

## Historic Collective Shelter as Heritage: The Cases in Hurşidiye, Kurtuluş and Sakarya Neighborhoods in Konak, İzmir

### Miras olarak Tarihî Toplu Barınaklar: İzmir, Konak'taki Hurşidiye, Kurtuluş ve Sakarya Mahallerindeki Örnekler

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#### Abstract

Historical collective shelters, *yahuthanes* or *cortejos*, are an alternative form of housing that were developed to provide secure sheltering of the groups who were disadvantaged in terms of economic, social, and cultural aspects in the Ottoman city. They have played a significant role in history as a building type that made possible cohabitation of groups, with moral and material problems, and struggling to maintain their integrity despite hardship. This study deals with a group of historical collective shelters in the traditional commercial center of İzmir dating mainly to the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The objective is to understand the historic evolution of collective shelters (*yahuthane*, *cortejo*) in Hurşidiye, Kurtuluş and Sakarya neighborhoods of Konak district in İzmir, to define their cultural values, to analyze their social and spatial development, to present their physical characteristics and evaluate their preservation problems. Eleven collective shelters were documented in the studied site, which is a portion of the traditional commercial center of İzmir (Kemeraltı). The site comprehends the ruins of the Roman Agora and the remains of the public buildings dating to the pre-modernization period of the Ottoman Empire as well as the late Ottoman urban layout. As a method, the preliminary studies were reviewed, the land registers were surveyed, the present base map together with the historical maps were overlapped and the case studies were conducted using conventional techniques of architectural and urban conservation. The study has documented the interaction of Muslim and Jewish communities and how the collective living habits of these ethnic groups living in collective shelters differed from standard residential life at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the traditional commercial center of İzmir. Though collective shelters in the historic center of İzmir have been studied in the literature, their specific location on the map was not available. This study has provided locations of the shelters and evaluated the architectural characteristics of their remains. The traces and remains of the historic collective shelters should be preserved as elements contributing to the integrity of the multi layered city.

#### Keywords

Collective shelter, cultural heritage, immigrants, Jewish community, *yahuthane*, *cortejo*

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## Öz

Tarihî toplu barınaklar (yahuthaneler, kortijolar) Osmanlı şehirlerinde maddi üstünlüğü olmayan, sosyokültürel sıkıntıları bulunan toplulukların güvenli bir şekilde barınabilmesini sağlamak için geliştirilmiş bir konut seçeneğidir. Toplu barınaklar, maddî ve manevî sıkıntı içindeki grupların, zorluklara göğüs gererek ve bütünlüklerini koruyarak birlikte yaşamalarına fırsat tanıyan bir yapı tipi olarak tarihte önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu çalışma İzmir'in geleneksel ticaret merkezinde yer alan, çoğu geç 19. ve erken 20. yüzyıllara tarihlenen tarihî toplu barınakları konu almaktadır. Amaç, İzmir'in Konak ilçesinde, Hurşidiye, Kurtuluş ve Sakarya Mahallelerinde yer alan toplu barınakların (yahuthane, kortijo) tarihî evrimini anlamak; kültürel değerlerini tanımlamak, sosyal ve mekânsal gelişimlerini çözümlenmek, fiziksel özelliklerini ortaya koymak ve koruma sorunlarını değerlendirmektir. İzmir'in geleneksel ticaret merkezinin (Kemeraltı) bir kısmını oluşturan çalışma alanında on bir toplu barınak belgelenmiştir. Alan, Roma Agorasının ve modernleşme öncesine ait Osmanlı kamu yapılarının kalıntılarının yanı sıra, geç Osmanlı kentsel örüntüsünü içermektedir. Yöntem olarak ön çalışmalar incelenmiş, tapu kayıtları araştırılmış, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin hâlihazır haritası, tarihî haritalarla karşılaştırılmış ve mimari koruma ile kentsel korumanın konvansiyonel teknikleriyle vaka çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Çalışma, İzmir'in geleneksel ticaret merkezinin bir bölümünde, 19. yüzyıl sonunda ve 20. yüzyıl başında, Müslüman ve Musevi toplulukların etkileşimini ve bu etnik grupların toplu yaşama alışkanlıklarının çoğunlukça kabul edilen konut yaşamından nasıl farklılaştığını belgelemektedir. İzmir tarihî merkezindeki toplu barınaklar literatürde yer almakla beraber, konuları harita üzerinde belirtilmemiştir. Bu çalışma seçilen çalışma alanındaki barınakların konumlarını ortaya koymuş ve kalıntılarının mimari özelliklerini değerlendirmiştir. Tarihî toplu barınakların izleri ve kalıntıları, çok katmanlı kentin bütünselliğine katkı sağlayan öğeler olarak korunmalıdır.

## Anahtar Kelimeler

Toplu barınak, kültürel miras, göçmenler, Musevi cemaati, yahuthane, kortijo

## Genişletilmiş Özet

Günümüzde küreselleşmenin bir sonucu olarak ekonomik gelişmeler hız kazanmıştır. Buna bağlı olarak şehirleşme hızı da artmıştır. Ülkemizde hızlı şehirleşmenin ana yapı bileşeni yüksek katlı apartman binalarıdır. Tarihî süreçte ise yaygın konut türünden farklı barınma seçeneklerini de deneyimlenmiştir. Bu çalışma İzmir'deki tarihî bir konut seçeneğini ele almaktadır. Geç 19. yüzyıl ve erken 20. yüzyıla tarihlenen toplu barınaklar, İzmir'deki içe dönük yerleşimin ve kentin kültürel belleğinin belgeleridir. Toplu barınaklar, kırılğan etnik grupların kent yaşamına katılmasına fırsat tanımaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı, İzmir'in Konak ilçesindeki Hurşidiye, Kurtuluş ve Sakarya Mahallelerinde yer alan tarihî toplu barınakların (yahuthane, kortijo) evrimini anlayarak kültürel değerlerini belirlemek, toplumsal ve mekânsal gelişimlerini incelemek, fiziksel özelliklerini ortaya koymak ve koruma sorunlarını değerlendirmektir. Çalışma alanında Roma Agorasının kalıntıları, Klasik Osmanlı kamu yapıları, Sabatay Sevi'nin Kortijosu ve geç Osmanlı kentsel dokusu yer almaktadır. İlk aşamada, vaka çalışması yapılacak olan toplu barınakları belirlemek üzere, ön çalışmalarda bilgileri değerlendirilmiştir. İkinci aşamada, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü'nün parsel sorgulama veri tabanından yararlanılmıştır. Üçüncü olarak alanda bir ön çalışma yapılmış ve barınaklar saptanmıştır. Dördüncü adımda, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Tarihî Çevre ve Kültür Varlıkları Şube Müdürlüğü'nden alınan harita, alanda güncellenerek baz harita oluşturulmuştur. Beşinci aşamada konutlarda yaşayanlarla ve ilgili sivil toplum örgütlerinin yöneticileriyle görüşülmüştür. Altıncı olarak, baz harita, arşiv taramasında ele geçen her bir tarihî harita ile karşılaştırılmış; on bir barınağın durumu

tek tek sorgulanmıştır. Öncelikle haritanın hazırlandığı tarihte barınağın mevcut olup olmadığına dikkat edilmiştir. Barınak parsellerinin sınırları, parselin mekânsal düzeni, üzerlerindeki yapıların yığma mı ahşap mı olduğu konularındaki bilgiler derlenerek sınıflandırılmıştır.

Birkaç katlı ve özensiz konut adalarının oluşturulması yolu ile artan nüfusun barınma gereksiniminin karşılanması yaklaşımı, Anadolu yerleşmelerinde Roma döneminden itibaren uygulanmıştır. Bu düzenlemeler, sokaktaki insanı ada içindeki avluya alarak hem güvenliği hem mahremiyeti sağlar niteliktedir. Büyük ve orta ölçekli Osmanlı kentlerinde ise 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından başlayarak toplu barınaklar görülmektedir. Diğer yandan Yahudilerin toplu barınaklarda yaşam sürmesi Osmanlı yönetimince teşvik edilmiştir. İzmir'in 17. yüzyıldan başlayarak uluslararası bir ticaret ve liman kentine dönüşmesiyle nüfusu artmıştır. Civar yerleşmelerdeki Yahudi nüfus, İzmir iç limanı çevresindeki ticari merkez ile Kadife Kale eteklerindeki Türk mahalleleri arasına yerleşmiştir. Bu yoğunluk artışı sırasında, alandaki Türk mezarlığı da küçülmüş, Roma Agorası sınırlarına çekilmiştir. Türk ve Yahudi mahalleleri genişleyerek iç içe geçmişlerdir. Savaşlarla kaybedilen Osmanlı topraklarından gelen yeni Yahudiler ve Müslümanlar da bu bölgeye yerleşmişlerdir. Çöken imparatorluğun sınırlı olanaklarıyla bu göçmen gruplar Mezarlıkbaşı bölgesindeki toplu barınaklarda aile yaşamlarını sürdürmeye çalışmışlardır. İsrail'in kurulması ile birlikte, alandaki düşük gelirli Yahudiler İsrail'e göç etmişlerdir. Müslüman ailelerin yerini, kente geçici olarak gelip iş gücüne katılan bekar çalışanlar almıştır. Toplu barınakların bazıları yıkılarak yerlerine ayakkabı imalathanesi yapılmış, bazıları ise otele dönüşmüştür.

Sonuç olarak, toplu barınakların parselleri korunmuştur ancak üzerlerindeki binalar tümüyle yıkılmış, harabeye dönüşmüş ya da bakımsız kalmıştır. Toplu barınakların çoğu Tapu ve Kadastro arşivinde yahuthane (Musevi evi) ve hane olarak kayıtlıdır. Ayrıca arsa ve medrese şeklinde kayıtlara da rastlanmıştır. Bazı barınaklar bugün birden çok parsel üzerinde yer almaktadır. Özgün parseller ya tarihî süreçte bölünmüş ya da komşu parsellerdeki yapıların arka avluları toplu barınak inşası için kullanılmıştır. Barınaklar genellikle yapı adalarının ortasına inşa edilmiştir. Bu boşluklar, ilgili yapı adalarının içinde yer alan ve sokaktan doğrudan erişimi bulunan dükkân, han, konut gibi yapıların arka avlularıdır. Bu durum Roma döneminde Anadolu'da görülen uygulamalarla benzerlik göstermektedir. Dar bir patika barınağı sokağa bağlamaktadır. Bazı barınaklar ise harabe bir yapının yerine ya da avlusuna inşa edilmiştir. Konum seçiminde göz önüne alınan diğer bir parametre ise kültürel bellektir. Sabatay Sevi'nin Kortijosuna yakın çevrede konumlanma, yıkılmış Yahudi Karantina binasının kalıntılarına bitişik olma gibi tercihler söz konusudur. Eğer barınağın avlusuna sokaktan doğrudan girilebiliyorsa söz konusu olan sokak çıkmaz ya da ikincil bir sokaktır, hiçbir zaman ana ticaret eksenini değildir. Dolayısıyla, mahremiyet barınakların biçimlenmesinde önemli bir kriterdir. Avlu etrafında dizili yaşama birimleri mekânsal

kurguyu oluşturur. Oda-avlü geçişinde bazen revak görülmektedir. Gizlenmiş bir dua mekânı ile ilişkilendirilme bir barınakta saptanmıştır. Dua evi barınakla aynı avludadır. Kat sayıları tek, tek ve iki kat birleşimi ya da çift ve üç katlı birleşimi şeklindedir. Duvarlarda moloz taş yığma; moloz taş, tuğla ve kerpiç dolgulu ahşap karkas; tuğla ve moloz taş dolgulu betonarme karkas gibi farklı inşaat teknikleri ve malzemeler kullanılmıştır. Yapı malzemeleri yeniden kullanılabilen, mevcut duvar ve yaşam birimlerine farklı ölçeklerde ve yapım teknikleriyle ekler getirilebilmektedir. Toplu barınakların üslupları da çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Taş yığma, ahşap karkas, betonarme karkas ve bunların birleşiminden oluşan yapılar mevcuttur. En erken örneğin 17. yüzyıla tarihlenebileceği, en geç barınağın ise Kurtuluş Savaşı'nı takiben yapılmış olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Barınakların yarısı kültür varlığı olarak tescil edilmiştir. Toplu barınakların, sosyal ve ekonomik sıkıntılar içindeki kırılğan toplulukların tarih boyunca onurla yaşamlarını sürdürmelerine ev sahipliği yapmış olmaları sebebiyle korunmaları ve sergilenmeleri önemlidir. Aile yaşamı bu barınaklarda devam edebilmiştir. Farklı etnik grupların birlikte var oluşuna Mezarlıkbaşı barınakları tanıklık yapmıştır. Bu anlamda çalışma, toplu barınakların nadir bir taşınmaz kültür varlığı türü olarak önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Hâlihazırda bekar erkek işçilerin bu yapılarda barınması, özgüne oldukça yakın bir kullanımdır. Ancak belirli toplulukların üyelerine ait ailelere ev sahipliği yapmaktan kaynaklanan manevi nitelikleri sürdürülemezdir. Dolayısıyla toplumsal bütünlükleri yok olmuştur. Üzerlerindeki toplu barınağın yerine başka bir yapının yapıldığı ya da toplu barınağın tümüyle harabe hâlini aldığı parsellerde yerin ruhu yaşamaktadır. Ancak bu örnekler mimari niteliklerini yitirmişlerdir. Tarihî toplu barınaklar İzmir tarihî merkezinin kentsel öğeleri olarak koruma planlamasının kapsamına alınmalıdır ve çok katmanlı kentin bütünlüğünü sürdürmesi için dikkatle değerlendirilmelidir.

## Introduction

Major cities played an important role in global economic restructuring and socio-spatial changes in the era of globalization, which led to the construction of skyscrapers, high-rise residential buildings and apartment blocks leaving hardly any alternative forms of housing. In the Turkish case, the strong government incentives for a more market-oriented discourse and the promotion of construction sector reinforced the problem.

The preservation of cultural heritage considers diversity, multiple residential forms, and housing development. Today, economic globalization is moving people to a more standardized way of life and the same kind of settlements. But not all parts of society are able to live in high-rise blocks or private and inward forms of housing<sup>1</sup>. In the general Turkish case, housing options for different groups that require important social, economic, or cultural demands are not on the public or administrative agenda. In the squatter areas, *gecekondu*, the shabby buildings that are illegally constructed overnight without permits, have become the hallmark of the nation's urbanization since the 1950s, hosting massive waves of rural immigrants. Today, the *gecekondu*s, have been mostly transformed into multi-story apartment block settlements in large metropolitan cities. Unlike other developing countries such as China, Colombia, Mexico, South Africa, or Malaysia; Turkey provides less affordable housing to urban poor and disadvantaged groups<sup>2</sup>. There is no available space or alternative housing units for the newcomers, as in the form of rural people or large migration waves of foreign immigrants (Syrian temporary visitors as in the Turkish case). However, old, or historic housing resources have not been incorporated as a possible alternative, considering the potential they have. The incorporation of marginalized groups into urban life can only address the potential they bring to the workforce, but their alternative integration into the physical urban fabric in the form of alternative housing supplies cannot generally be considered in the Turkish case.

Collective shelters have potential for sheltering people under extreme situations. They can help preservation of community life. Individuals residing in these types of special residential units or poor individuals who have difficulty transitioning into urban life have been pushed into these types of units after war-conflict or massive waves of immigration. The housing options in the historic center of İzmir include

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1 Beijing's Hutong Homes is another example. Hutong homes, which are a mix of privacy and a small-scale community, continue to exist in Beijing, city of more than 20 million populations. While many have been demolished to make way for more modern buildings, their significance has been rediscovered by some people. Some characteristics are worth remembering as values in the Coronavirus days, as in the form of semi-privacy or preserving bonds of solidarity with neighbors. See Colum Murphy, "Beijing's Hutong Homes Offer Respite From Bustling City Streets", accessed 25 September 2020. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-09-25/beijing-s-hutong-homes-offer-respite-from-bustling-city-streets>.

2 For current housing issues in Turkey, see Ozan Karaman, "Urban renewal in Istanbul: Reconfigured Spaces, Robotic Lives", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (2013), 715-733.



the beginning of the 1980s, when 65% of the inhabitants were immigrants from smaller cities of Turkey<sup>6</sup>. Half of the inhabitants were unemployed<sup>7</sup>. It was mentioned that the shelters dated back to the 1880s and were considered a special form of housing in which the spiritual wholeness of the Jewish community was founded<sup>8</sup>. However, in the 1970s, they lost this historic spirit and became places of crime<sup>9</sup>. Bora provides some information on their historic background and states their positions approximately<sup>10</sup>. Çukurel and Meseri, Altınbulak, Üzmez, and Rüstem describe the life in these shelters in their documentary films, photographic collections, and interviews<sup>11</sup>. A few shelters are emphasized in these studies: *Manisa-Akhisar Hotel* and *CortejoKaliziko*. The objective is to understand the historic evolution of collective shelters (*yahuthane*, *cortejo*) in Hürşidiye, Kurtuluş and Sakarya neighborhoods of Konak district in İzmir, to define their cultural values, to analyze their social and spatial development, to present their physical characteristics and evaluate their preservation problems.

### 1. Method and Material

To identify the case studies, the references in the above-mentioned preliminary studies were reviewed in the first place. Secondly, the lot database of the General Directorate of the Title Deed and Cadaster<sup>12</sup> was checked for the site (F. 2). This helped find out the original functions: e.g., *yahuthanes*. Thirdly, a preliminary site survey was carried out, giving way to the identification of eleven cases<sup>13</sup>. Fourthly, a base map was drawn by updating the map of the Municipality with information coming from the site. The listed lots were indicated with red, while the rest of the base map

6 Aydar, "İzmir Aile Evlerinin Toplumsal Yapısı Üzerine bir Araştırma", 8-37.

7 Aydar, "İzmir Aile Evlerinin Toplumsal Yapısı Üzerine bir Araştırma", 27.

8 Aydar, "İzmir Aile Evlerinin Toplumsal Yapısı Üzerine bir Araştırma", 7.

9 Tayfun Taner ve Aydın Ay, "İzmir Aile Evleri", 1.

10 For historic information on collective shelters of İzmir, see Siren Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayını, 2015); Siren Bora, *İzmir Yahudileri Tarihi, 1908-1923* (İstanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş., 1995).

11 For visual documentation of the collective shelters, see İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Arşivi, Nitsa Çukurel, Recı Meseri, "Sadece Adı Kaldı Elimizde: Kortejolar", Documentary Film, 2010; for visual documentation of the collective shelters, see Canan Altınbulak, "Bir Avlu Bir Kent (Secret Garden of the City)", Documentary Film, 2014, accessed July 7, 2016, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=SYX3iO-kTKE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SYX3iO-kTKE); for sociocultural characteristics of the collective shelters, see Birol Üzmez, "Kortejo Aile Evleri", *KNK Dergisi* 2 (2010), 50-53; Tuna Saylağ, "Birol Üzmez'in Gözünden İzmir'in Son Avluları", *Salom Haftalık Siyasi ve Kültürel Gazete*, 7 Nisan 2010, accessed September 21, 2020 [https://www.salom.com.tr/arsiv/haber-72596-birol\\_uzmez\\_in\\_gozunden\\_%C4%B0zmir\\_in\\_son\\_%20avlulari](https://www.salom.com.tr/arsiv/haber-72596-birol_uzmez_in_gozunden_%C4%B0zmir_in_son_%20avlulari); Recı Meseri, "Birol Üzmez ile Söyleşi: İzmir'in Kortejoları", *Meltem: İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Kitabı* (İzmir: İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi, 2016), 121-127; for photographs of the collective shelters, see SimurgphotoS, "Photograph Collection of Mert Rüstem", accessed September 21, 2020, <http://simurgphotos.blogspot.com/>.

12 For the original functions of the studied lots, see General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre archive, Lot Query Application, Ankara, 2018, accessed August 10, 2019, <https://parselsorgu.tkgm.gov.tr/>.

13 The selected neighborhoods were surveyed with the tools of architectural restoration and urban conservation in two design studios of IZTECH, Faculty of Architecture: Res 511 in 2015 and CP 402 in 2018. All the lots that present clues for the *yahuthane* typology were observed during these site surveys, and only those that were evaluated as original representatives of the *yahuthane* / *cortejo* typology were defined as case studies.

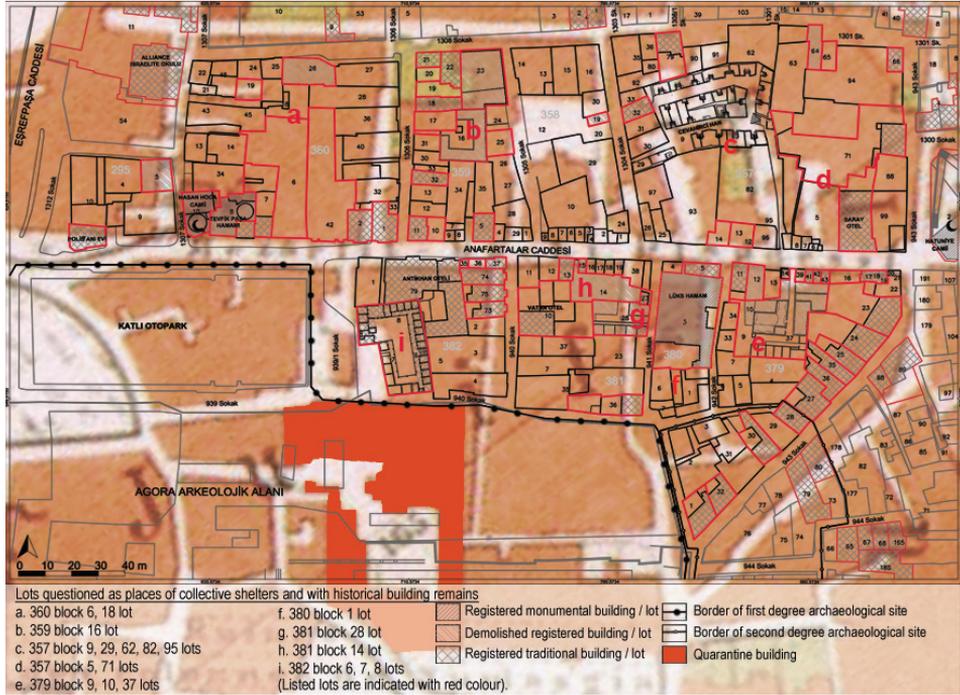
was kept in gray scale (F. 3). The block and lot numbers, and the ground floor plans of the cases were provided. The detail of the ground floor plans is proportional with the detail of the related site surveys. The cases “c” and “i” were surveyed in 1/50 scale with conventional techniques of architectural restoration and urban conservation. The cases ‘a, b, e, f, g’, and ‘j’ were roughly sketched because of accessibility and security problems, e.g., the extensive amount of garbage in the shelter. The cases ‘d’ and ‘k’ are demolished today, while ‘h’ could not be entered<sup>14</sup>. Fifthly, causal interviews with the local people and in-depth interviews with the heads of the related nongovernmental organizations were conducted.

Öznitelik Bilgisi	
Taşınmaz No	21734543
İl	İzmir
İlçe	Konak
Mahalle/Köy	Hurşidiye
Ada	357
Parsel	9
Tapu Alanı	1.500,00
Nitelik	Dükkan Ve Yahuthane
Mevkii	-
Zemin Tipi	Ana Taşınmaz



F. 2: The shelter c as queried in the lot database. (General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre archive, 2019)

<sup>14</sup> The Commandership of Anafartalar Police Station provided support for security of the surveyors during the site work. With coordination of the Directorate of Urban Design of Konak Municipality and the mentioned Commandership, access, and security problems regarding the cases c and i were controlled. D and k could not be entered at all. These cases were the only identified alternatives for the *yahuthane / cortejo* typology at the studied site.

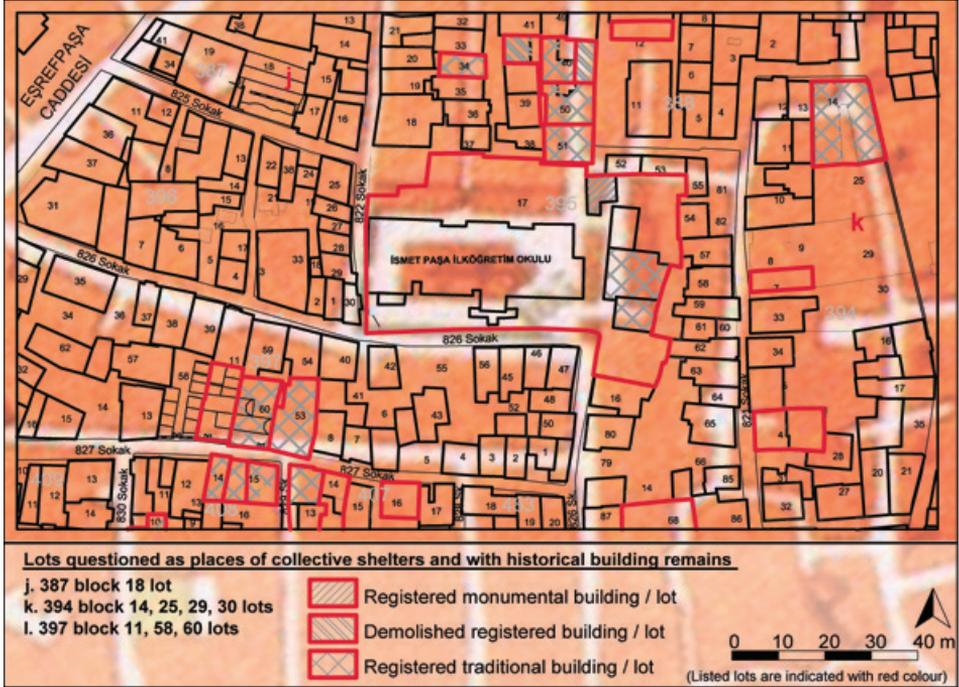


**F. 3:** Overlapping of Saad’s map of 1876 (“Plan de Smyrne levé et dressé par Lamec Saad 1876.”) for “a” through “i” with the current base map. (Ö. D. Toköz, 2018)

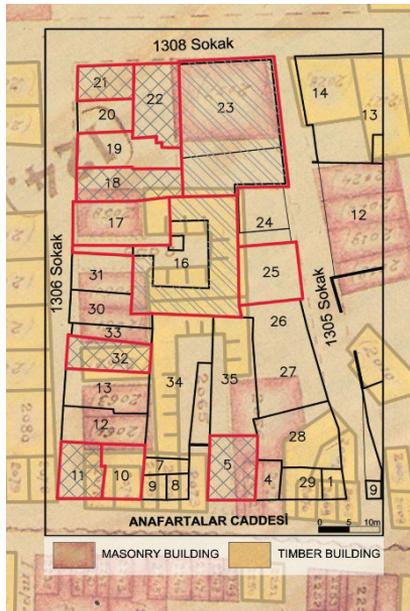
Sixthly, the current base was superimposed with historic maps one by one for each case study. The maps of Graves, Storari, Saad (F. 3, F. 4), the waterlines map dated 1900-1905, the map dated 1907, the map of Pervititch dated 1923, and the city map of İzmir Municipality dated 1941<sup>15</sup> were used. These historic maps generally provide the plan lay out for the lots around *Anafartalar* Street, which is the historic commercial axis. They generally include less detail for the south of *Anafartalar* Street. The map of Pervititch<sup>16</sup> is especially informative because it classifies buildings according to their construction material: timber and stone (F. 5).

15 For the old maps of the studied area, see Thomas Graves, “The City of Ismir or Smyrna by Lieutenant Thomas Graves, 1836-7”, accessed July 11, 2020, <http://kadamkutuphane.blogspot.com/2018/10/the-city-of-ismir-or-smyrna-by.html>; Luigi Storari, “Luigi Storari Nell’anno 1854 e Nell’anno 1856 Smirne”, accessed July 10, 2020, <http://kadamkutuphane.blogspot.com/2018/10/luigi-storari-nellanno-1854-e-nellanno.html>; Lamec Saad, “Plan de Smyrne Levé et Dressé par Lamec Saad 1876”, accessed July 11, 2020, <https://kadamkutuphane.blogspot.com/2018/10/plan-de-smyrne-leve-et-dresse-par-lamec.html?spref=pi>; Ahmet Pıriştina İzmir Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (AİKAM), “İzmir Su Yolları Haritası 1900-1905”, Sheet 3, Part 10-11, 2015; Ahmet Pıriştina İzmir Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (AİKAM), “The Map of Smyrna dated 1907”, 2015; Ahmet Pıriştina İzmir Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (AİKAM), “Plan of Smyrna by Jacques Pervitich in 1923”, İzmir, 2015; and İzmir Belediyesi, *İzmir Şehir Rehberi*, (İzmir: Mesher Matbaası, 1941).

16 For information on old building material, see AİKAM, “Plan of Smyrna by Jacques Pervitich in 1923”, 2015.



F. 4: Overlapping of Saad’s map of 1876 for “j”-“k” (“Plan de Smyrne levé et dressé par Lamec Saad 1876.”) with the current base map. (Ö. D. Toköz, 2018)



F. 5: Overlapping of Pervitich’s map of 1923 (“Plan of Smyrna by Jacques Pervitich in 1923.”) with the current base map for block 359 (Ö. D. Toköz, 2018)

## 2. Collective Shelter as a Historic Building Type in Anatolia

It is known that high, but unpretentious housing blocks called insula were built to fulfill the housing necessity of the increasing population in large Anatolian cities starting with the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The Roman insula used to drive people in from the street space. The rear spaces extended into a courtyard that used to encourage interaction<sup>17</sup>.

During the period between the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, collective shelters were built in large and middle-sized Ottoman cities<sup>18</sup>. These collective shelters were the widespread housing type in the Classical Ottoman era<sup>19</sup>. The reason behind this preference was not only poverty but also necessity for security, social solidarity, and close interaction. Both families and civil bachelors providing labor force to the Ottoman city lived in these shelters. The collective shelters were not gathered in a specific location but were distributed to different districts. The accommodation of bachelors in the *mahalles* (neighborhoods) was refused<sup>20</sup>. So, the related shelters; named as *bekarhane*, *bekar odası* (room of the bachelor); were positioned within or at the vicinity of the commercial centers<sup>21</sup>. The ones used by the Muslim families were named as *hücerat*, *rab*, and *Fevakani-i Mutabbaka*<sup>22</sup>. A *hücerat* was a single story, masonry building composed of similar sized rectangular units all spanned with vaults. It was also possible to observe double-storied examples making up two rows parallel to each other<sup>23</sup>. It is known that an important amount of Jewish population lived in collective shelters<sup>24</sup>. This could be the reason for naming collective shelters as *yahudihane* or *yahuthane*, meaning the dwelling of the Jews. Similarly, the name *cortejo*, meaning courtyard in Spanish, points out the origin of the Jews, who came from Spain to Ottoman lands starting with the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>25</sup>. The

17 For precedents of collective housing in Anatolia, see Wolfram Hoepfner, "Housing and Society in Classical Period", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: a Historical Perspective* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1996), 402; and Hanna Stoger, "The Spatial Signature of an Insula Neighborhood of Roman Ostia", *Spatial Analysis and Social Spaces: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Interpretation of Prehistoric and Historic Built Environments* (Leiden: W. Gruyter, 2014), 297-315.

18 For collective housing in Ottoman cities, see Uğur Tanyeli, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia during Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: a Historical Perspective* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı), 1996), 434; and Uğur Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun Reel Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi", *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, Özener Matbaacılık, 1996), 57.

19 Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun Reel Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi", 61.

20 Tanyeli, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia during Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods", 450; Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun Reel Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi", 57, 64.

21 Tanyeli, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia during Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods", 435, 449.

22 Tanyeli, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia during Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods", 435, 450.

23 Tanyeli, "Housing and Settlement in Anatolia during Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods", 435, 450.

24 Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun Reel Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi", 63.

25 Ottoman Empire had welcomed Sefarad originated Jews coming from Iberian Peninsula after their deportation at the end of the 15th century. For detailed information on Jews who have lived in Anatolia, see Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler* (İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1927). Avram Galanti, *Türk Harsı ve Türk Yahudisi* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1953); Avram Galanti, *Türkler ve Yahudiler Eserlerine Ek* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1954); and Salime Leyla Gürkan, "Yahudilik", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 43, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2013), 226-232.

names *cortejo* and *khan* point out that the related examples were organized around a courtyard<sup>26</sup>. In the studied site, the term *aile evi* (family house) is frequently used for naming these shelters instead of *yahudhane*. Meals were prepared either in the fireplaces of the rooms or at the common courtyard. It was also possible that the occupants were provided meals from the *imarethanes* (public kitchen run by a pious foundation) close by. Common toilets were provided as well. The owner of the shelters was a pious foundation, while the inhabitants were often renters.

The communal living preference of the Jewish community has been observed in different geographies throughout history<sup>27</sup>. This form of shelter preserved Jewish practices in addition to being affordable and secure<sup>28</sup>.

### 3. Historic Background of the Case Studies

There were Jews in the Ottoman lands as Byzantine residual (*Romanyots*). However, after the 1492 deportation, a significant number of Jews coming from the Iberian Peninsula (Sephardi Jews) settled in Western Anatolia<sup>29</sup>. Jewish immigrants settled throughout the vicinity of İzmir in two middle-sized but significant early 16<sup>th</sup>-century historic cities: Manisa and Tire. Following the economic crisis at the end of the 16th century, the second influx of Jewish groups to the region was from Selanik (Salonik, Thessaloniki today) in the north of the Greek mainland. The State preferred them to remain in collective shelters.

The Jewish population in İzmir increased because of the overall socio-economic conflict in Anatolia, and the negative impact of the European tradesmen on the economy of small settlements in the vicinity of İzmir<sup>30</sup>. New Jewish districts were established between the commercial center near the inner harbor, and the Muslim districts

26 The historic city khans of Anatolia were commercial buildings in relation with the caravan trade in the Classical Ottoman era. They were often organized around a central courtyard. See Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, (Woodbridge: ACC Art Books, 2010), 393-395.

27 For communal living habits of the Jews, see Arnon Golan, "Jewish Nationalism, European Colonialism and Modernity: the Origins of the Israeli Public Housing System", *Housing Studies* 13:4 (1998), 492.

28 Shelters of the Jewish community in Spain until the beginning of the 18th century are recorded as wood, brick and half-timber structures with dark interiors and sanitary problems. For details, see Tabea Salzmann, *Language, Identity and Urban Space: The Language Use of Latin American Migrants* (Bern: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1985), 198-199. Similarly, the Jewish immigrants arriving in Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem from various places starting with the 1850s had lived in two to four storied apartment buildings; which were poorly built, lacking basic amenities and crowded. For details, see Arnon Golan, "Jewish Nationalism, European Colonialism and Modernity: the Origins of the Israeli Public Housing System", *Housing Studies* 13:4 (1998), 492.

29 For detailed information on Jews living in the case study site, see Siren Bora, *Birinci Juderia İzmir'in Eski Yahudi Mahallesi*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 2021); and Siren Bora, "Birinci Juderia: İkiçeşmelik, Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi –The First Juderia: İkiçeşmelik, Establishment and Development". *Geçmişten Günümüze İzmir/From Past to Present Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri, 4-7 Kasım 2015/İzmir*, (İzmir: Anadolu Basım Yayın Matbaacılık Mak. San. ve Tic. Ltd. Şti., 2017), 95-112.

30 The Europeans were paying high prices for raw material and selling cheap, but qualified European fabric. For details, see Feridun Mustafa Emecen, *Unutulmuş Bir Cemaat: Manisa Yahudileri*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1997), 81.

on the *Kadife Kale* skirts (the Velvet Castle or Mount Pagos)<sup>31</sup> (F. 6). In 1678, at the south of the historic commercial center of İzmir, there were 7 synagogues and 150 Jewish families living there<sup>32</sup>. The intermediate zone between the Jewish and Turkish neighborhoods<sup>33</sup> is known as *Mezarlıkbaşı*. The site comprehends the remains of the Roman Agora (F. 1), which was preserved since it was used as the Muslim cemetery in the succeeding periods<sup>34</sup>. Similarly, the commercial axis of the Roman period had been preserved and it continued to be the major commercial axis, *Anafartalar* Street<sup>35</sup>. The study area comprehends portions of these lower neighborhoods of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: *Hasa Hoca* at the north, *Hatuniye* at the east, *Kefeli* at the south, and *Cami-i Atik* at the west (F. 1). The site became a continually active commercial center in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>36</sup>. Collective shelters were built to house the growing population and newcomers (immigrants). However, they were made out of timber and lost to fires in the succeeding centuries. This is the time interval, when Sabbatai Tsevi was born in İzmir in 1626, and declared that he was the redeemer of the Jews in 1648<sup>37</sup>. The masonry building preserved at the Roman Agora archaeological site today is thought to belong Tsevi<sup>38</sup>. The attraction of Sabbatai Tsevi as a new religious figure further increased the Jewish population in both İzmir and *Mezarlıkbaşı*<sup>39</sup>.

31 For positioning of the Jewish districts, see Bora, *İzmir Yahudileri Tarihi, 1908-1923*, 37; Bora, *Birinci Juderia İzmir'in Eski Yahudi Mahallesi*, 53-55 and Bora, "Birinci Juderia: İkiçeşmelik, Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi – The First Juderia: İkiçeşmelik, Establishment and Development", 104-106.

32 The site is known as first Juderia and it is at the west of the study area, on the opposite side of İkiçeşmelik Street. For the details, see Siren Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 42.

33 For positioning of the Turkish districts, see Zeycan Gündoğdu, "The Kasap Hızır District of İzmir" (Master Thesis, Adnan Menderes University, 2008), 65-71.

34 For the evolution of Mezarlıkbaşı, see Mustafa, Daş, "Osmanlı-Venedik İlişkilerinde İzmir", *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*, vol. 1, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 69-77; Bülent Çelik and Tanju Demir, "XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İzmir'in Ekonomik Gelişimi", *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*, vol. 1, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 78-86; and Necmi Ülker, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İzmir Şehri Tarihi I: Ticaret Tarihi Araştırmaları* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994).

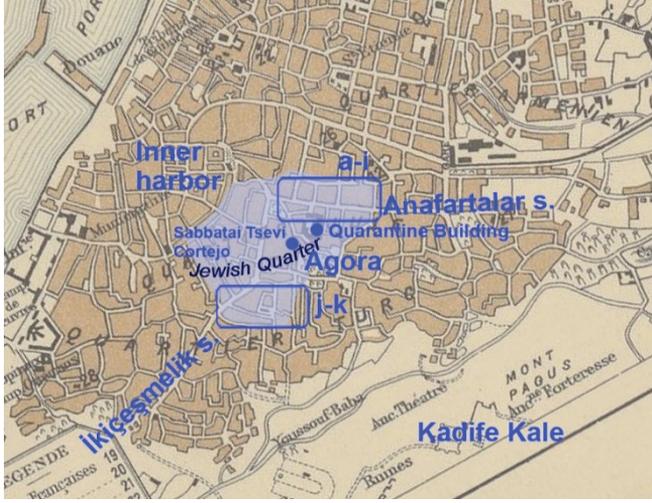
35 For the evolution of Anafartalar Axis, see Yaşar Üruk and İlhan Pınar, "Tarihte İzmir", *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*, vol. 1. (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 21-26; and Mustafa, Daş, "Bizans'tan Türk Egemenliğine İzmir ve Çevresi", *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*. Vol. 1 (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 27-35.

36 In the traditional organization of the Ottoman cities, the *kadı* was the chief responsible of the city. The *kadı* was responsible of controlling the municipal activities such as cleaning and security precautions of the commercial center which were to be carried out by the related tradesmen. His house which was at the same time his work place was at the center of the city. In fact, the west of the studied site was known as *Mahkeme önü*, front of the court. For the details, see İlber Ortaylı, *Hukuk ve İdare Adamı Olarak Osmalı Devleti'nde Kadı* (İstanbul: Kronik Yayıncılık, 2016), 11, 68, 71.

37 For the phenomenon of Zevi, see Cengiz Şişman, *Susunluğun Yükü: Sabatay Sevi ve Osmanlı-Türk Dönemlerinin Evrimi* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2016), 74-75. Various spellings of the name are Sabbatai Tsevi, Shabbetai Tzevi, Sabbatai Zebi or Sabbatai Zevi. Sabbatai Tsevi was preferred in this article.

38 For the details of this building, see Sevinç Gök and Siren Bora, "Sabatay Sevi Kortijosu'nun Tarihçesi ve Kortijoya İlişkin Arkeolojik Buluntular", *Yekta Demiralp Anısına Sanat Tarihi Yazıları*, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2020), 227-242.

39 Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 42.



F. 6: Jewish quarter illustrated on “Plan de Smyrne by Demetrius in 1885.” (Ö. D. Toköz, 2021)

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *Rums* and Armenians arriving in the city became more active in the international economy, giving way to the impoverishment of the Jewish and Turkish communities. The Jews and Turks dealt with relatively simple trade activities such as mediation in the export of raw material and import of fabric, mobile grocery business, and services necessitating human labor<sup>40</sup>. The number of collective shelters had increased<sup>41</sup>. The Jewish districts had enlarged and interlocked with the Muslim districts neighboring them<sup>42</sup> (F. 1).

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslim and Jewish immigrants coming from the Balkan Peninsula, Caucasus, and Crimea settled at the site<sup>43</sup>. This has resulted in a further rise in urban density, followed by an increase in the number of community shelters, a decline in living standards, and increased social issues, whereas relatively high-income groups had left the site<sup>44</sup>. Sewage water flowed on the streets

40 Emecen, *Unutulmuş Bir Cemaat: Manisa Yahudileri*, 102. Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 145.

41 Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 39.

42 For enlargement of Jewish neighborhoods in the studied site, see Kemal Arı, “I. Dünya Savaşında İzmir”, (*İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*. Vol. 1. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 242-243; and Tanju Demir, “Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında 17. ve 18. Yüzyılların İzmir’i”, (*İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*. Vol. 1. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 100.

43 According to the census dated 1844, there were 13-16000 Muslims and 8-10000 Jews in the old Muslim districts on the skirts of *Kadifekale*. For detailed information, see Tanju Demir, “Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında XVII-XVIII. Yüzyılların İzmir’i”, *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*, vol. 1. (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 99-110; and see Tuncay Ercan Sepetçioğlu, “XIX. Yüzyılda İzmir Kentinin Nüfus Bileşenleri: Türkler, Rumlar, Yahudiler, Ermeniler”, *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*, vol. 1. (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 120-128.

44 The new urban districts in *Karataş* and *Göztepe* at the west of the historical commercial center became attractive after the erection of a new road and tramway parallel to the coast. After the construction of a new

and hygienic drinking water in the study area was an issue. Despite these problems, land prices were raised in and around the commercial center, as the borders of these developed areas could hardly stretch<sup>45</sup>. Narrow streets, new buildings added to the courtyards of older ones or integration of the remains of a previous structure, mass additions to traditional buildings, and lots of ruins were a chaotic urban image<sup>46</sup>. However, the roads were improved. Several modern institutions such as schools<sup>47</sup> (F. 7), a hospital<sup>48</sup>, a police station<sup>49</sup>, and a quarantine building<sup>50</sup> were established. Both the

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road and tram parallel to the coastline, the new urban districts in *Karataş* and *Göztepe*, west of the historic commercial center, became attractive. For details, see Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, (İstanbul: Literatur Yayınları, 2011), 96-97; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840 - 1880)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2011), 200, 206, 214; Sepeçioğlu, “XIX. Yüzyılda İzmir Kentinin Nüfus Bileşenleri: Türkler, Rumlar, Yahudiler, Ermeniler”, 129-136; and Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 42.

45 Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840 - 1880)*, 157, 196.

46 Similar problems were recorded for *Fener-Balat* in İstanbul. As a policy, the state did not prefer enlarging of the borders of the neighborhoods of the minorities, increasing of the number or size of their public buildings, and provision of private baths in their houses. Minimum usage of potable water and infrastructure services was desired. See Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840 - 1880)*, 196.

47 With the support of *Alliance Israelite Universelle* which is international organization supporting the cultural and economic development of the Jewish community, gradual improvement was seen in the economy and cultural status of the Jewish society. For detailed information, see Neslihan Kuran, “19. Yüzyılda İstanbul’da Açılan Alliance Israelite Universelle Okulları”, (Master Thesis, Selçuk University, 2009); and Emecen, *Unutulmuş Bir Cemaat: Manisa Yahudileri*, 102. *Alliance Israelite* opened a secondary school at the northwest of the study area: Section for boys established in 1872-1873 and section for girls established in 1877-1878. See Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 161, 178. A portion of this modern Jewish school, *Alliance Israelite*, can still be observed. In the map of Pervititch, it is also documented. The presence of a Turkish school at the northwest of the site and a Jewish orphanage at the northern border of the site are seen in the historical maps. Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil compares a Turkish secondary school and *Alliance Israelite*’s secondary school facing each other in his *Kırk Yıl*. He emphasizes the monumentality of the Jewish school and describes it as a masonry structure as large as a military barrack, and underlines the smallness and lowness of the Turkish school. The relation of the Turkish and Jewish schools at the studied site are in parallel with this description. Erhan Göktürk, “Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil Romanlarında Aidiyet ve Kimlik” (Master Thesis, Erzincan Binali Yıldırım Üniversitesi, 2019), 28-29.

See “Plan de Smyrne Levé et Dressé par Lamec Saad 1876”, accessed July 11, 2020, <https://kadmikutuphane.blogspot.com/2018/10/plan-de-smyrne-leve-et-dresse-par-lamec.html?spref=pi>; and see APİKAM, Plan of Smyrna by Jacques Pervitich in 1923, 2015c.

48 A cortejo was first bought by the İzmir Jewish community to be converted into a hospital in 1827. Then, in 1837, a second one was bought to enlarge the hospital. Beyru describes a cortejo as single storied, rectangular planned building composed of room series on a corridor. It was named as Rothschild Hospital after the contributions of a German origin Jew to its renewal in 1873. See Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 171, 172.

49 Fehmi Paşa, the governor of İzmir between 1893 and 1895, had widened the *İkiçeşmelik* road at the West of the studied site and increased the number of police stations to cope with the increasing criminal problems in the city. The *İkiçeşmelik* road was transporting raw material from the southeast provinces to İzmir center. The *Mezarlıkbaşı* Police station (a memorial building today) at the western entrance of the site is a representative of late Ottoman architecture with its oriental-neoclassical facades and two shelled exterior walls: stone masonry outer and timber frame inner shell. For detailed information, see Serap Tabak, “İzmir Şehrinde Mülki İdare ve İdareciler: 1867-1950” (PhD Thesis, Ege University, 1997), 56.

50 Following the decision regarding establishment of quarantine buildings in harbor cities and dated 1837, each ethnicity established its own health institution. It is known that quarantine buildings (*lazaretto*, *tahaffuzhane*) were to be erected at the borders of a city and those of other ethnicities were at the borders. The positioning of the Jewish one at the city center on a donated lot should be related with poorness of the Jewish society. See Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 60, 161.

Hospital and the Quarantine Building were managed by the Jewish community and converted from collective shelters into modern structures. The Hospital was at the west of *İkiçeşmelik* Street, while the Quarantine Building was at the southwest of the studied site. The quarantine building was lost in the fire of 1841. Meanwhile, public institutions of the Classical Ottoman era, which were controlled by the Pious Foundations, had lost their service ability. So, epidemic diseases were seen<sup>51</sup>. The cholera epidemic of 1865 affected especially the Jews, whose diet was based on rotten fruits and vegetables, and who lived in unsanitary rooms<sup>52</sup>. The Quarantine Building was soon rebuilt. The newly established Municipality started to take responsibility and the epidemic diseases were taken under control at the turn of the century<sup>53</sup>. Then, the quarantine building started to be used as a collective shelter to house the Jewish immigrants<sup>54</sup>.



F. 7: View of a portion of the school of *Alliance Israelite Universelle* at the studied site. (M. Hamamcıoğlu Turan, 2017)

The daily life in the collective shelters included sleeping on the ground, eating food from the same serving plate together with family members, and meeting with other families in the courtyard<sup>55</sup>. These living habits were traditions of both Turkish

51 İlber Ortaylı points out presence of widespread diseases in Ottoman harbor cities of the 19th century. Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840 - 1880)*, 123.

52 Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840 - 1880)*, 214-215.

53 Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840 - 1880)*, 178.

54 In 1907, the usage of the basement of the building was forbidden by the Municipality after the Jews from Caucasus and Crimea started to live here. Addition of a laundry was declared as a must. For detailed information, see Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 60, 161. The latest record about this building is dated to 1929. For detailed information, see, Bora, *Birinci Juderia İzmir'in Eski Yahudi Mahallesi*, 142-146. After its demolition, its lot was rented by the Jewish Graveyard Community to house the hearses. For detailed information, see Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 170.

55 For the way of life in the collective shelters, see Paul Dumont, "Une Source pour l'Etude des Communautés Juives de Turqui: les Archives de l'AIU". *Journal Asiatique* 167 (1979), 101-135; and Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 41.

and Jewish communities of the era. Bora states that 1000 Jewish families lived in the shelters at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>56</sup>. Pullukçuoğlu Yapucu points out that the inhabitants of the shelters could be Turkish as well at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>57</sup>. In fact, the owners of some of the shelters were Muslims: “c” in the studied site was owned by *Cevahircizade Hacı Mehmed Efendi* as revealed in 1890-1908 records<sup>58</sup>.

After Turkey’s War of Independence, which ended in 1922, the Jewish and Turkish population expanded further on the site with new migrations. Jews coming from the nearby towns of İzmir, namely, Manisa, Turgutlu, and Aydın; were settled in the synagogues and collective shelters<sup>59</sup>. Some of the Turks coming from the Balkans with the Greek-Turkish population exchange of 1923 settled in *Mezarlıkbaşı* as well<sup>60</sup>. This Jewish-Turkish composition of the population at the studied site was sustained until the 1950s. Then, the Jewish population decreased from 55,000 to 3,000 in the city<sup>61</sup>, because of the establishment of Israel. The Jews on the site had left until the late 1960s<sup>62</sup>. It is understood that the low-income Turkish community continued to live in the site until the end of the 1980s<sup>63</sup>. At the same time, workshops to produce shoes and small hotels whose customers were from specific towns in the vicinity of İzmir<sup>64</sup> became widespread in *Mezarlıkbaşı*. Two of the case studies were converted into a workshop (“c”) and a hotel (“i”) in this period<sup>65</sup>. These workshops and hotels

56 The rents of the rooms were first paid by *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, but in time, this became impossible giving way to conflicts between the local Jews, who owned many of the collective shelters, and the new comers. See Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 66, 145.

57 Olcay Pullukçuoğlu Yapucu, “İzmir ve Çevresinde Ulaşım - Kervanyollarından Demiryoluna”, (*İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi*, Tarih. Vol. 1. İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 159-180.

58 For the owners of the shelters, see Bora, *İzmir Yahudileri Tarihi, 1908-1923*, 37; and Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 45. Üzmez uses the name *Paşayakov Yahuthanesi* for this shelter. See Birol Üzmez, “Cortejo Aile Evleri”, *KNK Dergisi*, 2 (2010), 50-53.

59 With the help of *B'nai B'rith Loca*, a Jewish orphanage was established at the northeast of the studied site after the Independence War. It was lost in a later fire. For details, see Paul Dumont, *Un Organe Sioniste en Turquie La Nation (1919-1920)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1985), 189-225; Rıfat N. Bali, “Bir Yahudi Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Kurumu: B'nai B'rith XI. Bölge Büyük Locası Tarihçesi ve Yayın Organı Hamenora Dergisi”, *Müteferrika* 8-9 (1996), 50-51; and Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 60, 90, 91.

60 For Turkish community in the site, see Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu, “İzmir ve İttihat-Terakki” (*İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi, Tarih*, Vol. 1, İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2013), 217-226.

61 Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 93.

62 The low incomes considered moving to Israil more than the high incomes. The site housed the low incomes. Bora, *Bir Semt Bir Bina: Karataş Hastanesi ve Çevresinde Yahudi İzleri*, 93.

63 For the community living in the shelters in 1980s, see Esin Aydar and Funda Altınçekiç, *Şehirsel Sınıf Sisteminin Mekânsal Boyutları* (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University Faculty of Engineering and Architecture Publication, 1988), 36-37.

64 For the landuse in Mezarlıkbaşı in the second half of the twentieth century, see Mübeccel Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent - İzmir’de İş Hayatının Yapısı ve Yerleşme Düzeni*, (Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1972), 69-74.

65 The name Manisa-Akhisar emphasizes that the shelter “i” was a hotel for tradesmen coming from Akhisar province of Manisa city at the north of İzmir in the 1950s. These small hotels on Anafartalar Street played role in communication of commercial messages and small packages. Today, it is still a hotel that serves the lowest income groups. For details, see Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen Kent - İzmir’de İş Hayatının Yapısı ve Yerleşme Düzeni*, 69.

retain their function today, while the collective shelters serve the male population working on the site<sup>66</sup>. They are from various cities of Turkey<sup>67</sup>. The area recently hosts temporary Syrian residents who settled mostly in abandoned houses<sup>68</sup>.

#### 4. Characteristics of the Collective Shelters

Although the places of the collective shelters have been sustained, the structures are either in an extremely poor state of conservation (4 of 11; “e”, “f”, “g”, and “i”), in ruins (3 of 11; “b”, “d”, and “f”), demolished (3 of 11; “a”, “c” and “k”); or unobserved (1 of 11; “h”). Half of them were listed as second-degree cultural assets (6 of 11; “a”, “b”, “e”, “g”, “h”, and “i”). In the Title Deed and Cadaster Archive, they are recorded as the house of the Jews (*yahuthane*) (6 of 11; “a”, “c”, “d”, “e”, “f” and “k”) and residential unit(s) (3 of 11; “b”, “g” and “j”). There are some other categories: land (1 of 11; “i”) and madrasah (1 of 11; “h”). Some historic collective shelters are on more than one lot (6 of 11; “a”, “c”, “d”, “e”, “i”, and “k”) today. The original lots were either divided into pieces in time (“a”, “c”, “d”, and “k”); or backyards of neighboring yards were used together for the collective shelter (“e” and “i”). The historic collective shelters were constructed often at the center of a building block (8 of 11; “a”, “b”, “c”, “d”, “e”, “h”, and “j”) (T.1., T.2., T.3.), utilizing the rear courtyards of shops, houses, etc. just like their historic predecessors from Roman Anatolia (see section 2). Then, a narrow path provides access. It was also possible to utilize an urban void such as the courtyard of a previous monument (1 of 11; “f”)<sup>69</sup> or the place of a ruined building (2 of 11; “g” and “h”)<sup>70</sup>. In the selection of locations; cultural memory could be taken as a criterion (3 of 11; “i”, “j”, and “k”).<sup>71</sup> The two shelters (“j” and “k”) neighboring the house of Tsevi are also near-by a hidden temple; while

66 Üzmez has interviewed with *Türkölmez* family living in the shelter “g”. For his interview, see Üzmez, “Kortejo Aile Evleri”, 50.

67 The interviews belong to the fall of 2016 and the winter of 2017.

68 There are 3,672,646 Syrian refugees in Turkey. 148.346 of them are living in İzmir. See “Türkiyedeki Suriyeli Sayısı Mayıs 2021”, Mülteciler Derneği, accessed June 27, 2021, [https://mülteciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/?gclid=EAlaIqobChMIzsqeiqO48QIV7EWRBR0YiQRdEAAAYASAAEgLWPPD\\_BwE](https://mülteciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/?gclid=EAlaIqobChMIzsqeiqO48QIV7EWRBR0YiQRdEAAAYASAAEgLWPPD_BwE).

69 The shelter “f” is at the south of *Kara Kadı* Bath, probably filling in its original courtyard.

70 The lot of the case study “h” is recorded as a madrasah. This madrasah should be the education building mentioned in the 17th-century archive documents. The lots of the case studies “g” and “h” could be united in the original. *Kara Kadı* Bath from the same century is in the neighboring building block at the east. The case study “g” is not documented in any of the historic maps. It is organized around a linear courtyard that is directly entered from 941 Street (Table 1). Room series on both floors are seen at the south of the courtyard, while the northern portion is in ruins. The structure is timber frame with brick and stone infill, finished with plaster. The street façade which rests on a rubble stone masonry wall has neoclassical characteristics (F.5.). For information on the lots, see General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre archive, 2019.

71 In the historic maps, the Jewish quarantine building (F. 7) juxtaposes the lot of the shelter “i” at its south. Today, the quarantine building is demolished. It is stated that it was present in 1929. For detailed information, see Bora, *Birinci Juderia İzmir'in Eski Yahudi Mahallesi*, 144-145. Because of its nearness to the lost Jewish monument, the place of Manisa-Akhisar Hotel might had been valued by the Jewish community and preferred for accommodation in the early 20th century. Çukurel and Meseri have interviewed with Jews who had lived here. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive, “Sadece Adı Kaldı Elimizde: Kortejolar”.

the case study “i” neighbors the place of the lost quarantine building of the Jews. If the courtyard of the historic shelter is directly entered from the street (3 of 11; “f”, “g”, and “k”), then it is a local street, not an artery. In turn, privacy was considered important. In terms of spatial organization, series of rooms around a courtyard was the basic theme preferred (9 of 11, excluding “g” and “k”). The possible architectural elements that used to provide potable water in the courtyards are missing, excluding the case “e”<sup>72</sup>. A portico between the rooms and the courtyard is sometimes seen (2 of 11; “f” and “i”). In terms of interaction with a hidden praying space, one case is present: “e” with a praying house in its courtyard<sup>73</sup>. “j” and “k” neighbor a peculiar building with an unknown function (F.8)<sup>74</sup>. Story systems are observed as single (“b”, “d”, “e”, and “j”); a combination of single and double (“f”); double (“g” and “k”); and a combination of double and three-storied (“i”) (Table 1, Table 2).

72 At present, there is a suction hand pump in the courtyard, which is recorded in the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre archive as  $\frac{1}{2}$  *masu'ra*. *Masu'ra* is the unit of running water in the Ottoman measurement system. One unit of *masura* is equivalent to approximately 6.5 m<sup>3</sup> water / 1 day. For the list of the elements in the lot, see General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre archive, 2019. For definition of *masu'ra*, see TDK, “Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri”, accessed June 27, 2021, <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>.

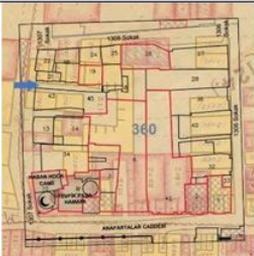
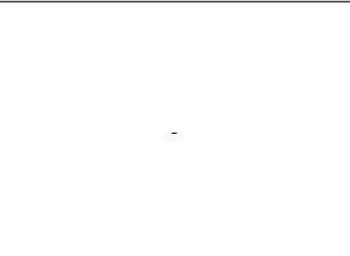
73 It is known that synagogues were positioned at the center of traditional Jewish neighborhoods Jews coming to Izmir from different geographies preferred to congregate in their own synagogues. In the light of this information, the gathering space ruin at the center of the case “e” was evaluated as the praying space of the community accommodating in the collective shelter. The praying house was spanned with vaults. A cut stone on which the Star of David is carved is eye-catching at its northeastern wall (F. 9). This could be an old Jewish grave stone that was reused as construction material in the praying house. The building may be constructed just after the Turkish Independence War. It is known that this construction technique and façade order was sustained in the site until the 1930s because of the inscription panels detected on other buildings with similar characteristics during the surveys. Şakir Çakmak and Siren Bora, “The Portugal Synagogue: in Light of Its History and Architecture”, *Art-Sanat* 14 (2020), 39-70.

74 In the building block neighboring the case studies “j” and “k” at their south, namely, the block 397, there is a peculiar building among independent houses with Neoclassical style. It is listed as second-degree cultural asset. It is recorded as a house in the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre archive. This double storied building on lot 60 (134 m<sup>2</sup>) is seen at first glance as one of the houses on 827 Street, but it consists of a series of vaulted spaces parallel to the street. They are spanned with barrel vaults and receive very little daylight. In addition to the entrance on 827 Street, access is also possible from 826 Street through the lot 11. The followers of Sabbatai Tsevi were forced to change their religion, but they were Muslim in the day time, and kept on being Jewish at nights. Their houses were interconnected to each other with hidden passages. As a result, the case studies “j” and “k” may be collective shelters of this community that had hidden itself throughout centuries. Nevertheless, for evaluating the original function, documentation at single building scale should be detailed. For listing details, see İzmir Number 1 Regional Conservation Council for Cultural Assets Archive (ICC), Izmir, 2015. For the phenomenon of Sabbatai Tsevi, see Cengiz Şişman, *Suskunluğun Yükü: Sabatay Sevi ve Osmanlı-Türk Dönemlerinin Evrimi* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2016), 249, 255, 313, 330.



**F. 8:** The lot number 60, block 397 as viewed from the 827<sup>th</sup> street (left, M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2018) and related portion of the waterlines map of 1900-1905 (*İzmir Belediyesi*, 1941) overlapped with the base map (Ö. D. Toköz, 2018) (right)

**Table 1:** Spatial organization of the case studies (M. Hamamcıoğlu Turan, 2021)

	Base map and istoric maps overlapped (Ö. D. Toköz, 2018)	Historic map	Photo	Date of Photo
a		The Map of Pervititch of 1923 (APIKAM, 2015c)		-
b		The Map of Pervititch of 1923 (APIKAM, 2015c)		Room ruin of the possible shelter, 2015(M. Hamamcıoğlu- Turan, 2017)
c		The Map of Pervititch of 1923 (APIKAM, 2015c)		Workshop in the place of theshefter (M. Hamamcıoğlu- Turan, 2014)
d		The map of Saad of 1876 (“ Plan de Smyrne levé et dressé par Lamec Saad 1876.”)		Western wall of the possible shelter, 2015 (M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2015).
e		The Map of Pervititch of 1923 (APIKAM, 2015c)		Courtyard (M. Hamamcıoğlu- Turan, 2015)

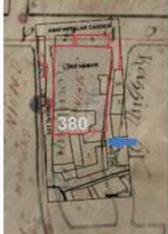
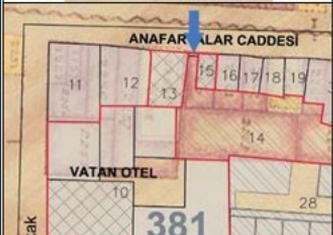
f		<p>The waterlines map of 1900-1905 (IzmirBelediyesi, 1941)</p>		<p>Top view (M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2018)</p>
g		<p>The Map of Pervitich of 1923 (APIKAM, 2015c)</p>		<p>Courtyard (M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2015)</p>
h		<p>The Map of Pervitich of 1923 (APIKAM, 2015c)</p>		<p>The gate on Anafartalar Street (M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2015)</p>
i		<p>The waterlines map of 1900-1905 (IzmirBelediyesi, 1941)</p>		<p>Top view (M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2015)</p>
j		<p>The waterlines map of 1900-1905 (IzmirBelediyesi, 1941)</p>		<p>Courtyard (M. Hamamcıoğlu-Turan, 2018)</p>
k		<p>The waterlines map of 1900-1905 (IzmirBelediyesi, 1941)</p>		<p>Before demolition (Izmir Kent Rehberi, 2019)</p>

Table 2: The attributes of the case studies (M. Hamamcıoğlu Turan, 2021)

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
Neighborhood	Hurşidiye	Hurşidiye	Hurşidiye	Hurşidiye	Kurtuluş (Hatuniye)	Kurtuluş (Hatuniye)	Kurtuluş (Hatuniye)	Kurtuluş (Hatuniye)	Kurtuluş (Hatuniye)	Sakarya (Sonsino)	Sakarya (Sonsino)
Positioning	Center of the block	Center of the block	Center of the block	Behind shops	Center of the block	Corner of the block	Side of the block	Center of the block	Behind shops and hotels	Center of the block	Corner of the block
Access	A narrow path	A narrow path	2 narrow paths	A short, narrow path	2 narrow paths	Direct entrance	Direct entrance	A narrow, short path	A narrow path	A deadend	Direct entrance
Block no	360	359	357	357	379	380	381	381	382	387	394
Lot no	6, 18, 19, 45	16	9, 62	5	37, 10, 9	1	28	14	6, 7, 8	18	14, 25, 29, 30
Lot size (m <sup>2</sup> )	lot 6: 702.5 lot 18: 220 lot 19: 75 lot 45: 123	314	Lot 9: 1500 m <sup>2</sup> Lot 62: 269	Lot 5: 380	lot 37: 668.50 lot 10: 71 lot 9: 60	236	256.50	251.25	lot 6: 130 lot 7: 439 lot 8: 260	453.5	lot 14: 248.5 lot 25: 220 lot 29: 297 lot 30: 230
Listed lots	6 and 9	16	-	-	37	-	28	14	6, 7, 8	18	14
Listing decision number and date (ICC, 2015)	A-2981 on 24.07.1981; A-1729 on 09.06.1979	1585 on 27.07.2006	-	-	1585 on 27.07.2006	-	1585 on 27.07.2006	A-1729 on 09.06.1979	A-2981 on 24.07.1981	unknown	unknown
Preservation state	demolished	in ruins	demolished	in ruins	poor	poor	poor	unknown	poor	in ruins	demolished
Original name	-	-	Cevahir-cizade Mehmet Efendi Yathanesi	Cortejo las a Kuen	Cortejo Kaliziko or Nahide Family House	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unpresence in historic maps	-	-	Saad, 1876	-	-	Not present in any map	Not present in any map	-	Not present in any map	Not present in any map	-

Table 2: Continue

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
Function in the Title Deed and Cadaster archive (RT, 2018)	Lot 6: land Lot 18: Yahuthane Lot 19: two "residential units (hane) Lot 45: land	house	Lot 9: a shop and a yahuthane Lot 62: a residential unit	a yahuthane with two shops	Lot 37: a yahuthane, a house, and 1/2 masu'ra water Lots 10 and 9: houses	A ya- huthane	A house	A madrasah	Empty lot	5 residen- tial units	Lot 14: a shop, yahuthane Lot 25: a room, a yahuthane lots 29 and 30: ya- huthanesi
Original plan layout	Courtyard surrounded by rooms forming a U plan	Room se- ries around a courtyard	L-formed lot, 2 related courtyards surrounded by rooms	A linear courtyard in north-south direction, sur- rounded by spaces at its west,north and east sides	A praying space sur- rounded by a U formed courtyard and living units	A central courtyard surrounded by living units	A linear courtyard surrounded by living units on its long sides	unknown	A central courtyard surrounded by living units built in different periods	A linear courtyard with living units around long sides	unknown
Original structure	Timber	Timber	Timber	Masonry	Combined	Combined	Combined	Masonry	Combined	Masonry	Masonry
Previous function	-	-	-	Khan	-	Courtyard of K. Kadi Bath	Courtyard of Madra- sah	-	Empty lot	-	-
Current function	Bachelor rooms	Abandoned	Abandoned	Car park	Abandoned	Bachelor rooms	Bachelor rooms	unknown	Manisa- Akhisar Hotel	Abandoned	Abandoned

**Table 3:** Morphologic Analysis of the original layouts (F. Akpınar and Ö. D. Toköz, 2021)

Plan Type	Access	Courtyard Organization	Name
	Artery - long path	Central	i
	Artery - long path	Two centers	c
	Artery - short path Dead end - no path	Linear	d j
	Artery - short path	Central	h
	Local street	Central	f
	Local street	Linear	g
	Artery & local street - short path	U formed	e
	Local street - long path	Central	a b
	Local street	unknown	k

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In terms of the structural system of walls; masonry (5 of 11; “d”, “e”, “h”, “j”, and “k”), masonry exterior walls and timber skeleton interior ones (1 of 11; “g”), timber skeleton (3 of 11; “a”, “b”, and “c”), a combination of reinforced concrete skeleton and masonry (1 of 11; “f”), and a combination of reinforced concrete skeleton, masonry and timber frame (1 of 11; “i”)<sup>75</sup> are possible (**T. 1, T. 2**). The spanning elements that could be observed in masonry cases are vaults (3 of 5; “d”, “e”, and “j”). The cases with reinforced concrete skeleton are either a renewed portion of a masonry shelter (“f”) or a mass addition in the courtyard of an older structure (“i”). In masonry structures, rubble stones of various sizes and brick tightly put together with mortar (“d”); rubble stone, brick, and re-used cut stone (“e”) (**F. 9**) or rubble stone and brick put together with thick mortar joints (“j” and “k”) were observed. Since timber frame ones were demolished or in ruins (“a”, “b”, and “c”), the wall infill as rubble stone and brick; and the timber floor or the jack arch floor were observed in the two cases with combined techniques: (“g” and “i”), respectively. Among the observed facades, Neoclassical order is widespread (4 of 6; ‘e’, ‘g’, ‘h’, and ‘k’), while First Nationalist Style and modern style are seen in single cases: (‘i’ and ‘f’), respectively (**F. 10**).



**F. 9:** The wall of the praying house of “e” (M. Hamamcioğlu Turan, 2017)

<sup>75</sup> Its oldest portion of the shelter “i” is the northern and northwestern arms. It has jack arch floor system and timber frame walls with rubble stone and brick infill. So, it should date to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century. It is not illustrated on the historic maps. The eastern portion, which is a three-storied reinforced concrete structure, presents the features of First National Architecture, which was seen in between 1908 and 1930 in the country. The two-storied portion in the southwest is a new incompatible structure. For detailed information on First National Architecture, see Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 1981).



**F. 10:** Street façade “g”, courtyard façade, eastern portion “i”, courtyard façade, western portion “f” (M. Hamamcioğlu Turan, 2015)

The case “d” may be the oldest structure<sup>76</sup> as the technique of its rubble stone masonry walls and vault traces over each of its rooms point out (T. 1) (F. 11). Its original function could be a collective shelter or a khan<sup>77</sup>. Four cases belong to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as their Neoclassical facades, rubble stone-brick masonry walls present (“e”, “g”, “j”, and “k”)<sup>78</sup> (F. 10). The case study “i” has a portion from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with its jack arch floor, and a portion with First Nationalist Style dating to the 1918-1930 period. The case study “f” has a wall ruin out of rubble stone – brick masonry (F. 11) probably from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while its renewed portion is in the modernist style, probably from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (F. 10). The rest have limited data; therefore, they cannot be dated.

76 It is interpreted that the building may be the oldest the 17th century, considering the presence of monuments from this date at the site. *Kara Kadı (Lüks) Bath* in block 380, lot 3 was mentioned in the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi, which was written in the 17th century. On the map of Pervititch dated 1923, a different timber structure with room series around the same linear courtyard is seen. For the original of the map, see APIKAM, 2015. It is evaluated that a collective shelter was constructed integrating with the masonry ruins in the lot at the turn of the 19th century. This timber structure is demolished today. For the related text of Evliya Çelebi, see Abdullah Temizkan and Mertcan Akan, “Kent ve Seyyah: Evliya Çelebi’nin Gözüyle İzmir ve Çevresi – 1”, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi’nin İzmir Kısımının Transkripsiyonlu, Sadeleştirilmiş ve Orijinal Metni* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2013), 29-41.

77 The historic khans in *Mezarlıkbaşı* have not reached today. They were single, partially two or two storied. They could have courtyards. Some were converted into hotels. *Saray* and *Antique* Hotels in the site may be examples of this conversion. For details of the historic khans of İzmir, see Bozkurt Ersoy, *İzmir Hanları* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1991), 91, 104, 122, 125, 132.

78 On a listed house (street 1306, no 9) within the studied site, there is an inscription panel dating the building to 1929. So, the construction tradition of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was sustained in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the site.



**F. 11:** Wall details: “d, interior facade”, “g, courtyard facade” and “f, northwestern corner” (M. Hamamcıoğlu Turan, 2015)

## Evaluation

The studied collective shelters are among the diverse structures that contribute to characteristics of the historic commercial center of İzmir that has been home to many different civilizations. The studied cases contribute to the representation of the Ottoman Social Grouping (*Millet*) System tradition<sup>79</sup> with their social and cultural values. They also present architectural solutions developed for housing of the disadvantaged groups such as the Jews and the Muslims in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Table 4). They are in poor state of preservation and require urgent precautions.

**Table 4:** Heritage Values of the Case Studies (F. Akpınar, 2021)

Historical Value	Cortejos are not only physical evidence of the past, but also have played a role in the history of the nation and the city as a place to host vulnerable ethnic groups
Cultural//Symbolic Value	Historical, political, ethnic, or communal means of living together Various aspects of a past period, from lifestyle to the use of the space and also materials and crafts and technics of the construction
Social value	Shared meanings for a specific minority communities (especially Jewish, or poor Muslim groups), emotional meanings. The co-habitation of several families around a courtyard and generation after generation living in a common way of life as a protective measure against economic hardship, post-war suffering, exile, corruption or other problems
Spiritual/Religious Value	Spiritual values emanate from the specific beliefs and organized religion. Spiritual dignity of oppressed communities in history under the hardship and economic constraints.
Commemorative value	Jewish families visit so often their ancestries' cortejos that they feel an emotional attachment to them.
Architectural values	Specific architectural style and form; architectural setting of cortejos represents the everyday life of the specific communities.

<sup>79</sup> The Historical Port City of Izmir is in the tentative list of UNESCO's World Heritage List since 14th of April, 2020. The Ottoman Millet System tradition is one of the concepts emphasized in the nomination report. See UNESCO, “The Historical Port City of İzmir”, erişim 30 Mayıs 2021. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6471/>

Document value	Essential as world heritage in terms of documenting the urban history of İzmir, since they provide a way to maintain the spiritual dignity of oppressed communities in history under challenging economic and social constraints.
Economic values	Local distinctiveness and tourism potentials. Cortejos are of value of attracting visitors to the wider region, or indeed a particular country.
Continuity value	Still hosts to the disadvantaged groups.

### Conclusion

This paper provides a systematic historical analysis of the collective shelters in Hurşidiye, Kurtuluş and Sakarya Neighborhoods of Konak, İzmir, along with their physical, architectural characteristics and their cultural values as heritage. It is concluded that collective shelters are the tangible documentary assets of the collective identity of the city of İzmir. They represent idiosyncratic co-habitation of the vulnerable ethnic groups. Their cultural / symbolic value refers to those shared meanings of specific communities: Jews and Muslims. The co-habitation of several families around a courtyard and generation after generation living in a common way of life as a protective measure against economic, social hardship while maintaining the spiritual dignity create high social, spiritual, and commemorative values for the collective shelters. They provide insight into the coexistence of different community groups and can be regarded as an indispensable part of the diverse lifestyle in the commercial center of İzmir. In this regard, this study shows the uniqueness of the collective shelters, with their physical, architectural, and historical qualities acquired from their rich history. The collective shelter concept provides clues for solving housing problem of the disadvantaged communities. This feature can be considered as an alternative housing option for the vulnerable groups.

On the other side, as this study reveals, historic collective shelters have not yet seen the value they merit. They are not well maintained and conserved, and, at the same time, they are destroyed by others. The shelters are essential in terms of documenting the urban history of İzmir since they provide a way to maintain the spiritual dignity of oppressed communities in history under challenging economic and social constraints. Family life in these shelters existed in dysfunctional urban climate. Sustaining of habitation function by male workers in the so far preserved shelters attributes some authenticity to these cases, but their spiritual wholeness stemming from housing families of a specific community is no more present. So, their social integrity has been lost. The renewed or demolished ones sustain the memorial value of their places, although they have lost their architectural unity. The historic collective shelters should be preserved as one of the layers contributing to the integrity of the multi-time, multi-era heritage of the historical commercial center of İzmir on a way to entering the world heritage list.

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