanse of the interests of the Empire, new Ottoman citizenship movement tried to overcome this issue by bringing forth the concept of Ottoman citizenship which tried to create only one Ottoman citizenship encompassing all the subjects of the Empire regardless of their nationalities and religious

beliefs. The tension between these movements were not feeble but the concept of new Ottoman citizenship helped Smyrna build new social spaces in a 'modernist' way with the appointments of new Ottoman bureaucrats who received a westernized education as governors of the city. Kırılı also asserts that both European colonialism and Ottoman Tanzimat Reforms had some considerable impacts on the modernization of the city in this regard (Kolluoğlu Kırılı, 2007. 220). Ottoman high officers collaborated with European companies to construct new facilities in the city like the port and the promenade and try to deal with the considerable poor situation of the Muslim quarter of the city.

The Cosmopolitan era of Smyrna, which had been survived under the tension mentioned above came to the end after the World War I. Smyrna, which was once an agent of cosmopolitanism, found herself at the front of nationalism (Mansel, 2001: 207). After the Great Fire in 1922, even the physical materials and buildings which epitomized the cosmopolitan past of the city literally burned down to the ground and the city lost its remaining non-Muslim populations due to the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923. A new city, Izmir, was born from the ashes in the plans of the new modernist urbanization process of Turkey. In fact, Smyrna was also constructed under the influence of modernism in the late Ottoman period but this new version of modernism in the Republic Era can be considered slightly different from the previous one as the differences can be shown in table 1 (Kolluoğlu Kırılı, 2007. 217). This new city now has a different face and a different population and it does not endeavor to settle with her glorious and conflicted past and to rediscover her long history (Smyrnelis, 2009a: 22). To put it differently, whilst the urban landscape and population composition changed during this transformation, the urban identity and memory were also altered. Therefore, it would be worth considering this transformation by evaluating the street naming process and street names in both the Ottoman and Republic Eras as they reflect the social conditions and political mentality in which the city had been through and they can also be valid indicators of urban memory or tools to create a 'desired urban memory (or lieu de memoire) as mentioned above.

Table 1. *Differences between Smyrna and Izmir*

Smyrna	Izmir
Located in an Empire	Located in a nation state
Multicultural and cosmopolitan population	Homogenized population
Heterogeneous urban landscape	Homogeneous landscape
Under the influence of flexible and current modernity	Under the influence of well-structured and rigid modernity

Source: Compiled from Kolluoğlu Kırılı, 2007: 217.

Streets, Street Naming and Street Names in Smyrna (Before 1923)

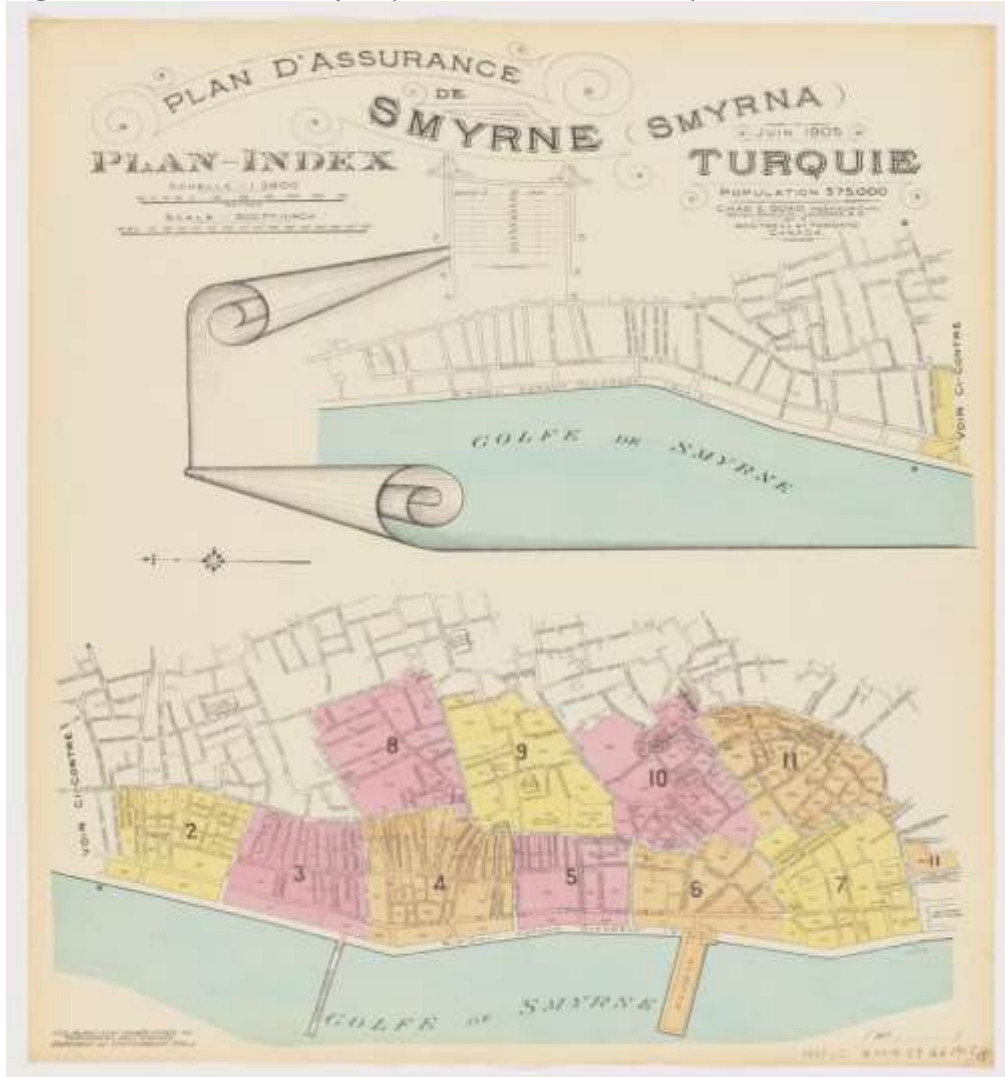
When Smyrna was becoming a major Levantine port city in the 16th and 17th Centuries, the streets were so narrow and full of merchants from different nationalities and even the main street, the Frank street, which was paralleled to

the coast was dirty, ill paved, very narrow and too crowded. But in the 19th Century, the Frank Street and the Rose Street became the most beautiful streets of the city (Smyrnelis, 2009: 11). It was no surprise that Frank Street had become well maintained as it was being organized in accordance with the long way trade system of the city with Europeans as the hearth of Frank Quarter and the rest of the city, especially the parts where European influences were being felt. However, the rest of the streets remained narrow and ill maintained and socioeconomic actions and relations were crammed into these narrow streets (Kolluoğlu Kırılı, 2007: 226). Even though most of the streets were dirty, ragged and dangerous particularly at nights and all types of crimes such as arson, homicide, extortion were not uncommon, the inhabitants of Smyrna met and interact with each other on these streets (Smyrnelis, 2009b: 199-201). These interactions happened on the street was the one of the main factors contributing to the creation of cosmopolitan urban identity and its memories amongst the inhabitants. Even the narrow shape of the streets might have encouraged people to communicate with each other and this is what Halbwachs asserts about the formulation of collective identity as mentioned above. The collective identity of the city was being created naturally by the occurrences, happenings, interactions amongst all kinds of people which the city had in these centuries.

The city went through an earlier version of modernism towards the 20th Century which can be followed on the urban plans aimed to organize the city space in a more systematic manner than before considering the dominance of narrow, disorganized and rugged streets on the urban landscape. The first application of modern urban planning in the Ottoman Empire was introduced in Smyrna in 1840s when the Armenian quarter (Haynots) burned down (Bilsel, 2009a: 146-147). While the contractions of the modern port and train stations made the streets around the Frank Street located in the Frank Quarter more vivid, the recently established Municipality of Smyrna (1874) opened up some news streets and try to ameliorate some ragged streets especially in the southern districts where the Muslim and Jewish communities lived as the streets in these areas were more problematic and disorganized in comparison to the ones in the Christian quarters. Governor Mithad Pasha (1880-81) even tried to open up new boulevards connecting the rich and poor parts of the city but failed eventually (Bilsel, 2009a: 154-159). What these instances point out is that the streets became a form of device to modernize the city for the interests of its economic life but, under these transformations the street names remained relatively the same² and they could represent the socioeconomic and cultural features of their users and passersby as the streets were given names not in a systematic way but according to some symbols with which they were associated (Ergin, 2018). Therefore, it can be assumed that the street names in Smyrna were one of the indicators of its collective urban identity.

²The maps showing the growth of urban center of Smyrna from 17th until 20th centuries can be traced in Beyru, 2011.

Figure 1. Insurance Plan of Smyrna which was issued by Charles E. Goad in 1905



Source: Goad, Charles E. Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna): Turquie: plan, index. Londres: C. E. Goad, 1905.

In order to list the street names of Smyrna, Insurance Plan of Smyrna which was issued by Charles E. Goad in 1905 (Goad, 1905) has been selected as this plan has the full list of street names for each designed section (See Figure 1). The names found in the list of the plan and the other visible street names which are not included in the list since they are not located in the sections but can be seen on the map have been taken into consideration. Then, the names have been categorized into the seven basic classes depending on the meaning of the names. What is interesting is that even though the language of the map is French, different languages (French, Greek and Turkish) are used to name the streets on the map in a mixed way.

As seen in the Table 2, the street names of Smyrna represented the cosmopolitan nature of this Levantine and Ottoman port city. They were

created by the relevant social, economic, cultural, communal activities with which the inhabitants were dealing in their daily lives and because of this fact, the street names of Smyrna could be considered as indicators of Halbwachs' notion of collective identity and Nora's concept of milieu de memoire. These names remained consistent during the centuries were the carriers of urban memory to the next generations.

Table 2. Categories of Street Names in the City Center of Smyrna in 1905

Category	Description	Frequency
Commercial/Economic Activities	They generally refer to the names of trade goods, commodities, professions and passages (Turk. Ferhane (Frank House) – Verhane. These passages emerged in the 19th Century as trade centers alongside the Frank Street.	120
Landscape	The names in this group refer to both the natural and sociocultural features of the relevant lands.	38
Religion	The names about Christianity and Islam are covered in this section. They are about the temples and saints of these religions in general.	14
Levantine Community	The passages generally bear the names of affluent Levantine families. Some family names are also given to some streets.	27
Greek Community	Some passages and streets are associated with Greek family names. Also some streets are named after some saints revered in the Greek Orthodox Church.	30
Ottoman Bureaucrats	Some streets are named after the Ottoman bureaucrats and statesmen	10
Others and Unidentifiable	The features which do not fit in the other categories or of unknown origin are listed here	44

Note: Some street names are given place in more than one section as their meanings can be associated with multiple categories. See the Appendix 1 for the full list.

Street Naming in Izmir (After 1923)

The Great Fire at Smyrna and the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey had a profound impact on the topographic and demographic composition of the city: The city lost its Non-Muslim population and their built environment. Now the new city, Izmir, born out of the ashes of the old one became a political and nationalist case for the recently established modern Republic of Turkey as Izmir was the symbol of the National War of

Independence (Alim Baran, 2003: 75). Nationalism and Modernism were the main themes of the political agenda of the newly-founded Republic. The Reforms in Turkey aimed to transform the society to a modernist stage by political and administrative devices including urban planning (Bilsel, 2009b: 250).³ Rebuilding Izmir was the product of this nationalist and modernist mentality as Izmir was a perfect experimental area since the city center had been destroyed to a great extent and the city was nationalized. In this regard, changing street names of Smyrna was one of the most effective implementations of the nationalist and modernist urban planning in Turkey back then.⁴

The street names of this new city were changed by the decrees of Municipality of Izmir and the relevant meeting records kept by The Municipality which were obtained from the archives of the Municipality about changing street names shed light to underlying reasons for changings in street names. In this regard, The Municipality accepted the proposal which was put forth by the commission established exclusively for this subject on changing street names on the 11th of February in 1937 in order to change street names. According to the proposal, streets whose lengths are longer than 20 meters must have a name but streets shorter than 20 meters must have a number instead of a name and their old names shall be removed. What this decree meant for the street names is that it removed all of the old street names some of which are shown in Table 2 and replaced them with numbers or novel names. The reasons why this decree was issued can be found in the meetings records that can be categorized as follows;

- It is expressed that ‘ancient and meaningless’ names should be changed.
- The city is being rebuilt in a ‘scientific’ way and the numeric system is considered more beneficial as streets are being organized vertically and horizontally. Even the Mayor himself refers to the American numeric street naming system as a useful system to categorize.
- It is stated that longer street names containing words require bigger street name signs and therefore cost way too much money than the street name signs written by just numbers.
- All street names must be of Turkish origin.

This trend can be observed in the local newspapers of the city during this period as this changing process was described by local newspapers under the headlines such as ‘The street names which does not suit the Republic Regime have been changed’ (Anadolu Newspaper, 1937) and ‘Commission of Street Naming changed the names making nonsense’ (Yeni Asır, 1937).

³In her study about the street names of Izmir, Asimgil also argues that this process has ideological and nationalist paradigms behind it, see; Asimgil, 2018,

⁴Street name changes in Izmir can also be evaluated within the context in which many topographic names were changed in Turkey due to the Turkification policy. To analyze the transformations in toponyms in a broader picture, see; Öktem, 2008; Sahakyan, 2010.

The large and long streets which needed to be named were given names after the high statesmen, military officials and republican values after 1940s. The decree mentioned above immediately changed the names of First Cordon, Second Cordon and Guzelyali Tram Streets to Atatürk, Republic and İnönü Streets respectively on the 11th of February in 1937. Four days later, this pattern was followed as the new squares of the city were given names by the Municipality after the names of the Treaties which are important for the establishment of the Republic such as Lausanne and Montreux and the important dates like the 9th of September which is the day Turkey retook Izmir in 1922. However, naming squares after the Treaties was a matter of debate because the names are not of Turkish origin. The solution could be found by the Municipality stating that these names were important reminders of the victories of the Republic and their Turkified equivalents were going to be used (Lozan and Montrö). The trend of naming streets after military officials (also martyrs) and statesmen was followed when the Municipality of Izmir named some boulevards such as Mithat Pasha, Veteran Osman Pasha, Martyr Sir Fethi, Martyr Nevres, Talat Pasha in 1951 (Ürük, 2008: 3).

Considering the information above, it can be stated that streets were named in the city center of Izmir by two main factors: Firstly; numbers and secondly; concepts, people and values which are important for the Republic. As discussed in the theoretic approaches in the literature of street naming, numeric systems aim to make urban areas 'ordered' and 'value free' while Republican names have a commemorative function. As Azarhayu puts it, commemorative street names indicate that a certain party wins the struggle in an urban setting and this is the Republican values in the case of Izmir. These designed names are an example of *lieu de memoires* as they are chosen by specific political agendas and only refer to a defined time period in history which is favored by political mentality while eliminating the other aspects of history and collective memory.

Despite the fact that the alphanumeric system, or just the numeric system in the case of street naming in Izmir, seems neutral and doesn't imply any commemorative meanings, the use of numbers as street names erased the actual street names from the urban memory of Izmir (Ürük, 2008: 5). However, a few of them could survive these changes; people still call 1382th street as 'Gul Sokak' (Originally; Rue des roses; street of roses).

Today, the numeric system still prevails the street naming system in Izmir (see Table 3). The City Council of Metropolitan Municipality of Izmir has recently issued a decree aiming to guide all the district councils of Izmir about the changing of street names throughout all the districts of Izmir on 13th of January in 2017. In this decree, it is expressed that the remaining street names, i.e. mostly numbers but also names about the Republican values, must not be changed in order to avoid any confusions in the urban address system by stating "changing names of places such as boulevards, avenues and streets disrupts the database of Geographic Address Information System and outdates the data processed in National Address Database". Hence, the Municipality generally rejects the demands about changings of street names by referring this decree.

After the tremendous changes of the street names before 1950s, the street names have remained the same because of the practical reasons. This phenomenon can be observed by referring the by referring the Table 3; the numbers of streets given by the Municipality in 1940s still dominate the street names of the central part of Izmir as seen in the Table.

Table 3. *Street Names in City Center of Izmir today*

Category	Description	Frequency
Numbers	These numbers show the dominance of modernist Cartesian logic over the street names	149
Values	The names in this group refer to values about the Republic/Political Regime/Ideology/Nationalism	21
Others	The names which do not fit in the other categories are listed here	12

Note: The neighborhoods of Konak, Akdeniz, İsmet Kaptan, Kültür and Alsancak in contemporary Izmir were chosen as the areas they roughly cover the areas shown in Charles E. Goad's map. See the Appendix 2 for the full list.

Conclusions

Streets are inseparable parts of people's daily lives and they are a very important source for the formation of collective identity. The elements of collective identity are shared amongst people on streets and their features make street names very important in terms of shaping collective urban memory as streets bearing their names have both material and social aspects of collective memory. Because of their functionality in this context, street names have become a political device for urban politics to spread desired values throughout the inhabitants of urban areas since the advent of Modernity. In this case, street names may lose their power to carry the elements of collective identity since designed street names only promote "a defined and limited" period of time and rules out the other aspects of cities. Therefore, desired and designed history rules out actual elements of collective memory from urban spaces. Even though alphanumerical street naming system may ease the navigation and make the urban order set by a Cartesian logic, it may remove a certain part of urban identity by replacing names representing real aspects of city dwellers' lives with 'value free' numbers and this implementation also relies on some values inherently such as the superiority of logic of modernity. Implementations in street naming and street names in Smyrna/Izmir provide some valuable findings in this regard.

Street names in Smyrna were representing the plurality that the city had in terms of its socioeconomic activities and demographic composition. The words/terms associated with commercial activities, such as trade goods, title of professions and passages were the most frequently used street names as the city

owed its rise to its role in the international trade. The trade-associated names were followed by the signs of other pluralities; names from Levantine and Greek communities, religious names from different religions. Landscape associated names were also in use as cultural and natural landscapes are inseparable parts of urban identity. As stated in the paper, urban infrastructure was being improved not only by Western merchants but also Ottoman bureaucrats who were trying to meet the former's demands. Therefore, some names associated with Ottoman bureaucrats were also not uncommon. In short, it can be stated that street names were demonstrating the elements of urban identity of back then-Smyrna.

However, when the street names in Izmir became a subject of politics of the modernist nation state, they lost their power of being a representative indicator of urban identity. The new street names in the city center are consisted of numbers or commemorative names in general. Their role is not to demonstrate the elements of urban identity, but to promote the Cartesian logic of modernism and the commemorative national values in Izmir today. This paradigm still prevails as it is shown in the relevant issues of the Municipality aiming to fix the contemporary street names in this manner.

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The Appendix 1: Street Names in the City Center of Smyrna in 1905

Street Names associated with;

Commerce/Economic Activities	<p>Customs Access, Algeria (South Coast)), Anastasse Agha Passage, Arabic Market, Arabic Passage, Solicitor (Profession), Bakur Gallery, Honeymakers, Fish Market, Barbaressi Inn, Glassmakers, Gun Powder Market, Flourishing (?), Flea Market, Boscovitch Passage, Devil's Market, Confectioners, Javalinmakers, Cousinery, Critikos Inn, Iron, Blacksmith, Dervişoğlu Inn, Algeria Inn, Old Fish Market, Old Customs, Old Chokha Gallery, Fassoulia Square, Fassoulia, Frank, Gioya Inn, Grand Taverns, Ekizler Passage, Pancake Makers' Market, Halim Aga Market, Wicker Makers, Homer Passage, Homsy Passage, Honischer Passage, Hardware Stores, English Pier, Weighers, Butchers, Kemeralti (Colonnade), Lumbermen, Lumbermen's Market, Chestnut Market, Linen Market, Beltmakers' Market, Goats, Jewelers, Kupecioglu Passage, Levy Passage, Lemon Sellers, Lombardo Passage, Mine, Matthew Passage, Megistis Lavras Passage, Meyvedar (Fruitful) Custom, Clamp (?), Minghetti Passage, Moraitine Passage, Natali Pier, Negrepon Passage, Wood Market, Osmaniye (Ottoman), Apricot and Road Bedesten, Saddle Makers' Market, Peshtemal Makers, Peshtemalgioglu Passage, Cheesemongers' Market, Psaro Hano (Greek: Fish Market), Quais (Docks), English Quay, Rossi Passage, Rouk Passage, Soap Factory, Sakizli Inn, Saman (Hay) Pier, Chest Makers' Market, Sayian passage, Sofianopoulo Passage, Spanoudhi Passage, Spartali Passage, Sponti Passage, Stepenapoulos Passage, Synaitiko Passage, Circlet, Circlet Makers, Circlet Makers' Market, Poulterer's Market, Pocketknife Market, Bowl, Bag Makers' Market, Tchanguirli (?) Market, Drawer Makers' Market, Chocolate (?), Nail Makers' Market, Clasp Makers' Market, Tenekides Passage, Terdjimanoglou Passage, Teskere (Stretcher?), Salt Storage, Pressers, Vliissides Passage, Whitetall Passage Oil maker, Nuts Market, New Flea Market, Road Market, Youssouf Passage, Sir Youssouf Passage. Vegetables, Chandler, Tea, Grand Dyehouse, Powder Maker, Chicken, Hen, Big Swine, Rabbit, Locksmith.</p>
Landscape	<p>Goldenriver, Head Seat Square (?), Garden, Flourishing (?) (Commerce-Landscape), First Cordon, Pine Garden (?), Apricot, Second Cordon, Back of Castle, Partridge, Kemeralti (Colonnade), Kemeralti (Colonnade) Mosque, Hisar (Fortress) Mosque Square, Elaeagnus, Köprülülü (Bridged) Street (?), Cut, Tulip, Long, Parallel, Borealis, Quais (Docks), English Quay, Hidden, Yellow, Onion Castle, Soumi Graveyard, Suzekli (Continious) (?), Below the Fountain, Muddy, Clove, Lilly, Spring, Stone Bridge, Cherry, Roses (Rue des Roses), Cypress, Well, Forest.</p>
Religion	<p>Saint George, Catholic Church Passage, Haci Huseyin Mosque, Hisar (Fortress) Mosque Square, Imam Han Square, Grand and Small Imam Han, Monk, Kemeralti (Colonnade)</p>

	Mosque, Patriarch of Jerusalem Passage, Saint George, Saint Mary, Saint Photeini, Vakıf Hodja, Cathedral.
Levantine Community	Aliotti, Baltaci, Catholic Church Passage, Fassoulia Square, Fassoulia, Frank, Homer Passage, Homsy Passage, Honischer Passage, English Pier, Levy Passage, Lombardo Passage, Maltese, Matthew Passage, Minghetti Passage, Moraitine Passage, Natali Pier, Negrepont Passage, Impasse of Providence, English Quay, Rafnewski, Rossi Passage, Rouk Passage, Whitetall Passage, Charnaud, Natali, Bella Vista.
Greek Community	Antiprikides, Saint George, Athanissiades, Carfisdhika (probably Greek origin?), Greek Embassy, Anastasse Agha Passage, Critikos, Critikos Inn, Fassoulia Square, Fassoulia, Kenourio, Megistis Lavras Passage, Phaeton, Psaro Hano, Greek Hospital, Saint George, Saint Photeini, Yellow George, Sofianopoulo Passage, Spanoudhi Passage, Spartali Passage, Sponti Passage, Stepenapoulos Passage, Synaitiko Passage, Tsigharohartadhika, Vlissides Passage, Yaliadhika, George, Pantelis, Triantafilides.
Ottoman Bureaucrats	Ali Pasha (Kemeralti), Ali Pasha (or Old Courthouse), Gentlemen (Ottoman Bureaucrat-Social Activity?), Şahinzade Square and Street, Sir Şeker, Sir Hamid, Kaymak Pasha, Kasapoglu (?), Köprülü Han Manor, Köprülü (Bridged) Street Mahmudiye (?).
Others and Unidentifiable.	Akkar (Proper noun?), Alhambra (Theater), Attar (Unknown Origin), Araicik (Unknown Origin), Across the Municipality (Government Building), Gentlemen (Ottoman Bureaucrat-Social Activity?), Municipality First (Government Building), First Ladies House (Social Activity), Dilber (Ottoman name), Djidjifia (?), Doudou (A female name?), Doullar (?), Ekizler (A family name?), Old Courthouse (Government Building), Gales (?), Haci Stamo (?), Haik (?), Halici (?), Hamam (Turkish Public Bath) (Social Activity), Hopitaux (Hospitals) (Medicine), Ibirsim House (?), Idil Roubah (?), Second Ladies House (Social Activity), Khorassannian (A family name?), Girls (Social Activity), Manor (Government Building), Mavunaci (?), Russian (?), Nihadiye (?), Osmanlı (Ottoman) Post Office, Asvan (?), Reilir (?), Safakhat (Ottoman?), Sahur (?), Soultanie (Ottoman), Tchadjilar (?Probably associated with Turkish), Teşrifiye (Ottoman name associated with honour and dignity), Roulane (?). Past, Courthouse (Government Building), Instrumentalist Sister (?), Noise, Kamburoglu (A Turkish surname), Reçide (?), Souzan (a Turkish female name).

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The Appendix 2: Street Names in the City Center of Contemporary Izmir

Street Names associated with;

Numbers	852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 876. 877. 879. 880. 883. 887. 888. 889. 890. 892. 895. 898. 900. 901. 902. 904. 905. 906. 907. 909. 910. 911. 914. 1481. 1326. 1327. 1328. 1329. 1330. 1331. 1332. 1333. 1335. 1336. 1337. 1338. 1339. 1340. 1341. 1342. 1343. 1344. 1346. 1347. 1349. 1350. 1351. 1352. 1353. 1354. 1409. 1360. 1361. 1362. 1363. 1364. 1365. 1366. 1367. 1368. 1369. 1370. 1371. 1372. 1373. 1374. 1385. 1375. 1377. 1378. 1379. 1380. 1381. 1382. 1383. 1386. 1387. 1388. 1389. 1390.1391. 1398. 1407. 1436. 1437. 1435. 1439. 1440. 1441. 1446. 1447. 1448. 1449. 1450. 1453. 1454. 1455. 1456. 1457. 1458. 1459. 1460. 1461. 1462. 1463. 1464. 1465. 1466. 1467. 1468. 1469. 1470. 1471. 1472. 1473. 1474. 1475. 1476/1. S1476. 1477. 1478. 1479. 1480. 1481. 1482. 1483. 1484. 1485. 1488.
Values about the Republic/Political Regime/Ideology/Nationalism	Republic, Martyrs, Atatürk Square, Architect Kemalettin, Sir Martyr Fethi, Governor Kazım Dirlik, Republic Square, Veteran Osman Pasha, Veteran, The 9 th of September Square, Fevzi Pasha, Freedom, Atatürk, Martyrs of Cyprus, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, Vasıf Çınar, Plevne, Lausanne Square, Talat Pasha, Ali Çetinkaya, Republic
Others	Love Way, Silk Market, Mucibur Rahman, Mediterranean, Halit Ziya, Necati Bey, Poet Eşref, Kızılay (Red Crescent), Bedia Muvahhit, Italy, Professor Doctor Nusret H. Fişek, Sait Altınordu