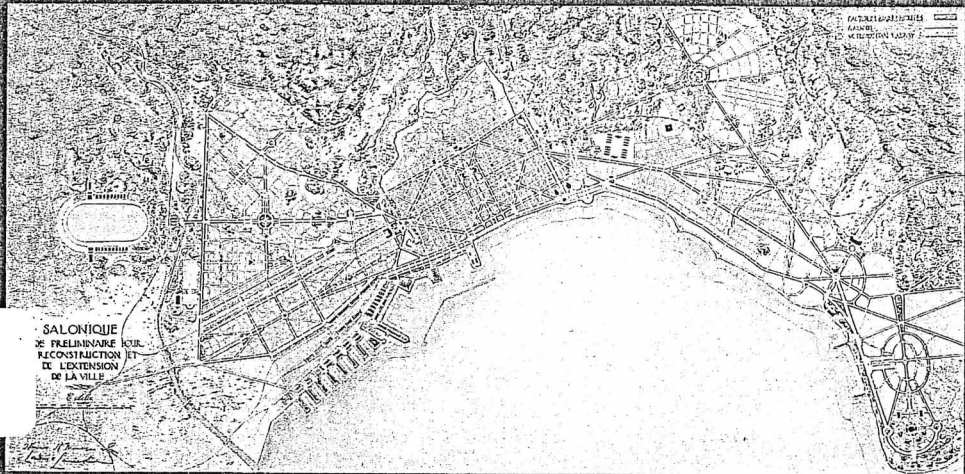


Alexandra Yerolympos

Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820 - 1920)

Aspects of Balkan Town Planning
and the Remaking of Thessaloniki



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Preface

Little is known about the tremendous changes that took place in the Balkan cities in the hundred years between 1820 and 1920. In fact the Balkans find almost no place in the specialized literature of planning history. A few penetrating remarks of P. Lavedan in his *Histoire d'Urbanisme*, two brief but insightful overviews by E.A. Gutkind in the *International History of City Development*, and the odd mention of A. Whittick's *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning* eloquently demonstrate the magnitude of the gap. F. Hiorns and E. Egli in their methodical review of the history of cities and Paolo Sica in his stimulating study of the history of town planning take little account of this region, while the historians of the Balkans simply note the cities' break with their Oriental past and their swift progress towards westernisation. There are some interesting monographs on the planning history of Constantinople and Athens in the nineteenth century, but it is only the traditional architecture of the Balkans that has received comprehensive treatment (by the Greek publishing house Melissa).

It goes without saying that the studies in this volume cannot fill the gap. They were not written with that aim in mind. Independent issues, such as an investigation of a major planning intervention, a comparison of the first 'modern' planning laws, the fate of the Ottoman heritage in the modern city, each provided a stimulus for individual studies, which were initially addressed to the students attending courses in Urban Design and Planning History in the School of Architecture in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Their basic purpose was to provide answers to questions relating to the present form of the cities in this part of the world. As I worked on them further, they opened the possibility of a more comprehensive approach, which proposes simply to draw attention to a particular process of urban restructuring that the Balkan countries embarked upon in the nineteenth century; a process whose origins lay in a shared past and which followed a parallel or comparable course in circumstances of particular tension. Indeed the Balkan cities underwent the violent changes of their time and their transformations fuelled the arduous processes of nation-building (ethnogenesis). Situated between the western and the eastern world, between powerful metropolitan states and colonized territories, the Balkan countries provide an intermediate link in the history of town making in the modern times which certainly deserves our attention. Yet their experience is virtually unknown outside the narrow confines of their national borders, for most of the relevant studies are written in the national languages.

This book comprises revised and supplemented versions of articles that first appeared in reviews specialising in planning history, architecture and preservation, and history, in the following order and titles. The material from the original articles is used here with the permission of the respective publishers:

- ~ "Thessaloniki before and after 1917. Twentieth century planning vs twenty centuries of urban evolution", *Planning Perspectives* 3 (1988), London (E. & F.N. Spon), p. 141-166.
- ~ "Modernisation et reconquête des villes. La formation d'une identité urbaine aux Balkans au XIXe siècle", *Monuments Historiques* no. 180 (1992), Paris, p. 90-94.
- ~ "In search of a rational city", *Tefchos*, International Review of Architecture, nos. 12-13 (1993), Athens, p. 34-41.
- ~ "A contribution to the topography of 19th century Adrianople", *Balkan Studies* vol. 34, no. 1 (1993), Thessaloniki p. 49-72.
- ~ "A new city for a new state. City planning and the formation of national identity in the Balkans, 1820-1920", *Planning Perspectives* vol. 8 (1993), London (E. & F.N. Spon), p. 233-257.
- ~ "Changing uses of city walls in the late Ottoman Balkans. Urban expansion projects and the case of Thessaloniki", *Monument and Environment* 2 (1994), Thessaloniki, p. 111-124.

Visits to major libraries and archives outside Greece (in London, Paris, Leiden and Istanbul) for the purposes of my research were made possible by grants from the British Council in Thessaloniki (under the directorship of Mr John Chapman) and funding from the Aristotle University during my sabbaticals. American libraries became accessible thanks to a Stanley S. Seeger Fellowship offered by Princeton University's Program in Hellenic Studies (director Professor Dimitris Gondicas).

Many people generously offered data, advice, and comments and gave me the opportunity to publicise my work and submit it to criticism. I am more than grateful to my colleagues and much loved friends Kiki Kafkoulia and Vassilis Colonas for their unremitting help and encouragement at all possible levels. Professors Pierre Pinon (of the Schools of Architecture Paris-Défense and Paris-Belleville), Stéphane Yerasimos (of the Institut d'Urbanisme Paris VIII), Gilles Veinstein και François Georgeon (of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales), Slobodan Curcic (of Princeton University), and Nicolae Lascu (of the Ion Mincu Institute, Bucharest) all helped me in many ways to proceed with my work, making their own research available to me, inviting me to their respective university establishments, and pointing out sources and data I was unaware of. I should also like to thank the historian Tassos Iordanoglou, always willing to help with old Turkish bibliography, the architects Evangelia Hadjistryphonos and Savvas Tsilenis for their interest and support, as well as the architects Bosko Budisavljevic from Zagreb, Thetis and Bojidar Kadiev from Plovdiv, the historian Meropi Anastassiadou from Strasbourg, and Professor Mahiel Kiel of the University of Utrecht for sending me original material, and my friends Agostina Pinon and Melissa Stamoulos for their valuable advice on bibliographical and linguistic matters.

To the talent of my students Myrto Anastassopoulou, Claira Kaltibani, Christina Kaltibani, Barbara Karaoglou, and Athina Vitopoulou, I owe the beautifully redrawn plans by Hébrard and Mawson, whose originals have not been found. Having studied in class the basic rules of representing planning ideas at the turn of the century, they made use of extant archival material (parts of plans and old photographs of documents made available to them) and have managed, I think, to accurately convey the sensitivities and intentions of the original designers.

The transliteration of proper names -always difficult and not invariably successful, owing to the mixture of alphabets (Greek, old Turkish, Serbian, Bulgarian)- has been done on a phonetic basis. Where the names are already in Latin script (modern Turkish, Serbo-Croat, Romanian), the form has not been changed, even though it usually does not reflect the pronunciation. In the bibliography, titles of works in Latin script are given in their original form; the titles of works in Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian (where the Serbian rather than the Latin alphabet is used) are translated into English, and the original language is noted in parentheses.

I.

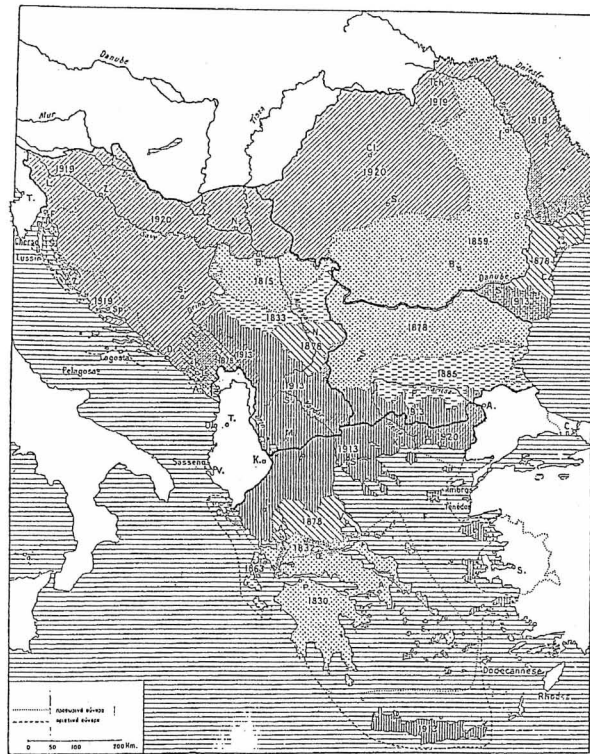
Introduction:

Traditional layouts and new models

Between the 1820s and the 1920s profound transformations took place in the Balkan peninsula, for many centuries European province of the Ottoman Empire. This was the time of the great dismantling of the polyethnic Ottoman Empire, when a number of new national states were created: Greece (in its contemporary southern provinces) in 1828, Serbia (autonomous since 1815), Romania, and Bulgaria between 1829 and 1878, Albania and modern Greece in the 1910s and up to 1922. A period of great interior unrest at the turn of the century was followed by successive wars, such as the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the first World War (1914-1918) and the Asia Minor Campaign (1920-1922), leading to frontier changes, extensive damage to existing towns and countryside, and millions of refugees in search of new homes.

Throughout the 19th century, economic growth and development of Western Europe had been interpreted, in terms of a rigid spatial determinism, as linearly related to urban growth. By reversing the argument, it was believed that by creating new cities and encouraging urban growth, the much hoped for economic development would eventually emerge. It is then easy to understand that the establishment of a new network of settlements within national boundaries acquired a distinct importance, and the reconstruction of cities was placed in the heart of modernizing programmes of the states involved. The reasons for this effort were practical and functional, as well as ideological. The new state should motivate production and economic activity, but it should also emphasize its proper identity by creating its own urban culture. Urbanism was then viewed as a vehicle for expressing the ideals of life in common and for shaping the new national identity. Not only should the new universal values of political freedom, progress and wellbeing be incorporated into the form of the city but also, all memories of Ottoman rule, which had left deep marks in urban fabrics and landscape, should be effaced.

The new values, influenced by the ideals of Enlightenment, had been penetrating the Balkans through all kinds of courses and channels, sometimes even unexpected or bizarre. They came from Central Europe (Austria-Hungary) and from Orthodox mother Russia, from the cosmopolitan society of Constantinople, or the intellectuals of the Diaspora, Greeks mainly but also Serbs...; they were introduced by Christian



Territorial changes in the Balkans 1815-1923. Definitive frontiers are indicated with black lines

merchants who constantly cut across the peninsula, as well as by political refugees, mainly Polish, welcomed in the Ottoman Empire; they were imported by missionaries of all beliefs, adventurers and all sorts of desperados. In the fight for political emancipation and social, economic and cultural progress, 'westernization' and 'de-ottomanization' appeared as two strongly interwoven objectives which generated major planning initiatives. Thus appropriate planning legislation along with specific operations were included among the very first set of decisions of the new independent governments.

In order to appreciate the significance and extent of the questions involved in the remaking of Balkan cities, it would be helpful to consider some aspects of the conditions prevailing in the Balkans prior to the period that is examined here.

In the course of the 19th century, Ottoman rule in the Balkans had been identified not only as religious and political oppression but also as economic and social stagnation. While most of the European states had

undergone important transformations with regards to constitutional government, civil rights and social reform, the Ottoman Empire remained an essentially medieval state. It was governed as an absolute monarchy, with obsolete institutions relying on juridical distinctions of its subjects on the basis of their religious affiliation. The different ethnic-religious groups were administered through communal organisation, non-Moslems having a distinctly inferior status¹.

It is generally accepted that modern capitalist economy in the Balkans did not originate in widespread local development dynamics, but within a specific context of integration/submission of the Ottoman Empire to the world economy. It is perhaps interesting to point out that, in the powerful national and multinational states that were formed in Western Europe as well as in Russia during the 18th century, the dominant nation, or the dominant ethnic group, was the main promoter of the new social relations. Whereas in the Ottoman Empire it is exactly the oppressed ethnic groups, without civil rights, who assumed this role. Thus the social conflicts inherent in all kinds of social change were inevitably incorporated into the national conflicts, investing them with an unprecedented intensity; so that every move, every voice in favour of reform would be automatically interpreted as a blow against Ottoman dominance, or as a concession in favour of non-Moslems².

This argument can perhaps explain the overriding concern to erase all remnants of Ottoman past although, quite significantly but not surprisingly, in this effort the new states were followed by the Ottomans, who approximately in the same period were driven to modernize and to reform their traditional theocratic institutions, following the model of the European states of the time.

Indeed the Ottoman Empire had become aware of western superiority since the 18th century for a variety of reasons, mainly military. Still early efforts towards westernization focused only upon aspects of technology and education and they strove to reorganise the army and to establish new types of administrative agencies/bodies. It is only in 1839 that Sultan Abdul Medjit, wishing to halt the disintegration of the Empire, signed the Tanzimat Charter, which made possible, especially after 1856, an extensive economical and sociopolitical transformation of the old political system. Indeed Tanzimat means reordering, reorganisation. It was founded upon a double political emancipation: the granting of equal rights to all Ottoman subjects, whether Moslem or not, and the separation of state and public administration from religious law. For the first time in Ottoman history, the relationship between government and the people was defined and codified, and concepts of equality, liberty and human rights were introduced in the political discourse³. The 'westernization' was greatly encouraged when not imposed by western European states wishing to control national liberation movements, as well as in search of new markets.

In the past the translation of the traditional Ottoman society into space had been shaped along some main themes, common to Islamic cities such as, communal organisation of ethnic-religious groups expressing themselves through territorial patterns; gender segregation encouraging a limited range of spatial solutions; property laws giving prominence in preexisting rights of individuals, collective users of land and immovable property, and thereby reproducing continually old patterns of space⁴.

1. For a penetrating insight into the social and political history of the Ottoman Empire and its more recent evolution see R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*. Paris: Fayard, 1989.

2. N. Todorov, "Sur quelques aspects du passage du féodalisme au capitalisme dans les territoires balkaniques de l'Empire Ottoman" *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, 1/1-2 (1963), Bucarest.

3. For more information regarding the 19th century background, see Z. Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the 19th Century*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1986; esp. p. 31-35. Z. Celik remarks that these quick and superficial adoptions from French revolutionary vocabulary were mainly addressed to the international commercial bourgeoisie, and they provided the necessary institutions to foster Western control, rather than being geared toward the masses. Nevertheless it is true that they were favourably accepted by non-Moslem populations.

4. According to the pertinent observations of J. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic city. Historic myth, Islamic essence, and contemporary relevance" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19 (1987), p. 131-154.



*Traditional neighbourhoods
in Thessaloniki, 1900*



Comotini, a medium-sized city in Thrace, Greece, in the early 1900s

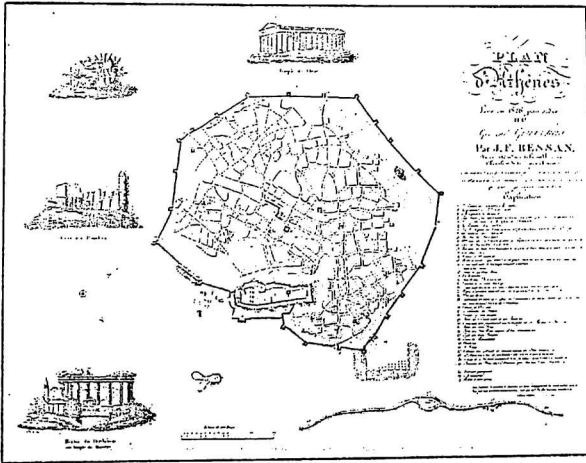
Hence the traditional Balkan city, whether inherited by the young nations in the course of the 19th century, or remaining under the Ottomans, was quite different from the western European city: it lacked political autonomy and legal identity as well as an authority or institution directly responsible for the city. From a social point of view the city was the home of a bourgeoisie related to the state.

With respect to the physical structure and form of Balkan cities, although a general description would not easily apply to all of them⁵, still they shared some common characteristics, such as: an anarchic development along with rural areas inserted within city limits; no specific role assigned to ancient fortifications, if they had existed; a polyethnic population living in separate residential quarters each with an introverted, strictly supervised communal life of its own; especially reserved quarters for market places and workshops; absence of a civic centre; low building densities allowing each house to stand in its own garden; an extremely twisted system of narrow, ill-maintained streets; few public buildings made of stone, while individual houses were made with poor, non solid materials; total lack of infrastructures⁶. Urban life was fragmented and capital was not invested into immovable property, as long as property rights, and even life and honour of non-Moslems were not guaranteed by the state.

This lack of visual and structural order, which had constituted a fundamental aspect of the traditional city, had in the past supported intricate patterns of social and economic relations. It had not hindered the functioning of the city; yet under the new sovereignty, it was not instrumental in preparing the change. The physical setting stood there as an all too eloquent testimony of a medieval, retarded, and finally shameful past; while at the same time it appeared incapable of responding to and supporting the radical changes in economic and social organisation, and in cultural and political behaviours introduced by the new national regimes as well as by the modernizing Empire. In

5. On the diversified roles and functions of the Balkan cities, see V. Georgescu, "Modernisation et européanisation à l'Empire Ottoman et à l'Europe du Sud-est, à la lumière de l'expérience roumaine" in AIESEE, *Proceedings of the Symposium Industrial Revolution in the Balkans*. (Hambourg 1976). Athens: Ed. Themelio, 1980, p. 121-122 (in greek).

6. Tr. Stoianovic, "Model and Mirror of the Premodern Balkan city" *Studia Balkanica* no 3, Sofia 1970, p. 83-110; N. Todorov, *La ville balkanique sous les Ottomans*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1977; I.H. Stahl, "Some Historical Information on the expansion of Bucharest in its Rural Zone" in *Urbanization and Human Environment*. Bucharest 1973, p. 76-81; B. Lory, *Le sort de l'héritage Ottoman en Bulgarie. L'exemple des villes Bulgares 1878-1900*. Istanbul: Editions Isis, 1985; C. Hadjimihalis, N. Kalogirou, A. Yerolympos, *Cities in Northern Greece before and after liberation*. Research report financed by the Ministry of research and technology. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1988 (in greek).



Athens in 1826, plan by J.F.Bessan

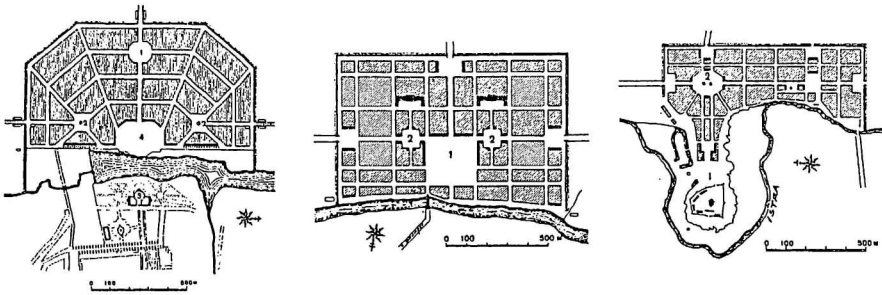
fact town remodelling was immediately regarded by Ottoman officials as an efficient and tangible means to express the will of the state to modernize, and cities appeared as a terrain *par excellence* for the implementation of new policies with regard to urban space, activities, and institutions.

Throughout the 19th century the young Balkan countries undertake an immense effort to recompose, to reconquer the cities, to clean and restructure them so that they can contribute to national renaissance.

People of all origins, natives and foreigners sometimes on the spot before independence-military engineers, geographers, technicians, even teachers- offered their general ideas or specific expertise in order to recreate the new city. This *Ideal City* can be described as the exact opposite of the traditional. The model could actually have been invented on the spot, if it had not been already in use for many centuries. It is *grosso*



Napoléonville,
designed in the early 1800s



Models from 18th century Russia: plans for Bogoroditzk, Bogorodsk and Vokresensk

modo the model of the colonial city, as it incorporated the rich planning experience of the 18th century in terms of provision of public space and buildings, technical infrastructure, practical considerations and ideals of embellishment. It is a well organized city, shapely, orderly, functional, equipped with roads and networks, extraverted, easily controlled and inspiring security, properly oriented, well maintained and sanitary; but mainly, clearly defined and 'egalitarian', accessible to all people, equipped with uniform regulations and able to expand in order to accept everyone; a city defying the past, an exact reflection of a new society for free people.

Balkan urbanism in the 19th and early 20th century includes different types of operations, such as the creation of new national capitals, the planning of entirely new cities or reconstructions after total damage and the remodelling and expansion of existing settlements. The pattern of urbanization in the Balkans as it appears in Table 1 can explain the different priorities in every state involved. According to available population figures⁷, Bulgaria seemed to have a denser network of urban settlements, more evenly distributed in national territory while Serbia and Greece had much smaller cities at the moment they acquired independence. Romania had a larger capital city and a dense network of very small urban centres. The Ottoman provinces were much more urbanized. In all cases, with the exception of the Ottomans, planning developed as a very centralized procedure, and it was carried out by central government agencies⁸, often in collaboration with foreign experts. Local authorities, if existing, were seldom asked to express opinions, and this, only in a procedural way. This should not be surprising: in their internal development, new regimes followed a similar general pattern which opted for centralized bureaucratic monarchies, and shifted political control from traditional local communities to the central authority of the capital city⁹. We must also consider the urgent character of the planning operations as well as its strong ideological connotations and we should keep in mind that in the beginning of the 19th century Athens, Bucharest, Sofia and Belgrade were provincial cities; the great Balkan centres of the Empire had been Constantinople/Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Adrianople / Edirne.

7. See tables included in: N. Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983, 338-339; V. Panayiotopoulos "The industrial revolution in Greece, 1832-1871" in AIESEE (1980) op.cit., p. 216-235; G. Castellani "Les villes Serbes au milieu du XIXe siècle: Structures sociales et modèles culturels" *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 5, fasc. 2 (1978) p. 121-133; L. Berov "Changes in the social structure of the urban population in Bulgaria from 1878 to 1912" *Southeastern Europe*, op. cit., p. 105-120; J. R. Lampe "Modernisation and social structure: The case of the pre-1914 Balkan capitals" *Southeastern Europe*, op. cit., p. 11-32.

8. With the exception of the Ottoman Empire.

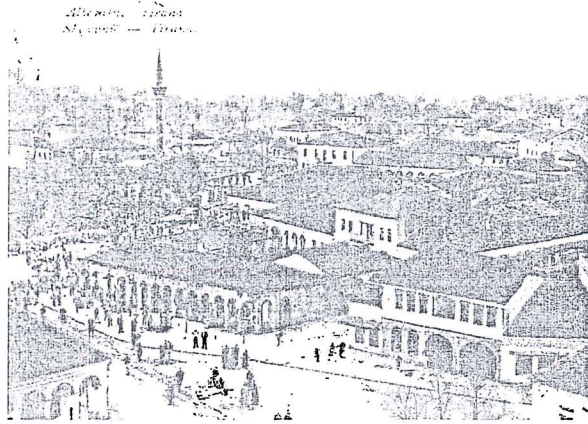
9. B. Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, 18th and 19th century*. Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 298.

Table 1. Balkan populations

| Year | Surface area (km ²) | Total population | Urban population ^a | % | Population of capital |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Serbia ^b | | | | | Belgrade |
| 1815 | 24 440 | 450 000 | | | 5000 (1717) |
| 1834 | 37 700 | 668 000 | | | 2500 (1820) |
| 1839 | | 800 000 | 50 000 | 6.25 | 12 900 (1838) |
| 1848 | | 826 000 | 53 000 | 6.4 | 18 600 (1848) |
| 1859 | | 1 078 000 | | | |
| 1866 | | 1 216 000 | 116 000 | 9.5 | 25 000 (1866) |
| 1874 | 48 600 | 1 353 000 | 138 700 | 10.2 | |
| 1884 | | 1 902 000 | 236 000 | 12.4 | |
| 1890 | | 2 185 000 | 286 000 | 13.1 | 54 000 (1890) |
| 1895 | | 2 341 000 | | | |
| 1900 | | 2 529 000 | 351 000 | 13.9 | 70 000 (1900) |
| Romania ^c | | | | | Bucharest |
| 1832 ^d | | | | | 70 000 |
| 1860-1 | | 3 918 000 | 313 000 | 8 | 122 000 |
| 1877-9 | | 4 486 000 | | | 177 000 |
| 1884 | | 4 862 000 | | | |
| 1889-90 | | 5 318 000 | 904 060 | 17 | 220 000 |
| 1899-1900 | | 5 957 000 | 1 120 000 | 19 | 276 000 |
| 1910 | | 6 996 000 | 1 195 000 | 18 | 341 000 |
| Bulgaria ^e | | | | | Sofia |
| 1853 ^f | | | | | 50 000 |
| 1870 ^g | | | | | 20 000 |
| 1881 | | 2 007 919 | 336 102 | 16.7 | 20 000 |
| 1884 ^h | | 3 024 000 | | 18 | |
| 1888-9 | | 3 154 375 | 611 250 | 19.3 | 45 000 |
| 1900 | | 3 744 000 | 745 560 | 19.9 | 67 000 ⁱ |
| 1910 | | 4 337 513 | 829 522 | 19.1 | 103 000 |
| Greece ^j | | | | | Athens |
| 1821 | 45 516 | 938 765 | | | |
| 1828 | | 753 400 | | | 14 000 (1836) |
| 1838-9 | | 823 773 | | | 16 558 |
| 1844-5 | | 960 236 | | | 25 109 |
| 1856 | | 1 062 627 | 277 748 | 26 | 30 969 |
| 1861 | | 1 096 810 | 279 139 | 25.45 | 41 298 |
| 1870 | 50 211 | 1 457 894 | 288 344 | 19.76 | 44 510 |
| 1879 | | 1 679 470 | 367 494 | 22 | 65 499 |
| 1889 | 63 606 | 2 187 000 | 486 915 | 22.22 | 114 355 |
| 1896 | | 2 433 806 | 526 000 | | 128 735 |
| 1907 | | 2 631 952 | 628 000 | 24 | 175 430 |
| 1920 | 130 199 | 5 021 952 | 1 908 800 | 38 | 453 042 ^k |
| European Turkey ^l | | | | | Thessaloniki |
| 1905 | 56 937 | 1 731 872 | 685 562 | 40 | 135 000 |

References

- ^a Cities with more than 2000 inhabitants, Serbia excepted.
- ^b G. Gastellan, *op. cit.*, p. 121. For population figures of different serbian cities in the 1830s, see also G. Gastellan, *Les villes de Serbie au début du XIXe siècle, in Structure Sociale et développement culturel des villes Sud-Est Européennes au XVII-XVIIIe siècles*, Bucarest: AIESEE, 1975. For 1866, see N. Todorov, *op. cit.*, p. 338: Second to Belgrade are Kragujevac (6386 h), Pozarevac (6909), Sabac (6516) and Smederevo (5122 h). The rest of Serbian cities had less than 5000 inhabitants.
- ^c Figures from J.R. Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ^d V. Georgescu and E. Popescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-73. In 1832, the second city was Craiova with 11 666 inhabitants. All other cities were smaller. Ploesti with a very important commercial activity had only 5701 h.
- ^e Figures from L. Berov, *op. cit.*, and V. Kazarkova, *The urbanization process in Bulgaria, 1900-1910*, in AIESEE, 1980, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-263.
- ^f M.A. Ubcini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris: Librairie Militaire, 1853, p. 45.
- ^g E. Reclus, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
- ^h J.R. Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ⁱ Urban population in Bulgaria in 1900 is: Sofia 67000, Philippopoli (Plovdiv) 43000, Rouse 32700, Varna 34800, Sliven 24500, Choumen 23100. 18 cities have 10000 - 20000 inhabitants (Stara Zagora, Pleven, Vidin, Haskovo, etc.) and 21 more cities have 5000 - 10000, *La Bulgarie Contemporaine*, *op. cit.*, p. 52-3.
- ^j Greek National Statistics.
- ^k Greater Athens area, Pirous included. In fact the evolution of Pirous is very suggestive: the plan of the new city was approved on 27 December 1833 and refugees and refugees and migrants from Chios, Hydra, Samos and the Peloponnese were immediately settled. The population evolved as follows: 1836 1011; 1861 6452; 1870 10936; 1879 21 718; 1889 34327; 1896 50201; 1907 73 579; 1920 131 170; 1928 251 659.
- ^l Last Ottoman census. The figures concern only the vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monastir. See C. Hadjimihalil *et al.*, *op. cit.*



Tirana in Albania in the early 1900s

In this general context the making of new capital cities appeared as a first priority task, while Istanbul could afford to be transformed at a slower pace¹⁰. All the same Bucharest, that had been the seat of an autonomous principality in the 18th century, had 70000 inhabitants in 1831 and some impressive buildings, especially churches and fine upper class residences. The regime chose to proceed to a gradual restructuring by establishing urban regulations; nevertheless it undertook some speedier planning operations in the central districts, in order to create civic squares and commercial places. Athens, in contrast was offered the luxury of a large neo-Classical planning scheme in 1833, which provided space for new central functions and for rapidly increasing population. (The existing traditional quarters around the Acropolis housed about 5000 inhabitants in 1830). Belgrade, with 25000 inhabitants in 1866, preferred to plan the extension of its historic centre after 1867. Sofia was completely redesigned in 1878-1880, starting with quarters abandoned by departing Ottomans. In all cases planning schemes were coupled with the construction of royal palaces, government buildings, new cathedrals, and they contributed in creating a completely different urban scenery which was considered more appropriate for a capital. The Athens and Sofia operations were perhaps the most impressive; in Athens because of the quality of the plan; in Sofia because of the scale of public architecture.

A comparison of modernization programmes would indeed prove to be an interesting but complex task. A discussion is already opened among historians and other scholars trying to define the exact terms of the 'westernization' processes adopted by different states in the area¹¹. This book will only try to trace the formulation of town planning policies in an effort to assess the respective goals and achievements of the newly created Balkan states. Also special mention will be made of the modernization of Ottoman cities in the European provinces during the Tanzimat era. Town planning in Albania, which acquired independence at the end of the period examined here, is not included in this book¹².

10. See the monograph by Z. Celik, *op. cit.*

11. See: AIESEE, *Proceedings of the Symposium Industrial Revolution in the Balkans* (Hamburg 1976). Athens: Ed. Themelio, 1980 (in greek). Papers in original languages have been published by the Balkan Institute of Sofia.

12. See Zija Shkodra, *La ville Albanaise au cours de la Renaissance nationale, 1831-1912*. Académie des Sciences de la RPS d'Albanie, Institut d'histoire, Tirana 1988. According to descriptions in the chapter titled "La vue urbanistique des villes", the Albanian cities preserved their traditional characteristics until the 1910s.

II.

New Planning Ideals in the Balkans

«[In the quarters adjacent to the city centre] the Municipality will create new rectilinear avenues, plant them with trees, and impose building lines so that the new buildings present a regular street front... Consequently the city will develop in likeness to all European cities, because the new quarters will surpass in beauty the old centre» (Closing statement of the *Regulation on sanitary improvement, embellishment and securing of order in the City of Bucharest*, 1832).

«The annexation of new Greek cities, the appearance of which so explicitly reflects the character of their former rulers, renders imperative that measures be taken in order that those cities be appropriately upgraded the soonest possible, with regard to the aspect of their buildings and structures». (D. Diamantidis, Greek minister of Transport -and town planning-, addressing the Parliament on September 19, 1914).

«The ambition of the Serbs is to make disappear from their country everything that would remind them of the Ottoman rule; they are working on it with a striking energy, and one can say that, materially, it is almost accomplished. Belgrade the Turkish has ceased to exist; it has been replaced by a western city like Paris or Budapest». (E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle*. Hachette, Paris 1876).

«Wherever there was only misery and devastation, today there appears a flourishing country. Cities had to be entirely reconstructed... We had to replace everything...». (*La Bulgarie Contemporaine*. Edition officielle du Ministère du Commerce et de l'Agriculture de Bulgarie. Bruxelles 1905).

«And, as it is certain that the planning of the operation requires specific knowledge of geometry and great architectural ability, we will have to invite some engineers and architects from Europe, real experts, who will design the new buildings according to the new styles adopted in Europe; they will also plan the opening of streets in a way to allow their future extension or enlargement» (*Reshit pasha's letter to the Sultan*, October 1836).

Town planning in Romania in the 19th century

Wallachia and Moldavia, the first provinces to unite and form Romania in the 19th century, had an active urban life during the 18th century, and many cities had evolved into important commercial centres, attracting merchants from southern Ottoman provinces. The two principalities had been governed from 1716 onwards by Greek Phanariot families, appointed by the Empire, who tried to establish a separate urban legislation. Regulations in force were inspired by Byzantine laws dating from the 14th century and even earlier, and they seemed quite adapted to local traditions and existing institutional framework. This effort of reactivating centuries-old urban codes forms an interesting chapter in town planning history which will not be examined here¹.

Romanian cities had largely escaped Islamisation that marked all other Balkan cities; yet, their structure and form conformed to the oriental model, and it is believed by historians that, in general, Turkish suzerainty had a retarding influence on the urbanization of Romania in contrast to the growth of other European cities².

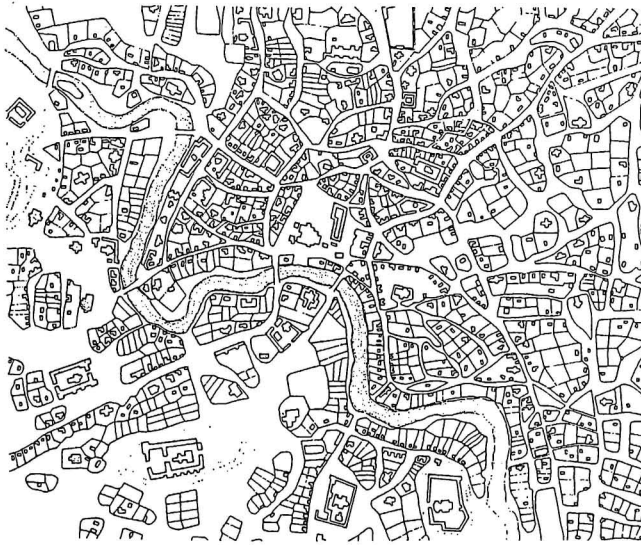
After 1829, when the old regime was abolished, a twofold town planning policy was established. A most urgent task was to set rules that would gradually modify existing cities. The first urban regulations were incorporated in the Organic Statutes, issued in 1831 in Wallachia, and they concerned planning, control of growth and administration of towns, breaking with the former 'Byzantine' regulation. Their principal aim was to introduce sanitary standards and to embellish Bucharest³.

This is the earlier set of directives for the making of Balkan cities preceding by few years the Greek Law of 1835. It was prepared by a commission whose members included the Mayor, engineers and architects (Baumer, Ott and Harten), doctors and notables of the city. Its content is of great interest, because it offers a description of the existing medieval city while proposing the principal steps for its transformation. Anarchic development ought to be controlled, and more 'urban' patterns of growth had to be adopted. This meant that the city area, which was considered too large for its population, had to be delimited, and future construction had to take place strictly within a perimeter of 22 kilometres (articles 1 and 2). Ten gates were to be established on corresponding main streets, and the rest of the streets leading out of the city were to be closed down with houses to be constructed in their middle (article 4)! Moreover a hierarchy of streets was defined as well as minimum street widths, and all 'unuseful' streets were to be given as gardens to

1. V. Georgescu and E. Popescu, *La Législation Urbaine de Valachie, 1765-1782*. Bucarest: Académie des Sciences Sociales et Politiques de Roumanie, 1975.

2. E.A. Gutkind has included a long aperçu of urban development in Romania since early ages in his *International History of City Development*, vol. 8. New York: Free Press, London: Macmillan, 1972, 89-139. See also Ghinea A., Avramescu D., *Cities and Towns of Romania*. Bucharest: Editura Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, 1988.

3. The *Règlements Organiques* formed the first administrative regulations of the two provinces. On their context, philosophy and possible comparisons with the measures taken by the Bavarian Regency in Greece, see B. Jelavich (1983) op. cit., p. 265-269. Planning regulations were included in Part XXiii under the title *Regulament pentru starea sănătății și paza bunei orândueli în palitia Bucureștilor*, (Regulation for the sanitary improvement, embellishment and security in the City of Bucarest). I am grateful to professor N. Lascu of the Architectural Institute of Bucharest for sending me the integral document of the regulations.



Bucharest at the beginning of the 19th c.

0 100 500
m

the adjacent houses. The optimal width was 6 stinjeni (around 12 metres, articles 6 and 7). The banks of the river Dimbovitza should be cleared of all constructions and barracks, and 5 new channels would be opened to prevent flood (articles 8-12). Different locations of food and produce markets were indicated, while some public spaces were reserved to civic functions, promenades etc. Also provision was made that new large, rectilinear avenues would be opened through "the huge gardens" of private housing, so that people would live according to new hygienic principles. Slaughterhouses, cemeteries, polluting workshops etc. were located outside the city borders. The municipality would hire architects to supervise and control the execution of the above clauses.

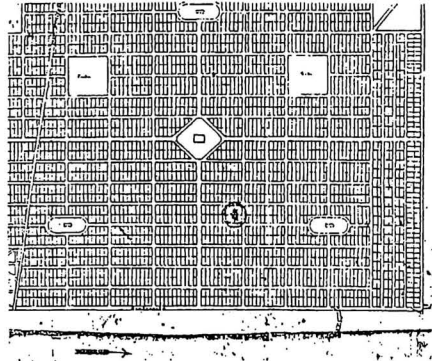
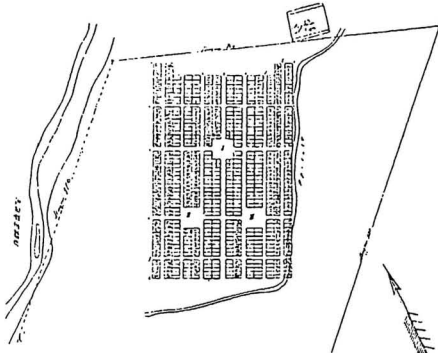
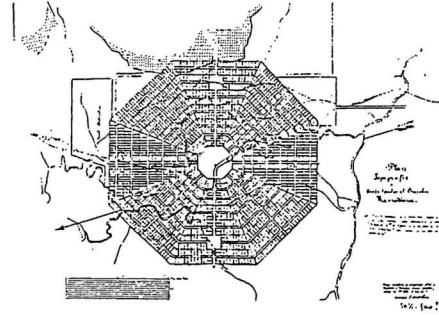
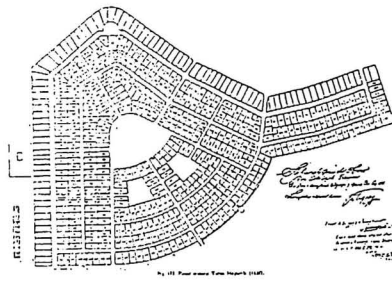
The Organic Statute of Moldavia, issued in 1832, was very similar. Planning regulations were in the 3rd chapter⁴ -, and they applied to Jaasi, capital of Moldavia, for which a very detailed survey was prepared by Fred Peytavin in 1857. Provisions were almost identical to those of Bucharest, but there were some additional ones that showed an evolving attitude to more complex planning goals. For instance, new lateral streets were to be opened to facilitate the commercial traffic from north to south (1st section, article 48). Also all new constructions were to be made of stone or bricks and roofs to be covered with tiles, for reasons of fire prevention (article 52).

The gradual piecemeal transformations were helped out by frequent calamities such as the 1838 earthquake, the 1839 floods and the great fire of 1847, after which a survey of Bucharest was prepared by engineer Borroczyn⁵. French architects were the authors of a plan for the square of St George in the very centre of Bucharest in 1847 and of a "Plan général de la Place du Grand Marché" in 1851, where in the middle of crooked streets, public and private land was redesigned in new regular patterns⁶.

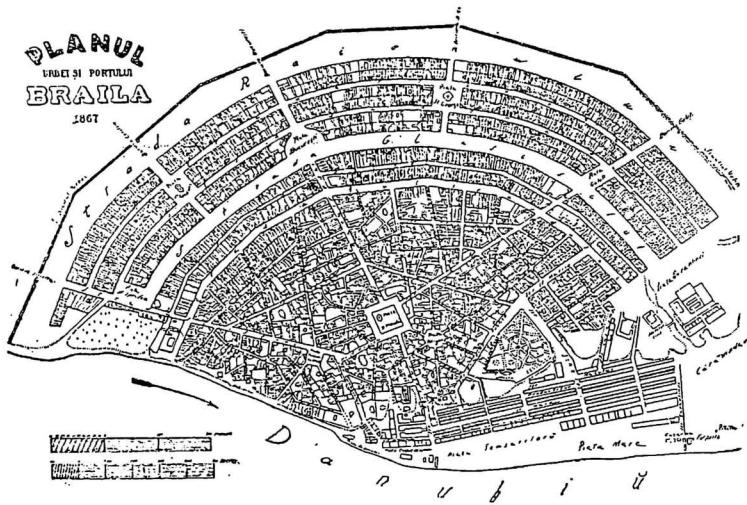
4. Annexe IIC "Concernant l'organisation des Epories de la ville".

5. An expert by the same name was active in Oreece a few years earlier.

6. The 1851 plan is signed by architect Vilacros.



Danubian cities redesigned: a) Turmu Magurel, b) Mavrodin, c) Oltenisa, d) Bechet



Replanning and extension of Braila, 1867

At the same time it was decided to redesign completely the cities on the left bank of the Danube, which, according to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, had been evacuated by Turks. The exploitation of the rich plains, hindered by Turks established in the old fortresses at Turnu Magurel, Giurgiu and Braila, and the resumption of free shipping and trade on the Danube were expected to result in the rapid development of coastal cities⁷. Entirely new plans were prepared by foreign experts (Austrians, Germans, Czechs) as early as 1832. They resemble the ideal shapes of a simplified Renaissance style, not conforming to tradition or landscape and they inaugurate a new period in local town design which was inspired by different ages of town planning -from Roman tradition, to Spanish colonial cities, or to military planning of the same period⁸. Cities entirely redesigned are: Mavrodin (183...), Turnu Magurel (1836) built as planned by Charles Illig, Turnu Severin (185...) designed by Austrian engineer Mauritz von Ott and built as planned, Oltenitza (1852) designed by engineer Scarlat Popovici as a perfect grid, Cuza (1860), Bechet (1874)⁹.

Turnu Magurel presents a rather unexpected layout, with a central public 'square' shaped as a *Place d'Armes* and two closed residential squares in its vicinity. Main directions of streets follow the course of the rivers Danube and Olt, while the city is surrounded by a green belt (*islaz*).

Town expansion is also projected following the same principles, as the examples of Galatsi, Braila and Giurgiu show.

In 1859 Wallachia and Moldavia were united and the state of Romania was created; all bonds with Turkey were broken although full independence was gained in 1878. New urban legislation was issued in 1864¹⁰, concerning expropriation. In the 1870s, following Baron Häusmann's Parisian design, important works were started in Romania's capital Bucharest. New boulevards were projected, several town squares were replanned, parks were built, and the course of the Dimbovitza river regulated¹¹. Similar development occurred in other major towns.

7. V. Georgescu V., *The Romanians. A History*. Ohio State University Press, Columbus 1990. See chapter on "The Age of National Revival 1831-1918".

8. C. Sfintescu, "Urbanistica generala" *Urbanismul* nos 1-2 (1933) p. 17-88 (in romanian). See also Gutkind, 1972, op. cit., for the plans of Bechet and Galatsi. Sfintescu believes that the plans prepared in 1836 and 1855 for the expansion of towns of Braila and Focsani, as well as the replanning of Giurgiu, under Russian governor Kisselev in early 1830s, were particularly influencing.

9. A Conference on Romanian town planning of this period took place in Turnu Severin-Drobeta in 1994. The publication of its proceedings is expected to provide new and important information.

10. Sfintescu, op. cit., p. 84. Expropriation laws were taken after French legislation of 1841. They were applied in 1866 for the first time for the construction of railways between Bucharest and Giurgiu. They were amended in 1884 and remained in force until the First World War.

11. The British traveller Mary Adelaide Walker describes her astonishment: "Very many fine buildings have sprung up since our first visit to Bukarest three years ago. The *Calea Victoriei*, a beautiful street extends the whole length of the city... Several hotels, churches, the royal palace, the theatre, the different government offices, the garden of the Episcopie, all the clubs and the finest shops are in this principal thoroughfare". Walker M. A., *Untrodden Paths of Roumania*. London: Chapman and Hall Ltd, 1888, p. 161-162.

Extension of the harbour area of Galatsi





Aerial photos of Sparta and Corinth, early 20th c.

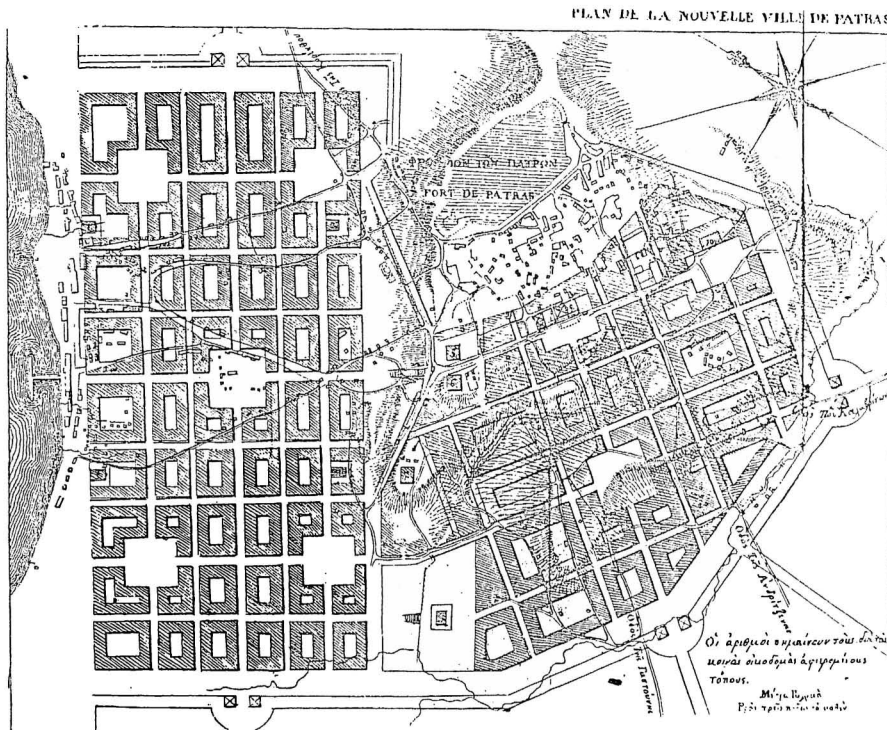
The making of modern Greek cities in the 19th century

In the small country that emerged in the ruined areas of Peloponnesus and the southern part of Greek mainland, the setting up of an urban network of viable towns, capable of growing and developing, was one of the most urgent and important projects. In his Declaration to the Hellenes (August 6, 1829), Governor Ioannis Capodistrias said his first aim was to reconstruct cities and thus promote manufacture and trade. Although population figures are not very dependable before 1853, freed settlements were few in number and mostly destroyed during the independence war: Nauplie, Corinth, Patras, Tripoli and Athens had less than 10.000 inhabitants, while some of the most important urban centers where Greeks prospered in intellectual and economic activities had not been included in the early frontiers and remained under Ottoman rule (Thessaloniki, Larissa, Jannina, Serres). Creating cities where national leadership would be seated and urban activities would emerge and flourish, was then vital for the life of the new country. A vast effort was immediately undertaken to reconstruct existing settlements and to found new cities, as well as to attract new inhabitants, refugees and peasants, and promote economic development.

At the same time it was decided to revive famous cities of the Antiquity, such as Sparta, Patras, Piraeus, Eretria etc. Although this powerful ideological aspect of Greek 19th century planning has been attributed to king Ludwig of Bavaria (father of king Otto of Greece), it seems that it originated in popular initiative as early as 1828, and it was later adopted by the state. A most eloquent illustration is offered by the remaking of the city of Sparta, which had ceased to exist since the 5th century of our era. The most important city in the area was the famous Byzantine city of Mystra, which was turned into a necropolis under Ottoman rule, while its inhabitants established themselves outside the city wall. In 1828, instead of returning to their devastated settlement, they addressed an official request to governor Capodistrias asking for his support as well as technical expertise in order to found a new town in the ancient site of Sparta: *"Our respected government is very much aware of the necessity for our country to resuscitate new regular cities, which can contribute to the general well-being; and furthermore (resuscitate) cities which were famous for the glory of their children and are now buried under ruins"*¹².

In his short 3-year mandate, which came to an end with his assassination in 1831, Capodistrias was personally involved with the remaking of cities and encouraged all initiatives from Greek natives as well as from Greeks of the Diaspora, who wished to establish themselves in the newly independent homeland. He collaborated closely with military engineers such as Stamatis Bulgaris, who is the author of plans for Nauplie, Tripoli, Aigion, Patras etc. Migrants or refugees arriving to settle in the motherland were directed to them. Most plans (as the plan for Sparta prepared by F. Stauffert) materialized a few years later. With respect

12. See letters to Governor Capodistrias, 1828-1829, published by Sp. Loucatos, "Documents on the rebuilding of Ancient Sparta by Ioannis Capodistrias" in *Proceedings of the 1st Conference in Laconic Studies, Sparta 1977*, p. 285-301 (in Greek).



to the urban form, the orthogonal neo-Classical scheme was favourably accepted, because it fulfilled the requirements for a new order while it was considered as an outcome of ancient Greek planning tradition (Hippodamian plan).

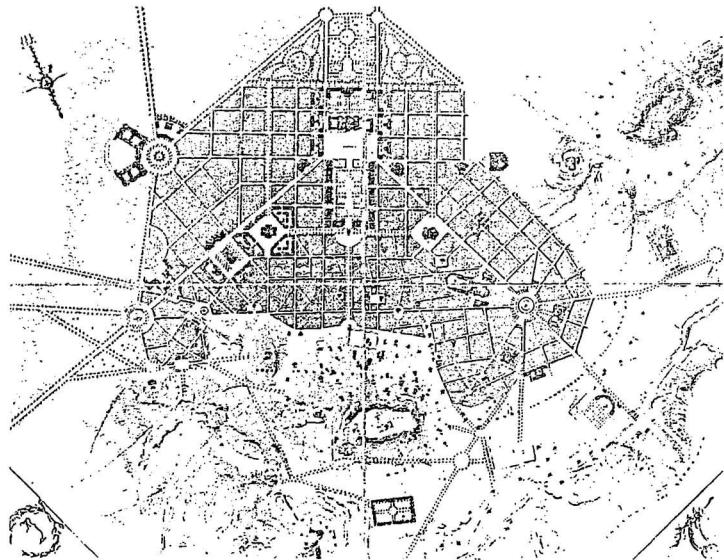
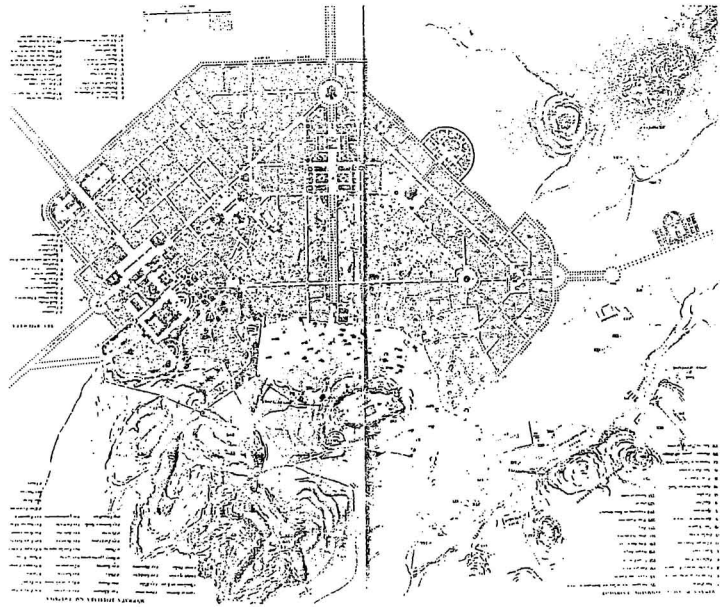
A vote of the National Convention in 3.6.1831 stipulated the general terms of the procedure: Land would be offered gratis, as an incentive, to those "wishing to construct cities or suburbs in places where only lie ruins or wherever they wish, on condition that a plan would be submitted". Some general instructions were included in the vote: surface of individual plots would not exceed 400 to 600 square metres; an area would be allotted to public and municipal buildings; building would have to take place within a year and selling of land was not permitted.

During the 'Bavarian' period that followed¹³, the same policy was carried on, but there was also urban legislation to support it, along with great activity employed to make plans for Athens. The appointment of Athens as capital of the new country in 1833, as well as the planning of the city were matters of utmost importance for the new regime¹⁴. Athens had been a small town in ruins with 5000 inhabitants in 1830, confined around the Acropolis hill. Two young architects and fervent followers of K.F. Schinkel, Stamatis Cleantis and Eduard Schaubert, prepared detailed surveys of the old town, the Turkish wall and large rural areas around them, in an effort to preserve all existing ruins and allow future excavations. In their plan, which was approved by king Otto in the

New plan for the destroyed city of Patras by S. Bulgari, 1829

13. When Otto, Bavarian prince, was appointed king of Greece in 1833, he was accompanied to the country by a whole army of administrators, engineers, legal and military advisors. For a general view of the 19th century planning activity in Greece, see A. Yerolympos, "Planning and reconquering urban space" Proceedings of the international symposium *The Neohellenic city: Ottoman heritage and modern Greek State*, Athens, 1985, p. 381-395 (in Greek). Also P. Tsakopoulos, *L'urbanisme dans le Péloponnèse au XIXe siècle*. 2 vols, PhD thesis, University of Paris X, 1986.

14. See Y. Tsiomis, "Parler d'Athènes de 1834 comme on parle de Brasília de 1964" *Villes en Parallèle*, no 9 (1986) p. 15-22; A. Pappageorgiou-Venetas, "Green spaces, archaeological area and the historic site in the town planning schemes for the city of Athens" *Planning Perspectives* 6 (1991), p. 69-94.



Plan for Athens by Cleanthis and Schaubert, 1833; by Klentze, 1834;

summer of 1833, the new city developed as an extension of the old in the northern plains, and encircled the existing settlement in an area of 210 hectares. The Athens plan is an inspired version of an early neo-Classical garden city, adapted to mediterranean climate¹⁵. It combines central European planning principles and intricate geometrical patterns with traditional urban forms of the South, such as free standing buildings in the middle of gardens and squares formed by arcades and galleries. Although the plan was modified by Leo von Klentze in 1834, its powerful ideas survived and reappeared in the plans for Pireus and Eretria prepared by the same two architects.

The planning law of 1835 is a first class document in the history of planning¹⁶. This unique document imposed a regular form for all settlements to be founded and proposed a model form of a modern Greek city, as it was illustrated in the plans for Pireus and Eretria. The law began with a set of rules for the selection of a suitable site¹⁷: Good accessibility had to be sought, as well as the presence of communication networks, good farming land, and adequate water supply. If networks did not exist, the eventual cost to establish them had to be considered (articles 1, 2, 3). Preferable geographical characteristics and orientation pointed out sea coasts, rivers, or a slope of hill with inclination towards south or east (article 4). A plan had to be drawn for which an orthogonal grid was recommended; it ought to be oriented with its four corners pointing to the four cardinal points of the compass, exactly as in the Spanish regulations, so that the sun shone equally on all parts of the city (article 6).

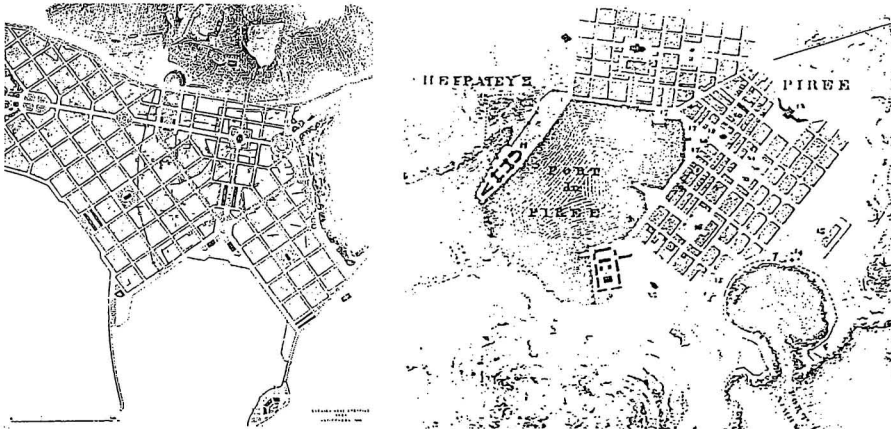
Four articles dealt with streets and squares (6-9). Streets ought to have a minimum width of 6 meters, but shouldn't be too wide to provide shade and protect from heat. Several squares, not overspacious, should be symmetrically distributed in the city. All streets and squares should be paved, the larger ones ought to have sidewalks, arcades and alleys. Public and religious buildings such as church, school, town hall, hotel, presbytery, ought to be placed facing a large free space in order to form

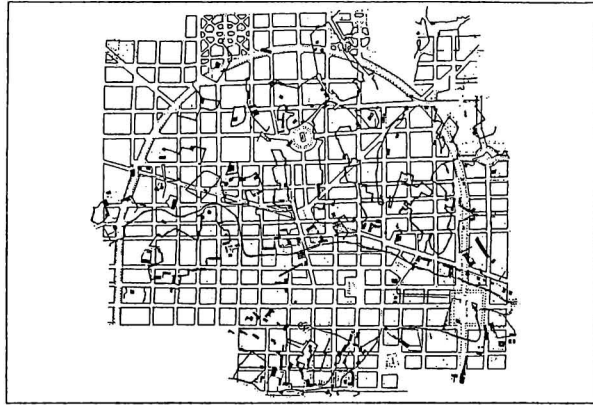
15. A. Papageorgiou-Venetas "The foundation of New Athens: Town planning proposals and aesthetic conceptions during 1830-1840 on the development of the New City" *Archaeologia*. 31 (1989), p. 52-61 and 32 (1989), p. 69-77 (in Greek).

16. Royal Decree of 3 April 1835 "On sanitary building of cities and villages". See also P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'Urbanisme. Epoque contemporaine*, Paris: Ed. II. Laurens, 1952.

17. Some clauses of the law present a rather inexpected similarity with the Laws of the Indies, America's first planning regulations of 1573!... (J.W. Reys, *The Making of Urban America*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 29-32). However, besides this rather eccentric observation, tracing down the influence behind this document is not an easy task. Its authors were undoubtedly Bavarians; the planning concepts were close to those used in Russia in the 18th century and in other countries proceeding to a large scale interior colonization. (For instance the Prussian colonization in Silesia, or the Austrian colonization in Banat during the 18th century, where chessboard plans were also used). See A. V. Bunin, *Geschichte des Russischen Städtebaues bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. 1961; E.A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development*, vol. 1: Central Europe. New York: Free Press, London: Macmillan, 1964, p. 125-127.

Plans for Eretria and Pireaus by Cleanthis and Schaubert, 1834





Replanning of Carditsa, 1890

a civic centre. Cemeteries, hospitals, “madhouses”, prisons should lie in the outskirts of the town. Also special space was allotted to noisy or unhealthy workshops, slaughterhouses, factories, tanneries etc.

Some additional rules governed such matters as control of construction and height restrictions (no more than two stories) and even went so far as to prescribe colors for house fronts: snow white, bright red and yellow were considered “unhealthy”. Around the city, promenades with fruit trees should be created, to provide shade and free space for distraction.

A year later, in 1836, a second law was passed to deal with the problems of gradual adaptation of Athens to the new plan, and it was soon enforced in all existing settlements¹⁸. Its purpose was to introduce order in the existing historical centres by rendering more regular “the three more important streets of each city”. Building-lines were imposed, street fronts of buildings were to be continuous with uniform height (two floors), irregular plots had to be “reformed”, while those smaller than 110 square metres were bought by the municipality. Imposition of continuous fronts of buildings deserves our attention as a novelty underlining the will to introduce a ‘modernized look’ in the greek cities. In fact continuous street fronts were rare in oriental-ottoman cities, because proximity was considered a threat to residential privacy.

Greek planning could boast many instances of towns designed or replanned from their foundations with new regular layouts, according to the laws of 1835 and 1836. Until 1912, 174 settlements had been planned on the Greek mainland, Athens and Pireus not included. This accounts for all (42) towns with more than 5000 inhabitants, 40 out of a total of 77 towns with between 2000 and 5000 inhabitants, and 102 smaller towns¹⁹. Whether drawn up to solve specific problems posed by expansions of formerly insignificant settlements, or to facilitate total reconstruction after disasters such as wars, earthquakes and fires, or to accommodate large scale migrations directed to re-generated famous cities of the antiquity, town planning in Greece took on a two-fold character: it was meant to reestablish the long-lost link to western civilization; it also aimed at underlining the long-lost continuity with cherished periods of Greek past, such as Classical antiquity and Byzantine tradition.

18. Royal Decree of 9 April 1836
“Concerning the implementation of the plan
for Athens”. Royal Decree of 5 Juin 1842
“Extending the Athens plan regulations to all
parts of the Kingdom”.

19. V. Hastaoglou, K. Kafkoulia, N.
Papamihos, *City plans in 19th century
Greece*. Aristotle University of Thessalo-
niki, 1990, p. 234, (in Greek). See also, by
same authors “Urban modernization and
national renaissance. Town planning in
19th century Greece” *Planning Perspectives*,
vol. 8 (1993) p. 427-469.

Early 20th century schemes in Greece

A substantial change in attitude appeared in the 20th century. When Macedonia and Thrace, with important cities such as Thessaloniki and Serres, were integrated into Greece, state intervention took on a different character. Modern planning procedures were adopted²⁰, and the reference to classical antiquity was substituted by powerful arguments in favour of universal forms of progress attained through industrial development. Three reconstruction projects stand out as unique examples of the new approach: Serres in 1914-1918, Thessaloniki (Salonica) after 1917, and the programme for the destroyed villages and towns of Eastern Macedonia²¹.

In Serres, burned by Bulgarians in 1913, the inhabitants requested the adoption of the Frankfort urban legislation²². This is the only known case in Greece when a total redesign of the city was accepted eagerly by the population, who took part in the preparation of the planning scheme.

For the 170 devastated settlements in Eastern Macedonia, replanning meant to introduce agrarian reform, to influence the structure of the rural network in the area, and to establish model settlements breaking with traditional patterns. The plans that were produced by foreign, mainly British experts, reflect a knowledge of contemporary layout standards and remind us of the plans for garden suburbs: The streets follow topography, there is ample provision of public space and design of civic buildings, the road network adopts different widths, and there is careful design of private lots in order to form interesting neighbourhood units²³.

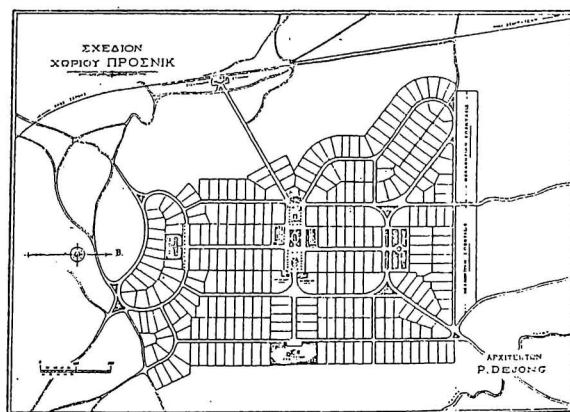
20. Reflecting the international emergence of the modern planning discipline in the 1910s.

21. See A. Yerolympos, "Utopies réformistes et réalisations: La reconstruction en Grèce pendant l'entre-deux-guerres" in *Villes reconstruites. Du dessin au destin*, vol. 1. Paris: Ed. L'Harmattan, 1994, p. 183-196.

22. Law Adickes of 1902, introducing land consolidation measures (*remembrement/unlegung*), known under the name of its author, the burgmeister Franz Adickes. This powerful planning instrument was familiar to Greeks of the Ottoman Empire, because it had been included in the 1882 planning Ottoman regulation, as we will see later.

23. According to the very documented paper by K. Kafkoulas, "The replanning of the destroyed villages of Eastern Macedonia after World War I: The influence of the Garden City tradition on an emergency programme" in *Planning History*, vol. 14, no 2 (1992) p. 4-10.

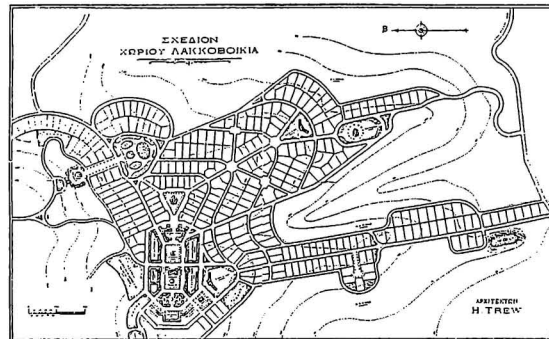
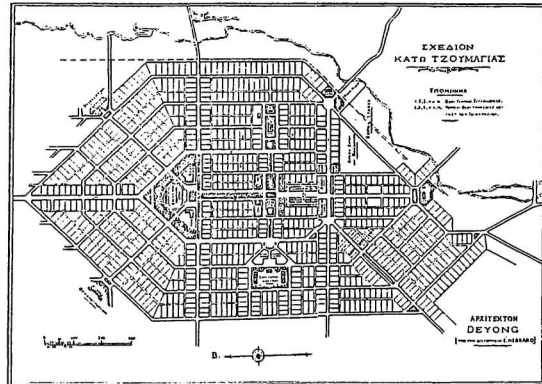
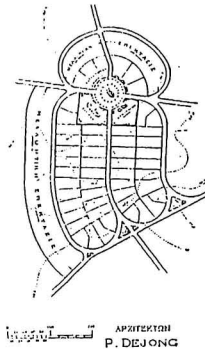
Redesign of towns in eastern Macedonia, 1920



The case of Thessaloniki whose centre was almost entirely burned down in 1917, will be discussed in detail in the next chapters. Thessaloniki had been a major commercial and financial centre in the Balkans, and had been partly modernized by Ottomans a few years earlier. Although new frontier lines had fragmented its vast hinterland, the Greek government hoped that the city would regain a metropolitan role and would be the seat of international activity. All the major themes of early 20th century city planning appeared: civic centre, urban parks, university campus, garden suburbs, workers' housing, industrial zones. Its implementation followed very sophisticated techniques and marked a clean break with 19th century planning tradition.

Still, beginning with the 1820s, and up to the interwar period, through town planning, city space in Greece was prepared to promote, accommodate and support the emergence of an urban way of life; and also to proclaim the existence of a patronizing, dynamic central state and a society which had to be modernized by ridding itself of all 'oriental' traces. The ambitious neoclassic early designs, the regular and unimaginative grids produced by government services after 1880, and the 'modern' planning operations of the 1910s, manifested this same concern, and they ended up into effacing traditional characteristics from practically all cities in the mainland.

Redesign of towns in eastern Macedonia, 1920



Creating a network of cities in Serbia

For Serbia, mainly a rural province, the founding of new cities and the replanning of existing ones was considered as a necessary step toward economic and social development as well as national consolidation.

Serbia, like Greece earlier, was directed to the road of progress, without local intellectual guidance. The pre-revolutionary flourishing had originated outside the restrained boundaries of the autonomous principality (1815). Although no more than 12 000 Ottomans had remained in Serbian cities in 1834, the few cities were considered as 'polyethnic bazaars', where national identity was suspected to have been falsified²⁴. "*Beyond the peasants there is no Serbian nation*" claimed the historians repeating the famous phrase of Vuk Karadjic in 1827. The new Serbian cities would have to be constituted by peasants²⁵.

Serbia was conscious since 1833 of the lack of urban centres and an effort was undertaken to project new cities which "*would serve for the life, culture and organization of the new social order*". The main reasons for the building of new towns were surprisingly similar in all Balkan countries: The need to settle immigrants and refugees (cities of Loznica, Lesnica, Pozega); the need to transfer some old ones to more suitable territory (Donji Milanovac, Krusevac etc); the creation of new administrative and trade centres (Gornji Milanovac, Raska)²⁶.

The founding of new towns did not require general legislation until 1866. It was the responsibility of state administration bodies and followed certain rules: New plans were regular gridirons, and it is possible that colonization in Banat at the end of the 18th century by Austrians under Joseph II, had served as an example²⁷; after 1836 Serbs often invited Austrian engineers. To avoid land speculation, settlers were not allowed to sell their land until they had built a house on it. According to the Chart for the foundation of Gornji Milanovac, other obligations

24. The polyethnic constitution of urban populations was particularly apparent / obvious in the marketplaces, which were traditionally separate districts. In the Serbian cities "*the shops belonged to the traditional Balkan merchants, of Armenian, Jewish, Vlach, Greek or Turkish origin*". D. Milic, "Economic modernization, trade and handicraft in Serbia, during the 19th century" AIESEE (1980), op. cit. 206-215.

25. E. Skopetca, *The Ideal Kingdom and the Grand SchemelIdea. Aspects of the National Question in Greece 1830-1850*. PhD thesis, Annals of the School of Philosophy, vol. 51, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1984, p. 348 (in Greek). See also: Dim. Djordjevic, *History of Serbia, 1800-1918*. Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1970, pp. 79 and 122-124 (in Greek).

26. See Br. Maksimovic, *Urbanizam u Srbiji. Osnivanje i Rekonstrukcija Vrostit u 19. veku*. Građevinska Knjiga. Beograd 1962.

27. See also ref. 17, supra.

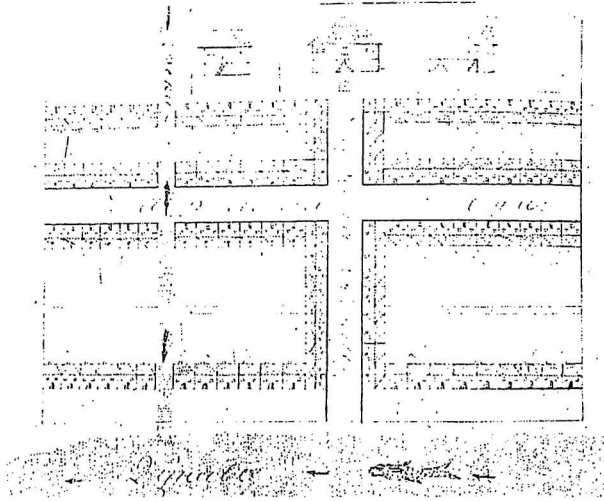
Plans of Kraljevicevo and Jabuka in Banat, 18th c.





Plans of Gornji Milanovac,
and Pozega

Original plan of Donji Milanovac
by Stefanovic, 1831



imposed on the settlers included paving of road surface in front of their property, as well as limitations as to the height of buildings. The final aim was that the new town would present a pleasant sight, according to aesthetic principles originating in "the rich town planning heritage of Western Europe"²⁸.

Serbian historians are not certain about the exact origin of these concepts. The earliest known plan is the plan of Donji Milanovac (Porec) in 1831 by Stefan Stefanovic, an amateur, who produced an interesting drawing. Other examples include Bajina Basta, a small village named previously Pljeskovo, which was completely evacuated by its Turkish inhabitants. A year later peasants of the neighbouring villages took possession of the abandoned lands and they were joined by refugees from Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina²⁹. A local market was organized and it developed quickly thanks to the tobacco culture. Shops and inns opened and in 1872, the place was granted the status of a *Varosh* (city). In the plan of Bajina Basta, the familiar rectangular blocks appear, 70X100-140 meters, with a central square in the middle.

All the same, Sabac and Pozarevac, abandoned by Turkish population, were remodelled, while Smederevo was reconstructed after having been burned down by the Turks³⁰.

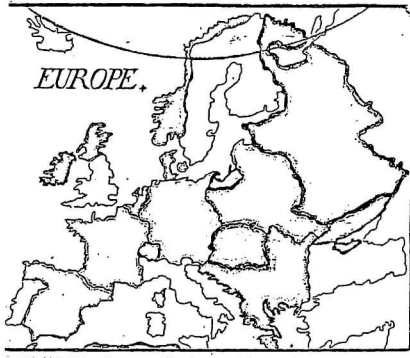
28. Br. Maksimovic (1962), op. cit.

29. P. Lavedan (1952), op. cit. p. 201; Br. Maksimovic, *Urbanizam u Srbiji. Osnova ispitivanja i dokumentacija*. Beograd 1938; Castellani (1978) op. cit., p. 126.

30. E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, vol. 1, Paris: Lib. Hachette, 1876, p. 290.

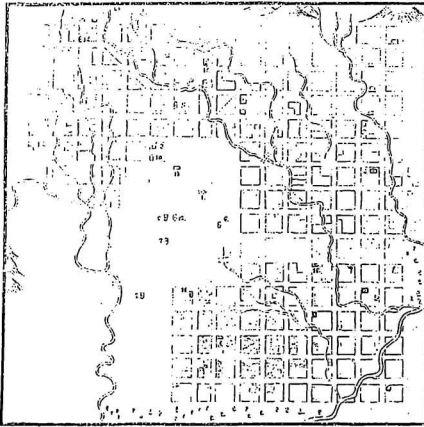
Towns of Lesnica 1836,
Donji Milanovac, and Kraljevo



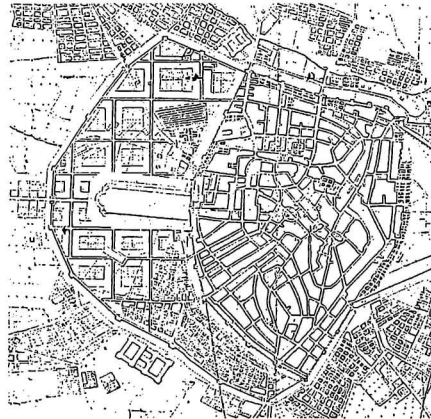


Map of Europe, circa 1780
Map of the Balkans at the turn of the century





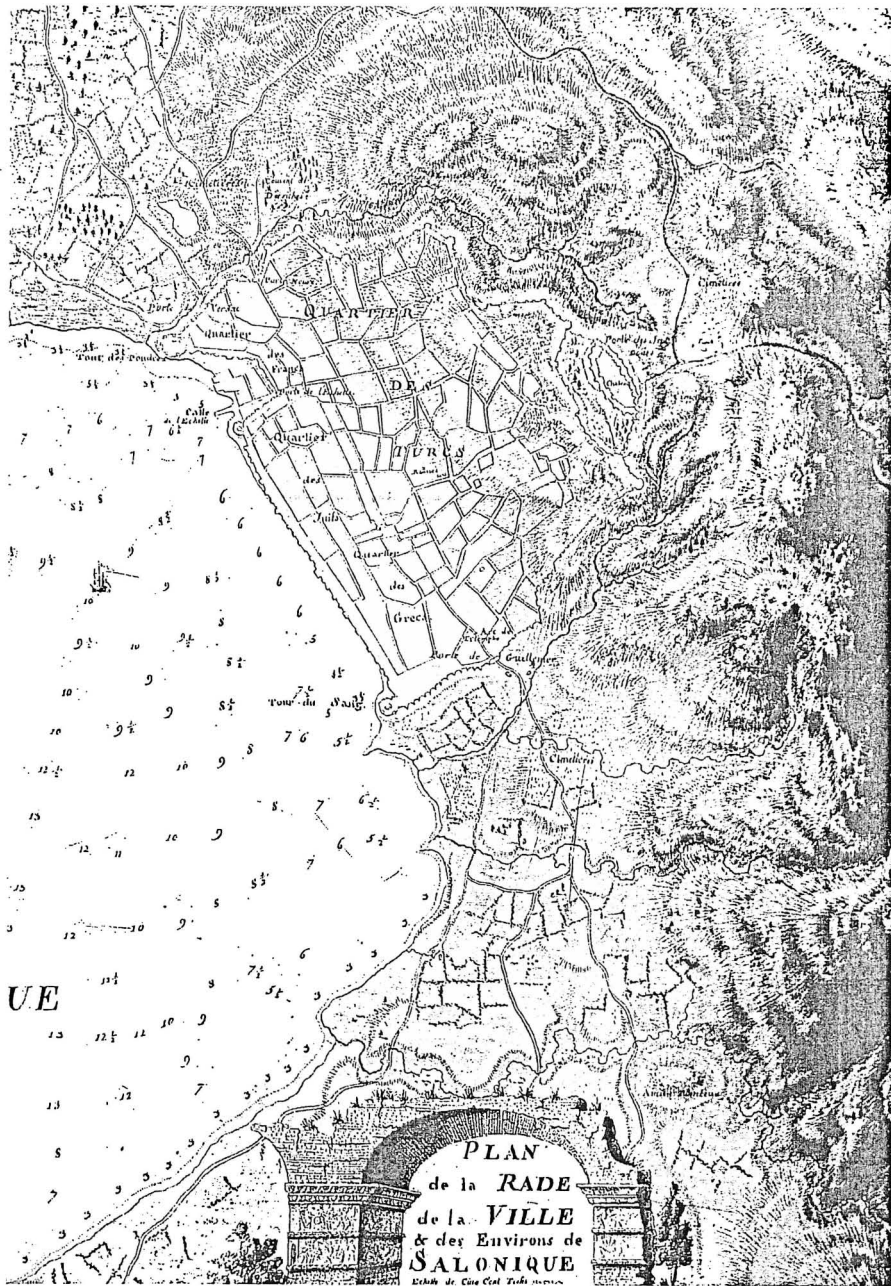
Spanish plan for Caracas, 17th century



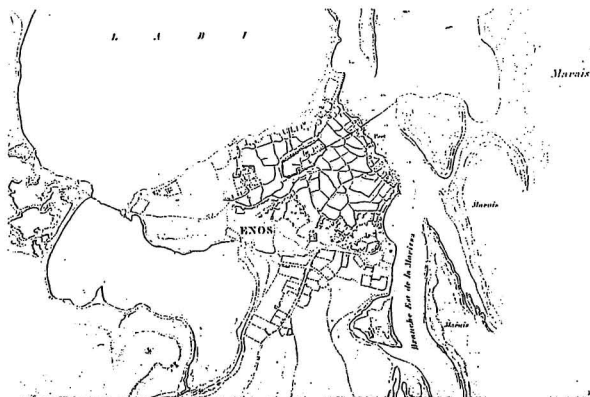
Plan of Montpellier and its fortified extension, 1719

St. Petersburg, circa 1840





Thessaloniki, 1784



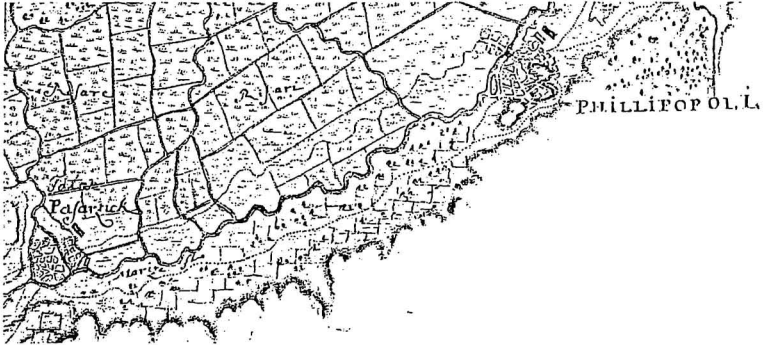
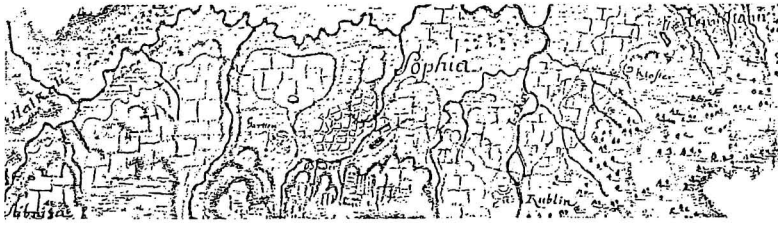
The city of Ainos, 1845



Florina in western Macedonia, 1918

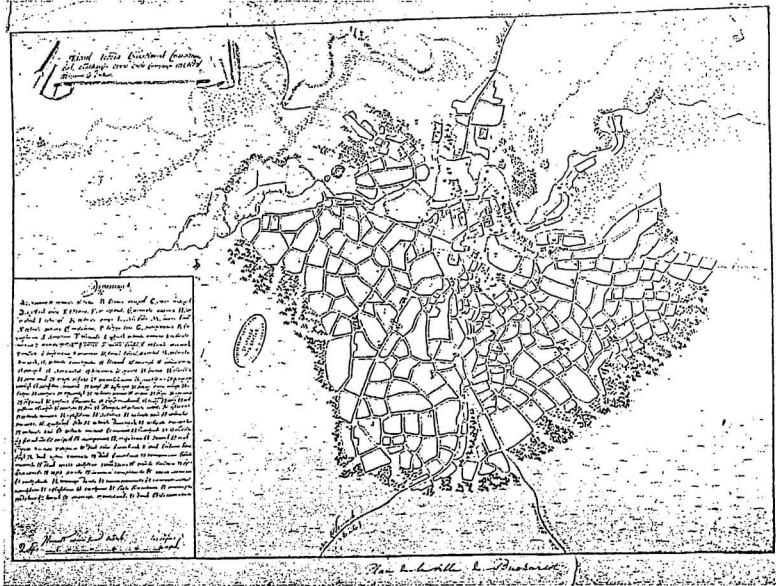


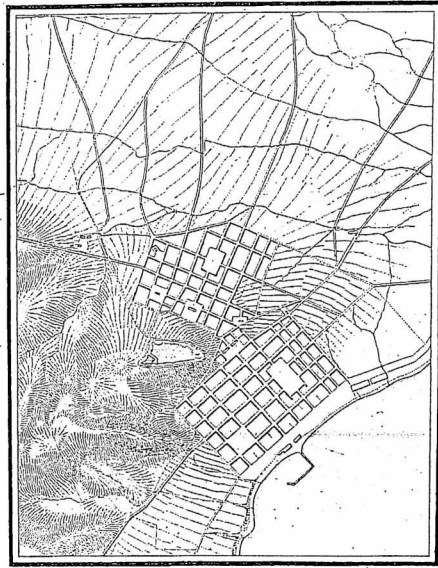
Veria, circa 1900



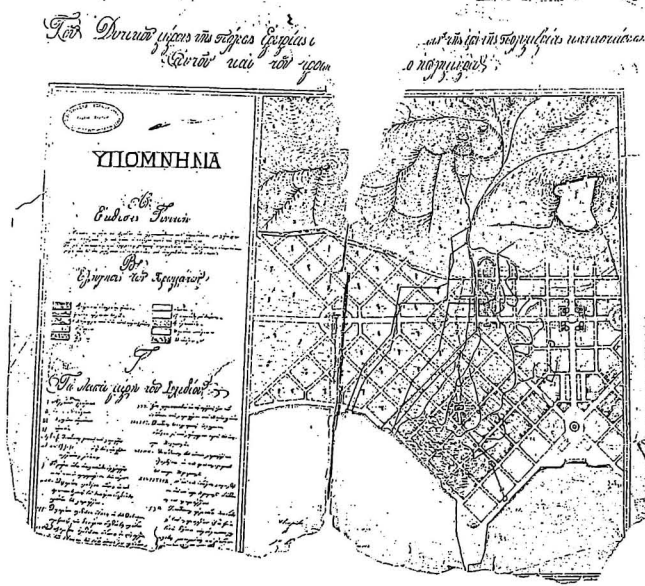
Sofia and Filippopolis, 1720

Russian plan of Bucharest, circa 1780

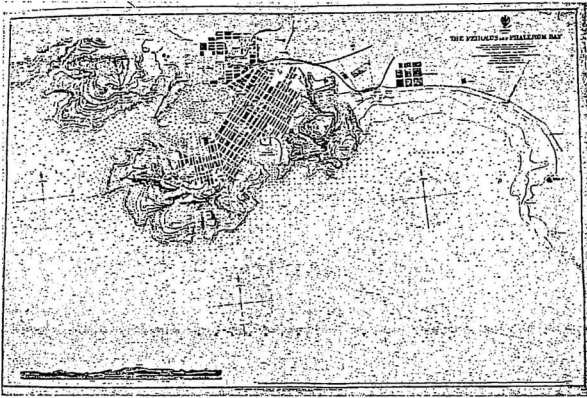




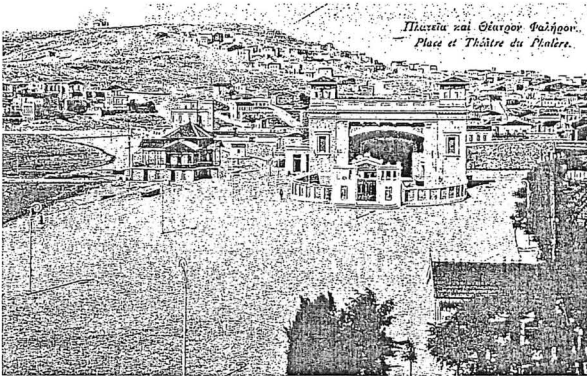
Plan of Patras, 1829



Plan of Eretria, 1834



Plan of Piræus, 1880



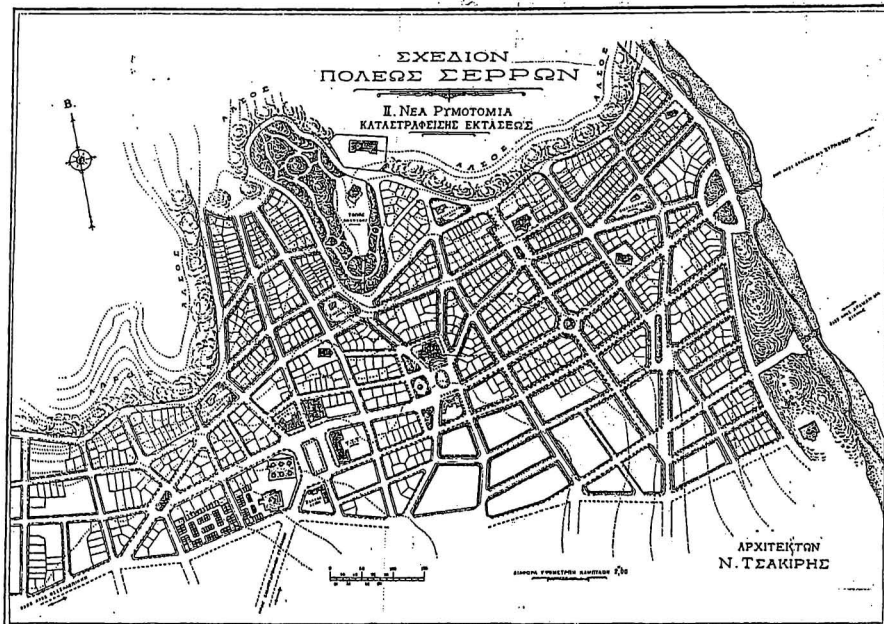
Views of the city in the making

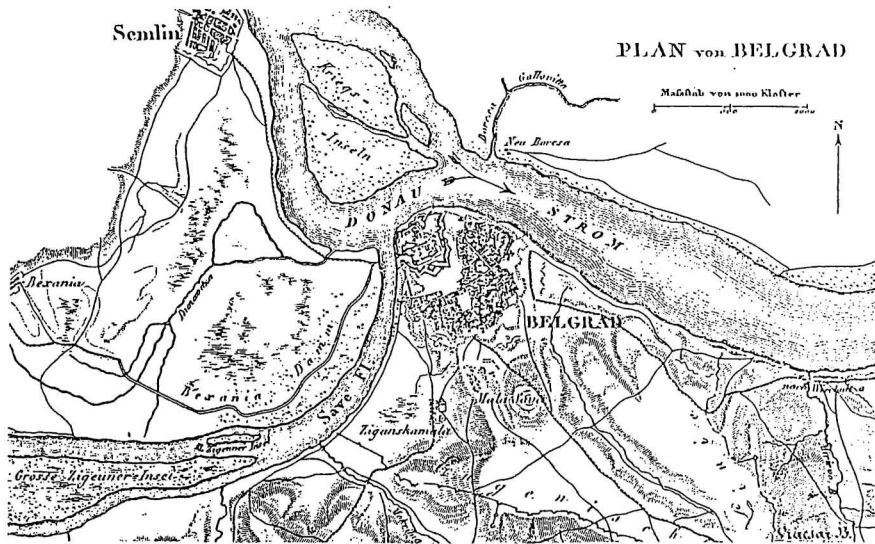




Replanning of Serres, 1918

Serres. Byzantine city and churches, 1913





Belgrade in the early 18th century

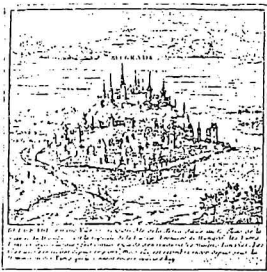
Urban population doubled between 1839 and 1866 and tripled again between 1866 and 1900 (see Table 1). Cities attracted Serbs of the Diaspora, rural populations, as well as Greeks, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans and Slovenes, who introduced new activities and new cultural models of life, affecting the urban setting³¹. Still the impact of planning decisions on urbanization was not very important, and population remained in the countryside, as population figures between 1862 and 1900 show.

The making of the urban space of Belgrade has a rather complicated history. From 1688 onwards [until 1867] the city fell successively under Austrian and Ottoman rule many times³². In the plan of 1884 (supported by a plan of 1878 where all individual plots were shown) four stages in its growth are easily distinguished: The first and second concern the Grad and the Varosh (Fortress and first extension outside the Walls). The unsupervised development of the Varosh resulted in a slow deterioration of its regular grid. Under the Ottomans the Varosh expanded to the East along rural land and developed in an anarchical way; the shapes of plots reveal the rural origin of the new quarters (third stage). During their second reign (1717-1739), Austrians pulled down a good half of oriental Belgrade, in order to build fortifications. They also parcelled the old Turkish cemetery, making an orthogonal scheme of streets and a small square. In Belgrade during the 18th century, two worlds, the West and the Orient, coexist. Belgrade on Danube is essentially German and Catholic; Belgrade on Sava is Serbian and Orthodox.³³ When the Turks came back, they succeeded for further fifty years to restore an oriental appearance. After the third two-year Austrian rule the life of the oriental town was completely discontinued. Until 1867, buildings perished but the fabric survived. In accordance with the terms of the Conference in Kadlindza (1862) it was decided to knock down a part of the Turkish quarters.

31. Milic (1980), *op.cit.*

32. D. Duric-Zamolo, *Beograd as oriental city under the Turks, 1521 to 1867, Belgrade 1977* (in Serbian with summary in English).

33. B.N. Gavrilovic, S. Pandurovic, R. Parczanin, *Beograd*. Institut Balkanique de Beograd, 1940 (in French).

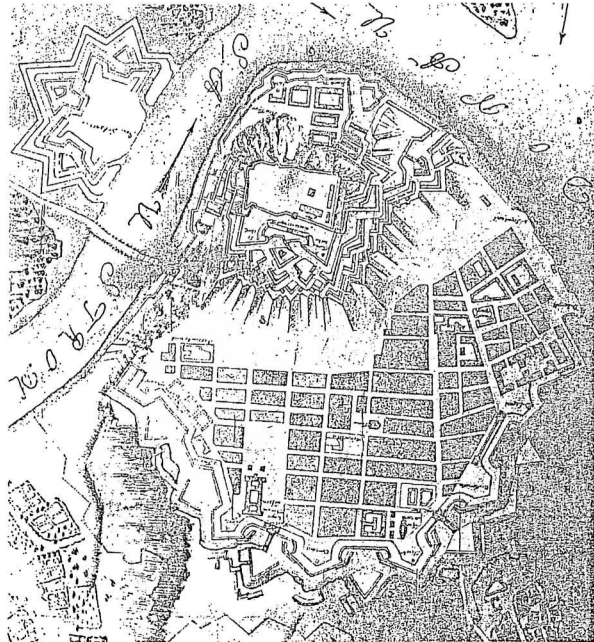


Belgrade in an engraving of 1737

After liberation a general plan was prepared by Emilijan Josimovic³⁴. As early as 1867, Josimovic proposed a green belt around the old town planted on the filled-up moat, and a park on the vacant grounds of Kalemegdan, between the fortress and the city. His plan included the regulation of the course of the rivers, the construction of a harbour and even of a tunnel under the Kalemegdan park to provide a connection between the Sava embankment and the Danube harbour. Within the city new quarters were designed on a rational street pattern 'correcting' the rural parcelling of land.

Belgrade was transformed rapidly. Buildings were constructed along European architectural forms (Late rococo, Renaissance, Empire and Sécession) and western life styles were explicitly adopted³⁵. More than the street plan, architectural style, infrastructure and functioning of the city attested to its new identity. Having lived for long in alternation between the oriental and the western world, Belgrade was certain of the choices to make. As Elysée Reclus wrote in the early 1870s "*The ambition of the Serbs is to make disappear from their country everything that would remind them of the Ottoman rule; they are working on it with a striking energy, and one can say that, materially, it is almost accomplished. Belgrade the Turkish has ceased to exist; it has been replaced by a western city like Paris or Budapest; palaces in european style stand on the place of former mosques with domes and minarets; magnificent boulevards cross the old neighborhoods with crooked streets, and a lovely planted parc covers the place where the Turks used to exhibit columns with cut off, bleeding heads...*"³⁶

Plan of Belgrade, late 18th c.



34. See Br. Maksimovic, *Emilijan Josimovic, prvi srbski urbanist*. Beograd: Institut za Arhitekturu i Urbanizam Srbije, 1967

35. See N. Vuco, "Industrial revolution and urban modernization in Serbia, during the 19th century" in *AIESEE* (1980), op.cit., p. 199-205.

36. E. Reclus (1876), op. cit., p. 290.



Turkish plan of 1863;



Plan by Josimovic, 1867; master plan, 1927



A plan for Skopje in the early 20th century

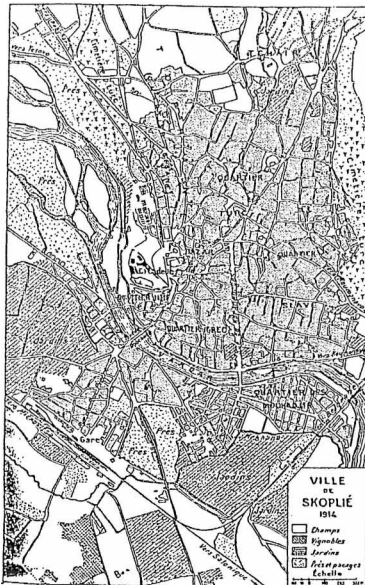
An interesting effort to remodel the Oriental city was undertaken in the case of Skopje, after its integration into Serbia in 1914³⁷. In the meantime there was an evolution in planning ideas on an international scale, and new sanitary and aesthetic principles had prevailed, as in the case of Thessaloniki after 1917. A plan for the city was prepared in 1929 by its mayor Joseph Mikhailovich, who was also an architect. The plan introduced a monumental axis, civic parks, garden suburbs and provided for the expansion of the city from 436 hectares and 70,000 inhabitants, to 1055 hectares and 150,000 inhabitants. Neighbourhood centres, sports facilities and social amenities were planned, especially in the south bank of the Vardar river, the site of the 19th and early 20th century quarters. The traditional city on the northern bank was regularized with large thoroughfares. The old Turkish bazaar in the centre would be entirely redesigned to form a commercial piazza of a rather monumental form, as well as the old residential quarters of Jews, Greeks and Gypsies. The quarters of Slavs would be preserved and some streets would be widened.

The plan of Skopje was not implemented. In 1933 the city still showed the persistence of Oriental town design, although new architectural forms and types of buildings had been adopted. Indeed Muslims retained a powerful political position in these areas, and Ottoman traditions were regarded as a part of a local still archaic heritage. Skopje, Sarajevo, Prizren, Bitola etc preserved their traditional characteristics for many years³⁸.

37. T. Arsovsky and N. Arsova, *Stara Skopje*. Skopje 1988.

38. A. Whittick (ed.), "Yugoslavia" in *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1974, p. 1177.

*The city of Skopje in 1914.
Plan drawn by Mikhailovich in 1929*



The replanning of Bulgarian cities at the turn of the century

When Bulgaria acquired its independence in 1878, there was an extended urban network, evenly distributed in the national territory, and containing a great number of middle sized cities with 20 000 to 40 000 inhabitants.

An early modernization had been undertaken in the 1860s, when the famous Ottoman statesman Midhat Pasha was appointed governor of the Danube province, with the task of implementing an experimental modernizing programme. Ameliorating highways and communications, building of bridges and quays were important features³⁹. Five highways connected Sofia with Belgrade, Constantinople, Kyustendil, Lom and Rouse. On entering the town, they disappeared in a labyrinth of narrow crooked streets. Midhat pulled down many buildings to extend these highways into the main streets, which would form the basis of the town's future layout.

Once independent, Bulgaria decided for a quick action. Over 870 houses of departing Turks were immediately demolished in a Sofia that had only 18 000-20.000 inhabitants. This *tabula rasa* policy was applied only in Sofia. Still the need to reform the cities and open new broad and rectilinear streets to serve administration and commercial centres was strongly felt. The Russian army engineers were the first to assist in the reconstruction drawing up cadastral surveys and plans. Some directives on a national scale were issued and regulation plans were quickly worked out. Their authors were often amateurs but also foreigner experts, Czechs, Germans and Poles. Between 1878 and 1885 almost half of the Bulgarian cities had plans prepared for them (26 in Bulgaria and 10 in Eastern Rumelia)⁴⁰. But plans were only partially carried out for lack of financial support and opposing private interests. The old fabrics persisted and only some streets were widened, while new standards were applied in expanding neighbourhoods in Plovdiv, Burgas or Varna.

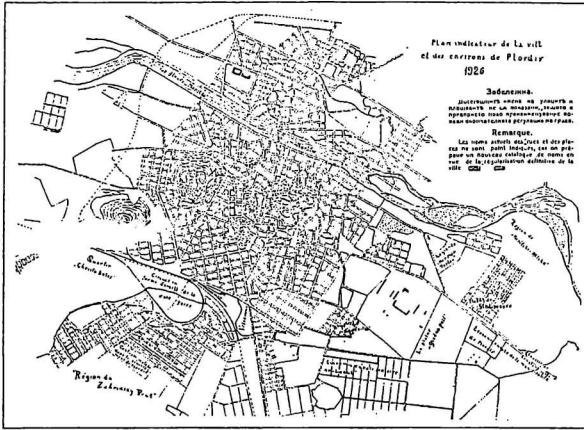
Little is known about Plovdiv, a medium-sized city of 35 000 inhabitants and for seven years the capital of Eastern Rumelia, because the fire of 1891 destroyed the archives of the municipality. However cadastral and town planning projects were drawn up in the first year of independence by Russian captain Illinski⁴¹. According to the 1891 plan of the city signed by Joseph Schnitter, streets were improved in the central part of the town, while in the outskirts there sprang up new districts to house inhabitants in this rapidly developing centre of production, trade and culture⁴². The plan covered 938 hectares and offers a typical example of Balkan planning of the era. It is a simple alignment plan, introducing some public open space, proposing to widen and regularize some main

39. J. Lampe and W. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950. From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, p. 48-152. Also P. Tashiev "Bulgaria" in Gutkind (1972), op. cit., p. 67-70.

40. 1878 Sofia, Stara Zagora, Silistria
1879 Varna, Kyustendil, Hadjioglou
Pazardjik
1880 Rouse, Târnovo, Nova Zagora,
Svichtov, Bourgas, Gorna Oryahovitsa,
Samokov, Provadiya
1881 Kazanlak, Vidin, Vratsa, Sevlievo,
Harmanli, Eski Djoumayia, Osman
Pazar
1882 Haskovo, Pleven, Gabrowo,
Doupnitsa, Ruzgrad, Karnobat, Aytos,
Balchik
1883 Lovetch, Radomir
1884 Choumen, Stanimacha, Popovo
1885 Lom
See Ivan Avramov, *Town planning in
Bulgaria since Liberation to 1944*. Sofia
1987 (in Bulgarian) p. 22.

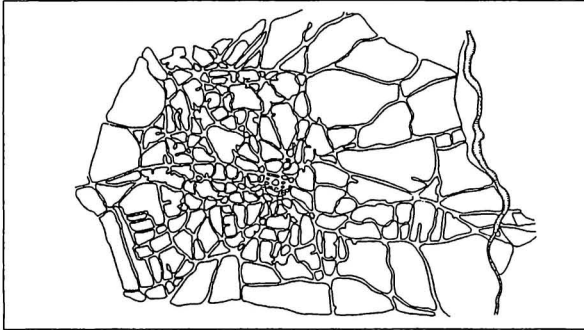
41. Ivan Avramov (1987), op. cit., p. 17.

42. The 1891 plan of Plovdiv was sent to me by the architects Thetis and Bojidar Kadief.

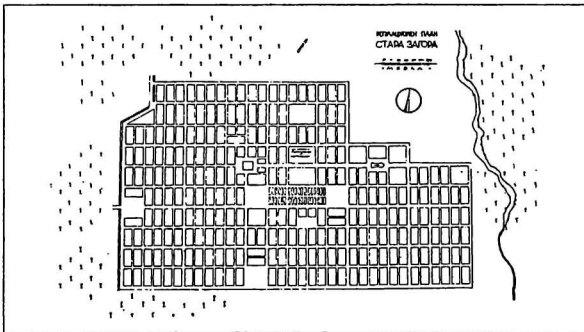


Plovdiv in 1926. Villages near the city also have regular plans.

streets so that infrastructure networks can be installed. In much the same way as in Romania and Greece, public space is created on former gardens or in empty spaces where open markets were held. In the 1920s the plan had been implemented and the population of the city had grown to 72 000 inhabitants⁴³.



Stara Zagora in 1878 and after 1880. Traditional layout and new plan by Lubor Bayer



43. St. N. Chichkof, Plovdiv dans son passé et son présent. Plovdiv 1926, p. 221.

(1878), the redesign of the centre of Iannina after the fire of 1869 and of Adrianople in 1905, and the modernization of Monastir around 1890 and of Thessaloniki between 1870-1890⁴⁹. Especially in Thessaloniki, which was the most important port in the Balkans, Ottoman planning operations included the demolition of the sea walls for the construction of a quay and a modern port linked to new railway infrastructure; also the making of a modern sea front for the city as well as of a central business district (since 1870); the opening of boulevards and the planning of new residential areas (1879-1889); the regularization of existing urban fabric through regulations imposed on individual house building, or through the redesign of large central areas after a great fire in 1890⁵⁰.

The effort to westernize quite successfully transformed the larger Ottoman cities. Fortifications were demolished, avenues, squares and public gardens appeared, expansion schemes were prepared for residential purposes; new types of private and public buildings were erected. Efficient means were introduced to implement sharp modifications to street and plot systems, including land consolidation measures imposed after fires. They resulted in the opening and expansion of the introverted cities beyond traditional barriers. Thus a new way of life was supported, breaking with the strict religious-communal bonds, and helping the formation of new socio-professional groups moving freely within a renewed urban setting. But this was a process of slow, piecemeal transformations which excluded comprehensive planning schemes. Despite serious disfunctioning, Ottoman town planning of the time strove simply to accommodate new needs and activities within an archaic urban structure. A more radical remodelling did not yet seem possible.

The proof to that would be the significant decision of Kemal Atatürk, to transfer the capital of Modern Turkey from Istanbul to Ankara, early in the 1920s. In more than a symbolic gesture, just as Constantine the Great moved the Roman capital from Rome to New Rome-Constantinople in the 4th c., considering the former incapable of serving the changing needs of the Empire, Kemal considered that the fabulous capital of two great empires, despite its modernization, would be unable to support properly the radical changes introduced by a modern secular state. Old fabrics, after all, do carry memories that could seriously endanger new schemes⁵¹.

49. For a detailed account of these operations see A. Yerolympos, "Urbanisme et modernisation en Grèce du Nord à l'époque des Tanzimat" in (P. Dumont et F. Georgeon, eds) *Les villes Ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992.

50. The same area reburned in 1917, offering the opportunity to Greek authorities to implement Ernest Hébrard's plan, as we will see in the next chapters.

51. This observation, however, does not imply that the important geopolitical considerations leading to the transfer of the Turkish capital to Ankara, should be ignored. See T. Akçura "Ankara et ses fonctions urbaines" *La Vie Urbaine*, no 1 (1960) p. 35-64 et no 2 (1960), p. 94-121.

Some general remarks

In a century's time (1820-1920), planning in the Balkans developed along a great variety of urban models, such as the early neo-Classical-Colonial models, the late 19th century concepts as well as the sophisticated 20th century schemes. Modernization was built on the ruins of historical tradition and on a unanimous will to efface all trace of a past which had lasted five centuries. Creating a new national identity meant to emphasize all elements that separated people who had lived next to each other for centuries, and on the contrary to minimize all common traditions and local particularities. In this line of thinking, historical heritage was generally rejected, everything local seemed to remind of foreign rule, of ethnic and religious oppression, and of social and economic retrogression. The Ottoman Empire also tried to halt its disintegration and assimilate non-Moslem Ottomans by breaking with old practices. This repulsion towards recent past, this divorce from history would traumatize the future making of cities in the Balkans, with some noteworthy exceptions which do not however modify the general rule.

In the attempt to escape from what was considered as an embarrassing past and to catch up with Western economies, urban growth was viewed as a goal in itself. The making of an urban identity was not inspired by different interpretations of historical and geographical characteristics, but followed a hurriedly accepted concept of 'modernity', placing the accent in the form of the tissue, in geometrical layouts, in the 'formal' aspects of the city. At the same time the social, legal and technical questions which were involved in the evolution of the planning discipline in the West, were neglected. A worth mentioning change of attitude, observed in the early 20th century with the planning operations in Thessaloniki, Serres, Skopje, was short-lived and did not produce more consistent policies towards urban development.

Contemporary Balkan cities are essentially cities of the 20th century. Departing from a common heritage, they followed distinct/diverse political destinies, whether in the Western Block (Greece), or even within the Eastern.... Still town planning remained for all of them a very centralized procedure, directly subject to political imperatives. The absence of powerful local institutions controlling the making of urban space would form an additional factor to the more or less undiversified appearance of cities. Indeed in a more long-term view of historical development, the loss of memory, of common tradition, and of specific patterns of growth and development in a regional or local scale, would not simplify contemporary urban problems, and it would often even contribute into making history a mystifying riddle, rather than a process of national self-knowledge.

III.

From the traditional to the modern city

Urban expansion and changing uses of city walls in the late Ottoman Balkans

In the last third of the 19th century some noteworthy planning operations took place in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Their purpose was to modernize the archaic-medieval layout of the existing urban nuclei and at the same time to permit and encourage the planned expansion of cities. This would be achieved by offering new land for uses that had not existed before; by providing modern infrastructures; also by creating new avenues for better circulation of vehicles, and by embellishing the traditional 'oriental' city with boulevards and squares.

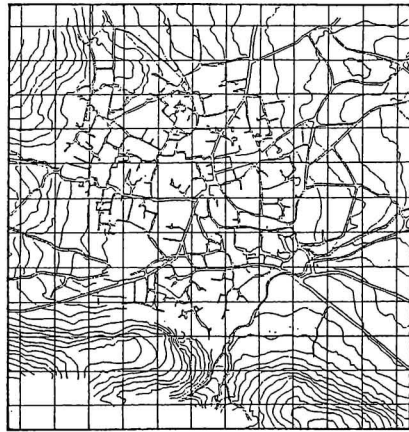
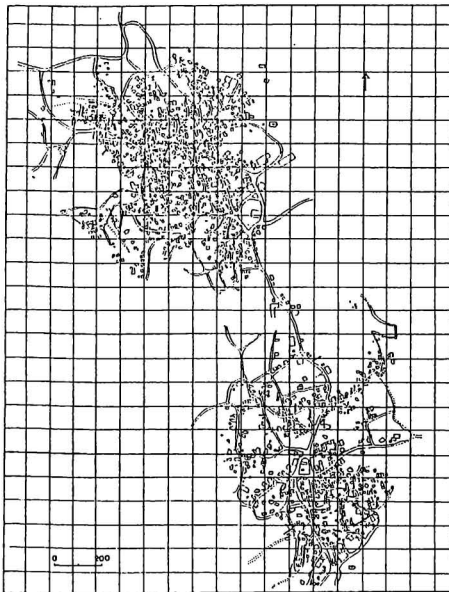
Throughout the 19th century, demolition of city walls in western and central Europe proved to be a crucial step for the restructuring of the existing city. In Germany, the *Entfestigung* ('de-fortification') engaged in Frankfurt in 1804 was quickly followed by other cities. The Cerdà plan for the *Ensanche* in Barcelona originated in 1859-1860, while in Vienna the contest for the *Ringstrasse* was announced in 1858. Antwerp knocked down the 16th century Spanish walls between 1860 and 1865, Amsterdam followed around 1870, as well as Florence with the Poggi plan of 1864-65. A few, though quite remarkable exceptions to this process include the refortification of Cologne by the Prussians after 1815 and the erection of new walls around Paris in the early 1840s¹.

The reasons behind this phenomenon can be attributed in a general manner to the uselessness of the walls for military purposes, as well as to the spectacular urban growth that had already caused the expansion of cities outside their fortifications. While placed in the same general context, the transformations observed in Ottoman cities seem to stem out of additional considerations that this paper proposes to explore.

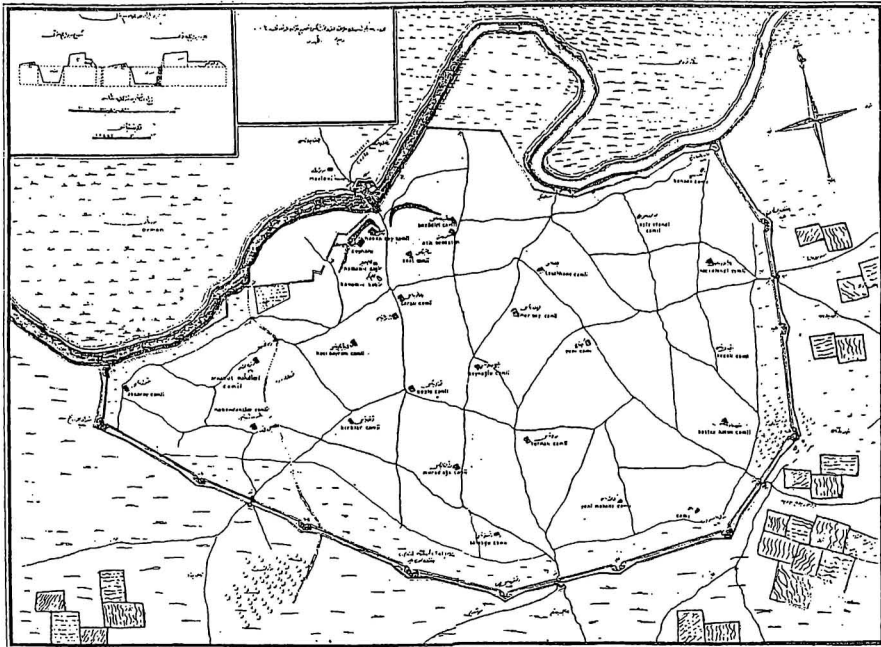
The presence and role of city walls in the Ottoman cities since the 14th century have been a subject of discussion among scholars², as the

1. This is the "Cinquième ceinture urbaine", built by Thiers, which was demolished between 1919 and 1930.

2. Cf. the IXth International Conference on the Urban Walls in the Islamic World, held in Rome in October 1993. The conference was organized by the Department of Architecture and Urban Analysis of the University of Rome La Sapienza, and the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre of Como in Italy.



Siatista and Kozani, two medium-sized cities in western Macedonia, at the beginning of the century



Larissa in 1826-7, including plan of fortifications.

Ottoman administration does not appear to have adopted a uniform attitude toward urban fortification, neither to have ascribed a very precise function to the walls. If we examine the cities of Northern Greece, it appears that some of them had no walls at all, as for instance Yenidje-Vardar, which was founded by the great military leader of the Ottomans Ghazi Evrenos in the 14th century, or Larissa, which was rebuilt on an abandoned site and called YeniSchir (New Town). Although the founding of Yenidje is narrowly connected with the early conquest of the Balkans by the Turks, and the military character dominated the city life until the middle of the 15th century, no sign of walls has been found³. In Larissa as well, whose very name means fortress, the market and Bedesten of the Ottoman city developed on the place of the old Acropolis⁴.

Also many towns that had developed in a more or less spontaneous process under Ottoman rule, such as Naoussa, Kozani, Siatista, were never circled by a wall.

An interesting shift of attitude should nevertheless be noted: A new defensive wall was built around Larissa (YeniSchir) for the first time as late as the year 1827, in order to protect the city during the war for Greek independence. A wall has also been built in the city of Serres at the same time approximately⁵.

A second group of cities appeared to have expanded outside the walls since the very beginning of the Ottoman era or even earlier; they developed their Varosh⁶ immediately outside the ancient Byzantine walls (Comotini, Jannina, Serres, Adrianople, Castoria, Drama.....). In these cases the ancient fortification was then absolutely useless for military reasons and its unique function was to delimitate one or more neighbourhoods where different ethnic religious groups were established. To state some examples, the Jewish community lived within the fort of Comotini; Greeks and a small Jewish neighbourhood were established within the byzantine walls of Serres, and also of Adrianople⁷. Greeks lived up to the 17th c. inside the walls of Jannina. After a revolt in 1612, they were chased out and from then on, Turks and Jews established themselves inside the fortress. During the Ali Pasha period the walls of Jannina were rebuilt and/or carefully repaired and they still stand out as an impressive example of the prevailing principles in the construction of fortifications in the turn of the 18th century⁸.

The non fortified city of Yenidje-Vardar in a drawing of the 19th c.



3. Cf. M. Kiel, "Yenice-i Vardar. A forgotten Turkish cultural centre in Macedonia of the 15th and 16th century" in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica, Neerlandica* 3. Leiden 1971.

4. M. Kiel, L. Deriziotis, "The old Bedesten of Larissa" *Proceedings of the VIIth International Congress of Turkish Art*. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990.

5. For Larissa see Y. Halaçoğlu, "Teselya yenischiri ve Türk eserleri hakkında bir araştırma" *Güney-Dogu Anıta Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2-3, 1973-1974; for Serres, P. Pennas, *A History of Serres*. Athens 1963 (in Greek).

6. The word varosh was used in almost all Balkan cities and beyond (in Cyprus also), meaning the first urban extension outside the city walls. See also Chapter IV.

7. See Chapter IV.

8. J. Kanetakis, *The Castle. A contribution to the planning history of Jannina*. PhD thesis. School of Architecture, National Technical University of Athens, 1991 (in Greek).

9. In a plan dated 1899 it appears sparsely built, surrounded by large empty spaces. The neighbourhood presents a relaxed, organic, street pattern with houses in the middle of large gardens. According to a register of 1906 there were 177 houses, three boutiques, a small café by the gate, two mosques and two mesjid. Cf V. Dimitriadis, *A Topography of Thessaloniki under Ottoman Rule, 1430-1912*, Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1983, p. 211-214 (in Greek).

10. See S. Yerasimos, "La réglementation urbaine Ottomane, XVIIe-XIXe siècles" *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Republic*, Leiden 1989.

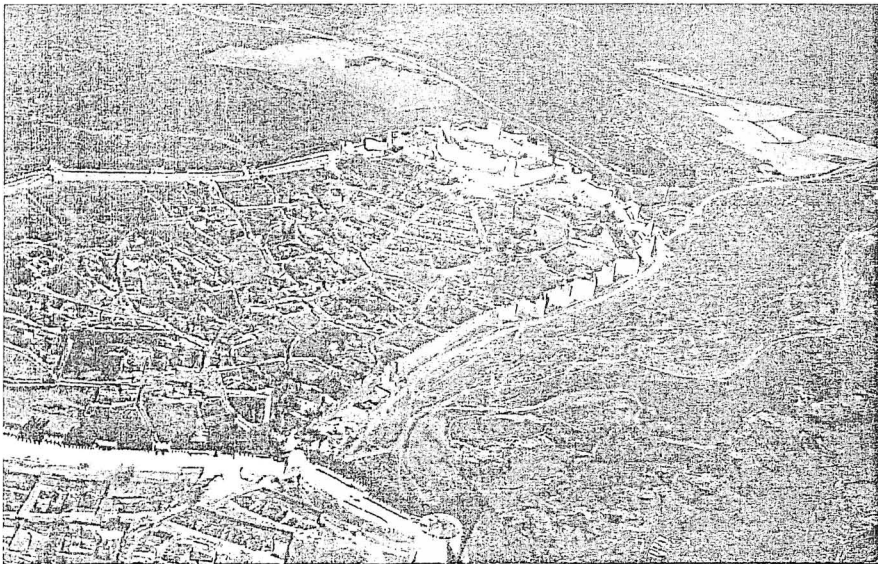
11. K. Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Celebi*. Freiburg: Verlag, 1975. Also, "Adrianople by Evliya Celebi" *Review Tracica*, vol. 15, 1941 (in Greek).

Although Thessaloniki does not belong to this group, a similar phenomenon can be described in the Acropolis and the Fortress, which formed the major defensive part of the city. During the first centuries of the Ottoman occupation, it was the residence of the permanent garrison and the administrative center (the *Divan*). When the central administration moved its quarters to the lower part of the city, the area within the Acropolis was transformed into a residential area and became a typical Muslim neighbourhood⁹.

In some of these cities when the existing walls fell down, they were never repaired (Veria, Filippopolis-Plovdiv, Drama..). A Royal Edict of 1722 mentioned that deterioration was caused mainly by the fact that tenants of houses leaning on the walls opened holes in them to throw domestic waters outside. The waters got to the foundations and caused severe damage¹⁰. In the case of Adrianople, the Turkish traveller Evliya Celebi offers an additional explanation: In the long lasting Pax Ottomana and because of the absence of maintenance, the moat had been filled with earth and garbage, upon which shops and other buildings made of very poor material were constructed, thus contributing to further deterioration of the walls¹¹.

Finally a third group is formed of cities entirely surrounded by walls since the Byzantine times and even earlier, where settling in the outskirts was strictly forbidden until the middle of the 19th century (Volos, Cavala, Thessaloniki, -all of them coastal cities). In Cavala Soliman erected an additional wall earlier than 1546, in order to protect and integrate into the older city the market that had developed outside the byzantine fortification.

An aerial photo of the Acropolis of Thessaloniki, 1915-8.



The regulations that were in force before the Tanzimat era offer valuable information about the relationship of the walls to the layout of the city. In general no construction adjacent to the city walls was allowed and a minimum distance of 4 pics was imposed (3.04 meters) between them and the city buildings. In the earlier centuries this restriction was justified by the military use of the walls and for reasons of security¹². In the 18th century new arguments were advanced in favour of the free corridor: The role of walls in preventing the expansion of fires was pointed out, while the corridor was expected to facilitate the circulation near the city gates and the wall-staircases¹³. Consequently a width of five pics was to be left from both sides of the walls, also to allow repair works. In 1722 a decree mentioned the miserable sight presented by the walls, with all kinds of constructions leaning towards them, and the bad impression they made to foreign officials visiting the Capital of the Empire. It seems that Ottoman officials considered as a main problem the image that the city presented to distinguished foreigners, and for this reason the walls had to be cleaned out while at the same time the planting of trees near them was also forbidden.

Still some years later, in 1795, shops were allowed to be constructed adjacent to the walls on the condition they were made of solid materials (bricks or stones) and their height was less than four pics. It is obvious that, by that time, nobody believed that the walls would serve for military use any more.

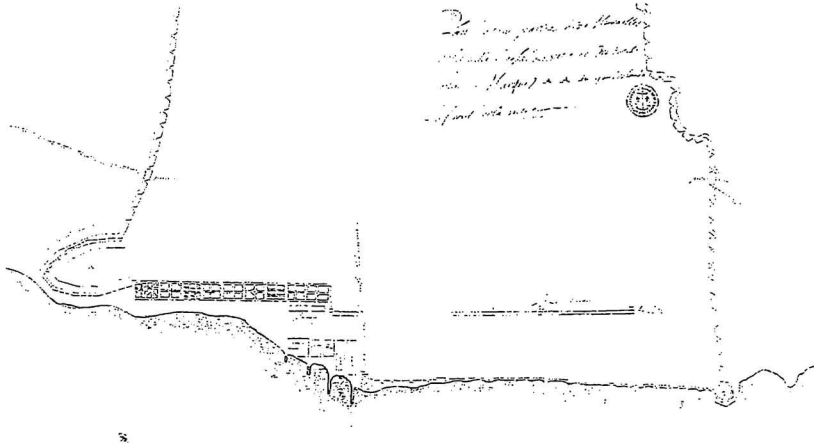
Yet in some cities they continued to be carefully repaired. In Thessaloniki for instance, when in 1830 the sea walls and a great part of the western wall collapsed after an earthquake, the authorities issued an order that all kazas of the Vilayet of Salonica were liable to taxation for the reconstruction of the walls¹⁴.

12. Edict of 1558, Yerasimos (1989), op. cit., p. 7.

13. Edict of 1719, Yerasimos (1989), op. cit., p. 7. In two specific cases of fire, the flames passed over the walls: in Thessaloniki in 1856 from the harbour market to the european quarter (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de la France, CCC vol. 24, Salonique, Juillet 1856; Public Record Office, Foreign Office file 195/526, July 1856); and in Cavala in 1862 from the icharshi that was completely burned down, to the interior of the city where some houses were burned. F.O. 195/685 Salonica, 8.8.1862.

14. See the kadi's registers in J. Vasdravetis, *Historical Archives of Macedonia. Archives of Thessaloniki 1695-1912*. Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1952. Also Ch. Bakirtzis, "The sea fortification of Thessaloniki" *Makedonika*, vol. 7, 1975 (both in Greek).

Free passage near the walls of Thessaloniki. Plan of 1685-7, drawn for Captain Gravier d'Ortières



After the Tanzimat Charter was proclaimed in 1839, four main laws were issued to regulate the making of the Ottoman cities¹⁵. These planning regulations of 1848, 1864, 1882 and finally of 1891 contain no specific reference or directive concerning the city walls. Still some information has come indirectly from other sources:

Zeynep Celik in her book on the modernisation of Istanbul mentions the experimental redesign operations which were carried out in the suburb of Galata (Pera)¹⁶. In 1863, an imperial order described the useless and obstructive nature of the walls and ordered their demolition (obstacle to efficient communication). The same document also proposed that the building materials as well as the area gained could be sold in auctions to provide a considerable contribution to city revenues¹⁷. In addition the area previously occupied by the walls could be used for widening roads and providing much needed space for new buildings. The Pera community approved the demolition decision. The *Journal de Constantinople* stated in 1864 that with the walls torn down, Pera would gain a *physionomie moderne*. Although the same policy was not followed elsewhere in the Capital, the Pera experience served as an example on other occasions, as we will see later.

Another interesting information comes from the British embassy records and concerns the city of Volos. When the Greek inhabitants of Volos submitted an official request to the Sultan, asking permission to establish themselves outside the fortified city, they were granted this privilege on condition that they would erect their new city at a distance of 650 yards from the fortifications. In the diplomatic correspondence mention is made of "*the Regulation which allows a Fortress a certain space upon which no buildings can be established*".¹⁸ On the contrary, nothing of this sort was ever mentioned in the same period in the case of Cavala. In both cities and despite the rapid increase of their new extension, the walls were not demolished. This means that throughout the Tanzimat period there was no uniform policy concerning city walls in the Empire and their fate depended on the initiative of different governors.

15. A. Yerolympos, "Ottoman town planning in the Tanzimat era" in *Annals of the School of Architecture*, vol. 12, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1990 (in Greek).

16. Z. Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the 19th Century*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1986, p. 70

17. Basbakanlik Arxivleri, Irade, Dahiliye no 37141.

18. Foreign Office file 195/586 1-E, 112, report by Major Stuart to the Consul of Salonica, dated 8 March 1859.

The Thessaloniki projects. Demolition of the sea wall and expansion of the central districts



Thessaloniki in 1822, plan by Lapie

Research carried out in Northern Greece and in the Balkan cities, has shown that the planning operations that were undertaken in the place left by the walls of Thessaloniki are quite unique.

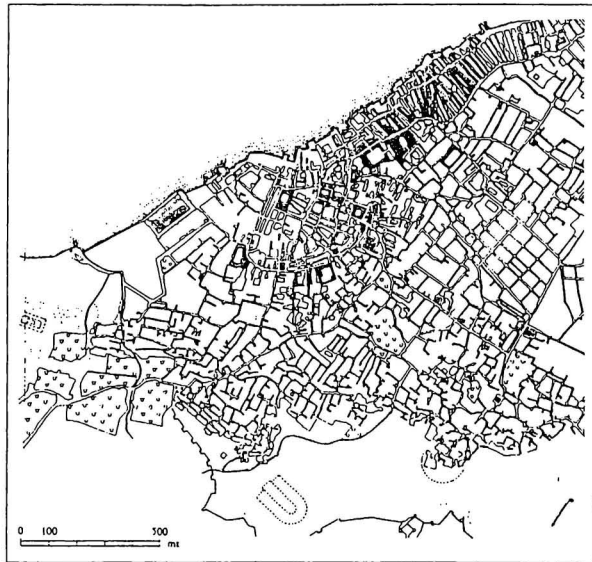
The city was entirely surrounded by walls since the Hellenistic-Roman times in a perimeter of about 8 kilometers. With a continuous life for over 20 centuries in the same area of about 300 hectares, the city was suffocating at the end of the 1860s, because of an impressive increase of its population as well as of the portuary and commercial activities.

In the end of the 1860s new governors were named in the vilayets with specific orders to implement the programme of reforms. It seems that the Ottoman government had appointed some specially trained high-ranking officials for this task. They were men of the world, with, eventually, a university training. They had taken part in diplomatic missions and visited foreign capitals, they spoke foreign languages. (For instance Ahmet Rashim, vali of Jannina, is believed to have been an engineer). They have been called *Tanzimatçılar*¹⁹ (the Men of the Reforms) and they moved from one province to the next in order to modernize them: Ahmed Rashim in Jannina, Sabri Pasha in Salonica, followed by Halil Rifaat, Abidin Pasha, Galib Pasha, who were later appointed in Ankara, in the Aegean Islands, in Van or in Danube.

As soon as he arrived in Thessaloniki early in 1869²⁰, Sabri Pasha introduced a package of reforms: These included among others the establishing of a municipality and the publishing of an official gazette (the first newspaper to circulate in all languages spoken in the Vilayet). Sabri concluded the railroad contracts and he prepared a very ambitious project for the extension of the port and the creation of a new central district in the city on the place of the sea wall.

Few things are known of Sabri Pasha's background, previous appointments etc... He was considered as the most popular vali in Thessaloniki (with the exception of the famous Midhat Pasha who spent a very short period in the city, from November 3, 1873 to February 20, 1874)²¹. His arrival to Thessaloniki in the beginning of 1869 coincided with the concluding of negotiations between the Ottoman administration and the investors interested in building the Quays of Smyrna.

Smyrna in 1854. Plan drawn by Storari, redrawn by M. Cerasi



19. Cf. B. Saint-Laurent, "Ahmed Vefik pacha et le remodelage de Bursa dans le dernier tiers du XIX^e s." in (P. Dumont et F. Georjon eds.) *Villes Ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*. E.J. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992. We should also remember that one of the most fervent Reformers, Ali Fuat pasha, was grand Vizir between February 1867 and September 1871.

20. According to information in the Constantinople newspapers.

21. According to the British diplomatic records.

Indeed an interesting parallel can be drawn between the making of the Quays of the two cities. According to the French consul in the city, Sabri was moved to Thessaloniki from Smyrna, thanks to his experience in concluding that deal and in order to repeat it. Strangely enough his name was never mentioned by writers who have dealt with the Smyrna Quays, such as Georgiades in 1885, Rougon in 1892, and more recently Pierre Oberling in 1986. It seems that Sabri, who had been born in the vicinity of Smyrna, had served as vali for a short time in his hometown (from June 1867 to March 1868)²².

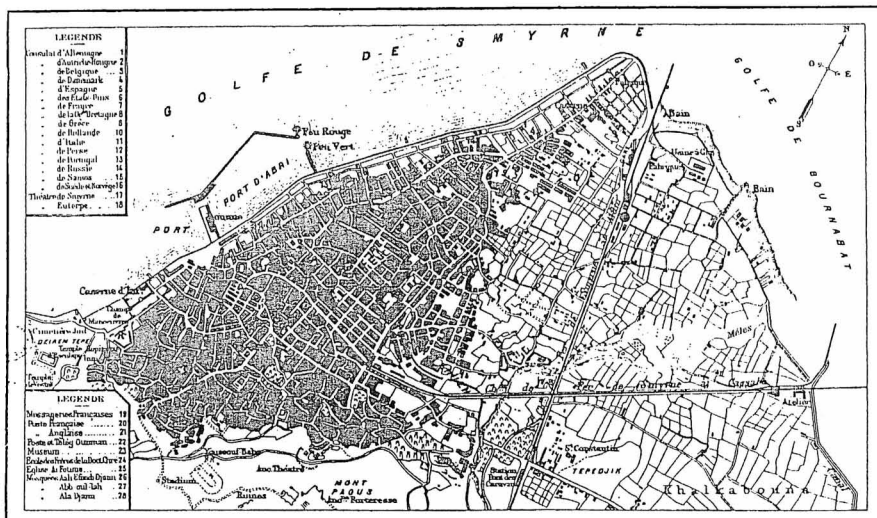
The information associating him to the building of quays in Smyrna comes from a French consular report of 15 October 1869. It is in fact through French diplomatic sources that the story of the planning and the erection of the Salonica quays can be told. The two operations are contemporary (Smyrna 1867-1875, Salonica 1869-1880), and have many things in common but also many differences²³. In both cases a long strip of land was created, 1650 metres of length in Thessaloniki (3500 in Smyrna), bearing a line of quays of 12 metres wide (20 in Smyrna) and private land to be sold in auctions.

The creation of the new Quays, after the demolition of the sea wall in 1870, was the most important planning operation ever undertaken by the Ottoman administration in the area. Its principal aim was to open the medieval city to the sea, to organize modern port facilities providing also the necessary linking space between the harbour and the future railway connection, and to develop a new type of fabric juxtaposed to the medieval city, in order to offer appropriate space for administration buildings, as well as for new financial and productive activities.

22. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, vol.III, Constantinople 1894, p. 222. I am indebted to professor M. Kiel for pointing out this book to me.

23. A third operation of the same kind is mentioned in 1870 in the island of Chios, under the governorship of Remzi effendi. For Smyrna see P. Oberling, "The quays of Izmir" in *L'Empire Ottoman. la République de Turquie et la France*. Istanbul: Ed. Isis, 1986.

Smyrna 1885, the new quays



The operation was organized along the following lines: The sea wall from the eastern angle tower all the way to the western one plus the middle tower was to be demolished; the material from demolition would be used to fill in the sea (Needless to say that material of great archeological importance was buried); new land would be created with the following uses: area for the port and the customs buildings, connection to the railways; public land of about 40,000 square pics for public and community functions²⁴, including a *Konak* (seat for the Vilayet services), a public hospital with an Orphanage, a public park, and a waterfront avenue with possible installation of a tramway system; 110,000 square pics of private lots which were expected to attract investment from high income members of all ethnic groups and provide land for new cultural and leisure activities. A comprehensive plan for the entire city would also reorganize the existing street system, and integrate the new strip of land into the existing urban fabric.

For the construction of the Quays and under the light of the Smyrna experience, which was facing serious trouble at that particular moment²⁵ three alternative solutions were examined by the Council of Ministers: the commissioning of a public, a municipal or a private company (as the joint stock company of Smyrna). It seems that Sabri convinced the Sublime Porte that the works should be carried out by the Public Works Department of the Vilayet and he immediately invited P. Vitali, a well known engineer from Smyrna, who was said to have participated in the building of the Quays in this city (again this information is not confirmed by Smyrna writers).

The total cost of the operation was estimated at 100 000 Turkish liras, or 2,3 million francs (6 million in Smyrna). The Sublime Porte encouraged the project but refused to finance it; however the government accepted to grant a loan to get the operation started (for the first expenses). The loan amounted to 15 000 Turkish liras (15% of the cost) and came from the coffers of the Vilayet. The total cost of the operation was expected to be covered from the sale in auctions of the new privileged

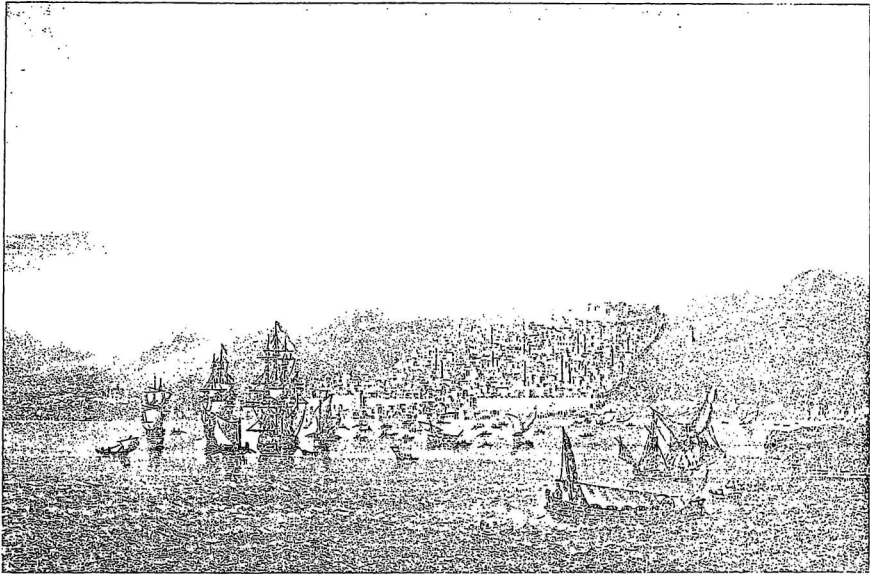
24. Estimated by the author according to various sources. 1 pic = 0,758 metres, 1 square pic = 0,5746 square metres.

25. Oberling (1985) op. cit., p. 317-319.

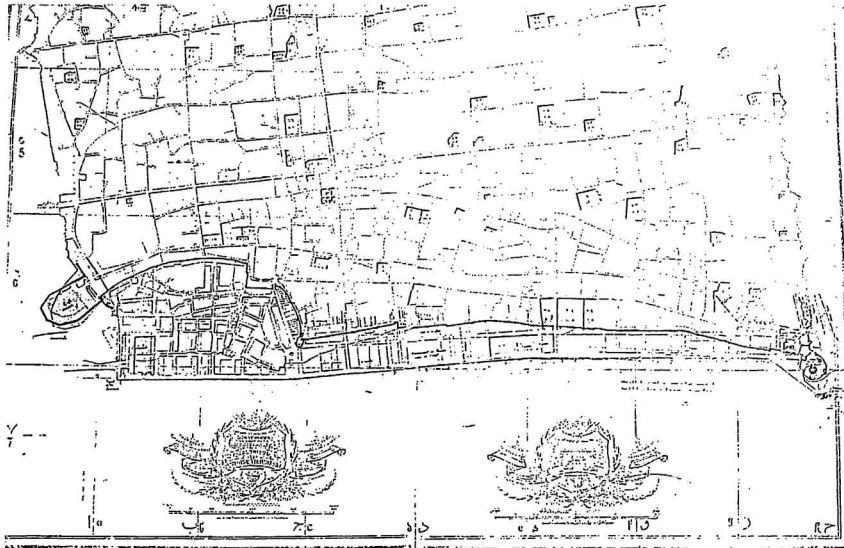
Θεσσαλονίκη - " Αποψη της προκυμαίας
1067 - Salonique (Grèce) - Vue du Quai



Thessaloniki waterfront



Thessaloniki in 1800, drawing by Fauvel



Thessaloniki c. 1880. New strip of land with private lots and quays. Plan of the Municipality, drawn by Antoine Wernieski, chief engineer. The sea wall, demolished in the 1870s, has been added on the plan by the author

parcels of land on the sea front. Private land was expected to attract central business activities (hotels, offices, banks, etc), residential buildings as well as cafés, restaurants, theatres, etc. It was believed that an average price of one lira per square pic would be easily attained and would cover the total cost of the works.

The pay out would be achieved as follows: The auction would start at a minimum price of 70 piastra per square pic. One third of the final price would be deposited on the spot, while the rest would follow according to the progress of works. Two main problems arose immediately: Absence of trust of investors as to the possibility of finishing the work (let us remember that up to then, it was common practice for the Turkish authority to announce important works, levy taxes and contributions and never complete them)²⁶. Who was to guarantee that this time, the greatest planning operation ever undertaken by the Ottomans in Thessaloniki, would be happily concluded?

The second problem was completely on the opposite line of thinking. If investors responded favourably and came to the auctions, how could they be prevented from having agreed among themselves to keep the bidding prices at low levels and then resell in private? As the buyers were expected to be foreign businessmen as well as the rich inhabitants of the city, there was concern about the way the latter would react, especially the Jewish people "who were intimately associated among themselves", according to the French consul.

In response to these problems Sabri started an advertising campaign, before the plans were finished, which culminated in the beginning of 1870 with a special ceremony by the wall. That day Sabri started himself the demolition of the wall throwing the material in the sea, while the leaders of the religious communities presented him with silver demolition tools, in order to express the enthusiasm of the city²⁷. At the same time the names of the first interested buyers were publicly announced; they included two prestigious institutions, the *Banque Impériale Ottomane* and the *Poste Impériale*, who were granted permission from their headquarters in the Capital to establish their offices, warehouses and private residences in the new Quais.

The implementation of the project proved to be eventful. The Sublime Porte gave permission and special powers to Sabri to have the wall demolished. Although the Office of Military Engineers was strongly opposed, they finally had to give in, after a vote taken unanimously by the Ministers' Council and its ratification by the Sultan.

The works were carried out under the supervision of Vitali, whose fees amounted to 5% of the total cost, with no upper limit (plafond). Demolition and filling in of the sea started in the first months of 1870, and at the same time the sale of private land took place. In the first auctions 85 000 sq. pics of parcels were sold for a total amount of 120 000 t. l., a price that surpassed all prior estimates....47% of the land was bought by European subjects ; the rest by people of the city, of all religious communities.

It seemed like an enormous success, and for a few months an euphoria was established in Salonica. But soon, by the middle of 1871, problems appeared. The works' progress did not justify new payments by buyers, although 40 000 liras (amounting to the 1/3 of the total sum) had already been spent.... Sabri had to travel to Constantinople to borrow more money from the government. The Porte became suspicious of him, as well as of his engineer Vitali. In October 1871 Sabri was replaced by

26. An eloquent example was the straightening out of the Egnatia street in Salonica in 1868. Cf. A. Yerolympos, "Urbanisme et modernisation en Grèce du Nord à l'époque des Tanzimat" in (P. Dumont et F. Georjeon eds.) *Villes Ottomanes ...*, op. cit.

27. According to the French diplomatic records.

Ismail Pasha, and the works stopped. There was real panic in Salonica and buyers started asking their money back. Ismail, the new vali, formed a commission to investigate into the expenses and Sevket Pasha, a financial expert, was sent from the Capital to assist the commission. Foreign consuls intervened in favour of their own subjects, and began lobbying so that a foreign company would be appointed to carry on the works. Again and again there were arguments in favour of the Smyrna experience and of the contract signed between the Ottoman government and the Compagnie Dussaud. Most arguments insisted that the State ought to sell out the land reserved for public and communal uses, so that sufficient money be raised to finish the work.

In the meantime, the result of the investigation was made public: Sevket Pasha, behaving in a rather unorthodox manner, promised immunity to Vitali and also to keep him in charge of the works, on condition that he collaborate with investigators. A deficit of 20 000 liras was discovered and Sabri accused of having abused 12 000 liras, in order to buy farmland for himself²⁸. As soon as the vali and the government were officially informed, everybody, including Vitali, was fired and the works stopped.

It took ten more years for the quays to finish. Little by little, a vali would undertake to fill in the stretches left open between the line of the quay and the existing land to the interior. In 1882 the last unsold lots were given away, along with all the land which had been reserved for the community. Very soon attractive buildings were constructed and contributed to the 'new westernized look' of Salonica, while the waterfront emerged as the center of the economic and social life of the city.

Thessaloniki waterfront



28. The information is included in the french diplomatic correspondence and has not been cross-checked up to now.

Demolition of the east wall and residential expansion

The Sultanik houses, photographed at the beginning of the century

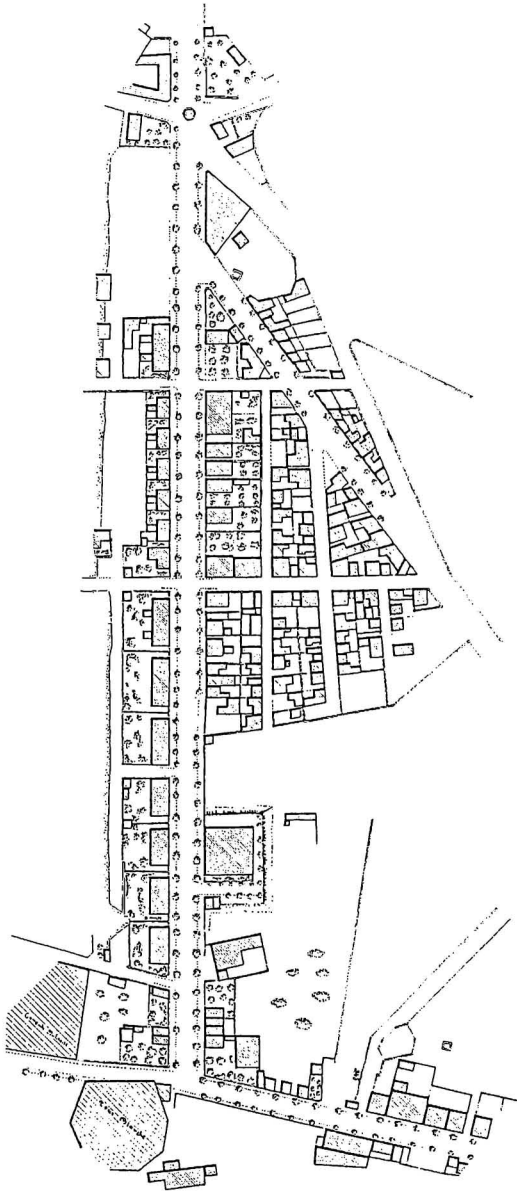


The demolition of the east wall of Thessaloniki provided the opportunity for another important planning operation in the city. For the first time in the history of Thessaloniki, settling outside the wall was not only allowed, but officially encouraged and projected. The Hamidiye Boulevard operation, first authorized extension of the city, appears not only as a landmark in local urban development, but also as a very interesting illustration of the methods that the Reform-oriented authorities adopted, in order to achieve their goal. We should remember that as early as 1836 the leading figure of the Reform movement, Mustapha Reshit pasha, had addressed a letter to the Sultan expressing his views on the 'physical' condition of the Ottoman cities and urging for immediate measures to be taken for their 'westernisation'²⁹. In this letter, which has been rightfully considered by historians as the inaugurating document of the planning reform, Reshit pasha explained his ideas about introducing non-flammable materials for the city buildings, as well as rectilinear forms for the urban fabric, and he added: "*The people are probably reluctant to adopt the new methods of building; they have neither the resources nor the know-how.... It would then be wiser to encourage the rich people and also have the State erect some buildings on land belonging to the Crown, and rent these buildings, later even sell them depending on demand*". He also advised the Sultan to find the necessary money for these pilot operations by borrowing from the Banks; and he added hurriedly that this was common practice in Europe, and by no means was it compromising. Perhaps the Sultan had never considered borrowing for his own affairs...

Back to Salonica in 1879, before even the demolition of the east wall begins, a development plan was prepared for an area of 12 hectares covering the land left by the wall as well as by the adjacent properties. The area was surveyed and property borders were marked out: A strip of land of 50-60 meters wide, along the city wall, belonged to the Crown. The rest of the area consisted of farmland belonging to the sheik Abdul Kadir and his brothers, and of a parcel belonging to the wakf of Akçe Medjit and a Church, while it was surrounded by cemeteries³⁰. The new plan replaced the walls with a spacious boulevard, 18 metres wide and planted with trees, ending to a square in its upper part. The blocks

29. S. Yerasimos has brought this letter to our attention. Cf. "Réglementation urbaine et municipale, 1839-1869" In A. Borie, P. Pinon, S. Yerasimos, *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul au XIX^e s.* Ecole d'Architecture Paris-La Défense, Paris 1989 (miméo). For a translation of the document in Greek, see A. Yerolympos (1990), *op. cit.*

30. Names of landowners were marked on the plan of 1879. According to a plan drawn 20 years later, the land of Sheik Abdul Kadir was completely covered with houses, whereas in the wakf land not even the roads were traced....



The Hamidiye Boulevard in 1899. See also page 91.

located on the Imperial property were large, while the ones laying on the opposite side were much smaller. The streets had widths of 12, 9, and 7.5 meters, and conformed to the 1864 Planning Regulation. The unknown author of the plan indicated clearly in the caption that this was a development plan, and that the area was to be offered for construction. The houses built there were called *Sultanik*, showing by their name that they were property of the Sultan. They were designed in a row, on almost identical layouts, following the plans of foreign architects sent from Istanbul. In much the same way as the buildings on the new Quays, these mansions were expected to introduce new styles and standards of house design and encourage further residential integration of ethnic groups. Their uniform façades gave an elegant character to the boulevard and created powerful perspective views towards the White Tower and the Square, which were placed at the two extremes of the boulevard. The *Sultanik* houses were very popular among the Christian and European inhabitants of Salonica, who rented them as soon as they were completed. The Sultan was extremely pleased with the outcome of this experiment; in 1889, ten years later, he decided to donate to the new neighborhood a beautiful shadirwan, the Hamidiyé Fountain, which was placed in the middle of the square. A very special celebration was held on the occasion, and it has been recorded in the newspaper of the Greek community *Phare of Macedonia*. Through it we have an extraordinary view of a society in transition, trying to reshape an identity between its oriental past and its western visions for the future, between polyethnic-religious coexistence and strong feelings of nationalistic awakening.

Other contemporary operations in the area include the redesign of the walled part of Adrianople in 1905, when a fire destroyed it almost completely, which will be treated in the next chapter. Also an interesting parallel can be drawn with the demolition of the city walls in Khanea in Crete in 1901-1902. Still the operations concerning the walls at this particular time, which shortly precedes the end of the Ottoman rule in this part of the Balkans and also the end of the Ottoman Empire in general, have a strong emblematic character. Though a comparison with similar operations in Western Europe can be directly established, I believe that urban expansion projects in the Ottoman Empire had a didactic and sociological dimension that transcended their impact on spatial restructuring. They illustrated and supported the opening of the State - finally - to all its subjects regardless of faith. They also symbolized the opening of the archaic-oriental Ottoman society to modern (western) attitudes and lifestyles, social ideals and economic activities. The demolition of Thessaloniki's sea wall in particular can be seen as a metaphor of the Tanzimat era in general: In the beginning ambitious plans, hopes and fears; then abuses and disappointment ... and still at the end, a different atmosphere, a new image for a city at the threshold of a new period of its history.

IV.

The decline of a traditional city: Adrianople/Edirne at the turn of the century

The city of Adrianople offers an enchanting sight, wrote the great French geographer Elysée Reclus in the early 1870s. *"No other city is more gay, more mixed with countryside and woods. With the exception of the centre and the area around the Fortress, Adrianople, the Turkish Edirne, appears as an agglomeration of distinctive villages; houses are separated from one another by fruit-gardens and curtains of cypress and poplar trees, over which rise here and there the minarets of 150 mosques. Vivid waters of aqueducts and of many creeks and the abundant rivers of Maritza, Tundja and Arda cheer the suburbs and the gardens of this dispersed city". ... "Adrianople is not only a charming city, but also the most populous centre of the inland... However, in this antique imperial capital, the Turks are a minority. Greeks equal them in number and exceed them in activity; Bulgarians are also present and they form a considerable community; moreover here one can see, as in all oriental cities, the multicolored crowd of people of all races starting from the gipsy musician to the Persian merchant. Jews are present in a large proportion...."*¹.

1. E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1876, p. 161-162.

Adrianople in a drawing of 1685-7, commissioned by Captain Gravier d'Ortières





Adrianople in an engraving of 1737

Reclus described the city at a critical time for the Balkan peninsula, when the territory of European Turkey was reduced considerably, while the Ottoman Empire undertook a serious effort for its modernization along 'european' patterns. The 'westernization' which took place modified profoundly the existing hierarchy of cities. Major development occurred along new railway lines and in the coast, while traditional inland cities, especially the ones located near the newly traced frontier lines, declined rapidly.

Until then Adrianople had been the most important city of European Turkey, the administration and trade centre of an extended hinterland, and had lived in peace since its capture by the Turks, almost five centuries before. Still, from 1829 onwards, Adrianople found itself in the middle of disruptive events: the whole region was taken by Russians during the Russo-Turkish war (1828-29)². In 1854-56 the city was occupied by the French army during the Crimean war. In 1877 it was again taken by Russians in the war that resulted in the creation of modern Bulgaria (1878-1880).

Adrianople was the first city of the Empire to communicate with Constantinople through the Oriental Railway Scheme, put forth in the 1860s in order to link the Ottoman Capital to Europe. The line to Belova in Bulgaria, via Adrianople, was constructed between 1869 and 1872 by the *Société Impériale des Chemins de Fer de la Turquie d'Europe*, but its impact on regional development was not as important as expected. Indeed before the end of the 1870s Adrianople would lose its Bulgarian

2. The Treaty of Adrianople, signed on September 1829 after Turkey's defeat, assured an autonomous status for Greece and placed the principalities of Walachia, Moldavia and Serbia under Russian protection.

Table 2. The population of Adrianople in the 19th century

| Year | population | Moslems | Greeks | Jews | Armenians | Bulgarians | Other |
|------------------------|------------|---------|--------|-------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| 1800-1850 ^a | >120000 | | | | | | |
| 1850s ^b | 110000 | | | | | | |
| 1854 ^c | 80000 | 35000 | 35000 | 4000 | 6000 | | 180 (Catholics) |
| 1858 ^d | 100000 | 35000 | 40000 | 4000 | 5000 | 4000 | 6000 Albanians |
| 1870 ^e | 110000 | | | | | | |
| 1878 ^f | 57000 | 18000 | 16000 | 6800 | 5200 | 10000 | 1000 |
| 1900-1910 ^g | 87000 | 47000 | 20000 | 15000 | 4000 | 2000 | |
| 1900-1910 ^h | 81000 | 43000 | 23000 | 8000 | 6000 | | 900* |
| 1905 ⁱ | 56813 | | | | | | |
| 1927 ^j | 34528 | | | | | | |

References

- a. It is generally accepted that there were more than 120000 inhabitants in the city.
 b. A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*. Librairie Militaire de J. Dumaine, Paris, 1853; T. Gökbilgin, "Edirne" *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. of 1960.
 c. Osmont (1854), op. cit.
 d. Foivos (1858), op. cit.
 e. Reclus (1876), op. cit.
 f. "Ethnographie des Vilayets d' Adrinople, de Monastir et de Salonique" *Courrier de l' Orient*, Constantinople 1878
 g. T. Gökbilgin, "Edirne" *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. of 1960.
 h. Handbook of Macedonia (1920), op. cit. * (+ 500 Catholics and Protestants, 400 Heathen Gipsies).
 i. Official Ottoman census conducted by Hilmi pasha.
 j. T. Gökbilgin, "Edirne" *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. of 1960.

hinterland and would become a frontier city. In the meantime, the opening of the Suez Canal and the development of maritime communication through steamships modified significantly the movement of trade, and directed economic expansion to the coastal cities of the area, especially to Thessaloniki, Cavala and Dedeagatch. Although Adrianople continued to be a large regional centre, its population would gradually decline and Thessaloniki would eventually outgrow her (see Table 2). At the same time many cities of European Turkey were modernized, their commercial districts were partly redesigned, some expansion schemes were prepared and implemented, and important buildings -public and private- were constructed. It seems that Adrianople did not follow in this effervescence and the traditional layout persisted for many years later.

We will not discuss here the important monuments of earlier Ottoman architecture which made the city famous and for which there is rich bibliography. On the contrary very little is known of the urban space of Adrianople in general and more specifically of the intra muros city, which perished in a fire in 1905; and almost nothing is known of the everyday places where the various ethnic-religious groups lived and worked.

In 1854-56, during the Crimean War, a French army corps of 15 000 men under general Bousquet camped in Edirne. The French had orders to fortify the city and they prepared plans for the region³. Most probably this is how the plan signed by the French *chef d' escadron* Osmont came into being⁴. This beautiful manuscript, with an index of 200 buildings in scale of 1:10 000, is a valuable document for the topography of Adriano-

3. Cf. N. Moschopoulos, "Adrianople" in *Great Hellenic Encyclopaedia*, 1930 (in Greek). The fortifications were realized twenty years later, and they can be seen in the 1885 plan of Selami, published by B. Darkot, "Edirne, Cografî Girîs" in *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yildönümü Anmagan Kitabı*. Ankara 1965, p. 1-10.

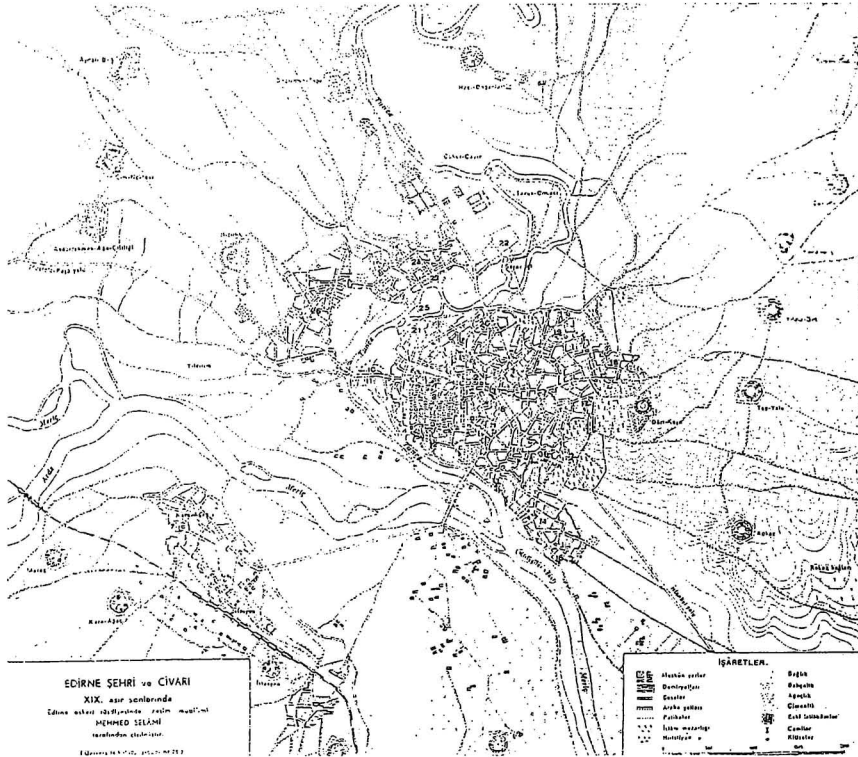
4. Plan d' Andrinople 1854 par Osmont, Armée Française d' Orient. Ministère de la Défense - Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, carte 4.10.B.225

5. The report was written in 1858 for the Athenian Review *Panorama* and published in 1862. An integral version of the report was included in K. Vachalopoulos, *La structure économique de la Macédoine et de la Thrace au milieu du 19^e siècle dans le cadre du commerce international*. Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1980.

ple in the middle of the 19th century. Written almost at the same time, a report by Greek consul K.P.Foivos is an important source of information about the buildings and the urban structure of Adrianople⁵.

With the help of these documents as well as of other sources, we will try to trace the city's evolution after the middle of the 19th century, which marked the end of an era of major development, demographic and other, and preceded the hard years of economic and political decline that would follow.

City and environs of Adrianople at the end of the 19th century (1885) drawn by Mehmed Selâmi, professor of drawing in the Military School of Adrianople



Geography and urban form

The city is situated on the main road from Constantinople to Sofia and Belgrade, at the junction of the rivers Tundja and Arda with Evros (the Maritza). The Tunja forms a semi circle round the west side of the town; the river Evros runs through low-lying marshy country and the area is liable to floods. The town was surrounded by low hills, 100 to 150 meters high from northwest to east⁶; to the south it faced the plains of Evros. The hills were planted with vineyards, and after 1877 they carried a ring of forts (see plan 1885).

The city was originally named Adrianopolis after the Roman Emperor Adrian, who settled disabled Roman soldiers, fortified and embellished it in the year 127 AD. Adrianople emerged as an important administrative and military centre in the Byzantine era. Its layout, as it appears in the plan of 1854, is particularly interesting because it reveals two distinct historical stages of development:

– The intra muros city, called *Kaleiçi* (interior of Fortress) by Turks and *Asty* (City) by Greeks, still maintains its original plan as an orthogonal grid and is inhabited by a non-Moslem population (Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Catholics)⁷.

– The extra muros city, *Kaledisi*, created outside the east wall by the Ottomans after they captured the city in the 14th century, displays a more informal pattern. Indeed Adrianople having served as first Ottoman capital in European territory for a century (1360/61 to 1453), grew rapidly and soon became the biggest city in the Balkans after Constantinople⁸.

An interesting description written in 1760 by a Greek scholar⁹ offers a hypothesis on the possible evolution of the city: Adrianople, he claimed, consisted of the inner city (*Asty*), three suburbs (by the names of Kiyik, Kirishane and Yildirim) and "huge varosh". The word *varosh* was widely used in the Balkans and beyond, meaning the first urban extension outside the city walls. It can be argued then that the suburbs were originally formed as independent settlements, and as the city grew, Kiyik eastwards, and Kirishane southwards, were progressively incorporated into it. Yildirim, on the northern bank of the Tundja, probably existed before the Ottoman conquest, because the great mosque built there in the 14th century is believed to stand on the foundation of a Christian church¹⁰.

A third stage in the city's development is posterior to the Osmond plan and is directly related to the Tanzimat modernization. The old resort place of Karagatch (the contemporary city of Orestias) on the farther bank of the river Evros southwest of the main town to which it is connected by stone bridges, was turned into a regular residential quarter and inhabited by railroad employees (whose children attended a German school). Since the 17th century European consuls, envoys and rich inhabitants of the city preferred to spend the hot summer months in Karagatch and had built there beautiful mansions¹¹.

6. Seven hills according to Eviya Celebi. Cf. K. Kreiser, *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Eviya Celebi*. Freiburg: Verlag, 1975; also "Adrianople by Eviya Celebi" *Review Thracia* vol. 15, 1941 (in Greek).

7. Mansel believes that the city was built under the form of a Roman castrum and supports his argument with the help of engravings on numismatic evidence. Cf. A. M. Mansel, "Hkçagda Edirne" *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600...*, op.cit., p. 21-37. The Osmond plan offers an additional proof in favour of this argument.

After the Ottoman conquest, the Greeks had the right to remain within the fortress and the Ottomans established themselves outside the gates. However at first all churches were converted into mosques, and only later, in the 16th century did the Christians recover some of them. It seems that before the 16th century Greek population was so diminished, that they could not even support a priest. The first Greek school opened around 1550, while in 1578 there were 15 Christian churches. Also many Jews settled in the Kaleiçi, when they were invited by their communities to leave the coastal cities and settle in Adrianople, so that the small local group would be strengthened. See M. Franco, *Histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman*. Paris, 1897.

8. "Adrianopolis magna urbs est" noted M. Crusius, *Turcogræcia. Annotationes*, 1584, p. 336.

9. Cf. Ignatios Sarafoglou, "Description of Adrianople (1760)" *Review Thracia* vol. 2, 1929 (in Greek).

10. According to S. Eyice, "Bizans devrinde Edirne ve bu devre ait eserler" in *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600...* op.cit., p. 39-76. On the contrary P. Cuneo notes that Yildirim was created on the first half of the 15th century. Cf. P. Cuneo, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo islamico*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 1986, p. 368.

11. N. Veys, "Adrianople" in *Encyclopaedia Eleftheroudakis*. Athens, 1927 (in Greek). See also "Adrianople" in *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920, p. 459-462.

Adrianople 1854, Osmont plan: Text in french included in original manuscript. The fortified city. See also page 92.

Plan d' Andrinople

M. Osmont, 1854

4 Juin 1854, carte manuscrite en couleurs, échelle 1:10.000

Couleurs: Bleu (fleuves), rouge (flots), rouge foncé (batiments)

Légende numérotée indiquant 200 batiments

La ville d' Andrinople, Edrench en turc, est située à 41° 40' de latitude nord et à 44° 30' de longitude Est. Elle est placée auprès des confluents de la Maritza avec l' Arda et la Tundja sur le versant d' un cours d'eau qui descend sur la rive gauche de la Tundja. Andrinople a une population d'environ 80.180 habitants, à savoir 35.000 turcs parlant la langue turque, 35.000 grecs parlant les langues grecque et turque, 6000 Arméniens parlant la langue turque et 4000 Juifs parlant les langues espagnole et turque et 180 catholiques. Elle possède 140 mosquées, 13 églises grecques, 13 synagogues, une église arménienne et une église catholique. Les mosquées principales sont celles du Sultan Sélim, de Uç Sefereli, du Sultan Vayazit, Eski et Muradié. Les eaux de la ville viennent de Srvatir(7 illisible). A quatre lieues nord-est d' Andrinople elles sont conduites dans un réservoir situé près de la mosquée du Taschluk, et de là réparties entre les nombreuses fontaines de la ville. Toutes ces fontaines sont à robinet. Aucune n'est remarquable si ce ne sont celles qui se trouvent dans les mosquées de Sultan Selim et de Uç Sefereli.

Les eaux de la caserne et des quartiers situés sur la rive droite de la Tundja viennent d' Asbounar à quatre lieues nord-est de la ville. Il y a en outre plusieurs fontaines provenant de sources particulières. Les jardins et les environs d' Andrinople sont plantés de mûriers. on se livre sur une grande échelle à la production de la soie. Tous les arbres fruitier du midi de la France sont cultivés dans le pays.

Andrinople est le siège d' un pacha de première classe dont l'autorité s'étend aux localités dont les noms suivent. A savoir.....(noms illisibles)

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Yldiez Kiosk | 47. | 93. Gulchan hané Dj. |
| 2. Cavanli Tcheshmé | 48. Tchaker Agha Dj. | 94. Saraf Dj. |
| 3. Karadja Ahmet Djamissi | 49. Khodji Khalil Dj. | 95. Fondeuk Faken Dj. |
| 4. Hatib Dj. | 50. Beilerbey Dj. | 96. Balaban Pacha Dj. |
| 5. Kouz Dj. | 51. Hamam | 97. Suleymanié Dj. |
| 6. Tokaldja Dj. | 52. Kiatib Dj. | 98. Hadji Zenforis Dj. |
| 7. Zindjirli Dj. | 53. Sinan Pacha Dj. | 99. Zenné Sarudja Pacha Dj. |
| 8. Ibrahim Pacha Dj. | 54. Noctdji Dj. | 100. Gizri Kassoum Pacha Dj. |
| 9. Kirit Dj. | 55. Yeshildji Dj. | 101. |
| 10. Muradié Dj. | 56. Palais du Pacha (Porte) | 102. Kodja Ivas Dj. |
| 11. Fanfan Dj. | 57. Arpa Kervan Dj. | 103. |
| 12. Karaboulout Dj. | 58. | 104. Kodja Ilias Dj. |
| 13. Nichandji Pacha Dj. | 59. Longour hoglou Dj. | 105. Ai Ghiorghil Kilissi |
| 14. Zenni Ibrahim Dj. | 60. Chahetin Pacha Dj. | 106. Chamelek pacha Dj. |
| 15. Chehir Celebi Dj. | 61. Aya Hassan Dj. | 107. Kechedjiler Dj. |
| 16. Taya Atoun Dj. | 62. Kouschou Douvan Dj. | 108. Kadir bey Dj. |
| 17. Veli Yedin Dj. | 63. Avadchaki Dj. | 109. Thaban Dj. |
| 18. Sophi Bayezid Dj. | 64. Fessoula Pacha Dj. | 110. Thaban Dj. |
| 19. Ali pacha Dj. | 65. Yemich Kapaneu | 111. Temelsir Dj. |
| 20. Asnadar Sinan Bey Dj. | 66. Arasta | 112. Hodjaklar Dj. |
| 21. Asmaleu Sokak Dj. | 67. Arapelar Khan | 113. Daril Hadir Dj. |
| 22. Yaya Bey Dj. | 68. Eski Dj. | 114. Arab baba Dj. |
| 23. Taschluk Dj. | 69. Bezesten | 115. Tour de Zendan |
| 24. Yanjeuchte Dj. | 70. Ikhi Kpoulou Khan | 116. Hadim Firouz Dj. |
| 25. Medressi Ali bey Dj. | 71. Rustem Pacha Khan | 117. Chabettin pacha Dj. |
| 26. Hadji Islam bey Dj. | 72. Soultan Dj. | 118. Agha Dj. |
| 27. Hadji Ahmey v | 73. Papas Hoglou Dj. | 119. Malkodj Dj. |
| 28. | 74. Khanle Bounar Dj. | 120. Machsaradié Dj. |
| 29. Kadi Dj. | 75. Cherbellar Hamza bey Dj. | 121. Emirchak Dj. |
| 30. Abdcraman Dj. | 76. Hadji Merdjimek Dj. | 122. Asse Mourad Dj. |
| 31. Sulé Dj. | 77. Boyadjil baba Dj. | 123. Yeni Dj. |
| 32. Ismaila Dj. | 78. Casa Sali Dj. | 124. Hadji Koulou Dj. |
| 33. Mezit bey Dj. | 79. Casa Sali Dj. (?) | 125. Sultan Bayezid Dj. |
| 34. Hamlet Dj. | 80. Imaret Mezit Bey Dj. | 126. Kupeli Dj. |
| 35. Sultan Selim Dj. | 81. Dodeca Apostoli Kilissi | 127. Hopital Grec (Zodopii K.) |
| 36. Mahmoud Agha Dj. | 82. Yaya Demirtasch Dj. | 128. Place de la Kavakalle |
| 37. | 83. Utch Sefereli Dj. | 129. Achmetjet Dj. |
| 38. Sevindji Faken Dj. | 84. Bazar d' Ali Pacha | 130. Nahib Celebi Dj. |
| 39. Kihelcdji Dj. | 85. Sabondjou Dj. | 131. Kadidj hatoun Dj. |
| 40. Kefsetchi Dj. | 86. | 132. Yelderim Bayezid Dj. |
| 41. Teftardar Dj. | 87. Yaleli Dj. | 133. Taghtalen Dj. |
| 42. Teftardar Dj. (?) | 88. Fererdji Dj. | 134. Kupeli Dj. |
| 43. Aiche Atoun Dj. | 89. Fatmé Atoun Dj. | 135. Koum Mahallé Dj. |
| 44. Feizoulla Pacha Dj. | 90. Vavelou Dj. | 136. Karadja hamet Dj. |
| 45. Khan de Aiche Atoun | 91. Mehmed Agha Dj. | 137. Agha Dj. |
| 46. Vizé Celebi Dj. | 92. Tahoutleu Dj. | 138. Dinindje Dj. |

139. Sinan Bey Dj.
140. Ebezadi Dj.
141. Sarudja Dj.
142. Tekke Kapou
143. Tcherkef Mahallessi Dj.
144. Hadji Alemeddin Dj.

145. Hadji Sefa Dj.
146. Hassan pacha Dj.
147. Hadji Alatch Dj.
148. Khodja bali Dj.
149. Kurt Hodja Dj.
150. Sutan Aiché Saraï

151. Rhezoul Nedjit Dj.
152. Ghazi Mihal bey Dj.
153. Kouk Hammam
154. Place de Zindjirli Kouyou
155. Tour de Kale bedan
156. Tarakchi baba Dj.

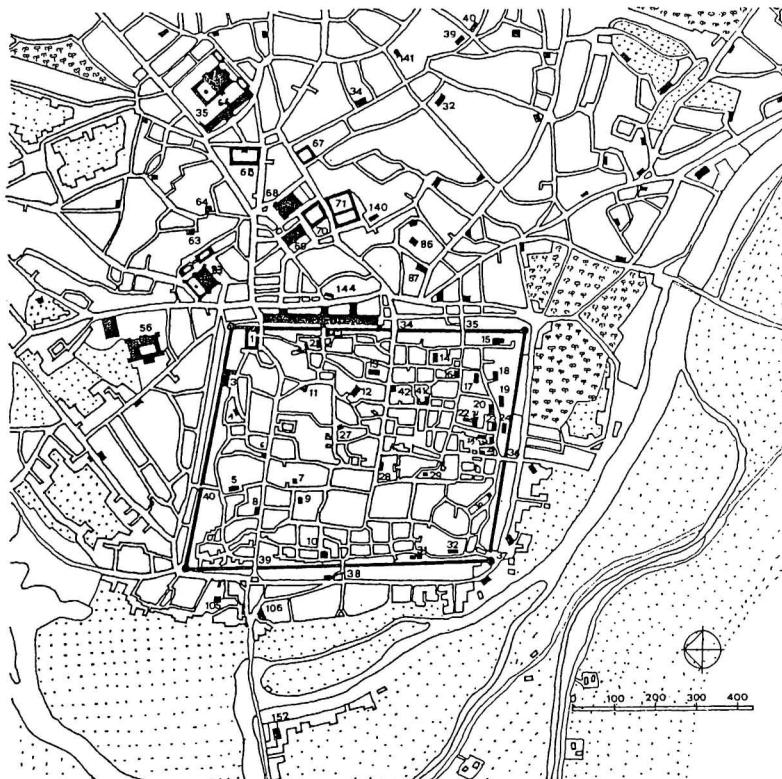
Kale Itchi (Intérieur de l'enceinte)

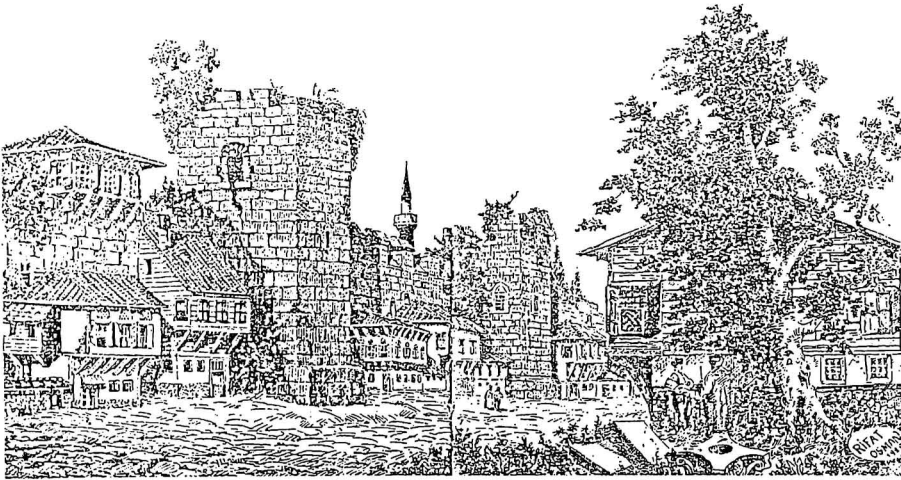
1. Ecole Militaire
2. Ecole Bulgare
3. Métropole Grecque
4. Ai Yanni Kilissi
5.
6. Kourou Tcheshme Djami
7. Ai Nicola Kilissi
8. Dirakli Dj.
9. Aio Paraskevi Kilissi
10. Ai Yanni Kilissi
11. Tribunal Mekhame
12. St Antoine (église catholique)
13. Christos Kilissi
14. Panayia Kilissi
15. Skenezia Havra (*Synagogue*)
16. Boudoun Havra
17. Catalogna Havra
18. Pouilla Havra

19. Mayor Havra
20. Cccilia Havra
21. Roumagna Havra
22. Toledo Havra
23. Guerouz Havra
24.
25. Aragona Havra
26. Portugal Havra
27. Leblebidji Dj. (*converted church of St Théodore?*)
28. Eski Kazandjellar Dj. (*converted church of Ste Sofia*)
29. Kilisse Dj. (*converted church of St Basil*)
30. Ketali Dj.
31. Ai Strati Kilissi
32. Hadji Douvan Dj.
33. Koule Kapoussou
34. Balck Bazar Kapou
35. Tavouk Kapoussou

36. Kafés Kapoussou (*correct: Magnus Kapou*)
37. Magnas Kapoussou (*correct: Gimne Kapou, little gate*)
38. Kechedjiler Kapoussou
39. Top Kapou (*correct: Kafés Kapou, acc. to Foivos 1858 and Evlyya*)
40. Ai Theodore, église Arménienne (*correct: Top Kapou*)
41. Tenekli Dj.
42. Orta Kapou (*located behind the Covered Market -Ali pasa çarsi*)
42. Eglise Arménienne (*on the main road. Number 42 appears twice on plan.*)
43. Italia Havra
44. Vice consulat de France

* In italics, some corrections and completions to Osmont's text.





Sketch of the main gate (Kule Kapisi) drawn by Rifat Osman in 1929

12. Actually the city was 'ottomanised' through a process of erecting new buildings on empty lots, as was the case in Bursa, but not in Constantinople. See the remarks by M. Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System*. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Cultural Publications, 1983, p. 40-67.

13. 17th century descriptions of Adrianople are included in the writings of İhîbî, Kâtip Celebi and Evliya Celebi. Cf. Kreiser and *Review Thracia*, op. cit. Also T. Gökbulgin, "Edirne hakkında yayılmış tarihler ve Enis-ul Müsâmirin" *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600...*, op.cit., p. 77-177.

14. Sarafoglou (1929) and Cuneo (1986), op. cit; also A.S. Ünver, "Edirne medeniyetimiz ve tezyinî misâlleri" *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600...*, op. cit., p. 233-253.

15. Greek Foreign Office Record [AYE] file 37/13, Consular Correspondence, Thrace, doc. 23 July 1845. Greece established an under-consulate in Adrianople in 1834. At that time there were also Russian, Belgian, British, Austrian, Spanish, French and Prussian consuls in the city. K. Papathanassi-Moussiopoulou, *Greek consulates in Thrace*. Athens, 1976 (in Greek).

16. Foivos (1858), op. cit. (in Greek).

After its conquest by the Ottomans, Adrianople/Edirne grew rapidly outside the Byzantine walls. The existing bazaar developed eastwards at the outer limit of the old city. On the long road starting at the northeastern gate, mosques, khans and covered markets were built; they formed the religious and commercial centre, the "point fort" of the Ottoman city¹². The most important commercial buildings in the bazaars were built within a triangle formed by the Mosques Uç Sefereli and Eski and by Tahtakale, which always remained the denser part of the commercial quarter. Only a few military and administration buildings (the Military School, the religious court, nos 1 and 11 in Osmont Plan) were constructed intra muros. The bazaar was connected to the Kaleiçi by big and small gates, bearing the names of specific markets, such as Balık pazar gate (fish market), or Tavouk pazar gate (chicken market).

The city must have suffered a lot during the 18th century¹³. A great fire in 1745 and a terrible earthquake in 1752 destroyed it almost entirely¹⁴. Although buildings were reconstructed and monuments repaired, it seems that Adrianople never recovered her old glamour. From several Greek sources we know that all churches in the inner city were continuously being rebuilt or repaired during the 18th century, and again in the beginning of the 19th. After the proclamation of Tanzimat, and especially after the war of 1877-1878, they were renovated once more and adorned with bell towers. The city suffered severe damage during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. Also a terrible flood ruined 2200 houses in the Greek quarters of the inner city in 1844¹⁵, while the Jewish quarters perished in a fire in 1846¹⁶.

For lack of more reliable information, we may assume that the city was continuously rebuilt thanks to individual initiative. Greek historians

insist that there was no official authority to supervise the rebuilding process¹⁷. Recent studies have shown that urban regulations existed before 1839, but it is not yet known to which extent they were applied, if they were applied at all¹⁸. After Tanzimat, new regulations were promulgated and up to date land registers were drawn. In 1845 the Porte ordered the vali Tahir pasha to prepare a register of all immovable properties in the city. All communities were requested to submit lists bearing names of owners and description of lots and buildings¹⁹.

The earliest known attempt to embellish the city was undertaken by local authorities in 1830 and again in 1839, when Sultan Mahmut paid visits to Adrianople²⁰. The inhabitants were asked to contribute actively to this effort, and the Greek community supplied the cost of the famous kiosk Yildiz. The kiosk was built on a hill outside the city, so that the Sultan could rest and enjoy the splendour of the scenery (Plan Osmont, no 1). A few years later, in 1846, Sultan Abdul Medjit also announced his wish to visit the city. On the occasion Adrianople changed its appearance: streets were enlarged and all trash was removed; public buildings were decorated and adorned with kiosks, paid by Armenian merchants; army barracks were repaired; the bazaars were provided with a great variety of European merchandise. The religious leaders of the non-Moslem communities asked their subjects to whitewash all houses and shops²¹.

According to the Osmont Plan, the city covers an area of about 360 hectares and appears very compact, although we know that only the inner city and a few quarters outside the walls, between the market place and Uç Sefereli Mosque, were densely built. In the rest of residential quarters including the suburbs, the houses were built amidst large gardens. The street pattern was informal; it conformed to the terrain and followed the main thoroughfares leading to neighbouring cities. On the contrary, "there were no vineyards and gardens" in the inner city as early as the 17th century according to Evliya.

The intra muros city

The antique fortified city lay to the east of the Tundja river. The walls formed a surprisingly regular oblique rectangle, 600 to about 730 meters, measuring 45 hectares of surface. It seems that in the long-lasting *Pax Ottomana* and because of an absence in maintenance, the moat had been filled with earth and garbage upon which shops, imarets and various other buildings were constructed in long blocks with streets longing them²². Only to the north was there a street adjacent to the wall.

Inside the fortress one can detect the customary regularity of the hellenistic-roman planning. The old regular pattern of streets still

17. P. Axiotis, "Adrianople" *Review Panathinaea* vol. 13, 1913 (in Greek).

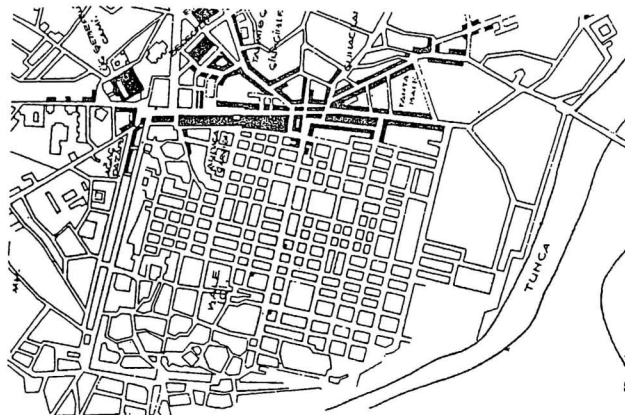
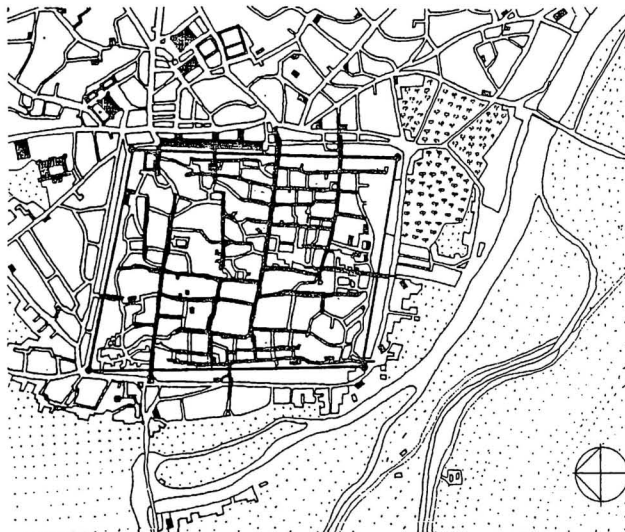
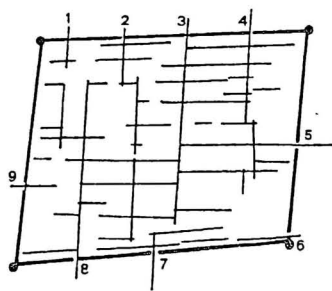
18. S. Yerasimos, "La réglementation urbaine Ottomane (XVIe-XIXe siècles)" *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Empire*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten, 1989.

19. AYE [op. cit.] doc. 22 October 1845.

20. The Sultan's visits to the provincial cities of the Empire encouraged local authorities to embellish their cities. The modernisation of Thessaloniki was originally inaugurated in 1859, when the Sultan decided to visit the city, in an attempt to promote reforms in the provinces. A. Yerolympos, "Urbanisme et modernisation en Grèce du Nord à l'époque des Tanzimat" in (ed. P. Dumont et F. Georgeon) *Villes Ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*. Paris: Ed. L'Harmattan, 1992.

21. AYE [op. cit.] doc. 5 March 1846 - 20 May 1846. The Sultan visited the city on May 3, 1846 and spent there three days.

22. Already since Evliya's visit.



Street patterns, walls and gates in Kaleiçi:

(a) an attempt to reconstruct the Roman plan, (b) Kaleiçi in 1854 according to the Osmont plan, (c) Kaleiçi after the fire of 1905. The gates to the intra muros city appear in plan (a) and are the following: (1) Kule Kapisi; (2) Orta Kapi; (3) Balık Pazar Kapi; (4) Tavuk Kapisi; (5) Magnas Kapisi; (6) Girme Kapi; (7) Kereçiler Kapisi; (8) Kafes Kapisi; (9) Top Kapisi

survived despite successive reconstructions required by frequent calamities -floods, earthquakes, fires- as well as by the use of poor and precarious materials. Naturally the grid was distorted here and there and it is rather difficult to find the "360 streets, all parallel and perpendicular to the walls, and paved with flagstones according to the old system" as Evliya had noted. As the centuries passed, the old regular shapes were gradually transformed, some of the streets were closed down in order to form more secluded quarters for safety reasons, while new ones were opened cutting down the once larger blocks²³. Still, the Roman *insulae* 130-150 m. long and 50-70 m. wide can be easily traced on the Osmont plan, if we attempt to reconstruct the antique street pattern. Four main streets run from east to west and divide the city into 5 zones, while a great number of minor streets are perpendicular to them.

Some of the most spacious blocks were gathered on the borders of the central street, 400 meters to the west of the Balik pazar gate. We may suppose that this is where the antique civic centre lay, but the lack of archeological evidence does not allow further assumptions. No trace of a central square within the fortress appears in the 1854 plan. Although the walled city was occupied by non-Moslem communities, Moslems must have lived in Kaleiçi sometime earlier than the 18th century, because Turkish names of mahalle (quarters) were still remembered at that time. Also the ruins of old churches converted into mosques show that the place had once been inhabited by Moslems²⁴.

The Greeks were the most populous group. They occupied all the neighbourhoods to the north of the central street and also those laying against the western wall. They had nine churches in service (eight of them appear in the Osmont plan: nos 3,4,7,9,10,13, 14, 31). Five more had perished in a fire in 1694 and had never been rebuilt; two of them laying in the Jewish quarter and being gradually encroached by its inhabitants, offered a subject of continuous dispute between the two communities. Another five churches were converted into mosques, among them the Leblebidji Djami, the Eski Kazandjilar Djami and the Kilisse Djami (Nos 27, 28, 29) almost in ruins in the middle of the 19th century. The Othodox Metropolis lay on a hill near the wall at the Koule Kapoussu (no 3). The antique church building collapsed after a heavy snow storm in 1658 and was immediately rebuilt, while interior paintings were completed in 1678. A beautiful Archbishopric and spacious school buildings were erected in the vicinity between 1818 and 1846 and formed a social centre for the Greeks. In a chapel near the Metamorfossis church (Christos no 13), the community had a "madhouse", which offered a "miserable sight". A big church, second only to the Cathedral and dedicated to St George, lay outside the western wall of Kaleiçi (no 105) where also a great number of Greeks lived²⁵. Three more churches were found in Kiyik, Yildirim and Kirishane (Twelve Apostles built in 1833, no 81); in Yildirim there was also a Greek hospital (no 127) built in the 1850s:

The Greek quarter in Kaleiçi was guarded by nightwatchers hired by the community, who patrolled till dawn, hitting the pavement with a stick to remind the inhabitants of their presence. The houses were wooden buildings, one or mostly two-stories high; after Tanzimat, they were owned by their occupants²⁶. Greeks flourished under Abdul Hamit, as well as Jews; on the contrary rich Armenians were impoverished, as they became involved in unfortunate business affairs.

23. For a comparison with other cities in the Empire, see P. Pinon, "Les tissus urbains Ottomans entre Orient et Occident" *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Empire*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten, 1989, p. 22.

24. Cf. Sarafoglou (1929), op. cit.

25. According to a religious register of the 18th century, there were 3275 Greek houses in Adrianople. Cf. Sarafoglou (1929), op. cit.

26. Axiotis (1913), op. cit.

The Jewish quarter was located in the southeastern corner of the Kalcıci. Its thirteen synagogues²⁷ were discreetly placed in the interior of close-knit residential blocks, which formed the denser part of the city. Eleven synagogues appear in the Osmont plan (nos 15-26 and 43). The quarter was surrounded by a wooden fence, therefore called Tahtakale, within which the community had a strict control over its members.

The Jewish quarter was destroyed almost completely by a fire in 1846. The Jews were obliged to move into different neighbourhoods in the city and suburbs, "even in the Turkish quarters". Community ties were loosened, which proved to have "a disastrous moral impact" upon individuals. "Some of them went so far as to buy houses among Moslems, which is strictly forbidden to Christians". By 1858, almost all synagogues had been reconstructed²⁸.

Armenians lived between Greeks and Jews and their church lay on the main street (no 42). They also had a small church outside the fortress, in the northeastern quarter called At Pazar.

There is no information about a separate European quarter. The catholic church (no 12), shared by European subjects and Catholic Armenians, lay to the north of the main street in the Greek quarters, not far from the French consulate by the Koule Kapoussou (no 44). With the arrival of the railway technicians, a small European quarter was formed in Karagatch.

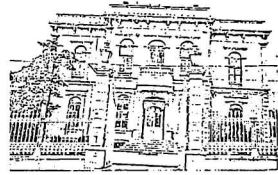
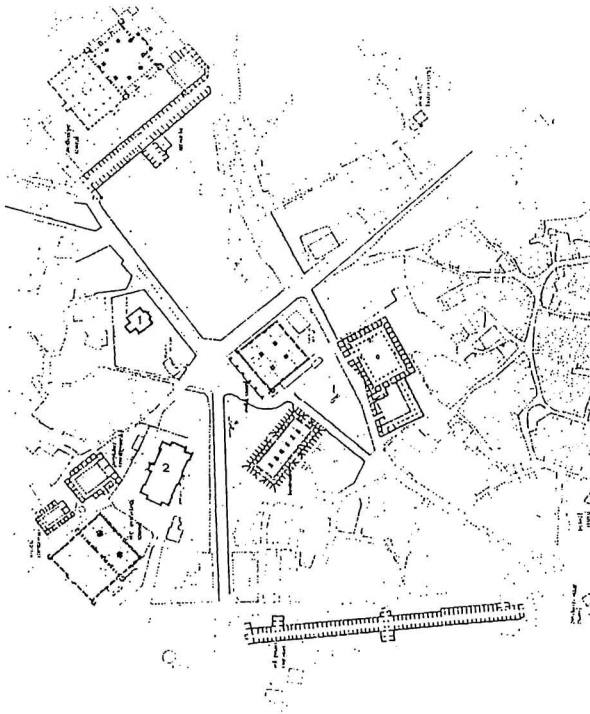
After Tanzimat and especially in the 1870s, all communities were active in adopting more open and relaxed lifestyles towards other religious groups. Restaurants and cafés, modern shops, clubs and cultural associations were established in new types of buildings. A great number of schools were constructed between 1842 and 1853²⁹. There was a common desire shared by all groups to introduce European attitudes and establish some kind of cultural integration. For instance in 1868, a European Club was created, on the initiative of the Russian and Greek consuls. All citizens were invited to become members, as long as they were willing to pay an annual fee of 150 piastres. The Greek newspaper *Neologos*, which published the information, praised the novelty "as a marvelous idea promoting the brotherhood of all people in the Orient"³⁰.

27. In addition to the synagogues listed by Osmont, Turkish historian Peremeci records Kuçuk Portugal, Italia and Istanbul, and ignores Roumagna, cf. O.N. Peremeci, *Edirne Tahiri*. Resimli Ay M. Istanbul, 1940. Jews originally established in the Balkans in the first or the second century were called Romagnotes or Gregos. Franco (1897), op. cit., p. 22-23, 29-30

28. Foivos (1858), op. cit.

29. Foivos included a list of schools in his report: In Kalcıci there were five greek schools with 410 boys and 180 girls, one Bulgarian with 70 boys (no 2 in Osmont plan), two Armenian schools, and religious schools in the Synagogues. There were also many private grammar schools in houses. In the rest of the city he noted some private grammar schools and three Greek schools: one in Kirishane with 140 students, another in Kiyik with 130 students and a third one in Yildirim with 160-180 students.

30. *Neologos* 384/11 July 1868, Constantinople (in Greek).



Changes in the extra muros city after 1870. Streets have been regularized, buildings demolished and squares created in front of Selimiye and Eski mosques. Buildings for the Municipality (No. 1) and the General Inspection Offices (No. 2) have been erected.

The extra muros city

Outside the intra muros city, different types of urban fabric can be distinguished:

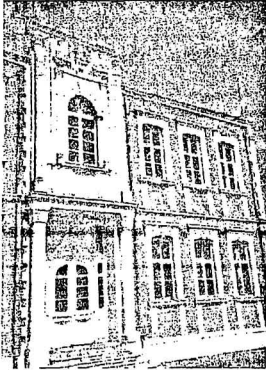
Small blocks, sometimes in regular shapes, formed the commercial quarter. The impressive monumental complexes -khans, kapans, bazaars and mosques- occupied parts of larger blocks, with the exception of the Selimiye Djami, which stood alone in a very large block³¹. Before it, lay the Yemich Kapaneu and the Arapelar Khan and more to the west, the Iki Kapoulou Khan (nos 65, 67, 70, all three demolished) in the empty square which is found today among the Eski Djami, the Bezesten and the Rustem Pacha Khan. On this same axis, some 'modern' buildings were erected after the 1880s: the Town Hall (Belediye), government offices, general inspection building, all in an eclectic architecture.

The rest of Kaledisi was formed by residential quarters with narrow tortuous streets and large lots, that climbed gently on the slopes of hills and were arranged in an informal pattern (see plan on page 92).

Kiyik had a regular urban fabric, which had perhaps developed from an initially organized settlement. Kirishane had some regular blocks too, along the route to Callipoli. The urban fabric in Yildirim, where a majority of Greeks lived, seemed to have evolved from a rural settlement.

31. See the interesting information included in the article by B. Cinici, "The urban arrangement of Selimiye Mosque at Edirne" *Environmental Design* no. 1-2/1987.

The replanning of the intra muros city in 1905



Greek school in Kiyik

If we compare the Osmont plan of 1854 to the Selami plan of 1885, there seems to be very little change over the thirty years that separate them. Only Karagatch by the railroad station had grown. A much more important change was recorded in August 1905, when a fire destroyed the greatest part of Kaleiçi³². Dilâver bey, Adrianople's mayor in 1905, was in charge of the reconstruction. A new plan for the devastated area was prepared by the municipal authorities according to the planning regulation of 1891. In case of fires, land consolidation measures, which was an avant-garde instrument of planning legislation, had been adopted since 1882³³. They allowed large areas to be entirely redesigned after fires, so that new street patterns could be adopted. Old shapes of blocks and individual plots could be ignored and public space could expand up to 25% at the expense of private building land. New plans imposed regular square blocks and rectilinear building lines. In the case of Kaleiçi, we might think of a historic reconstruction of the roman plan!...

An interesting feature of the 1905 plan is that blocks were much smaller compared to the ones before the fire. A possible explanation is that land property was extremely fragmented and, as new regulations did not allow parcels to be placed in the interior of the block, a great number of blocks and subsequent new streets had to be created to accommodate all owners³⁴.

In 1909 "the central town contained 15000 houses, most of which were of two stories, built of wood and sun-dried bricks, few stone or brick houses except public buildings, some schools, a Greek college, a bank, a fire tower, a theatre, barracks, hospitals (the military hospital has 1000 beds!), government and military offices. The streets were mostly narrow and badly paved, only a few had been lately improved. The principal streets in the main town, in the suburb of Karaagatch and the station road were lighted by petroleum lamps. The Kale quarter, rebuilt since 1905 when it burned down, had comparatively broad streets"³⁵. If Thessaloniki was praised by Djavit pasha, minister of Finance, that same year as "the most europeanized city of the Empire", Adrianople remained a traditional oriental city.

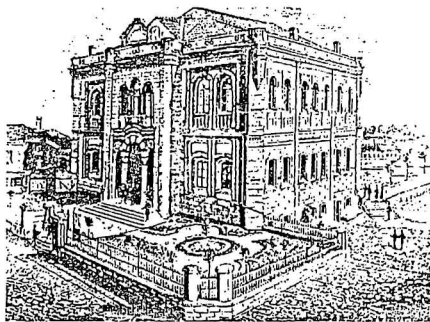
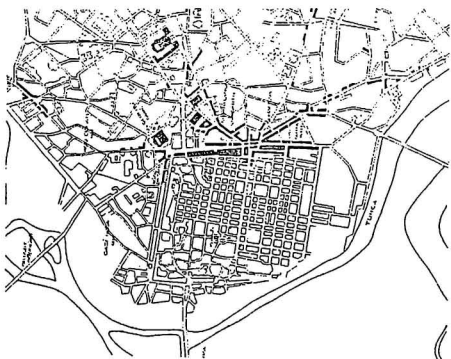
More difficult times were still to come between 1912 and 1922, after the Balkan wars and the war between Greece and Turkey. The Jews left the city, the rich ones to Istanbul, the poor ones to Palestine. New frontier lines were traced four kilometers west of Adrianople and an obligatory exchange of populations was decided. The few remaining Greeks fled out in search of new homes in national territory. Somewhere in the road they might have crossed the Turks leaving the Macedonian cities, Thessaloniki, Serres, Cavala. For some of them, without their knowing, there might have been a mutual exchange of homes. The colourful polyethnic cities in the area would continue to live with new homogenous populations.

32. According to greek newspapers, thousands of houses perished in the fire.

33. A. Yerolympos, "Ottoman city planning in the Tanzimat era" *Scientific Annals of the School of Architecture*, vol. 12, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1990 (in Greek).

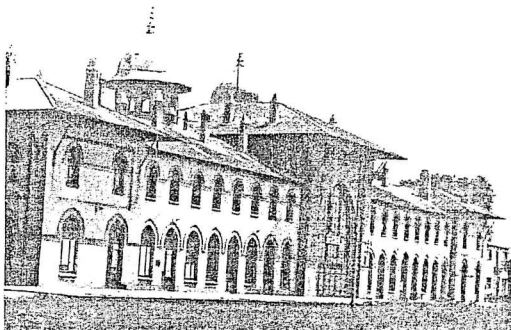
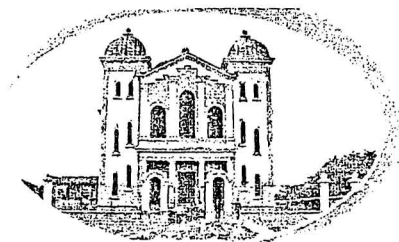
34. In his article "Edirne Kent Planı'nin geçirdiği evreler kısa bir bakış" *Mimarlık* (1990) 2, p. 64-67, Oral Onur refers to a plan of 1912, kept in the municipal archives of Edirne and depicting the structure of the city after the reconstruction of Kaleiçi.

35. *Handbook of Macedonia...* (1920), op. cit.



Souvenir d'Andrinople.

Asie Mineure.



*Kaleiçi after the fire of 1905 (Özdes 1954)
Greek high school of Adrianople built in 1880
The fire of 1905
A synagogue
Railroad station in Karagatch*



Thessaloniki after the fire of 1917

V.

The replanning of Thessaloniki after the fire of 1917 and the beginnings of modern town planning in Greece

The era's greater challenge is the possibility of constructive social engineering¹

Modern town planning, as a convergence between reformist thought and theories about the control of urban space, appeared in Greece almost simultaneously with its first inclusion in operational planning in the West, in the early 20th century. Thanks to a series of coincidences, it did not simply supply informed politicians or enlightened technocrats with rhetoric, but was actually implemented as part of a general modernizing effort which extended across all the sectors of state activity, setting itself the objectives of economic development of the city and social wellbeing.

In its effort for comprehensiveness and efficiency, town planning as formed in the beginning of the century, undertook the task of defining in advance the exact form which the city should take, seeking in the 'utopia of form' a way of recovering human totality through an ideal synthesis; a way of embracing disorder through order². This order would not necessarily be geometrical, but it would be primarily organic and rational. It is clear that the search for social harmony continued to be more or less latent in the continuous striving towards optimal functionality, towards aesthetic *eurytmia* and *eutaxia* (good rhythm and order, in Greek). As a result, the town planners' tool par excellence was the master plan for the entire city, representing in detail the desirable form for all parts of the city, whether already existing or to be created in the future. It was in the type of this plan, which emerged historically as a genuine product of Utopianism and its desire to depict an ideal society in plans of urban forms, that town planning encountered once more the tradition which had given it birth.

1. John Dewey is referring to the period 1900-1919, which has been called 'the progressive era' and during which human progress was identified with a world of 'social justice and welfare'. See J. Dewey, *Characters and Events* (J. Ratner, ed.) Henry Holt, New York 1919.

2. M. Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia. Design and Capitalist Development*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England 1978, p. 48.

Modern Thessaloniki, in spite of its anarchical, unplanned growth since the War, still continues to draw the constituent elements of its design from the city plan which was worked out after the Great Fire of 1917. This plan, known as the Hébrard plan, represented a radical intervention in the city's historical evolution process, imposing entirely new spatial patterns in the urban fabric.

The Greek government's determination to grasp the opportunity offered by the fire and go ahead with modernizing the city's traditional core seems at first sight easy to understand. Yet the critical juncture at which the replanning was carried out, as well as the precise way it was done, are two aspects that give rise to justifiable questions as to the reasons behind the state intervention. The city owes its present-day form to the Liberal government's adoption of the Hébrard plan; yet the considerations that prompted this step have not been openly debated.

In the following pages an attempt is made to explore the historical context within which the planning scheme was decided upon and carried through, as also the consequences it had on the city's socio-economic and physical structure.

Thessaloniki before 1917

Thessaloniki was founded by Cassander in 316 B.C. According to the tradition in Strabo "*...king Cassander named the city after his own wife Thessaloniki, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas, after dismantling the small towns in Crousis and in the Thermaic Gulf, about 26 in number, and bringing them together in a single joint settlement*"³.

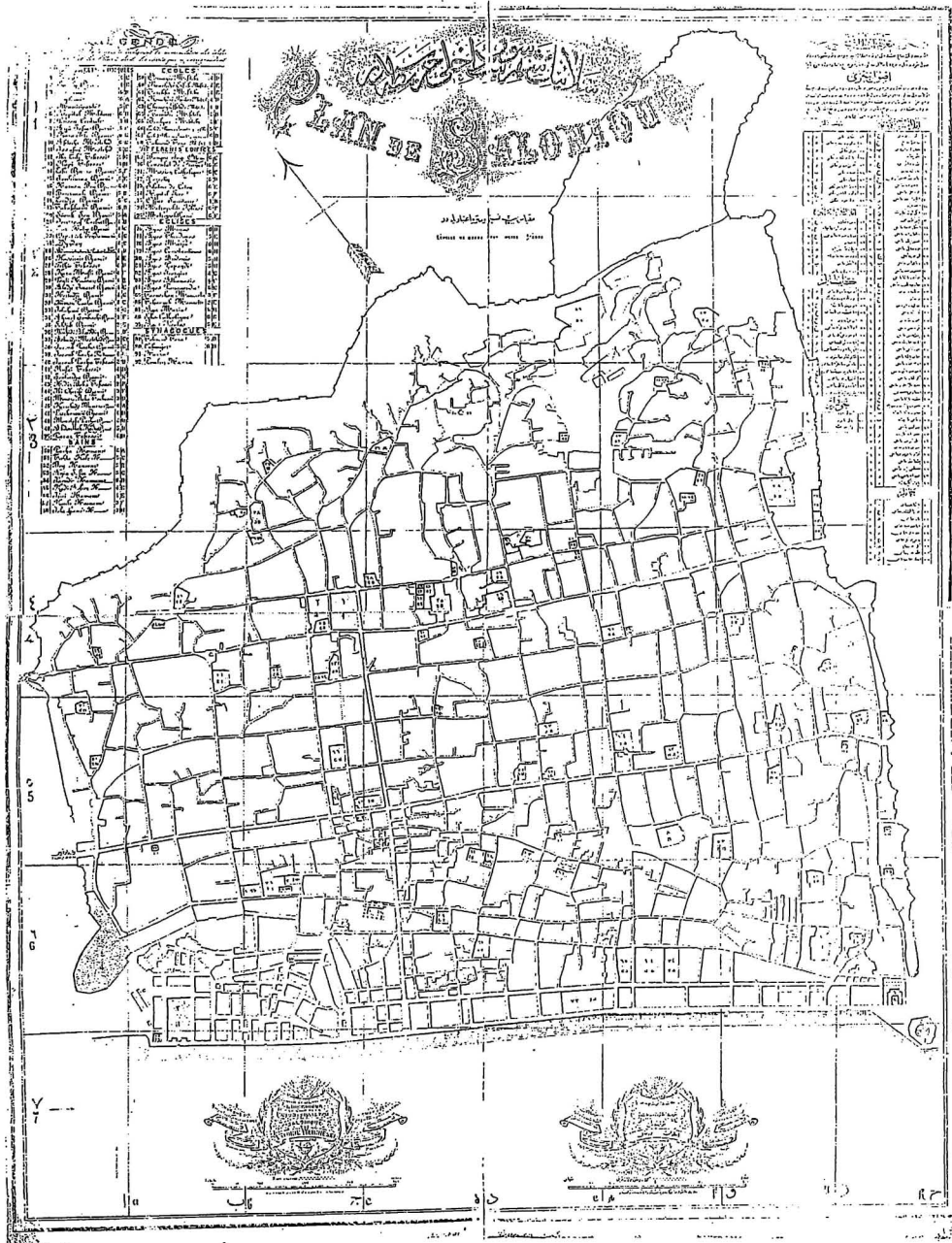
The fourth century B.C. is regarded as marking the beginning of the Hellenistic Age. Following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the penetration of Hellenism into the far distant lands of the East gave great impetus in the development of the ancient world. Existing cities flourished and new urban centers were founded, Antioch and Alexandria being probably the most distinguished. In the Macedonian State the conquests eastwards, and also northwards, created an extended and wealthy hinterland in search of a regular natural outlet to the sea, with easy and safe communication with the interior of the Balkan peninsula.

The splendid geographic location of Thessaloniki, between the coasts of the Thermaic Gulf and the gentle slopes of mountain Chortiatis, the Kissus of the ancients, most suitably unites the hinterland to the sea and facilitates commerce and communications. Built as an amphitheatre, the city quickly attracted inhabitants and became the centre of Macedonian commerce⁴.

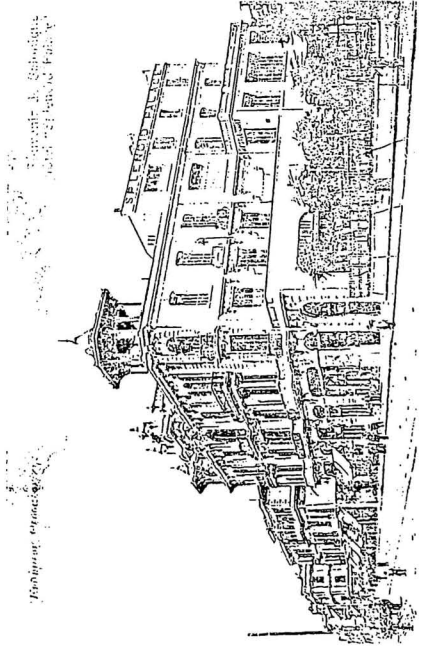
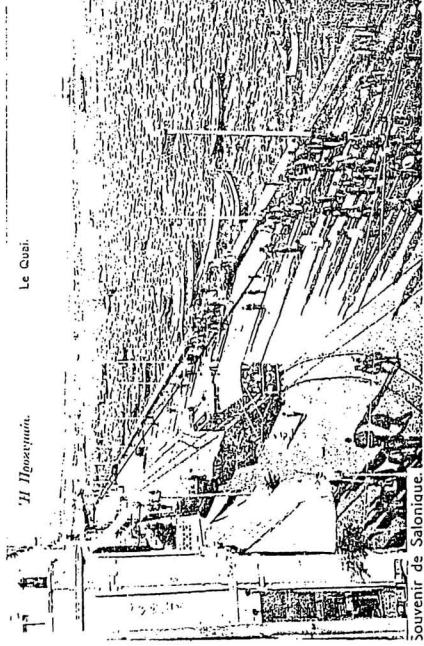
Thessaloniki is perhaps the only coastal city of contemporary Greece that has never lost its commercial importance since its formation and until

3. The accuracy of some points in Strabo's relation is argued by A. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*. Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1972.

4. Remnants of the Hellenistic enclosure are still visible today at various points of the existing walls. G. Velenis, "Thessaloniki. A History of Urban Development" *University Journal*, 10 (1985) Thessaloniki (in Greek).

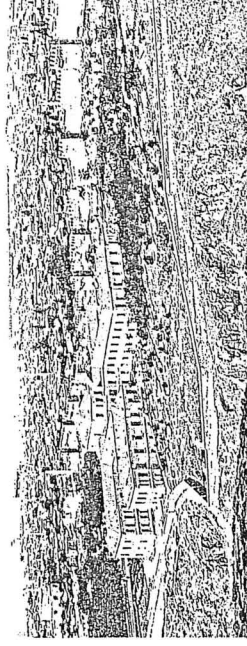


Thessaloniki in 1880 by the municipal engineer A. Wernieski



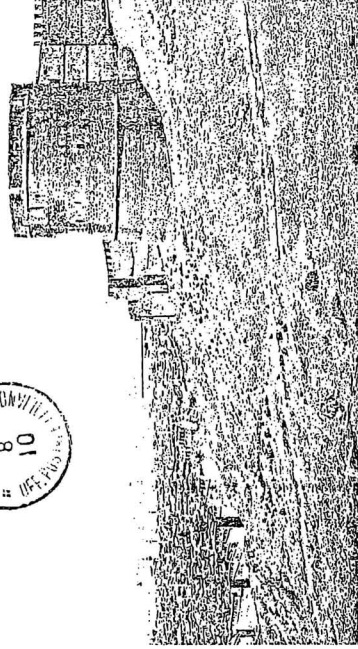
سوق المدينة

Vue Générale de la Ville.

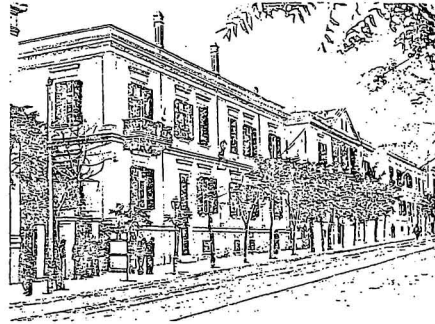
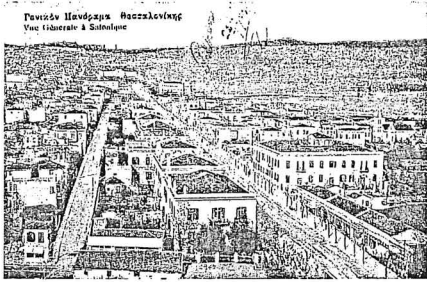


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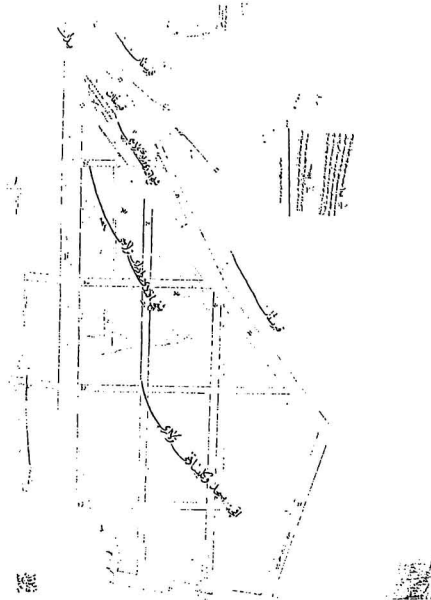
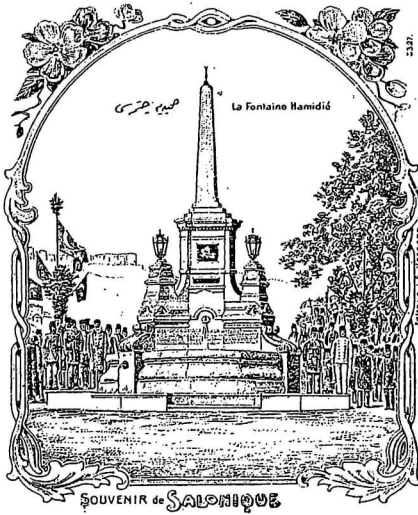
La Forteresse de Vella-Kouti.

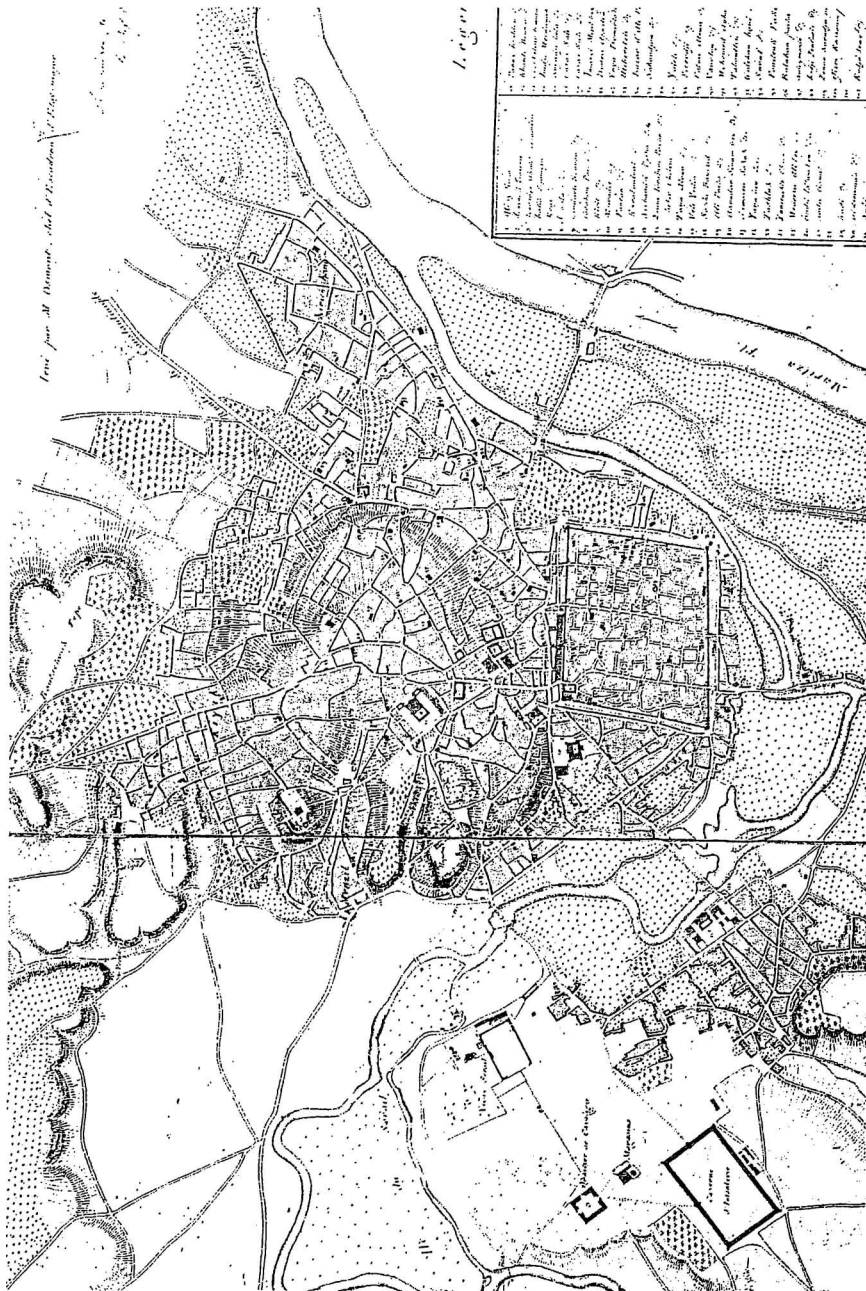


Thessaloniki: East wall and quays, circa 1900

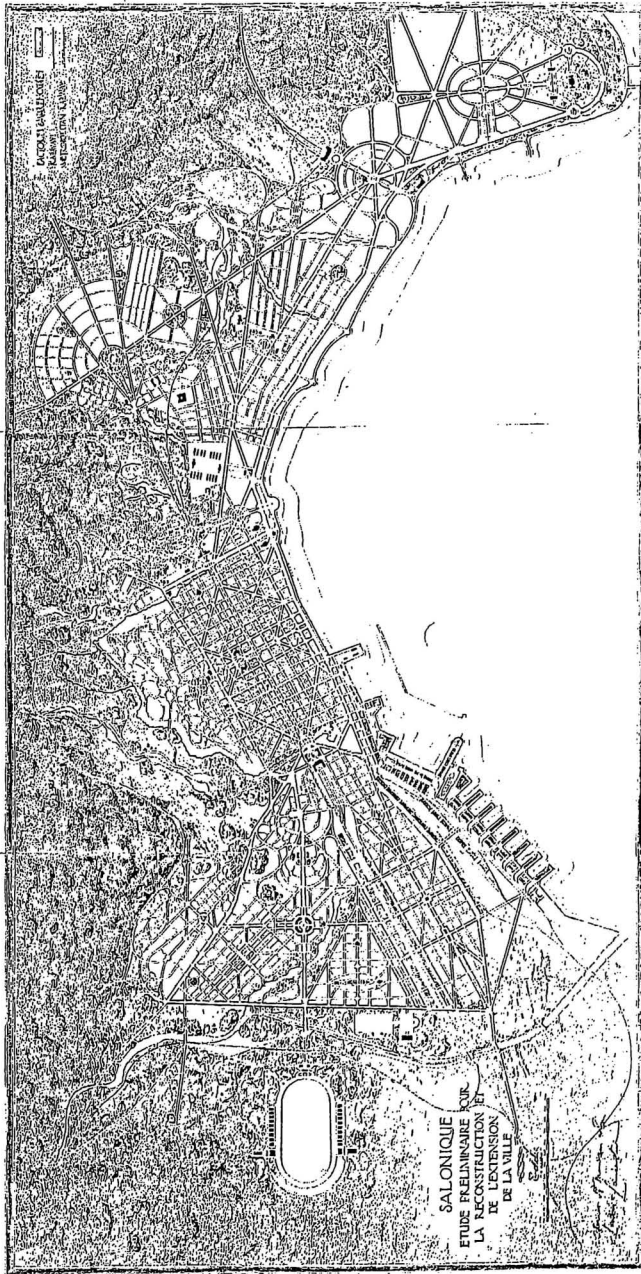


The first plan for the expansion of Thessaloniki and views of the Hamidiye Boulevard, 1879-1889

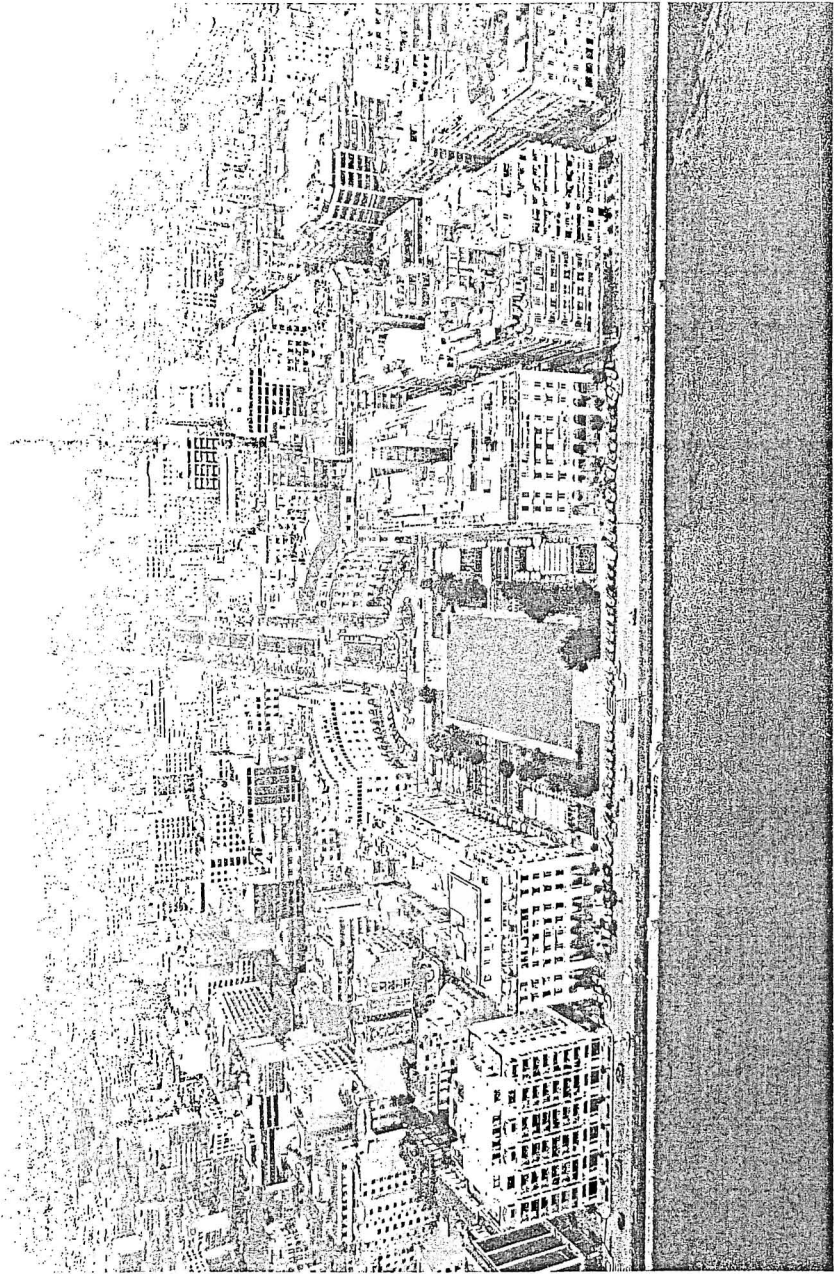




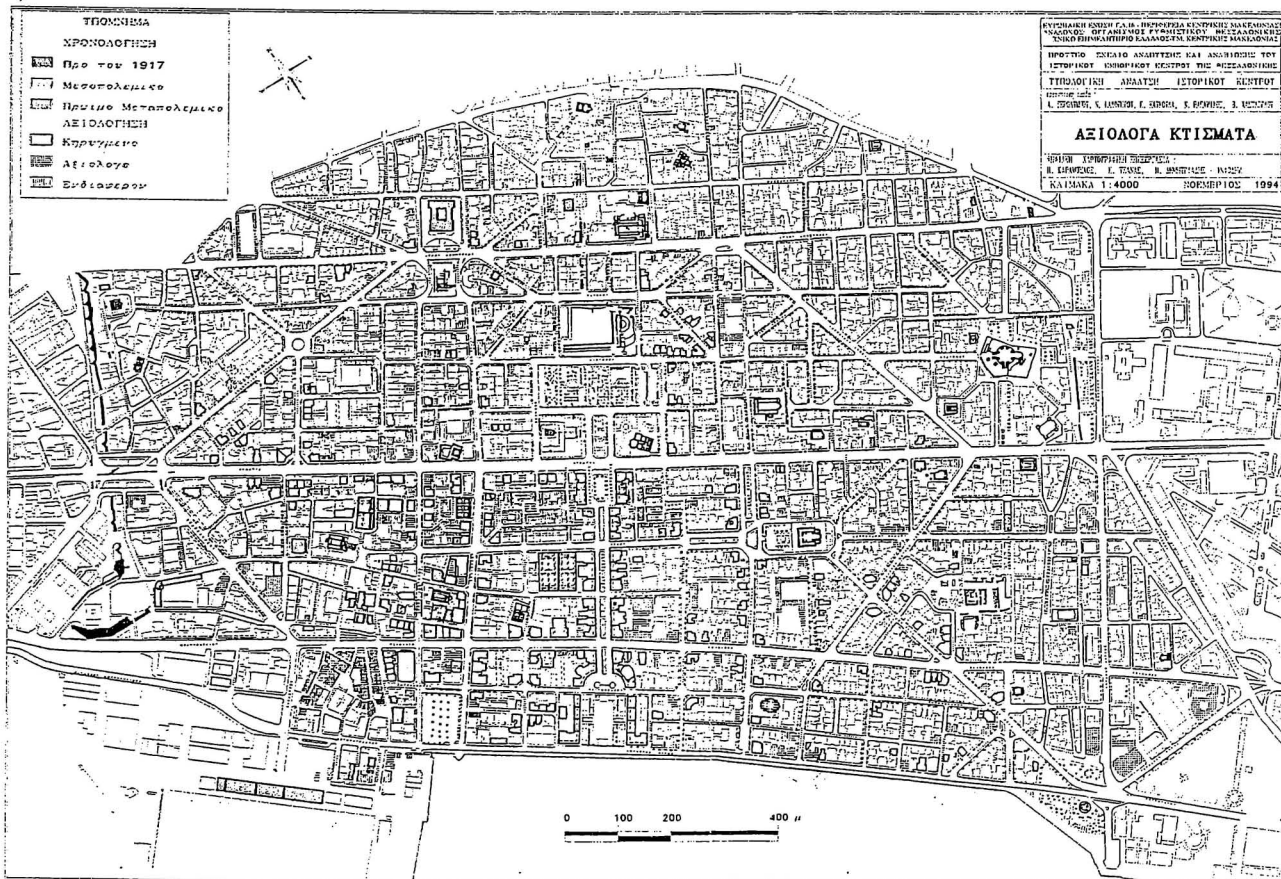
Adrianople 1834, plan by colonel Osmont



Master plan of Thessaloniki by Thomas Mawson, 1918



Aristotle Square, 1994



Buildings of the historical centre of Thessaloniki classified according to age and aesthetic assessment. Red: before 1917, olive: interwar, green: early post war



Plan of Thessaloniki after 1890, showing persistence of Hellenistic and Roman street patterns. Via Egnatia is marked A

today. A great city, with a ring of walls crowned by a spacious acropolis, Thessaloniki became, under Roman sovereignty (168 B.C.) the capital of an autonomous district -*regio*- and later (146 B.C.) of a Roman province. Named a 'free city', it preserved its ancient political organisation and the right to mint coinage.

By this period the street plan of the city, of the major roads at least, had already been definitively laid out and its traces may be looked for in the contemporary street plan⁵. It appears that Via Egnatia for example - named the 'Boulevard' by the Byzantines and the 'Broad' street by the Turks- its parallel to the north, and also the road running at right angles to the two of them -which links the harbor to the government building- were the principal arteries of the ancient city. In these few streets one can detect the customary regularity of the hellenistic city-plan⁶. Moreover, other minor roads of the historic centre are also the same roads of the Byzantine or perhaps even of the ancient city. Named capital of Illyrikon and seat of Caesar Galerius during the fourth century, Thessaloniki was adorned with important civic buildings and spaces: the Forum, the Rotunda, the Arch of Galerius, the Royal Palace. Constantine the Great built an artificial harbor (324 A.D.) and Theodosius commissioned his Persian general Hormisdas to build the powerful city walls, which are preserved until today⁷.

Having played an important role in the Eastern Empire, Thessaloniki's space has been marked by ten centuries of Byzantine architecture and urbanism. Its golden age though appears to be the 14th century, when in spite of the decline of the Byzantine Empire, the city emerged as a major intellectual and artistic centre⁸. In 1423 Thessaloniki surrendered to the Venitians and in 1430 to the Turks.

5. H. von Schoenbeck, "Die Stadtplanung des Römischen Thessalonike" in *Bericht über den VII Internationalen Kongress für Archæologie*, Berlin 1939. Also M. Vickets, "Towards Reconstruction of the Town Planning of Roman Thessaloniki", *Symposium on Ancient Macedonia*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1970.

6. Vacalopoulos (1972) *op. cit.*; P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'Urbanisme. L'Antiquité*. Paris: Ed. Henri Laurens, 1966, p. 86. L. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, London: McMillan, 1962.

7. A half-obliterated inscription in brickwork on the eastern wall near the Municipal Hospital commemorates these great works of fortifications: "Hormisdas has surrounded this city with unbreachable walls".

8. O. Tafrahi, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris: Geuthner, 1913, and O. Tafrahi, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle*, Paris: Geuthner, 1913. Ch. Diehl, M. Le Tourneau, H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique*. Paris: Ed. Ernest Leroux, 1918.



Thessaloniki in 1700, by Dapper

Thessaloniki lived under Ottoman rule for almost five centuries. Abandoned by the population at first, it soon recovered, and was colonized by Jewish fugitives from Spain. By the middle of the 17th century it was again a densely populated city⁹. Mosques and synagogues, Dervish monasteries, turkish baths and caravanserais were added in an urban fabric that was gradually losing Byzantine characteristics¹⁰. In the beginning of the 18th century the city had regained its importance as a major crossroad of the Balkans and it had reassumed its commercial activities¹¹.

In the early 1800s the Mullah Hairullah thus described to the Sultan his first impressions upon his entry into Thessaloniki: *"But, my God, what my surprise when, after crossing through the gate of Vardar, I found myself in the great boulevard which unites the East to the West! (the Egnatia). Your Majesty can be proud that Thessaloniki is included amid all the vast numbers of cities which he possesses. What is one to admire first? Her markets (çarsi) or the excellent hill of Tschaous Manastir (the monastery of Vlatades) that resembles paradise? And what of Yedi Kule? And Kanli Kule? And Top Hane? People say that the greatness of a city and its power depend on the number of mosques it has. If this is true, and certainly it is a wise truism, then Thessaloniki is one of the most powerful cities under You, if not the most powerful... (in it) there are upwards of seventy mosques, amongst them the famous Burmalı mosque; not to mention the resplendent buildings which were in the first place churches erected by the infidels..."*¹².

9. 33,060 houses were counted according to the bulletin of the City Commissioner (Schir Emini). Vacalopoulos (1972), op. cit., p.81.

10. "When in the ancient times this city was built, all her streets and neighborhoods were designed as a chess-board, two and three thousand paces long, all paved with stone" Relation of Evliya Celebi, Turkish traveller of the 17th century.

11. France and England established consulates in 1685 and in 1718.

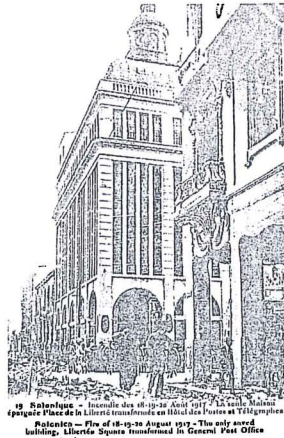
12. Vacalopoulos (1978), op.cit., p.104,105.

This curious marriage between continuity and change, this restless turmoil of Hellenistic, Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Ottoman and Jewish cultures and influences would last until the beginning of the 20th century. At that particular time, as the Ottoman Empire was disintegrating and the new Balkan States were being formulated, Thessaloniki's geographical and commercial importance would attract all belligerent neighboring states which sought to possess it during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913¹³. The city was finally integrated in the neo-Hellenic State at the end of the first Balkan War in 1912¹⁴.

The fire of 1917

Since its conquest by the Turks in the 15th century, Thessaloniki had often suffered bad fires involving many victims and extensive damage. Each time it was quickly rebuilt by the populace on the same ground plan as before. This was most probably an unsupervised process, the chief concern of the inhabitants being simply to see themselves surrounded by the old familiar patterns once again. By the end of the 19th century, it is true, some changes had started to appear. In the course of the Ottoman Empire's modernization effort (the Tanzimat period of political reform opened in the 1850s) the wish to facilitate European capital penetration had forced the state to undertake important public works in the cities and countryside. For the first time after many centuries of public non-interference

Main streets after the fire



13. P. Risal, *La ville convoitée*. Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1918.

14. It is interesting to note a few figures concerning the size and population of the city: Thessaloniki's intra-muros surface has remained approximately 300 hectares, from the early centuries until the end of the 19th century! The population figures oscillate from 200 000 in the 10th century to 65000 in the 17th century and 132000 in 1910. The first official Greek census of 1913 indicates 158 000 inhabitants (40000 Greeks, 61000 Jews, 46000 Turks, 6000 Bulgarians and 5000 of others). Still the composition of population changed dramatically the years following the city's integration in Greece. The Bulgarians left almost immediately after; the Turks were obliged to leave in 1923, according to the terms of the Exchange of Populations Treaty, by which 100000 Greek refugees from Turkey established themselves in Thessaloniki. The Jews stayed and flourished until 1943, when all but 1500 were exterminated in concentration camps. Between 1920 and 1981 the city population changed as follows:

| | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1920: 170,000 | 1961: 380,000 |
| 1928: 250,000 | 1971: 557,000 |
| 1940: 276,000 | 1981: 705,000 |
| 1951: 301,000 | 1991: 748,000 |

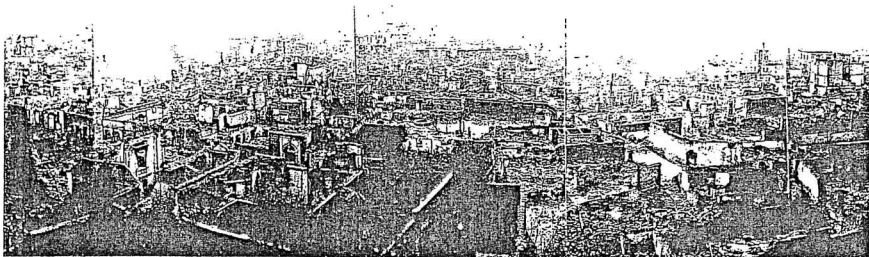
in the making of urban space, an effort had been made to organize railroad communications and city-transport, to modernize port facilities, to construct or to renovate public buildings (civic and administration buildings, schools and hospitals), and to enforce rudimentary planning regulations. In Thessaloniki advantage had been taken of the frequent fires to modify the city layout to some extent, by pulling down the sea walls (as we already mentioned in Chapter III), permitting the extension of the city outside the walls, opening up certain roads or building new ones, and squaring off and otherwise regularizing the odd-shaped building plots formed over the centuries. Yet the city had embarked on its own remodelling slowly and reluctantly, its underlying, essentially medieval framework remained unaffected, as also did its special social characteristics. It was a multilingual, multireligious, "multiple et bigarrée" society¹⁵, organized into separate neighborhoods and quarters, with close-knit, ethnic-religious Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities¹⁶. As a city it was both oriental and European. New forms of social stratification which were now occurring, tended to gravitate outside the walls, while the city's ancient centre retained its inherited social structure formed centuries before.

On the afternoon of 5 August 1917 the most devastating fire which Thessaloniki has ever known broke out on the north-western edge of the city. Many factors contributed to the rapid spread of the inferno: heat and drought, the north-west Vardar wind which was blowing, the shortage of water and the lack of organized fire-fighting services, the presence of ammunition dumps in the city, and the narrow streets with their old houses built of cheap, inflammable materials. By the time the fire finally went out the following evening, the city presented a dreadful picture. All central areas, including the busy commercial sector, had been totally destroyed. Heaps of smoking rubble were all that were left of large modern shops and traditional bazaars, hotels, banks and warehouses, the post and telegraph offices, the city hall, the water and gas boards, European consulates, three important byzantine churches, ten mosques, sixteen synagogues, the Chief Rabbi's residence, denominational, foreign and other private schools, newspaper offices and the homes of 70.000 people. A zone of 128 hectares had ceased to exist¹⁷.

15. Risal (1918), op. cit.

16. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, London: Collins, 1972, p. 809. Also V. Dimitriadis, *Topography of Thessaloniki under the Turkish Occupation 1430-1912*. Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1983 (in Greek) and J. Nchama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique, t.VI, VII*, Thessalonique: Communauté Israélite de Thessalonique, 1978.

17. Accounts of the fire in english language are included in the works by: Th. Mawson, *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect*, London: Richards, 1927, A. Palmer, *The Gardeners of Salonica*, London: Andre Deutsch, 1966, and W.T. Wood, A.J. Mann, *The Salonica Front*, London, 1920.





Thessaloniki in 1850, early 1900 and after 1917

The fire of 1917 forced Thessaloniki to make a clean break with the long centuries of its historic growth and evolution. The extent of the devastation was partly what made this inevitable; but the principle cause of such a deep structural change was the Liberal government's vital decision not to let Thessaloniki be rebuilt on the same lines as before. This meant the complete overthrow of the old land ownership system and of existing patterns for the occupation and use of space.

So before we examine the city plan itself and its relation to the modern city, we should consider the significance of this decision, as also of the way it was carried out.

Devastated districts



The decision to replan the city

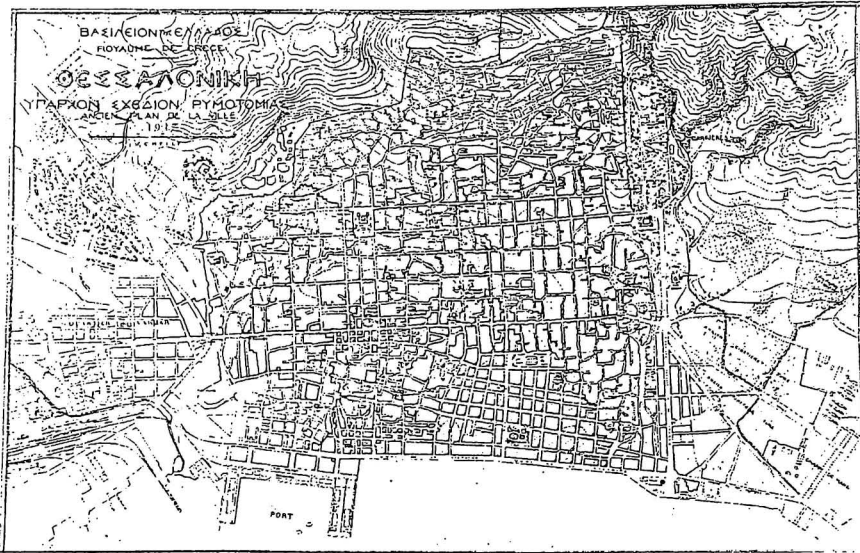
18. As stated in the first chapter, during the Ottoman occupation and especially after the end of the 18th century, the conflict between productive forces and relations of production had been integrated within ethnic differences. All modernization attempts by the empire were taken by Turkish population as giving away privileges to non-Moslems. In the 19th century, when national liberation movements grew and resulted in the formation of the new Balkan states, ethnic differences within the remaining parts of the Empire acquired a distinct importance, subordinating the social conflicts, which were mainly interpreted as conflicts among coherent ethnic groups, or between ethnic groups and the Empire.

The traditional city patterns, as described in the first chapter, had been an additional factor that had not permitted class differentiation.

In 1917 Thessaloniki had only been a Greek city for five years, and still reflected socio-economic features inherited from former times. Now the fire swept away for good all the memories engrained in its fabric, along with many features of an ancient lifestyle which inertia or necessity had caused to survive. The new, European character henceforth to be conferred on the city required that the inhabitants should be detached from their traditional environment and induced to realize their full economic capacity under competitive conditions. Reconstruction and the procedures adopted over the ten years it took for the city to become fully operational again, speeded up the process of formation of new social strata and brought in surface latent tendencies¹⁸.

Needless to say, there is nothing to show that changes of this nature would not have taken place without the fire. Important, nationally formative events during this period, both before and after the fire, include: the incorporation of Thessaloniki in the Greek state only five years earlier (1912); the Goudi putsch, which highlighted the infant Greek capitalism's overriding need of modernization (1910); and the stabilization of the Greek frontiers and population make-up which was achieved soon after

Thessaloniki in 1917. The hatching indicates the devastated area



(1922). Thessaloniki would certainly have had an important role to play in all these events in any case, regardless of the fire, and would have undergone the gradual socio-economic adjustments required in order to do so.

Yet the fire blew away all the obstacles to change that an ossified, centuries-old urban structure could present, and thus speeded up the city's adaptation to its future role as part of the modern Greek state.

But the decision to replan Thessaloniki presents an additional interest; the political will which inspired it and the story of the new plan's implementation are also worth examining.

As discussed in Chapter II, Greek city planning up to 1917 could boast many instances of towns designed or replanned from their foundations. Such plans were drawn up to solve specific problems posed by important extensions (for example Athens' designation as capital of Greece in 1834, rapid growth of Hermoupolis in 1837); or to facilitate total reconstruction after natural disasters such as earthquakes and fires (such as Corinth in 1859, Thebes in 1861, Carditsa and Larissa in 1881); or after war damage (for example Sparta and Patras in 1829, Serres and towns in Eastern Macedonia in 1918); or large scale migrations (such as Eretria and Piraeus in 1830-1850). In all cases the newly liberated state aspired to renovate the settlements, reestablish historical links to Western culture and Classical and Byzantine tradition and rid itself of all traces of foreign rule. (This is perhaps the most solid explanation to the fact that planning procedures have always been more or less controlled by the central government). Still the social and economic conditions not permitting more sophisticated practices, state intervention could not go beyond tracing the new form of the urban space and it was simply aimed at helping the inhabitants to settle and resume their economic activities as quickly as possible. The state acted as arbitrator among individuals (to protect private interests) and between the privates and the community (to ensure that certain rudimentary communal needs, such as the plotting of a road network, were met).

In the case of Thessaloniki, state intervention took on quite a different character¹⁹. Reconstruction was planned with goals that far exceeded and even to some extent ruled out the simple objective of swift completion. Thessaloniki was credited with a metropolitan role²⁰, foreign experts and city planners were called in, and the attempt was made to mobilize the city's full economic capacity. The planning scheme was designed, publicized and carried out as if it was a business enterprise. For the first time in Greece the game of motivating land speculation was played out from start to finish consciously and successfully, by the state as its sole originator. The scheme also permitted theories to be officially elaborated concerning such matters as the social character of town planning, the appropriation by the community of the supervalued land created by the planning scheme itself, and the role of the state in the organization of space.

At the same time, the scheme's social consequences were highly significant, and the question arises of how far they were deliberately intended. The cosmopolitan Balkan city²¹ which had slowly been taking the path of reform and acquiring the necessary European gloss had vanished for ever. There sprang up in its place an ambitious provincial city showing no continuity at all with its past (apart from the effort made to document certain parts of it, Roman and Byzantine, by giving prominence to selected historical buildings, though now totally divorced from their former functions).

19. The reform of 1914 had already confirmed the limited responsibilities of local authorities, transferring all planning powers to the newly-constituted Ministry of Communications.

20. In spite of the existence of new national frontiers that divided the traditional hinterland of Thessaloniki, the government realized that the city could claim its metropolitan role only if national barriers could be attenuated by the engagement of multiple relations with the neighbouring states. Thomas Mawson wrote in 1923: "*In Thessaloniki, we interpreted the ideals of Mr. Venizelos, who conceived of a restored city which should be at the same time the port, commercial and manufacturing centre for Macedonia and the regions beyond, and its intellectual and social centre...*" Th. Mawson, "The Art and Craft of Landscape Architecture and its Relation to Town Planning" *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, vol.X, (November, December 1923), p. 37.

21. Braudel (1973), op. cit., p.763.

The old pattern of ethnic-religious spatial segregation vanished; and the Greek, Jewish and Muslim neighbourhoods, with the living communities that animated them, were turned into low, middle and high income group districts. The multiple nuclei of social activity were replaced by a single administrative and economic centre, which had the function of directly organizing socio-economic life and expressing the unitary authority of the state. Was this really the government's intention? Was it in fact the ulterior motive behind the political considerations which were put forward? Or was it perhaps inherent in the newly-emerging discipline of city-planning, which until then had only been testing its interventionist assumptions?

Suspicious have been voiced from time to time that the fire was caused by arson, but seem to be ill-founded²². Deliberate or not, however, there is no doubt that the fire could have done lasting damage to Thessaloniki's prestige in Macedonia, whose future as Greek territory was still at stake. On this point the Greek government stood firm, reacting strongly against suggestions by the Allies that the inhabitants should be moved to other parts of the country immediately²³. It also seems to have been aiming to achieve the unhindered exercise of its sovereign rights in the city by means of the rebuilding process. (At least that is what its insistence on a plan involving such a radical departure from all existing ownership and land use patterns would seem to imply). The most important socio-economic force in Thessaloniki, the populous Jewish community, dates its gradual decline from 1917 and considers itself the chief casualty of the fire and new plan²⁴. The total replanning of the city brought the government the following results:

- Absolute central control of the area and its economy for years to come.
- The imposing presence in the city of Greek public administration.
- The engagement of international interest thanks to the ambitiousness of the scheme²⁵.
- The attraction of investment capital to Thessaloniki from elsewhere in Greece.

In this way the rebuilding of Thessaloniki was certainly an event with far-reaching consequences, not only for the evolution of Greek city planning, but also for the development of the city as a whole. It is puzzling though that, with very few exceptions, it is widely believed that if Hébrard's original plans had been carried out, the city would have been replanned on a sound basis and the present problems avoided; but the opportunity, they say, was lost for ever.

This view contains very little truth, for four reasons. Firstly Hébrard himself agreed to alter his original plans and never considered that their eventual result would fail to express his proposals²⁶. Secondly, Thessaloniki's planning regulations were subjected to innumerable amendments years later, culminating in the 1950-1960 decade, when prevailing policy consisted of getting the maximum profit out of urban land. It is quite clear that no plan at all could have averted the results of such a policy. Thirdly, at that time city planning was at a stage of its development where it was seen as being concerned exclusively with physical space, and not with the other factors that influence it. Finally, nobody could have foreseen in 1917 that an influx of refugees a few years later would create a massive demand for land for residential use, and would oblige the State to establish them

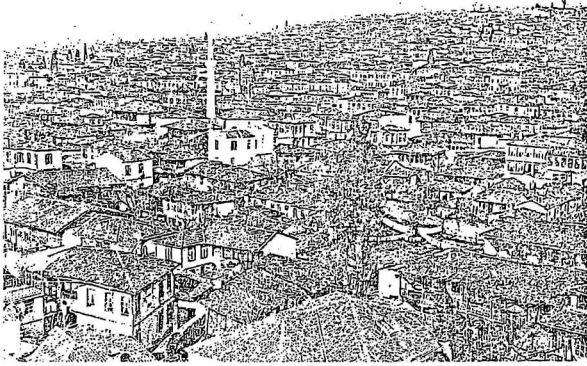
22. Research in official Greek records, French Army records in the *Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre* (Paris, Chateau de Vincennes) and in the Archives of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, also in Paris, has not provided information to support relevant suspicions.

23. J. Saïas, *Salonique en reconstruction*, Athènes: Imprimerie de l'Opinion, 1920.

24. Nchama (1978), op.cit.

25. Early publications on the replanning of Thessaloniki include: P.Lavedan, "Un problème d'urbanisme: La reconstruction de Salonique" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Septembre-Octobre, 1921; Th. Mawson, "The New Salonica" in *Balkan News*, January 29, 30, 31, 1918; J. Mawson, "The future of Salonica" in *Balkan News*, April 21, 22, 1919; J. Mawson, "The Salonica Town Planning Act" in *Town Planning Review*, December 1921; F. Wernecke, "Der Wiederaufbau von Saloniki" in *Stadtbaukunst Alter und Neuen Zeit*, Jahrgang 1/Heft2/ Berlin 1920; "The rebuilding of Salonica: A 20000000 £ scheme" in *Times Engineering Supplement*, May 1919. See also J. Ancel, *La Macédoine...* 1930.

26. According to Hébrard's private correspondence with Henri Prost (28.7.1921).



The city before the fire

on public land (ascribed to the use of parks in Hébrard's Extension Scheme); or that in our own time Thessaloniki would grow at a rate far exceeding any that could have been wished for or controlled.

There has thus been a failure to appreciate the true significance of the replanning of Thessaloniki. This is perhaps understandable when it is seen that the scheme was carried out during one of the most turbulent and tragically inconsistent periods of Greek history. During the fifteen years between 1909 and 1924 (by which time the city had started to assume its new shape), the country underwent violent socio-political upheavals. These came to a head in the years 1915-1917 which were succeeded by a brief period of relative internal political stability from 1917 to 1920, with renewed upsets in the years to follow. (Ten governments were formed between November 1920 and February 1924). At the same time the city was at the centre of important international events (i.e. the two Balkan Wars, the First World War and the radical changes brought on the political map of the Balkans, the Russian campaign, the Asia Minor campaign and disaster). Quite apart from any modernization problems, and those caused by the successive extensions of the Greek frontiers, not to mention the burden of military expenditure, Thessaloniki also had to cope with continual population movements (e.g. refugees from Russia and various parts of Macedonia and Thrace and finally the Exchange of Populations), while many towns throughout Macedonia and Thrace were virtually destroyed, together with much of the countryside. To add to all this there was now the physical and economic destruction of Thessaloniki, a flourishing city vital to Greece itself, with accompanying problems of providing shelter and other relief for 70,000 homeless.

At such a time it is remarkable that the Liberal government, under Eleftherios Venizelos, managed to decide on such a radical replanning of the city, inventing new procedures especially to fit the situation, and ignoring all former practice. It is no exaggeration to say that the replanning of Thessaloniki was the greatest planning operation ever undertaken in Greece and, as Pierre Lavedan claims *"the first great work of twentieth century european city-planning"*²⁷.

27. P. Lavedan, "L'oeuvre d'Ernest Hébrard en Grèce" in *Urbanisme*, Mai 1933, p. 159.

Preliminary steps

Within two weeks of the fire all the main questions which were to dominate the next six to ten years had already arisen and been dealt with in principle. Such major concerns were the following:

1. The provision of relief and shelter for the fire stricken.
2. The organisation and resumption of essential services (e.g. water and power supplies, public transport and communications).
3. The decision to replan the city on an entirely new basis.
4. The prohibition of new building in the burnt zone, to protect the above decision.
5. Immediate protests on the part of property owners anxious to start rebuilding.

To be more specific, the following decisions were in fact taken during the first fortnight (Law 823, published in the Government's Journal the 4th September 1917):

1. Site owners were **not** to be allowed to rebuild their old plots on their own initiative.
2. The city was to be replanned from the start on the principle of 'new needs', and with total disregard for the existing ownership system²⁸.
3. On grounds of speed, there was to be no international competition.

Instead, the scheme was entrusted to a commission of architects and engineers, proposed by Greece's French and British allies, and the Greek government itself. Some necessary follow-up measures were also taken. First, the homeless were moved to temporary housing in areas outside the walls. Second, a department was set up to make a topographical survey of the devastated area and draw up a land register. The difficulties were enormous: deeds of ownership had been destroyed, interested parties were hard to notify, language barriers existed and deliberate boycotting took place. Despite this, in less than a year the survey was finished, boundaries had been mapped, the land register was complete, and 4,100 plots had been valued. The speed with which this work was done is all the most remarkable in view of the lack of technical equipment and archives, and of the absence in the burnt-out city of such things as newspapers, radio or even postal services. The first Greek law on land registers (L.1122/1918) was made specially for Thessaloniki. Of necessity it was a complicated one; the clause laying down the procedure for summoning interested parties to submit the necessary papers and attend registration of their land might offer an illustration of the difficulties: For three consecutive weeks, the Muslims were to be given notice by their muezzins at the mosques on Friday, the Jews by the rabbis at the synagogues on Saturday, the Christians by their priests at church on Sunday...

Third, an International Commission for the New Plan of Thessaloniki was set up, its seven members appointed by special royal decree. Ernest Hébrard was a French architect and planner, who had played an important part in the formation of the French Society of Planners in the 1910's

28. "We instructed the architects who were appointed in the International Commission, to take into consideration, naturally, the population of the city, but to ignore the existing division of private property" Speech of Alex. Papanastassiou in the Parliament, *Acts of the Greek Parliament* 1919, p.154, 155. Also Thomas Mawson (1927) notes, reporting on his first meeting with Premier Venizelos: "Henceforth we could regard the site of Salonica more or less as a sheet of clean paper, and our task was simplified" *op. cit.* p., 274.

and was an active member of the Social Museum in Paris. Hébrard happened to be in Thessaloniki at the time, enlisted in the Armée d' Orient, and was head of the French Army's Archaeological Service in the city. He was highly recommended, if not imposed by French General Sarrail, and he started working on the plan immediately. **Thomas Hayton Mawson**, a British landscape architect, had already been commissioned to prepare plans for the improvement of Athens in 1914; he was called purposely by Venizelos himself, to counterbalance the French influence. **Joseph Pleyber**, a French military engineer, was commissioned to propose a plan for the infrastructure of the city; he established himself in Thessaloniki after the end of the War and built a great number of buildings²⁹. **Aristotle Zachos**, was a known Greek architect and head of the City of Thessaloniki Planning Department, who associated his name with the revival of the neo-byzantin style in Greece. **Constantin Kitsikis**, another Greek architect, who had formerly worked with Hoffman in Berlin, was asked to draw up the building regulations. **Angelos Guinis**, an engineer and rector of Athens Polytechnic, prepared the plans for the extension of the port and docks. The chairman was **Constantin Angelakis**, mayor of Thessaloniki.

Hébrard, Pleyber and Zachos, together with a team of eighteen young French architects, started working on the new plan immediately³⁰. On the contrary Mawson arrived two months later. He had previously laid down various terms for his participation, including that he should head a team of fifteen British town planners, which were not met by the Greek government. On his way to Thessaloniki, Mawson spent a few days in Paris, where he met Venizelos and was informed of the government's goals and aspirations. He immediately realized that the replanning of Thessaloniki could present a challenge to the newly-constituted planning discipline: *"The great fire provided one of the most unique opportunities for the replanning of a great city, which has ever engaged the genius of the City Planning expert"* he has noted in a series of three articles in the local British newspaper *Balkan News*. He has also observed that *"the new plan will add to the reputation of everyone engaged upon it, and that the new Salonika will emphasize in a remarkable degree the advance which the art and science of City Planning has made in recent years.."*

Mawson has given an extensive version of his own contribution to the project of the Commission³¹. The fact is that he did not stay long in Greece, only three months; he left immediately after the completion of the first sketches, in January 1918, leaving behind in his place his two sons Edward and John. It seems that Hébrard had in the meantime acquired the full confidence of the powerful cabinet minister Alexander Papanastassiou, and all his proposals were accepted, leaving Mawson in the margin. Indeed Hébrard and Papanastassiou collaborated closely at every stage of the project, and on many later occasions, such as in the Commission for the plan of Athens, in the setting up of the School of Architecture at the National Polytechnic, in the Plan for the University of Thessaloniki.

In fact, these two men set their stamp on the whole scheme. It may have been chance that found Hébrard in Thessaloniki in 1917, but there was nothing haphazard about his involvement with the city's replanning. Hébrard belonged to the generation of architects (including Henri Prost, Tony Garnier and Leon Jaussely) trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and the Villa Medici in Rome, who greatly contributed to the development of modern town planning practice. Hébrard passionately believed that the new discipline could greatly contribute to accelerate social processes and

29. Pleyber was very interested in the housing problem of Thessaloniki; he did a lot of lecturing and he published a book: *Le problème de l'habitation à Salonique et à la campagne*. Salonique 1934.

30. In August 18, 1917, according to the Acts of the Greek Parliament. Also R. Dreyfus, E. Hébrard, "La reconstruction de Salonique" in *l'Architecture*, Paris, (1923,1927).

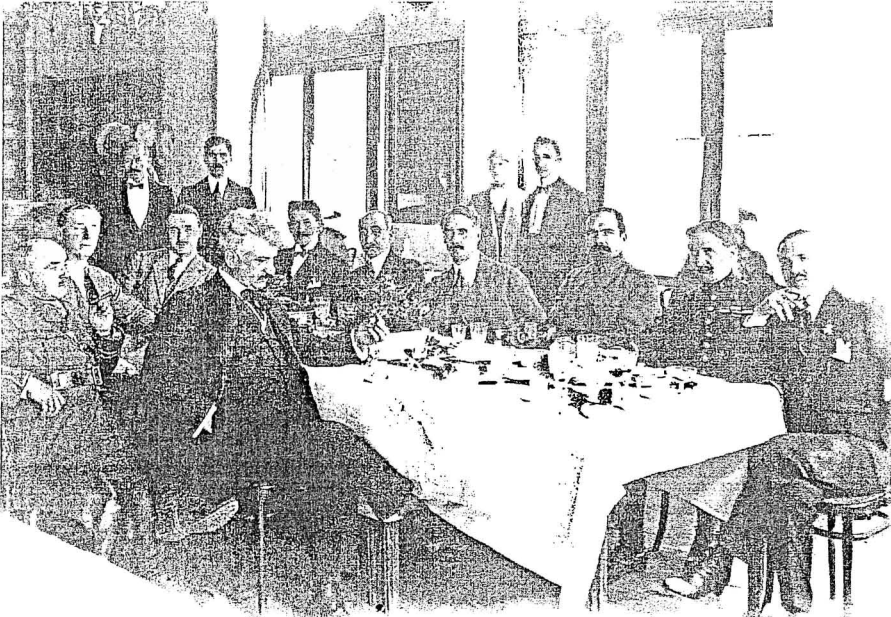
31. Mawson (1927), op. cit.

32. G. Wright, P. Rabinow, "Savoir et pouvoir dans l'urbanisme moderne colonial d'Ernest Hébrard" in *Cahiers de la Recherche Architecturale* no 9, Janvier 1982.

33. A. Yerolympos, "State Intervention in the Organization of National Space 1917-1920. Alex. Papanastassiou in the Ministry of Communications" Proceedings of the *Symposium on Alex. Papanastassiou*, Athens School of Political Science and Economics, Pando University, 1990, p. 253-268 (in Greek).

to promote modern modes of living in the world's underdeveloped countries, alongside the scope for experimentation which it also offered there³². Papanastassiou too, a fervent social-democrat, detected socialist features in the new ideas. He saw them as supporting the concept of community as opposed to private interest; as developing the state's interventionist role, and as offering opportunities to pass measures of an essentially reforming nature. In this way he attempted to use the legislation involved in the replanning of Thessaloniki as a vehicle for measures of genuine social reform³³. The total agreement of the town planner and the politician, and at the same time, the lack of clairvoyance as to the possible side effects of the plan's implementation, is yet another interesting aspect of the story of Thessaloniki's replanning.

Members of the International Commission and other planning officials at a dinner in Thessaloniki. From right to left: C. Kitsikis, J. Pleyber, E. Hébrard, Th. Mawson, C. Angelakis, A. Lefteriottis, E. Mawson, J. Mawson, and X. Johnson (sanitary engineer) and A. Zachos.



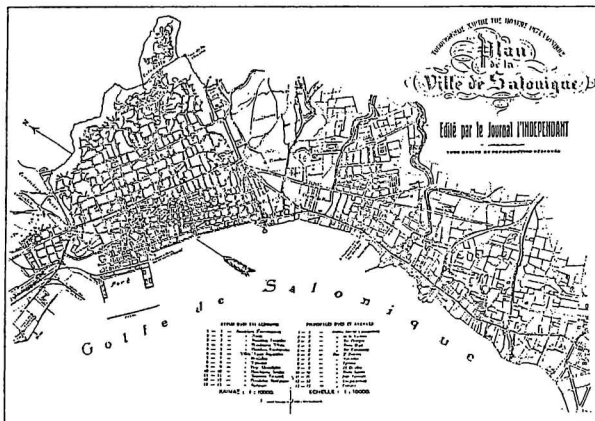
Description of the plan

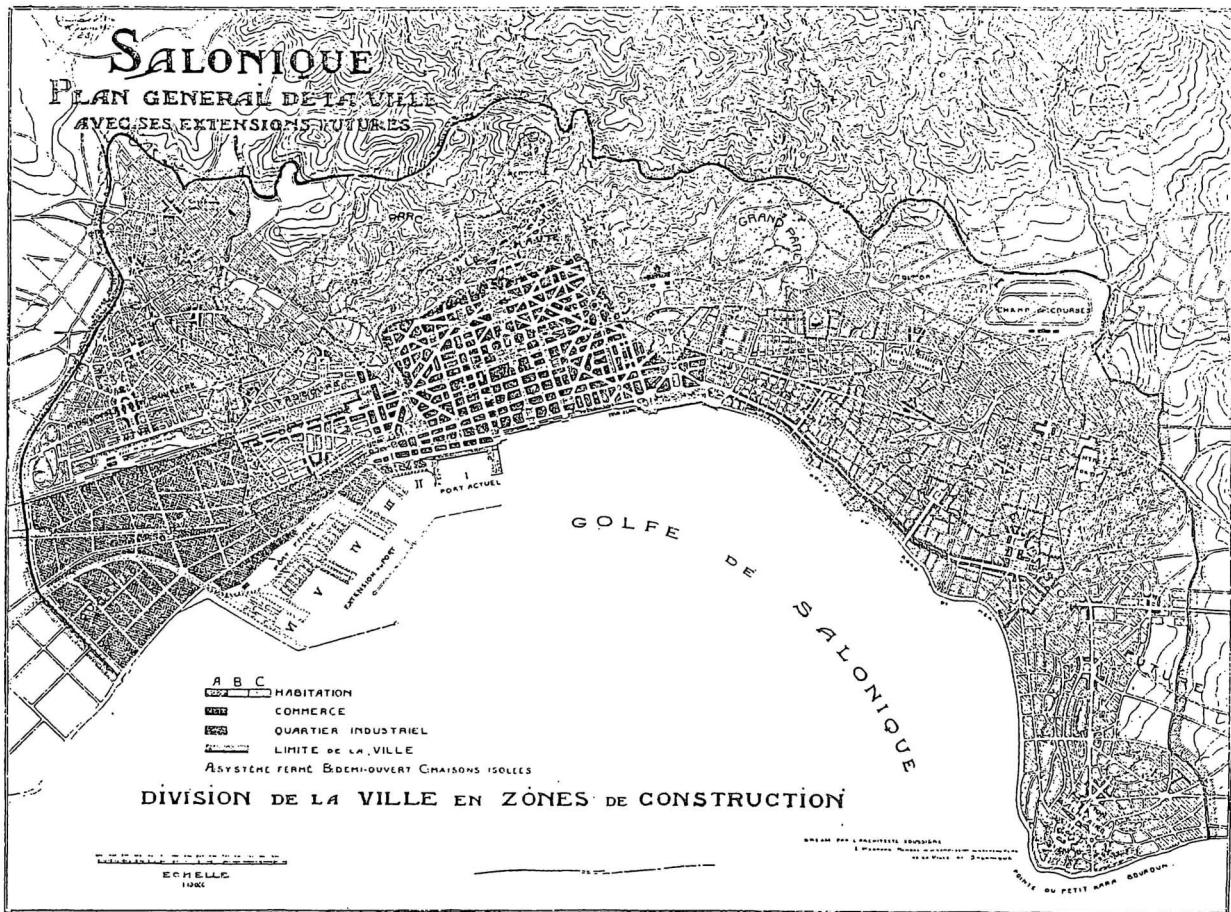
The first plan was ready before a year had passed, as also was the law on its implementation. In appearance it was entirely classical, but it was based on rather sophisticated policies and techniques. Taking as its starting point existing conditions as well as significant trends in the city during the course of its growth, the new plan systematized and organized them on a rational basis. At the same time it guided land values, linking them to appropriate types of land use. It also made provision for the following:

- The extension of the urban area in several directions for a population forecast of 350 000 (as compared to the existing 170 000). Some extensions were for immediate construction, others more long-term.
- Major traffic arteries.
- The general types of land use in each zone of the city.
- Specific types of land use within each zone.
- Population densities.
- Intensity of development, coverage of lots and bulk of structures in relation to the designated land use of the zone in question.

The city was organized around a single major centre, with fixed limits, confining it to a surface area of 2400 hectares (eight times as great as the old historic city). The city limits were surrounded by a ring road, not for fast traffic, outside which there was a green belt. Designated land uses (such as industry, wholesale trade, workers' housing, middle and high income-group housing and neighbourhood centres) were not imposed by zoning regulations. Instead they were put forward as an integral part of the new street plan, and were expected to result from fixed land values, the subdivision of building land, and the proposed building systems. In the

Thessaloniki before the fire





General master plan, 1918

central, devastated zone particularly, space allotted for administrative and financial functions was defined precisely; in some cases, such as the central square with its important buildings, architectural restrictions were also imposed ('ordonnances').

Outside the historic city centre detailed provision was made for the western and eastern sections.

In the western section, beyond the sites reserved for the Stock Exchange and Chamber of Commerce, space was allocated for industrial installations, the wholesale trade, warehousing, and essential transport facilities (goods and passenger railway station), a major traffic artery and the port extension. Interspersed with these and in areas further north were located workers' residential districts. These were of three kinds:

1. Housing districts already in existence, such as the Vardaris quarter, and for which minor development was proposed.
2. New districts, like the one between the railway station and the western highway, which was built by the residents themselves.
3. Future residential districts of a suburban character which never materialized, but were planned according to garden-city principles, and constituted the only social housing schemes proposed within the context of the plan. Kitsikis observed in 1919:

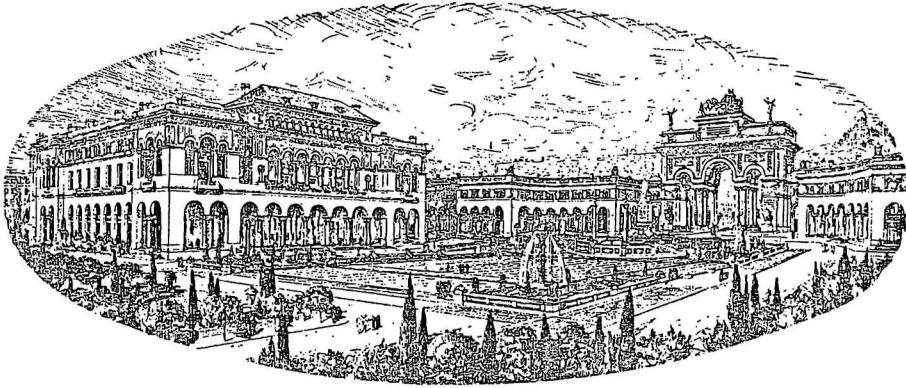
"The most important of these was the settlement planned by Mr. Hébrard and myself. It deserves mention both for the careful layout of its streets and housing as also for its pleasing aspect, due to the quality of the proposed building design [...]. This housing estate is sited on cheap land not included in the old city plan, and is widely spaced to allow for front gardens, vegetable gardens and children's playgrounds. The general ground plan has been carefully adapted to the site's topographical features and contour lines, and the result is that it represents a single organic and harmonious whole - a little town, in short. At its heart is located a central square. The long sides of the square are occupied by long buildings with open arcades in front; one is to be the Community Dining Hall, and the other is to house a café and the necessary small shops. The neighbourhood market is also suitably sited, and schools, public baths, churches etc. are distributed about the area. Two to four-roomed homes are grouped in buildings containing between two and eight such dwellings. The estate possesses complete water and sewage systems. It is recommended that some method such as that of repayment by annual instalments should be used so that every house becomes the property of the worker inhabiting it; in this way the money spent on building the estate (about 4 million drachmas) will become available for some other purpose of public benefit".³⁴

The eastern section, a fashionable bourgeois resort of the 1890s, was intended only for residential and recreational purposes. It consisted of: a sea-front zone of large lots with low building ratios (detached dwellings with large gardens) and a business and shopping zone along the main artery. The latter zone stretched away from the sea along certain vertical roads and ended in a commercial square. Middle-income neighbourhoods were located here and there, divided by parks, through which watercourses ran seawards. Small neighbourhood centres contained areas set aside for schools and kindergartens, as also for gymnastics, meetings, lectures and

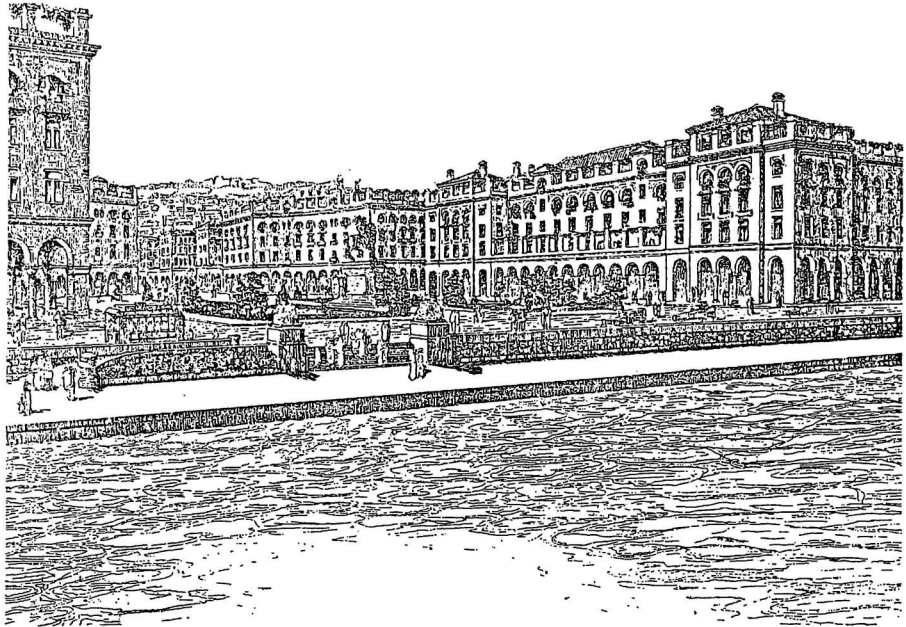


Workers' housing areas.
Approved plan, 1919.

34. K. Kitsikis, *The Architectural Aspects of the New Plan of Thessaloniki*, Athens, 1919 (in Greek).



Civic square and 'piazzetta' drawn by Hébrard



local festivals. There were large parks too, with sports facilities, on the hilly eastern side of the city. An ambitious seaside amusement centre at Karabournaki, the southeast headland at the entrance of the bay, was proposed.

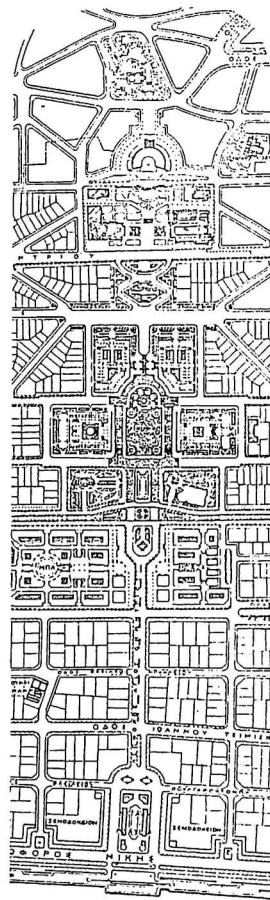
The eastern and central sections were separated by a wide park where a large University campus was to be located. Near the White Tower at the lower end of the green strip, there was an entertainment area including theatre, a Conservatoire, concert halls and smart restaurants and cafés. Now that the port had been pushed westwards with its docks and warehouses grouped around it, the central section had been relieved of its most problematic functions, but retained its commercial, administrative and cultural roles, not to mention its role as the site of the city's most imposing buildings. Thanks to a beautiful promenade created on the Quay, residents were able to enjoy the sea air to the full, an advantage not shared by all coastal cities.

The Planning Commission studied the city's ancient grid system and decided to keep to its basic essentials. They retained and widened the three main existing streets parallel to the sea. To these they added others for traffic reasons.

These parallel thoroughfares were intersected by a series of streets of varying functions set at right angles to the sea. Between the two principal commercial streets was set the Commission's major innovation: the Civic Boulevard, which linked two large squares through which traffic did not require to pass. Further eastward, and also at right angles to the sea front, was another boulevard, which linked the Roman Rotunda with the Arch of Galerius and then descended to the sea.

This rectangular grid pattern was framed by a system of diagonal roads, entirely within the spirit of classical French urban layouts, though in this case loosely and sensitively plotted. Two large elliptical spaces were opened out at either end of Egnatia Street. From these two points four slanting streets extended round the city centre; their purpose was to relieve it of through traffic as well as to facilitate internal circulation. A second system of diagonal thoroughfares supplemented the first, either linking Byzantine and other monuments or opening up vistas centred on them.

The plan consisted of more than just this basic framework, however. Hébrard was interested in the city's appearance, and above all in the due appreciation of the important buildings connected with its administrative and historical roles. He proposed a single administrative centre, concentrating Town Hall and all public departments in an imposing Civic Centre. The square was finished off by an arch on one side; on the other a broad prolongation, the Boulevard Civic, ran down towards the sea, crossing the traditional business area and major shopping streets and opening out into a 'piazzetta' on the sea front. The 'piazzetta' was intended as a place of refreshment and relaxation, a place to stroll at sunset and admire the fine view of Mount Olympus. This unified composition was reinforced by the programmatic architecture on the buildings fronting into the squares. For the facades, Hébrard and the Commission introduced the neo-byzantine style in an effort to affirm a historic reference of the city's most glorious past³⁵. (We must keep in mind that at that time precisely, Greek intellectuals were desperately trying to formulate a new identity for the Neo-Hellenic State, especially after the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922 and the definite abandonment of all views to Ionian territories in Turkey³⁶).



35. Hébrard's neo-byzantine architecture is similar to neo-colonial architecture practiced by Prost and Laprade in Morocco. Br. Taylor, "Discontinuité planifiée, villes coloniales modernes au Maroc" *Cahiers de la Recherche Architecturale* no 9, (Janvier 1982).

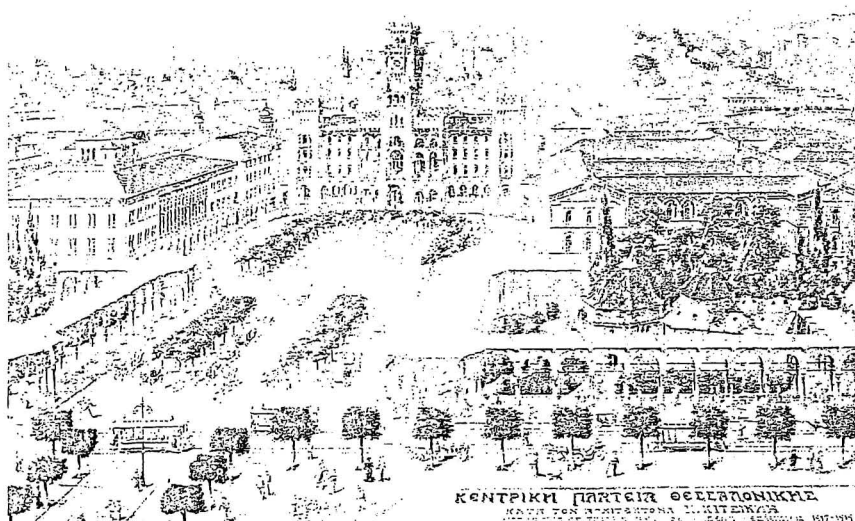
36. *Great Idea*: Major ideological and political slogan of the Greek State since its formation early in the 19th century: aiming at the revival of the Great Byzantine Empire in all lands around the Aegean Sea under Greek sovereignty, with Constantinople as its capital.

Although the civic buildings were never constructed, due to financial problems and the later excavation of the Roman Forum of the city in that same place, Hébrard's project of the Civic Centre offered to the city one of its most attractive places. The piazzetta and the Boulevard Civic, which were realized with the help of the 'ordonnances', proved to be well adapted to Greek historical and climatic conditions.

Hébrard's second major contribution to the appreciation of the city's historic buildings, one whose chief functional result was to provide more open space, was his fairly free attempt to link the Rotunda with the Arch of Galerius and the probable site of the Palace. The later discovery of this imposing complex on that same site in 1945-1950 vindicated his efforts, integrating the promenade in an archaeological space.

Moreover in this same effort to maintain a part of the city's traditional character, as he perceived it perfectly in line with French planning ideas of the 1920s, Hébrard proposed the integral conservation of the picturesque Upper City as well as the rebuilding of the Old Bazaars, in a neo-byzantine style. But the conservation of the Upper City was indeed an exception; in no other occasion, was there any proposition favouring the preservation of old street or neighbourhood pattern, or of architectural styles or monuments reminding of the Turkish occupation. Five hundred years of history had to be erased and the agreement on that point was unanimous.

Counter-project for the civic square, inspired by C. Sitte's ideas about medieval enclosure, by C. Kitsikis, 1918



Legislation to implement the plan in the historical centre

The new plan could not have been implemented without the support of legislation specially devised to meet the case. This legislation, which forms another interesting chapter in the history of Thessaloniki's replanning, was supposed to provide answers to the following requirements:

- Land values would inevitably rise with the application of the new city plan which would bring in general improvements in such things as sanitation, security, the provision of communal areas, and intensive development of building sites, as well as a new infrastructure, including water, sewage, transport and communication networks. The rise in land prices was to be brought under absolute control and prevented from turning into land speculation, which would inflate prices and so hinder the rebuilding process.

- The betterment which would accrue on individual holdings was not to remain in the hands of the original property owners, but be absorbed by the community. At the very least it should be shared out between the two sides.

- The new plan could not possibly respect the old property boundaries within the devastated zone. Nor could the existing plots be individually adapted to fit, as used to happen before in Greece and still happens nowadays.

Yet how could it be ensured that the new building sites returned to the property owners would be in line with their legitimate expectations? General expropriation was impossible on financial grounds. The value of the old sites amounted to 100 million drachmas (plus another 16 million for the buildings scheduled for demolition), and this at a time when the refugee influx had already started, without mentioning other problems. Retention of the old boundary lines, and their adjustment to the new plan was also impracticable, as it would have meant long drawn-out negotiations with 4100 landlords.

The solution devised was the setting up of a Property Owners' Association, incorporating all landowners within the burnt-out zone. The entire area was then expropriated in the Association's favour. By this means no former proprietor owned any particular piece of land any longer, but became a shareholder in the total building land available. The law establishing the Property Owners' Association was ready by early 1918 (Law 1394/1918). Its chief points were³⁷:

1. Former building sites were to be valued as follows: a price would be arrived at on the basis of the land register and of values for the last three years before the fire. It would be ratified by the court of the first instance. From that moment ownership of the plot would pass to the Property Owners' Association.

37. An extended presentation and critic of the Law's general background and context as well as its intentions and implications can be found in A. Yerolympos, *The Replanning of Thessaloniki after the Fire of 1917*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press (2nd edition), 1995 (in Greek). Summary of the Law and comments are also included in the article by J. Mawson (1921) and in the works of Ancel (1930) and Saïas (1920), *op. cit.*

2. Owners were to receive a share certificate, which took the form of a special Title Deed. It was non-transferable, but could be used as security for bank loans. (In this way the attempt was made to prevent speculation and the monopolizing of the special Title Deeds. Land prices were not to be freed in short; nor was property to be amassed in a few hands).

3. New sites were to be plotted: all land for private rebuilding, which now belonged to the Property Owners' Association, would be subdivided into new plots in conformity with the approved city plan.

4. The new building sites were to be valued by determining a minimum price based on the following considerations. As a result the minimum value of the entire building area rose to 145 million drachmas (225 drachmas per square metre, as compared with 98 drachmas before the fire). Next the value of each new plot was adjusted according to the advantageousness of its siting within the various sections and zones.

5. The building sites were to be sold off by open tender, one city section at a time. Price increases were permitted at this stage up to a maximum of 25%, 50%, or 75%, or were even derestricted altogether, depending on siting³⁸. If the successful bidder was a member of the Property Owners' Association, payment would be made by surrender of his Title Deeds. In case of equal bids, the original owner would have priority. Resale within three years was forbidden. The government provided financial support for rebuilding, in the form of duty-free import of building materials, tax reliefs and bank credit.

6. Profits and losses would be liquidated. After all the property had been sold off profits would be shared out equally by the Property Owners' Association on the one hand (among whose members they would be divided in proportion to the face value of the Title Deeds held by each) and the Municipality of Thessaloniki on the other (which would spend the sums on laying out communal areas). Any losses would be dealt with by reducing the face value of the Title Deeds.

7. Finally a betterment levy was to be charged on new building sites. In cases of resale half the profit would be due to the Municipality to pay for the erection of public buildings.

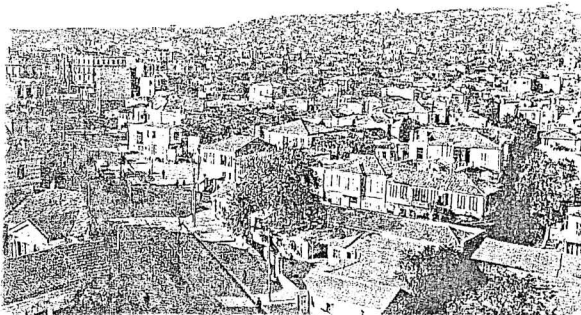
Predictably enough those proposals aroused a unanimous storm of protest on the part of the property owners. The strongest body of resistance was the Jewish community, whose members composed the majority of the landowners, and saw the proposals as an attempt to reduce their presence in the city. Strong pressure was put on the Greek government at home and abroad³⁹. In Thessaloniki the land registration and tendering procedures were systematically boycotted. Thus even though the plan itself had been prepared so quickly, at the end of 1920 it had hardly even started to be implemented. (Only 90 lots had been sold in minimum prices because of the absence of competitors). Opposition to it soon became politicized and used against the Venizelos government by the Populist Party. In the November 1920 elections Thessaloniki voted against Venizelos. The new Prime Minister, royalist Dimitrios Gounaris, made haste to announce to the people of Thessaloniki that the 1918 Law would not be enforced. On 10 January 1921 he telegraphed to Thessaloniki that public space would be considerably reduced; the western unburnt area would not be included in the scheme; and that property owners would be free to build without restrictions.

38. John Mawson explained the reason a maximum price should be set as follows (1921 p.153): *"This rather curious arrangement was the result of a compromise between certain members of the Commission who wished to throw the whole of the lots on the open market without restriction as to the price, and the writer who was in favor of the Government fixing the definite sale price of each lot with the object of preventing speculation and the creation of fictitious values"*.

39. Saias (1920), op. cit.

In fact the retreat did not go so far. The urgent need for a modernized city and the opportunities offered to speculative capital by new plots and planning regulations, had been clearly understood by potential investors, who only objected to specific clauses of the 1918 Law. Hébrard undertook to amend his scheme and succeeded in securing the retention of its basic ideas. With the consensus of the property owners he reduced the open spaces somewhat (from 50% to 42%) and subdivided the building land into smaller individual lots (the number of which rose from 1300 to 2600). The western boundary of the burnt zone was also moved eastwards so that the Property Owners' Association would not apply to unburnt areas; no other basic principle of the plan was altered.

Changes in the cityscape



ΟΔ. ΤΣΙΜΙΣΚΗ ΑΝ. Α. ΠΥΡΓΟΥ - ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

RUE TCHIMISKI D'EN HAUT DE LA T. BL. SERRAIE



39 ΑΠΟΨΗ ΕΚ ΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΠΥΡΓΟΥ - ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

VUE DE LA TOUR BLANCHE - THESSALONIKI



Table 3. Evolution of prices in the auctions

| Date of the auction | City sector | (1) Average min. price: Drs/m ² | (2) Average price attained in auction: Drs/m ² | (3) Difference of price % (2-1)/1 | (4) Sale price/min. price 2/1 |
|---------------------|-------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Dec. 1921 | 1st | 241.00 | 275.80 | 14.44 | 1.14 |
| Mar. 1922 | 5th | 123.00 | 228.00 | 85.37 | 1.85 |
| June 1922 | 4th | 111.75 | 142.00 | 27.07 | 1.27 |
| April 1923 | 2nd | 153.72 | 278.33 | 81.70 | 1.82 |
| Nov. 1923 | Bazaar | 405.50 | 2071.00 | 410.72 | 5.10 |
| July 1924 | 3rd | 629.50 | 3870.00 | 514.77 | 6.15 |

With regards to the implementation Law, three major amendments modified basic clauses referring to the purchase of new lots. The pretext was that the former owners should be protected against new investors, and also that the freedom of individuals to dispose of their property as they wish should be guaranteed. The new Law 2633/1921 stated that:

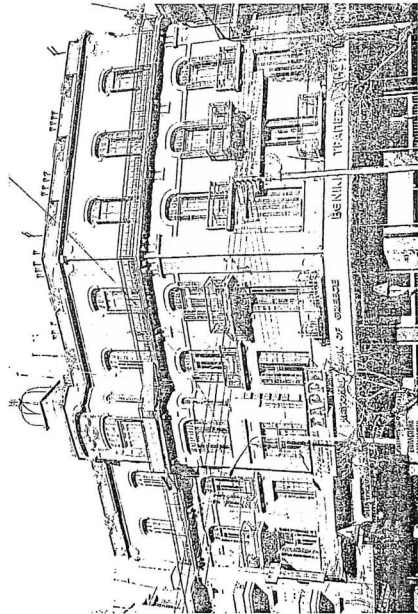
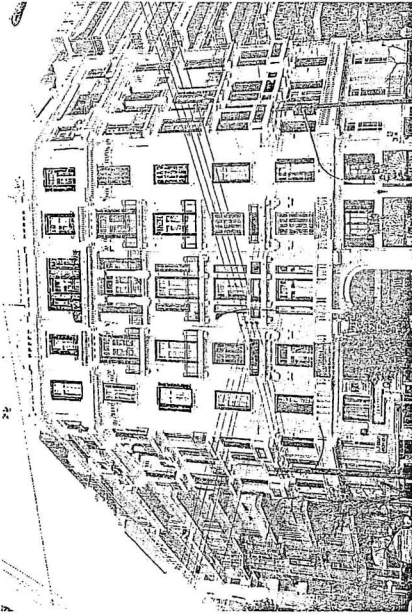
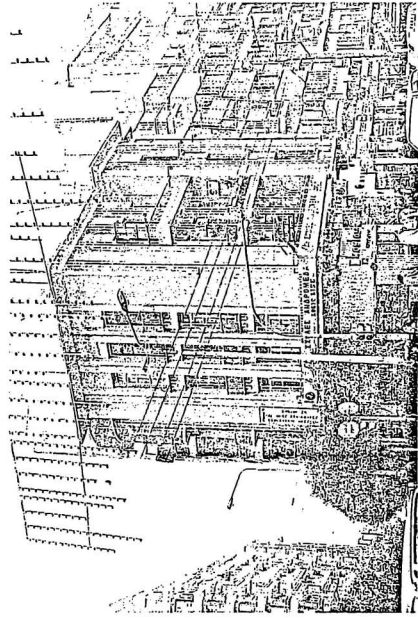
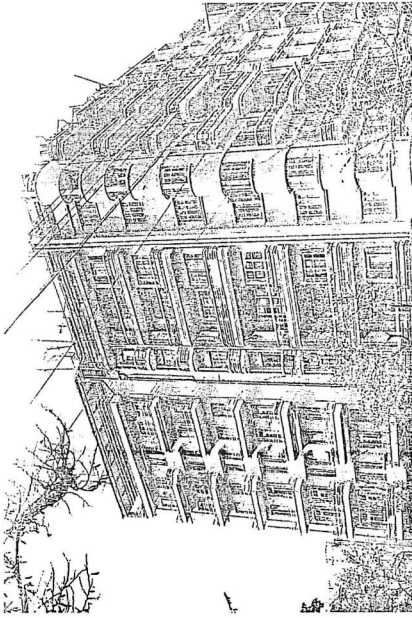
- The auctions were open only to bidders with title deeds in their possession. At the same time free sale of title deeds was permitted and numerous former property owners were driven to sell, as they considered themselves unable to buy the new lots five years after the fire.

- No maximum prices were fixed in the auctions, which were not secret any more, thus permitting unlimited competition among bidders that resulted in high rises in land values.

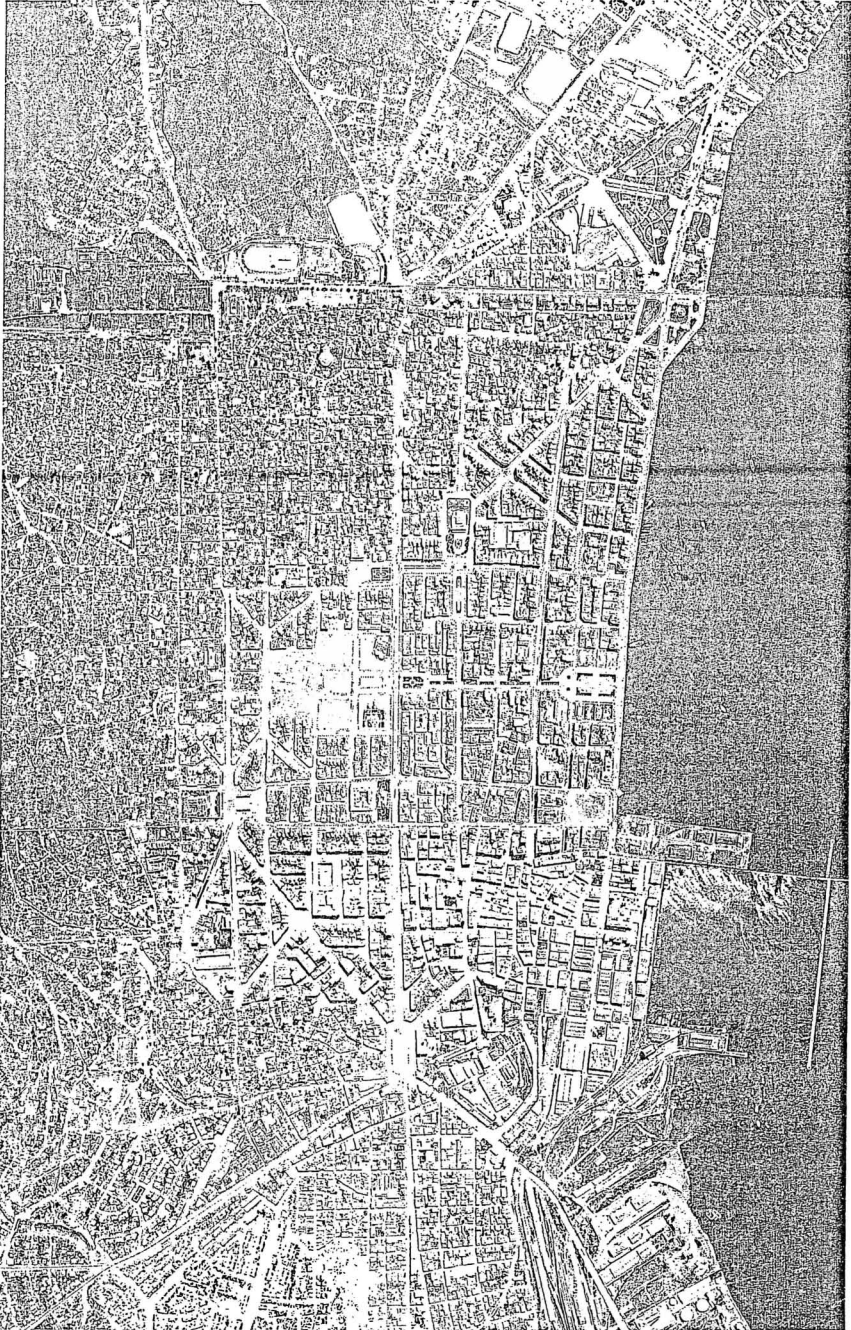
- The profits were to be used to finance the reconstruction of the most expensive lots, located in the commercial sector, as the high land prices were expected to absorb all capital that was available for the construction of buildings.

As soon as the modifications were put into effect, boycotting of rebuilding immediately ceased. The auctions began in December 1921 and continued up to 1924. The work of reconstruction went on at the same time⁴⁰. However, although in the beginning the modifications had been accepted very favourably by public opinion, it soon became clear that they had destroyed the fragile equilibrium between the interests of the community and the 'sane' activity of private initiative (equilibrium that had been theoretically ensured by the original proposals of the Law 1394/1918). In fact the account of 2400 auctions (according to which the net profit amounted to 170 million drachmas) reveals the accelerating movement of speculation (Table 3). Also the Records of the Property Owners' Association show that only 56% of the total value of title deeds were used in the purchase of new lots. (It is important to note here that it is not known whether the title deeds were used by former owners or by new investors). From the remaining 44%, the 18.5% was not used and was sold out after the end of auctions, and the 25.5% stayed inactive in the hands of owners, who consequently lost all rights to former property or recompensation.

40. By 1928 more than 1500 buildings had been erected, i.e. two thirds of the city centre. Meanwhile, there was an impressive flow of capital (e.g. investment in housing, public works and increased employment). *Annual Report of the National Bank of Greece, 1930.*



New architecture in the historical centre



Aerial photo showing new and traditional urban fabric in 1938. The burnt area has been almost entirely rebuilt

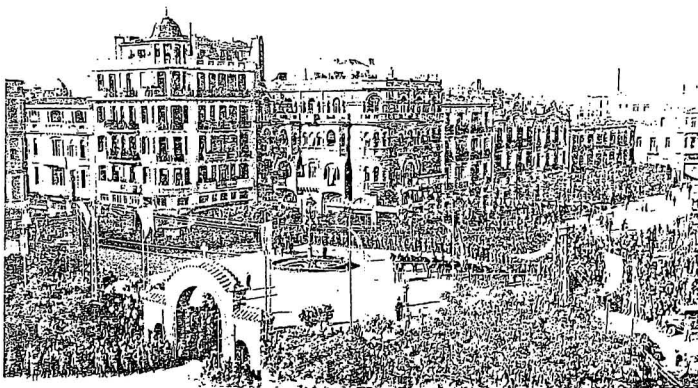
Application of the plan, social and spatial impact

As was to be expected, acquisition of new lots and rebuilding in the historic centre were accompanied by the first signs of social stratification according to income group. A modern society began to emerge in line with the new patterns of spatial distribution. The planning scheme had partly succeeded in its objectives. At the same time, although the physical form of the modern city was a product of the new plan, all reformist features of new appropriation of urban space were severely modified.

Besides this major failure, other replanning objectives were more successful. For instance, the structure and form of the city were modernized with practically no investment cost for the State, through the mobilization of local and nationwide private capital. New regular building plots, properly equipped, offered the possibility to construct high-rise buildings up to five stories in the place of the traditional two-story macedonian house with garden. The use of concrete was imposed by regulations; also the Planning Commission offered ready-made plan-types to new owners, proposing optimum arrangement of internal space according to prescribed use and maximum exploitation.

A great deal of private capital flowed in Thessaloniki from other parts of Greece and the rest of the world and was invested in building, attracted by modern planning advantages and high exploiting ratios⁴¹. This was the first occasion for the country that land and buildings were considered as a profitable investment, independently of their use. Thus the economic profile of the city was transformed and Greek capital gained influence in comparison to the Jewish community's participation in the economy of Thessaloniki.

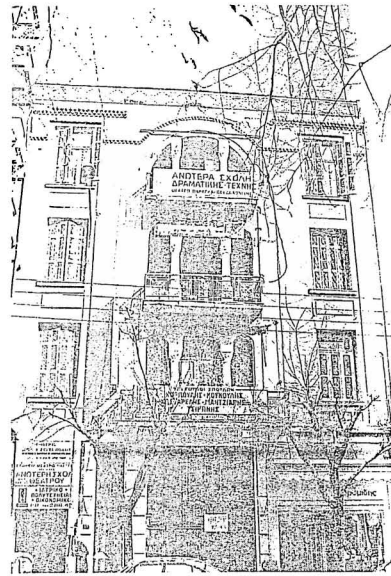
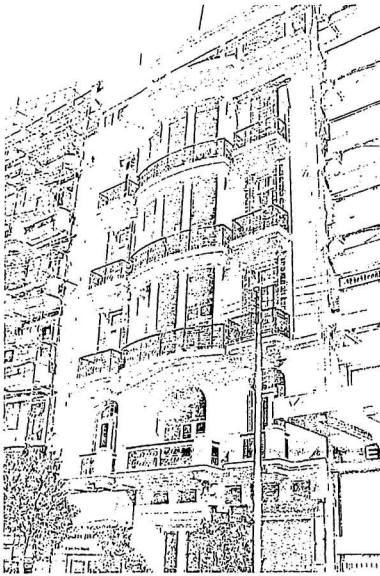
41. Statistical evidence is included in the Annual Reports of the National Bank of Greece, 1928-1936.



13 ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΑΓ. ΣΟΦΙΑΣ - ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

PLACE DE S^{te} SOPHIE - SALONIQUE

New buildings in the historical centre

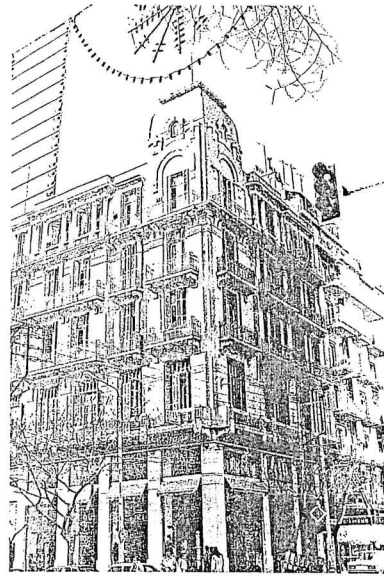
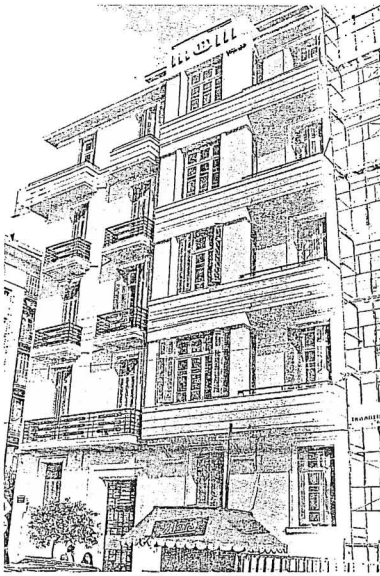


New buildings in the historical centre

The historically constituted social structure of the city was radically transformed: the traditional ethnic-religious groups disintegrated. Their members, freed from communal bonds, settled according to economic capacity and social-professional preference and not according to religious affiliation. Moreover most traditional activities were redistributed according to their revenue capacity and they were either relocated in the new central district or forced to abandon it.

Extended reconstruction works revitalized the local economy, also offering jobs to increasing numbers of unemployed refugees, but not leading to a restructuring of the construction sector. More precisely, the principal factor influencing the production of urban space became the small capital, engaged in the rebuilding of small size land plots endowed with the possibility of intensive development, using traditional techniques and production methods and an abundant non-specialized labour force. The profits were shared by landowners and entrepreneurs, turning the building sector and land speculation into the cornerstones for the growth of the city economy.

The model of Thessaloniki's reconstruction combined with rapid urban population expansion all over Greece, proved generally acceptable for the renewal and extension of the modern Greek city, especially in the 1960s. An ongoing process of subdivision of agricultural land awaiting to be legalized as urban land; the lack of land registry and the lack of land use regulations; the higher and higher plot exploitation coefficients obtained *ad hoc* by pressure groups directly from central government, soon reduced the Hébrard Plan as well as all the other cities' plans of the early 1920s to simple alignment plans. Whether considering it as a model of capital accumulation (attracting small investors, land owners and building material industry), or as a reproduction model (providing low-cost hou-

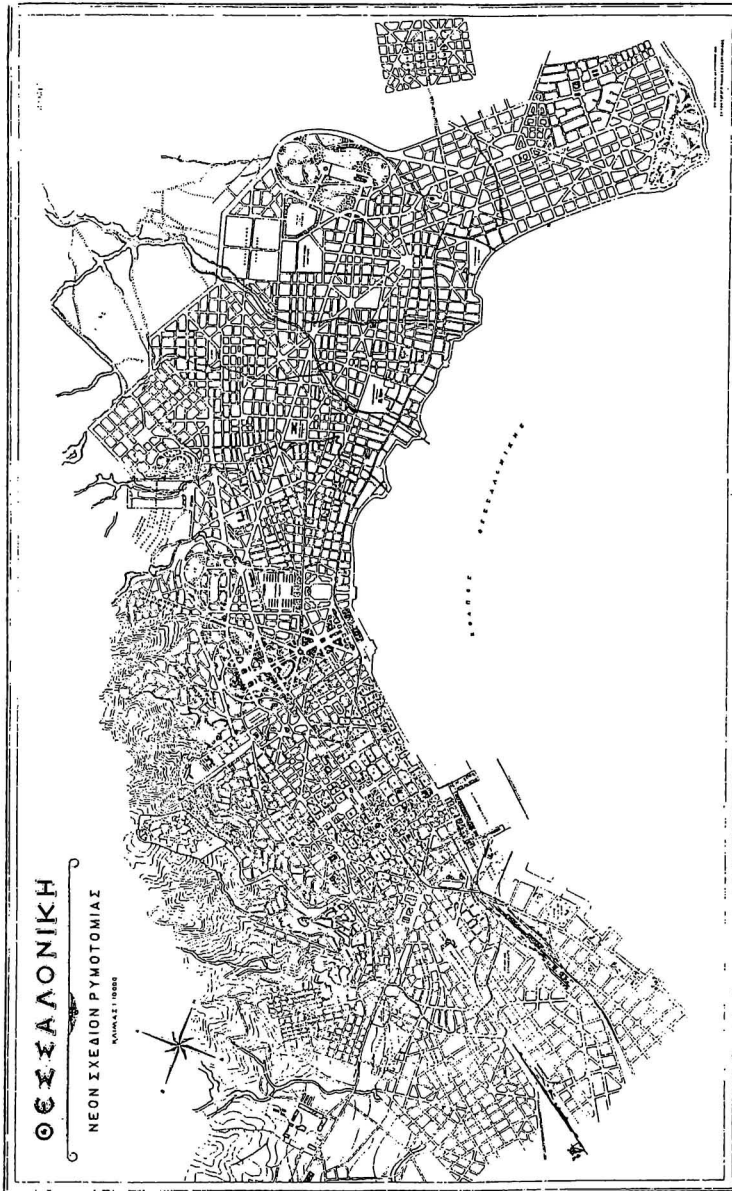


sing), or as a social integration model of low income strata (75% of Greek families own their house!) it is certain that this line of development was used as a model of political stability and political integration, somehow acceptable by successive governments and all political parties⁴².

In this way direct action, supported by powerful legislation was taken in order to change the physical environment in furtherance of a clear political choice: namely the rearrangement of urban land occupation patterns. The Thessaloniki experience of the 1920s proves that such direct action worked as a catalyst of social and economic change. Urban land was no longer the traditional community living area, but had become primarily a form of capital and the object of private speculation. The application of city planning procedures led to the reinforcement of capitalist tendencies in the possession of urban space, with the support of a state which was becoming increasingly interventionist, but with no attempt to deepen social reforms. In short, a major alliance between the State and the urban land owners was implicitly forged and has never been contested; in order to assure their support the State would not attempt to control land speculation, thus condemning to paralysis all urban planning institutions and local authorities' efforts.

Thessaloniki's pre-capitalist socio-economic structure had been dealt a heavy blow and was soon to disappear. The city's 'peculiarities' would be lost for ever and Thessaloniki's mode of 'development' would influence the 'development' of Greece as a whole. The physical changes to the city, which have been regarded until now as the Hébrard plan's principle concern, would seem to be less important than other processes which were triggered off or boosted by the scheme, whether under cover of replanning or in response to the needs of the newly emerging Greek society.

42. See C. Hadjimihailis, V. Hastooglou, N. Kalogirou, N. Papamichos, "Urbanization, crisis and urban policy in Greece" *Antipode* 3 (19), 1987; L. Tsoulouvis, *Perceptions of Urban Development and Planning Policies in Thessaloniki*, Ph. D. Thesis, London School of Economics, 1987.



Approved master plan, 1929

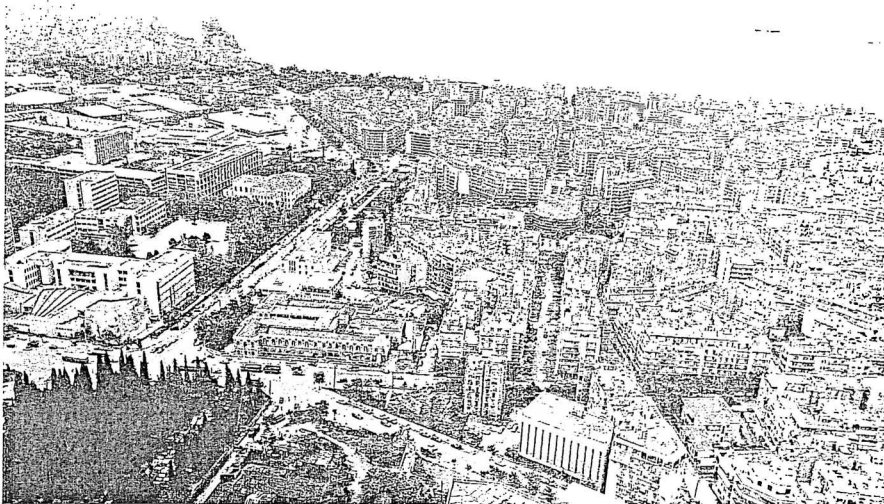
The contemporary city and the unimplemented master plan of 1917

Hébrard's plan for the central area of Thessaloniki was the only part of the 1917 master plan that was implemented. Although never approved, the plan for the entire city had a certain impact on the modelling of space in the urban area as well as on town planning thought and practice in Greece, which will be briefly discussed here.

An important provision of the master plan was the creation of a 'rift' between the centre and the eastern residential quarters of the city, a large green park, which covered more than 70 hectares and was intended to house the University (planned for 10 000 students) and recreational and cultural functions. The park stretched uphill, beyond the University campus, and joined the city's green belt on the Sheik Su heights. Already in the Midwar period the refugee quarter of Saranta Ekklisies was built on the spot where the park joined the green belt.

The idea of the 'rift', which according to Thomas Mawson may have stemmed from the desire to create a natural zone to protect the centre

The 'rift'. To the right, the historical centre and the pedestrian way linking the Rotunda to the sea. To the left, the University campus, the International Fair grounds, and the remain of the 'rift'. To the upper left, the eastern part of the city and the 'new quay'



from fires, was actually put into practice and constituted the only land reserve ever to have been set up in Thessaloniki. After World War II, this area has been acting as a lifebelt for the city's authorities, for the International Fair and for the University, which have used it for uncontrolled building of all kinds and as a location for *ad hoc* supplementary uses. The International Fair has built up a large part of the site as well as the University which houses today around 55 000 students. A spacious Conference Centre was added in 1994, and pressure is exerted on the Town Planning Agency of the city for the building of a large hotel, a Town Hall, an extension for the Archaeological Museum No additional public spaces have been planned for the Thessaloniki of 2000, with almost a million inhabitants, and new cultural and recreational activities are being 'acomodated' within the provisions of the 1917 plan. After the War and against the background of the major public works policy of the Marshall Plan in the Fifties, another open space was created on an *ad hoc* basis, without forming part of a more general town planning scheme. This was the 'New Quay' on reclaimed land on the sea-front along the eastern residential quarters, which has also served as the magic solution for the city's services, and for whatever new function happens to crop up.

It is to the master plan of 1917 that the city owes what survives of its green belt on the Sheik Su heights, some of the main traffic arteries -such as the New Egnatia- and the development of small neighbourhood centres at points where the plan provided for squares and they actually came into being. In general with its comprehensive approach to urban uses the master plan introduced the principle of distillation and removal from the centre of a whole host of functions, such as cemeteries, industry, wholesale trade, extension of port and special categories of uses. A part from its very impact on the making of the city, and especially of its historic centre, the significance of the plan lies in its intention to introduce the economic rationale in the planning of urban space, for the first time in Greece. By way of contrast to the ideas which have been predominant in Greece during the 19th century and which identified quantative growth of cities to the overall development of the country, the master plan of Thessaloniki in 1917 attempted to show that growth ought to be controlled and spatially defined if it was to be beneficial and productive. At the same time it introduced the respect of natural characteristics and, to some extent, to historical features as they were understood at the time.



*The 'rift' from the sea.
The green belt can be seen higher up.*



A view of the modern city

As everyone knows, town planning in its programmatic and instructive sense never flourished in Greece and Thessaloniki is no exception. Three quarters of its urban area have been created with no plan at all, and the only attempt to give form to the city comes from the alignment plans prepared *a posteriori* and implemented on already built up districts. The preamble to the country's most important law on town planning, the Legislative Decree of 1923 (which resumed and extended to the rest of the country the Thessaloniki experience, and came a short time after the corresponding legislation in Switzerland 1911-1915, Germany 1918 and France 1919) had to admit that in Greece, until that time "*the terms of hygiene, safety, aesthetics and economy in the development of cities were completely unknown, while the city plan was an inorganic, schematic representation of street lines, which could have been extended on either side to an undefined end*". Although these terms would be inadequate today, while our faith in social harmony through planning has been righteously shaken, no effective step of continuity or consistency has been taken towards ensuring them, and the quest for aesthetics as an inseparable part of wellbeing in the Greek city is not even numbered among the desiderata of our official town planning policy.

VI.

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