

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF OTTOMAN PORT CITIES IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY: CHANGE FROM OTTOMAN BEIRUT
TO FRENCH MANDATORY BEIRUT

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ABSTRACT

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF OTTOMAN PORT CITIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: CHANGE FROM OTTOMAN BEIRUT TO FRENCH MANDATORY BEIRUT

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This thesis attempts to give the increasing importance of Ottoman port cities in the urban hierarchy during the nineteenth century and analyzes the urban transformation of these cities under the forces of changing administrative and socio-economic structure of the empire. The impact of European economic penetration and Ottoman Tanzimat Reforms were indicated as major causes for this changing structure.

Beirut, being one of the major port cities of the Ottoman Empire is studied as a case study. The changing administrative and socio-economic structure of the Empire created an urban transformation which changed the city to a cosmopolitan trade capital from a small fortified port city.

Keywords: Beirut, Port City, 19th Century, Ottoman, Urban Transformation

ÖZ

ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL OSMANLI LİMAN KENTLERİNDE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM: OSMANLI BEYRUT'UNDAN FRANSIZ MANDASI BEYRUT'A

Kihtir Öztürk, Pelin

Yüksek Lisans, Orta Doğu Çalışmaları Bölümü

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Bu tez, ondokuzuncu yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda değişen idari ve sosyo-ekonomik yapının etkisiyle, liman kentlerinin kent hiyerarşisinde artan önemini vermeye çalışmakta ve kentsel dönüşümlerini analiz etmektedir. Bu çalışmada Avrupa'nın ekonomide etkili olmaya başlaması ve Osmanlı Tanzimat Reformları değişen idari ve sosyo-ekonomik yapının ana nedenleri olarak gösterilmektedir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun en önemli liman kentlerinden biri olan Beyrut bu çalışmada örnek olarak alınmıştır. İmparatorluğun ondokuzuncu yüzyıl süresince değişen idari ve sosyo-ekonomik yapısı, Beyrut'un çevresi surlarla çevrili küçük bir liman kenti iken kozmopolit bir ticaret merkezi olmasına neden olan bir kentsel dönüşüm yaşamasını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Beyrut, Liman Kenti, 19. Yüzyıl, Osmanlı, Kentsel Dönüşüm

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The Content of the Study	1
1.2 Aim of the Study	4
1.2.1 Port Cities and Change in the Colonial Era	4
1.2.2 Port Cities in the Ottoman Empire and Trade Routes in the Nineteenth Century	13
1.3 A Method of Study for Port City Models	24
2. THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION	29
2.1 Political and Administrative Changes	29
2.1.1 Increasing European Influence and Tanzimat Reforms	30
2.1.2 Regulations and Laws of the Tanzimat Era Related to Urban Transformation	33
2.1.3 Establishment of Municipalities.....	36
2.1.4 Colonialism in the Middle East.....	38

2.2	Socio-Economic Changes	39
2.2.1	Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreements.....	40
2.2.2	Fall of Traditional Productions Centers	42
2.2.3	Rise of Port Cities	44
2.3	Spatial Changes in Cities	45
2.3.1	Creation of a New City Center.....	46
2.3.2	Changing Street System	49
2.3.3	Creation of New Residential Areas.....	50
2.3.4	Other Construction Activities	51
3.	BEIRUT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	52
3.1	Historical Overview of Beirut before the Nineteenth Century	52
3.2	Socio-Economic Transformation of Beirut in the Nineteenth Century	56
3.2.1	Egyptian Occupation and Creation of a New Center.....	56
3.2.2	Reestablishment of Ottoman Rule and Changing Nature of Trade Activities with the Impact of Foreign Market.....	58
3.2.3	Population Changes Due to Regional and International Migration.....	64
3.2.4	1860 Civil War and its Consequences	70
3.2.5	Changing Social Structure.....	72
3.3	Transformation of Urban Pattern and the Planning History of Beirut	79
3.3.1	Urban Macroform in the First Half of the Century	79
3.3.2	Urban Growth and Spatial Formations in the Second Half of the Century.....	88
3.3.2.1	Urban Growth.....	88
3.3.2.2	Changing City Center.....	96

3.3.2.3	Transportation Facilities.....	100
3.3.2.4	Formation of New Quarters.....	101
3.3.2.5	Other Construction Facilities	105
3.3.3	First Planning Acts and Application of Danger Plan	106
4.	CONCLUSION	129
	REFERENCES.....	135
	APPENDICES	143
A.	POPULATION OF BEIRUT	143
B.	BEIRUT MAP PREPARED BY A.L. MANSEL.....	148
C.	PLAN OF BEIRUT CITY TAKEN FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE OTTOMAN WATER COMPANY OF BEIRUT	150

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Shipping Tonnage Entering Main Ottoman Ports, 1830-1913 (thousand tons)	16
Table 1.2 Relative Importance of Ottoman Ports, 1907 (% of total trade)	22

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Changing Urban Pattern in Southeast Asia.	8
Figure 1.2 Changing Circulation System in Morocco.	9
Figure 1.3 City Size Distributions in the Middle East (c. 1800).....	10
Figure 1.4 City Size Distributions in the Middle East (c. 1880).....	11
Figure 1.5 Transportation Routes in Anatolia in the Seventeenth Century.	15
Figure 1.6 Railroads in the Ottoman Empire (c. 1914).....	19
Figure 1.7 The Middle Eastern City Model	25
Figure 1.8 Proposed Model of the Middle Eastern Port City.....	26
Figure 1.9 Land-Use Map of Beirut.....	28
Figure 3.1 Population Change in Beirut.....	66
Figure 3.2 Population Change in Beirut with Respect to Different Religious Groups	67
Figure 3.3 Population of Cities of Lebanon by the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.....	78
Figure 3.4 Map of Beirut and its environs in 1841	84
Figure 3.5 Map of Beirut in 1841.	85
Figure 3.6 Landuse Map of Beirut in 1841	86
Figure 3.7 <i>Cardo Decumanus</i> Trails of Beirut.....	87
Figure 3.8 Pedestrian Network of Beirut.	88
Figure 3.9 Distribution of Christian Population in the City Center of Beirut (c. 1810).....	88
Figure 3.10 1876 Map of Beirut by Julius Loytved.....	94
Figure 3.11 Landuse Map of Beirut (c.1880).....	95

Figure 3.12 Development of Urban Pattern of Beirut in Stages	96
Figure 3.13 Transformation of Beirut City Center (1841 – 1876).....	99
Figure 3.14 Development of Hamra District by the Maps of 1876, 1919 and 1928.....	104
Figure 3.15 Main Streets of the City Center of Beirut.....	112
Figure 3.16 Place d'Etoile from Danger Plan of Beirut.....	113
Figure 3.17 Place d'Etoile from 1936 Map of Beirut.	113
Figure 3.18 The Bourj Axis.	113
Figure 3.19 Danger Plan, 1931.	114
Figure 3.20 Map of Beirut , 1936.....	115
Figure 3.21 Beirut in 1840s. Drawing by Max Schmidt.....	116
Figure 3.22 Bab el Derkeh from inside the walls in 1830s. Engraving by Leon	116
Figure 3.23 Beirut Panorama from Ras Beirut in 1842. Gravure by George Skene Keith.....	117
Figure 3.24 Ain el-Mreisseh area, east of Ras-Beirut, 1897. Photograph by Adrien Bonfils.....	117
Figure 3.25 View of Ain el-Mreisseh Area from the Tower of Syrian Protestant College, 1894. Photograph by Dr. Franklin T. Moore.....	118
Figure 3.26 Panoramic Photograph of Achrafieh Quarter, 1870. Photograph by Felix Bonfils.....	118
Figure 3.27 Postcard of Rue-Echrefie.....	119
Figure 3.28 Postcard of Hotel d'Orient.....	119
Figure 3.29 Postcard of Khan Antoun Bey Square.	120
Figure 3.30 View of Khan Antoun Bey Square. Anonym Photograph.....	120
Figure 3.31 Place des Canons, c.1900. Photograph by Eric Matson.	121
Figure 3.32 Place des Canons, c.1890. Anonym Photograph.	121

Figure 3.33 Postcard of Place des Canons.	122
Figure 3.34 Postcard of Grand Serail (Imperial Barracks).	122
Figure 3.35 Beirut view from Grand Serail, 1902. Photograph by Sarrafian Bros. ...	123
Figure 3.36 Postcard of Grand Serail and the Clock Tower.	123
Figure 3.37 Postcard of Souk el Gemil.	124
Figure 3.38 Weygand Street.....	124
Figure 3.39 A villa on Bliss Street.	125
Figure 3.41 The intersection of Abdul Aziz and Bliss Streets, c. 1900.	126
Figure 3.42 Hamra Street, c. 1900.	126
Figure 3.43 Postcard of Avenue des Français.....	127
Figure 3.44 Postcard of Rue Bab Idriss.	127
Figure 3.45 Postcard of General Foch Street	128
Figure 3.46 Postcard of Allenby Street.....	128

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The fate of our cities provides a key to the fate of our civilizations.

(Brown 1973, 15)

1.1 The Content of the Study

In the world context under the subject of colonial experiences from the eighteenth century to twentieth century in different regions, the distribution of cities in the urban pattern changed in favor of coastal areas. The port cities witnessed an urban growth along with the changes in the trade routes. The Ottoman Empire experienced this change in the urban pattern during the nineteenth century when the trade routes changed their directions to ports instead of traditional inland trade centers. While the inland cities stagnated during this era, the port cities gained importance and grew. The urban growth brought new functions into the cities which lead to changes in the socio-economic structure. The impact of European influence and local forces played a role in the change of socio-economic structure and in the change of urban pattern so the port cities witnessed an urban transformation having both the effects of European and local influences in urban transformation.

The change in the urban pattern in South Asia, North Africa and Middle East is given in the introduction chapter that a similar formation can be observed in different

regions in different time periods; port cities became nodal points for the regions. The increasing importance of port cities in the Ottoman Empire under the changing context of nineteenth century and the reasons for selecting Beirut as the case study are also given in this chapter. In the last section of the introduction chapter, a port city model for the Middle Eastern region was put forward that would contribute as the model for the study of urban transformation of Beirut.

The nineteenth century was a period when the modernizing efforts of the Ottoman state were at their peak. Modernization of the Ottoman state and society under the strong influence of Europe inevitably brought changes into the administrative, socio-economic and spatial organization of the cities as well as in the lifestyles of urban dwellers. In order to give a critical perspective for these changes in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, Chapter II firstly analyzes the effect of European influence and the making of Tanzimat reforms which had effects on the transformation of the institutional structure of the cities and resulted in the changes on the political and administrative sphere. Chapter II continues with analyzing the effects of European influence and intervention on the socio-economic structure of the cities in the context of trade relations and changing urban system; the fall of traditional production and caravan centers and the rise of port cities. The transformation of the socio-economic structure of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century resulted in the significant changes in the urban physical structure. The changes occurred with the demands of the new classes with respect to new institutions and urban space would be discussed in the last part of this chapter.

This general introduction to the field of political, administrative, socio-economic and spatial changes in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, in accordance with the increasing European influence and intervention, is followed by the case study of Beirut. Chapter III starts with the general historical overview of Beirut before the nineteenth century. The changes that had effects on the changing socio-economic

structure of the city of Beirut is given in the following section of this chapter from the beginning of the nineteenth century with the Egyptian occupation and continued with the following decades of reestablishment of the Ottoman rule in the region. Although the Ottoman rule was reestablished, the period of European dominance that started during the Egyptian occupation continued with the Ottoman rule. So a dual system of power existed in the city. The first one came with the new reforms of the Ottoman administration and the second one came with the European intervention and the increasing trade relations with foreign countries. The socio economic effects of this dual system are given in the following parts of this section. The changes in the demographic structure are given in the preceding part with the changing urban hierarchy in the region around Beirut. The reasons and consequences of this change are studied in this section. Regional migration because of the sectarian conflicts in the interior regions and international migration because of the increasing importance of port facilities of Beirut are given.

The last section of Chapter III gives a detailed study of the urban transformation of Beirut in the nineteenth century within the given factors in the preceding chapters and sections. The sequence of presentation in this section is formed in chronological order to see the transformation of the city. The urban macroform of Beirut before mid-century is studied to show the first stage as the consequences of the changes were not observable in this era yet. But in the second half of the century the city faced building activities that changed its urban macroform and spatial formations. As the result of changing urban administration in the Ottoman Empire with the Tanzimat Reforms, the establishment of new institutions and the municipalities in the cities had its developments in Beirut. The increasing European influence also had its developments with the establishment of European supported transportation and communication facilities. In the final part of this chapter the first planning acts in Beirut performed during the French Mandate era is given whether applied or not.

1.2 Aim of the Study

1.2.1 Port Cities and Change in the Colonial Era

Port cities acted as points of economic and social change by the process of colonization or semi-colonization in many regions of the world. The countries in the Indian Ocean faced the colonization era in the eighteenth century and the urban pattern of the region has changed due to European powers. The port cities in the Indian Ocean became colonial cities and they became major points for economic activities. Port cities of Cape Town, Karachi, Bombay (Mumbai), Madras (Chennai), Calcuta, Rangoon, Singapore and Jakarta (Batavia) on the Indian Ocean became bridgeheads for the establishment of European territorial empires (McPherson 2002, 76). By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the colonization acts moved to the Middle East and North Africa that these regions also witnessed almost similar process of colonization or semi-colonization. In the Middle East, ports of the Ottoman Empire attracted the most interest that the port towns like İstanbul, İzmir, Selanik, Beirut, Haifa and Alexandria became home to large European communities involved in commerce and political affairs. On the North African shores, especially the cities of Tunis, Algiers, Casablanca and Rabat became centers for European dominance (Abu-Lughod 1980, 37).

Port cities attracted settlers from many ethnic groups who took advantage of the new economic order introduced by the European rule. They became primary actors in the process of social, cultural, political, and economic evolution in their regions. Port cities were the places where the people of the region met and interacted with one another and with people from the West. In ports new economic processes and population movements made the population of the port cities different from the population of inner regions. But they could not exist isolated from their hinterland and consequently affected their interior regions.

The ports were affected not only by changing economic and political circumstances, but by new technologies as well. The introduction of steam and steel in shipping and railroads rapidly reflected in the major European controlled ports where new facilities were provided to meet these new innovations. Some port cities became major gathering points for sea and rail routes and the neighboring ports were reduced to lower status in the settlement hierarchy with vanishing functions.

Steamships, railroads, telegraph lines, banks, new business houses and institutions, health centers, and new educational and cultural services that growing European communities demanded were established by the arrival of the European population in the port cities. Medical advances reduced the mortality rate among Europeans in the colonial towns and encouraged greater numbers of European settler families. European rule led to new opportunities that in many port cities they established their own schools, newspapers, associations, hospitals, businesses and factories. This process also included the adoption of European cultural habits, dresses housing and architecture inside the local population.

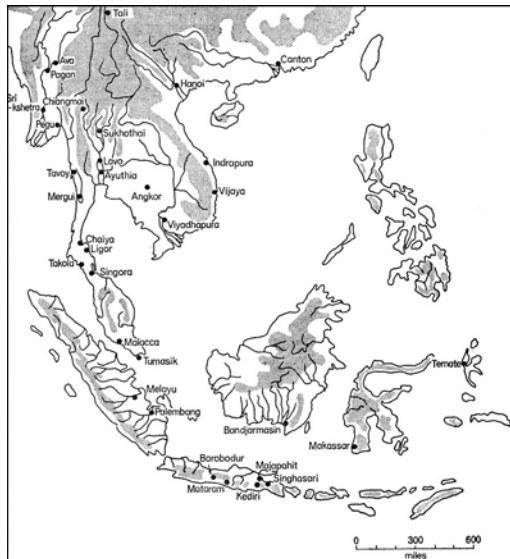
The changes in the nineteenth century not only brought changes in the settlement hierarchy of the cities but also brought changes in the distribution pattern of the rural settlements. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century the villages generally occupied the hills and the mountains instead of plain areas because of the interior struggles of the era. By the nineteenth century the settlement pattern changed in favor of plain areas for two reasons. Firstly, the increasing trade with the European countries made the cultivation of the plain areas necessary. Secondly the government wanted to settle down the nomadic groups and the migrants and chose to settle them on the plains for security and for the establishment of an administrative system (Tekeli 1985, 881).

The overall changes affected the urban pattern of the regions. The case for the Southeast Asia can be observed in Figure 1.1. Cities were more spread in the region before the colonization era. For the geography of the region, consisting of many islands and gulfs on the main land, most of the settlements were on the shore line although the inland settlements also existed and there were both inland and coastal centers. By the end of the eighteenth century some cities became controlled by European powers and some became settlements for western trading establishments which lead to the growth of these cities. The existing urban pattern started to change and the change became visible by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The inland cities almost became extinct as compared to the populations of the cities in coastal lines.

A similar case could be observed in the Middle East and North Africa. Before examining the Middle East and the Ottoman lands as the major subject of this study, the changing urban pattern in North Africa would be given. Figure 1.2 depicts the changing pattern of circulation system. In comparison of the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries the major distribution centers changed from the inland centers to coastal towns. Fez and Marrakech were the two largest cities in the country by the sixteenth century and onwards but they began to stagnate while new centers started to emerge with the start of the colonization in this region. As the process of change in Moroccan cities started a century after the change of the Southeast Asian cities the outcome in the urban pattern showed similar characteristics. Casablanca, which was a small port village before, became the commercial and industrial center while its neighbor Rabat which was also a small port village and a military ground became the official capital of the French administration. These two coastal towns shared the new growth and became the new centers of the country (Abu-Lughod 1980, 34).

In the case of Middle East a similar analysis could also be made. By the nineteenth century, the relationship between the port and hinterland changed rapidly in the

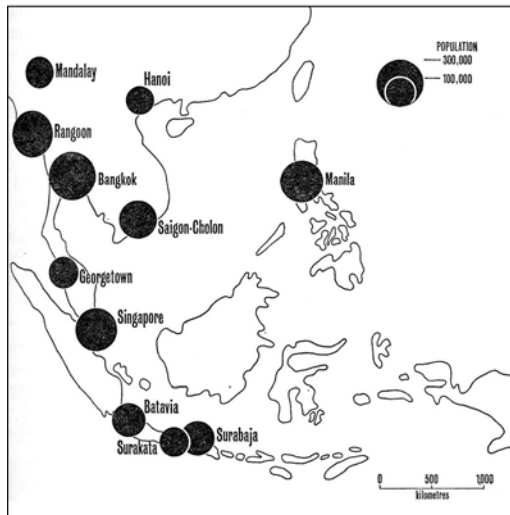
Middle East. Ports became the focal points for the establishment of European political and economic dominance. Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4 shows the changing urban hierarchy in the region in the nineteenth century with the comparison of population of the cities. Figure 1.3 shows the city size distributions in the beginning of the nineteenth century that the most of the population gathered in the major inland cities like, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Musul and Baghdad. By the end of the century as shown on Figure 1.4 the city size distributions differentiated from the beginning of the century. While the cities of Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad grown, the port cities of Alexandria, Beirut and Basra came into existence as major cities in the urban hierarchy. There are also other points that can be observed through these figures as follows. The city of Aleppo stagnated during the century as a consequence of fall of traditional production centers as will be discussed in the following parts of this study. The city of Tripoli lost its position in the urban pattern as Beirut grown enormously during the nineteenth century. While Tripoli losing its importance Beirut gained the role of Tripoli besides gaining the role of becoming a major port for the region, especially serving for its hinterland and for Damascus. In the comparison of Alexandria and Beirut as they similar characteristics like they both served for a major inland city, Cairo for Alexandria and Damascus for Beirut, Beirut went far ahead in the hierarchy. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Alexandria was 15.000, and the population of Beirut was 4.000. But by the end of the century the populations reached, 50.000 and 120.000 respectively.



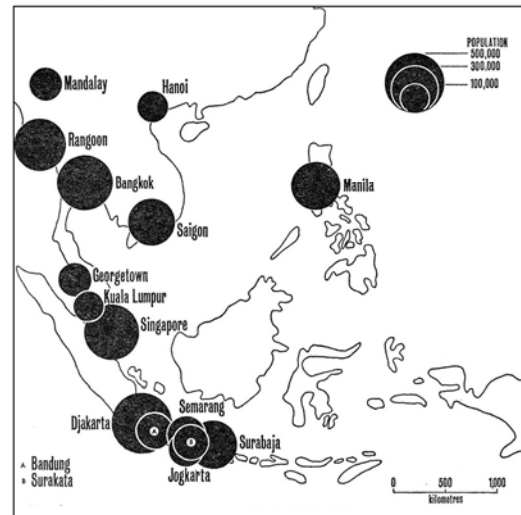
The location of the main cities in Southeast Asia, A.D. 750-1400.



The location of the main cities in Southeast Asia, A.D. 511-1786 .

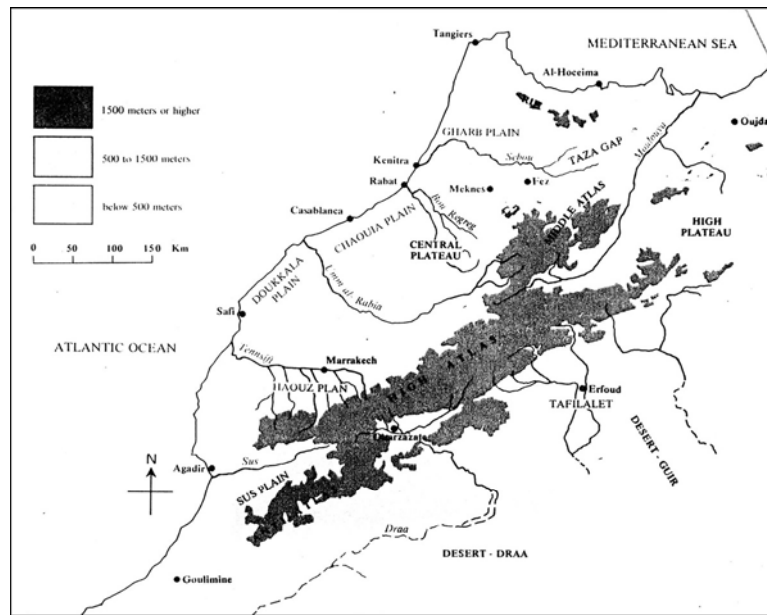


The Urban Pattern. Southeast Asia, A.D. 1910. Cities of 100,000 or more.

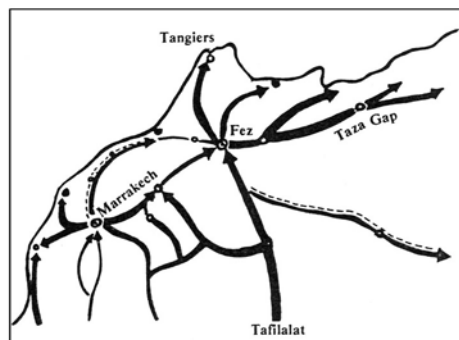


The Urban Pattern. Southeast Asia, A.D. 1930. Cities of 100,000 or more.

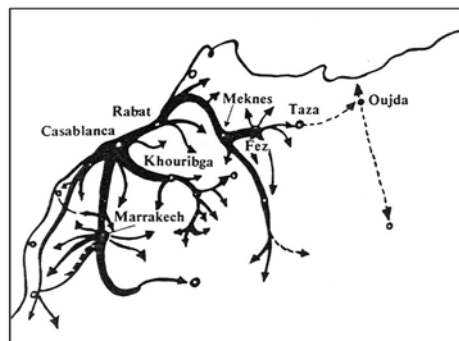
Source: McGee 1967, 35, 44, 53, 66.
Figure 1.1 Changing Urban Pattern in Southeast Asia.



Map of Morocco

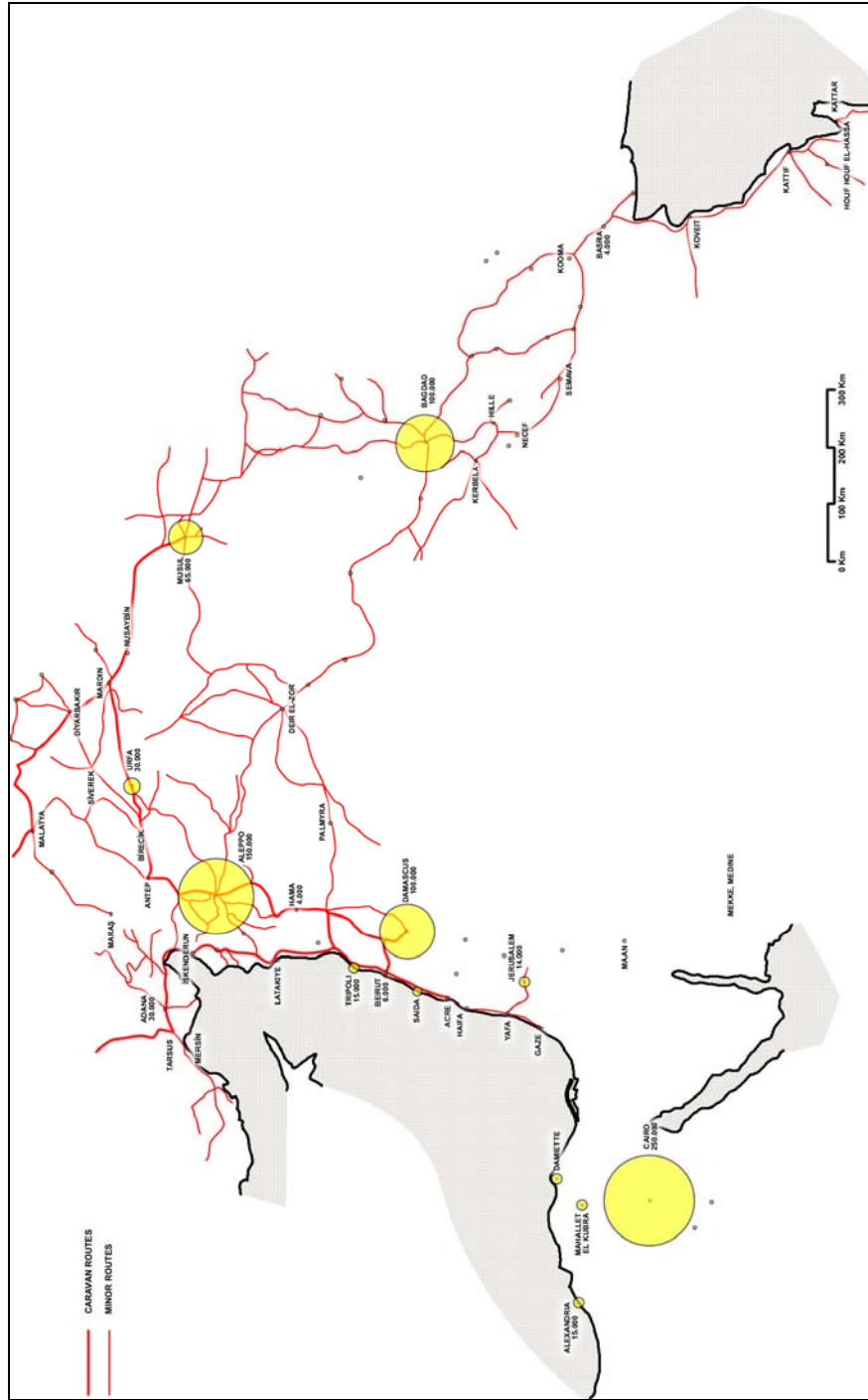


The Circulation System in Morocco in 16th Century.

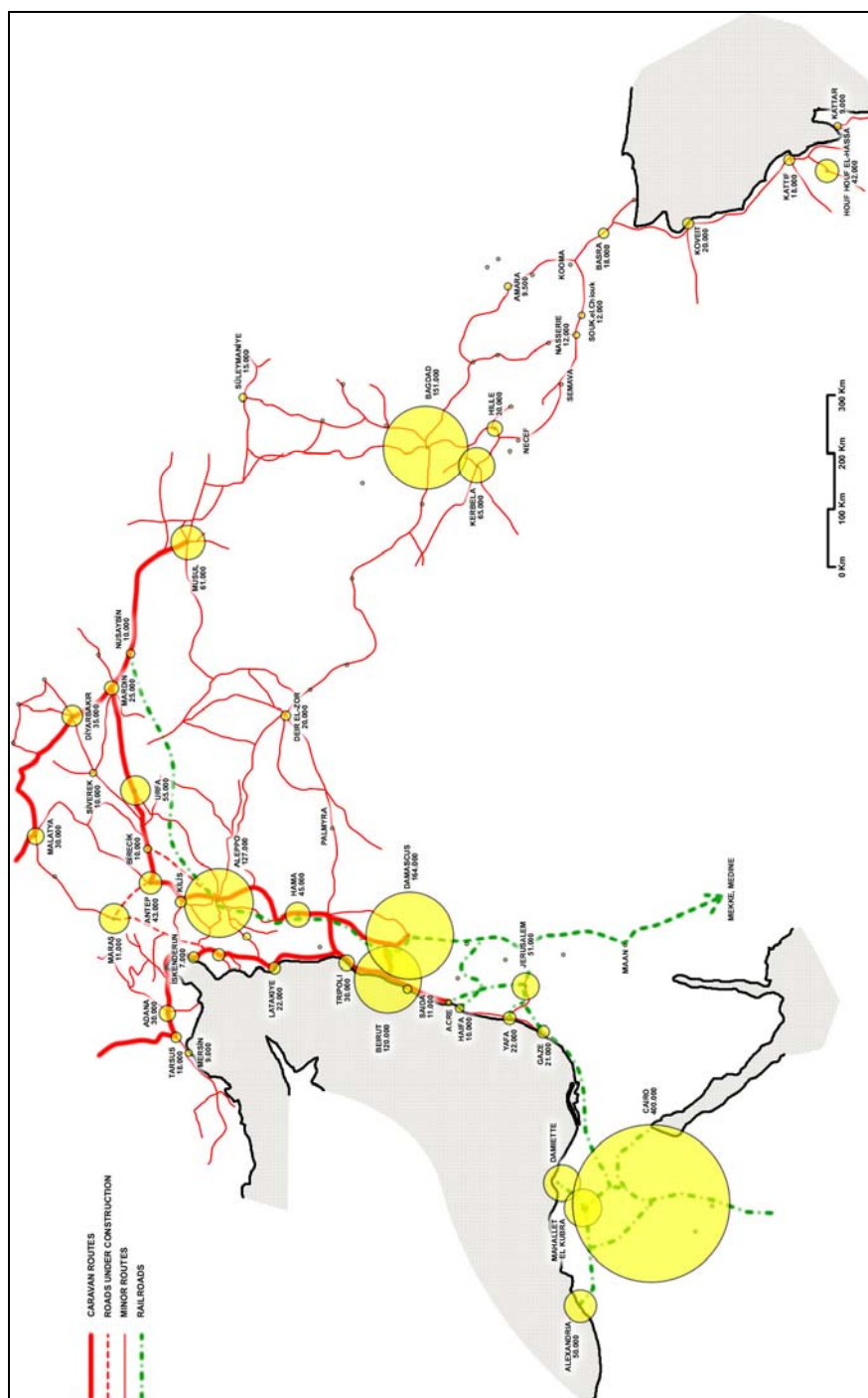


The Circulation System in Morocco in 20th Century.

Source: Abu-Lughod 1980, 22, 33-34.
Figure 1.2 Changing Circulation System in Morocco.



Source: The map is digitized from the unpublished drawing of Aktüre. Data collected from the following:
 Gibb and Bowen 1950, 280-281; Issawi 1969, 102-103; Issawi 1982, 101.
 Figure 1.3 City Size Distributions in the Middle East (c. 1800)



Source: Aktüre, Sevgi. nd. The map is digitized from the unpublished drawing of Aktüre based on the following: Cuinet, V. 1894. *La Turquie d'Asie*. Vol. 2 and 3. Paris: Ernest Leroux; Cuinet, V. 1896. *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*. Paris: Ernest Lenoux; McCarthy, J.A. 1970. 19th Century Egyptian Population. In *The Middle Eastern Economy*.

Figure 1.4 City Size Distributions in the Middle East (c. 1880)

The opening of the Suez Canal, the British occupation of Egypt, and the establishment of French and Italian colonies in the Red Sea changed the hierarchy in the port cities of the region. By the nineteenth century, colonial expansion in the Middle East and North Africa led to the rise of a number of major European dominated ports. Following the British occupation of Egypt, the port of Alexandria grew rapidly and emerged as a great cosmopolitan port serving for the cotton based economy of Egypt and the transit trade of the Suez Canal. At the same time, a new Mediterranean port was created at Port Said, with a twin port at Port Suez on the Red Sea and new smaller ports were created along the Red Sea to serve the European colonies. Then new smaller ports were developed along the Red Sea. The Suez Canal also brought new routes for European countries to Indian Ocean region.

McPherson divides Middle Eastern ports into four categories that the first category includes the ones that were integrated into a rich hinterland and were major economic and political centers in the region, such as Alexandria and Haifa. The second category consisted of the ports of main transit points for ships on long distance voyages, such as Aden and Port Said. The third group of ports served mainly for their rich hinterlands but did not become political centers in the region, like Jiddah, Basra, Abadan. The last group of ports acted as both transit points for ships on long distance and also served mainly for their rich hinterlands and besides these became centers of European political and military power, such as Aden, Massawa, and Djibouti. These categories represent the main functions of the ports and give the reason for attraction of non-indigenous settlers. He continues that Alexandria and Haifa had large non-Arab populations, including merchants, artisans, and military and government personnel. In contrast Jiddah, Basra, and Abadan, which were dependent to the inland centers in their hinterland, had smaller foreign populations involved in a more limited range of activities. In between were ports such as Aden, Massawa, and Djibouti, which were both centers of colonial administration and served a relatively poor hinterland. Port Said was almost in a category of its own, as it serviced both its Egyptian hinterland and ships passing

through the Suez Canal to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. It was also a major tourist port. Its mixed foreign population ranged from canal personnel to service providers for the tourist industry. The size and nature of foreign settlements in these ports varied and also the degree of interaction between indigenous populations and foreign settlers also varied considerably (McPherson 2002, 87).

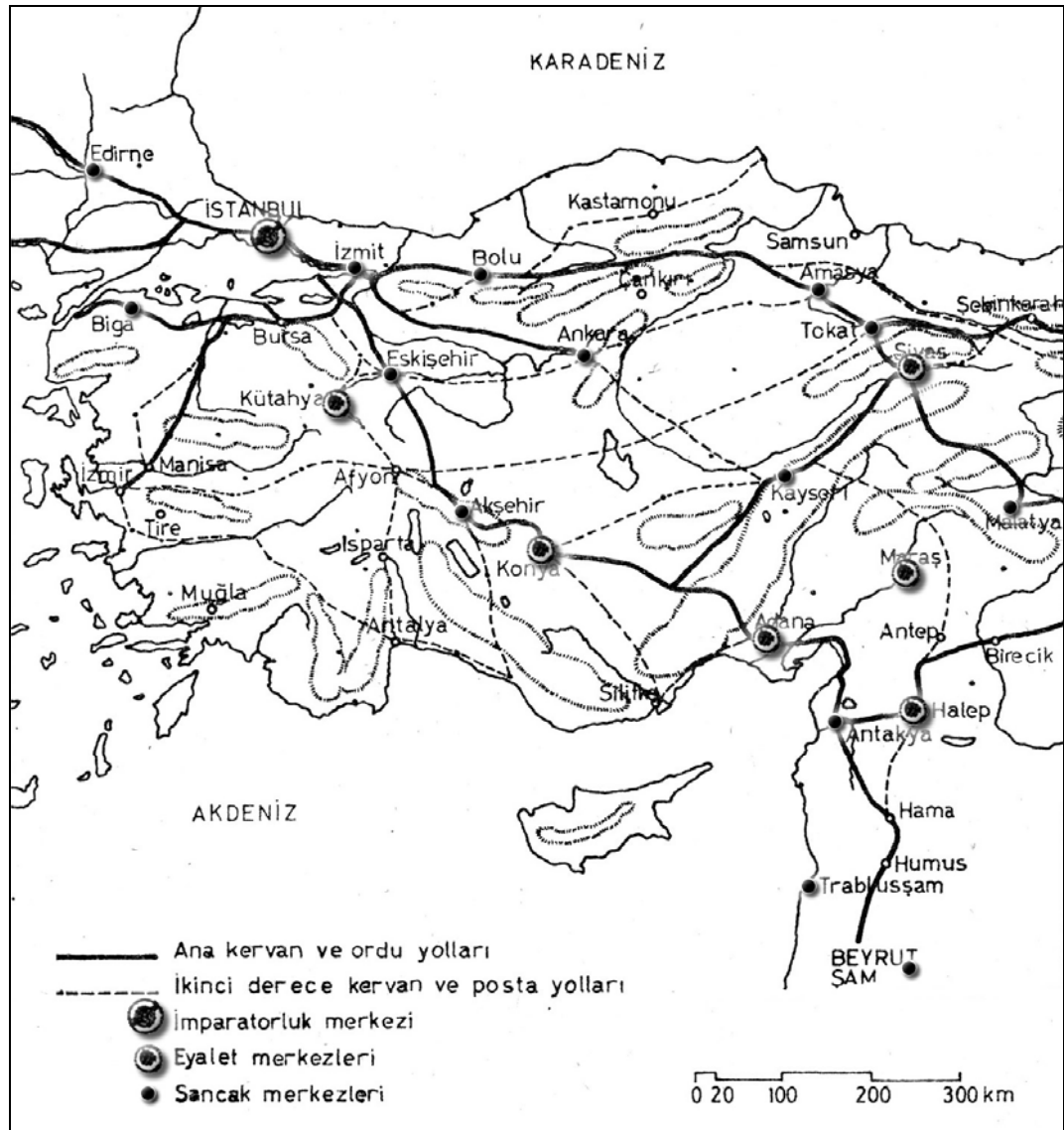
1.2.2 Port Cities in the Ottoman Empire and Trade Routes in the Nineteenth Century

Before the nineteenth century the major cities of the Ottoman Empire were the inland cities. The caravan routes determined the major cities and the port cities were not involved in these trade routes. The cities in the interior regions acting as trade centers were the dominant political and economic centers. Although the city of İstanbul, functioned as an independent source of power and a major actor for change it had a specific character coming from its past as the administrative and economic capital.

The interregional trade was done through two major caravan routes in the Anatolian region of the empire. The first one was the diagonal route from Aleppo to İstanbul and the second one was the north caravan route passing along the Iranian borders to Erzurum and Tokat and to İstanbul. The major cities of the Empire existed on these caravan routes by the sixteenth century. The north caravan route was headed to İzmir by the seventeenth century which would be a starting point for the use of port cities in the web of trade (Figure 1.5). Faroqhi's study shows that the sea trade was not a major factor for the urbanization of the Anatolian region of the Empire. During the sixteenth century only Trabzon, Sinop and Antalya had active ports but they were still small settlements with small amounts of populations. Other settlements on the shores were İzmit, Edremit, Altınova, Foça, İzmir, Selçuk, Samsun and Ünye, but they were smaller and were not using their ports to be considered in the web of trade. The ports of Anatolia except İzmir generally worked for the regional trade inside the

Empire until the nineteenth century. The ones in the Black Sea region, acted as intermediary points for the ships going to İstanbul (Faroghi 2000, 93-95, 355). For the case of Antalya İnalçık states that with the conquest of Egypt and with the establishment of direct trade between Alexandria and İstanbul, the port of Antalya lost its use for transportation and lost its importance as a trading post (İnalçık 1973, 128). By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the increasing exports to the European countries started to affect the port cities but the effects was not considered until the nineteenth century in the growth of these cities and in the settlement hierarchy of the Empire.

The invention of steam engine in the late eighteenth century and its application to transportation changed the way that people and goods were moved, both on the sea and on the land. Steamships made trustable voyages depending on time and reduced the costs. Steamships began entering Ottoman ports in the 1820s. A British steamship came to İstanbul in 1828, the first steamship entered Beirut in 1836 and entered the Red Sea in 1840. At the end of the 1840s the British was operating regular steamship transport in the Red Sea and several other European countries were operating in Eastern Mediterranean and in the Black Sea region of the Empire. The number of ships rose with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (Issawi 1982, 45-48).



Source: Aktüre 1981, 75.

Figure 1.5 Transportation Routes in Anatolia in the Seventeenth Century.

As the number of steamships rose, the amount of goods transported by sea rose throughout the nineteenth century Table 1.1. Between 1800 and 1914 the total volume of shipping at Alexandria rose from 140 to 3500 tons, at Basra shipping rose from 10 to 400 tons, at Beirut rose from 40 to 1.700 tons, at İzmir from 100 to 2.200 tons and at Trabzon from 15 to over 500 tons.

Table 1.1 Shipping Tonnage Entering Main Ottoman Ports, 1830-1913 (thousand tons)
Source: Issawi 1982, 48.

Port	1830	1860	1890	1913
Alexandria	140	1.250	1.500	3.500
Basra	10	-	100	400
Beirut	40	400	600	1.700
İzmir	100	600	1.600	2.200
Trabzon	15	120	500	-

The ports of the empire became incapable by the growth in steamship traffic and the increasing tons of goods transported to the ports that caused delays that lead to increase in costs and unhappy merchants. Most Ottoman ports changed and developed their facilities in the later decades of the nineteenth century (İnalcık and Quataert 1994, 802). For example, when the number and the carriages of steamships increased, the harbor of Beirut was insufficient for the larger ships (Fawaz 1983, 72). To load and unload Beirut's port, larger ships anchored offshore and lighter boats carried the goods between the ships and the shore. This was a slow procedure that

often resulted in damages. Foreign merchants protested and pressured the government for improvements (Issawi 1977, 93).

The major improvements in the ports made in the second half of the nineteenth century were made by the support of European companies. They constructed and then operated larger and more efficient port facilities especially at four major ports of the Ottoman Empire, Selanik, İzmir, Beirut and İstanbul. The financial and technical supports of the European countries were returned by the special privileges to the merchants of these countries. In the 1860s and 1870s the Selanik railroad and port facilities were improved, in 1867 the improvements in the İzmir harbor started and completed in 1875. A French company developed Beirut's port in 1894 with the additions of new customs and quarantine buildings. Another French company at the same time constructed new quays at the port of İstanbul (İnalçık and Quataert 1994, 803). The privileges given to the European countries and firms stimulated the European intervention taking place in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

The railroad constructions connecting the ports to their hinterlands were the complementary projects for the development of transportation facilities. By the middle of the nineteenth century not a single track was constructed in the territories of the Ottoman Empire but mainly after 1890, 7.500 km of track was constructed. The majority of the tracks were built in the Balkans. The Anatolian and the Middle Eastern provinces were far lacked behind by the end of the nineteenth century as can be observed from Figure 1.6. British firms built the first railway in the Balkans, and this was followed by the İzmir-Aydın railway. Selanik was connected to Skopje in 1871 and to Belgrade in 1888. The greatest of the European lines was the Oriental Railway completed in 1888 and connected İstanbul to Edirne and Sofia with a branch from Edirne to Selanik. In Anatolia, after the construction of İzmir-Aydın railway, the construction of Anatolian line from İzmit to Ankara, with a branch to Konya was held between the years 1890-1895. Railroad building in the Syrian provinces began

after the completion of Anatolian railway. The French firms built the first short line between Jaffa and Jerusalem in 1891. The next line linked Damascus to wheat growing districts in 1894 and this line was also connected to Beirut (İnalçık and Quataert 1994, 805-808). The routes of the railroads show that the lines were connecting the important interior cities and production centers with the coastal towns. Railroads working with the ports promoted the flow of both imported commodities from the foreign countries and the export of Ottoman raw materials. Manufactured goods, especially textiles formed the vast majority of imports and this was followed by coffee, sugar and coal.

The introduction of modern transport worked against Ottoman cultivation as it evolved during the nineteenth century. A new control mechanism on the type of products to be cultivated has been established as the modern transport technologies were financed and controlled by European firms. The type of products to be cultivated were started to be determined by the European merchants instead of local forces. According to the needs of the European merchants the products collected from the hinterland and were accumulated in the port cities.



Source: İnalcık, and Quataert 1994, 805.
 Figure 1.6 Railroads in the Ottoman Empire (c. 1914)

This new system brought new market opportunities for the local population but on the other hand these new market opportunities took them into the competition in the world market. Ottoman grain and silk production could be given as an example. The importance of Ottoman grains fell sharply in the international market over the nineteenth century even in the local market as the foreign products were in the market. The manufacture industry also faced the effects of this foreign intervention in the local market. The cheap East Asian raw silk penetrated into the European markets and the production of cheap manufactures became possible which affected the production and manufacture of silk in the Ottoman Empire (İnalçık and Quataert 1994, 798).

The changing structure of the ports and the relative importance they gained by the developments were the consequences of European countries' self-interest rather than the indigenous factors for change. Kasaba gives five major outside factors for the development of port cities in the nineteenth century (Kasaba 1994, 8-9). The first factor was the increasing demand of the European industry for raw materials and agricultural products. The second factor was the increase in importance of the Ottoman lands and sea for the use of communication lines with the Asian settlements where the British stabilized their existence in the Indian territories. The third factor came with the changing economic relations between America and the British governments that this change made the British industrialists look for new sources of raw materials that were obtained from America before. The fourth factor occurred with the consequences of the French Revolution and the consequences of the proceeding wars. The French merchants drew back from the Eastern trade temporarily which resulted in the strengthening of local merchants in the regional trade especially in the western regions of the Empire. Lastly the final factor came with the British merchants that they were trying to break the French trade block established by Napoleon.

The overall changes affected the populations directly. At the end of the eighteenth century, Muslim merchants dominated Ottoman trade in many areas. They were stronger in Syrian provinces, less strong in Anatolian provinces and least of all in İstanbul. This pattern reflects the influence of European diplomats in the cities they exist. The greater their existence, the better the protection they and Western merchants could give to their non-Muslim Ottoman merchants. Most of the local trade and the trade with Iran and India remained in Muslim hands. But by the nineteenth century increasing trade with Europe and the relative decline of the Eastern trade changed the formation of Ottoman merchant community dealing with foreign commerce in favor of the non-Muslim Ottoman merchants. The non-Muslim Ottoman population dominated the international trade in most Ottoman port cities, where conditions favored them. Beirut as an example owed its existence to foreign trade and non-Muslims dominated its commercial affairs (İnalçık and Quataert 1994, 838-840). It can be also said that for the situation in Beirut, both Muslim and non-Muslim merchants in Beirut prospered. Muslims generally dominated the trade between Beirut and its hinterland as in the interior regions the commercial activities were still held by the Muslim merchants (Fawaz 1983, 95).

Beirut was one of the most important port cities in the Ottoman Empire (Table 1.2) The relations with the European countries especially in the economic sphere made the city one of the most dynamic and active city in Eastern Mediterranean. When the Egyptian occupation opened up Eastern Mediterranean to European capitalism by the beginning of the nineteenth century, in particular silk trade made Beirut the port-city of Damascus. Foreign consulates and companies began to settle in Beirut from this period onwards. In the middle of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman rule established again in the region, Beirut had already become a place where foreigners dominated the economic and political sphere. The city existed as the major port of the region while the neighboring ports of Tripoli and Saida lost their chance to become a trade center. These changes that the city went through also changed the administrative status of the city. In 1861 Beirut became a mutasarrifate and in 1888 it

was promoted to become the capital of a province, which also carried its name, Vilayet of Beirut.

Table 1.2 Relative Importance of Ottoman Ports, 1907 (% of total trade)
Source: İnalcık and Quataert 1994, 831.

İstanbul	33	Alexandria	5
İzmir	17	Edirne (via Dedeğaç)	4
Beirut	11	Yanina (Prevaza)	2
Salonica	11	Hicazi	1
Trabzon	7	Yemeni	1
Baghdad	6		

The changing dynamic of Beirut came not only with the changing economic and political sphere but also came with the changes in the society. The population movements had enormous effects on the city. The civil war of 1860 in the Mount Lebanon resulted in the influx of Christian refugees into the city. This also brought in the European relief workers and missionaries to the city (Hanssen 2004, 123). So the population pattern of the city changed enormously in favor of the non-Muslim population.

The idea of selecting Beirut as the case study for the urban transformation of Ottoman port cities in the nineteenth century came with the observable features of

the city according to the factors told in the preceding parts. According to the categories put forward by McPherson (McPherson 2002, 87) for the Middle Eastern ports, Beirut can be defined in the first category that the city was integrated into a rich hinterland and was a major economic and political center in the region. While Damascus was the only major city in the urban hierarchy of the region, by the second half of the nineteenth century Beirut acquired its identity in the general trend of increasing importance of port cities. This increase in importance pulled the outside factors to the city.

The city was affected by the outside factors given by Kasaba (Kasaba 1994, 8-9). Firstly the increasing demand of the European industry for raw materials and agricultural products that for the case of Beirut silk and grains constituted the major sources. The factor for the British merchants' desire to break the French trade block also affected the city that the silk trade was dominated by the British merchants between 1830 and 1860 (Issawi 1977). The domination of steam ships in regular trade activities in East Mediterranean after 1830's also accelerated the development of the port of Beirut. Beirut became the only port to stay for a while between İzmir and Alexandria for almost ten years after 1830. This acceleration also continued by the British trade that Beirut became the arrival point for the British goods which will be transferred to Syria, to Anatolia and to Iran (Özveren 1994).

The growing importance of Beirut under the changing socio-economic forces constituted a typical example for the nineteenth century Ottoman port cities. The urban transformation of the city would occur as a major example that the changes in the socio-economic and political levels had effects on the regional relations and the new emerging trends in the relations brought changes in the urban structure of the city.

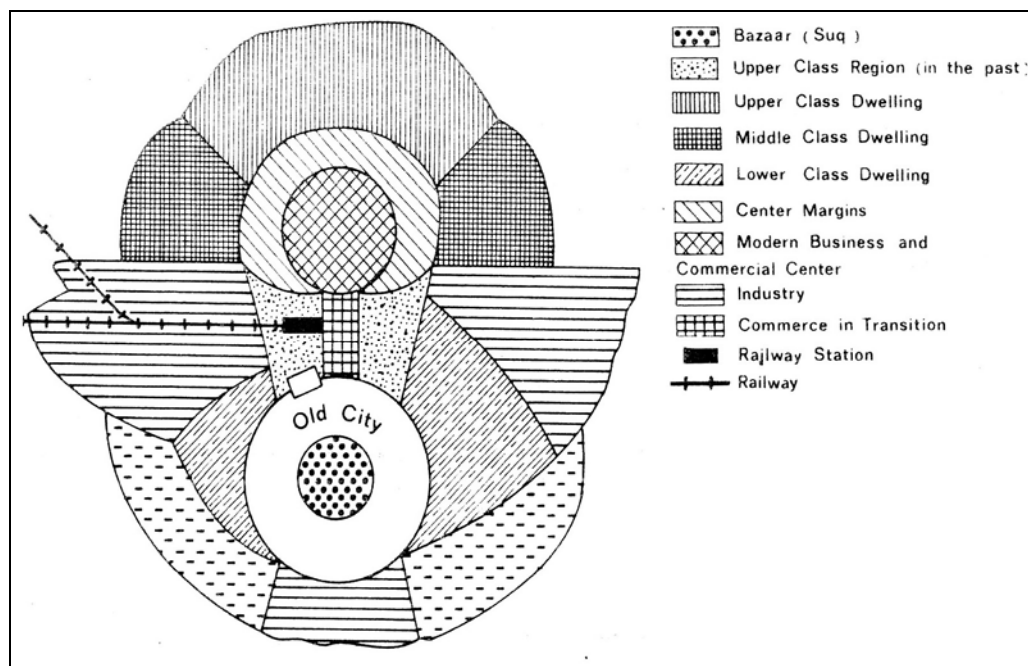
1.3 A Method of Study for Port City Models

The model of port cities with certain shared features in common has been proposed as a theoretical model to understand the role of port cities as the doors through which European capitalism found its way into the Ottoman territories (Hanna 2005, 91).

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the existence of a port did not affect the shape of the city so much when compared with an inland caravan city. The demand for space in the port and its hinterland was small as the volume of trade was small before the middle of the nineteenth century. Loading and unloading was generally done by hand, transports to and from the port was on donkeys and camels or by porters. Khans just near the ports were enough for the services of the ports including warehouses, tax collectors, guards and repair-yards for small sailing craft. From the mid-nineteenth century and through the beginning of the twentieth century the trade by the ports of the region grew and the technology used for transportation changed. First, sailing ships turned into steam powered ships which were much larger and required deeper and wider ports. Secondly a differentiation in the loading and unloading facilities has occurred with the changing cargo type like bulk oil, mixed cargoes and passengers which needed more advanced services. Finally, changes took place in the supporting services of the port and in its environment like customs, customs agents, importers, exporters, transport services, bank lawyers, insurance companies, travel and tour agents, etc (Soffer and Stern 1986, 103).

In the geographical context the port cities experienced the most observable change in the nineteenth century. Inside the cities the old settlement areas and the new established ones survived next to each other. The separation of quarters according to religious and ethnic divisions turned into the separations according to class relations.

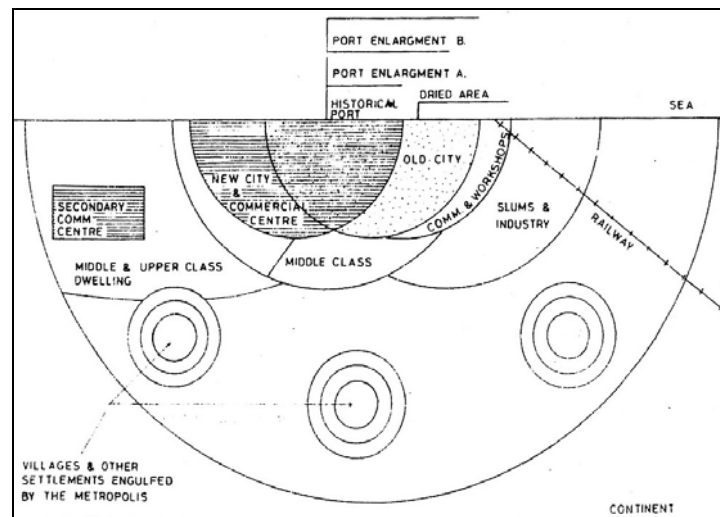
Soffer and Stern accepted the model of the Middle Eastern city as presented in Figure 1.7 and paid a special attention for the differentiation of the Middle Eastern port city models as presented in Figure 1.8.



Source: Soffer and Stern 1986, 102.
Figure 1.7 The Middle Eastern City Model

The model for the Middle Eastern city has two distinct parts. The first part contains the old city with characteristic components like the central mosque, traditional bazaars, khans, narrow winding streets, a fortification wall surrounding the old city and quarters separated from each other with ethnic and religious identities. The

second part of the city is modern and contains the new city center. New residential areas were built around this new central business district with mixed populations separated according to income groups instead of ethnic and religious identities. With the establishment of the railroad which reaches the transition area of the city, the industrial zone was created by the spreading out of industrial developments on each side of the tracks.



Source: Soffer and Stern 1986, 104

Figure 1.8 Proposed Model of the Middle Eastern Port City

The model for the Middle Eastern port city also had two main sections the old and the new one but overlapping in this case. This overlapping was either partial or complete, but the centers are always adjoining and linked, resulting from the penetration of port services into the older part of the city attached to the port. The

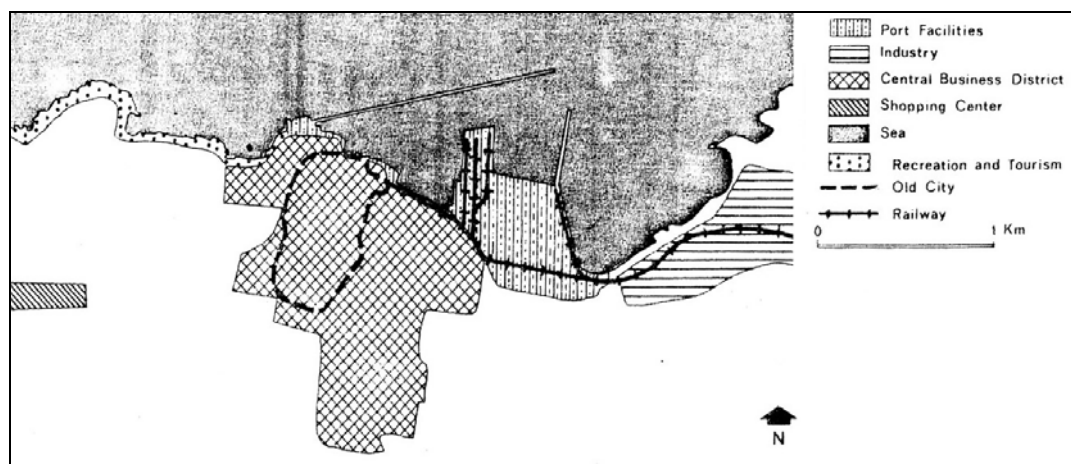
expansion of the port in most cases has been linked to its historical site and has been gradual. All the rings around the center are different from those of the inland city model. The port city has been constructed on and around one center which combines both old and new. On one side of the center, there were elements that belong to the past and on the other side of the center there were elements belonging to the modern part of the city. The recreation and beach areas and the upper and upper-middle residential areas including foreign population constituted the elements of the modern part of the city (Soffer and Stern 1986, 102-103).

The railway constitutes an additional factor in the differentiation of the port city from the inland city. In the model of the inland city, the railroad came just outside the old city where the separation process began between the old city and the new. In the port cities, the railroad penetrated to the old city to reach the port. The formation of industrial zone around the railroad constituted a similar case with the inland cities and the port cities.

The differentiation in the residential districts was a similar case in both the inland and the port cities but the formation of the differentiation differed as can be traced by the Figure 1.7 and Figure 1.8. In the model of the inland cities the lower class continued to reside in and around the old city center while the richer population moved to the new developing areas. But in the model of the port cities the city center resides a mixed population. But around the city center a differentiation can be observed. To give the example of Beirut the eastern part around the city center was dominated by lower class while the western part was dominated by the middle and upper classes and the southern parts were existed as the poorer parts.

The cosmopolitan population was also a common phenomenon to all active port cities in the Middle East and this affects the model. The establishment of a second large commercial center in the port cities was the result of the development of middle

to upper-class neighborhoods in one side of the city with a foreign population. The establishment of Hamra district in Beirut was the outcome of this foreign population settled by the establishment of the American University of Beirut in the district which would be discussed in detail in the following chapters.



Source: Soffer and Stern 1986, 104.
Figure 1.9 Land-Use Map of Beirut.

Beirut constitutes a very good example for the port city model as the old city was located on a coastal plain and the port developed with the penetration into the old city completely. The direction of the railroad, the development of the industrial zones, the cosmopolitan character of the city, the establishment of the new commercial center, the creation of recreational areas which were the general characteristics of the Middle Eastern port city could be easily observed by the thematically prepared map of Beirut (Figure 1.9).

CHAPTER 2

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION

2.1 Political and Administrative Changes

Political and administrative change in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century is an extensive subject area that needs a very detailed study under this title. The factors that would take place in this section were selected according to their effects on the formation and transformation of urban space to keep the subject in context. The increasing European effect and control in every field of the Empire and the call of Tanzimat Reforms by the government to strengthen its power constitutes the first part of this section. The rules and regulations concerning the urban life were also selected in the second part. In the third part the formation of municipalities which was a major outcome of the changes in the administrative system with the effects of both European powers and the Tanzimat reformers would be discussed. Although the government tried to apply the rules and regulations in the cities, the European effect became stronger in the Balkans and in the Middle East compared to Anatolia. As the case study of the port city of Beirut is selected, the further effect of European impact, colonialism which is the case especially in the Middle Eastern region of the empire and the colonial rules in the transformation of the cities would be included in the last part of this section to give the political and administrative situation in the cities of the region.

2.1.1 Increasing European Influence and Tanzimat Reforms

The reforms of the Tanzimat period started with the effects of the European countries and the local forces. The Ottoman Empire joined the open market in the nineteenth century that the European countries wanted to acquire the most advantage of the trade in the open market. So with the trade agreements made in the second quarter of the nineteenth century the European countries started to take the advantages. They also wanted to make the advantages permanent that they encouraged and guided the reform process that the Ottoman Empire would start to make during the same period.

The local forces also stimulated the reform process that rebellions continuing since the beginning of the nineteenth century especially in the distant parts of the empire made the government apply new rules and regulations to strengthen the administrative power of the empire by increasing the power of the central government offices over local powers.

As a result of these factors, Tanzimat Period started with the edict issued in the park of Gülhane in İstanbul in November 1839 and therefore known as the Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane. It was the first edict of what is known collectively as Tanzimat Reforms. There were series of laws prepared and declared between the years 1839 and 1876 which were intended to strengthen the Ottoman imperial administration in the whole country. According to Shaw, the Tanzimat contained the conservative desire for effective centralized control (Shaw 1992, 51). Tanzimat Reforms covers rules and regulations for almost every segment of the social arena. The rules and regulations which had effects on the urban transformation would constitute the subject of the title of Tanzimat Reforms in this study.

The main changes introduced by the Tanzimat Reforms were mainly the security of life, honor and property of Ottoman subjects. These can be evaluated as, equality among all subjects by removing the Muslim, non-Muslim differentiation, recognition of private ownership, introduction of secular rights system by accepting a judiciary mechanism apart from the shariah order, and the introduction of a western rights system with the emergence of the law concept. There were also the application of the new systems of land tenure and the application of new administrative system with the new institutions.

Although Ottoman government tried to strengthen its power, western influences and some decisions taken by the reforms strengthen another group as well. The non-Muslim population of the empire gained an equality in the society and in addition to the equality they gained an advantage with the increasing interests of the European powers in the trade system of the empire. Privileges were given to the non-Muslim population that the economic structure became dependent on them, especially in the port cities of the empire. They used their cultural similarities with the European merchants and their language to communicate with the local merchants that they became agents of the foreign firms contracting business in the cities.

As the Ottoman government became weaker and European influence in the empire became stronger, the relative status of the non-Muslim communities in the empire began to shift. The Muslims began to lose their power that great majority of the population no longer had the advantage of either being the majority or being member of the official religion. Christians, Jews and other subjects of the empire became protected people and they began to gain the upper status. Muslims lost their status while non-Muslims and foreigners gained power with the changes. The Islahat Decree issued in 1856 was the second stage of the Tanzimat Reforms that by this decree more privileges were given to foreigners and the non-Muslims in the empire.

The D yun-u Umumiye Administration, which was established by the Europeans to control Ottoman finances in 1881, was the most important element of the foreign control. The Ottoman Bank which was also established earlier has served as the financial institution of D yun-u Umumiye (Kasaba 1994, 18-19 and Akt re 1981, 71-72). Large infra-structure investments, development of communication and transportation systems were made in the empire after this period through these organizations.

In addition to the formation of a new bureaucracy and extension of military and civil bureaucracy in the cities, to strengthen the central power in the empire other acts have also been taken. For the process of increasing central control with the developing new communication and transportation infrastructure, expansion of western supported educational institutions outside İstanbul have also contributed to the opening up of the empire to the foreign control. Ottoman desire for efficient government and the desire of the European Powers to stay in control of diplomatic and territorial decision making, Tanzimat Reformers developed more changes other than administrative changes.

Reform and Westernization have been the key words in explaining policies adopted in the Tanzimat period. Both words presuppose the existence of reliable, established institutional models with the approval of European social, political and economic experience. By the nineteenth century, Ottoman elite agreed on the need to put the empire into order with the idea of creating an ideal society through regulations and institutions (Shaw 1992, 51).

2.1.2 Regulations and Laws of the Tanzimat Era Related to Urban Transformation

The first Ebniye (buildings) Regulation was enacted in 1848 and one year after another Ebniye Regulation was issued. There was also the Ebniye Manifest between the two regulations in 1848 that it was important for declaring the views of Ebniye Council relating to the actual quality, degree of strength and durability of buildings. The manifest was important because it contained the detailed technical information on the rules that should be paid attention during the construction and on the type of material that should be used. It is also important that after this manifest no other regulation was published in this detail. Both the Regulations and the Manifest were issued only for İstanbul. The first regulation to be implemented in all the cities of the Empire was issued fifteen years later. The Turuk and Ebniye Regulation was enacted in 1864 that it had a much wider content than the previous ones. While the basic concern in issuing the first Ebniye regulation was for the prevention of fires, in the Turuk (streets) and Ebniye Regulation there were efforts to create an urban form. The Turuk and Ebniye Regulation remained in effect without any changes for nearly twenty years (Selman 1982, 3, 76).

The aim of these regulations and the law was to find solutions to the problems of the nineteenth century Ottoman city and laws were issued according to the problems of orientation and width of the streets, settlement problems of increasing urban population and the destructing fires in the cities.

The height of the buildings was specified by the Turuk and Ebniye Regulations. Any projecting parts to the street like stairs, fences and basement windows were prohibited and the window cornices and thresholds were specified by this regulation. The street widths were also determined. It was stated that for the construction in gardens and on vacant land and for establishment of new quarters, maps were

prepared according to the regulation principles of street widths and of building heights. After the Turuk and Ebniye Regulations the 1882 Ebniye Law was enacted (Tekeli 1985, 886-887) by the expansion of municipalities in the entire Empire and their taking over the duty of urban development activities with the 1877 Province Municipality Law. An important change introduced by this regulation is that implementation and supervision activities would be carried out by local administrations instead of the central administrations (Selman 1982, 87-88).

The 1882 Ebniye Rule was more comprehensive than the preceding regulations. The main issues were the widening of the roads and making new plans for the burnt down areas. It was suggesting the municipalities to prepare maps showing the roads that would be opened and their environs and publish them to the public for the burnt down areas. Construction of new cul-de-sacs were strictly prohibited, the widths of the roads were ranked into five categories, the heights of the buildings, the exterior properties of the buildings and the precautions for the fire were mentioned in Ebniye Rules. The rules were implemented especially and widely in İstanbul but it was declared for the whole country and some examples of the regulations could be found in other cities of the empire as well (Tekeli 1985, 887).

The ideal administrative system in the minds of Ottoman notables during Tanzimat era has only partially applied in İstanbul while in the districts far from the capital the local traditional administrative systems were continued to be applied (Gerber 1994, 84, 134-137). This differentiation between the center and the cities apart from the center was also seen in the urban planning activities and processes. Especially the first years of planning activities in the Western sense of planning, the central administration in İstanbul did not even consider making plans for the cities other than İstanbul. The urban planning regulations accepted for İstanbul were considered to be applied for the other cities of the empire not until Turuk and Ebniye Regulation (Uluengin and Turan 2005, 354).

The regulations were firstly about the renewal of existing urban tissue. The renewal activities were generally due to the natural artifacts like fires or earthquakes, that the administrators who were in favor of renewal activities were held responsible for the fires in the old city centers. The regulations were secondly about the duties of the local administrators and municipalities who were in charge for the renewal of the urban area and the infrastructure. In the application of urban renewal programs the central Ottoman government, its local administrators, European residents and their consuls, the businessmen who were in relation with the west especially the non-Muslim merchants were in close relation about the application of new reforms in the cities. The renewal could have been faster if the economic opportunities were more abundant and the natural disasters happened more often. The method of the urban renewal which was the application of projects part by part in the necessary areas, resulted in the lack of an overall urban plan during the empire (Yerasimos 2006, 176-177).

One of the most important laws of the Tanzimat period was the 1858 Land Code. It contains the concept of “ownership” that came with the Tanzimat Reforms. Private ownership of land was allowed by this law and this resulted in the dissolution of the land regime on which the Ottoman order was based. As a consequence of the Land Code the recognition of the right for foreigners to own land came up after ten years. According to Islamic Law foreigners do not have the right to own land in the lands of the Ottoman Empire. This right was not given to foreigners in the 1858 Land Code at first but the European powers wanted to own land to make investments so the right was finally given in 1869 (Aktüre 1981, 41).

The Law of İstimlak (Legal Expropriation) enacted in 1878 also stimulated the private ownership that accepted the existence of private ownership and stated the rules accordingly (Selman 1982, 32).

The owners of property became the members of the rising new classes. The new relationships and new organizations brought about by these new classes had their effects on the urban forms. With the recognition of private ownership new demands of these classes emerged in the urban form. Functions for pawning and insurance brought need for cadastral order for the recording system of ownership. Among other needs this need required the establishment of a new organization such as the municipalities.

2.1.3 Establishment of Municipalities

According to Yerasimos the application of the new models of urban planning in the Mediterranean was just a part of the westernization process in the Ottoman Empire (Yerasimos 2006, 167-168, 170). Ottoman cities evolved according to the European models starting with the Tanzimat reforms in two directions. The first direction was with the central and local administrators and the second one was with the services of the municipalities. The institutions in the first place were the primary institutions of the Ottoman government in the westernization process as the government wanted to use its own officials. The municipalities were taken into the process by the forces of the foreign officials and the local non-Muslim merchants who wanted to live in a peaceful environment with their rights to decide in the area they were living. The financial opportunities were given to the local administrators more than the opportunities given to municipalities with the purpose of making the local administrators more powerful in the decision making and implementation process. The municipalities were left without financial privileges that they only could make the services of lightning, garbage disposal and pavement works. The municipalities survived in the cities mostly for public works. But on the other hand changing of the governors of the provinces once a year, prevented the plan of the central government of gaining more power. In the Middle East, with the European intervention, the cities faced a change in the administrative positions of the city and the decisions of the

municipalities were affected with new European staff appointed in important positions (Yerasimos 2006, 182-183).

The first municipality was established in İstanbul in 1857 and the second one was established in Tunis after a few months in 1858. There were establishment efforts in Alexandria in the same era but the regular municipality was established in 1882 by the support of English administrators. The municipality of Beirut was established in 1863 in the name of Meclis al-Baladi, of Damascus in 1864, of Cairo in 1867 and the municipality of İzmir was established in 1868 (Yerasimos 2006, 175-181). The examples were given because the first acts were taken especially in the port cities. In these port cities basic needs of the foreign merchants were not met by the existing institutions. Quarantines and hotels were especially needed to have the adequate sanitary conditions and also new transportation systems were needed. So the institution of municipality taking charge of these needs was established firstly in the port cities (Ortaylı 2000, 123).

Beirut also had one of the earliest experiences of establishing a municipality. After 1860 civil war, the Ottoman Central government paid more attention to Lebanon and in 1863 the municipality was established under the name Meclis el-Baladi. In 1870 a more organized form of the municipality was created. The materials used for construction were not very apt to fires in Beirut as in the other cities of the Empire so the city did not face such disasters (Yerasimos 2006, 179-180). The city had elections and had numerous majors and municipalities functioned in the daily services like public health and sanitation, maintenance of order and traffic control, market control and fire fighting precautions besides urban land control for street building. From 1868 till 1897 Beirut had five appointed mayors (Shareef 1998, 57-64, 80-104).

The urban improvements seen in İzmir has started in July 1845 when the Armenian quarter burned down, two engineers were sent from İstanbul to make a plan for İzmir in 1856. This act was also the first after the 1848 Ebniye Regulations that required a plan after a fire before the first applications in İstanbul. The building of the wharves started in 1867 and continued till August 1875. During the construction activities, the French and English investors and the foreign merchants of the city asked for establishing a municipality from the central government in İstanbul. The request was taken into consideration with regard of the ratio and the importance of the foreign population of İzmir. In November 1867 the request was accepted and decided that the foreign population would also take duties in the newly built municipality and the written documents would be in both Turkish and French. Under these circumstances the municipality of İzmir was established in September 1868 (Shareef 1998, 179).

2.1.4 Colonialism in the Middle East

According to Reimer the European relationship to the Ottoman Empire was an instance of semi-colonialism, a term that suggests the vitality of indigenous administration, trade, and production, as well as the undeniable reality of European imposes (Reimer 1991, 135-136). The guarantees given to European countries for their investments in the empire started the semi-colonialization period of the Ottoman Empire which immediately resulted in the infrastructure investments.

The situation in the Middle East continued farther to become colonization of the area. The colonization of the Middle East by the European powers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought the region under strong political and economic influence of Europe, more so than in other parts of the empire. The colonial rulers controlled the economies of these areas. In this period the physical features as well as social structures of the urban centers came under the influence of the colonial powers.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the various parts of the Middle East were integrated into the international network of trade and finance. This integration caused the immigration of European businessmen and technicians, the investment of foreign capital, the development of mechanical transport, and the shift from the existing type of agriculture to cash crop agriculture. Foreign competition resulted in the ruin of the handicrafts. All these events marked effects on the location, size and structure of Middle Eastern towns. Issawi puts the situation that; the economy began to be oriented outwards, toward the export of the primary products of the region that transport systems was developed accordingly, with railway lines and steamboat services leading to the coasts, and that the alignment of the main towns shifted to the coastal areas as a result. The growth of these coastal areas was also stimulated by the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen, Spaniards and Italians who came to constitute either a majority or a very large minority of their inhabitants in the cities to gain the relevant power (Issawi 1969, 108-109).

2.2 Socio-Economic Changes

Socio-economic changes in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century is an extensive study area that to keep the subject related to the transformation of Ottoman port cities, the context of this section would cover selected subtitles that has effects on the changing urban hierarchy in the regional level and on the changing urban form.

During the nineteenth century the empire became more and more exposed to European influences. Europe was already industrialized and searching for new markets by the beginning of the century. After 1740 the capitulations and especially after the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreement, the Ottoman Empire was forced to become an open market where European goods were bought and sold freely with low customs-duties. In many Ottoman cities, the production structure was increasingly

coming under the influence of western goods. The Ottoman cities especially the Anatolian and Middle Eastern cities became centers providing European markets with raw materials. The immediate consequence of this was a rapid decline of production in the cities.

2.2.1 Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreements

The privileges given to European countries, known as capitulations, remained until World War I, but their functions changed during the nineteenth century. Privileges turned into rights as Western influence grew and Ottoman power declined. Commercial treaties between the empire and European countries in 1838, Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreement, opened up the empire to European manufactured goods by regularizing customs-duties on imported, exported and transit goods, allowing European merchants to purchase goods anywhere in the empire. These treaties were detrimental to local manufacturers and to centers of local production. But on the other hand cities which became centers of trade with the European countries benefited from these treaties.

The first important treatment of this process was signed with England in 1838. As England was trying to include Ottoman Empire into the foreign market, this treatment started the process. Treaties in similar content were signed with other European states following England. The first of these treaties was signed with France. France was followed with the citizens of Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg and Sardinia in 1839, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Holland, Belgium and Prussia in 1840 and Denmark and Toscana in 1841 (Cem 1974, 548-550).

European merchants gained many rights and advantages that they became free from customs-duty anywhere in the empire with this agreement while local merchants

were still paying duties reaching from 12% to 50% in the interior customs for transferring their goods from one city to another (Çadırcı 1991, 78). In this unfair competition European goods penetrated into the local market. Till the middle of the nineteenth century almost every commodity was provided inside the empire while after the agreement, many commodities started to be imported. By the second half of the nineteenth century the local market became full of European goods while the local products exist only with expensive rates that the demand for local products declined. With the decreasing demand the supply of raw materials also declined. The local production activities the handicrafts became extinct. By the privileges given to European merchants not only the goods, the European shopkeepers also penetrated into the cities that they opened many shops in almost every city throughout the empire (Aktüre 1985, 892).

The effects of Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreement have also changed the social structure in the cities, especially in the trade centers. Main trade activity in the cities were held mainly by the Muslim merchants before the increase of imports but then the non-Muslim merchants gained the dominant position in trade by using their advantage to cooperate with the European merchants while easily communicating with the local population.

Increase in the trade of imported goods and the changing economic structure of the cities had two-sided effects on the cities of the empire. The local production centers were affected negatively while the port cities were affected positively in the economic sense. The local production centers lost their importance as trade centers and the new trade centers emerged which was in close relation with the European countries that would change the settlement hierarchy in the empire.

2.2.2 Fall of Traditional Productions Centers

During the nineteenth century, developing industry in Europe raised the demand for raw materials in the European production centers. They searched for these raw materials that the supplies of the Ottoman Empire seemed useful and available for them. The two-sided transportation also stimulated the achievement of the raw materials from the lands of the Ottoman Empire. The transportation was two-sided because by the advantages given to the European merchants by the agreements, the commodities started to come to the ports of the Empire while on the other hand the empty ships were filled with raw materials necessary for further productions. So the raw materials of the main productions were transferred to international markets instead of interior markets. The interior flow of raw materials changed with this increasing European demand which lead to a change in the production system of Ottoman cities (Aktüre 1985, 891). The opening of the resources of the empire to western markets and the decline of industry transformed the inland cities to the extent that most of the Anatolian cities lost their specialized production activities and their handicrafts.

The decline in handicrafts continued until the First World War in the Middle East. But Issawi gives some cities in the territory of Ottoman Empire including; İstanbul, Bursa, Salonica, İzmir, Ankara, Tokat, Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, Mosul and Cairo that with an elaborate division of labor, each specializing in one particular process, the cities continued to contain hundreds of thousands of handicraftsmen, who supplied some of the region's consumption of manufactured goods (Issawi 1980, 469).

While the local production centers continued their productions in a limited way they were badly affected by the mass transportation of European goods that the factories in Europe were producing goods more cheaply than the traditional producers in the

Ottoman Empire. The transportation costs did not even cause an increase in the total costs by the development of steamships in the 1830s. The new ships brought a reduction in transportation rates that continued almost until the end of the century (Issawi 1980, 470). The effects of treaties of Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreement between the Ottoman and the European governments should be added to the reasons for the reduction in transportation rates that treaties reduced the import duties to very low levels and sometimes cancelled the duties and opened up the Ottoman and Middle Eastern market. As a result in the Ottoman Empire, internal duties paid by local producers remained much higher than import and other duties paid by foreigners.

These treaties and the changing type of trade had negative effects on the local productions that Issawi gives the devastating effects on the textile industry which was made especially in the inland settlements that in 1845 a French consul reported that the number of looms in Aleppo fallen to 1.500 and in Damascus to 1.000 while the total of looms of Aleppo and Damascus were 12.000 before. For the city of Bursa a similar comparison is also available that in 1843 some 20.000 pieces of cloth were produced but by 1863 the amount decreased to 3.000 (Issawi 1980, 470). The decline of the handicrafts also slowed down the growth of these towns, Aleppo, Damascus and Bursa and besides these towns Issawi gives Baghdad, Cairo, Amasya and Diyarbakır as the declining traditional production centers (Issawi 1966, 41-59).

The urban hierarchy has changed by the changing commercial relations and trade routes in the nineteenth century. The more urbanized areas were the inland areas of the empire in the sixteenth century while the coastal towns had less important positions in the urban hierarchy. İstanbul was the main gathering point of commercial activities. All the routes were leading to İstanbul. But by the nineteenth century the changing relations with the European countries, more interdependency to the western trade relations changed this urban hierarchy. The traditional production

centers in the urban hierarchy fell to lower levels while some of the existing port cities started to rise and also some new port cities arose by the changing trade and settlement system.

2.2.3 Rise of Port Cities

Throughout history, most of the Middle East has been highly urbanized; center of gravity has been the interior regions except the eras of the Western influence. Firstly during the Greco-Roman times from 300 B.C. to 600 A.D. and secondly the times of European dominance in the region from 1800 to 1920s the urban centers moved to the coastal areas (Issawi 1969, 102). Middle East entered the nineteenth century with a large population of town dwellers and an accumulation of this population in the towns of interior regions but by the end of the century an extensive urban growth and a population increase in the coastal cities was observed. Inland towns such as Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem deteriorated, while seaports such as Alexandria, Antioch, and Beirut flourished (İbrahim 1975, 32).

The growth of the port cities was related with the new international trade routes that the industrial revolution drew. Technological revolution in Europe, the growth of the Mediterranean trade, the advent of steamships and improved communications with the west affected the growth of seaports. The port cities became points of collection of commodities transported by railway system from the hinterland and also from the smaller ports. This transportation structure necessitated the formation of big harbor cities such as İstanbul, İzmir, Selanik, İskenderun, Beirut and Alexandria. İzmir on the Anatolian shores and Beirut in the Middle Eastern shores became one of the growing centers of the Eastern Mediterranean. Western influence penetrated into these cities deeper in Beirut than any other cities in Syria and Lebanon and İzmir than any other cities Anatolia except İstanbul.

The growth of some seaports was partly achieved at the expense of the other towns. Cairo's trade was partly diverted to Alexandria and Port Said. Similarly Beirut took over much business formerly transacted in Damascus and Aleppo, as well as in such small ports as Saida (Issawi 1969, 110).

In the nineteenth century the main port cities and their hinterlands were divided among the imperialist powers. It was a typical formation that all the port cities were connected to their hinterlands by railways constructed by foreign firms. By the construction of the railway systems the port cities became a changing point of system of transportation and the control of the hinterland also turned to the foreign domination instead of Ottoman rule (Tekeli 1985, 879-880). These foreign firms and their governments gained advantage by the construction and administration of these railways that they became highly related with the administrative powers in the region.

2.3 Spatial Changes in Cities

Industrialization in Europe brought the growth and change in cities by the increasing migration which led to urbanization and planning problems. Order, health and beauty were the main questions in the nineteenth century urban issue. Grid iron plans with wide boulevards and monumental public squares were applied to Mediterranean cities during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The application of the new model was not just the outcome of the increasing European dominance in the Mediterranean but also the result of the Ottoman reforms during Tanzimat.

In order to answer the new facts introduced by the European countries, the Ottoman Empire made and published urban reforms within the Tanzimat Reforms. The regulations and laws enacted in the nineteenth century signaled the beginning of the

change in the physical appearance of the capital İstanbul and the other cities according to the European model. There was reorganization of the streets in straight forms, widening of the streets, expropriation of lands for public use, reorganization of city administration and the provisioning of cities with various new services.

During the nineteenth century urban population rose, trade activities increased, the transportation facilities were developed and urban administrative and municipal activities increased with urbanization. Cities were transformed due to the modernization acts undertaken by their governors. Reorganization of the urban space came out with construction activities in the cities which will constitute the subject of this section.

2.3.1 Creation of a New City Center

In the nineteenth century, the new trade relations created a new city center with different functions than the traditional center in the cities. The traditional center consisted mainly of the bedesten and the market area near the bedesten but the existing area became insufficient for the new functions in the city. So a dual system of city center was created. Tekeli gives four reasons for the creation of this dual system (Tekeli 1985, 881). First reason was the increasing need for the communication of the city with its hinterland and with the world. So in this new context the city was communicating through railway with its hinterland and through steamships with the world. The communication ways were not just under the control of the military or high administrators that they were open systems. So the construction activities were held for these systems. This means that there were new railway stations, new ports and new post offices built in the new city center. The relation with the environs was not just by through these buildings, so other new constructions were held. Warehouses for the transported goods and hotels for the

people were constructed and the caravanserais and the khans of the traditional system of the sixteenth century transformed into stations, warehouses and hotels.

The second reason Tekeli gives for creating a new city center with new functions was because of the need of new financial facilities as the Ottoman Empire was more open to foreign commercial activities and foreign control in trade than before. New financial services were brought by the foreigners and many banks were established in the cities. The competition of the firms made the firms to construct their related banks on the same district of the city. Following the establishments of the banks new khans were constructed around the same district to conduct business more easily. So the main financial activity left the traditional bedesten and the market (Tekeli 1985, 881).

A new transportation system based on railroads and steamships in place of long-distance caravans and the caravanserais came into existence. The relationship of the cities with the outside has started to make through these new systems. New systems created new functions in the cities like the warehouses and railway stations. The change in the type of relations did not only affect the construction of new buildings for the new functions, it also had effects on the usage of the existing buildings, especially the khans. The khans at which traveling merchants carrying their products made stops were the places serving like a hotel and a warehouse where caravan animals were put before the nineteenth century. With the changing transportation system in the nineteenth century the khans changed their functions with the changing type of the merchants. Traveling merchants turned into permanent businessmen in the cities. The khans lost their previous functions and appeared with new functions and new architectures. The new functions of the buildings were the administration, selling and the maintenance of commodities and generally specialized in various ones. The new khans were built without courtyard with more offices and storages. The old function of accommodation passes to the newly built hotels. The mass

storage function has passed to the warehouses built by the railway stations and the ports. The khans with their new functions, the hotels and the warehouses constituted a new city center specialized in trade especially in the port cities (Kıray 1998, 40-42).

The third reason for creating a new city center was for the need of new administrative buildings brought by Tanzimat Reforms. As the administrations of the cities were transformed from the military organizations to appointed governors new administrative buildings were constructed in the new city centers (Tekeli 1985, 881).

The technological change, together with the change in administration had its influence on the establishment of the centralized administrative system in the Ottoman Empire. New technologies in especially the transportation and communication systems were imported very fast for the provision of central control. Communication was no longer in the control of the military class, and it was opened to the whole society. Postal system was established, and the telegraph network became one of the most important technical devices of the centralized administration (Ortaylı 1974, 3-4).

A new bureaucracy appeared with the improved urban administrative and municipal activities in the cities and with this improvement new administrative centers were needed apart from the traditional centers of the cities (Aktüre 1985, 888). Government offices, military barracks, clock towers, and various administrative buildings were built in the cities and even in small towns to meet the needs of the new administrative system and as a part of the modernization program.

The fourth and the final factor for creating a new city center has come with the foreign influence in the cities. As the foreign influence was increasing, their habits

also penetrated in the cities. The entertainment facilities such as theatres, cafes and shops for luxury goods were established in the new city centers (Tekeli 1985, 881).

The new center and the new facilities did not make the traditional center obsolete. A dual system has occurred both in the spatial formation and in the society level. New functions of a new center merged with the ones of the old center and lead to the main residential districts of foreign populations and the districts of non-Muslims. In İstanbul it was seen between Galata and Pera, in İzmir this system can be seen in Punta area (Tekeli 1985, 881).

2.3.2 Changing Street System

The physical structure of the cities also changed. The traditional street systems of the cities were narrow main streets and alleys ending with the cul-de-sacs in the residential areas. There were changes in the street systems with the changing transportation tools in the city. The old system was not relevant for the new relations and transportation systems occurring in the cities. By the end of the nineteenth century the railway stations and the improved docks were the structures that were added to the existing city. As these railways and the steamships gained importance, wide street systems became necessary in the cities.

Through the reorganization of the urban transportation systems the widening of the streets, the construction of roads connecting the city center to the new residential areas, construction of highways between the cities and construction of tramways were the primary concerns of every Ottoman governor, though it was not an easy task to change the old urban structure. But the foreign firms set up firms of tramways for mass transportation in the cities by the end of the century.

According to Tekeli for the changes in the city structure the use of horse-drawn cars also played a very important role that the narrow cul-de-sacs and high density city center was not useful for these new cars. Wider streets became necessary. This necessity provided new settlement areas outside the city walls or outside the dense area (Tekeli 1985, 882).

2.3.3 Creation of New Residential Areas

The construction of new street in the cities made possible the construction of new suburbs around the cities. Cities were growing and extending with spatial differentiation of the business areas and the residential areas. So the mobility in the cities increased that the traditional narrow streets and the cul-de-sacs became insufficient.

The city of the nineteenth century integrated with its environs by the increasing transportation alternatives and functions. Suburbs started to be established firstly by the rich population in big gardens or on the shore as their summer residences (Tekeli 1985, 883).

The rich families residing in the high dense areas of the cities wanted to use the new horse-drawn cars but the spatial difficulties prevented them. So the new settlement areas with wider streets were occupied with these rich families of the cities. The houses were in big gardens with fine furnishings that new high status suburbs were formed (Aktüre 1985, 899). The land for these new suburbs was provided by the Land Reform in 1858. According to this new land reform the agricultural land around the city was recognized by private ownerships and the cities expanded through the plains around the cities. The plains and the new type of constructions

with wide streets instead of narrow cul-de-sacs, the new type of transportation spread easily in the newly built areas (Tekeli 1985, 882).

2.3.4 Other Construction Activities

In the traditional city centers the urban transformation has also occurred. Because of the fires the areas burnt down as most of the buildings were wooden buildings the areas became vast. New constructions were built mainly of stone and brick in the nineteenth century to avoid the fires. This situation led the cities to transform their old traditional styles into new styles. The green areas existing in the cities before the nineteenth century served as the fruit and vegetable gardens for the residents. The distribution and the function of the green areas have changed in the nineteenth century with the urban transformation. Some turned into plots for new residential constructions and some turned into public parks in the city. The old cemeteries existing in the old city also turned into public parks by the municipalities. The increasing population led to the insufficiency of the existing sanitary and health systems. Quarantines in the port cities and hospitals were built in the cities during the nineteenth century. Around the cities another type of land use has also existed in the nineteenth century. New factories and work plants were established around the cities instead of inside the city. Although the main productive activity was still made in the city there was a tendency to move out of the cities (Tekeli 1985, 882-883).

CHAPTER 3

BEIRUT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

3.1 Historical Overview of Beirut before the Nineteenth Century

Beirut is located on the northern end of a hilly site bordered to the north and west by the Mediterranean and to the south and east by Mount Lebanon chain. It was a site with geographic advantages. One was that the narrow coastal plain on which the city was located was widest near Beirut; another was that its harbor was protected from the winds.

This geography made the continuity of the town's history since the fourteenth century B.C. and for the town's survival through so many ups and downs as a seaport between Roman and modern times. The Mediterranean played its crucial role in the Middle East under Rome and again in the nineteenth century after the industrial revolution which shifted the patterns of trade toward Europe (Fawaz 1983, 8). Between these two periods it was less important, for the Arab conquest and the Ottoman rule moved the urban focus of the Middle East to the interior regions.

Exactly when Beirut was built is uncertain, but it was one of the oldest on the eastern Mediterranean. There is also no certainty about the etymology of its ancient name Biruta, which became Berytus in classical times and then Beirut and also spelled as Bairut, Bayrut and Beyrut. It is almost accepted that the name is derived from the Semitic word for "well" or "pit", Akkadian *burtu*, Hebrew *be'er*, Arabic *bi'r* or

Canaanite word *Beryte* showing that there was abundance of water from wells, the only means of maintaining the local water supply at least until Roman times (Encyclopedia of Islam, 1137; Salaam 1970, 110; Fawaz 1983, 14).

Beirut's history¹ before the twelfth century B.C. is unknown. Sidon on the south and Byblos on the north were more prominent settlements at that time and Beirut developed first as a small Phoenician port of little commercial and strategic importance.

With Alexander the Great's conquest of the Syrian coast in 332 B.C., Beirut became part of the Hellenistic world. In the Hellenistic period it was a medium-sized town of no great importance, and not until the fifth century did it gain importance. The reasons for its sudden growth are not clear. While excavations in the center of the town reveal construction that could have had military uses they were most probably the ruins of barracks and a military town. But the real role of Beirut under the Romans and then under the Byzantines was cultural, as it became famous for its law school. The school attracted students from all over the roman world. With this prosperity the increase in population occurred and this increase was followed by the construction of new public buildings like theaters, baths, a hippodrome and an aqueduct system supplying the city with its first canals (Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1137; Fawaz 1983, 14).

By the mid-fourth century, most of Beirut's population adopted the religion of Christianity with its law students in great numbers and the city became the seat of a bishop. As Christianity spread, so did the differences on matters of doctrine, ritual and discipline. The controversies in Syria resulted in the establishment of a whole range of Christian denominations. In Beirut and Lebanon these included the

¹ The review of Beirut's history from ancient times to the nineteenth century is mainly derived from the following sources: Encyclopedia of Islam 1137-1138 and Fawaz 1983, 8-20.

Melchites, who accepted the doctrine of the two natures –human and divine- in the one person of Christ formulated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and the Monophysites and Nestorians, who did not. When the division between the churches of Rome and Constantinople occurred in 1054, the Melchites followed Constantinople. The Monophysites like the Nestorians rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and instead believed in the union between the divine nature of Christ and the Human nature of Jesus. They became dominant in parts of Syria where they belonged either to Jacobite, or Syrian Orthodox, to Armenian, or Gregorian. But this group mainly assumed the name of their patron saint Maron, who died in around 410, and became known as Maronites. In the twelfth century they recognized papal supremacy, but retained their own liturgy and priesthood (Fawaz 1983, 16).

In 511, an earthquake destroyed Beirut and reduced its population to a few thousand. Efforts to restore the town were unsuccessful mainly because of political instability of Byzantine and Persian imperial powers. Then in the name of Islam, the Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula began in 633 a conquest, spreading Arab domination from North Africa to Central Asia. Beirut was taken in 635 in the same year when Damascus was also taken. Two Arab empires Umayyads (661-750) and the Abbasids (750-1258) governed the Arab Empire and until 1110, Beirut remained under Muslim Arab rule. Under Muslim domination a new era began for the city. The Umayyads used Damascus as their capital and its proximity to Beirut benefited the city. The commercial relations were restored with the interior and Beirut. The Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya brought populations from Persia to repopulate the city and its surrounding area, partly as a preventive measure in case of Byzantine naval attack (Encyclopedia of Islam, 1137; Hitti 1967, 244-245). As a result the structure of the population of the city changed, Arabs replaced Byzantines. These changes increased the number of local Muslims.

Muslims tolerated both Christians and Judaism but, as the Muslims moved in, many Christian families left the coastal cities for Mount Lebanon, to the inner regions. They established themselves as religious minorities and independent groups. Beirut, however continued to be inhabited by Christians but the proportions declined in favor of Muslims in the city which would turn opposite by the nineteenth century.

In the mid-eighth century, the Abbasids replaced the Umayyads and moved their capital to Baghdad. This ended Syria's preeminence and also affected Beirut. Baghdad the capital of Abbasids, Cairo the capital of Fatimids and the lands of the empires stretched to Syria, but Syria was divided under the control of various local leaders. So by the time the Crusades, Syria was weak which would explain the fortification walls built in this era in the city of Beirut. The first contact Beirut had with the Crusaders occurred in 1099 and the Crusader possession lasted until 1291 when the Mamluks expanded their control over Syria. The Mamluks remained in control until 1517. After an initial period of decline and anarchy caused by the military and political changes of the period, Mamluks divided Syria into a number of provinces. Beirut was made part of the Damascus province, but the city was in effect under the military protection of chieftains of Southern Lebanon, the Buhturids of the Gharb. These Buhturids were neither Sunni nor Christian, but Druze, the name given to the descendants of the followers of the Fatimid Caliph. Beirut declined during the Mamluk period with the economic fluctuations in the Mediterranean. Syria lost its importance as a commercial center at the end of the thirteenth century but then benefited from the revival of trade between Syria and the Venetians, Catalans and Genoese in the late fourteenth century.

Some improvements were made in Beirut by the Druzes who ruled the city in the name of the Mamluks, but they were modest. The fortifications were restored especially along the coast and two towers were built. In addition some buildings were constructed including a mosque, a bath, a khan, and a palace. The aqueduct was

repaired. The palace of Fakhr al-Din was built at the eastern end of the city which would include the seraglio and the house of the local judge until the middle of the nineteenth century. The population of Beirut in the Mamluk period is not known but it is known that the composition of the population changed, becoming more Muslim. The Mamluks fought against Crusaders, Mongols and other invaders.

Ottomans conquered Syria in 1516. They divided Syria into three provinces; Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli. In 1660 a fourth Vilayet of Sidon was created. Until the nineteenth century the divisions did not change. In the nineteenth century, the Ottomans made a number of administrative changes. In 1840, the Vilayet of Sidon was enlarged and Beirut made its capital. In 1864, a Vilayet of Syria was formed out of Sidon and Damascus and subdivided into five sancaks: Beirut, Acre, Tripoli, Latakia, and Nablus. In 1888, a Vilayet of Beirut became the administrative capital of the vilayet carrying its name (Salibi 1965, introduction).

For centuries, Beirut's history was tied to the destinies of the great empires that succeeded one another in the Middle East. As far the brief history of the region gave the evidences for the diversity of the population in Beirut which would be one of the major factors in the changing socio-economic relations in the city.

3.2 Socio-Economic Transformation of Beirut in the Nineteenth Century

3.2.1 Egyptian Occupation and Creation of a New Center

Muhammed Ali of Egypt (1805-1849), the strongest vassal in the Ottomans, who tried to keep Greece in the Ottoman Empire, was given Crete for his efforts. Muhammed Ali also demanded Syria and when Sultan refused his demand, he decided to take both Palestine and Syria. He sent his son Ibrahim Pasha to conquer

them. Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli soon fell under Egyptian control, and in July 1831 all of Syria was controlled by Muhammed Ali.

The establishment of Beirut as the capital of vilayet Sidon in 1832 during the Egyptian occupation of Syria attracted consular representatives and foreign traders to the city. It was between 1840 and 1860 that Beirut underwent the most important changes that constituted the major changes in its history. Major changes and developments like the low import duties applied to foreign merchants as the consequence of Anglo-Ottoman trade agreement, the establishment of the French-controlled Ottoman Imperial Bank in 1850, the building of the new wharf, and the construction of the Beirut-Damascus road made Beirut accessible from the interior of the region and made the city the trade center of the region. Becoming a center the population of the city increased mainly by the migrations from the interior regions. Maronites migrated from the mixed Druze districts in Mount Lebanon and the Greek Orthodox from Damascus and Aleppo after the upheavals in 1860. By the migrations, Beirut's population rose from 10.000 to 80.000 in a very short period, between 1840 and 1880.

Under Egyptian rule Beirut became the commercial and administrative center for the coastal provinces. Once he made Beirut the provincial capital, European consulates began to locate in the city. After 1830's many consuls and assistants to the consuls were appointed to Beirut that by the middle of the nineteenth century, the consulships were highly institutionalized and they gained roles in the socio-political decision making process in the city. The first of them, the French and the British consulates were established in 1820. By the 1850s some other countries also established their consulates in the city, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sardunia, Tuscany, Spain, Naples, Holland, and Greece (Fawaz 1983, 26). Beirut became the unrivalled port city of the coastal zone of Syria; the city became both the diplomatic capital city of Syria and also economic focal point of the region.

The Egyptian authorities facilitated European trade in Beirut by the construction of new warehouses and lodgings like they did in Alexandria. In the 1830s direct trade with England grew rapidly (Issawi 1977, 93-94).

The changes in the political and administrative roles of Beirut introduced by the Egyptians and continued by the Ottomans affected the city's relation with the hinterland. The alliance between Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt and Emir Bashir II of Mount Lebanon made Beirut strategically important and made the city a political power base for Mount Lebanon. Beirut's growing economic importance changed the close relationship between Beirut and the Mount Lebanon to a dependency of the latter to the former. Beirut became a port for Damascus. The Beirut-Damascus road, built in 1858-1863 was the physical interpretation of the link between the cities (Fawaz 1983, 122).

3.2.2 Reestablishment of Ottoman Rule and Changing Nature of Trade Activities with the Impact of Foreign Market

The Egyptians remained until 1840 when British, Austrian and Prussians decided to come to help the Ottoman administration to reestablish the Ottoman rule again in the region. The reason for this decision lied in the maintaining the balance of power in the region as Muhammed Ali was becoming a major power in the region extending from Egypt to Syria, and planning to invade the Ottoman land of Anatolia. The dissolution of the principedom of Mount Lebanon in 1842 also allowed the Ottoman administration in Beirut and Damascus to gain more power over Mount Lebanon than it had in the past (Fawaz 1983, 26).

Beirut prospered so much more than any of the other once famous Levantine ports – Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Tripoli – that for Beirut's growth it was an example of the

relationship between politics and urbanization. When Egypt ruled in Syria and Lebanon in the 1830s, Muhammed Ali decided to move the political center to Beirut, for the first time European consulates were established in the city. After the Egyptians departed in 1840, the Ottoman administration decided to maintain Beirut as the center of the vilayet of Sidon and its political and administrative importance increased. In 1888 the vilayet of Beirut was established that the city became a center for all international and local political and economic affairs. Beirut was first of all a commercial center but soon became an educational and cultural center and this political and social function explains why the city was able to continue to grow even in the twentieth century when shipping lost so much of its commercial importance (Fawaz 1983, 122).

Beirut was relatively a minor city until the middle of the nineteenth century, when new patterns of production and trade transformed it into a major commercial center in the Eastern Mediterranean. The expansion of European dominated capitalist economy in the region had impacts on the transformation of Beirut. Beirut's hinterland also had the impacts of the change that Mount Lebanon became a center for silk production and an important supplier to the French textile industry. With the growth of the silk trade and related facilities, a class of merchants emerged in Beirut. These merchants were both European and local merchants. The importance of Europeans in the political economy of the city increased by the time and Beirut became not only a commercial center for Europeans but also became a center for consular offices, educational institutions, and missionary organizations. The center of commercial activities and the majority of population of Syria have moved from interior regions to Beirut, from Mount Lebanon to Beirut and from other seaports to Beirut (Nagel 2002, 718-719).

In the beginning of the nineteenth century for three decades silk production and trade was the most important economic activity in Beirut and in the Mount Lebanon. By

the 1820s Beirut became the commercial center of Syria and Mount Lebanon that its prosperity based largely on the silk industry. As the cultivation of silk expanded, Beirut's economy has also expanded. The city became a center for silk traders, producers and entrepreneurs. The cultivation of silk tied the city more closely to the nearby countryside and to Mount Lebanon (Fawaz 1983, 39).

According to the commercial report prepared by N. Moore, the British consul in Beirut, in 16 November 1835 the rise of Beirut has been confirmed (Issawi, 1977, 93-94):

Beyrout till within the last few years almost unknown even by name in England an entirely so as a mart for British manufacturers and colonial produce, is now transformed from a third rate Arab town into a flourishing commercial city – the residence of Europeans of various nations. It is the shipping port of Damascus and of a considerable part of Syria and the market for the sale of large quantities of English manufacturers and colonial produce...

The population of Beyrout has so materially increased of late that a large part of the inhabitants is compelled to reside without the walls. It has acquired additional importance from its having recently been made the quarantine station for the whole coast of Syria...

Issawi points out three main factors for the expansion in Beirut's trade, first of which was the favorable effects on both exports and imports of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838. Second factor was the development of steam navigation and finally the expansion of silk production. Beirut remained the only port between Alexandria and İzmir served by steamships for years that for example in 1844 the consul at Aleppo stated that no steamships called at Tarsus, Alexandretta, Latakia, and Tripoli. Beirut became the coaling station of the coast by being the only port that the steamships had called in (Issawi, 1977, 97).

The domination of steam ships in regular trade activities in Eastern Mediterranean after 1830's, accelerated the development of the port of Beirut. Beirut became the only port to stay for a while between İzmir and Alexandria for almost ten years after 1830. This acceleration also continued by the British trade that Beirut became the arrival point for the British goods which will be transferred to Syria, to Anatolia and to Iran (Özveren 1994, 79).

The success of Beirut also lied in keeping the existing port cities away from the trade and transportation networks in the short run and in the long run, in the balance of trade that exports financed the imports. Tripoli and Sidon lost their chance to become like Beirut, they become like peripheries of Beirut. In the short run, Beirut maintained its status in the web of trade with the dependence of import and export activities between the inland and the European cities on each other while Beirut sustains its function in between. Trade activities were mainly on the silk and cotton and exportation of raw materials from the inland parts of the country and import of machinery for cotton and sugar, tea and coffee in return. French silk industry was basically depended on Mediterranean production after the middle of the nineteenth century and factories in Lyon got the required silk production from merchants of Beirut in the case of extensive need for raw silk. By this way, most of the economic activities based on silk production which were concentrated in Marseilles before, were transferred to Beirut and its near environment (Özveren 1994, 84).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, British trade with Syria decreased sharply. Until Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, France was the leading trader in Syria. But then British interest aroused by the factors of the increase in trade in Syria, becoming a large market for British manufactured goods and source of raw materials like cotton, grain, and wool besides also by being a transit route to Iraq and Iran. Another inciting factor for British interest was the concerns for Muhammed Ali's intentions in the Levant. While both British government and traders had been against

Muhammed Ali's system of monopoly he founded in Egypt, Beirut had benefited from the Egyptian occupation of Syria and then from the expansion of British and French commerce (Issawi 1977, 91-92).

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was a turning point in the East Mediterranean. Suez Canal affected the relative arrangement and hierarchy of the different regions in periphery. Since France imported silk in greater and increasing rate from China, Beirut lost its importance in silk production for Lyon and Marseilles. Decreasing importance of the silk production in the city changed the main functions taken in the city. Thus, Beirut in the beginning of the twentieth century was very different from the one in the third quarter of the nineteenth century because some of the old functions of the city, not only the economic ones, were damaged due to the transformations caused by world economy. Beirut tried to find new functions to replace the old ones and began to carry out new functions during a long transformation period that until the beginning of the twentieth century their results were not obvious. Firstly there has been a construction boom and a search for new opportunities in the port activities in the city. In this respect building and transformation of infrastructure became profitable investment areas for both foreign and local investment. Moreover, investments made on silk production were replaced by financial investments. Lastly and maybe the most important, meeting the amount of food required for the growing population created new cereal production centers extending to the inner parts of the country. As the new modes of investments and productions became primary the old ones were abandoned. In brief, the changes in Beirut showed that; the guarantee of being permanent depended on the ability of change and transformation. Decreasing importance of silk production and silk trade in Beirut was compensated by the increasing production of cereals in the country. By the spread of goods imported from England to the inlands, the cereals from inlands came to Beirut's markets. Beirut's merchants took part in this mutual trade. Also Muslim merchants, being newly rich due to the specialization in cereals commerce in inland, began to settle in Beirut to take part in this same mutual trade. In general the

activities related with silk production taken mostly by Christian merchants were replaced by cereals and by Muslim merchants. By the increasing cereal production and trade Beirut's economic structure (Özveren 1994, 85-87).

In the nineteenth century, French religious influence penetrated into Syria and Lebanon through the establishment of clerical schools, hospitals, asylums and orphanages. In the beginning of the nineteenth century French diplomats and consular officials aimed to influence the displeased Muslim and Christian Arabs in Syria and Lebanon. Their object was to increase French popularity in the area by making Syrians and Lebanese believe that France was trying to achieve political and administrative autonomy for them in the Ottoman Empire. On the eve of the First World War, the French financial investment in the Ottoman Empire was enormous. French financiers controlled %62.9 of the Ottoman public debt. The Imperial Ottoman Bank, which acted as the state bank, was owned entirely by French and British capital. It controlled the tobacco monopoly, several utilities, and railway and industrial issues and had other various business relations. Although its head office was in İstanbul, its loan policies and other financial operations were determined from Paris. French firms constructed and operated ports and warehouses in the Mediterranean. At first the French predominance was lesser in other towns of the Empire than İstanbul, including Beirut. French companies were also dealing with the land and real estate (Shorrock 1970, 133-134).

Among the investments of the French firms in the Ottoman Empire the railroads became the most important aspect in the long run. It was through railroads that France maintained an influence in the Syrian provinces. In 1902 French firms were operating five different railroad lines which were the Mudanya-Bursa line, the Mersin-Adana line, the Beirut-Damascus-Muzeirib line, the Jaffa-Jerusalem line and the İzmir-Kasaba line (Shorrock 1970, 133-134).

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was the period which port cities of the world reached the highest point in the world economy. The differentiation of port cities from inland cities became more evident with respect to the past. With the great migrations to port cities and increasing populations, the welfare of these cities increased. In the case of Beirut, the success of the city lied in its domination of the inner areas and transforming them into peripheries where raw silk production was specialized for the European market.

3.2.3 Population Changes Due to Regional and International Migration

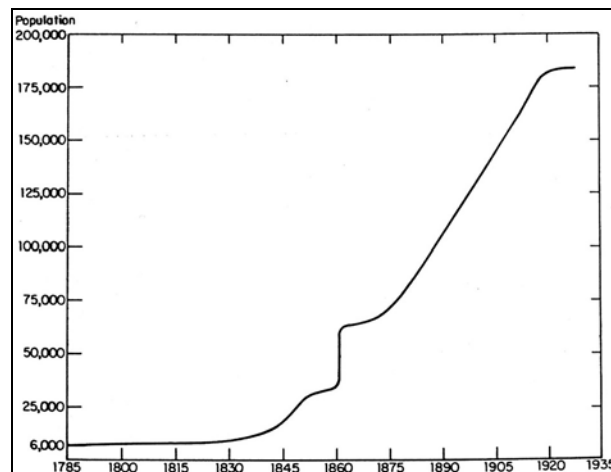
The transformation of the city began in the mid nineteenth century by the rural exodus. There were several factors for this transformation first of which was the destruction of sources of income for the inhabitants of the interior region. The collapse of the silk industry due to the competition by European industries which resulted in the decline in the local markets for the handicrafts and artisan skills resulted in the decline in economy of the mountain villages that they were dominated by the traditional sources of income. The native economy did not survive by the increasing penetration of European mass produced products. The second factor was the massacres of 1860, resulted from the growing tensions between Maronites and Druzes of Mount Lebanon. These tensions, besides the preceding factor become an additional pressure on the rural economy and caused a further flow of rural migrants into the city. The third factor was the French intervention on the Levantine coast. Beirut was chosen as the administrative center of the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon, and became the focal point of some intensive socio-economic and political transformations. The residences of the consuls, the head-quarters of French, American and British missions, and the growing centers of trade and services attracted Europeans, Syrians and the people from the mountains villages of Beirut.

During the nineteenth century the population growth can not be wholly explained by the silk trade as it was active in the first three decades of the nineteenth century that the population growth was slow as compared with the second half of the century. Beginning in the 1830s, Beirut began to expand in population. Christian merchants and peasants came to Beirut from the Mountain when it became an administrative center. The political power and stability in the city after 1860 made Beirut an asylum after the civil war of 1860. Many of the refugees settled in the city permanently. Beirut's role as a refuge survived till the twentieth century. Syrian residents in Egypt and Armenians in 1882 and 1900 respectively fled into the city (Fawaz 1983, 42-43). Throughout the nineteenth century immigration to the city was continuous phenomenon but the people involved were changed according to the political situations. The common incentive the migrants were looking for was the security which Beirut maintained to the populations and besides security the city's economy produced opportunities for the new comers. The religion was the common issue in the case of migrants. Christians were the majority since they needed more protection than Muslims did. So there were more Christians than Muslims who sought refuge in Beirut and this changed the balance of the religious communities in the city in the nineteenth century.

By the early 1860s Beirut's population rose by the migrations from the mountain and the inland as the upheavals took place. The migrants were the refugees. The city's population rose to 50.000 while its population was just 10.000 by 1830's. Besides the native population the foreign population also grew.

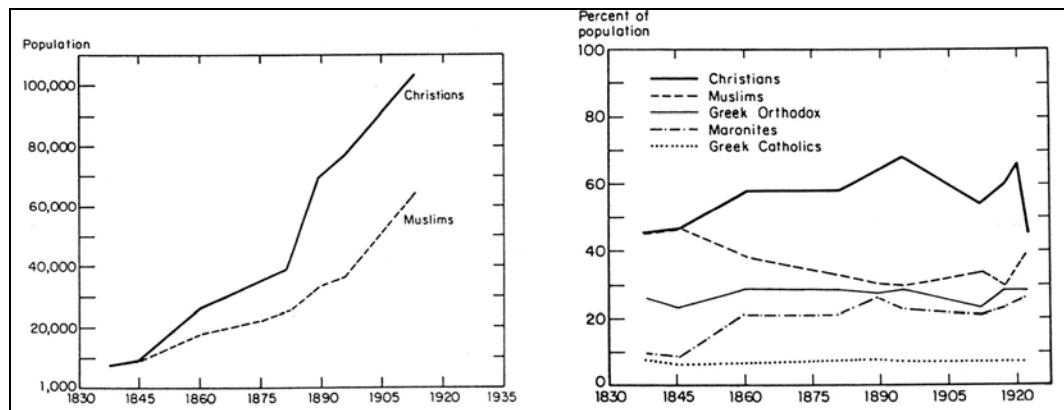
The only reason for the population increase was not sectarian struggles but also the increasing trade activities in the city. In the port of Beirut, export increased from 3.995.645 French francs in 1825 to 45.056.500 francs in 1896 and import increased from 5.907.873 francs in 1825 too 42.693.102 francs in 1896. The difference between Beirut and its rivals increased very much with reference to economic

activities in the nineteenth century (Özveren 1994, 84). The economic expansion which attracted the thousands of people can be shown by the increase in shipping and trade flowing through the port of Beirut. The British ships entering the port were carrying 4.200 tons of goods between 1844 and 1946 that rose to 29.833 tons by 1854-56 (Issawi 1977, 95). By the 1840s, steamships visited Beirut, and for years it was the only port between İzmir and Alexandria to be used by European steamers. For the same reason it was the only coaling station on the Syrian coast.



Source: Fawaz 1983, 31.

Figure 3.1 Population Change in Beirut



Source: Fawaz 1983, 49, 51.

Figure 3.2 Population Change in Beirut with Respect to Different Religious Groups

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the population was predominantly Muslim like in the other coastal towns of Syria. Till the end of the century the population remained mainly Sunni Muslim with Greek Orthodox minority. Although the Christians were minority, during the nineteenth century the population of Christians started to increase in the first half of the century and continued to increase then. The numerical equality of Muslims and Christians came to an end after 1860. Between 1840 and 1865 the number of Muslims in Beirut doubled while the number of Christians tripled. After 1860 Muslims constituted one third of the population and Christians constituted the two thirds. The Christian population almost tripled in Beirut between 1840s and 1860s and also tripled between 1861 and the end of the century. In the beginning of the twentieth century the proportions did not change. The major migrants of Sunnis, Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox, and Maronites came from Mount Lebanon, the Syrian interior and other coastal cities (Fawaz 44, 48-49).

The population dynamics started to change after 1840s when the revolts began in the Mountain against the Egyptian domination and after in 1860s when the civil war broke. More people fled to Beirut than the city received refugees not just from the Mountain but also all the troubled areas of the Syrian interior. Increasing political power and stability in Beirut brought the city to the point where it provided enough economic, social, and cultural opportunities to ensure its continued expansion while there was no crisis around. Because Beirut's population grew as a result of specific events, the incoming population changed the city's religious composition. As sectarianism increased in the interior regions and Mount Lebanon in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, a great number of Christians from the disturbed areas came to Beirut. With the predominantly Christian migration, the number of the Christian population over Muslims increased. This also meant that Christians benefited more from the city's expanding economic opportunities and this shifted the distribution of wealth among Beirut's religious communities.

According to Fawaz there was not accurate information about where the Muslim population came from that the author assumes they came from Sunni populated areas as the interior of Syria, the Syrian coast, and the parts of Bika' in Lebanon. Christian migration started in 1810s from the vilayets of Damascus and Aleppo. The deterioration of the political situation in Mount Lebanon in the 1840s had a more direct and significant effect on the Christian migration to Beirut. During the same period Christians from troubled areas moved to Beirut. Throughout 1860 Beirut received refugees. Many of Christian refugees were traders and skilled artisans who were rich families. Many of the Christians who left Aleppo in 1850 were prosperous. The largest group of Christians came to Beirut in 1860 when Christians of all divisions and all socio-economic levels had troubles in the Mount Lebanon and Syria. Maronite refugees were the other major group in Beirut. All the Maronites came from the mixed Druze districts of South Lebanon. The number of refugees rose from 10.000 to 20.000 in a month in 1860. There were also Greek orthodox refugees in Beirut. Beirut was filled with refugees at that time. Every public space, quarantine

center, religious headquarters, cemetery, and garden was filled with people. The government rented khans and houses to the refugees and also ships in the harbor became shelters for refugees (Fawaz 1983, 52-56, 59).

People came to Beirut for many reasons. First of all, they came for the search of new opportunities in the city. In Beirut these opportunities were a career in trade, in commerce or in government service, or an education. Secondly the political crisis that the migrants were mainly composed of middle-class and wealthy people who would otherwise not migrate at all unless there was a political crisis. That is why political crisis often deprive the troubled area of craftsman, entrepreneurs, professionals, and other productive group that the communities in which they settle would benefit (Fawaz 1983, 5).

The reason for the small amount of migrations at the beginning of the century was shown that the city was small and crowded that subject to diseases and inadequately provided with municipal services. The role of the improved sanitation in the growth of Beirut played an important role. The establishment of the only quarantine center of Syria in 1834 in Beirut, adopting some sanitary measures during the Egyptian occupation were carried out after by French, English and American missionaries in their free clinics and later improved when French and American medical schools were established in the nineteenth century. The effect of sanitary developments on the population growth was indirect through the effect of the sanitary developments on the increasing trade activities and on the economy of the city. The quarantine center was perhaps less significant in improving the health of Beirut than it was in improving the economy since it made the city the necessary stop of every ship in the area. The Ottoman military hospital was established in 1846 and the American, French, Prussian and local hospitals followed it throughout the nineteenth century (Fawaz 1983, 32-34).

3.2.4 1860 Civil War and its Consequences

Beirut's involvement in the problems of the mountain started in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The involvements were at first by economic intervention. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the economy of the Mountain was a feudal system and then became a cash crop system. Beirut's merchants loaned money to peasants of the mountain to achieve an alternative to the feudal system that they were involved in the regional problems. Then Beirut became an administrative and political center with the Egyptian occupation in 1831 and remained as the center during the restoration of the Ottoman rule over Syria in 1840. As Beirut became a center in the region the relations of the Mountain and Beirut started to change, Beirut was becoming stronger while the Mountain was weakening. Beirut's influence over the Mountain continued to grow also after the civil war of 1860 (Fawaz 1984, 490-491).

On the Mountain there had been sectarian rivalries and tensions that with the population movement all their unresolved tensions also moved to Beirut. The conflict was the result of decades of tension and the struggle of 1857 between the peasants and the lords of Maronite north. The tensions spread to the districts of the south that hostilities broke out between Christians and Druzes. Then the disturbances spread to Damascus, where Sunni Muslims attacked the Christian, primarily the Greek Orthodox, part of the town. The reasons for the disturbances in the mountain and in Damascus were different but they changed the traditionally privileged groups of wealth and power. In Mount Lebanon, the changes were the break-up of the feudal economy and the loss of economic balance between Maronite and Druze communities, in favor of Maronites. In Damascus, they included a more general problem of the weakening Ottoman power against the European power. During the struggles in the interior regions of the country, violence did not occur in Beirut. The city escaped the conflicts of its hinterland and other coasts of Syria (Salibi 1965,

105-107). The reasons for Beirut's avoidance of the struggles of 1860 were firstly the economic growth by the increasing trade with the west and secondly the balance of power of both Ottoman and European forces in the city as it was not in the interior parts of the region. European authority was strong in the city and the Ottoman influence was also strong and remained strong after the Egyptian occupation. Both forces remained in check and on guard of each other and this situation prevented the political deterioration in the city during the civil war in the region (Fawaz 1984, 489-490).

The reasons of the struggles were two sided that European consuls and the Ottoman administration accused each other on the increasing tension on the Mountain. The European consuls suspected the Ottoman administration of sympathizing with the Druzes and Muslims and encouraging their attacks on Christians, while Ottomans accused the European consuls of stimulating Christian feelings in the Mountain. The last accusation was actually against the French troops that after their landing in Beirut August 1860, just before the civil war started. Both sides believed the other had the power to stimulate the events. Whatever Ottoman and European rivalries developed in dealing with the struggles and the civil war of 1860, Beirut became a main decision center, an activity point and a destination for refugees (Fawaz 1984, 490-491).

France was very active and dominant in Beirut. French religious and educational agencies were very active in the city. There were convents, schools, an orphanage, a hospital, and churches in Beirut and in Mount Lebanon, which during the upheavals in 1860 they provided relief for refugees.

The demographic situation of Lebanon was a two-folded case by the end of the nineteenth century. In the mountain, the sectarian, the ethnical and the tribal differences turned into groupings and gained their independent status while in Beirut;

there was a cosmopolitan, a communal mixing of Christians and Muslims. Before the rural population exodus started in the 1860s the population of both Christians and Muslims were numerically equal. But by the third quarter of the nineteenth century the equality came to an end in favor of the Christians. Between 1840 and 1865 the number of Muslims in Beirut doubled while the number of Christians tripled. The increasing Christian population also advanced their economic activities more rapidly than the Muslim population. The reason was the relations in trade activities. Muslims were mainly had the dominance in the trade with the east while the Christians had the dominance in the trade with the west. The trade with the west was more profitable than the trade with the east. Christian traders became more prestigious in the city. Moreover, legislation was introduced by the Ottoman rulers between 1839 and 1876 that raised the status of the Christian community.

The civil war of 1860 certainly brought hostility between Christians and Muslims but cooperation also continued. There are claims that the presence of European ships in Beirut's harbor prevented bloodshed in the city in 1860, but according to Fawaz, the real reason behind Beirut's avoidance of bloodshed must lie in the population itself. The sectarian hostility was among both the ordinary people and the rich population.

3.2.5 Changing Social Structure

The population growth changed the social structure of the city. While Sunni Muslims had the numerical superiority in other coastal cities of the area, Beirut had a substantial Christian majority beginning with the 1830s. At this time Beirut became a city with a Christian majority.

Beirut's people were used to live together by ignoring their religious and ethnic differences when they were doing business. City's population was composed of

mainly Sunni Muslims and Greek Orthodox Christians for centuries and they lived together and done business. By the 1850s the increasing migration from the interior regions changed the population dynamics but did not affect the business relations between these groups or the local population did not let the deterioration of the economic relations and interests at first.

Beirut in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became a prosperous cosmopolitan city by the presence of Europeans, especially Christian refugees from the interior regions of the country and numerous migrants including Armenians and Circassians who added diversity to the city's population. The presence of a strong merchant class with common economic interests provided the city's ethnic and religious groups a social tolerance. Among these groups there were Shiites, Sunnis, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Maronite Catholics, Druzes, and Jews. Especially in the center of the town the mixing was seen in the types of business partners in private facilities. In the souks and bazaars, artisans and traders worked side by side. Christians and Muslims were also mixed in the official functions that they served in the same communities and courts (Nagel 2002, 719).

A certain category of traders, most of them Christians, who became European trade agents, benefited from the concentration of western interests. An important local bourgeoisie appeared and identified more and more to western cultural values. This new bourgeoisie took possession of the available urban land on the exterior of the old city wall, on the surrounding hills and built large residences reflecting the new acquired wealth. In the new residential zones, communal spaces were not well defined but the mosques, churches or schools showed the increasing in either one of the groups.

The expanding European effect in the city changed the urban organization. Beirut started to integrate in the world economy and became the main outlet for Damascus,

and a center for the interior. For a few years, the city has seen mainly the arrival of diplomats, industrialists, contractors and job seekers. Industrialists were mainly investing money into silk economy between the years 1860-1880 and contractors were mainly involved in the construction of urban facilities mainly in infrastructure and communications like the widened harbor, new roads and railroads joining Beirut to Damascus, telegraph and gas lightings, tramway lines in the city and street paving.

European consuls, merchants, and bankers were among the most powerful members of the Beirut's society, the most important factor for the social development of Beirut was mainly by the rise of a local commercial bourgeoisie composed of mainly Syrian Christians. There were some reasons for the rise of the local commercial bourgeoisie of Christians that firstly, they had the ability to obtain the fiscal and judicial exemptions that foreign protection had presented (Fawaz, 1983, 61, 74, 85-89). Second reason was the familiarity of local Christian entrepreneurs with domestic market conditions and their ability to force their contracts and gain advantage over European competitors (Owen 1981, 158). Third reason was the capital accumulations of the native Christians to invest in commerce (Reimer 1991, 147). These native Christians were both from Beirut and also the migrants of the interior regions of the country. These migrants were generally prosperous traders and skilled artisans that they took the advantages given before to become the commercial bourgeoisie of the city (Fawaz 1983, 52-60). However the local Christian population dominated the commercial activities, Muslim merchants also participated in the commercial expansion of Beirut that a relatively small number of Muslims were in collaboration with Christian entrepreneurs. But the trade in the interior regions of the country, on the other hand, was still dominated by the Muslim merchants (Fawaz 1983, 95-97).

The Muslim migrants of Beirut were mainly the poor population of the region as they were seeking opportunities in the developing city of Beirut. Hostilities and the crime grew in the city with migration of poor people. The struggles among the rich were

different than the common people that while they were fighting openly, the rich population consisting of merchants and notables made their struggles in the political arena for gaining more power and influence the administration. They founded societies, schools, and hospitals for their own communities. The Christians established the Greek Catholic Patriarchal College in 1865, the Maronite Ecole de la Sagesse in 1874, the Greek Orthodox school of Thalathat Aqmar, and in 1880 the girls' school Zahrat al-Ihsan supported by Emilie Sursock. Among Muslim schools there were Dal al-Funun, a primary school founded in 1880, and the Maqasid Benevolent Society, founded in 1878 and became the leading Sunni educational and medical center in Beirut. Merchants and other notables established their own societies, schools, and hospitals that besides the social and economic separation between the Muslims and Christians, cultural gaps were also forming which were encouraged by educational institutions, especially the by the French schools (Fawaz 1983, 112, 116-1179).

The collaboration of Muslim and Christian merchants was preserved by personal relationship, as it was the case earlier, while the struggles were continuing in the city. Notables of the two communities continued to meet regularly at official functions. Although Christian population was exceeding the Muslim population in Beirut, they continued to share equal representation with Muslims on committees. At the end of the nineteenth century, more public committees were formed in Beirut to answer the growing urban needs of the city.

Beirut's expanding opportunities also changed the ways its people made their living. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the people were generally in crafts, trade, or government service. Artisans, shopkeepers, and workers were constituted the majority, that they were ruled over by an upper class of government officials and wealthy people composed of Muslim notables and a combined Muslim and Christian merchant bourgeoisie. The expansion of Beirut's commerce, the establishment of

foreign consulates and trading firms, and of new local merchant and money lending houses diversified the class of wealthy people by the end of the nineteenth century. A new and predominantly local Christian merchant class emerged. Usually the new emerging merchant class was the foreign entrepreneurs in other port cities of the Middle East while in Beirut the local merchants took the advantage of the economic development of the city and kept the profit for themselves. Fawaz gives this situation and interprets the result as the people of Beirut enjoyed a degree of social mobility that would have been unheard of earlier in Beirut or in the hierarchical society of Mount Lebanon. The local merchants also played an important role in the economic development of Beirut. Fawaz mentions these local entrepreneurs as agents of change in the city. The rich refugees who fled from Mount Lebanon or the interior regions of Syria brought their money and experience with them to Beirut. They constituted a new merchant class and in the following decades of the nineteenth century that class accumulated more money and political power. This new class began to display its wealth, which was a result of the expansion of trade with the west, by their clothing, housing, customs, and education (Fawaz 1983, 123).

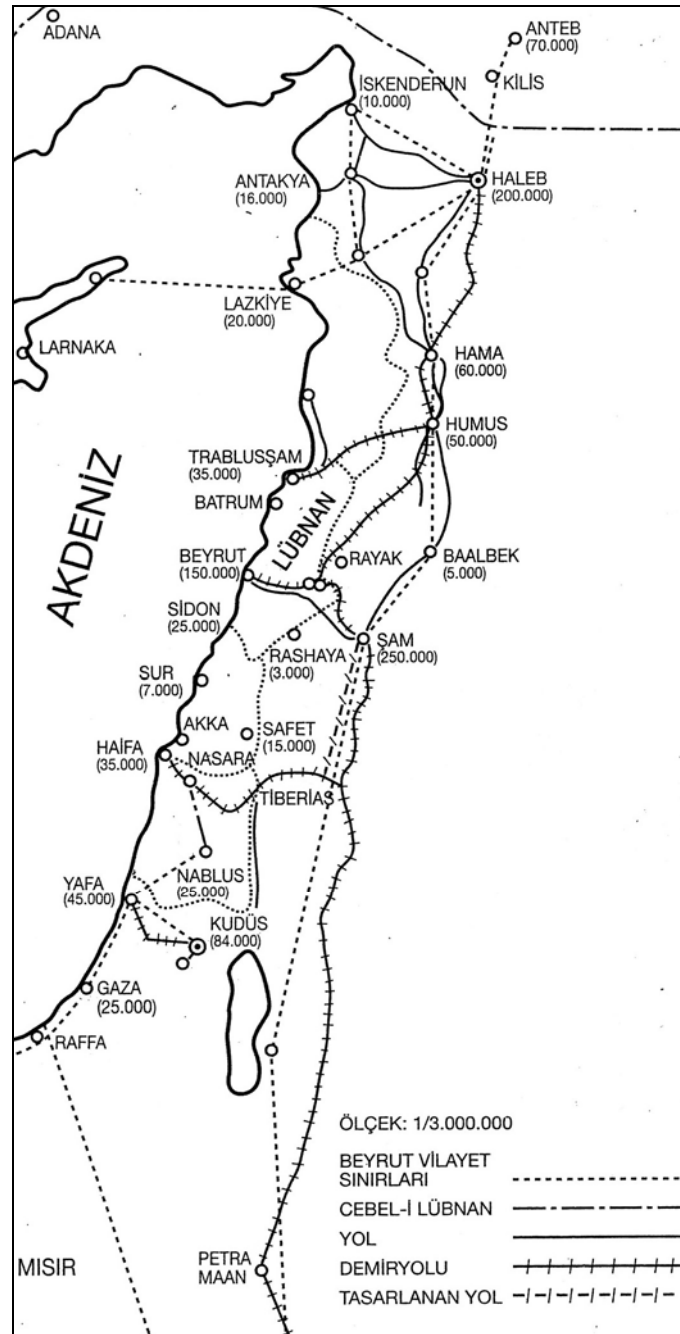
In the beginning of the nineteenth century Beirut had a community where Muslims and Christians were living side by side but by the end of the century new sectarian tensions affected the socio-economic and political balance between communities that these changes shaped the city.

The city center maintained its diversified population. As in many Levantine cities, Beirut's central area brought together an urban merchant class of different religious and ethnic communities who worked as partners or business associates alongside each other. In the case of Beirut it was composed of Sunnis, Maronites, Druzes, Jews, Armenians, and Kurds. Their partnership in the commercial activities spread into other spheres of the life in the city that the city center became a home to a

cosmopolitan mix of theaters, restaurants, hotels, religious buildings and public and private institutions.

The daily life of both Christians and Muslims were alike that their shared way of life was based on a common set of values. At least until mid-nineteenth century, they shared social values and the local culture. The economic relations between Christian and Muslims coexisted that merchants of the various communities became partners. Christian merchants entered into partnership with Muslims to protect themselves from the government and for the reason that Muslims make more money in business. On the Muslim side though, there was not the same need to do business with Christians, but they did. Wealthy Christian and Muslim merchants cooperated in trading transactions and landowning deals (Fawaz 1083, 104-105).

Beirut was known for its tolerance throughout most of the nineteenth century, but by World War I it became divided along sectarian lines. The rapidity of Beirut's growth was responsible for the division along sectarian lines because people did not develop urban ways of living as they moved into the urban environment. There were also the refugees of the civil war who brought their memories with them to the city. Among the poorer people the sectarian tensions were more than there in the merchant class as they were sharing the same profit (Fawaz 1083, 124).



Source: Ortaylı 2000a.

Figure 3.3 Population of Cities of Lebanon by the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.

3.3 Transformation of Urban Pattern and the Planning History of Beirut

Beirut is a city on the Mediterranean basin that was placed between the sea and the mountains. This geographic character of Beirut shaped the city's history and developed the role of the city in the region as a link between the mountain and the sea, between the East and the West. This role shaped not only the socio-economy but also the development of the urban macroform.

Beirut's city pattern has been composed of many historical layers dated to 1200BC and these layers formed the city's urban identity. Some elements of these layers survived and enhanced the city's heritage and identity. Beirut was under Ottoman rule between 1516 and 1920 and after 1920 till 1943 it was the French Mandate what gave way to the development of Beirut. The main urban features for transformation and the planning activities of Beirut in the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century will be studied in this section.

3.3.1 Urban Macroform in the First Half of the Century

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Beirut was almost 6.000, in 1840s the population became 10.000, in 1860s it was 40.000 and by the beginning of 1870s the population reached to 75.000 (Fawaz 1983, 127-129). This significant increase in the population also changed the physical structure of the city. Until 1835, Beirut was a completely fortified seaport town and was surrounded by gardens. The central core of the city was built around its historic port. The whole of the fortified town covered around 550-600 meters from the harbor to its southern gate and 350-400 meters from its eastern to its western portals. The town seemed closed up to its environs (Figure 3.4) that it was surrounded by mulberry plantations and the natural habitat. In the beginning of the nineteenth century outside the city walls, houses were found only in big gardens. So, before 1840 the city just started to

expand beyond the walls by garden houses but Beirut still had all of its walls and had most of its population inside these walls until 1840. Gross density was high inside the walls, like around 300 people per hectare (Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a, 118). According to Khalaf and Kongstad it was a regular walled medieval town and it was displaying many of the features of the pre-industrial city that was put forward by Sjoberg (Sjoberg 1960). Like most of fortified cities, along the fortification walls and between the lines of castles the city was organized with six main gates. (Figure 3.5) As in most European pre-industrial towns, people in Beirut lived and worked in the same urban quarter. The urban quarter was a self-sufficient place except some places like the souks and the public bath. They were the main areas showing spatial specialization in the city. Neighborliness was a strong concept, that quarters were segregated according to ethnic and religious differences. Physical and social spaces were almost identical that this ethnic and religious differentiation created homogeneous and compact quarters (Khalaf and Kongstad 1973b, 118).

The maps of Beirut dated 1841 (Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5) were drawn by British military engineers, T.F. Skyring and Major Rochfort, whose aim was to prepare documents that could be used in the event of military action in the area (Davie 1987, 141-164). All the topographical details were shown like the cliffs, hills, stream lines, plantations and natural areas. They surveyed the whole settlement area and prepared detailed plans of the town and its environs for the early nineteenth century. They showed the defense buildings like the route of the fortification walls with the details of the openings, castles, barracks, and gates of the city. These maps also show the physical structure of the city; the pattern of the souks with the details of whether they were closed or not, some buildings like the serail, the khans, mosques and churches. There were also the structures outside the city walls before the city's rapid expansion in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and before the demolition of its defenses and the beginning of its urban extension, occupying the gardens and mulberry plantations.

Some travelers' accounts whose names were not given by Fawaz except Michaud et Poujoulat, were also descriptive for the early nineteenth century Beirut. According to the accounts we understand that the areas near the port area were the pleasant areas of the city. Two good streets of Beirut were found there with large stone houses along them. Beyond these streets there was a street inhabited by bankers and moneychangers and beyond that the Greek quarter with its coffeehouses and cabarets. Approaching the center of the town the streets became narrower and badly paved (Fawaz 1983, 10-12). From Figure 3.5 it can be traced that the width and the orientation of the streets change that the streets near the port were wider and straight while the streets of the city center were narrower, with more indirect forms and generally covered. Although Davie refers to Roman times of Beirut and its grid street pattern that was aligned on *cardo decumanus* (Figure 3.7), the grid-iron plan could not be fully traced in the nineteenth century (Davie 2006). But the evidences of the *cardo decumanus* axis was still available, the axis from the serail and Bab es Saraiya on the east to Bab Idriss on the west survived as the *decumanus* and the axis from the port on the north to the St. George Greek Orthodox Church (Figure 3.6) survived as the *cardo*. Besides these there was not a particular street pattern in the city center. There was an irregular division of land with streets, and divided plots generally served by *cul-de-sacs*. (Figure 3.8) But the *cardo decumanus* can also be seen in the irregular pattern.

Traffic was a mixture of people, camels, horses and donkeys. Even in the daytime the streets were dark because the arches or mats were covering the streets cutting the daylight. Thick high walls of the stone houses were also making the streets darker. Behind the walls, the houses were courtyard houses with an open space in the middle. A pedestrian in the street could not have seen over the walls. Although the houses built around internal courtyard gives openness, the pedestrian in the street finds the space closed and dark because of the high walls and arches that closes the streets. Michaud et Poujoulat who had travels in the orient in 1830-31 recorded the stone houses and streets as the following (Fawaz 1983, 10-12);

The houses built in stone were higher than those of any other town in Syria; arches, secret paths, dark passages, narrow and tortuous streets inspire at first a kind of fright in the traveler who wants to visit the town; each house constitutes a huge, inaccessible dungeon.

When the traveler comes to the city center, bazaar was seen as the heart of the city where all activities were gathered that it was lively; the narrow and covered streets, each with its own specialty with small shops and single-story dwellings. There were also a few public fountains, numerous khans and coffeehouses.

Lamartine, who visited Beirut in 1832, mentions about the houses (Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a, 15-16). The houses were side by side with their flat-roofed terraces attached to each other. Except for souks, khans, public baths, religious buildings and other public buildings, the roofs of the buildings were like flat-roofed farm houses and they were traditional two or three-storied red tiled villas. Sandstone blocks as abundant in the area were the dominant construction form.

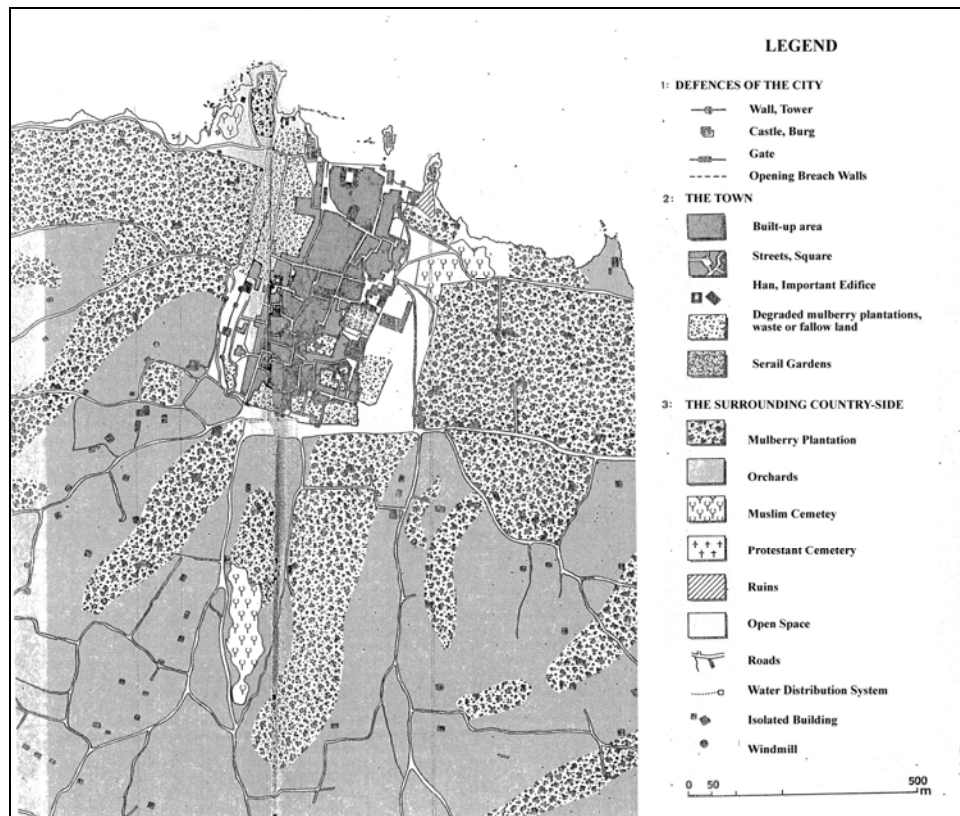
In the city center there were six mosques and at least three churches. (Figure 3.6) One of the most important mosques was the Jami' al-Umari al-Kabir and the largest of the churches was the Greek Orthodox church of Saint George. Other churches were the Maronite church and a Catholic church. Another church of Saint George was located outside the city walls near the Dog River (Nahr al-Kalb). The administrative facilities of Beirut in the first half of the nineteenth century were directed by the seraglio which was on the eastern end of the city and the house of local judge. The rest of Beirut's public buildings were the public baths and hotels. One of the public baths was located near the seraglio, one hotel was on the harbor and another was on the western edge of town (Fawaz 1983, 10-12).

Despite its small settlement area in the first half of the nineteenth century, Beirut had some of the main characteristics of a real Arab city with its fortifications, serail, numerous religious and civil monuments, specialized commodities and a varied population of different sectarian and religious groups. Although there is little evidence on the physical distribution of the residents of Beirut in the early part of the nineteenth century (Figure 3.9), the city had a traditional Middle Eastern pattern of neighborhood distribution where rich and poor were grouped together according to religious affiliation, ethnic background, and place of origin (Fawaz 1983, 106; Khalaf and Kongstad 1973b, 118).

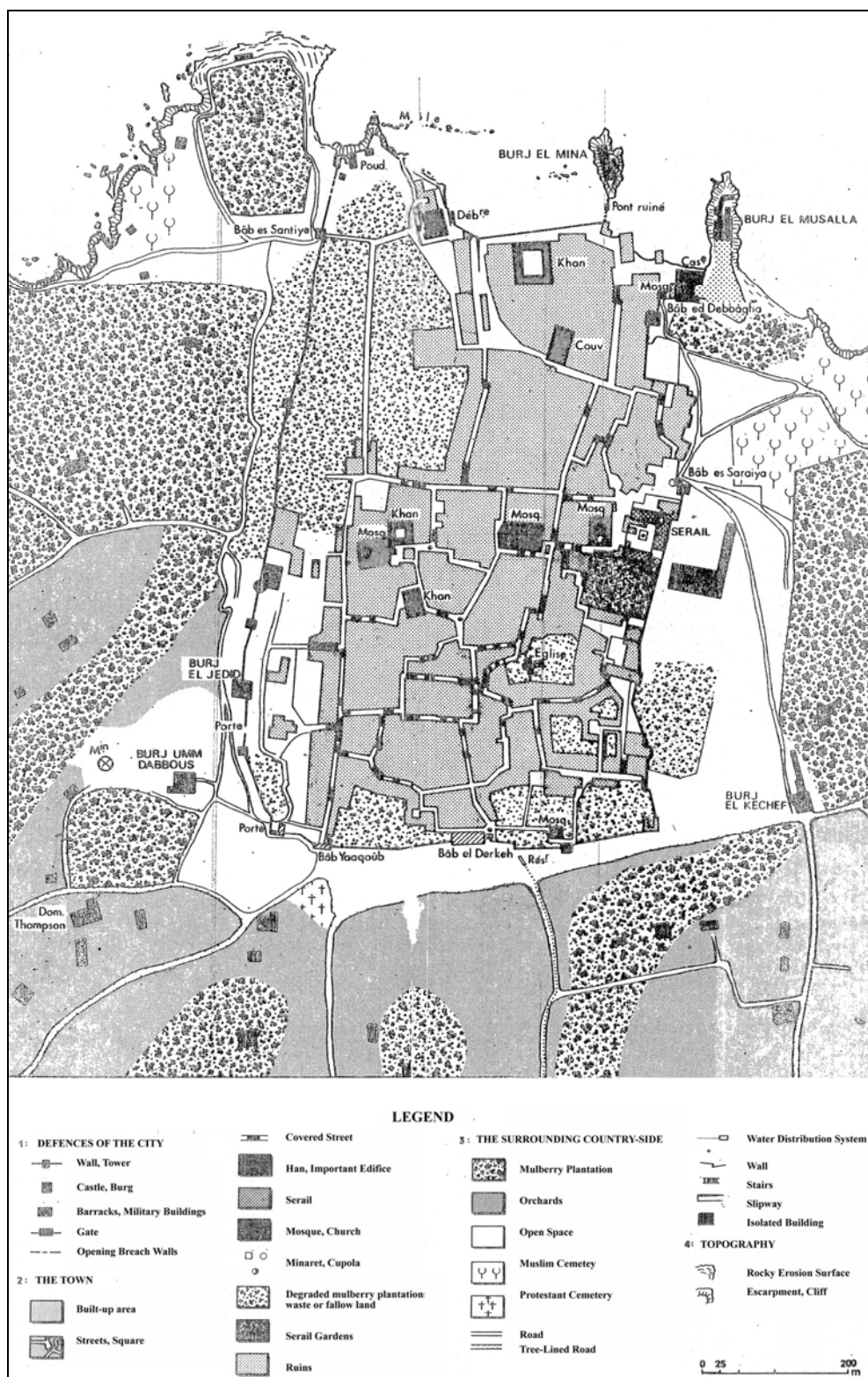
Poujoulat mentioned a specific Greek quarter near the port in his travel records. But on the other hand there were also the evidences that Fawaz gives the finding of Guys² and the Mahkama Shar'iyya for the 1840s that Muslims and Christians were buying land side by side in the newly developing area of town or in the outskirts of the city. In the bazaar the mixing of different sects was greater than groups worked side by side. The streets of the bazaar were organized by profession not by religious affiliation. The architecture of the city was also homogenous that the bazaar was uniform and even in the quarters there were not obvious physical differences that were separated according to religious or ethnic identity. Houses were similar both inside and outside whatever the religion of the occupants' was (Fawaz 1983, 106-107). In the case of administrative structure of the city there are not evidences showing the traditional pattern of self administration of the quarters by the leaders of the sectarian or religious group occupying the neighborhood as the main characteristic of Arab cities.³

² Guys, Henri. 1850. *Beyrout et le Liban: Relation d'un Sejour de Plusieurs Annees Dans ce Pays*. Paris : Comon, quoted in Fawaz 1983, 106-107.

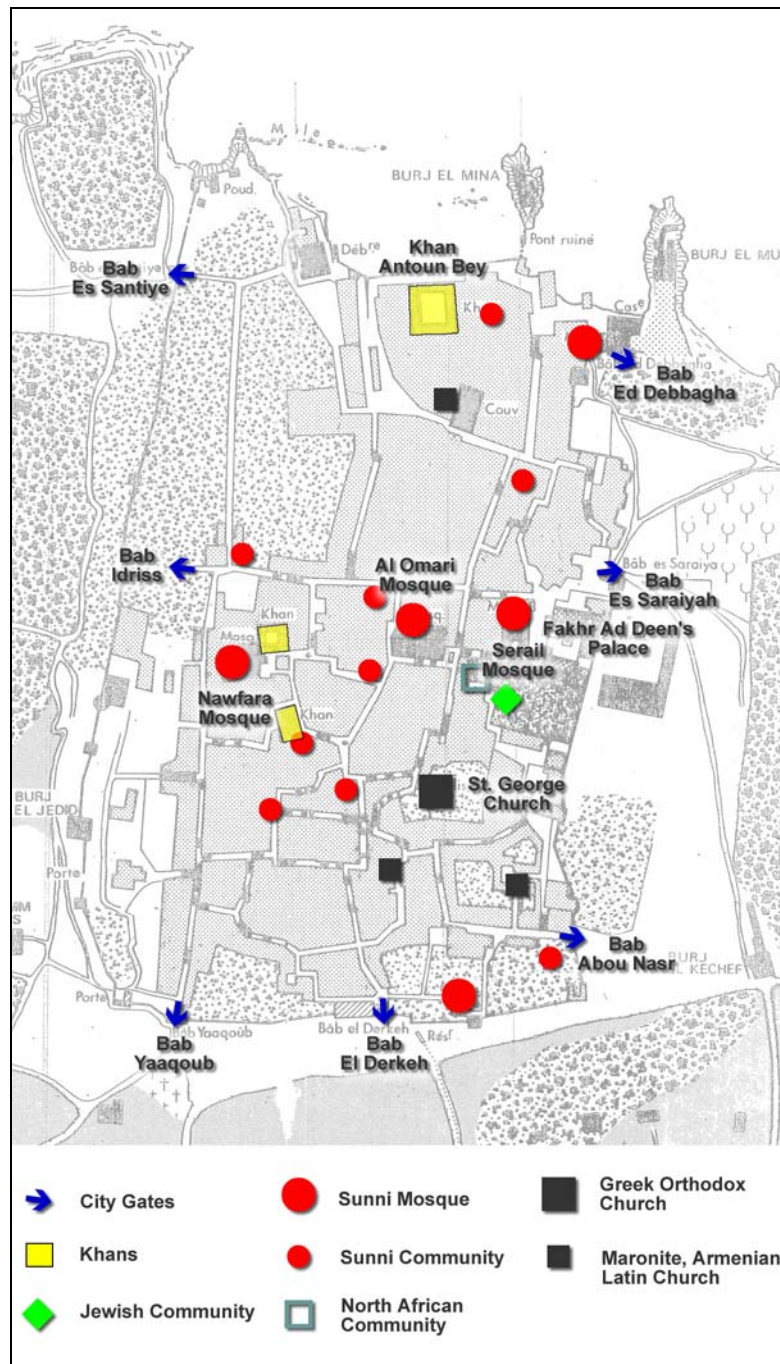
³ For a detailed analysis of the urban pattern of the Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period, see; Raymond, 1995.



Source: Davie, Michael. 1987.
Figure 3.4 Map of Beirut and its environs in 1841



Source: Davie, Michael. 1987.
Figure 3.5 Map of Beirut in 1841.



Source: The Map based on Davie, Michael. 1987 and thematic locations of religious structures derived from Davie, May. 1992.
Figure 3.6 Landuse Map of Beirut in 1841

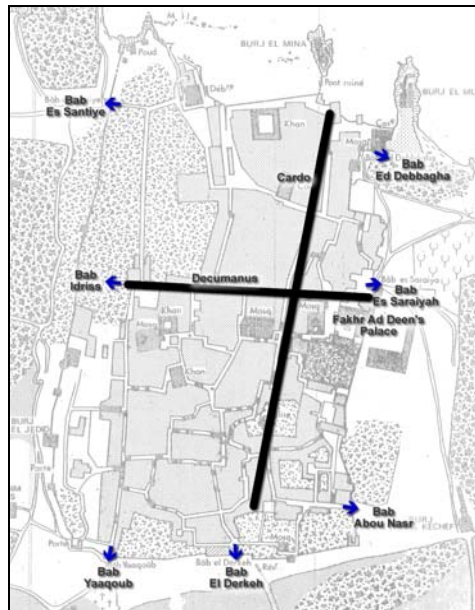
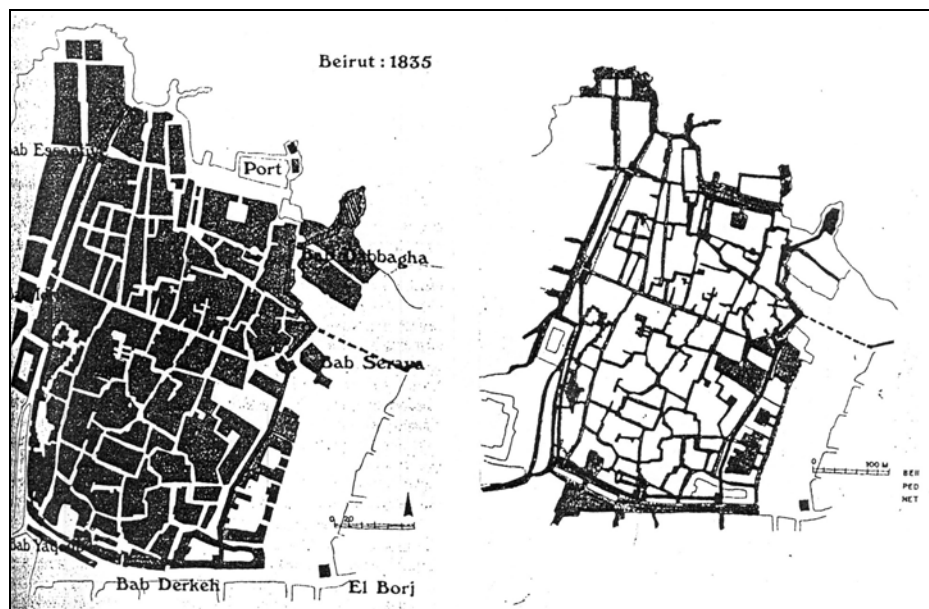
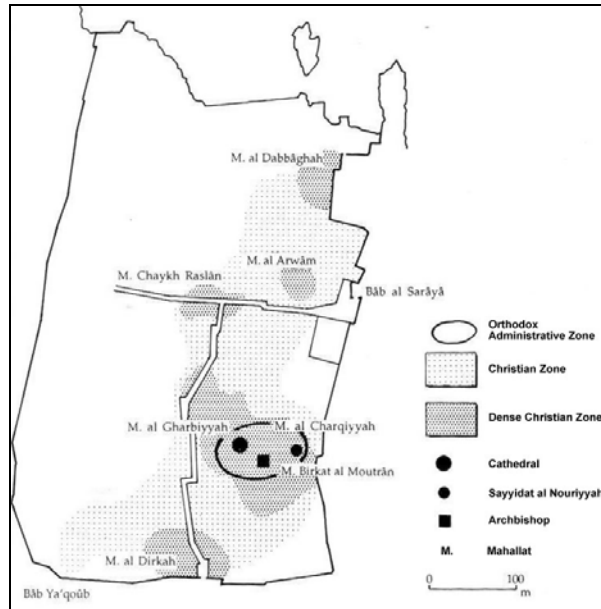


Figure 3.7 *Cardo Decumanus* Trails of Beirut.



Source: Saqqaf 1987.

Figure 3.8 Pedestrian Network of Beirut.



Source: Davie, May 1996. 142.

Figure 3.9 Distribution of Christian Population in the City Center of Beirut (c. 1810)

3.3.2 Urban Growth and Spatial Formations in the Second Half of the Century

3.3.2.1 Urban Growth

The number of dwellings outside the city walls was not large by the 1840s but the number increased so much by the 1860s that about two thirds of the population started to live in the newly built suburbs (Fawaz 1983, 32-34). This was a very rapid expansion. The population growth brought this situation and the reason for the population growth was the migration that the mass migration of the era actually had

not started until 1860s. This earlier migrations in the 1840s influenced the pattern and the long-term development of the city. From 1840s to 1870s the expansion of the city can be observed from the comparison of land-use surveys of the city (Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.10). The expansion demolished the city walls and from there it has been developing and expanding in all directions, despite the slopes of the mountain. Özveren gives the words of Walter Thompson who wrote about the city in 1870 (Özveren 1994, 83). Thompson's first visit to Beirut was in 1830s that he saw very few houses outside the city walls when compared to the 1870s that hundreds of big villas and comfortable houses were standing on the hillside and most of the population was living in the houses with gardens. In his visit he observed that the population of the city was almost 80.000 and half of this population was Christian. His impressions continue that according to him no other city had grown this fast in the Ottoman Empire.

Number of foreign merchants also increased with the increasing trade activities so that the rents of the houses rose. The commercial report of British consul in 29 September 1835 says that (Issawi 1977, 94);

The rents of houses in Beyrout have not only undergone an increase of 500 percent in the last few years but are also scarce on account of the great demand of Europeans who begin to establish themselves.

The scarcity of the houses for the increasing population was solved by the construction activities. In 1849 another consul stated about the number new buildings completed by 1845 (Issawi 1977, 96);

Beyrouth is a thriving commercial town, having usurped the foreign trade possessed by Sidon; in 1845 above 365 new houses were built in Beyrout; it

is now the port for the centre of Syria and Damascus, and the chief point of communication of Syria with Europe...

While the number of European merchants was increasing in Beirut, the new local merchant groups especially the Christians working as agents of the European merchants and firms, acquired new lands outside the city walls and on the surrounding hills. They built large residences reflecting their wealth. In these new residential zones, the segregation was not well defined but by observing the numbers and locations of the mosques, churches or schools, the resident group could be identified.

While the influence of the west was developing, many educational institutions, numerous primary and secondary schools and universities were built in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1866 two major universities were founded that would be the first steps of city's becoming a cultural center of the region. The American University of Beirut was founded in 1866 by the support of the State of New York and the University of St. Joseph was founded in 1881 by the support of the French government and administered by the Jesuit order (Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a, 20).

The map of Beirut dated 1876 (Figure 3.10) was drawn by Danish Acting Consul, Julius Loytved to be presented to Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Julius Loytved was a map-maker, an archaeologist and also the director of the Anglo Syrian Schools (Kassab and Tadmori 2002, 13). It is a detailed land survey map of the era. Twelve districts of Beirut were shown in the map 1- Old City and Souks, 2- Al-Zaitonueh, 3- Ras-Beiurut, 4- Mseitbeh, 5- Mazra'at al Arab, 6- Ras el-Nabaa, 7- Al Bashoura, 8- Achrafieh, 9- St. Dimitri, 10- Mimas, 11- Rmeil and 12- As-Saifi. The Damascus route, the Saida route and the Tripoli route were made clear by the given emphasis at the ends of the area covered by the map. In addition to these, forty seven other points were shown on the map which are the locations of government departments,

consulates, military posts, educational and health institutions, public parks and private gardens, cemeteries, archaeological sites, sand and rock hills.

The numbers assigned to the quarters were located on the map starting from the center to the west, following to the south then east and finally the last numbers turn again to the center of the map. So the number twelve was on the eastern side of the Souks area. Al-Zaitonueh is on the west side of the Souks area, and Ras-Beiurut is the western end of the map. Mseitbeh, Mazra'at al Arab, Ras el-Nabaa, and Al Bashoura quarters are on the south, Achrafieh and St. Dimitri are on the south-east of the map. Mimas is on the eastern end of the map while Rmeil and As-Saifi are the eastern side of the Souks area.

In a further analysis it can be seen that by 1876 city size increased almost 10-12 times of the size in 1841 while the population increased almost 7-8 times within the same era. Only the old city and the souks area existed in the map of 1841 while eleven other districts were added in 1876. The rapid growth of the city in the second half of the nineteenth century can also be observed by the spread of the city structures outside the city walls and the expansion of the city. (Figure 3.11)

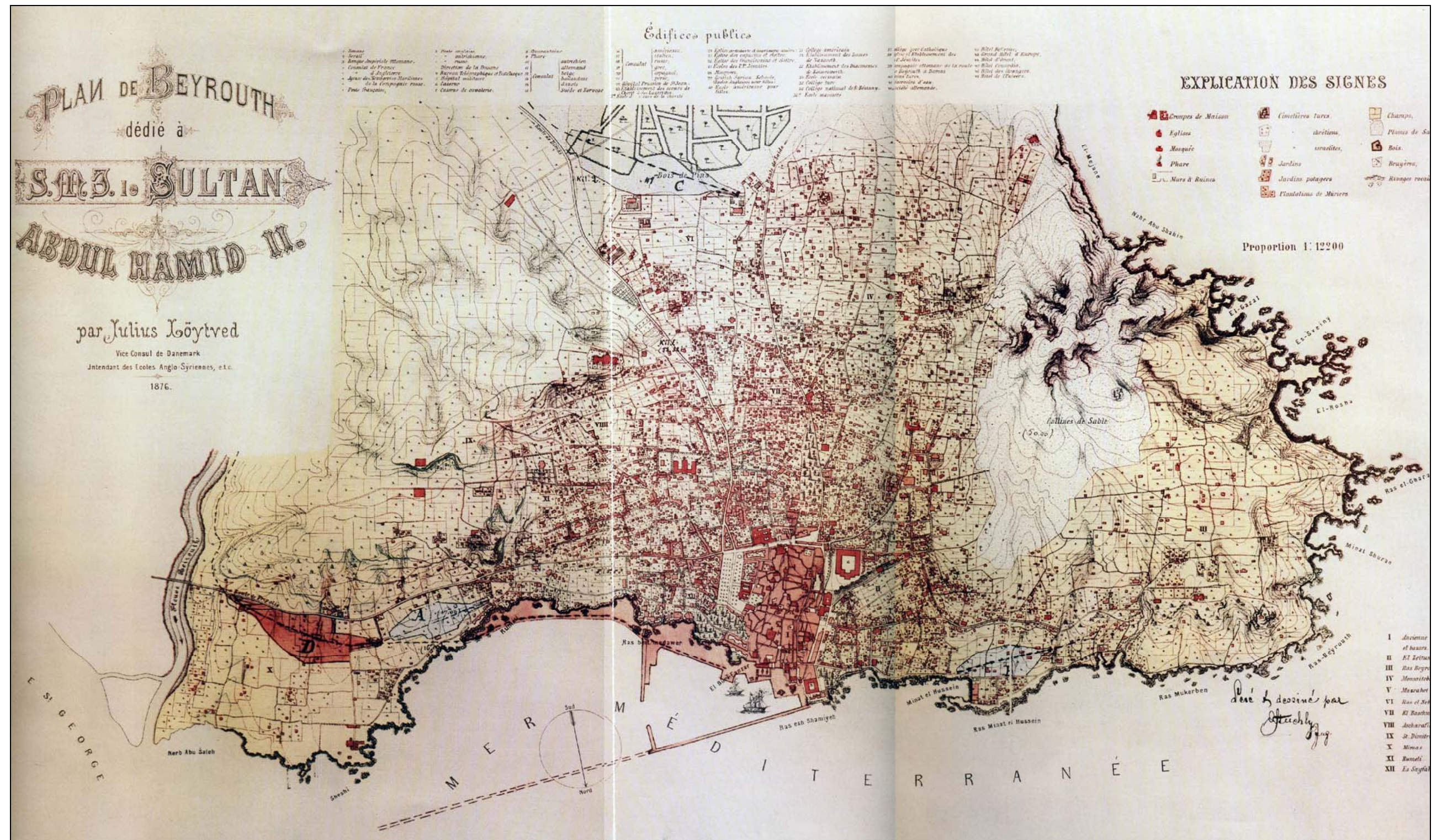
The main routes leading from the city center, from the gates of the city to the environs in the map of 1841 became the major axis of urban growth in the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 3.12). To the west, the route leading to Ras Beirut, the Bliss Street and the Hamra Street became the major axis of attraction. That attraction will result in the formation of the new quarter of Hamra and the transformation would be observable by the beginning of the twentieth century which will be studied in the following parts of this section. Al-Zaitonueh became a residential area on the way to Hamra district. The area was populated by the wealthy Moslem families of Beirut, with houses clustered around the el-Mreisseh Mosque (Figure 3.24 and Figure 3.25). On the south around and between the routes leading to Damascus and Saïda a new and densely constructed area emerged. On the east of the

city center, the route leading to Tripoli passing through the Martyr's Square became the main axis for the Al-Saifi and Achrafieh (Figure 3.26 and Figure 3.27) quarters. The street was called Gourad Street that it became a main axis in the city. The semi-circular area around the city center was filled with buildings, though a wider semi-circular area surrounding the previous one was also turned into residential area. The gardens of mulberry trees and wild natural areas turned into constructed areas. While the smaller circle inhabited more residents and less open space, the wider circle covers the peripheries with more open spaces or gardens for its residents.

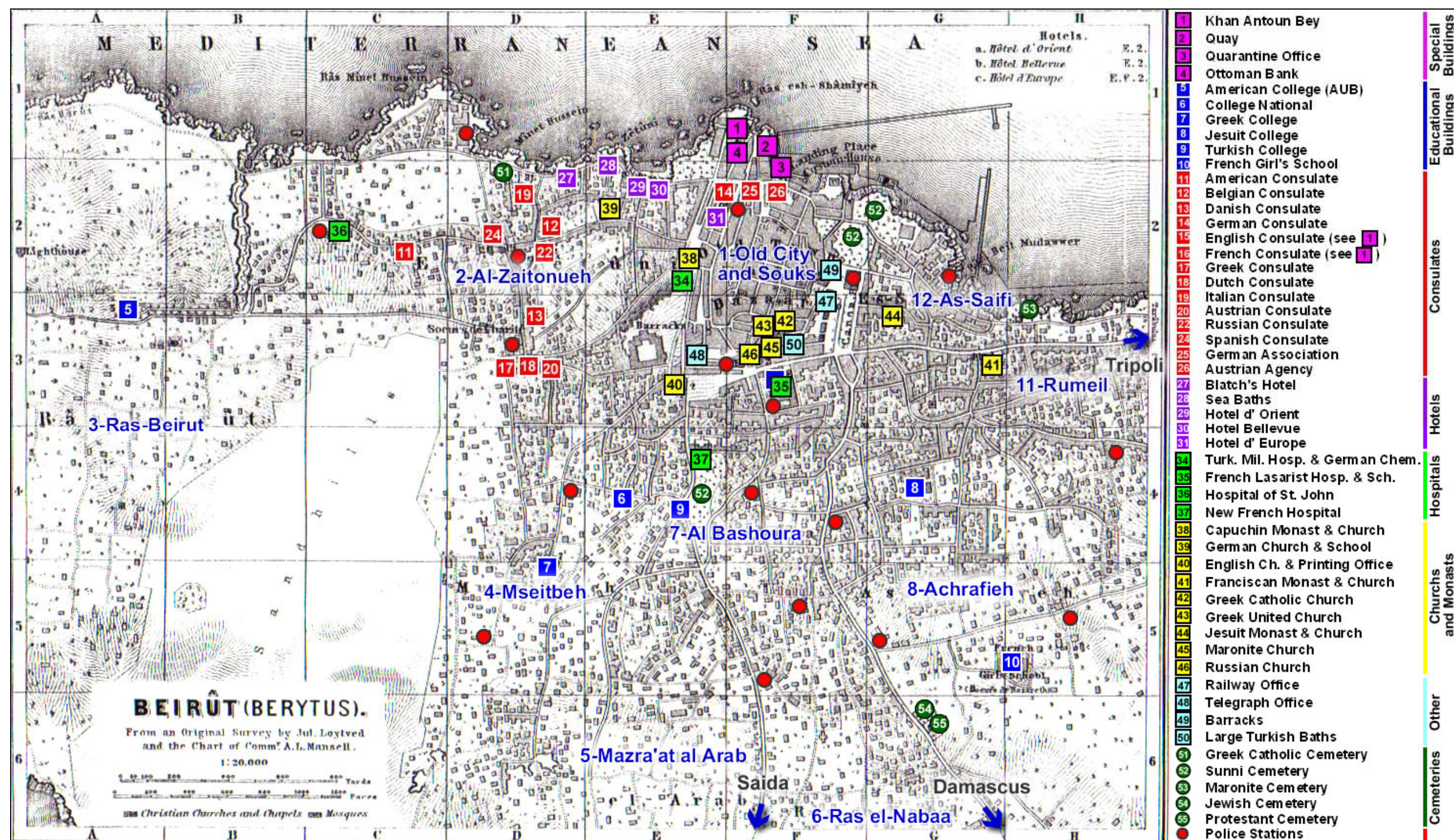
While the main activities were still gathered in the city center and the in the near environs of the old city and the souks area, the spread of educational and health facilities and also police stations, shows the direction of growth which surrounded the city. But the density difference between the new residential areas can be traced by the street pattern. It can also be traced by the building types. The buildings are adjacent in the areas covered by the smaller circle and are lined up along the street while on the peripheries the residential areas were scattered in the plots apart from each other within their own gardens around.

From the examination of Figure 3.11 it can be observed that the consulates occupied the areas to the west of the old city and souks area which increased the building activities in this region with the needs of the consulates and their families. The location of police stations showed that the role of the city walls of the old city in 1840s were taken by the police stations as they surrounded the main resided areas. The schools were established mainly in the outskirts of the city. The reasons may vary that first assumption may be for the pull of population and pull of the construction activities in the outskirts the location of the schools were selected as shown. Second assumption may be for the seclusion of the schools from the population of the city as they were all colleges with national or religious identities. To continue with the spread of city structures, the locations of the hotels show us the

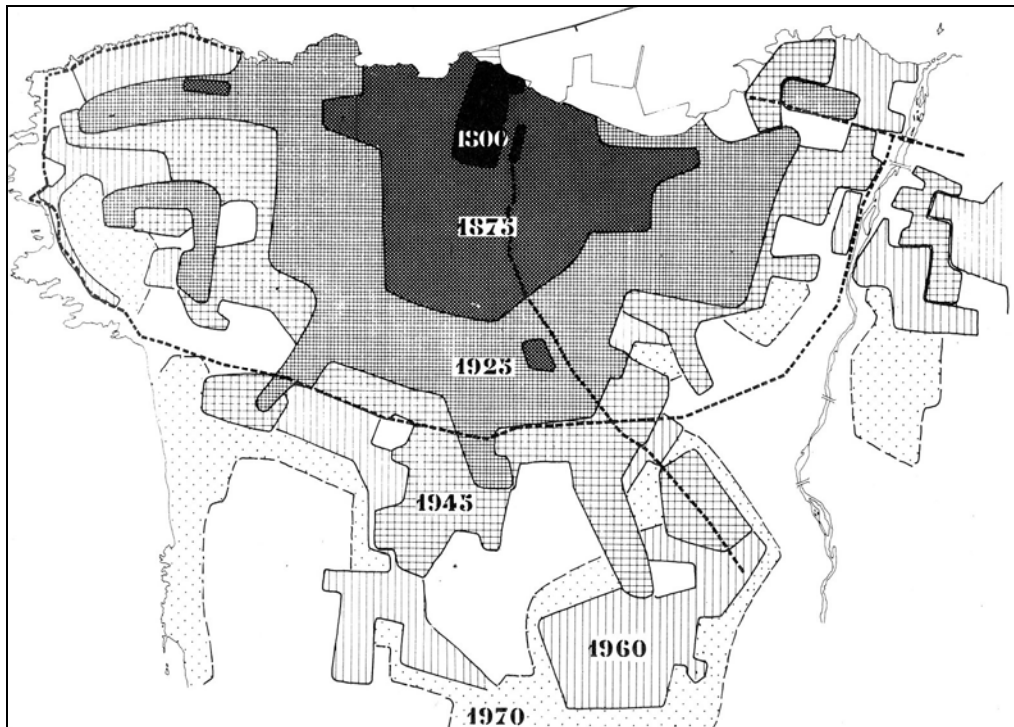
recreational area of the city. (Figure 3.28) As the geography was available for the use of the beach in the western part of the port area the sea bath and three hotels were established here. The final part, existing city center did not change its major structure much but some transformations occurred with the changing socio-economic structure of the city as will be discussed in the following parts of this section.



Source: American University of Beirut, Jafet Library, Archives and Special Collections Department.
Figure 3.10 1876 Map of Beirut by Julius Loytved.



Source: Prepared on the map of A. L. Mansel (Appendix B) and the data is derived from the following:
Loytved, Julius. 1876. American University of Beirut, Jafet Library, Archives and Special Collections Department. (June 2006)
Plan of Beirut City taken from the archives of the Ottoman Water Company of Beirut (Kassab and Tadmori. 2002, 50) (Appendix C)
Figure 3.11 Landuse Map of Beirut (c.1880).



Source: Khalaf and Kongstad 1973b, 117.

Figure 3.12 Development of Urban Pattern of Beirut in Stages

3.3.2.2 Changing City Center

The need for a new city with the increasing relations with the west and by the reforms of the Tanzimat brought a dual system of city centers in the cities of the Empire. In Beirut the creation of a new center in the nineteenth century was not observed but the existing city center evolved with the changes. The port city model depicted by Khalaf and Konstad in the introduction part of this thesis was suitable for the case study that the new formations occurred within the old city center and functions. The need for new functions were solved both in the form of building new structures, like the case of grand Serail or in the form of changing functions of the

existing structures, like the case of Khan Antoun Bey; transforming from a traditional caravanserai to a business khan.

Khan Antoun Bey Square (Figure 3.29 and Figure 3.30) was one of the main features of the city center. It was the entrance of the city from the sea and developed since 1841 with the increasing importance in trade activities with the west. Khan Antoun Bey that the square was named was one of the most important caravanserais of Beirut. It was built in 1853 by Antoun Bey Najjar, a merchant who made his fortune in Constantinople. It became a great business center and the building served for many institutions like Beirut's foreign consulates, the Ottoman administration, postal services, merchants' offices and Beirut's first bank, Imperial Ottoman (Gavin and Maluf 1996, 89). It had trading offices on the ground and first floors and on the upper floor it was occupied by foreign consulates. The inner courtyard was used to park the horse-drawn carriages of the consuls who had offices in this Khan (SOLIDERE 1994b, 55-56). On the southern side of the square there was the Majidiyeh Mosque which was originally a Crusader fort raised on the cliff and ancient city walls, overlooking the sea. The building was converted into a mosque in 1841, during the reign of Sultan Abdul Mecid, from whom it takes its name. The square also serves for wheat and timber wharves. The square evolved after construction of the great Ottoman jetty and new quaysides in the 1890s.

Place des Canons was the second point of interest in the city center. It was also called the Bourj Square in the beginning of the twentieth century and Martyr's Square after First World War. In 1841 the place was seen as the serail garden and mainly empty but in 1876 the area became a public garden and a meeting point (Figure 3.13, for the pictures see Figure 3.31, Figure 3.32 and Figure 3.33). Two decisions made the area a meeting point. First decision was made after the installment of tramway lines in the city that Place des Canons was chosen as the meeting point for the lines as the space was available and empty. The second decision was the building of the public park in

the area that made the gathering point for people for recreation and commercial activities. As the public occasions taken in this place a police station was also established on the square (Figure 3.11).

The Grand Serail or The Imperial Barracks on the south-western end of the old city overlooking Beirut was built in the second half of the nineteenth century. The hill of the Serail attracted the attention of İbrahim Pasha on his troop to Beirut in 1841 and made the place the location of his garrison. After the departure of Egyptian troops in 1841, the Ottoman Governor ordered the construction of army barracks on the same site in 1851. The construction of the first floor has ended in 1856 and started to be used. The second floor ended in 1877 and the construction of the whole building ended in 1899 (Kassab and Tadmori 2002, 41). The Ottoman Military Hospital was established nearby the Serail in 1846 (Gavin and Maluf, 1996, 81) and the American, French, Prussian and local hospitals followed it throughout the nineteenth century (Fawaz, 1093, 34). (Figure 3.34, Figure 3.35 and Figure 3.36)

New buildings for the new functions of the developing city were built in the parts of the existing city center (Figure 3.11). The banks, the quarantine office, new quays, railway office, telegraph and post office, police stations and offices for foreign agencies were all established in the existing city center.

The most preserved area, the souks area (Figure 3.37) was the heart of the city center and the overall city. The souks area has not changed its irregular street pattern (Figure 3.13). The traditional routes and the covered souks were preserved and the function of the souks was also preserved. The small public squares between the blocks and the cul-de-sacs were also observable in both maps. This existing traditional street system of the city center would not change until the beginning of the twentieth century when the first planning acts were taken into action.

The location of public buildings like the khans, churches, mosques, and various other administrative or commercial buildings were pointed in Figure 3.13 which shows the increasing number of point of interests in the city center with the developing functions of the center between the years 1841 and 1876.



Figure 3.13 Transformation of Beirut City Center (1841 – 1876).
1841 map is on the left and 1876 map is on the right.

3.3.2.3 Transportation Facilities

Transportation became a main issue by the end of the nineteenth century. The construction of railway stations, improvements in the port facilities, development of warehouses and hotels were taken place. Until the mid-nineteenth century the port of Beirut lacked the quay necessary for ship docking and the necessary loading and unloading installations. Consequently ships had to anchor at a distance from the shore and boats were used to carry passengers and goods on shore. Then a company was founded under the name of Ottoman Company of Beirut Port, Quays and Warehouses to build a new basin which was finished in 1892 (Kassab and Tadmori 2002, 99).

In 1906 an Imperial decree was issued for the creation of an Ottoman Joint Stock Company for establishing a tramway system in Beirut. (Figure 3.36) This street tram became the backbone of Beirut's transport system in the early 1900s (Gavin and Maluf 1996, 121). The main lines that the electrical tramway serviced in Beirut covered many areas. The first route was beginning from the Khan of Fakhry Bey, passing by al-Majidiyyah road and the military hospital road to the city wall. The second route was beginning from the Government House and going through the Damascus road. The third one was from Bab Idriss to the Sharia al-Jaded, the fourth one was from the city wall to al-Bachourah quarter, the fifth one from the military hospital to Mseitbeh, the sixth one from the wheat port to Ras-Beirut and finally the seventh one was leading from Khan Antoun Bey to Ras-Beirut (Kassab and Tadmori 2002, 121). The routes were intersecting at Place des Canons that the Ottoman ruler of Beirut transformed the square into a major public garden in the second half of the nineteenth century. With the tramway lines built in the beginning of the twentieth century the space also became an active meeting point (Sarkis 2005, 289).

3.3.2.4 Formation of New Quarters

The new peripheries were mainly the result of the migration of rural migrants and urban bourgeoisie from Mount Lebanon and from the inland cities that these migrants settled outside the city walls. Saliba divides the residential buildings in the new settlement areas into three types; firstly the upper-class mansions, secondly the flat-roofed farmhouses surrounded by gardens and finally the cubic stone structures with red-tiled roofs. The first examples of constructions were the houses in gardens outside the city walls. The second type was the continuation of the old farm houses, but the new farm houses were also built. The final kind was the new type emerged as a new building type in the city. The new factors were the central hall, the triple arch and the corbelled marble balcony used by the new migrant urban bourgeoisie. This kind of building was not only used in residential buildings. (Figure 3.39 and Figure 3.28) The buildings with a central hall and red-tiled roofs also served as models for hotels or mixed-use buildings in the expanding central area of Beirut. The first office buildings along the waterfront and in the port district and the buildings in the Place des Canon were also built in the new type (Saliba 2004, 23-30).

A new type of migrants appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. Christian Europeans especially after the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College (later American University of Beirut) in 1866 in the Hamra district changed the overall character of the area known as the Ras-Beirut. Hamra turned into a European-style suburb on the periphery. (Figure 3.14)

Khalaf and Konstad studied the district of Hamra in Beirut as a distinct case in the Arab world. The development of Hamra district was considered as a historical accident instead of a deliberate urban planning by the authors. The founding of American University of Beirut in 1866 was the accident that started the growth of Hamra district. The shifting street patterns, the competition for space and location,

and the changing socio-economic character of the residing population in the district have all been the results of this historic accident (Khalaf and Konstad 1973a; Khalaf and Konstad 1973b, 123-126).

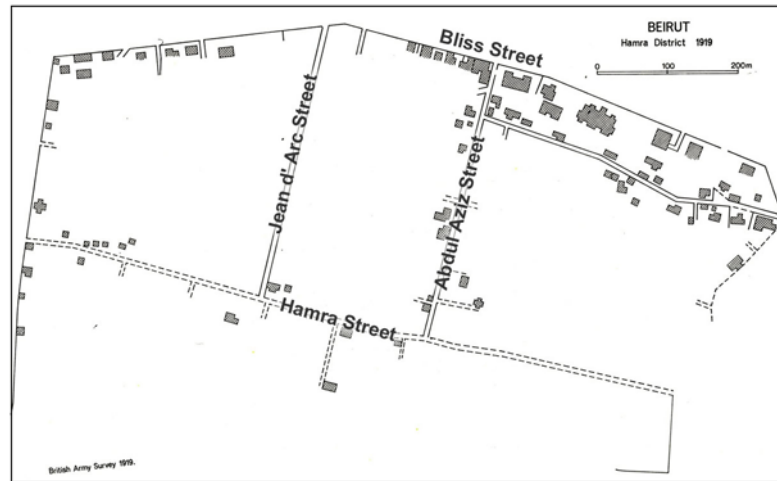
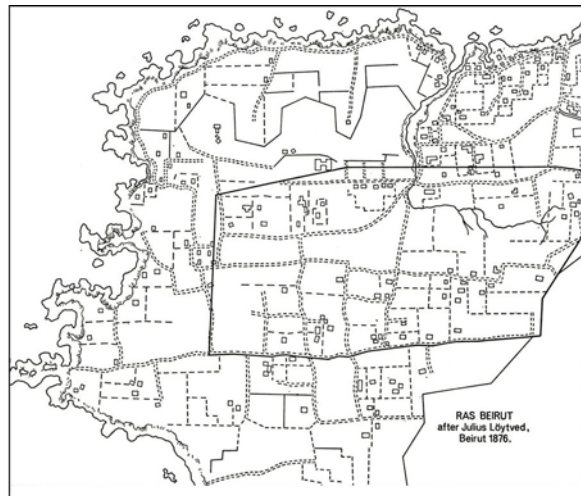
Hamra was full of gardens, it was a farming area by the 1870s as can be noticed from the Loytved's map of 1876 (Figure 3.10). There were almost 25-30 farm houses and a few residential structures on the south of the Syrian Protestant College. In both style and construction, farm houses had a uniform pattern that the typical farm house was a square, flat-roofed, one-story building constructed with the traditional sandstone blocks with a floor space of not more than 300 square meters. They spread in the entire region when compared with the suburban villas. Suburban villas were the other form of constructions in the region (Figure 3.39 and Figure 3.40). They first appeared on the Bliss Street and in other areas directing to the university. The suburban villas were the typical coastal two-storied or three-storied, red-tiled houses with elaborate facades, decorative stairways and balconies (Khalaf and Konstad 1973b, 133-135). Bliss Street is the east-west oriented main street of Hamra district passing near the university area. (Figure 3.40)

As it was accepted that Hamra district grew without a considered planning or without an urban development act, then it grew with the free-market forces. As it was mentioned that there were suburban villas then these villas should have been the residents of the instructors and the workers of the college. The variety of the residents of the area as in structure and style, the villas reflected the more privileged socio-economic status of their inhabitants than the ones living in farm houses. The residents of the villas were mostly the first truly urban group settled in the area. This group constituted the newly emerging middle class that became the dominant socio-economic group in the area. The inhabitants of the villas were differentiated ethnically and religiously but the same reason affected them to the same area. The reasons were the opportunities that came into existence by the university. The

residences reflected a rather modest but comfortable style of living. The farm houses and villas were the dominant structures till the mid-twentieth century and the streets' orientation were alongside the walled gardens, agricultural plots, and alleys lined with cactus hedges (Figure 3.42) (Khalaf and Konstad 1973b, 133-135).

The variety and the difference of the residents of Hamra district from the traditional town dwellers also shaped a new kind of daily life in the city. The university served as a focal point for the intelligentsia whose members were the members of Arab nationalists and other political and ideological movements in the region. The district was also an important center for the literary and publishing activities that made Beirut the center of the Arabic language press. Nagel gives the distinct characteristic of Ras Beirut as the concentration of students, writers, journalists, academics, and radicals which meant that the area enjoyed an atmosphere of social interactions, like the mixing of sexes that was not seen in most Arab cities (Nagel 2002, 719).

The district continued its growth and by 1919 two main streets, Jeanne d'Arc and Abdul Aziz streets, (Figure 3.41) directed from the university attracted new constructions and the streets became the main streets (Khalaf and Konstad 1973b, 123-126). The farmhouses and the villas continued as the most common form of dwelling until the end of the Second World War, when the demand for floor-space increased as waves of new population groups moved in, usually from outside Beirut (Costello 1977, 96-97). The farmhouses and the villas became almost extinct by the rising apartments and the walled gardens, agricultural plots, and alleys lined with cactus hedges began to disappear.



Source: Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a, 35-37.

Figure 3.14 Development of Hamra District by the Maps of 1876, 1919 and 1928

3.3.2.5 Other Construction Facilities

During and after the third quarter of the nineteenth century, new construction works got a speed but still no attempt was made for a whole town planning in this era. The tradition has just survived in the cases of covered souks, pedestrian alleys, and the private houses but the construction of administrative buildings can be seen in this era which was due to the transfer of administrative duties from the control of the military to the civil bureaucracy, which is attached to the central government. There was also the construction of monumental buildings in this era to improve the prestige of the city.

The Clock Tower (Figure 3.34) was built as a monumental building. The location of the Clock Tower was selected as the park in front of the Grand Serail that enabled the population to see from all sides and even from far away as the location was elevated from the city. The monumental building construction was the construction activity in the whole Empire that the uniqueness was lost that for example the Clock Tower built in Beirut was the exact replica of the clock tower in Tophane Quarter in İstanbul. The military barracks also shared the same faith that the Grand Serail which was built as The Imperial Barracks resembles the Selimiye Barrack in İstanbul with regard to its size, architecture and construction date (Kassab and Tadmori 2002, 23, 161).

The construction of buildings for public service was at the highest level in Beirut for the whole century as can be traced from Figure 3.8. Firstly the former health clinics were replaced by public hospitals such as al-Hamidiye Hospital and the Military Hospital and the rehabilitation of the Quarantine department as part of the reform of the public health system. Secondly the police stations spread in the city. With the increasing population the need for police stations made the Ottoman Government set up 25 police stations in Beirut. Thirdly for the public buildings, it was documented

that there were twenty churches and monasteries in Beirut in 1870 and their number increased to thirty five in 1877. The need for new public buildings increased with the population rise. This growth in Beirut's population, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, resulted in the rise of the water requirement of the city. The requirement rose above the sources. This situation led the Ottoman Government to deal and they hired a French engineer M. Thevenin in 1870 for the transmission of Nahr al-Kalb water to Beirut. Beirut water supply project acquired great importance and in 1873 an English company established the Beirut Water Works Co. Limited (Kassab and Tadmori 2002, 19, 41, 75, 95).

3.3.3 First Planning Acts and Application of Danger Plan

Planning started with the renovations in the city that the urban renewal acts were seen widely in Beirut. After 1860 civil war, the Ottoman Central government paid more attention to Lebanon and in 1863 Meclis el-Baladi (Yerasimos 2006, 179-184) was founded in Beirut and from 1868 till 1878 Beirut had two appointed mayors (Shareef 1998, 49). But according to the regulations, a whole new planning could not be applied to a region unless a demolishing incident, a fire or an earthquake had happened. In Beirut the construction supplies were not as apt to the fires as the materials in İzmir so a whole new plan was never prepared instead some renovations of boulevards, city squares and creating parcels. The absence of traditional patterns of land holding, the transfer of land was rendered through cadastral legislation. Parcels were individualized as early as 1928 which was a tendency to encourage land transactions and speculation in real estate (Khalaf and Kongstad 1973b, 124).

The first planning practices in Beirut were identified by the colonial planning. This colonial planning model consisted of two periods. The first is the 1830s – 1910s, which was the period of late-Ottoman rule in Lebanon. The second is the 1920s – 1930s, which was the period of the French Mandate. Saliba states that the Ottomans

were responsible for much of Beirut's early modernization which he describes as an effort of "secondhand modernization." During Ottoman rule, planning models were mostly Western ones that were first applied to İstanbul and then to the different provincial capitals of the Ottoman state. Beirut acquired the status of a provincial Ottoman capital during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this context Saliba mentions that the Tanzimat reforms were applied to Beirut partly through modernizing the city's building regulations and upgrading its infrastructure. In the second period, the French Mandate period, the French planners imposed a Beaux-Arts and a Haussmanian model consisting of wide boulevards intersecting at monumental squares over the city's medieval fabric. Unlike other examples of colonial planning in the region, where a dual city model was used and the old city was left intact and the new sections were constructed adjacent to the old ones, in the case of Beirut, this model was not planned. Although by the reconstruction of the central area Place d'Etoile, French planners interacted with the traditional areas and consequently Beirut's medieval fabric disappeared to be replaced with the colonial early modern Beirut (Saliba 2000, 2).

A separation between public and private spaces and new administrative divisions were introduced in the city by the Ottoman authority. Then huge urban development projects were held to change the urban scenery between 1880s and 1900s. In the beginning of the twentieth century during the First World War the Swedish architect, Maximilian Zürcher, was asked to prepare a plan for Beirut. The plan was decided to be applied in April 1915 and the bonds were distributed to the landowners. Demolishing of the city center started and for the 69.000 square meters area 2278 plots of land were taken for the new constructions of 20 meters of boulevards. In 1918 when the French troops landed in Beirut the construction process was at the demolishing process. So the municipal council was dispersed after the French intervention for the reason it was not representing the population with the ratio of its members that a new temporary council was created. Until late 1920s a new urban

plan was not issued that 1882 Ebniye rules were continued to be applied in the city (Yerasimos 2006, 179-184).

By the time French Mandate was in power during 1924 and 1943 major changes occurred in the city and Beirut became a colonial city. Starting in 1924 major constructions was undertaken. In the late 1920's Beirut under the rule of the French Mandate, the governor ordered merchants living in the center of the city to empty and leave their shops within two days in preparation for their demolition. A French planning team then began to implement a plan for the old town. French planners imposed a Beaux-Arts and a Haussmanian model consisting of wide boulevards intersecting at monumental squares over the city's medieval fabric, by creating the Place d'Etoile, with large, wide streets coming from it (Figure 3.16). To show the newly imposed status of capital city, the French organized the street grid in the form of a star, siting the Parliament building at the center, radiating its political primacy. Nobody opposed the plan and soon new streets were constructed. The Ma'arad Street, which was a colonnaded street, formed the major axis of the square running down to Allenby Street. By 1930, European-style buildings were created in the area around Ma'arad all the way to the west of Place d'Etoile. The area consisted of groupings of several small souks, each specializing in the sale of particular kind of merchandise. There was the egg souk, the shoe souk, the clothes souk, the jewelers' souk and many others (Gavin and Maluf 1996, 24-27).

The first planning activity was made for Beirut in 1932 by the French consultant Danger. It was the first attempt at a comprehensive study of the city taking geographic, climatic, geological and human factors into consideration (Figure 3.19). This plan determined the major axes of circulation like Beirut-Tripoli, Beirut-Sidon and Beirut-Damascus. He proposed the creation of different urban centers for different neighborhoods of the city and a ring road to connect these centers to each other and to Place des Canons (Martyrs' Square) (Sarkis 2005, 289). On the detail of

the plan there is seen a shift on axis through the Martyrs' Square to the quayside so that the extended public space follows the line down to a ceremonial landing on the quayside (Gavin and Maluf 1996, 118). The Plan Danger promoted opening the Bourj axis from Martyrs' Square to the inner basin of the Beirut port (Figure 3.18). The avenue to the sea has been a common theme among Mediterranean cities and, in Beirut case it showed itself in the form of the Bourj axis. The Plan Danger was the first comprehensive urban plan of Beirut applying rational zoning and establishing principles of beaux-arts planning which were prevalent in the 1920s and 30s (Gavin and Maluf 1996, 47). The city was divided into zones and the population densities were also determined. The basic utilities like parks and sewers were given and the plan also recommended the residential developments to be along the gardens. The plan also proposed for the first time that Beirut should be planned as one unit with its adjacent and independent villages. However, Danger Plan was never fully put into effect (Saleem 1970, 111).

As the new suburbs became the part of the central urban fabric two main streets were constructed in the beginning of the twentieth century through the old fabric to the sea, Rue Foch and Allenby were connecting the new settlement areas with the port. The central hall plan of the nineteenth century was replaced by an efficient side by side office layout. Along the important streets like Gourad Street, Basta Street, and Bliss Street and in the highly dense center districts middle class apartment houses with a ground floor of shops and rental apartments above the shops were seen as a new type of residential structures. It was the speculative apartment building and they were extended vertically as high-rise walk-ups or horizontally as twin structure either separate or integrated under one roof (Saliba 2004, 29-33). Large boulevards named after the victors like general Allenby, Marechal Foch and Weygand (Figure 3.15). Other constructions also changed the city. Military cemeteries were built and the khans were transformed into theatres.

There was a further articulation of the plan of the Martyrs' square prepared by the French architect Delahalle that he removed the Ottoman Serail, opened its northern face to the sea, and cascaded the square toward the port. Delahalle also proposed Phoenician facades for the buildings adjacent to the square. References to the Phoenicians existed abundantly in this period as a search for the ways to ground and justify the nation itself historically (Sarkis 2005, 289). Although neither Danger's plan nor Delahalle's designs were implemented, the connection to the sea remained a goal for many of the proceeding plans.

The implementation of this new planning brought the discussions that having cleared the remaining medieval city fabric, the new street grid was superimposed and design controls applied to individual properties, much like the process established for the construction of the Haussmanian boulevards of Paris. Plans for huge boulevards and roundabouts that bisected the old fabric of existing buildings and familiar places and threatening the pedestrian environment were the characteristics of the approach of the French urbanist Baron Haussmann to the city and was very successful in the nineteenth century Paris (Gavin and Maluf 1996, 55-56).

Davie argues that the French who created the Place d'Etoile which was an example of a Beaux-Arts and a Haussmanian planning in Beirut, negotiated their plan with the rich local landowners and waqf institutions of the city. Davie supports the point of view by the fact that the French planners did not implement their radial plan for the Place d'Etoile in totality and as originally intended. The Danger Plan (Figure 3.16) which was dated 1931 shows the original area of the Etoile which was conceived in the shape of a star. The original plan for the Etoile area was not fully implemented, in certain areas like where religious building existed. The churches of St. Elie and St. George were survived and the two eastern arms of the "Etoile" were never built. In addition, the plan shows the importance of upgrading Beirut's port. In the end, only parts of the original Danger plan were implemented which includes the port area and

parts of the Place d'Etoile. Davie mentions that this is an example of how colonial planning was only partially implemented by the effects of the negotiations took place between the French and the local people. Davie continues that even during the colonial period, the Lebanese were not passive receivers of Western planning models. Instead they negotiated about how the models would be implemented according to their interests (Davie 2000, 2).

The last map of Beirut to be analyzed in the study is the one which was prepared by Bureau Topographique des Troupes Françaises du Levant in French and published by Service Geographique de l'Armée in 1936. The map was prepared after the plan of Danger that the outcomes and the differentiations from the Plan Danger were studied by the help of this map. The star shaped square was partly constructed in the city center. Ma'arad Street constituted the base route of the square plan from north to south (Figure 3.16). The east-west route and the diagonal routes were not constructed but the orientation of the buildings in the center of the square gives the form of a star-shaped pattern. Allenby Street connects the square to the sea to the north. Although the Place d'Etoile was connecting to the sea the major avenue proposed by Danger which was connecting the Martyr's Square to the sea was not constructed as can be seen from Figure 3.18. Danger's proposal of different urban centers was also not achieved. The same tendency on going along the main streets as was the tendency observed between 1841 and 1876 has also continued in the urban pattern. The wider circle drawn for established areas for 1873 in Figure 3.12 became high density residential areas in the twentieth century and spread within a wider circle.

In the late nineteenth century, Ottoman modernization activities and the impact of European influence accelerated Beirut's rise, and the city became the main port on the Eastern Mediterranean. For the urban transformation of Beirut there was not a lack of construction activities in the Ottoman era but a lack of planning laws and

regulations, on the other hand there was not a lack of planning laws and regulations during the French Mandate but the failure of implementation.



Figure 3.15 Main Streets of the City Center of Beirut.
Based on the 1936 map of Beirut.

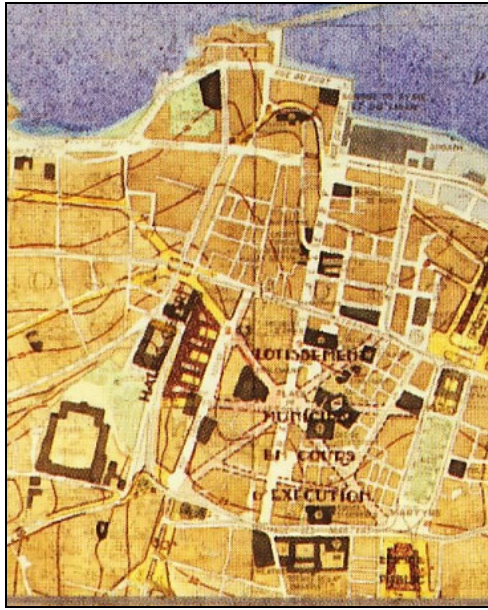


Figure 3.16 Place d'Etoile from Danger Plan of Beirut.



Figure 3.17 Place d'Etoile from 1936 Map of Beirut.

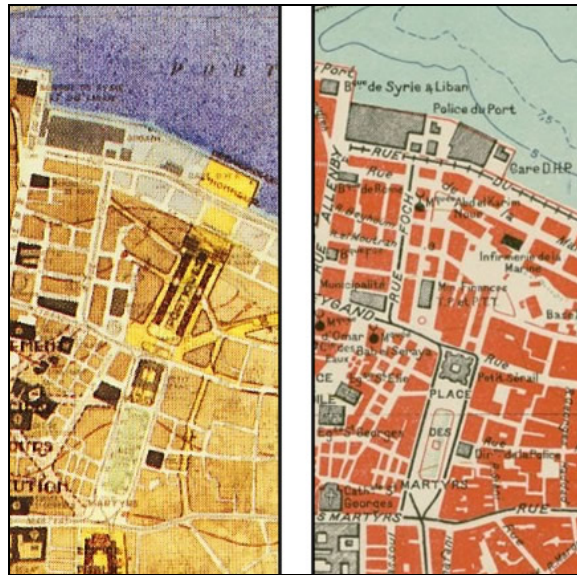
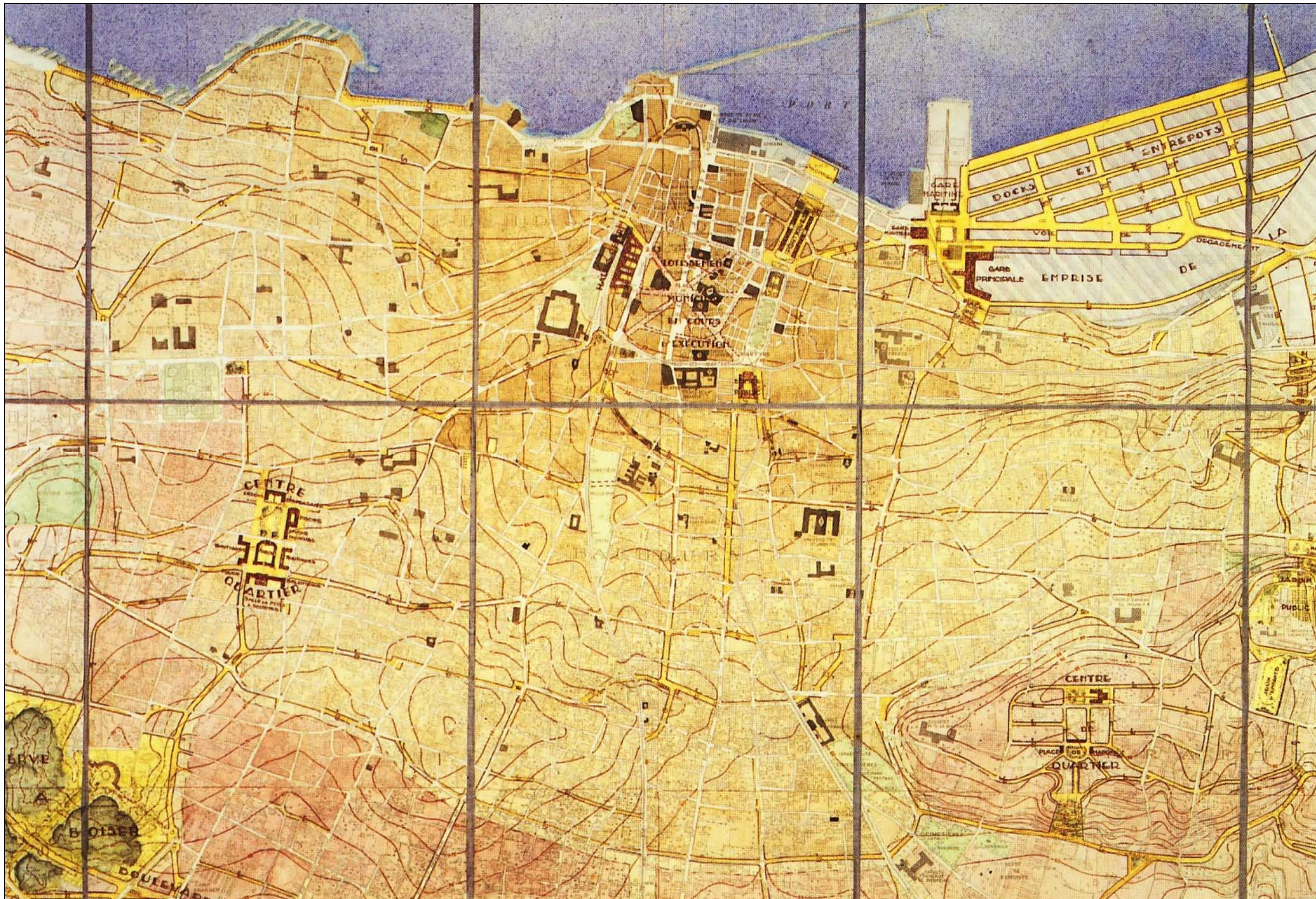
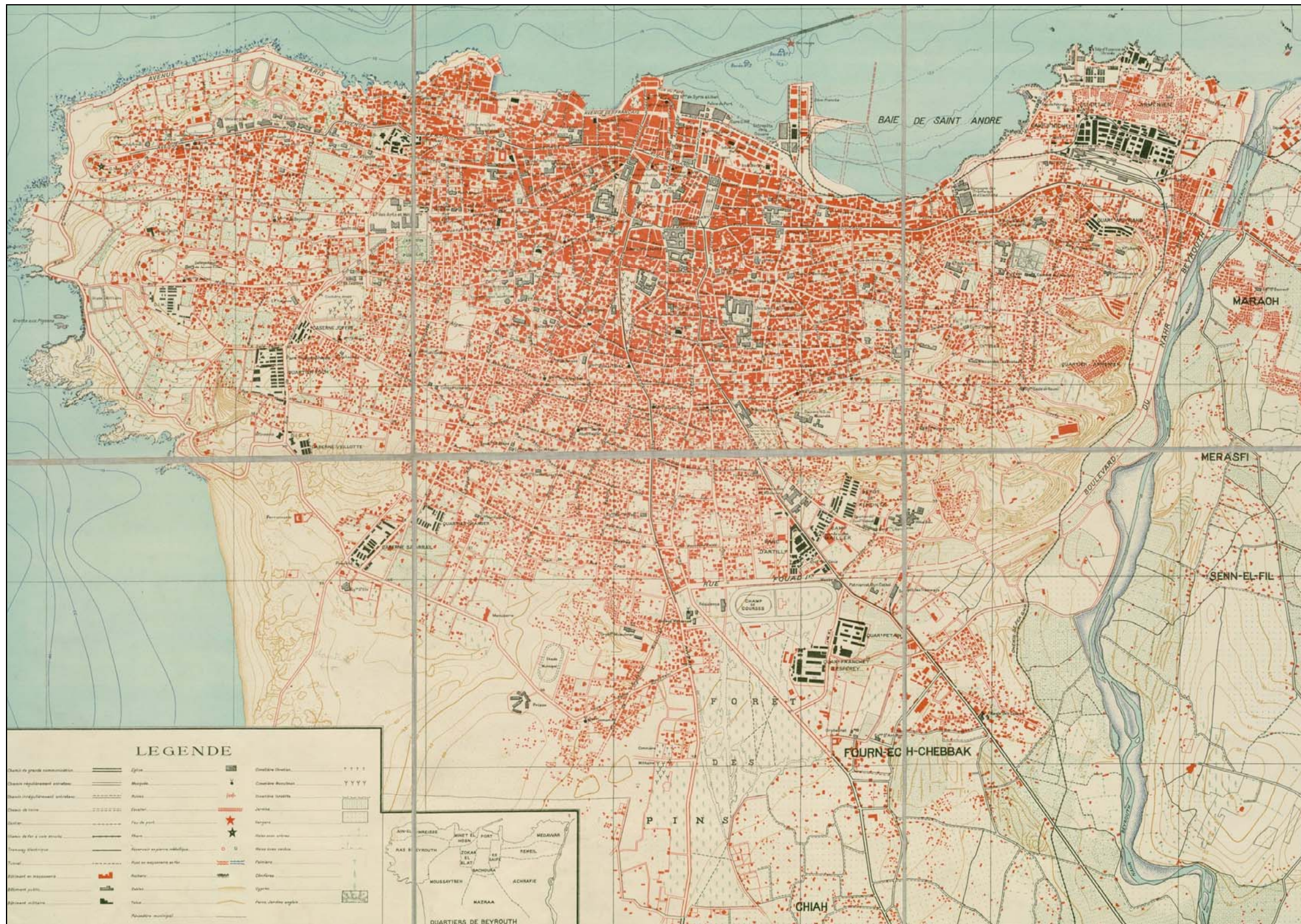


Figure 3.18 The Bourj Axis.
The Danger Plan for The Bourj axis is on the left.
The 1936 Map for the location of the Bourj axis is on the right.



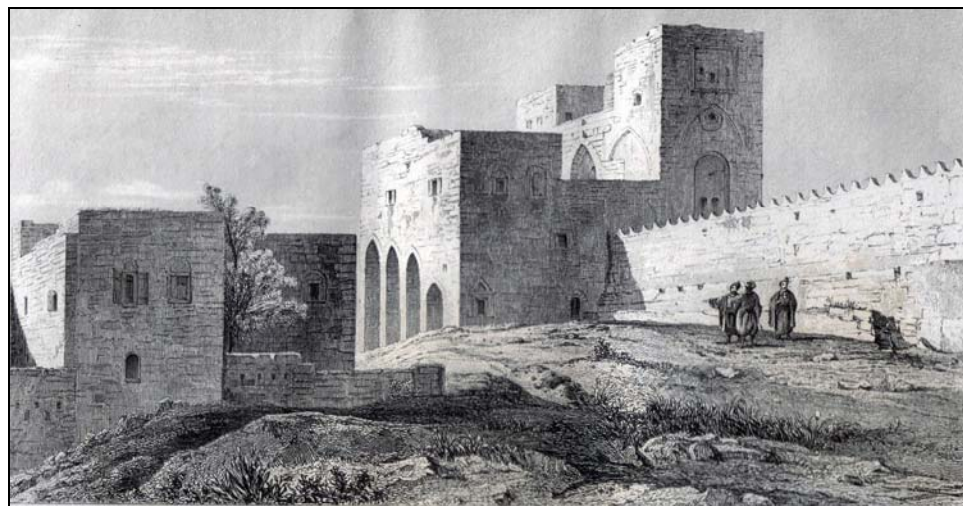
Source: Gavin and Maluf 1996.
Figure 3.19 Danger Plan, 1931.



Prepared by Bureau Topographique des Troupes Françaises de Levant, November 1936.
Figure 3.20 Map of Beirut, 1936.



Source: Davie, Michael 2006.
 Figure 3.21 Beirut in 1840s. Drawing by Max Schmidt.
 The Island Castle (left), quay (center), and western defenses (right).



Source: Davie, Michael 2006.
 Figure 3.22 Bab el Derkeh from inside the walls in 1830s. Engraving by Leon ...



Source: Debbas 2001, 99.

Figure 3.23 Beirut Panorama from Ras Beirut in 1842. Gravure by George Skene Keith.



Figure 3.24 Ain el-Mreisseh area, east of Ras-Beirut, 1897. Photograph by Adrien Bonfils.

El-Mreisseh Mosque seen in the photo and the Campus of the Syrian Protestant College [American University of Beirut] is seen in the background.



Source: <http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/jafet/moore/24.html> (28.08.2006)
 Figure 3.25 View of Ain el-Mreisseh Area from the Tower of Syrian Protestant College, 1894. Photograph by Dr. Franklin T. Moore.



Source: Debbas 2001, 134.
 Figure 3.26 Panoramic Photograph of Achrafieh Quarter, 1870. Photograph by Felix Bonfils.

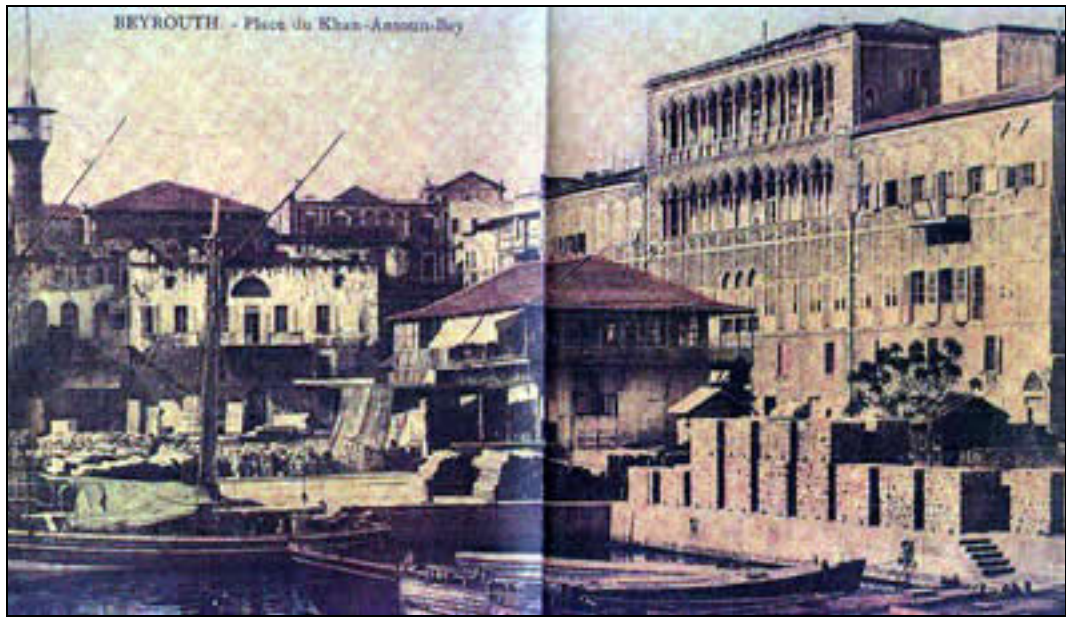


Figure 3.27 Postcard of Rue-Echrefie.



Source: http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/700/760/769/old_beirut/Hotel_dOrient.jpg
(28.08.2006)

Figure 3.28 Postcard of Hotel d'Orient.



Source: Gavin and Maluf 1996, 89.
Figure 3.29 Postcard of Khan Antoun Bey Square.



Source: Gavin and Maluf 1996, 74.
Figure 3.30 View of Khan Antoun Bey Square. Anonym Photograph.



Source : Debbas 2001, 84.

Figure 3.31 Place des Canons, c.1900. Photograph by Eric Matson.



Source: Debbas 2001, 85.

Figure 3.32 Place des Canons, c.1890. Anonym Photograph.



Source: SOLIDERE 1994c, 15.
Figure 3.33 Postcard of Place des Canons.



Figure 3.34 Postcard of Grand Serail (Imperial Barracks).
Serail is on the left. The Ottoman Military Hospital is on the background.



Source: Debbas 2001, 89.

Figure 3.35 Beirut view from Grand Serail, 1902. Photograph by Sarrafian Bros.



Source: Gavin and Maluf 1996, 25.

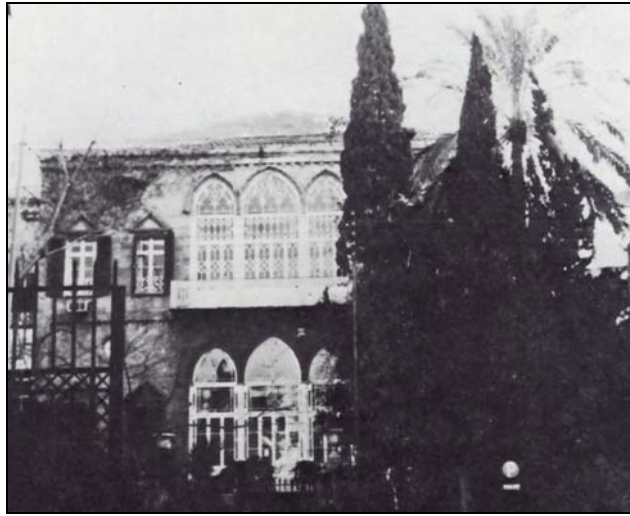
Figure 3.36 Postcard of Grand Serail and the Clock Tower.



Source: SOLIDERE 1994c, 22.
Figure 3.37 Postcard of Souk el Gemil.



Source: SOLIDERE 1994c, 21.
Figure 3.38 Weygand Street.



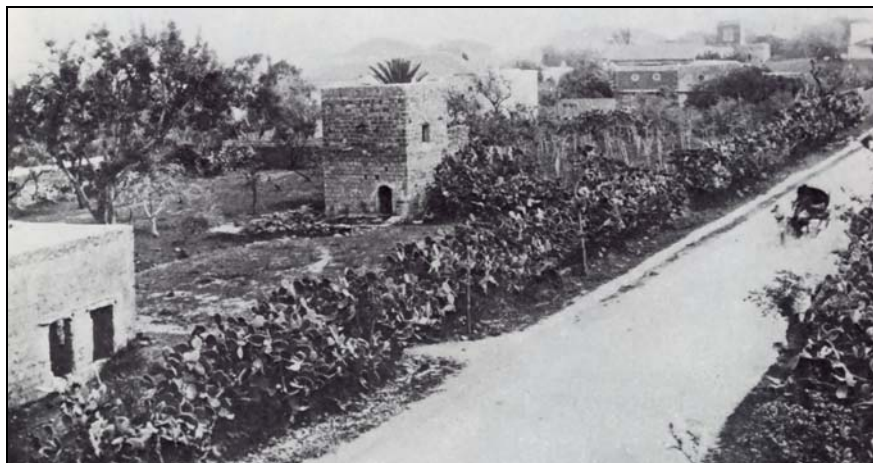
Source: Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a.
Figure 3.39 A villa on Bliss Street.



Source: Debbas 2001, 117
Figure 3.40 Bliss Street, c. 1910. Anonym Photograph.



Source: Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a.
 Figure 3.41 The intersection of Abdul Aziz and Bliss Streets, c. 1900.
 Hospital Compound is on the right.



Source: Khalaf and Kongstad 1973a.
 Figure 3.42 Hamra Street, c. 1900.



Source: http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/700/760/769/old_beirut/Avenue_des_Francais.html (20.08.3006).
Figure 3.43 Postcard of Avenue des Français.



Source: SOLIDERE 1994c, 20.
Figure 3.44 Postcard of Rue Bab Idriss.
Photograph of the Street leading from bab Idriss to the Souks Area.



Source: Gavin and Ramez 1996, 72.
Figure 3.45 Postcard of General Foch Street



Source: http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/700/760/769/old_beirut/35.html
(20.08.2006).
Figure 3.46 Postcard of Allenby Street.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The change in the articulation of trade routes changed the form of urban hierarchy; shifting the major cities from inland areas to coastal areas. Before the nineteenth century the major cities were the inland cities. The caravan routes determined the major cities. They acted as trade centers and they were the dominant political and economic centers. In the eighteenth century, the invention of steam engine started the change in the trade routes and in the nineteenth century steamships were started to be used widely in transportation. The port cities with suitable ports for steamships became major trade centers and supported with the railway lines connecting the inland production centers directly to the ports. Railroads working with the ports changed the transportation system in the nineteenth century which resulted in the change of urban hierarchical pattern. During the nineteenth century while the inland production centers stagnated, the port cities gained importance and became political and economic centers having close relations with the European countries.

The growing importance of Beirut constituted a typical example for the nineteenth century Ottoman port cities and the relations of the city with the European countries especially in the economic sphere made the city one of the most dynamic and active city in the eastern Mediterranean. This dynamism which started in the nineteenth century survived with the city and Beirut preserved its being the most important political and economic center of the region. Besides these functions the city also gained new functions, like becoming the cultural and educational center of the

region, with its existing dynamism and the city turn out to be a scene for the whole world.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Beirut was an insignificant port city but by the end of the century the city became a leading trade center on the Eastern Mediterranean. Beirut's improvement was linked to the changes in international trade routes and in the changing balance of power. Technological revolution in Europe, the growth of Mediterranean trade, the advances in the steamships, and improved regular communications with the west were the facts that promoted the growth of the seaports when compared with the growth of the inland cities. Beirut became one of the centers of the new trading network and became one of the major cities in the urban hierarchy with its role.

During the nineteenth century, the relationship between Beirut and the inner region of the country changed. Beirut and the interior regions were always dependent on each other and they became more dependent by the economic and political changes during the times of European influence. This growing interdependence then turned into Beirut's dominance over the Mountain which was the opposite in the previous centuries and the urban growth of Beirut started.

Urban growth was accelerated by the movement of the rural population to the towns by the pull of urban factors and by the push of rural factors. The pull factors were the increasing opportunities in work and education in Beirut with the increasing trade activities and foreign influence in the city. The push factors were the sectarian and religious struggles between the Maronites and Druzes in the Mountain and economic decline with the declining traditional production of silk.

Beirut was a cosmopolitan city from the beginning of its history. But in the nineteenth century this cosmopolitan structure changed its balance in favor of Christians. Maronites escaping from the struggles in the Mountain and Christians coming from Europe for conducting business were much more than the Muslims migrating to Beirut for increasing opportunities in the city. This changing demographic structure showed its effects on the urban pattern.

The declaration of Tanzimat Reforms in 1839 also signified a turning point in the organization of the cities, transforming the urban layout in line with the modern urban planning. The first results of Tanzimat Reforms were seen in port cities, as the state was closely interested in changing their physical features and their functioning by various laws and regulations to cope with the west. The western support and influence was also in action in this change process.

The creation of a new city center or in the case of Beirut creation of new functions and spatial formations in the existing city center is the first outcome of both the western influence and Tanzimat Reforms. The introduction of new financial activities and services with the increasing western modes of life and the introduction of new administrative buildings with the results of the reforms brought the need for new constructions and transformation of the existing buildings, like the changing functions of the khans, in the city center of Beirut. The location of the main central district of Beirut did not change. While new modes were needed the traditional pattern transformed according to the new demands. Only the traces of the old pattern were observed then. By the beginning of the twentieth century the city center was torn down to establish a new western pattern which demolished the whole traditional pattern. The western pattern of the era survived in today's Beirut although the city has seen many devastating wars. The reconstruction of the city center in 1990s followed the same path with the western models applied in the beginning of the twentieth century. The reconstruction of the city center, especially the formation of

Place d'Etoile, followed the same rules with the Danger Plan proposed in 1931. Besides it was applied better than it was applied in 1931. The city of Beirut chose to adopt the western modes of design in their city center instead of the traditional pattern.

On the urban pattern another direct result of the increasing foreign population in Beirut in the nineteenth century was the creation of the new residential areas. With the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College (American University of Beirut) in Ras-Beirut area, district of Hamra became one of the prominent residential areas of Beirut including a college and a hospital. This formation had its impacts in today's Beirut that Hamra prospered and turned into a secondary central business district.

In addition the western modes of life introduced in the nineteenth century had effects on the street pattern and on the construction of specific buildings. This introduction was also made by the regulations of the Tanzimat Reforms but as they can be understood as the outcomes of the western influence in the empire, the aims and the results were complementary. Building of new wide boulevards in Haussmanian style, supported by the tramway lines constituted the backbone of the new transportation system of the era, reflected the western modes and showed the application of Tanzimat Reforms. The constructions of big monumental buildings like the imperial barracks, the military hospital, and the clock tower were also the direct results of the reforms that confirmed the existence of the Ottoman Governance in the city. These buildings were the common features of the Ottoman cities that their existence in today's Beirut is one of the symbols of the Ottoman Empire that can be traced.

The city of Beirut had a very significant situation as can be seen in today's events. The stabilization still was not achieved in the formation of the urban form as the torn downs continue. The city of Beirut faced many devastating events in its history that the city has been composed of many layers especially in the central district of the

area. The ruins of the Roman era, few structures of the Ottoman era and the spatial formations of the French Mandate era can be traced in the central district. So this thesis tries to present a study how a study of transformation of urban pattern in history is studied in cities that the evidences should be traced that are not alive or preserved. Although the wars and events were the reasons for not preservation, the destruction of the city started in the beginning of the twentieth century during the Ottoman rule. The city center was torn down to build wide boulevards of European style. So the forms of the nineteenth century that this study based its facts started to disappear by the beginning of the twentieth century.

The urban transformation of Ottoman port cities within the case of Beirut is tried to be examined in this thesis in a time period of a century starting from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although it's traditional Ottoman urban fabric has been greatly changed within this time period Beirut mostly preserved the heritage of the western impacts.

In this study the impacts of European economic intervention and Ottoman Tanzimat Reforms constituted the main effects for change in the changing urban hierarchy in and in the transformation of the urban pattern. In a further study an analysis of influence of the social structure of Beirut can be examined. The multi-cultural social structure of Beirut, which constitutes a specific situation, could have effects on the changing urban structure of the city and the neighborhoods. The presence of a local population consisting of various sects; Shiites, Sunnis, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Maronite Catholics, Druzes, and Jews and during the nineteenth century the accumulation of Protestant Christian population with the increasing migration from European countries constituted this specific situation of Beirut. The indications of the effects of this multi-cultural situation in forming of new neighborhoods and on the physical formations of these neighborhoods can be traced in the nineteenth

century to analyze its effects on the present formation of the urban social and physical pattern.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

POPULATION OF BEIRUT

Table for Population of Beirut from the year 1784 to the year 1922 derived from various sources by Leila Tarazi Fawaz as an appendix in her book *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, 1983, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Year	Total	Source
1784	6,000	Volney, <i>Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie</i> , p. 290.
1823	6,000	Jessup, <i>Fifty-Three Years in Syria</i> , I, 25, 265.
1825	8,000	
1827	6,000	Laborde, quoted by Chevallier, "Signes de Beyrouth en 1834," p. 211, n. 5
1831	over 9,000 (including suburbs) ^a	Michaud et Poujoulat, <i>Correspondance d'Orient</i> , VII, 69.
1833	12,000	Moore, quoted by John MacGregor, <i>Commercial Statistics</i> (London, 1947), II, 125.
1833	ca. 12,000	Boisilecomte, quoted by Douin, <i>La mission du Baron de Boisilecomte</i> , p. 260.
1835	9,000 or 10,000	Hoche, <i>Le pays des croisades</i> , p. 583.
1836	5,000–6,000	Delaroière, <i>Voyage en Orient</i> , p. 45.
1836	15,000	Velde, <i>Narrative of a Journey</i> , p. 61.
1837	9,000 (without suburbs)	Schubert, quoted by Carl Ritter, "Beirut," <i>Die Erkunde von Asien</i> , IV: <i>Phönicien, Libanon und gebirgigen Nordsyrien</i> (Berlin, 1854), p. 449.
1837	10,000	Houry, <i>De la Syrie</i> , p. 49.
1838	15,000 (with suburbs)	Robinson, quoted by Ritter, IV, 449.
1838	15,000 (with suburbs) ca. 12,000 (with suburbs)	Elliot, quoted by Ritter, IV, 499. Blondel, <i>Deux ans en Syrie et en Palestine</i> , p. 20.
In Beirut in 1808, 1810, 1824–38	15,500 15–16,000	Guys, <i>Beyrouth et le Liban</i> , I, 8, 224.
1840	10,000	Armagnac, quoted by Chevallier, <i>La société du Mont Liban</i> , p. 52, n. 3.
1840	10,000	Jessup, I, 265.
1840	10,000	Urquhart, <i>The Lebanon</i> , II, 190.

Year	Total	Source
1842	10,000	Houry, <i>De la Syrie</i> , p. 49.
1843	12,000 (without suburbs)	Wilson, quoted by Ritter, IV, 449.
ca. 1846	19,120	Guys, <i>Esquisse</i> , table: "Pachalik de Seyde."
1847	27,500 (with suburbs)	Rafalovitch, quoted by Smilian-skaya, <i>al-Harakat al fallahiyya</i> , p. 17.
1850	50,000 ^b	Urquhart, II, 190.
1850	20,000	<i>Palestine and Syria</i> (Baedeker, 1876), p. 441; (Baedeker, 1894), p. 286.
1851-52	over 40,000	Velde, <i>Narrative of a Journey</i> , I, 61.
1856	22,000	Jessup, I, 265.
1857-58	50,000	Farley, <i>The Resources of Turkey</i> , p. 225.
1860	46,200	Etat-major du Corps Expéditionnaire Français en Syrie, quoted by Samné, <i>La Syrie</i> , p. 252.
1860	20,000	Hoche, p. 583.
ca. 1860	40,000 (with suburbs)	Thomson, <i>The Land and the Book</i> (1860), p. 37, quoted by Smilian-skaya, p. 17.
1861 ca.	73,000 ^c	F.O. 195/667, Moore-Russell, No. 41, Beirut, 21-11-1861, in Moore-Bulwer, No. 51, Beirut, 22-11-1861.
1861	60,000	Jessup, I, 238.
1863	60,000	Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Commerciale, Beyrouth, 7, f. 401 (Outrey), quoted by Chevallier, <i>La société du Mont Liban</i> , p. 292.
1863	70,000	Jessup, I, 265.
1865	80,000	Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Commerciale, Beyrouth, 8, f. 86 (Bernard des Essards), quoted by Chevallier, <i>La société du Mont Liban</i> , p. 292.
1869-71	ca. 72,000	Burton, <i>The Inner Life of Syria</i> , p. 15.
1870	ca. over 50,000	Burns, <i>Help-Book for Travellers</i> , p. 114.
1876	80,000 ^d	<i>Palestine and Syria</i> (Leipzig, 1876), p. 441.

Year	Total	Source
1875-80	ca. 80,000	Lortet, <i>La Syrie d'aujourd'hui</i> , p. 74.
1881	75,000	<i>Da'irat al-ma'arif</i> , V, 752.
1882	ca. 80,000	Vaux, <i>La Palestine</i> , p. 27.
1883-85	90,000	Hoche, p. 584.
1885	100,000	Smilianskaya, p. 17, giving no source.
1886	80,000	Thomson, <i>The Land and the Book</i> (1886), p. 49.
1889	ca. 107,400	Khuri, <i>al-Jami'a</i> , p. 28.
1893-94	ca. 115-120,000	<i>Salname wilayat Bayrut 1311-1312</i> , p. 383.
1895	120,000	Vital Cuinet, <i>Syrie, Liban et Palestine: Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée</i> (Paris, 1896), p. 53.
1895	120,000	Chevallier, <i>La société du Mont Liban</i> , p. 292.
1898	80,000	<i>L'Orient à vol d'oiseau</i> , p. 323.
1900	ca. 120,000	F.O. 195/2075.
1908	150,000 ^e	<i>Salname wilayat Bayrut 1326</i> , p. 227.
1912	190,000 ^f	<i>Palestine and Syria</i> , 5th ed. (Baedeker, 1912), p. 281.
1913	150,000	<i>A Handbook of Syria (Including Palestine)</i> , p. 393.
1913	ca. 200,000	Leary, <i>Syria</i> , p. 30.
1913	ca. 155,000	Thomson, <i>The Land and the Book</i> (1913), p. 19.
1915	200,000	Ruppin, quoted by Smilianskaya, p. 19.
1917	130,000	Adib Pacha, <i>Le Liban après la Guerre</i> (Cairo, 1917), quoted by Samné, p. 278.
n.d., ca. 1920	180,000	<i>A Handbook of Syria (Including Palestine)</i> , p. 175; says the latest official record was in 1914-15.
1920	124,000	Samné, p. 285.
1922	ca. 91,000	<i>La Syrie et le Liban en 1922</i> , p. 58.

a. Estimates for the first half of the nineteenth century that include the suburbs are noted; the rest do not specify whether they include the suburbs. During the nineteenth century the suburbs gradually merged with the city.

- b. Quoting figures of a census that, if added up, would give a total of 4,371 houses and 15,619 men.
- c. Three quarters of the population: 50,000–60,000.
- d. Official statistics of 1874 would give a much lower number: families, 5,023.
- e. Including Lebanese and foreigners; 62,279 without them.
- f. Including a garrison of 2,000 infantry and cavalry.

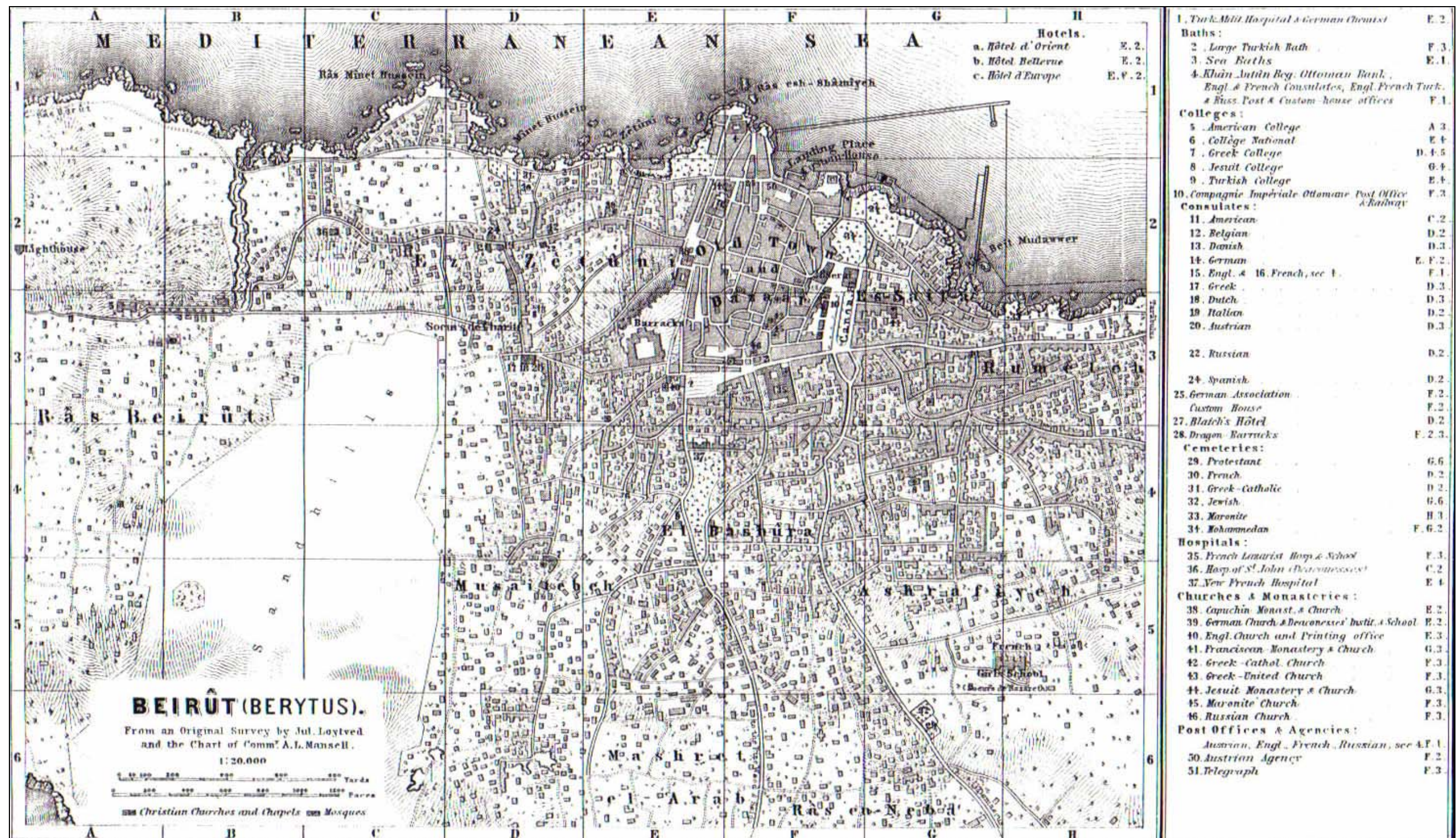
Year	Muslims	Christians
1838	45 %	45 %
1846	47	47
1860–61	38	58
1881	33	57
1882	29	58
1889	30	64
1889	31	66
1895	30	63
1908	47	48
1912	34	54
1917	30	60
1920	37	66
1922	39	45

Source: Percentages are drawn from sources in Table 1 that provide population estimates by community.

APPENDIX B

BEIRUT MAP PREPARED BY A.L. MANSEL

After the land use survey drawn by Danish Acting Consul, Julius Loytved to be presented to Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1876, a new map was prepared by A. L. Mansell from the Chart of Comm. based on the survey of Loytved before 1898. The map shows the names of the quarters, hospitals, baths, colleges, consulates, cemeteries, churches, monasteries, mosques, and post offices and agencies. The map was published in 1898 as a guide in the second edition of Karl Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria: Handbook for Travelers* guide book. (Baedeker 1898, 316).



APPENDIX C

PLAN OF BEIRUT CITY TAKEN FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE OTTOMAN WATER COMPANY OF BEIRUT

Plan of Beirut City taken from the Archives of the Ottoman Water Company of Beirut showing locations of twenty five police stations and two Ottoman cavalry barracks. (Kassab and Tadmori. 2002, 50)

