



From “Port City” to “City with Port”: Urban Politics and Transformation of Urban Space in Inebolu from 19th Century to 20th Century

“Liman Kentinden” “Limanı Olan Kente”: 19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla İnebolu’da Kent Politikaları ve Kentsel Mekânın Dönüşümü

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ABSTRACT

The Tanzimat (reforms) in the Ottoman Empire, modernization efforts and intensification of trade relations clearly demonstrated its effects in port cities, which are areas of trade and cosmopolitanism, as of the first half of the nineteenth century. These effects emerged as transformations in urban space and new urban uses. As of the early 20th century, the ideal of creating a new nation-state with changing governance concept brought again significant spatial changes for cosmopolitan port cities. This article examined the interventions made from nineteenth century to twentieth century the port cities and the change in urban identities with a historical viewpoint via Inebolu, which is a port city in the Western Black Sea. As a result of historical reviews, it was observed that public space in Inebolu changed in stages. It was determined that modernist projects shaped by nation-state policies broke the city-port relationship in Inebolu especially in twentieth century, and Inebolu was transformed from a “port city” to “a city with port”. This determination was conceptualized as a modernist attack on the original tissue.

Key words: Port city, transformation, politics of urban space, Inebolu, Turkey

ÖZET

19. yüzyılın ilk yarısından itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda reformlar, modernleşme çabaları ve ticaret ilişkilerinin yoğunlaşması, ticaretin ve kozmopolitizmin mekânları olan liman kentlerinde etkilerini belirgin olarak gösterdi. Bu etkiler, kentsel mekânda dönüşümler ve yeni kentsel kullanımlar olarak ortaya çıktı. 20. yüzyıl başından itibaren, değişen yönetim yapısıyla birlikte yeni bir ulus devlet yaratma ideali, kozmopolit yapıdaki liman kentleri için yine önemli mekânsal değişimleri beraberinde getirdi. Bu makale, 19. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyıla, liman kentlerine yapılan müdahaleleri ve kent kimliklerindeki değişimi, Batı Karadeniz’de bir liman kenti olan İnebolu üzerinden tarihsel bir perspektifle incelemektedir. Bu tarihsel incelemeler sonucunda, İnebolu’da kentsel mekânın aşamalar halinde değişim gösterdiği gözlenmiştir. Özellikle 20. yüzyılda ulus-devlet politikalarıyla şekillenen modernist projelerin, İnebolu’da kent-liman ilişkisini kopardığı ve İnebolu’nun “liman kentinden” “limanı olan kente” dönüştüğü belirlenmiştir. Bu belirleme, orijinal dokuya yönelik modernist bir saldırı olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Liman kenti, dönüşüm, kentsel mekan politikaları, İnebolu, Türkiye

1. INTRODUCTION: PORT CITIES WITH STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Nineteenth century was a period of fast rapid changes both for the Ottoman State and the world. Capitalism developed rapidly in the West in this period, and local economies began to join the Western economy. The 1838 Trade Agreement accelerated the economic development process for the Ottoman State at a significant level. The 1839 Tanzimat Reforms led to the transformation of economic, social and cultural structures with new arrangements that were brought to all institutions in Ottoman State (Martal, 2007: 38). In the articulating capitalism process, which began with the signing of 1838 Free Trade Treaty and the Tanzimat Era, Ottoman State lost its influence on traditional economic policy. Economic relations that were formed during this process with the world economic system and with new professions and new bourgeois classes created the environment for its emergence. These new groups were mostly concentrated in port cities. These cities were the main intermediate stop that were connecting the manufacturers and consumers on both sides of the commercial network, foreigners, colonists, merchants and intermediaries that performed the transportation of goods between the agricultural area and the industrial center. They were alive. The new groups owed their existence to the

brokerage functions they carried out in those days. In this sense, a port city can be described as a new expression of the central-environmental relations (Keyder, 1985: 29-33).

Port cities, with these characteristics, became privileged areas in connection with the world capitalist economy. The Ottoman coasts, which began to enter the international market in 19th Century, were the connection ports with world capitalism in cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki and their economic hinterland. As trade developed in Ottoman ports, which had begun to be added to their European counterparts, there was a transformation and prosperity in these cities (Ulutaş, 2012: 502-5). One of the Ottoman port cities where some transformations took place in the light of commercial and administrative changes was Inebolu, which is a Western Black Sea city. Although this article focuses on the period from nineteenth century it also aimed at a historical view of the reproduction of the city by considering the port city identity of Inebolu and the historical conditions that enabled its economic, social and structural transformation. When doing this, it emphasized that nation-state policies did not pay adequate attention to the original tissue in the process of reproducing urban space and the devastating effect of modernist projects owned by the nation-state. The debates on the spatial development of port cities from the Ottoman State to the Turkish Republic were analyzed based on various perspectives in the literature and constituted the subject of many studies.¹ There are also some studies in the literature focusing on the spatial development of the city of Inebolu²; however, existing literature says very little to query this development process in the context of nation-state policies. This article seeks to shed light on this historical gap to show the complexity of the urban transformation process of the city from nineteenth century to twentieth century.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The political, administrative, socio-economic and urban changes in the Ottoman State in nineteenth century constitute a wide subject area that requires detailed investigation. The factors under this heading were determined by the effects that transformed the urban space in the Ottoman State. In this respect, the effects of increased European control over the state and the new regulations on urban life and on the city with the Tanzimat reforms will be discussed here.

There were significant developments in the Ottoman State in nineteenth century. The 1839 Tanzimat (reforms) began under the influence of European countries and local forces. The Ottoman State joined open markets in this century. The Ottoman Empire became a wide export-based market with the trade agreement signed with the United Kingdom in 1861, and the volume of foreign trade increased in this respect (Shaw, 1985: 51). For the Ottoman Empire, the Tanzimat Reform covered new rules and regulations for almost every part of the social space. In this study, the issue of Tanzimat is especially important in terms of rules and regulations that affected urban transformation. In addition to such developments, the Tanzimat (reforms) also strengthened the non-Muslim groups. The non-Muslim population was granted some privileges, especially in the port cities of the State (Kazgan, 2009: 14). Most of the foreign trade was under the control of foreign traders, who were using non-Muslim intermediaries, and under the protection of Westerners, non-Muslim traders held trade in the port cities (Quataert, 2007: 39). Non-Muslims, became the agents of foreign companies by using their cultural similarities and languages with European merchants and their social status began to change. The Reform Decree, which was released in 1856, was the second stage of the Tanzimat Reforms granting more concessions to foreigners and non-Muslims in the Empire (Kasaba, 2005, 18-19). The increase in the trade of the imported goods and the changing economic structures of the cities had a two-way impact on the cities of the Empire. Local production centers were affected adversely, and port cities were

¹ One of the most important studies on this subject, is the "Changing urban identity in the Eastern Mediterranean port cities from the Ottoman period to the nation-state: the case of Mersin and Volos" article of Selvi and Goksu, 2018. This article, which was based on the port cities of Volos and Mersin, targeted to explain the formation and change of the identity of the Eastern Mediterranean port city. In these two port cities in two different nation-state borders, how the spatial policies implemented by both nation-states in line with their modernization projects changed the urban space was discussed.

² Aksungur's thesis with the title "Turkish architecture in Inebolu" and Ozdeniz's thesis with the title "A study and rehabilitation proposal for integrating the historical commercial center and traditional house pattern in Inebolu" provide important information about the spatial development of Inebolu in nineteenth and twentieth century.

affected positively in economic terms. Local production centers lost their importance as new trade centers emerged with close ties with European countries that would change the hierarchy of the settlements in the Empire. In the nineteenth century, changing relations with European countries changed the urban hierarchy. Although the importance of traditional production centers in the urban hierarchy decreased, the importance of existing port cities increased and new port cities emerged (Öztürk-Kihtir, 2006: 22-7).

Sultan II. Abdulhamid's Period in Ottoman Empire began with his ascension to the throne (1876-1909); and political, social and economic modernization and renewal movements were brought with it, and with the zoning activities that were started in most of the cities dominated by the Empire, the urban space began to be reorganized under the impact of Western modernism. In the Empire, in the Ottoman provinces outside the capital city of Istanbul, the concept of administrative center and representative structures appeared first during this period (Vardar, 2012; Koca, 2016: 59-62). The regulations were primarily about the renewal of the existing urban tissue. The second regulation was made on the duties of municipalities that were responsible for the renovation of the urban space and the infrastructure. The Ottoman Empire made and published urban reforms in the Tanzimat (reforms). The regulations and laws that were enacted in the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a change in the physical appearance of the capital, Istanbul and other cities, according to the European model. These changes required the reorganization and expansion of the existing streets and the expropriation of some areas. The traditional street systems of cities were narrow main streets with dead ends in residential areas. There were changes in street systems with changing transportation vehicles within the city. At the end of the nineteenth century, train stations and improved docks were added to the existing tissue of city. Especially, as the railways gained importance, large street systems became necessary in cities.

New trade relations created a new city center in nineteenth century with different functions compared to the traditional center in the cities. The traditional center consisted mostly of a market area, and the existing area was inadequate for new functions within the city. In this way, a dual city center system emerged (Öztürk-Kihtir, 2006: 46). Tekeli provided four reasons regarding the creation of this dual system. The first reason was the increased need for communication of the city with hinterland and the world. In this new context, the city communicated with its interior with railways, and with ferryboats with the world. In this way, construction activities were performed for these systems, which meant new train stations, new ports, and new post offices built in the new city center. Warehouses and hotels were built for transported goods and for people, and caravanserais and inns of the traditional sixteenth century were converted into stations, warehouses and hotels. The second reason was that the Ottoman State needed new financial opportunities because it was more open to foreign trade activities than ever before. New financial services were brought by foreigners; and many banks were established in cities (Tekeli, 1985).

Hotels, banks and warehouses were creating a new city center with their new functions, especially in port cities (Kıray, 1998). The third reason for creating a new city center was the need for a new administrative building. Although the administrations of cities were converted from military organizations into appointed governorships, new administrative buildings were built in the new city centers (Tekeli, 1985). Technological change also became effective in establishing the central government of the Ottoman State. New technologies in advanced transportation and communication were imported very quickly, and communication was opened to the community. The establishment of a mail system and the telegraph network became one of the most important technical devices for central government (Ortaylı, 1974). The fourth and final factor in creating a new city center was the foreign influences on cities. The cultural habits of foreign groups penetrated cities. Entertainment facilities like the theatres, cafes and shops for luxury goods were established in the new city centers (Tekeli, 1985).

3. PLACES OF COSMOPOLITANISM AND CAPITALISM: PORT CITIES

The nineteenth century was the beginning of a new era for the empire. After the industrial revolution, the capitalist economic structure and the restructuring process in the Ottoman State brought many changes, especially in the social-economic area in port cities (Pamuk, 1994: 13). Port cities, which were

associated with the world capitalist economy, were also a laboratory area where social transformation could be clearly observed. New economic events in these areas brought new bourgeois classes. The development of capitalism and the bourgeoisie was related with the evolution of port cities (Keyder, Özveren and Quavert, 1994: 86). It was insufficient in this process to provide the needed urban services with traditional Ottoman urban institutions (Tekeli, 1985). For this reason, a number of reforms, which were called as the Ottoman Modernization, from the military to the economy, from education to law were realized (Davison, 2005: 39-42). Building new barracks, improving roads and bridges, building the necessary infrastructure for a better communication, establishing large telegraph networks and building railways (Zürcher, 2015: 77). most of which affected directly urban space were improved. "Cosmopolitan" cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, Alexandria and Beirut, became privileged by being important crossroads of international trade networks, with the rise of wide streets and large-scale stone buildings on the coast docks and modern equipped ports (Selvi and Göksu, 2018: 53-54). During this modernization process, European cities like Paris and Vienna were taken as models, and urban spaces were revised by applying to the opinions of foreign experts (Çelik, 1998: 31-9; Selvi and Göksu, 2018: 57). Cities started to gain a new structure and physical appearance with various arrangements made in local institutions (Yenişehirlioğlu, 2010: 496). In this context, port cities were the areas that quickly adapted to the European way of life that was envisaged by the modernization process with their intensive commercial activities, capital accumulation, diverse demographic structures and international relations. These cities became the priority areas of foreign capital investments with their port function and commercial capacities. New administrative structures, ports and dock areas manifested themselves in the urban space. In addition to these, in these cities, as representatives of maritime, trade, European institutions, banking and international companies, groups started to be active in all branches of trade and finance with the economic opportunities they offered. Many port cities in the Empire like Izmir, Thessaloniki, Beirut, Tripoli, Sayda, Haifa, Alexandria were the cities where similar changes could be seen with their trade capacities and relations. Most of the investments that were made in cities in this period included those on trade-related infrastructures (Kasaba, 1994: 13-18). For example, Thessaloniki became an important transit port in 1900s, and integrated into the world market. In the mid- nineteenth century, Beirut became a settlement where port, railways, official buildings, schools, hospitals, electric trams and port facilities were rebuilt (Özveren, 1994: 86). The city of Alexandria became a commercial strategic center in 1835, and developed as a Mediterranean cultural focus (Ilbert, 2006: 12-14) (Fig. 1).



Fig.1 Izmir, Beyrut, Iskenderiye and Hayfa port cities. Source: Conzen Collection Library of University of Birmingham;Unlu and Goksu, 2018

In this respect, Ottoman Modernization and capitalist production relations formed the factors that determined the spatial development of Ottoman port cities in nineteenth century. In addition to these changes, the Ottoman State was also affected by social developments experienced in the world as a geographical area inhabited by different population groups. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the nationalist movements began to manifest themselves and influenced the different population groups

living in the Balkans initiating the process of establishing nation-states. This process meant a new modernization process that was implemented by these states established since the beginning of the twentieth century (Selvi and Göksu, 2018: 54).

In this context, in the following section of the article, the Ottoman Modernization process from the second half of the nineteenth century and the modernization projects that were implemented together with the nation-states established will be examined after the question of how it affects the space. Answers to this question will be sought through the spatial changes experienced by Inebolu, which was a cosmopolitan city in nineteenth century. The chosen city will be dealt with in a historical viewpoint, primarily on the basis of the spatial structure, which gave identity to port cities, and then on the basis of its economic, social and spatial changes. In this way, a frame will be established to explain the change in the identity of the port city of Inebolu.

3.1. The Changes of Urban Tissue of Inebolu from 19th Century to 20th Century

The city of Inebolu was established in fourth century BC in Western Anatolia as a trading colony. The most important economic vitality source in Inebolu (Figure 2) was the trade in the sea; and Inebolu port was one of the most important locations for commercial activities for the export of local goods.



Fig.2. Inebolu; port city of Western Black Sea. Source: Author's collection.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Inebolu port (Figure 3) developed more and more after the increase in trade relations with the Tsarist Russia. Towards the end of the century, local people began to produce for foreign market because of the increased importance of Inebolu port. The countries that contributed to the commercial vitality of Inebolu Port during this period were England, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, Greece and Romania. Depending on the development of commercial life, foreign companies opened agencies; and countries like Russia, France and Italy started to have trade representatives here (Tunoğlu, 2003: 363). The activities of the non-Muslim sector were active in the commercial life of Inebolu. According to the Ottoman census data, Inebolu had 2209 Greek population in nineteenth century. Inebolu maintained its cosmopolitan structure until the beginning of twentieth century (Ozdeniz, 2012: 27-9).

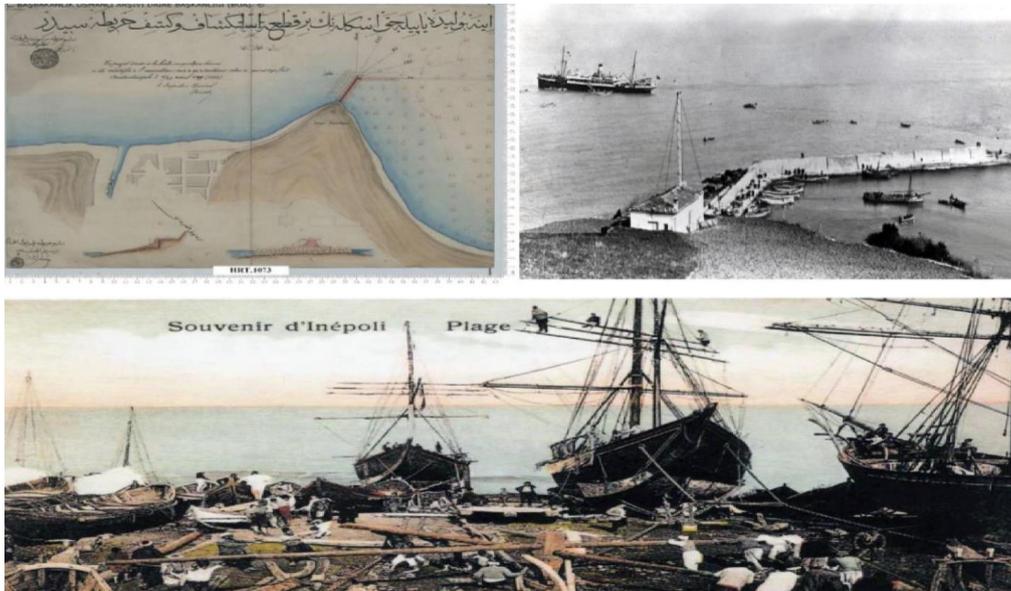


Fig. 3. The port of Inebolu, first appearance. Source: BOA, Hrt.h., No: 1073, 1883.

In mid- nineteenth century, the modernization movements that occurred in line with the Tanzimat Reforms that were adopted by the Ottoman State also showed their influence in the port city of Inebolu. Inebolu became one of the cities that gained a modern identity in the process of Westernization because of its geopolitical position and economic power in these years. In Inebolu, the first modern planning works were performed during the reign of Nureddin Pasha, the Governor of those times, with the establishment of the Municipality of Inebolu. Nureddin Pasha realized a prototype of the ideological structure of the period of II. Abdulhamid in Inebolu. The fires that became the biggest problem of Inebolu in those years made it compulsory to re-structure the market area. The Governor commissioned a market area plan from the Russian architect Baronevski in 1885 (Aksungur, 2012: 32). The market area of the city was designed in the type of modern grid style in this plan (Figure 4). In this respect, especially the buildings within the bazaar would be made of stone, consisting of streets that extended perpendicularly to the coastal area cutting them parallel. It was also designed to have street widths as 6-7 m. With the modern plan, which was constructed with new techniques and wide streets, Inebolu moved away from traditional image, and acquired a different urban identity (Tunoğlu, 2003: 379). The 1885 plan aimed at reorganizing the urban space with a rational approach; however, the spatial construction of the city continued based on the sea-port-city relation from the past.



Fig. 4. Grid plan designed by Baronevski, 1885. Source: Mustafa Fakazlı's collection.

The city, which preserved its spatial fiction for many years throughout its history, was a nineteenth century city and was influenced by the changing social and political situation in the Ottoman State in

nineteenth century. The port characteristics of the city was considered as an opportunity for the Ottoman relations with foreign countries, and with the advantages of its position, a number of innovations and arrangements were made in the city in this period. Together with the coastal trade, the construction of many new buildings began in this period in the city. The port, which the people referred to as “Talus Cape” where trade continued for many years with the port city characteristics it maintained since antiquity, was an Ottoman city of nineteenth century. With the changing policies in nineteenth century, it became the focus of a major project that would become the prestige of the city (Figure 5). Although the number of civilian buildings increased rapidly in these years in Inebolu, large-scale administrative structures were also started to support the thriving economy of the city. Many buildings in the center of the city and the port were the result of the zoning activities of this period.



Fig.5. Port of Inebolu, 1934. Source: Mustafa Fakazlı’s collection.

In line with the European style that was accepted with respect to the Ottoman Reforms, Inebolu started to gain a new look rapidly with its buildings that were built as one or two floors. Following the establishment of the telegraph network, buildings like the telegraph office, school of trade, barracks, customs building, port presidency buildings were constructed (Figure 6). The reconstruction of the city was realized with relation to the dynamic development of the social structure; and with the improvements in finance in 1882, the Ottoman Bank was opened in the city with the institutionalization of the sector. Capital accumulation was instrumental in the development of a new and modern way of life in the city.

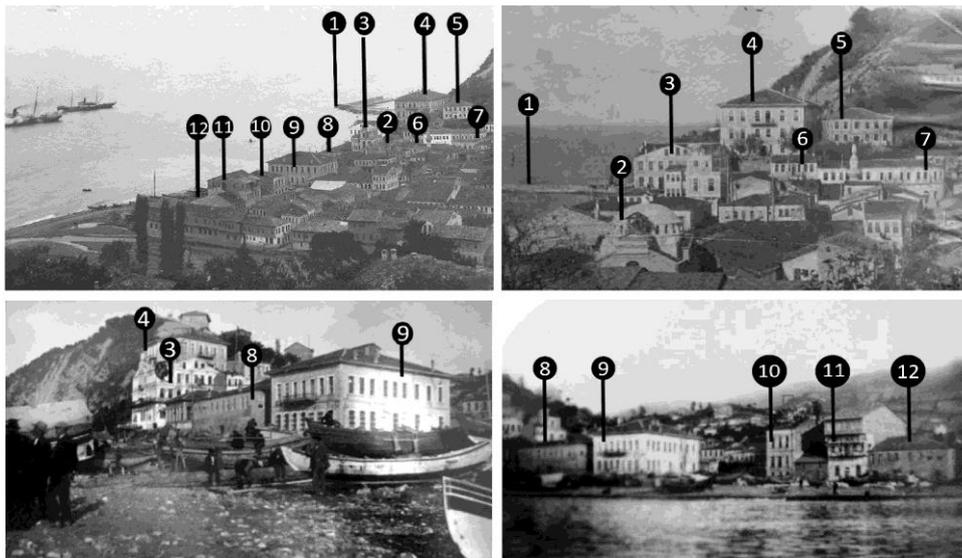


Fig. 6. The view of the town center in the nineteenth century. Legend: 1-Port of Inebolu, 2-Church of Greeks, 3-People’s House, 4-Government House, 5-School of Trade, 6-Police Station, 7-Gendarme Office, 8-Customs Office, 9-Ottoman Bank, 10-Telegram Office, 11-Post Office, 12-Tekel Office. Source: Mustafa Fakazlı’s collection. Edited by the author.

The second pillar of change was large-scale changes in urban space. It took many years to conduct a planning work in Inebolu, except for the proposal of the grid city plan that was prepared in 1885. It is known that a second zoning plan was made in the city in 1957. As a result of the development activities in the city center and its surroundings until the end of 1960s, the original tissue of the city changed greatly. Other factors constituting were, due to the increasing volume of trade, the need for a modern port and the increasing importance of highways in transportation. Tunoğlu, mentioned that the economic change in the city with the Republican Regime gained a different momentum and that import-export traffic in Inebolu port increased in the period of port expansion construction (Tunoğlu, 2003: 309). Moreover, it was aimed in the process of nation-state creation in Turkey to bring the mines in Turkey into the economy by operating them in Turkey as a state policy together with the establishment of the Republic. For this purpose, Etibank Enterprises building was built at the starting point of Inebolu port. It is seen in the old photographs of the port of Inebolu that the coastal road connected the city and the eastern part, which was used as a beach (Figure 7). The area that was formerly used as a beach was filled with concrete filling after 1975 during the construction of the port and public use was eliminated. In addition, there was an increase in the construction of highways and the coastal roads in 1980s (Victory Road), which had a binding role in the port and the city, became a busy vehicle road (Figure 8).



Fig.7. Inebolu beach(a) in 1960s. Source: Mustafa Fakazlı's collection.

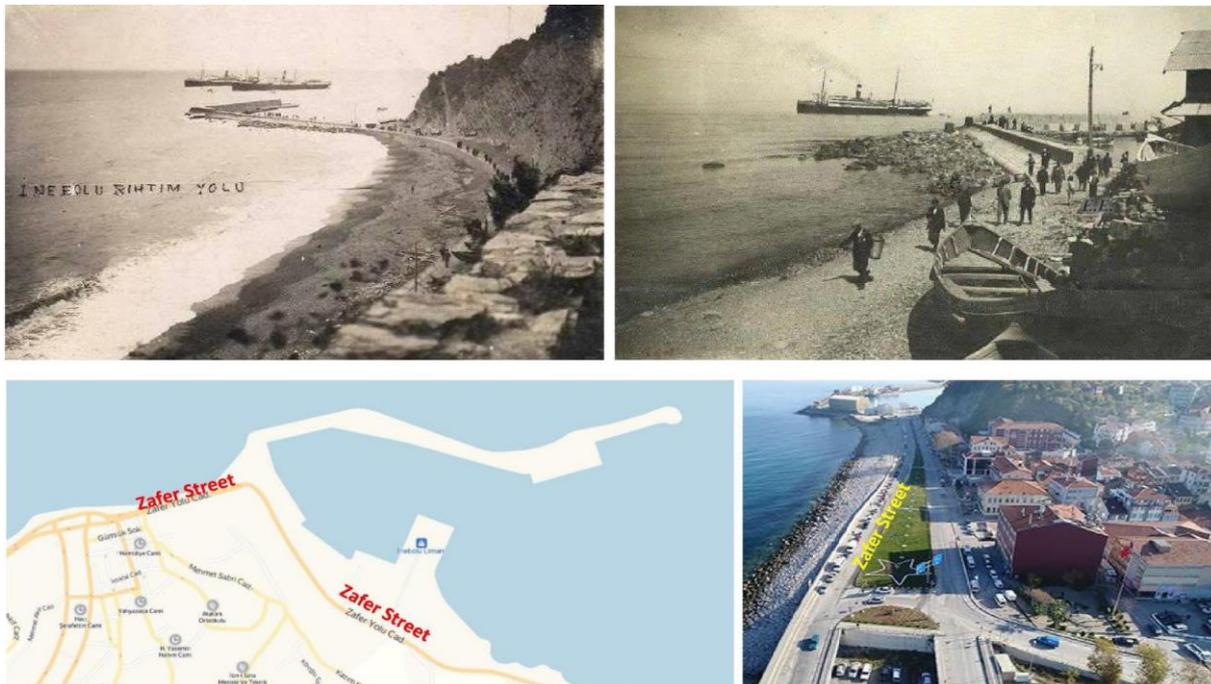


Fig. 8. Zafer Street turns into a highway and breaks the relationship with the port, 1928 and nowadays. Source: Author's collection.

The port's field concrete-cementing spread over a larger area in 1985. Then, the main mast was extended with a new project, and the capacity of the port, which was enlarged with a new dock, was increased with the added warehouses (Ozdeniz, 2012: 98) (Figure 9). The Ministry of Culture prepared a reconstruction plan in 1995 to protect the historical and cultural heritage of the city of Inebolu. The plan highlighted the transportation problems of the city, and emphasized the need to increase the relevant equipment and services, but no suggestions were made on how to provide them.

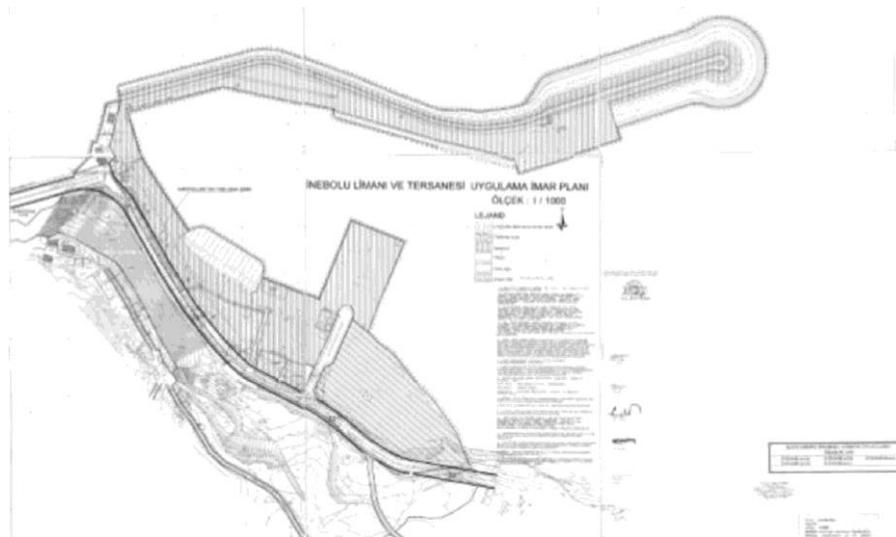


Fig.9. Renovation plan of Inebolu port. Source: Municipality of Inebolu.

In the context of all these transformations, it is possible to argue that each of the modernization process, which is aimed by each nation-state, it is aiming for a breakdown from the traditions and institutions of the past with an attempt to establish a new nation-based state as an ideological set of differences. The most concrete reflection of this situation manifested itself in urban space, which became one of the priority areas in which nation-states built their new identities. Similarly, the path to reach the modern civilization level in Turkey passed through the public works field (Aslanoğlu, 2010: 26-7). The most important spatial goal of the modernity project for nation-states was the reorganization of cities and the preparation of urban plans in this context (Yerolympos, 1993: 59-67; Bilsel, 1996: 13).

4. PROCESSES, EVALUATION AND FINDINGS

The geographical and demographic structure of Inebolu led to an important social, physical and commercial heritage. Turks and Greeks kept their cultural assets together in Inebolu for centuries, and created the unique cosmopolitan cultural heritage of Inebolu. In the area, Greeks played active roles in the city until the exchange period, because they spoke foreign languages and were craftsmen. Added to the fact that the city was a commercial center, one-to-one contacts with European nations were added, and Inebolu gained a modern silhouette of urban tissue.

During the reign of Abdulhamid II in nineteenth century, intensive efforts were made in all areas to bring the modernization and centralist ideology of the Ottoman State to all parts of the empire. Signs of the administration and ideological structure of Abdulhamid II period were also realized in Inebolu, which was a port city. The expression of political power were the institutions like educational, health, etc. in this period, as well as organizations, government mansions, prisons, police stations, and public institutions. Apart from these, buildings like the customs building, telegraph house, and Ottoman Bank in Inebolu joined the city's building stock; and enabled the formation of a central building community establishing visual and physical relations with the port in the city (Figure 5). The fact that Inebolu has a small residential area caused that the grid plan, which had the highest level of applicability, was preferred. The proposed grid plan had become a system that was used for modern cities in this period. In this context, the new plan of the city was an example of modernization and westernization efforts in Inebolu. The factors that affected the physical and cultural development of Inebolu nineteenth century

were; the western-modeled modernization of the Ottoman State. The modernization efforts were the most advanced of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The decentralized structures that were shaped by the decentralized government with its ideological concept in nineteenth century may be summarized as; the Black Sea trade of the Ottoman Empire, and the cosmopolitan structure of Inebolu that consisted of Greeks, Armenians and Turks.

The urban development was shaped by commercial activities in the period between 1850s and 1920s, and the arrangements required by maritime-based trade were made in the city. From 1850s to 1920s, it was difficult to talk about a port that had developed. The port was built in line with periodic requirements and developed spontaneously. During this first development stage of the city until 1920s, a combination of residential and commercial uses, inns, warehouses, shops, small-scale workshops were predominant around the port, and single and two-storey buildings and the streets opening to the port constituted a tissue of the grid formed.

The city continued its main spatial fiction from the past for a few decades following the establishment of the nation-state in Turkey. It is still known that usage in relation to the port continued even in 1940s. There was a social and cultural focus development between the commercial center and the port with the participation of public uses like Halkevi (People's House), Government House, post office, religious buildings, schools and banks. However, with the zoning plan in 1957, the original tissue of the city was changed partially, and some of the pedestrian paths establishing the port-city relations were converted into carriageway. In this context, the traces of the first interventions occurred in the communication between port and city fiction, and the second stage was seen between 1957 and 1975. However, in this process, the commercial, religious and public structures were not interrupted in the city center by the way they were used and visual relations with the sea-port. As of 1975, with the widening of the filling area in the port, the Inebolu port, which appeared as a natural area in the city and established relations with the city, had an inward form. For this reason, public use in the naturally-shaped beach area of the coast was eliminated. During the construction of the port, a road passed through the city with the coastal filling (Figure 10). The existing parking areas on the west of the port deteriorated, and the use of public space was eliminated. In addition, the surface of the Etibank Enterprises building at the port starting point created a wall effect on the coastal area, and weakened the port-city visual relations.



Fig.10. The map of highways (marked purple). Source: Ozdeniz, 2012.

Kolluoğlu and Toksoz emphasized the distinction of Matveyevic between “port-cities” and “cities with ports”. In this respect, the cities with ports are the ports and docks because they are necessary, but port-cities develop around ports and docks because of the nature of the goods. For this reason, the city of Inebolu emerged as a port city in the first stage when it began to develop around piers and docks, which were the basic components of the port function. To the east of the city, with the modern port that was built inside and that was detached from the city, the structure of the port city, which refers to the port and the sea, disappeared, and a new structure emerged that fit the definition of Matveyevic for a “port city” where a port is just a tool. In the first stage, it emerged as a port city; and in the second stage, it became a “city with a port” (Kolluoğlu and Toksoz, 2015; Ünlü and Goksu, 2018).

As a result, when the port began to operate as an introvert structure in an area that was east of the city, the city lost direct contact with the port, which is the main component of a port city identity. As of 1970s, this situation transformed Inebolu from a port city into a city with a port with its problematic maritime relations that survived to this day. The part of the filling area to the west of the port, which was built during the construction of the port, was used as a park since 1990s. However, to maintain public use on the coast, together with the vehicle passed between the area in question and the city, did not know how to provide a solution for the establishment of the urban-maritime relation as a very difficult area. In addition to increasing the port fill areas, the upgrading of Zafer Street -on the port axle- and the concrete wall along the coast, destroyed the relations between the city and the sea. According to this plan, which was prepared by considering the wishes of the company that would operate the port without regard to the original features of Inebolu city, the houses, commercial structures and all public uses in front of the coast remained on the road because of the difference in elevation, and the visual relation was weakened. Post office, Old Government House, Halkevi (People’ House) silhouette were deteriorated. Eti Bakir Inc. prepared plans to increase the capacity of Inebolu port in 2016. According to this renovation project, the filling area of this port will be increased further; and the main breakwater will be extended. In this way, the already damaged city-port relation will suffer a greater loss in the future (Figure 11).

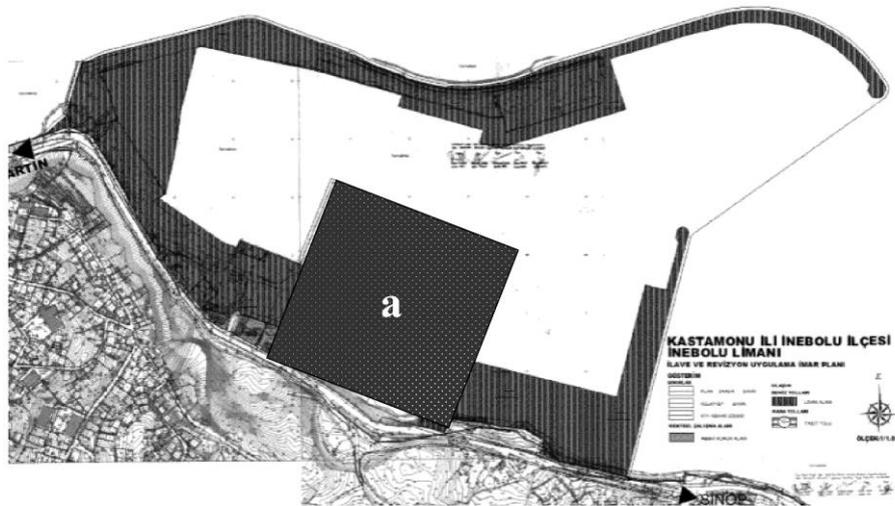


Fig.11. New fill area (a) proposed for the port. Source: URL1.

Briefly, Inebolu is a settlement that continued its urban development for many years with a focus on trade because it is a port city. Although the commercial life developed on the sea for many years because of its geographical location, the replacement of land-oriented transportation routes on the sea routes posed an obstacle for the economics and the relevant social and cultural development of the city in time. When the urban development processes are evaluated together with economic and social developments in nineteenth century, it is seen that the conditions caused by capitalist relations, modes of production and consumption influenced the identity of the port city in three different stages as Table 1 and Figure 12.

Table 1. Stages of urban transformation in Inebolu.

INEBOLU	1 st stage 19 th century Ottoman Empire (1850-1920)	2 nd stage 20 th century nation-state policies (1957-1975)	3 rd stage 20 th century (1975 and beyond)
Urban Identity	*port of Western Black Sea	*port city	*city with port
Physical Transformation	*the port and the Ottoman settlement tissue	*the spatial structure that sustains its relationality after the 1885 plan ** the relational spatial fiction that consist of the main street that has developed parallel to the coastal area and the streets that intersect it in a perpendicular manner opening to the sea ***1957 partial changes with the construction plan	* relational fiction disrupted with the establishment of the modern port **functional relation that has lost its references with the highway that passes through the city-sea and with the filling in the coastal area ***interrupted city-port relation
Spatial Development	*spontaneous development	*onset of spatial interventions	*change of the original context **contrary-to-context attitude

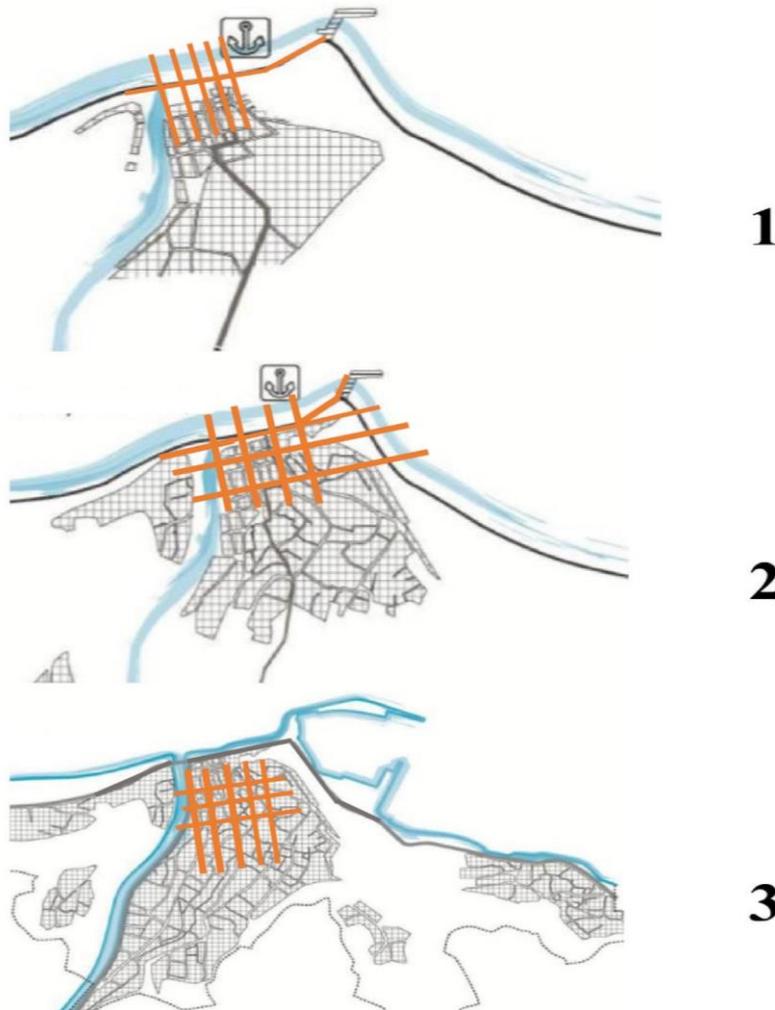


Fig. 12. Stages of urban transformation in Inebolu.

5. CONCLUSION: DISRUPTIVE URBAN POLITICS

The Ottoman State's accession to the foreign economy in nineteenth century went beyond spatial construction in Inebolu, which was a port city in Western Anatolia, and emphasized many details on the mechanisms of city for physical change. In this article, the purpose was to examine the spatial development processes in Inebolu starting from the modernization movements in the Ottoman State, which began in nineteenth century to twentieth century, when nation-states arose and liberal economic policies became widespread; and it was determined that spatial transformation of the city occurred in stages. Physical transformation in the city was formed from mid- nineteenth century to twentieth century in initial two stages, which covered the process up to the mid- twentieth century, and was firstly shaped in line with modernization efforts, and then with capitalist production relations. The city emerged as a "port city" with spatial development that could establish the port function, and city-sea relations because of the increasing trade volume at the first stage where modernization movements, and new production-consumption relations begin and new building types are added to the building stock of the city. In the second stage, it was shaped by a spatial fiction that protected the identity of the port city in line with the unique conditions of the context, namely, the context in which it is located in the sea-port-city relation. Although the driving force of modernization movements and the spatial organization of capitalism were effective in the formation of urban space in Inebolu in these stages, the conditions of the context have not yet been ignored. Interventions began in the second stage with the establishment of nation-states; however, the concrete results emerged from the third stage. In the third stage, significant changes occurred in the urban structure, which gave the city the identity of the being a port city. These changes were made with an interpretation that diverted from the unique tissue of the context, which would change the identity of the "port city" of Inebolu. The urban modernization project, which targeted guiding the development of the city, failed; and the city-port relation shattered gradually in every intervention that targeted increasing the commercial activities of the city. In this disintegration process, the port-coastal road-city association that served the public space was terminated, and these areas were transformed into highways that restricted pedestrian use. With this study, the purpose was to examine what changes were brought by urban interventions in Inebolu in the period from nineteenth century to twentieth century, how these changes affected the identity of the city. With such an examination, the spatial structure and transformation processes of the city that gave the city identity were determined, and a frame was established on how the spatial interventions affected the identity of the city, and what stages and processes occurred in this respect. In this way, the destructiveness and contradiction of modernist policies implemented as of twentieth century by nation-states have been conceptualized with the city that was examined in the article, and the failure of unconscious modernist projects was emphasized. These results and evaluations, which were obtained within the boundaries of this article, must be discussed for other port cities; and more conscious urban space policies must be produced to preserve and maintain the unique urban identities of cities.

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