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A MEDITERRANEAN CITY IN TRANSITION: THESSALONIKI BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

UDC: 711.523"19" THESSALONIKI (045)

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Abstract. *Thessaloniki, second city of Greece with one million inhabitants, owes its present form to an extraordinary sequence of events -fire and war- which restructured the city. The fire of 1917 burnt the central area and precipitated a vast reconstruction effort. While rebuilding was underway Thessaloniki was inundated by refugees of the Asia Minor war in 1922. This article presents the governmental policies employed to confront these twin dilemmas, and illustrates how through these from a basically pre-industrial city with an oriental appearance and a cosmopolitan character, Thessaloniki was transformed into a modern regional metropolis. The new European plan superimposed over the old traditional city helped to foster the image of greater homogeneity while actually causing greater class stratification; physical remodelling of the city can produce serious social changes while occurring in a specific historical juncture; and even when a plan is in existence, catastrophes sometimes force the adoption of ad hoc solutions. These ad hoc working solutions can become exemplars for planning, and that is what happened to Thessaloniki [1].*

Thessaloniki was founded around 315 BC by Cassander, king of Macedonia, who brought together twenty six pre-existing small settlements in a single joint town. Built upon the major routes which linked Europe with the Orient, and the Northern Balkans with the maritime routes of Eastern Mediterranean, the city became an important commercial, administrative and cultural centre. During the twenty three centuries of its existence it had passed successively through Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods which marked its space with their specific architecture and urbanism. At the end of the fifteenth century, a large community of Spanish Jews was established in Thessaloniki fostering its cosmopolitan character [2].

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The turn of the twentieth century found Thessaloniki both oriental and occidental. It was a multiethnic city with a population of 150,000 inhabitants, Christians, Jews and Muslims living into separate ethnic-religious quarters. Turks lived in the upper parts of the city; Jews in the lower district near the sea walls and the harbour; Christians were in the east, along the Egnatia street and in small pockets around the cathedral, the Vlatades monastery etc. In the western part were located the commercial sector and the European quarter. The medieval framework of the city with the dense and irregular street network, the urban clusters and the introverted neighbourhoods survived together with its specific socio-economic features [3].

Yet, from 1870 onwards, in the course of the Ottoman Empire's reform, the city had been undergoing a gradual modernisation: it was a hive of economic activity, and the municipality was intensifying its efforts to remodel the urban space [4]. The sea walls had been pulled down permitting the city to expand beyond its traditional limits. The construction of a modern quay offered the city its new Westernised front to the sea; a rail link with Europe and Constantinople was secured by the end of the century, and port facilities had been organised; a modern central business sector (banks, offices, factories, modern shops, hotels etc.) had been developed. New patterns of social stratification surfaced with regards to new residential areas created since the 1890s outside the traditional nucleus: from the low-income housings constructed for poor Jewish emigrants from Russia, to the fashionable bourgeois suburb inhabited by wealthy Jews, Christians and Muslims at the south-eastern shore, the prevalence of socio-economic criteria was by far evident.

This mixture of cultures, typical of the East-Mediterranean multiethnic cities, continued until the first decades of the twentieth century, when drastic changes would intervene. At that time, with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 which altered the political map of the region, Thessaloniki was incorporated in the Neohellenic state in 1912 and a new era dawned in the city's history.

With the outbreak of the World War I, Thessaloniki became an important centre for the Entente Powers in their campaigns in support of Serbia. The presence of 200,000 Allied troops was a prime factor in the city's economic life, for the enormous demand for goods boosted imports considerably.

Within ten years of its liberation, Thessaloniki experienced two consecutive disasters which transformed this cosmopolitan Balkan city into a modern regional metropolis.

- the destruction of its historic centre by the great fire of 1917.

- the arrival of 117,000 refugees after 1922, following the population exchange between Turkey and Greece at the end of the Asia Minor campaign.

These major events occurred at an exceptional historical juncture, which saw various formative events come to pass: the territorial expansion of Greece during the 1910s, with the incorporation of the regions of Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete, and the north-eastern Aegean islands; the stabilisation of national frontiers after the First World War; the attempts at a wider institutional and social modernisation undertaken by the Liberal governments.

It is certain that under these circumstances Thessaloniki would have undergone socio-economic and spatial changes anyway. The incorporation of the city in the Greek state coincided with the active state policy in an attempt to reinforce Greek sovereignty within the new territories and to promote the social and economic development of the country;

similar policies were adopted by the neighbouring states during the same period [5]. However, the magnitude of the catastrophes, and their violent and abrupt nature left no room for a smooth transition. The two rebuilding operations which were immediately undertaken, although they followed a distinct course, resulted in the profound transformation of the city's social, ethnic, and demographic composition, its economic activity, and the size and form of the urban space. Furthermore, they proved that physical planning, under these conditions, would effect serious social and economic changes.

1. REBUILDING AFTER FIRE: THE RATIONAL CITY

The fire which broke out on 18 August 1917 destroyed 128 hectares of the historic centre, including the commercial sector, and left 70,000 people homeless. It was Jewish community which was hardest hit, for the fire destroyed three quarters of the Jewish neighbourhoods, 45 synagogues, communal institutions, schools, shops and workshops, businesses and clubs, and left ca 50,000 Jews to the street [6].

Of equally crucial repercussion for the city's future was the Liberal government's decision to disregard the inherited urban structure, and to rebuild Thessaloniki along new European lines. Within the new political and economic context, prevalent planning methods, embodying the ideas of progress and industrial development, offered the means necessary for conferring on Thessaloniki a modern national identity with a metropolitan radiance. The whole operation was put under the control of the central government, and foreign experts were called in. The replanning of Thessaloniki stands out as a singular example of deliberate state intervention in re-arranging land occupation patterns in modern Greek planning history [7].

No sooner had the fire been extinguished than the Minister for Communications (the governmental department responsible for town planning) set in motion the process of replanning and rebuilding the city. The homeless were moved to temporary shelter outside the walls, and new building was absolutely prohibited in the devastated zone. An International Commission for the New Plan of Thessaloniki was set up, headed by the French architect Ernest Hébrard who happened to be in the city as director of the archaeological service in the Armée de l'Orient.

In 1918, the first plan was ready. It drew on classical Beaux Arts urban layouts, with axial perspectives and formal geometry. It proposed the radical reshaping of the intramuros city, and provided a detailed scheme for the whole urban area including future extensions, for a predicted population of 350,000 (as compared to the existing 170,000), confining a surface area of 2,400 hectares (Fig.1).

The western extension, where transport facilities had started to be developed since 1870, was allocated for industrial installations, the wholesale trade, additional transport facilities (the new railway station and the port extension), and workers' residential districts. The eastern extension, where the bourgeois suburb of the 1890s, was reserved for residential and recreational uses; middle-class housing quarters, with business and shopping facilities, were provided. The entire area was surrounded by a green belt, while a large park where the university campus was to be developed separated the eastern section from the central city.

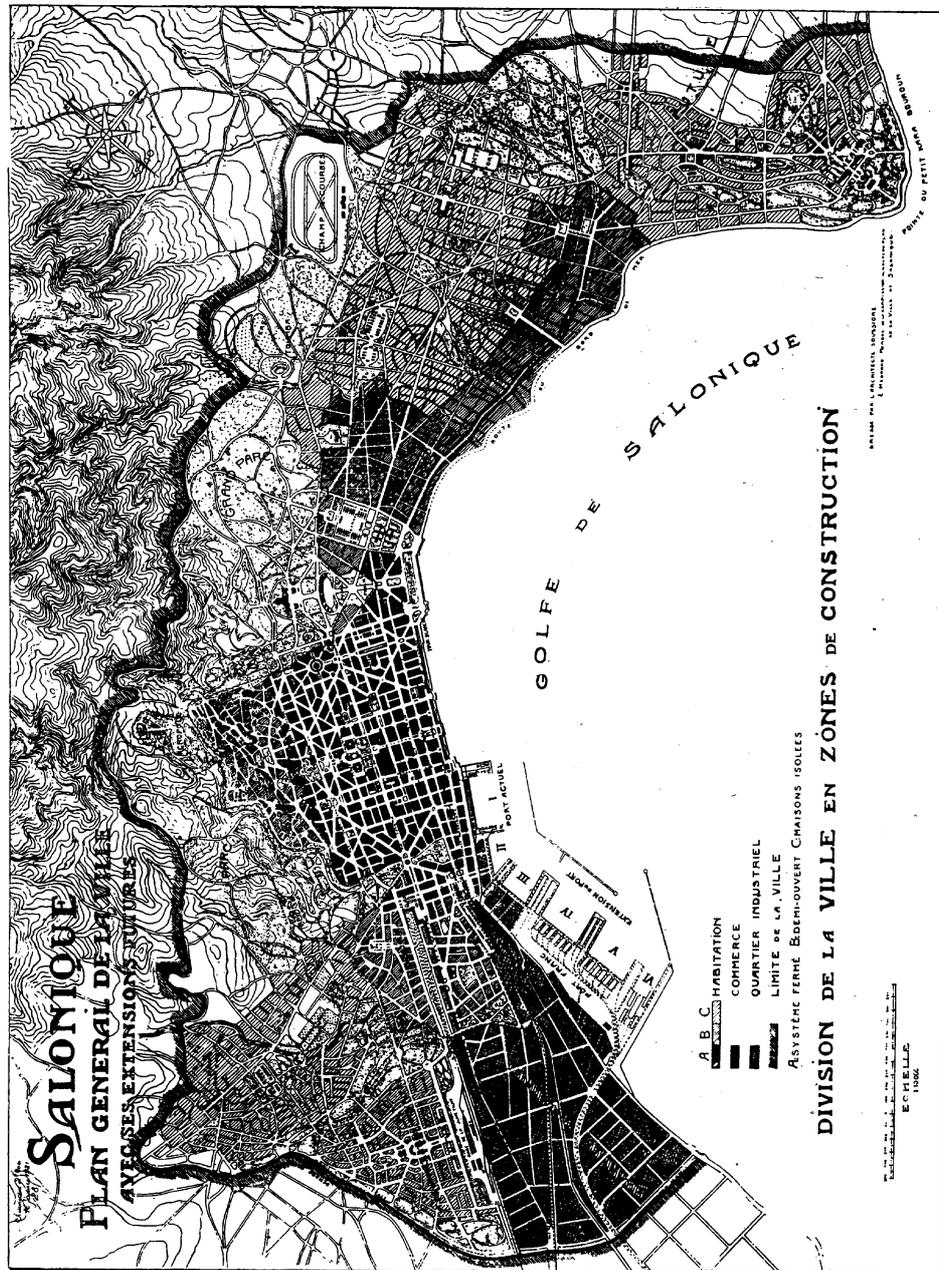


Fig. 1. The plan for Thessaloniki by E. Hébrard, 1918

For the central city, the plan adopted a classical layout. The new orthogonal street network intended to echo the rigorous grid pattern of the Hellenistic Thessaloniki,

completed with diagonal breakthroughs to accommodate modern traffic imperatives.[8] Functional hierarchy was secured by allotting space for housing, administrative functions, commercial areas, etc., and specifying coverage of lots and volumes of structures. Regular building blocks, as generating components of the new urban fabric, replaced the introverted urban insulae; the apartment block was adopted as predominant dwelling type, and the use of reinforced concrete was introduced together with the free-hold land system [9]. As locus of modern civic life, a monumental boulevard running through the central city from north to south, was proposed and equipped with a central square (with public departments) at the upper part and a piazzetta on the sea front. A uniform architecture for the buildings lining the boulevard was imposed, conceived as reference to the city's Byzantine past. Special emphasis was also given to the city's monuments and archaeological sites, which were integrated as focal points into the urban fabric, after being cleaned of their adjacent structures and restored within properly arranged open spaces [10].

By 1921, the sole plan for the reconstruction of the central area was approved (the extension plans were to be adopted later) and special legislation to implement the plan was secured. As financial reasons made general expropriation impracticable, an innovative solution for property reallocation was introduced to cope with the implementation of the plan. A Property Owners' Association was established, by all landowners within the burnt zone. The burnt area was compulsorily expropriated, and former proprietors became shareholders of all land plotted for private rebuilding (a total 1,300 new plots). The new plots were to be valued and sold off in auctions, and the old owners would enter this land market in favourable terms. Yet, the reallocation policy was not applied without problems, and the initial procedure was altered in time, due to pressure exerted by groups of landowners and to an increased speculative activity, which modified drastically the intended appropriation of the urban space. Open spaces were reduced, while plot-size was halved (doubling the initial number of plots) to ease access to land by small investors and new bidders [11]. Consequently, rebuilding was accompanied by a shift in ownership of the city centre.

The implementation of the new plan resulted in the radical modernisation of the urban structure and form, for the *intra muros* city. The old spatial patterns were eliminated, the city fabric was homogenised, and a new appropriation of urban space was introduced based on social and economic criteria. The ethnic-religious communities were not re-established on their old territorial basis and their members were to resettle according to their economic strength, in low, middle and high income group districts, inside or outside central city. Naturally, the new ownership of the city's historical centre included many of its former inhabitants, but the numerous poor strata, coming mainly from the devastated Jewish neighbourhoods, found themselves excluded from the centre.[12] Modern urban activity areas (financial, commercial, civic districts, etc.) gradually absorbed former traditional activities and replaced old business sites. The rebuilding of the city was accomplished through small private capital, and created a thriving land market that dominated urban activity in the following decades [13].

At the beginning of the 1920s the reconstruction of the central city was progressing rapidly, until the unforeseen influx of refugees came to overturn, in both social and physical terms, the aspiring scheme for the city's growth.

2. REFUGEE SETTLEMENT: THE DUAL CITY

In 1922, only five years after the fire, Thessaloniki was inundated by refugees from Asia Minor, at the end of the war between Greece and Turkey and the disaster of Smyrna. This initial forced migration was followed by the compulsory exchange of minority population between the two countries under the terms of the Lausanne treaties of 1923. A total of 1.2 million Greeks left Asia Minor between 1920 and 1923, and 355,000 Muslims migrated to Turkey in the exchange.

Greece at the time had less than five million inhabitants. Macedonia and Thrace absorbed the vast majority of the refugees: more than 650,000 people of which 150,000 were settled in towns. Thessaloniki was from the very start the main pole of attraction for the urban refugees: 117,000 of them settled in the city between 1920 and 1928 (as against the ca 25,000 exchanged Muslims) dramatically increasing the population and putting new pressures on the physical size of the city.

Once again, thousands of homeless people had to be sheltered and relieved in a city where the camps of the people made homeless by the fire had not yet been completely disassembled. Masses of needy refugees found temporary shelter in requisitioned buildings, churches, school buildings, warehouses, hospitals, railway wagons, and allied army barracks closed at the end of the World War I [14]. For a second time a sea of tents and "shanty towns" cluttered the urban landscape. Greek and foreign relief committees actively assisted the work of provision and relief.

This time the problem could not be addressed on a local basis. Furthermore, exhausted as it was by the Asia Minor defeat the state was completely unprepared to deal with such a large-scale emergency. Thus it appealed to the League of Nations which established a supra-national body, the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC), to deal with the permanent settlement of the refugees, and administer the two foreign loans of 1924 and 1927. The RSC was mainly responsible for the rural settlement, while the Ministry of Social Welfare dealt with the urban one [15].

Thus an epic enterprise was launched. Central Macedonia, sparsely populated as it was, accommodated a large number of rural refugee communities; in the early 1930s, 509 new agrarian colonies were founded to absorb a population of 180,000 people, and to whom 359,000 hectares of land had been allocated. Of these, seventy five rural colonies sprang up in Thessaloniki's immediate vicinity with a total population of 37,500 in 1926. Together with the large-scale land-reclamation works from 1925 onwards, they completely altered the marshy and sparsely populated landscape of Thessaloniki's plain [16].

The impact of the refugee settlement on the structure and life of the city was immense. In the pressing circumstances, the need for social housing for large strata of population triggered for the first time an immediate intervention by the State in the organisation of urban space [17]. A number of refugees, 11,179 families, were hastily lodged in the central districts of the city undamaged by the fire, in private dwellings in rooms rented or requisitioned by the government (one family per room); others erected huts and shacks wherever open space was available (ruins, squares, yards, or attached to the city wall). The dwellings left behind by the Muslims covered a considerable portion of this housing demand after 1925, sold off in auctions by the National Bank of Greece; 4,667 such properties had been liquidated by 1932 [18]. The few well-to-do people easily worked

their way through the real estate market, which thrived as the rebuilding of the city centre progressed. The great majority of the destitute masses was in desperate need. Between 1922 and 1930, around the city or on the urban fringe more than 50 colonies were founded for the refugees: eighteen built by the Ministry of Social Welfare, fourteen by the RSC, and more than ten by building co-operatives [19]. To these we must add a considerable number of "spontaneous"- squatter settlements formed by indigent refugees on the outskirts, usually close to the existing organised housing (Fig.2). The location of these ghettoised districts, which were connected to the city by a number of link roads, was not only dictated by the availability and the value of land, but it was also a response to a deliberate intention not to interfere with the normal life of the city, to avoid tensions between refugees and natives, and to "ensure a homogeneous social environment within the colonies themselves," at a distance of at least 1 km from existing built-up areas [20]. Hostility between refugees and natives, deepened by the spatial segregation of the refugee colonies, lasted for many decades before it was obliterated after the World War II and the civil war that followed in the 1940s [21].

The settlement of the refugees set the development of the city on a completely different course. Contrary to the procedures adopted only five years earlier for the replanning of the burn-out city centre, the intervention of the public sector took here a much more direct and practical form, covering all levels of planning, from the allocation of the colonies to the urban design and building of dwellings. This global approach (which has been unparalleled in Greek planning history) was backed up by a uniform legislation, and made possible only after the reform of the Constitution in 1927 (article 119) permitting the establishment of urban refugee colonies after expropriation and indemnification for land used for building colonies [22]. Yet the urgency and the speed of the operation hindered the proper consideration of all aspects involved in such a large project, and led to fragmentary and ad hoc solutions. The allocation of the colonies was determined by the availability of land for development (farmsteads, ex-army camps, forest land, etc.), the lay-out of the plans was rudimentary, the buildings were produced with the minimum essentials, and social amenities were almost non-existent. According to the law, "every settlement is to be laid out in an extemporary manner and divided into building blocks" [23].

The result was an unprecedented expansion of the city in practically every direction, covering a surface area of more than 1500 hectares in 1928. The surface area of the housing created by the Ministry of Social Welfare alone was approximately 390 hectares, which is more than the surface area of the intra muros city (330 hectares) [24]. The ring of refugee colonies encircling the city was neither consistent nor homogeneous. It was a mosaic of housing districts, developed by various agencies in a hasty manner, and without any consideration at all as to their integration in a coherent scheme of urban development. It is a most revealing fact that although the governmental department responsible for drawing up urban policy at the time was the Ministry of Communications, refugee establishment operation was excepted from its jurisdiction and entrusted to the Ministry of Social Welfare, a department with no previous competence in city planning matters.



Fig. 2. The allocation of the refugee and Jewish settlements in 1930.

Contrary to the recently elaborated city plan, planning legislation and building regulations approved for the central area of the city, the numerous housing projects implemented for the refugees were founded on plain and uniform grid patterns fitting the quick conversion of farmsteads or open land into urban plots with simple building codes and construction techniques, regardless of site particularities and the cultural characteristics of their inhabitants. A great many systems of housing and types of buildings were tried out and employed, and the prevailing ones greatly changed in the course of their implementation. This can be seen in the variety of allotments, housing patterns and types of dwellings built by different agencies, public, semi-public and co-operatives. Poor refugees were provided with ready-built housing (the cost of a typical dwelling with a floor area of ca 36 sq.m. amounted to 37,500 drachmas -approximately \$ 250 at the time-, which the beneficiary had to pay off in the form of a long-term loan); the co-operatives of the more affluent refugees were provided with small villas or sites-and-services coupled with loans [25].

The settlement at Toumba best exemplifies the situation. In a large area of 135 hectares on the eastern fringe of the city at a distance of 1 kilometre from the inhabited area, formerly occupied by allied army installations and private farmsteads expropriated for the purpose, two big colonies of about 18,000 refugees were established after 1923 [26]. Next to the wooden and tin shacks of the early installation, at least seven distinct permanent housing types have been applied [27].

In 1929 the colony had 3,290 dwellings, of which 2,026 were new and 1,264 shanties (which were to be removed only after 1950). By 1933 the settlement had gradually grown into a solid suburban community of 30,000 people with its own amenities, professional associations, societies, and local life: two churches and three schools, a cinema-cum-theatre, a dance hall, a sports club, and numerous shops. Most of the inhabitants worked in the city in the building trade, the factories and the port. A big carpet factory was erected on the site where two hundred skilled workers from Smyrna produced oriental carpets [28] (Fig.3a).

3. THESSALONIKI, A MODERN REGIONAL CAPITAL

Within the brief space of a single decade, 1917-1928, Thessaloniki was radically transformed through a dualist scheme of planning intervention: The post-fire rational rebuilding of its historical centre, and the abrupt formation of urban extensions by the refugee settlement.

It is certain that the exchange of populations effected profoundly the multiethnic city, whose demographic and social composition began to alter dramatically from that time onwards. With the departure of the Muslims, the Jews became practically the city's only minority group, as reflected in their numerical weight in the city's total population. In those difficult years, demographic changes brought new interrelations and, inevitably, competition. By 1938, the proportion of Jews in the various professional categories in the city was drastically reduced [29].

The influx of the refugees had crucial repercussions on the anticipated growth of the city and accelerated drastically urbanisation rates. The implementation of the new city plan was restricted to the historic centre while the extension plans were abandoned then

later amended in 1929, (after the introduction of the Planning Act of 1923) adjusted to the situation on the spot. The city's area doubled in size, and by 1940 covered 2,000 hectares, having almost reached the ambitious long-term goal foreseen by the city plan of 1918. Furthermore, the redevelopment of the central city was severely affected. The intended rigorous functional and social hierarchy of urban space was not established. The construction of civil buildings was abandoned due to financial problems, and the building plots in shopping districts -the bazaars- were subdivided to make room for small shopkeepers. The anticipated appropriation of the central residential districts by high-income groups did not materialise; instead, they were occupied by lower and middle-class strata. A great part of the central city changed hands as the more affluent refugees replaced Muslims in the undamaged dwellings of the city, while the needy ones occupied every open space available in the spacious quarters of the upper town with minuscule squatter houses, last manifestation of a real vernacular architecture [30].

Table 1.

year	Population						size of the city
	total	Greeks	Jews	Muslims	Bulgarians	Others	hectares*
1913 (a)	157,889	39,956	61,439	45,867	6,263 (b)	4,364	700
1920	174,390	n.a.	72,000 (c)	25,000 (d)	-	n.a.	900
1928	244,680	n.a.	48,000 (e)	-	-	n.a.	1,500
1940	273,635	n.a.	n.a.	-	-	n.a.	2,000

(a) Data given by the first official Greek census of 1913. Population censuses for the years 1920, 1928 and 1940 make no reference to the ethnic composition of the inhabitants.

(b) The Bulgarians left immediately after the end of the Balkan wars.

(c) Figure given by the Jewish Community in 1924 (V.Hastaoglou-Martinidis, *op.cit.*). The figure seems rather exaggerated, as Jewish population had gradually declined after the fire. Nehama (*op.cit.*, p.775) estimates that in the first three decades of the twentieth century some 40,000 Jews left the city for Palestine and West European countries. In 1943 all but 1,900 Jews of Thessaloniki were exterminated in the German concentration camps.

(d) There is not exact figure of the Muslim population, most sources agree to an estimate of 20,000 to 25,000. Many Turks had left Thessaloniki after the Balkan wars, leaving circa 20,000 to be moved under the terms of the population exchange treaty.

(e) Figure given by J.Ancel, *op.cit.*, p. 291.

n.a. Non available.

* I. Triandafyllidis, *Master Plan of Thessaloniki*, stage A, vol. 25, p.34 (in Greek).

On the other hand, refugees settlement speeded up class stratification heralded through the remodelling of the city centre, and resulted in the first clear social division and stratification of urban space, since the policy followed by the bodies responsible tended to divide the refugees into rich and poor, the manner in which acquired a dwelling depending on their economic status. The spatial segregation of social classes was many-faceted:

- It determined the social geography of the city, as lower strata in their majority were located outside the historical centre, in the eastern and western expansions. About eighteen refugee housing districts were allocated to the western part of the city, near already existing factories, the railway installations and the port, and grew to be predominantly industrial communities, although some of them were initially created as rural colonies. The remaining ones, allocated to the eastern areas provided for residential

expansion by the 1918 city plan, were to be developed into low-income quarters with minimal amenities and infrastructure. They encompassed a total population of 100,000 persons in 1932 [31]. To these we must add the eight permanent quarters created after 1917 to resettle large strata of poor Jews (ca 26,000 individuals in 1932, about 50% of the Jewish population of the city) made homeless by the fire, as well as the two low-income Jewish housing neighbourhoods of the 1890s [32].

- Social class polarisation was also reflected in the subsequent form of the urban environment: the reconstruction of the city centre created the image of a thriving metropolis, which never extended to the new developments on the fringes; modern architecture was practically restricted to the central area, where multi-storey apartment buildings emerged as a form of bourgeois housing adorned with a wide-ranging eclecticism. Instead, the simplified functionalism of the refugee settlements and the successive subdivision of land on the outskirts cluttered the urban landscape with a mass of working class and low-income housing quarters of semi-rural appearance which contrasted with the air of urbanity of the historic centre.

The refugee inflow speeded up the transformation of Thessaloniki to an industrial regional metropolis. It gave a fresh impetus to the economic activity of the city, during a period of local and international depression. The refugees revitalised industry and commerce with a considerable labour force, new consumers and entrepreneurial skills integrated in manufacturing and building industry; vigorous entrepreneurs set up new businesses chiefly in various sectors of the food, textile, carpet and tobacco industries [33]. Special grants assisted small businesses and carpet factories in particular, in which abundant skilled female workforce was incorporated; while the law for the "promotion of industry and craft trades" favoured the establishment of new businesses such as the large-scale land reclamation works on the plain of Thessaloniki, the extension of the port, and the railways at the end of the 1920s. The growth of the city made it imperative to expand the water and electricity supplies, and urban transport networks. Furthermore, the increased demand for housing, within and outside the city centre, fostered the building industry, and construction firms were established with the participation of various banks.

If the replanning of the Thessaloniki's central area was, as Lavedan claims "the first great work of 20th century European city planning" [34], the settlement of the refugees proved to be the first large-scale and original, by the standards of the time, housing programme in Greece, even though it was viewed as an ad hoc responsibility of the State and the product only of emergencies. More so, it was one of the major programmes in the world for accommodating large numbers of dislocated people [35]. While private initiative controlled the rebuilding of the devastated zone, the state agencies have produced more than 9,000 dwellings for the refugees by 1932.

The RSC and the Ministry of Social Welfare might failed as urban planners, yet they were more successful as social reformers. The assimilation of the refugees was a predominant concern for all governments of the inter-war period and housing tenure was a key feature of the enterprise, ensuring the substitution of the labour force and averting social unrest, while on the other hand promulgating the prevalent petit-bourgeois model which associated land ownership with security. The complete neglect of the cultural specificities of the settled refugee groups proved a decisive step in the transformation of Thessaloniki from a communal to a socially stratified city.

Table 2. The rates of reconstruction between 1922-1932
(after the report of the deputy director of the National Bank of Thessaloniki)

<i>Private building</i>					
devastated zone	2,203 new structures,	value		1,098.5 million drachmas	
eastern section	3,168	"	"	617.6	"
total	5,371	"	"	1,716.1	"
<i>Refugee housing</i>					
Ministry of S.W.	4,121 dwellings,	value		133.0 million drachmas	
RSC	1,652	"	"	54.5	"
Co-operatives, private building, etc.	3,311	"	"	180.85	"
total	9,084	"	"	368.35	"
Exchangeable dwellings	4,667	"	"	547.81	"

(ex-Muslim properties auctioned by the National Bank of Greece)

source: G.Christodoulou, *op.cit.*, pp. 312-5. According to this report, the exchangeable dwellings in the city amounted to a total 8,805 of estimated value 1,180.3 million drachmas. The liquidation of these properties in auctions started after 1925.

Nevertheless, the experience of the refugee settlement profoundly influenced the evolution of both planning and building legislation after 1923. Within the context of the wider economic and political crisis of the time, novel planning ideas and institutions introduced for the replanning of the central part of Thessaloniki were abandoned or applied in their most impoverished version. Instead, the ad hoc extensions of the city plan, and the successive subdivision of building land on the outskirts turn out to operating rules, substituted to the need for a comprehensive plan. It is significant the fact that from 1921 onwards and up to 1979 more than 90 different decrees were enacted related to consequent extensions of the city plan. More so, the simplified functionalism of the extensions, combined with the treatment of urban land as a small piece of capital, which prevailed in the rebuilding of the central city, prepared the ground for the extensive exploitation of the building sites in the post-war years when low density houses were supplanted by high-rise apartment blocks. Lacking any effective planning control, the great wave of internal migration in the 1950s and 1960s, was absorbed through the extreme increase in building coefficients and the creation of peripheral squatter settlements. (Fig.3b)

The rebuilding of the historical centre, and the refugee settlement although they followed distinct planning concept and course, proved that small land ownership was a vehicle for urban development as well as a means for social integration. Traditional urban space was modernised, huge numbers of immigrants were absorbed and eventually assimilated, and severe social conflicts were averted. The planning evolution of the city offered the terrain for a major alliance between the state and small land owners, which has still not been contested.



Fig. 3. Part of the eastern extension with Toumba settlement, in 1945 (a) and in 1990 (b)

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12. Large strata of poor Jews were removed outside city core and resettled in eight permanent quarters created for the purpose; V.Hastaoglou-Martinidis, "On the state of the Jewish Community of Salonika after the fire of 1917", *The Jewish Communities of S.E.Europe from the 15th c. to the WWII*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies (forthcoming). Jewish historians of the city consider the territorial deconstruction of Jewish community as an important factor for its decline; J.Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, vol. VI-VII, Jewish Community of Thessaloniki, 1978.
13. V.Hastaoglou-Martinidis and A.Yerolympos, "Thessaloniki 1900-1940: from the contradictions of cosmopolitanism to the homogeneity of a neohellenic city", History Centre of Thessaloniki, *Thessaloniki after 1912*, Municipality of Thessaloniki, 1986 (in Greek).
14. According to the report of the Athens' American Relief Commission (No 2/ Oct. 1923, "Refugees in Macedonia"), in 1922 alone 270,000 refugees had passed by the city moving in the interior of Macedonia, and in October 1923 there were 110.000 in Thessaloniki, in 6 camps, in 116 places, and in private homes in the city under the supervision of Social Welfare Office.
15. H.Morgenthau Sr, *I was sent to Athens*, New York: Doubleday, 1929.
16. M.Maravelakis, A.Vakalopoulos, *Refugee settlements in the area of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki Society for Macedonian Studies, 1955 (in Greek); Technical Chamber of Greece, *Technical Annual*, Athens 1935, Vol. A (in Greek).
17. V.Guizeli, *Social Transformations and the Origins of Social Housing in Greece, 1900-1930*, Athens: Epikerotita, 1984 (in Greek).
18. The properties of the departed Muslims were transferred into the administration of the NBG in 1925, and large sales in auctions took place during the next years. The Bank liquidated this property in order to redeem the bond certificates issued for those refugees entitled to a compensation for the property they had left behind. In 1927, 5,019 exchangeable properties (dwellings and plots) were administered by the National Bank of Greece, plus 700 land bond certificates of the burnt zone belonging to departed Muslims. E.Tsouderos, *The Compensation of the Exchanged*, Athens, 1927 (in Greek).

19. Data from unpublished records of the Ministry of Social Welfare, Housing dept., and G.Gavriilidis, *Great Guide to Thessaloniki and the Environs*, Thessaloniki: Triandafyllidis print. house, 1932-3, ch. Suburbs, pp.513-55 (in Greek).
20. I.Papaioannou, "Refugee housing", Technical Chamber of Greece, *Housing in Greece. Government Activity*, Athens 1975, pp.151-4 (in Greek, English, French and Russian)
21. G.Yiannakopoulos, "Refugee Greece", Centre of Asia Minor Studies, *Refugee Greece*, Athens, 1992, p.36 (in Greek and English).
22. I.Angelis, "Refugee rehabilitation in Greece in 1922", *Oikonomikos Tahydromos*, Vol. 992, 1973, pp. 29-35 (in Greek).
23. N.Kalogirou, "Suburban development in Thessaloniki", History Centre of Thessaloniki, *Thessaloniki after 1912*, Municipality of Thessaloniki, 1986 (in Greek).
24. I.Triandafyllidis, *op.cit.*, Vol. 9 Housing, p. 40 (in Greek).
25. J.Ancel, *op.cit.*, p. 201.
26. Expropriation Act, *Government Gazette* 17/1925.
27. Unpublished records of the MSW, Housing dept., f. Toumba.
28. H.Morgenthau, *op.cit.*, pp. 236-60; G.Gavriilidis, *op.cit.*, pp. 542-4; J.Ancel, *op.cit.*, pp. 314-6.
29. J.Nehama, *op.cit.*, p.801-2, states that by 1938, of the 558 categories of crafts and trades in Salonica, 272 included no Jews at all; only 38% of wholesale merchants were Jews, where once they had been in the majority; 20% of the traders were Jews; 28% in the services; 9% of self-employed; and 23% of skilled workmen.
30. V.Hastaoglou-Martinidis, A.Yerolympos, *op.cit.*
31. G.Gavriilidis, *op.cit.*, pp. 513-35 passim.
32. V.Hastaoglou-Martinidis, *op.cit.*
33. From 29 units in 1920, the number of industries exceeded the 90 big firms (with more than 26 employees) in 1933, the majority of which were allocated in the western extension of the city. Among these, tobacco industry was extremely important encompassing circa 100 companies until 1940; see, G.Christodoulou, *op.cit.*, p. 206.
34. P.Lavedan, *op.cit.*, p.159.
35. M. Chater, "History's greater trek", *National Geographic Magazin*, No 5/ 1925, pp. 533-590.

MEDITERANSKI GRAD U TRANZICIJI: SOLUN IZMEĐU DVA SVETSKA RATA

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Solun, sa svojih milion stanovnika drugi po veličini grad u Grčkoj, svoj sadašnji izgled duguje izuzetnom sticaju okolnosti - požaru i ratu - koji su restrukturirali grad. Veliki požar iz 1917. godine uništio je centralni deo grada i prouzrokovao obimnu rekonstrukciju. Dok je rekonstrukcija bila u toku, Solun je bio preplavljen izbeglicama iz Male Azije zahvaćene ratom 1922. godine. U ovom članku opisana je politika tadašnjih vlasti u naporima da suoče ova dva problema, i ilustriran je način na koji je Solun, od uglavnom pre-industrijskog grada sa orijentalnim izgledom i kosmopolitskim karakterom, transformisan u modernu regionalnu metropolu. Novi evropski plan, nametnut starom tradicionalnom gradu, pomogao je da se stvori izgled veće homogenosti, dok je u suštini izazvao još veće klasno raslojavanje; fizičko remodeliranje grada može dovesti do ozbiljnih socijalnih promena ako se dogodi u specifičnom istorijskom spletu okolnosti; čak i dok je plan u toku realizacije, katastrofe ponekad mogu da dovedu do usvajanja izvesnih ad-hok rešenja. Takva trenutna rešenja mogu postati pravi primeri za planiranje, a upravo se to i dogodilo u Solunu.