

*Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880*. SIBEL ZANDI-SAYEK. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012. Pp. x+273, illustrations, maps, index. \$27.50 paper. ISBN 978-0-8166-6602-7.

This book is an exciting addition to the literature on the modernization of world cities. It investigates Izmir by privileging the space and spatial relationships of this multicultural port. To achieve such a privileging is no easy task, but Zandi-Sayek convincingly exposes the highly complex processes of urban change and development that were at work in Izmir during an era when cities around the world were engaged in similar modernization projects.

Situated in western Anatolia on the Mediterranean Sea, Izmir had long been a key trading city. After the Crimean War (1853-1856), a combination of Ottoman decline and competitive European advances effectively brought the Ottoman empire into the Western system of nation-states. Izmir, suddenly at the center of these global dynamics, witnessed a doubling of its multiethnic, multinational population and its volume of trade. As a focal point of rapid change, Izmir lends itself well to an exploration of how local and state responses to new pressures played out in the city's physical spaces.

The overarching story presented here confirms that the Ottoman government tactically standardized what had been a pluralistic and permeable set of laws and practices in order to integrate more fully with the emerging order of nation-states and the global economy. Yet the details reveal how the fluid identity politics and negotiated power of a multitude of interests were inherently part and parcel of the city itself. The process of modernization was manifest in Izmir's real estate, streets, waterfront, and architecture. By fixing each chapter directly to this built environment, Zandi-Sayek is able to demonstrate how the city's form both reflected and shaped Ottoman society and politics.

Chapters are arranged topically and might be read as a series of independent studies rather than a single narrative that builds from one moment to another. But what Zandi-Sayek gives up in chronological flow she gains in spatial framing and thematic continuity. She is also able, then, to emphasize the fluid and contingent nature of historical change. Additionally, the large number of maps and photos of the city help the reader to visualize the spatial dynamics of nineteenth-century Izmir.

Each chapter focuses on one characteristic of the city to reveal the tangled set of local, national, and international circumstances that influenced the everyday identities and practices of various stakeholders. Broader tensions between belonging and exclusion, the public good and private rights, secular and religious authority, as well as institutionalized power and fluctuating allegiances, constitute some of the major themes that run through the book.

Chapter one deftly locates questions of citizenship within the physical world of real estate. Using sources like court cases, legislation, consular reports, and newspapers, Zandi-Sayek examines property ownership, land use, and taxation to assess how the city was modernized. She highlights the mixed judicial system (where older Islamic courts operated alongside newer secular ones and foreign consular courts) to demonstrate ways that those with vested interests (including Ottoman subjects, foreigners, and bureaucrats) used property as a means to negotiate their rights, privileges, and responsibilities. Since identities remained ill-defined and malleable at this juncture, the author is able to connect the ambiguous parameters of national sovereignty and citizenship to Izmir's evolving urban form.

Chapter two encompasses the same four-decade temporal range but maps Izmir at a larger scale to focus on the streets that made up the city's main corridors and public spaces. Here Zandi-Sayek provides a corporeal sense of Izmir's sights, sounds, smells, and dangers. The rapid increase in population and commercial activity at midcentury prompted greater scrutiny of city

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streets. Flooding, disease, sewage, street lights, crime, and traffic flow were urgent problems that focused attention on the need to improve municipal infrastructure and management. As the author intends, this multifaceted account transcends a simple dichotomizing of tradition and modernity or Islamic and Western practices (p. 111). Instead, she follows a sinuous path through ethnic, religious, and economic divisions to reveal how public spaces created and reflected political interests as increasingly rationalized governing bodies were established.

The building of a modern waterfront, which was not universally perceived as a desirable endeavor, is the main subject of the third chapter. In all stages of the Quay Project, competing perceptions over what constituted the public good animated a succession of compromises as this prime section of the city was re-spatialized. Delineating the various groups involved—foreign companies, the Ministry of Public Works, local merchants, and property owners—and the concerns of each, which ranged from taxation and property rights to public health and monetary gain, exposes the politics of place and place-making as these competing interests shaped the structure and priorities of urban reform.

The fourth chapter centers on the Catholic Church's 1842 Corpus Christi procession through Izmir. Here the author elucidates how pageantry and ritual mobilized ordinary citizens and elite decision makers to accommodate diverse needs, even if only temporarily. By analyzing the route of the procession in relation to key landmarks as well as the spatial choreography of participants and spectators, Zandi-Sayek shows the extraordinary diligence planners paid to social and political hierarchies. Importantly, she makes plain that such public spectacles were "space contingent" (p. 153), meaning that one's understanding and remembrance of such events cannot be divorced from the physical locations in which they were experienced.

By keeping the evolving form of the city at the forefront of the discussion, *Ottoman Izmir* demonstrates the mutually constitutive nature of physical space and everyday life—whether the latter is framed in terms of legal plurality, political contention, or social accommodation. Zandi-Sayek's methodological strategy also successfully positions Izmir for comparison to other modernizing cities. In thinking about other sites also experiencing uneven processes of global integration where such comparison would prove useful, the port cities of China and Japan immediately come to mind.

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